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Liber incantationum, exorcismorum et fascinationum variarum - BSB Clm 849

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845

Clm. 849

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vers[us] ad[ue]rsa[m] dem de dic[e] Apolm.
Aballoth. Bedith. Ego talis vob[is]
exortas[i]o & q[ui]d exp[ec]te des ongo
tatis q[ui] vos vita electione mu[n]
dic[i]t fm[u]la sibi ps[un]di vt debea[n]
bs michi mitte q[ui]da fm[u]m pitum
dogmata om[n]a scientia q michi sit
benivol fidelis & placidus addo te
du omem scia q[ue] volue[n]s venie[n]s
in forma magistri vt nllam form[i]
dic[e] dolam p[re]p[ar]e fiat fiat
tem q[ui]d vos ppm & filiu ffm
stm de hac sci noia q[ui] vu tute
lig-ant[ur] sc Dobel. Dyel. Gabaoth. &c
nom. fidenay. tr[an]sgramato. Albunay
sloth. moseth. Sadabm. Sodobel.
Domiel. Pavabiel. Alatiel. noiem.
noiam. Sobel. quat[er] vos tuas ve
gas maxim[e] michi sotij mihi p[re]sta
ti unu de substa[n]tias mitte labora
tis qui sit magist[er] om[n]m scia[rum] & artiu
ver[us] infantina humana placabilis.
Aplandens michi & audiens me ad
Amoza vta & talis q[ui] m[ihi] mio 30. die
talem scia valeam adipisci. Remit
tens tps suptanea scie dabit sibi

Cod. lat. 849
BIBLIOTHECA REGIA MONACENSIS

licenciam vadendi & hoc etia toties di
ci debet. Hec vero dña depone ensam
& in volumine dicto piano & foo fasciculo
cuba sup ipo & aliquantulu dormitas
Post somnu vo surge & in duas te
qua foo fasciculo hamo se spoliat &
intrat cubiculu ponedo dem fasci
culum sub capite &c. Aut sciendu
q das hiis comunicationib somnus
accidit virtute diuina in somno
Apparet tibi tres maxim regat cum
famulis minumis militib & peditib
inter quos est etia quida magistat
Apparens cui ipi tres vagas iubent
Ata ipm vera & pcm videbis ani
s vagas fulgantes mira pulchri
tudine qui tibi in dco somno viua
voce loquet & dicent tibi da
mus q multotiens postulasti & dicent
illi magist. sit ista tuus discipulus
que docua ea iubemo amq sciam
sine Autem qua audire voluerit
Doctrina talis & tanta vt in tmio
.3o. dicit in qm stiam voluit sum me
thos habeat. Et videbis ipm vehe
mentis dni mei libentissime facta &

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vltus. Hiis dns vegres fuerint a magist
solus remanebit qui tibi dicat Egurga
dca magist tuus hiis vo dns exurgabe
vit statim fuer oculos a vndelis quidam
magistratu optima mdutu qui tibi dicat
da mihi ensam q sub capita tanq. tu
vo dicas Ecca discipulus vest paratus
facere q q vult tame debes habere
q ugillarem a scribere omia que tibi
dicat Primo debes qrere magist
q a noma vim ipe dicit a tu scribas.
Secundo de quo ordine a similit scire
hiis sptus debes sibi postulare a ensem
quo hita ipe vadit dicens expecta
me donec veniam tu nichil dicas. Tagi
stm vo vadat a fuer ensem post
cum revertissum tu dissolues panu ut
fuer infra vius a tim scias mdo ocu
lo nome eius sptu pta a sibi dolu
ta tu pdo sanguine. Quo spto i vol
ta dom panu a bn respondeb. Hiis fctis
debes purgare solo pane a pura
aqua a illa die no aguadi cameram
a cu purgas fuis fuerit expletu a iterat
cvadu vsus Apolim Dic sic. O. rex.
Apolim magne potens a venerabilis

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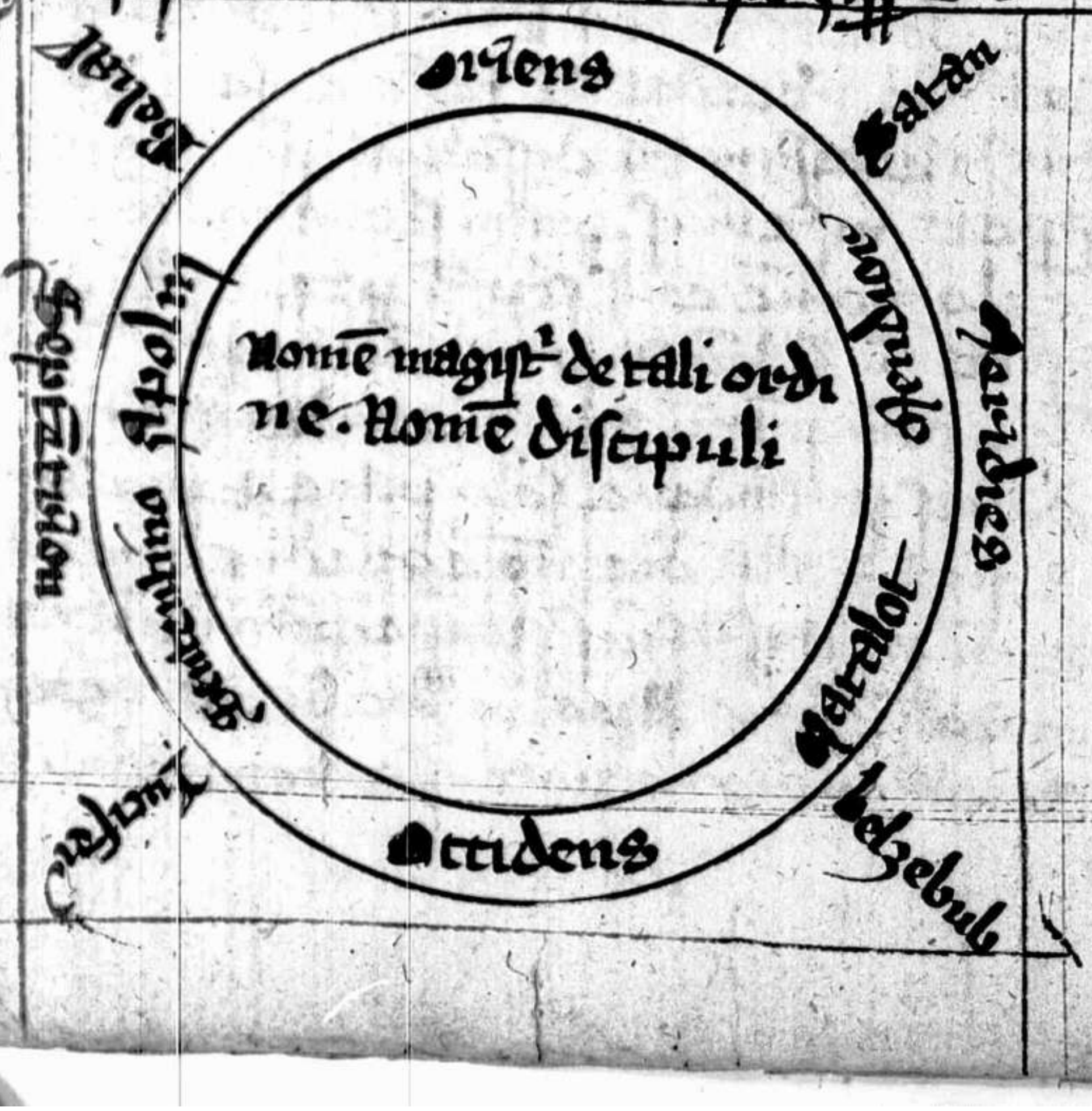
Ego famulꝰ tuus ꝯte cōfitēs & omnino
ꝓfidens ꝙ tu es fortis & valens Rogo ꝑ
incomprehensibile magestatē tuā vt famu
lus & subiectꝰ tuus talis magiſtꝝ meꝰ
dabeat ad me videre quā a tuis sanctis
potest ꝑ virtutē & potentiā tuā quā
& magnā & maximā in secula seculoꝝ
Amen Et similiꝫ dicat Jesus Jehsaloth
mutando nomē & Jesus Jehoth si
milit. Hiis dictis accipe de dco sanguē
& scribe in medio cuiuli nomē tuum
cū sigō dcō coronide vt hic figuratur inſe
rius Deinde scribe cū dcō coronide in an
gulis quatuor illa nomina vt hic figurant



Ihu Auta sengwissmi Auis no sufficiat
potas mtarficare q̃ tu tibi placz quibꝫ
omnibꝫ fcis sedebis ptota diem mcum tu
lo stppiens ipm mcjd loquedo tu vo
seruo seruo furt blica dem pmu ffolia te et
mtra m tabrioclu ponendo ipm sub ala
pte tuo ⁊ tu pssuris dic sic pclama
voz ꝺ Apolin. Auallach. Belzebuc.
Bathan. beliath. Belzebuc. Tucifer.
Supplico vob vt ptiatis magistro
m eo nolando cuus nome vt ipe debe
at vere vita fmte solis ortu Adme
⁊ docere me talem scam sme Aliqua
fallacia pstitu qui vetuvus ⁊ rudicare
viuos ⁊ mortuos ⁊ seculu pgrtom
Amen. Caue igit ⁊ pcaue ne signu ⁊
ciuitas fatias q̃ magnu pticulu ꝺnsop
no scias q̃ vndelis magistrtu totta not
ta loqui tecu mtanvogans Ata quam
scam velis Addisce ⁊ tu dices talem
ita q̃ vt dem est totta nocte tu eo hoc
loquis. Cum ittaq exitat filius q̃ ar
m tya nocta suuga ⁊ Actende Cande
lam ⁊ Actipe dem pmu ⁊ de volue ⁊
m eo sade. ꝛz. m tabulo vbi nome tuu
scptu est Adtuu comodu ⁊ vocal nome
magist tui sic dices ꝺ talis de talli ordi

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me ꝛ ꝛn magistru mihi dedit ꝓmaiores
reges tuos te dep̃tor ut videos ipsum
venigna dextu me talem scam q̃m ꝑm
aiores omib⁹ mor talib⁹ discas q̃tam
cu magno studio sine aliquo labore
ꝛ omi tedio deuelitto ꝑueniet extuor
te maiorꝫ qui regnat ꝑ infinita ſe
cula seculoꝝ Amen fiat fiat fiat
Visitatꝫ dictis tuc Aspicies versꝰ oc
cidentem videbis magistru varie tu
ntes discipulis q̃ vogabis ut omnes
fabre iubeat ꝛ statim recedet tuc tu
scꝰ ipe magiſt dicet q̃ scaz studiu
desideras tu dices talem ꝛ tuc mi
hes. Amato am q̃ ꝑta tibi dicet
tantu Addiscas ꝛ memorie q̃ mediabris
et oz scam q̃ habe volus Addiscas
intra mo xxx. dies et q̃n ꝑm de ca
mera Abiue volus pica panu ꝛ re
tunde ꝛ statim recedet et q̃n ꝑm re
niue volus Aperi panu ꝛ subita inde
Apelit Agnoscendo Lectiones post ve
terminu .30. dies do tu optime iscia
fac tibi date ansem tuu ꝛ dic ut vadat
ꝛ ei placet recedat Deberitem
dicas tu Aliu ꝑm mvo talibꝰ inda
scia q̃ tibi dicat Adtui libitu assequa
tur Finis qui capitulu scdm ꝛ

Ad hoc igit̄ vt stet siue sup̄ possit alta
liquo ausq; vide diligent attende
debes enim primo dare ascendat lumē dic
abbati vel ad illū q̄ ad manū venire vo
luerit & cum ea sit dicta prima vox
submittat aurē ad cordis tui & omne
cogitatiōis sensum & discretionē cogitationē
diluat & abolebit Continuo te auribus
& omnipotentis & maiores & quasi que
facias velle vt in tali q̄ spiritu debe
as q̄ manere & donec mihi libuit & q̄m
o abfuscare & oma q̄ agnoscat Amittit
aliquā mittam te in mari q̄ fundum
q̄ no agnoscit in seculū q̄ sibi dicit
vocat & postea donec suo fuit q̄ uo
sto vade ad hostiū cui et mādet dom̄no
tuo hostij tui q̄ de tuo calamu facias
possis & ad domū vadens & fac de tuo
calamo & designe mundi q̄ tuo lini
cū tuo calamo scribā. Quidā. Ablatou
sapie. stat ignitoris & fruitis ad sis in sen
sibus talis & sim fac debeas ad io dem
tam q̄a conuocatoe scripta sit in dicto
q̄ano ciuitul cū dco sanḡne vt hic ayma
dicit vbi scribit vt sequit Nome illius
q̄ q̄uare volūs in medio ciuitul costi
tuit honore Quidā q̄ sic debet
dicere sic Continuo vos de ad domoce

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malignos videz dñeoth·pmen·ocel·
cuyboy·Roryoth·Belfaruth·camoy·
Astaroth·sobrenoy·Ismael·pmdrui
duam trinitate videz patrem & filium
& spm scm Alpha & o precedentem & p venturum
dem & timendum diem judicij & pora q
fuerunt & sunt & erunt & sicut in hoc tabu
culo figati estis cruciatibus talem vt ita
vos & affligatur & existant psone eoꝝ
corpus & sensus eoꝝ valeat affligatis &
ignominiosis & demens stultos & mente capitis

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affiat et tu michael de cavelo arg nu
eguedia ꝓ meos ires dre noctuq do
nec albo albue iubebo quib⁹ sic dictis
tari uero uadas meldam notta ad do
mu spi⁹ tu deo plano et tu qdam tultal
lo et tu ubi filius volua humido ussuum
hostiu et flectas te in tuua migalita
dro mora camali facedo fouea subtam
do dom̃ianu mag lim̃ta dic sic gsubtilio
ta talem ꝓmore demoiorꝫ sq̃toꝝ tuꝝta
te q semꝑ ipi demones ouicta et omia
tua uuꝝ sq̃ulta sit et cooptio deo
cul̃culo tu tua uedeas uteꝝ ad domu
et fac candela in qua sint sq̃ta omia q
tenta in cul̃culo et debes ipam facere
de cera ꝓmo empta nouo et desup
aq tu una alia similit empta q̃ua fac
facias de ipam et dic sic gsiut hec cam
dela a fac in dispone talis gbuit et
gsumatuꝝ ita ois uuꝝ et sta existens
in ipo in damatam q̃uat̃ et ꝓ uirtutem
demoiorꝫ inh hec candela sq̃toꝝ et sicut
vos demones hic sq̃ti stabetis ita illam
requiem habeat possitis donec hoc duxe
rit ad effectu q̃uib⁹ data sancta cla
tis dictam candela exting we dicendo hec
uba gsiut hec candela exting uit ita
et uiuꝝ in tali manet uanitꝝ et sumet
q̃ne uo ipam facienda dicendo gsiut hec

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Candele ꝛ ꝯ ꝑ ta Alio mane vsq; ad tminu
Sapiam dro. ꝙ quitato ꝑmo die nocta
vo vo die videlic; ꝑ ꝛ ꝑmeta ꝺmino de
quo ame mínibit ꝺ ꝙ valde a ꝙ ꝙ no
cuadit se Alig hoa defectu ꝛ om Alios
mental ꝙ utat esse cautes. ¶ anc ign
expietam Aput ta tone q; magne vir
tutis ꝛ Cum Aut ꝑm volue ínstatum
ꝙ ouem deuocue optie fieri pt die ꝙui
. ꝙ houti noctis vade Adsuu hostu ubi se
ꝙ alist ꝙnu ꝙ dum Sapellit ꝺz ꝙnibꝰ
nus m. ꝺam vase vt no ꝙ utui esset sic
fat ão ꝑm libandi ꝛ ꝑm ꝙnu desa
pellido sic dnoꝰ ¶ ꝙ uadli ouaoth.
ꝙnen. ocal. tilay. Aoiyoth. Belfuioth.
Camy. Astawoth. obuonoy. sismael.
Ego talis Absoluo vos vt eatis Ad ui
libitu ꝛ velmquatis talem ínstatu ꝙ oui
quibꝰ dictis Sup dormiens ꝙnu ꝛ Accen
gne ligniolúc ꝛ ꝙ uitula ꝛ h'ba ubena
ꝙ ríaꝰ dem ꝙnu sub deo gne dnoꝰ do
ꝛtue ignis iste ꝙ sum hut ꝙnu rta ois
ꝙ ꝰ. fetime ꝙ talem ꝙ onit ꝙ sume
combusto gne ꝙ roc dem ꝙ ulueꝛ ꝛ in ꝙ
cuitatis ꝛ ois ꝙ ꝰ destructa erit cog
nosat ꝛ se ꝙ ꝺ ad uu ꝙ ꝰ ꝙ ꝰ ꝑmo ꝺi ꝙ ua
factura ꝙ uatur cu ꝺans se habuisse
gnitudine cui occasiona h' ꝙ ꝰ
putabit ꝛ of

mxima diligentia plurii ꝓxz et ꝯpiciosi ali ff
ſ. impsonꝫ et ⁊nc ꝛ

.9.

C Cum volûis hûa amouẽ aquaticꝫ
mulierẽ vis ſiue longinquã ſiue
q̃rinquã tam nobilẽ q̃ ignobilẽ pꝛa matꝝ
die vt nostra vis ſiue in augmẽto ſiue in
Amicie detrimẽto ꝫmo debes habe
rꝛe q̃dam columbã totã albã ⁊ cauã
ſoam de cana fara dñi ast in amouẽ
de qua a hûa leuissimũ et debes cauẽ
q̃ pdcã cauta potatissima ⁊ ad amouẽ
in lusuriosũ dum. Debes acia hûe ca
lamu aquile et in loco occulto accipe
dcam columbã ⁊ cu dentibꝫ mouẽ de ea
q̃nas cauta vt cauagulẽdra. et cu
calamo aqle i dcã cauta cu duo sagine
ſcẽbe nomẽ illiꝫ q̃ vis formã ymagina
mulierꝫ nude ꝙ maligas dicendo formo
talem. N. filiam talis q̃ hûa desiderio habe
istoꝝ sex ꝓnũ calidoꝝ videlꝫ tubal. ga
than. Reuuen. Cupido. Asselon. duliacꝫ.
q̃ ipa me diligat sup oes viuentes istius
mundi q̃ ea ſcẽbe in fiõntẽ nomen illiꝫ et
hoc nomẽ tubal dicendo tu es talis fi
lia talis de tanto ad mea voluntatẽ dispoſi
ta et tu es tubal in fiõntẽ illiꝫ ita iubeo
q̃ manens ligando sanguẽ illiꝫ capitis sui
ad me tmino capientem postea adhuc
ſcẽba in brachio ſilo dexterꝫ gathan et my

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ministro Reuces quibꝫ sꝑtis sic dic sicut
tu sathan & tu Reuces qstis sꝑti in hac y
magine fcm nomen tale gta continuo afflige
tis bñdictis ista sua vt aliqꝫ facie negat
& me simpliciter desideret quo fco iterum
ebapenas cum ymagis nomen tuum dicen
do sicut in cera ista ymagine fusum
tallis. R. die noctuꝫ me in corde suo habeat
quo fco sobe sup vulua ymagis hoc no
men cupido dicendo sic sicut tu cupido
es sup vulua ista ymagis ita semper
mentes sup vulua tallis accendendo ip
sam vt amis nros isto mundi despiciat
& me tm modo cupiat & igni amoris
mei ipam torqueat & inflammet quo fco sa
be in cera dextro afalion. ministro
duliatus quibꝫ sꝑtis dic sicut tu afa
lion. & tu duliate qstis sꝑti in hac yma
gine ita sedeatis in cerebro talis affluge
do cerebra eiꝰ ppt amoris vehemetem
mea & non valeat nec vna desiderare
aliqꝫ nisi huc quibꝫ dictis sacrificet ymā
ymagine ambabꝫ manibꝫ & flexis genu
bus dic sic adtraxi cor & mentem tallis
ad hanc ymagine & pcco mihi iram
tallis fouti q ita me diligat cupiat
& affectet et diem tota nocte i somno
aspiciat & dominu nrm ihesu xpm qui vult

ꝛ vegnat ꝛ ipat matauu quib⁹ dictis
hꝑas muiam ꝛ ſaſſiuanu ꝛ foꝰ ꝛgne
dam ymagine ſuffuiga dicendo hanc
ꝗuocationa Conuuo vos ams dæmo
nas in hac ymagine ſeptos ꝑ dnos
vros dñ obedua tanamini ⁊ ſolueda.
badalam ꝛ lauith. qtue talam cuiꝰ
mago a hꝭ nõa figuata ⁊ amoꝛe meo
accendua debeatis vt die noctuꝙ m
me cogitat m me ſſiat donec tuu affectu
meam ꝙplaũt voluntate ꝛ ſicuꝰ ihac
ymagine ſepti ꝛ fixi aſtricta m ipa
ꝛtinebaris dom da ea facta ꝙꝙ velm
hac ꝛgit ꝗuocatioe ⁊ dca ꝛ fca ſuffuiga
tua hoc cauda pilu cuiꝰdam equi ꝛ
ſuſpenda dam cauda cu duo pilo ita vt
mouear ꝛ abſcinda ꝛ dimitte ſtare illa
vo die vt ſequar vt alia vt qn poſſe
ad illam muliera accedas ꝛ p⁹otul
dubio libentiſſime te videbit dicens
me ta ſtare no poſſe ſi hꝰ habeas
ꝓtinenti ꝛ tuo ſno facies voluntate
ꝛ ſup te ora diliget matu ſuꝰ bene
ſuauiſſ ymagine cui nõa figuata
tam m qua vnq talis exiſtit ymo ꝛ
dicho mag ꝙ ꝗdmodu dñ hꝭ ꝛ ſignm
ſcꝛi vidiſſe ſcripta ſtati fca hac ymagia

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cu fld cam accessus aut de talu filo
capta q du ta vidsit q no vacadas
ab ip9 guttas p uat9 ymo de ami q
volus orat9 habis // ssi vo fidcam no
possis accedus sme timor a aut loci
horas ipam fugientu facie p supra
dcos demones qui ita afflictas sunt
q si essas mortue in una hora ipam
fl ostea su portaret sme alio pculo
similit ve portaret sme aliqua di
mulgatioe et vt sit fca ymago vt
dcm est suspensa illa die m alio hora
die sufflas in ipa ita q flatu tuo mo
ueatur et similit sacida die et tcia die
in nocte vo ip9 dies tcij vt acta ipa
dna solg ut cu turbg sociis fidelibg accipe
dctam ymagine et cu illo pulo tuga ipam
fld collu tuu et pandat impactor e tibi
et haas dm dam ensem in tua fac cu
culum cu deo ansa foo cu tulo stans mtg
vota socio si haas qui nichil faciat ni
si q m cultulo sedeant et ludu videant
quos si no habuis q mali et haas si
tum fugiu et cu ta cultu sub
vt hic fuerit cu silentio sanp no foo

Conuoco vos demones in hoc cereo
lo sculptos quibo data est potestas a
potestate ducendi et alligandi multos
in amore vivos per virtutem potestatis
ministratis diuine et per thronos et
dominationes et potestates et principatus
illius qui dixit et facta sunt et per illos qui no
cessant clamare una voce dicentes
sanctus sanctus sanctus dns deus sabaoth pleni sunt
celi et terra gloria tua osanna in excelsis

Benedictꝯ qꝫ venit in nomine dñi ℔sanna in
excelsis Et ꝑ hoc nota ꝓpheta et
t̃a mentia vos. ſz. v̄atum. ſampſy. de
ſuan. Wulo. dñonoth. Malochui. ga
tola. Gelbid. Maſaſiy. newtm. z lo
dni. Et ꝑ Anulu iſtu qui hic t Et
ꝑ innumabiles poſtea veſtꝝ ſa ma
ro2 vno ꝑ qꝫ vbiqꝫ ſitꝰ deloꝰ vnꝰ
ſue mota ſuggatꝰ ac ſi dꝫ dolem ꝓv
gatꝰ z ſtatim ſua fallacia ipam huc
ducatꝰ z eu voluerio ipam vꝫ vota
vitꝰ z de hoc nemo ſanctat vt ꝑpendat
Qua dca t vſus Anulu ſi ꝑicendo du
das quidem vocem dicentꝫ Et nos
ſumꝰ z ſtatim eos videbis ſex domitꝫ
los ſulcatores z mitas tibi ſade vo
ca dicentes Aſſumꝰ hic ꝓvati tibi
ꝓpitiꝰ benigne Dic igit q vis z ſtꝫ
tim ſubito faciemꝰ tu ſiut dicꝰ ea
tꝰ ſi dꝫ talem z michi ipam ſine mota
ducatꝰ quib dictꝰ ſubito recedent
ſinta ꝑtam ipam ſine leſione ꝑtta
but Et ſcias q nullo ipoꝝ poteꝰ
mig vꝫ di cultum ſi ipam Apparat
Apud ipm z ipa ꝓvigat tibi ma
nu z mtꝫ ipam tꝫ his q Aliquatulu
aſt Autonica tamen vult libentiſſime

totu sow Docto ata te q̃ nto mouo
ciculu facas melꝰ t tibi q̃ m eo pot
facie ciculu x m ipo melꝰ extandere
si em ꝑ alicꝰ tui esset vltra sign̄ autu
ꝛ malum esset tibi vetꝫ ita q̃ mulie
ꝛ oms ꝓ euasset ꝓotes eni vetinere
hanc mulierē m̄ dco ciculo q̃ntu ti
bi plat ꝙ tu mulier m gradit ciu
culu dicere debes illis q̃tuor vñ
vñ in vadat adloc tu ꝙ tale ꝙ pon
tauistis x m̄ forma ibidem maneat
donec ipam hic habuo. His dictis amnes
abiert tu silencio tu aut illa die ac noc
te ac mane ac ano q̃n tibi placuit
ꝙ ipam ad domu voluis reuertere
dic sic dm vos ꝓte qui tale huc duxistis
accipite ipam x addomu sua pducte
et quotiet ipam reuoluero ipam sine
mi pondo subtracti detegit ꝙ eu
minuas valeas ꝑ m affabilit exeu
cinini quibꝫ tu dictis verat q̃n que
ꝓte qui dam te vidente portabut. De
inde tu in ipa egrediet ciculu indi
cando vale tenga ipam tu ymagine
ꝙ habes ad collu ꝙ manu ꝙ pacta
diliget x nemine ꝓt te vndeua cuida
bit ymagine semp tenn q tu mulier

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mouetur ad collu ut nouacula dolues ꝙ semp
ipi mulieri inuisibilis appet ꝛ cu ipa
fabricauit dissolue ipm ad collu tuo ꝛ rogida
ut asculu diligent ꝛ tonde ꝛ ipa rade
dita dilue uotu cultellu ꝛ secu ꝙ age
dauid ꝛc q̃n ita ad ea ut uolui
facilius desup dom q̃ ꝛc nō ꝙ exqui
mancu q̃ efficatissimu ꝛ mō nullu
preciu q̃ quo solo exprimeto salomo
habeat assecuꝙ mulieres uolebat ꝛc
hō dea sufficiant q̃ habendi mulieribꝫ
ꝛ debeat fieri ei sollēpnitatibꝫ matri
mi ꝛ q̃

Ego de habendo amore mulieru
uolo tibi legaue aute q̃ latissima
adobtinendu dignitate ꝛ honorem
tati ꝛ maxima mouiuptabilita di
uictione ad age ut ad plato suadno
ꝛ generalit ad q̃cuꝙ uno uolui
mo ire heas duos lapides molles
ad mitta ita facilis ut superficies
ipo plane ꝛ q̃ cordeat quo feo in
uno sculpes forma illi ꝙ uolui
em incipiendo ad q̃ite deinde usꝙ
ad pedes faciendo ymo ante ante
riora deinde posteriora sculpendo
ante cauona in capita sinu ꝛ ꝛ sic

sm dignitate qua sculpita formabis m
llo eadē lapide apud alium formā tuā
figuratā q̄ melius scies mapiendo fac
ta vt dem ap̄ Apuleio Antiochi
dende Atargo q̄ubus fas sēbarfiota
mo mora sigilli nomē illius ac tua
nomē tuū q̄uo foo Iuna circūstante die
dnica mā hora diei hoc signū
suc stagnū ac adigna decola q decola
to q̄cias m formā illius dicādo sic ego
talis volens talem gratiam. abtinere
hoc veneror sanc honorē similiu
tūi formā ymagine fecim ac sculp
tam noie ad virtutē cuius me pau
pare diligat vltra modū q̄a foa ha
bet stilū faciē ac mā frontē sul
cat hoc nomē dyatam mpectore ac
cat tuā noiā. s. Iumeon. t mias ac
pectus ac mpectulis hec sex noia vi
delic Adam. Fabni. gabel. Danā. P.
Ometoth. at ohariaoth. et mumbluco
hoc noma Byriaoth q̄ubo scptis hec
sanū lineis candidissimis ac hac ymagi
nem ipam mvolua q̄ mvoluta bine ve
tondas. Deo Iouis mā hora diei
foo ingne cola similis stagnū ac mtua for
ma ipm mfunde dicendo ego talis for
mo ymagine mea ac fidmea similitudi

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nō qua ego famꝰ domineꝰ tali ꝛ ab ipo
diligaꝰ ꝛ timeaꝰ meꝝ nū ꝙua forma
vel similit̄ in alio lapide mutata volueꝝ
a fabricatōe du q ymago illi⁹ cui⁹ vis gra
tiam obtineaꝰ debet ad longitudinis
pedis vni⁹ semissi cu sculpit̄ in ipo lapi
de qui actu lapis tanto debet ad q ymā
mago tue tria pedū ymaginis illi⁹ debe
at ad menou ꝛ alia in ymagine tua iij
debes imponi scriptu quib⁹ fias alib⁹ di
ligat ut dem a ingressu die veneris
ꝙma hora ad suffuga ymagine illi⁹ ad
finitu horu ꝛ romanicu scilicet cinamo
mi. gariofili longi ꝛ herba fragmania di
cendo sic ego talis exorizo te ymagi
nem talis formata in cera alicui ho
mis ꝛ individua trinitate ꝛ p oms chiō
nos dominaciones potestates ꝛ principa
tus ꝛ oēm exercitū ꝛ p tui virtute obti
nea gratiam ꝛ amoꝝ talis cui⁹ noie fce
ris quib⁹ tu dixis sic q fauas dyabo
con. pumeon. tarmines. pipaos. ofi
dam. falm. gabal. doidayl. vmeloth.
traisoth. at bruioth. ꝑ benignissim
ꝛ potentissimu semina tas ego talis cu
stantia magna vos deprecor voti supli
co vos rogito ꝙ mittat dei filiu qui sui
sanguinis affusione humanu genꝰ mortis
um suscitauit ut ꝑ hac ymagine forma

tam noie taliꝝ ꝝm uxta me taliꝫ aliqa
tꝰ ut me ſuꝑ oms mortales ueñat nil
qua ꝙ meq̃ſan ſu diſcandat ꝫ maiſſamp
ꝑ uañs ꝓceptib⁹ mthi ſtudeat ꝯplacꝫ
re ꝙ pauꝫ dñm nr̃m ihm xp̃m qui uiuit ꝫ
regnat m̃ſeculꝫ ſeculoꝝ ꝙ ame ⁊ qua oꝝ
dea ſcipa tua ymagine ꝫ ipſam mdextra
tuaas. Aham ꝙ aut m̃ſimſtra ꝫ iugalla
tua ſic dicdo tam ſubiecit ꝑtos notat
gantaſ ſubpedib⁹ nris ⁊ uo deo haas
ſ̃uida ꝯtanula fauida ꝫ ꝙdcollu ipiꝰ
ymagiſ liga ꝓnedo aliud ꝯapudima
nu dexta tua ymagiñ ⁊ uo poſito bn
ligato ita ſic dicaſ ſicut tu ymago fou
mata noia talia as ſubpedita ꝫ liga
ta mea ymagiñ ꝙta talis mataꝛnu
ſic mthi pauit ꝙalligato quo deo ꝯapiaſ
cu tuiſ manib⁹ ambaſ mang ymagiñ
ꝫ uatio flattans dicdo ligo ꝑ hanc
ymagiñ manꝰ talis ꝙ manꝰ dꝰ ꝑ
mo illam uim haant ꝙtra me. flecta
cata ꝑ dea ymaginiſ ꝯapiat ⁊ ſo triam
ſic dicdo ſicut ymago hat ſta noie tal
manꝰ cota me flexa cauilla ꝙta talis
nuſ ꝙ mei uolutate diſcadat ꝑ me
ꝙtinuꝫ ſaqual ꝫ mthi ſamꝑ ſ̃uiat
ꝫ ma mataꝛnu diligat ſup oms ma
ueneꝛat ꝫ mthi ſtudeat ꝙlaudare
⁊ uo deo ſacdo ſampꝑ ſuffuga. ꝙcipe

tua ymagine & fac ipi ponat alia ita
q̃ de cetu tangat humeru tua ymagi
& pendo sic dicas sicut hec ymago fra
& habita nare tal stat ap̃d ista ymagine
fcas nisi mar cu maxima subiectione
ita talis sit subtus & subiect mihi
dare ista ymagines fuint & seruata
quilo dns mvolue ipas vt dem a m
q̃dem alio lintheolo mundissimo aſſ mvo
lutas m̃q̃dam vasculo pone & cla pon
ta pcinctas & corda cingentia & mha
bitaculo cingi potas & hoc facta debes
q̃ tota diem in seruo aut debes sepelli
ra has ymagines in tali loco & ita m
fide ut rdquiant & videbis mirabilia
si aut corda ipo aut cingl habitaculu
ꝑa no valeas sub tunica vt dem ap
ipas vbiq; tibi placz & alibi po sup
dne diligenter hoc dni experimentu vsq;
fuit p̃mandas ad regis p̃sentia q̃ ibi
dam obtinedam ad faciedu odium vt diligere
Ad faciē
sū odiū
re dili
gēter
Re stat etia vt de odio & inimicicia mt
m̃ta diligentes ponere ꝓtuentem cingit
mtas duos vnos sua mulieres & sue ma
sculu & femias sanandas volunt inimi
cicia ad odiu capitale Nacessa a vob hc
cipias duos lapides vnios & rdato des
vni ꝓpondat q̃ debet de flumine & alt
mi vno debes sulpnd & nona mi de hiis

noib⁹ ⁊ tutelay. ⁊ omalel. ⁊ solui ⁊ gratiaro.
et in alia nomia altri⁹ ⁊ hec noia. ſ. puzani.
ymaton. ſolfitoy. ⁊ mamsatou. ila noia
sunt valde ſa odientia filio⁹ ſculptis uni ui
delitat. illu⁹ q fes apt noia illi⁹ adoꝛ ſubia
nua ad⁹ limita ſubtauita ſ potas. ſi ſunt
no ſepelias ſub limtz tui⁹ dn̄ dom̄ habi
tatz et ſimlr alia ſub limtz altri⁹ vt dem
et vt ſub tui⁹ dem dom̄ vt ſuꝰ ſcptu a et
et ibi ꝛtaue ꝓmittas ſapta diebus ⁊ ſepta
noctib⁹ ⁊ no fcā ſancta ſolſouitu ramoꝛ
ab ⁊ mlotu ocultu ambas facias ⁊ ꝛpas
mi ꝛgna ꝛtias ſic dicendo Conuoco vos ſpt
rimtiſſimos ꝓtaui dei glam q ꝛt talem
⁊ talem quoꝝ noia hic milli⁹ lapidibus
ſculpta gemant quatu odiu intꝛ vos
et tm mtaꝝ ꝛpos ſaluatis ⁊ mſeꝛuatis ⁊ bus
taꝝ dictis ꝛpo lapides deigne aſſeꝛuas ſic
dicendo cu ꝛtaſcat ſuꝝ corp⁹ m nos fouſi
tan aqua absoꝝbuiſſet nos ⁊ no dco pina
mus ꝛpos in aqua frigidiſſia ⁊ mi ꝓtaue
ꝓmitta ſeruando calo tuꝫ diebus ⁊ noctib⁹
iuuto q̄ tuc dia ſtcipias ꝛpos ⁊ ſuffuigia
cu fumo ſulphuris dicendo ſic Conuoco vos
om̄s demoas odioſos ⁊ malignos ſpiꝰ
⁊ diſcordes ꝓmitate ſci et pacifici mate
tis in ꝓpe ⁊ filio ⁊ ſpi ſco. at ꝓpitate
dim creatoꝝ ⁊ q om̄s ſcos ⁊ ſcas dei et q
hac ſta noia virtute quoꝝ dominatoꝝ
ſup celu ⁊ tꝝam ⁊ fouꝛmatiue dignat. ſ. ſa.

Sabaoth. Iehyn et Abacal. et q̄ oms vigor
z diatoni ꝯ mfm̄i et q̄ hec nomia demoniu
videliz. Apolyn. gabel. Astaroth. Iaweol.
salmosu. et tyndoca. q̄ tue ꝯ̄ntui adiuuy
mꝰ vos exigit z ꝯ̄ntu mꝰ boaym z Abac.
fuit tm mꝰ tala z tala p̄tinḡ mseruatis
Attendita ita q̄ ipos z talis m flamet
q vnꝰ Altꝛ vidaꝝ no valeat ymo vno
liquu m̄ mnuabli odio vabellis affli
gat r̄ amouear fabiis ois amoꝝ dilatio
fiat̄nitas z copiago admimitia Ac oe
odiū maxmu quotant quibꝰ tam deꝰ
suffragando ipos samp̄ vetade. nostre
bo faquati calidao dos lapides simul at
vnu sup valiquu p̄tas sic dtado no col
lido l os lapides. ymo calido tala z tala
quoꝝ noia hic sculpta sut q vnꝰ Altꝛ
ꝯtinuo affligat z imitigabili odio sa
dm̄uita de catuo cutiet z sic fatibꝰ
sm̄gula nocta z sm̄gula die tam q aliqs
dias z vdebis stati siue audies q mi
mici affligiet z se odiet duo z vnꝰ Altꝛ
vidaꝝ no valet Sriani odio ipos disui
gere vole z volds vnu fabalto disiga
re z vnꝰ Altꝛ fugiat fatibꝰ hoc modo
Sumpta die sabbati Ante solis ortu dece
stanta luna z maxima quado a mo
bustane z nō ꝑsp solis ortu fatiae.
Hyma sca hiabs dos lapides illuc tatu

Patos & fouit ipos fadmuita fuica pulsan
do vnu sup fltaꝝ sic dicdo no cohdo has
lapides & o. dcs tuu sepelias q volus
demde vcada & vsq occidentē vfadeꝝ ibi
fac fouea & alia ibi sepelias dicdo sic
sicut dfiuxi hos lapides rta talis & talis
fa disiungat fitah & appoitet sint sicut
ipi lapides & uo sepulto rcedes & vide
bis illos disiungi & vnu fbalteo sup
hoc am exymatu occultandu aſ q
mappabitis m eo vnto qxistit nullu
am vamedin mvat & an ipi disiugatuu
& se movdatit odiat & tu vo volue fd
una fticia vamathu & desepeliedi sut
dci lapides & mfouna ponedi q bu
cocti minutissia tant & ipos cu fqua
fdmuita impelsta & sicdm promitte q uo
sicdato fluis aq pcias dicendo tolla
tuu ois mimicia & iuꝝ q fuit mt tale
& tale & mamore & stinu vaucu tat
pmiam pij dei qui no vcepit malicias
pcoꝝ fmeas & scias q ph stat q su
gunt & ois iuꝝ tollit & pstina pfac
fuu tuu

Tam qua m tua cuiꝝ vidisti ma
tacens exclue videlz fdquocadu
dqui fcuos pximo delz ficui mvocatio
xv. pcuum pot modo pximo ext villa
dalas fcedeua luna discalceadie pons

Ut dia dñica m meridie debes tecu ferre
ensem lucidissimu Quem vsque ad cu
dd ense m quoda remoto loco facias cu
culos ad ipos fias cu acie p dcm ensis sol
ra debes. xvj. hora ut m fiat Appelbit
illa figura quibs fas debes figere versus
orientem m mtzuroui ciculo dem ensem
ut hic ostendit demonstrat

tarionū tuū tulo ⁊ in quo tu stauc debes
uo stō genib⁹ flexis ⁊ respiciendo uer
sus orientē et capiendo dicē ense ⁊ am
bab⁹ manib⁹ sicut ⁊ faciās ymnū.
dicendū. tamdiu. masdiu. symoniū.
Rodobayl. tantatos. lotabou. demo
niū. tamasin. leutabel. tamasou. ⁊ ymnū.
ipius rotundissimi ylarios ⁊ gaudentes
ego talis vos adiuuo ⁊ precor ⁊ fm ap
ostm stm ⁊ filiū uniti dei potentissimi ui
ui ⁊ uiui qui ppt nos ⁊ nrām salutē
descendit de celis ⁊ incarnatus ⁊ de spu
sco ex pura ⁊ intacta ac incorrupta
ta uirgine maria ⁊ pro nra ⁊ passio
na ac resurrectione dñi nri ihesu xpi filii
dei uiui ⁊ ipsum lauacrū baptismatis q̄
ipsi⁹ saluat ⁊ ipsole ⁊ luna ⁊ omnia
sidera celestia ⁊ ipsa illa q̄ hnt uos
tantū ⁊ ⁊ spūngere. ⁊ uirtute quo⁹
dnos uotantib⁹ optat ⁊ cte de q̄tus
huc sīa mora fld me uenire debeatis
in forma mīti placida ⁊ rotunda pa
cta ⁊ q̄ q̄ dictam ⁊ una dcā duodecies ui
delz ymo quat⁹ ipsus orientē. sdo quat⁹
ipsi⁹ meridiē. ⁊ tcio quat⁹ ipsi⁹ occidentē
⁊ ultimo ⁊ ultimo quat⁹ ipsi⁹ aquilonē
portando semp ensem in manu et ei

dñs ihūs xp̃us figendo sanp̃ ppm q̃libet
loco. Deinde pone vbi ꝑmo dñat dca qui
ſtatio ut dñi a ꝯua dca sanp̃ genibus
flexis retro volua te ꝑ sua dñia tene
do ñr̃ ensem ꝑmanu dextera ꝯ ſacri
ficando vppugnam ꝑ ſiniſtra ſic dicas
Adsta mihi ꝑ noſtra ꝑ ſe veníre fidu
cia ego ꝑ ſalute vobis ꝑacta
dei gratia ſuman ꝯua dca sanct volue te
cu ense ac vppugna ꝑ ſq occidere ac vide
bis xvj. milites datorios ꝑ ſtipendiarios ſq
tibi dñant votaſti nos ꝑ ſalute veniſſe
ꝑ ſalua ſubiecti ꝑacta ſalua ꝑ vis ppm ti
bi ſum mobediendo pati cu ſalute dicas
Adsta mihi vidi ꝑ ſalutem vitam ꝑ ſortia ut
ſalutem mansas cu discubatibꝫ multis
cu mundiciis ñr̃is qui tibi vacat
debuit libent valla face Et ſtati vident
domicilli multi ſalutatos mansas tui
pedis manutergia ꝑ ſalia neceſſaria
post hec vident nobiliſſia genera qui dis
cumbant ꝑ ꝑcantrices ibidem ſaltatrices
ꝑ ſalutatrices ñr̃ia cibaria ꝑ ſtudio
ſa cantꝫ melodias ꝑ tripudiatrices videbis
ꝑ ludos ñr̃os. Et ſcias q illi duode ci
no diſcedent ſta ſtantes ſalutd ciuita
tes ꝑ exercitꝰ ꝑ tactu loquentes ꝑ vnde
cim alia ſtipa q̃ ad tua dcillis diſcuben
tibꝫ ſalutd ciuitates vident tue regie.

rogatus te ut ei ipse omnes ui vadas et ei
respondebis te aliquo modo posse discede
re quibus dies ipi subito addictabit rei
tantē diantas dos de ciuitate te mouet
re nouella qs audies qbus dies mitte
tibi ex una quarum de qualibz dape
de qua seruie gmedas 2 de ipa poui
gra illis. xvj. apud ciuitatu stantibz ipi
aria de ea gmadent. post hoc videbis
cum samans discedere 2 ondere qs
ascendere. et domu ons atuis otulis
aumebut ptauillos. xij. qui stantes
coua te dicent no na placuit tibi ludo
rum quibz ty hillarit undabis qp sic et
fca rappōsione. ipi petent gte uppupa
qtinuo tpudebit qp mutu qs quibz
eu sic dices volo vobis uppupa dare
ri uultis admo uane facredo hoc
pudu quoties michi placuit qui dicet
se esse ruine patos quos tibz qnda
facias apparere qp subito apparebunt
et ipso hoc mo uultis facies ura
mq oms duodecim hoc facto libro
illu deu uiuu et uez qui nos 2 omia
creauit 2 qp nos quos timem? ac
adorem? 2 qp legem qm obseruam?
Ad ta sme nouā ueniue qtiescuq
uocaueris nos 2 mortas qui fac

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sit ⁊ adhuc melius vt vidisti et stari vult
but et tu viuere debes dissimula
quia tu habuit ita petat hostia ter
dandi quib⁹ debes hoc modicum pgit
q̄ affectatis studere ⁊ apostasiam
mihi quidicat esse tibi detecto obliga
tos hinc das habent similit ⁊ tu agnede
ra de cultibus ⁊ ipos abolebis vt nullo
appetat ⁊ tuu ensem ferendo vacuadas
Deias igit attendere q̄ vitupa mag
ne virtutibus ⁊ nigmaticis ⁊ demonas
mvotatib⁹ q̄ qua q̄ rpa multa vti
mur m sidria tutelam Cui ni clam
aut palam aut vbiuq̄ rpos sdre vi
de volues reprimas m libro suscriptos
cultulos ⁊ figuras legendo submissa voce
nota mihi existat quibus inspectis
⁊ sanct lectis legehat humanitod semel.
Pyrnalow. Damasin. Lamaru. Basaru.
Simosow. Rodobail. Tantacos. Lotabow.
Hemow. Tamasin. Zeugabow. Tata
mosan. Saubaru. Belutabel. Rimasow.
et Sruama Rogo vos quitio ⁊ adiuuo
adeas vam maiestate vt hic vanitas
patratis subditos vros q̄ apponant
huc cubicula et primo tale ⁊ talem
faciat pulcherrimu septu cu rotis
cantibus. choreis. ⁊ tripudiis ⁊ gd

nevalle tu amib⁹ qui ⁊ tu stabib⁹ cu⁹da letifi
cat. ⁊ qua semel lecta fuledissimu⁹ ueient
domitalli ⁊ antias mansias ⁊ pulchriimas
⁊ nib⁹ gratis audias tubas. ⁊ cytaulas ⁊
cantib⁹ m nuos cu ani alta voce dicas
⁊ ⁊ouitata aqua stati ⁊ ⁊ouitabit ⁊ si
milit⁹ fauant⁹ aqua ⁊ stati fauuit⁹ ⁊ et
quit ⁊ m cauna ⁊ dappi fari aptia seu
uientes ⁊ domitalle pulchriime ⁊ mlt⁹
antias fatietas m nuabilia sollacia ⁊
potas fatis ⁊ ⁊ouitauit si tibi placz impia
drioni mille maneries q valde ⁊ ji ult⁹
modu sapiat comedentib⁹. ⁊ dabes ita ⁊
seruabo quato magis gmedit multo plꝰ
fames sout ⁊ ⁊ ⁊ouauent⁹ sicut dapes tri
no sut existat ita ⁊ si famelicꝰ milis
⁊ssat cuadas illis dapibus satauit ut si
no gmedeuet qual dubio mouauet. ⁊
⁊ si uolueris ludu destruere dic ut
mansias accipiat ⁊ tibi accepti statim
mesas cum ⁊stantas ibida pma nebut
quos si uoles cantare aut sonare aut
dmne ludu facere dic sic fiat ⁊ uidebis
affectu qm hij sut ⁊ ludi ⁊ omis sola
cij qui facies omia dca sibi ⁊ tu uolue
ris ipos alios dic sic ⁊ uos oms dece
dite ⁊ qties uos uocabo ad me omi ca
remota ⁊ gantis ⁊ qui respondebit libe
rissime faciem ⁊ et ipis uerbis oms

exiuerint de hac vita stupentes et hu fini
tiu⁹ sue illa q̄ a quasi apud hodiernos ig
notel quam matheus hippanus totaliter
ignorauit ⁊ cū expīmta sōmossitia ad⁹uo
candu ꝑt ut homo fiuant ap̄ere cast⁹
pulchrimu ⁊ fultitu sue ad⁹uocandu
ca⁹ ⁊ ut una in nu ne⁹ ass legiones
⁊ aliam alia experientia ad⁹uocandum
ꝑt ut homo fiant ap̄arere castrū
pulchrimu ⁊ fultitu sue adpuoctandum
animatoy inuas legiones q̄ leuit⁹ sicut
ꝑt ⁊ mtuā alia pulchrimu uapurat. Da
de ꝑmo luna. 10. seno calo ex⁹ vllam
ad aliq̄ loca segregatu ⁊ sanctu pontas
tetu lac ⁊ mel de q̄ ꝑ flue ⁊ ap̄gedde
⁊ discalciato nudo cāpte genibo flexis
Vsq̄ occidate sic lege. vsyu. Saldul.
Silitow. Damow. Zamno. Syutwoy. Rus
bel. Cutwoy. Zytoy. Dnow. Holoy. Pu
motow. tami. Dow. Zym. Spo Awmi
dow ab q̄ u ⁊ anma deffuncta ⁊ vbiqu
q̄ vultis sensue humano decipe ego talis
vos ymuo ⁊ exorcizo ⁊ mvoco q̄ vtem
⁊ situ ⁊ nom sem que sca trinitas nu
cupat ⁊ q̄ creatoꝛ celi ⁊ tre ⁊ visibi
liu om ⁊ mvisibiliu. et q̄ illu⁹ q̄ hoiem
de limo tre formauit. et q̄ eum incarna
one dni nri ihu xp̄i. et q̄ eius natiuita
te. ⁊ q̄ eius morte ⁊ passione. et q̄ eius
resurrectione ⁊ q̄ eius ascensione ⁊ tam

ego quinq; vos oms ꝓnoiatos ꝑ dnoms
ꝙpiam & miserit ow dissiam & mtamata ꝑ
mcorrupta virgine maria matre dñi
nri ihu xpi q̃ q̃ miseris ꝓcordib9 mouetur
ꝙsumas nos ꝺ adorare ꝓstrata venerant
& ego quinq; vos sup dos ꝑ ꝙ oms
dos & sctos dei & ꝙ oms ꝙtos & sanctas
confessores virgines & viduas & ꝙ hec
ꝓcessia fac mcffabilia nota oim ꝺ
bonis q̃bꝰ omes ligami & q̃ tenent oia
celestia terrestria & infernalia. ē. ā. ā. ely.
sother. adonay. col. sabaoth. ꝙ essyas.
ysazabula. & osion & ego quinq; vos & qꝫ
ꝓtigo ꝙnutute & potestia oim ꝙmtapu ve
gu dnoꝝ & maiorꝝ vwoꝝ & ꝙ virtute & pos
sibilitate ac potestia vitam & ꝙ hanitatulu
vum cuiusq; & fortuna. & ꝙ oms figas m
ipo ꝙmanetas
vos i solubilis
potestam
gam ad
mesme
ipsola
bion &
vanas
debeas
tis mta
li habitu
vt me
aliqlit
no tiranis

Jesus
Nazarenus

Rex Judeorum

+ Agla + Messias + Sother + Emanuel + Adonay + Sabaoth + Alpha + Omega +

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subiecti & pari facē. Ho demōstrāre mihi
ora q̄ volueris & hoc facē debeatis & vi
lit ꝓ ora q̄ mōtes & montia mouebit. q̄ q
lecta semel vsus ostendit. Simulac
vsq; mane dixit. Surgite & flagellate & flagellan
do videbis q̄ tinnula q̄mitina tuba sit
aut to⁹ vsus te venerit q̄ qui p̄mittet
tibi q̄dam scutiferū dicere q̄ illi fidē
ueniunt q̄s votasti cū dicēs sic vade
fidēos & dic ipis vt mihi q̄dicōe fid
me veniant vt nullū timeas sed securꝰ
p̄mittas cū ipis. Quo dō stati fideos
videbit qui post modicū in tonitruū ve
nient fidē q̄ubꝰ visis unde ois hoc tu
tulit stati hūc cultulū qui hē multū ꝓ
.ih. dēmones pellendi ut p̄mittat
q̄ ipi fugiant dicentes securꝰ quidē
petā q̄m ꝓnos tibi erno fiet. q̄ubꝰ tut
dicas q̄ristū suū cultulū talis debeant
q̄ sacrificē vt q̄ntuꝰ ipm fugere vota
do ipos fidē debeant velotat veue ēt
ꝓficiēs debentes illud facē q̄ ē mipis nā
tural stilitz faciēdi fugauere fortiludis
& dicat tu fouebis & tu intrudis fugatos
q̄ dicit hoc facē velle. q̄ubꝰ poterūt
libri & videbis q̄libꝰ ipoꝝ sup ipm mā
nū ponere & aliqua vba loqui q̄ no
intelliges. Hoc fec ipm tibi restituent
q̄ restituto rogabut te vt ipos fugat
p̄mittas q̄ fata nō possūt nisi hec tria
petita q̄ubꝰ dicas facta hic casꝰ vt vi

deam vñi efficaria ꝙui ſtati ciuꝯa te capciui
catiet eu mltis alijs ñ medio cuiꝰ capciui
te videbis ⁊ ibidem mltitu maxima mlti
tudo tñ iſti quñdiu ſte diſcedere non
valebut. poſtq̃ hui⁹ hore ſpaciu tñ vo
ſabut vt ſte diſcedere poſſint ꝙuib⁹dic
ſtote mihi ſati dies tres hut ciuꝯtuli
ſtitia vocando vos ⁊ ſubito vocatis
ui ñ valebut ſta vere ꝯtinuo ꝙuo dc
ſtis vt videant ꝙtuꝰ ne deſideꝛent
et tut ludus totalit deſtruet ⁊ nullꝰ ibi
dem ſtabit hiis ſtis domu vñeꝛ cuſto
diendo libuꝝ tñ mquo vuꝰ totalis exi
ſtit ꝙuido vo ani pulchrime ſtte voluꝝ
op⁹ ſtpiciat⁹ tiuꝯtuli legendo noia mtipli
cando ſtboꝝta ſic dicas ꝯ vſyu. ſalſaul.
ſilicol. ſamoꝝ. ſarmo. ſyutuby. ſi
ſtal. cutuby. ſytoy. ſnoꝝ. ſoloy. ſumi
otoꝝ. ſamy. doꝝ. ym. voto vos vt hui⁹ve
ꝛꝛꝛe debeatis ſtꝰ ſecutione hui⁹ tiuali ſq̃
ſigna vꝛa ꝓmidnat ⁊ mihi malꝰ iſtis ſp
ꝓuꝛa ſtatis caſtꝝ fortiſſmu cuꝰ
fundis foueis ⁊ militu ⁊ pedittu cum
maxia comitiua ⁊ ſubito videbit ibi ꝯ
pulchꝛ ſtuꝝ ꝯ aliꝰ neceſſaꝛiis ꝙuod ſi vis mgre
mu di potis. ꝙ ꝯtinuo miles tetu ſtabit cui
ac ꝙ voles ſtpaꝛeꝛe papias ⁊ fieri fac
ri ſtm ſanct ego hanc ſtta qꝛentui
ꝛem cu ꝓmptitudꝰ ꝙ intri nobiles comi
tabit ꝙui venado ꝓ q̃da obſcuꝛa ſilua
ꝓ ualiano ⁊ huc modu tenui ꝑmo m
ꝓgꝛi tiuꝯtuli vocãdo ſup̃ deos damones
ut ꝙ ꝯtinuo q̃da miles tetu ſtabit

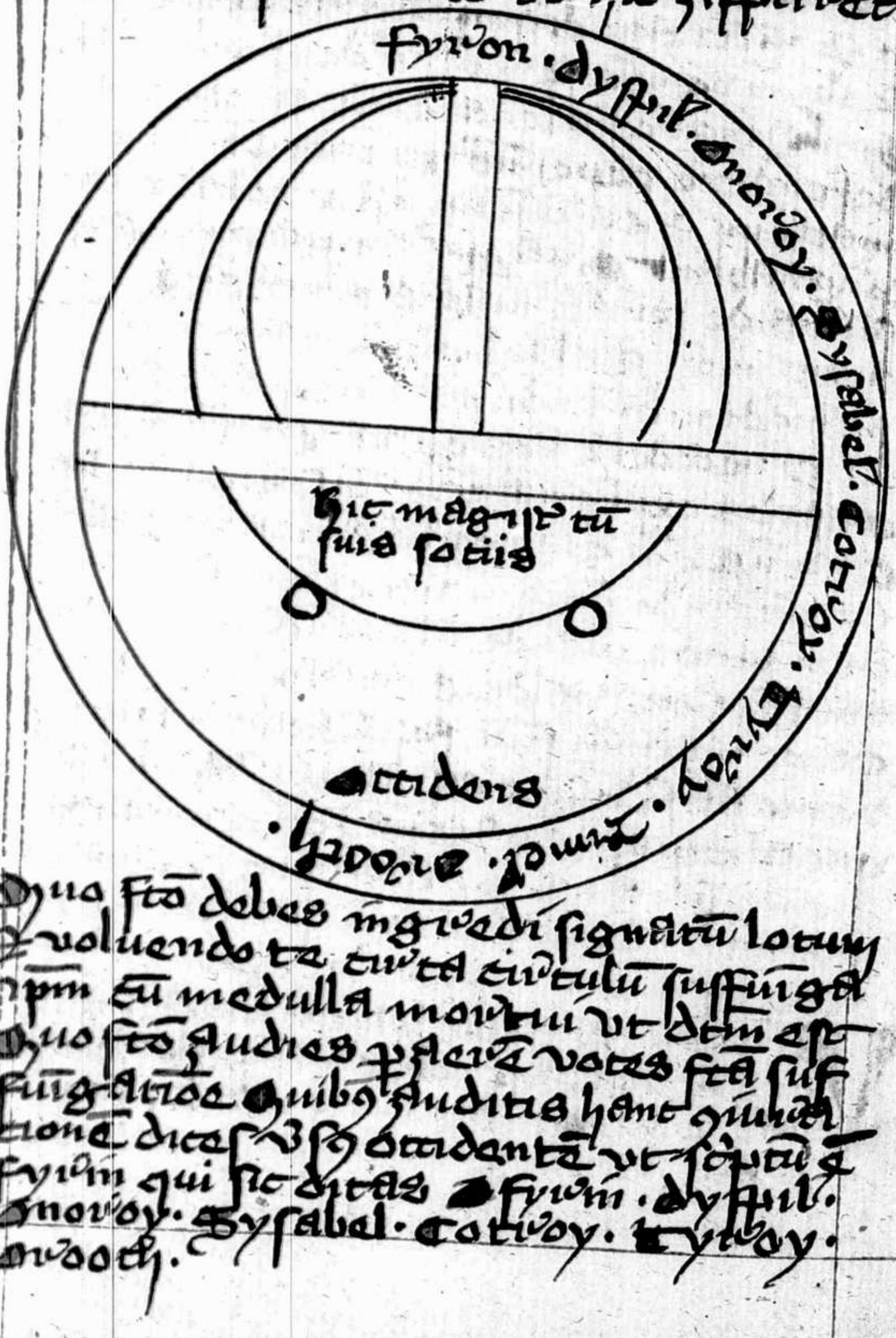
BSB

qlana voce dr tut stati venit ad me qdam
patricius miles q nullo pacto me valebat
appetere q ad me dixit Ego sum vnus de
vestris amicis q ab aliis ad te missus qui
nomen habeo salut. Cui respondi q tibi placz
quod tu stati fiat Cui dixi volo vt appetere
via facias istis vna legione armatorum qui
imperator et alii sacu stantes ipos tuebat
assa v. balistas qui dixit sum a do tut om
comites imperatow et alia vexerunt
ver q aquilone et allonga videbut vos
sue ipos varia et acutu et militu mu
merabila multitudine aquib vn discer
sit. et sute magne hore statim venit
ad imperatore tm medo dicens Dne im
perator ecce videte gentes sme numero
qui cont vos veniut ruentes vos et
omnes vos comites mavi tuadebe et vos
dnie interficere. Quo audito imperator
et comites tuti q debuerut fuge nesci
bat et int in ipi pte fuge quebat quos
imperator et alij videntes et audientes
hoc o mstruma tm timentes fuge tunc
capere ut et isti sequentes ipos et fugita
do vna voce clamabat fuge no pote
stis hodie morte Et tut ego dixi.
Et aut. facta imperatore et suos
unus captiu mirabilissimu comitu q im
perator et alij ingredient et fom e tut
fom ast tutissimu captiu comitu cum
tutibus et foueis desse pote q vide

Lacopia epistole ad stipendarios dispendarios damantibus a dna imperatrice mandata et tuis patriis festinabat quin primitiuenerit mihi quo videbant ad famulitii mei amici imperatoris existimabant se ibi mansisse se virilis defendentes. Quibus insidias leuauerit pontes ac se defendere coperunt et ut illi per tumultum et castra incendia totaliter ac fugabant. Via qua imperator et filius sui valde territi magis timebat et ut dixit mihi Balaul. no hemo potentia hic manendi morandi nisi uno quadrante ita precedere nos optat et ut recesso castro et expugnatas ipsi recedentibus castra et ita euaserunt imperator et filius sui et ut viderunt et inuenerunt se in quadam plata quidde ut palude de q ad inuidi sunt valde. Quibus dixi negotium ex hoc maximum fuit festu et ad cautelam ramadas de foro cauimus. Quibus sq quota ad exercitia et tenta fori ostamento sub uno tecto nisi uno q diuente duuidente potest nisi diuidet unu q diuite unot

Vbicuq si possis habere nauta mqua tu et quibuscuq uoles quinq seruire dabo tibi nunc de luna ipsa die luna uesperi ad altu seruitiu. r. seruano solo sub mi loco remoto et seruetetu mam

Costam hois siue mulieris mortui quam
primo actueris debes et facta cu ipsa linea
ua has figuras cu nomib⁹ aliis onib⁹
tentis in ipo circulo vt hic apparet



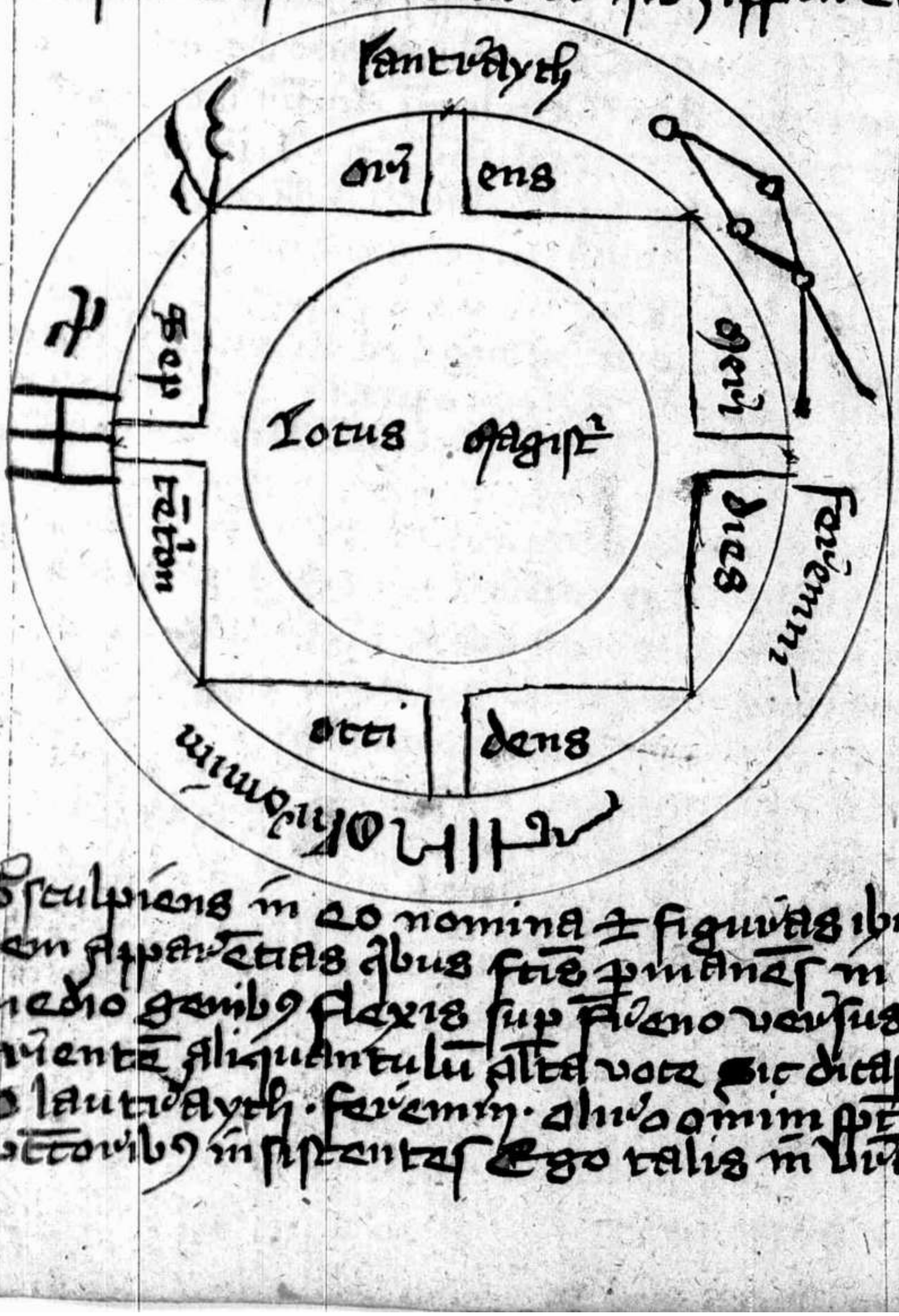
Qua sto debes mgrvedi signaciu lotum
ipm cu medulla mortui vt dem est
Quo sto audies placet votes sta suf
fragatoe quib⁹ audias hanc quidem
tionē dicas ⁊ sic dicendo vt sequat
fyrvm qui sic dicas fyrvm · dyrfyl ·
anoy · ayfabel · cotivoy · tytvoy ·
anooth ·

Primel. ꝑe hitanes hitatores aque qui
naues nauigantium ꝓtinuat tohami
ego vos quos exorcizo ꝑ ꝓpheto vos
vbicuq sitis aut in oriente aut occidẽte aut merida
ꝫ aut in meridie aut in aquilone
aut in aquis aut in terris ꝑmdiuidua
ac inseparabile trinitate. que in tribus
ꝑsonis existit ꝫ ꝓcum ꝫ filiu ꝫ sm
scm alvum ꝑcedentia ꝫ pillu q ꝑcessit
ꝫ ceruicis est ꝫ ꝓ pillum qui ascendit
not gratiam in mfauno no stauꝫta ego
ꝓuuo t ꝫ ꝓstringo vos ꝫ ꝑ tuos sanctos
ꝫ adyri ꝫ ꝓ aduentu dni nri ihu xpi qui
fugandas vestras fauces scos ꝓces de
tenebris extrahit ad lucem ꝫ ego con
uro vos ꝓ vultu meum ꝫ pedes atq pla
gas ihu xpi ut hic vestra deleatis vos
otto pe ꝓnoiati ut vos videam in
forma naturali ꝫ hoc fine ꝓstitatoꝝ
alia ꝫ ego ꝓuuo vos ꝫ impo
atq ꝓpio vobis ꝓ potestate ꝫ dignitat
tem luciferi. Asphaleon. ꝫ neutrion.
ut nulla vequa habeas dominatione
neatis ut dixi. Verita q ego vos ad
voco exꝑta dni dei sabaoth. quo et
gtha cuncta ꝫ omnia trinitate regle
ta q̃ua semel data tenedo costam semꝑ
in manu dextꝛ videbis ꝺto naues cum
magna velocitate ꝫ timore discedetes

Et cū mittam ad te pape nob deorū ad
nos ytinerib⁹ & cū uix me mouā fulgetu
q̄ubꝰ diis volo vos q̄ūq̄ta & q̄ mihi
mihi tot debeatis ad me veniē teneā
mihi cū ame fuit⁹ q̄ūq̄ti q̄ maxime
facies sāmatu ad te veniē & vedidē q̄n
q̄ꝰ lubuit tua p̄ti facta voluntate hoc
iuuento sic dicas Ego papio vobꝰ vt hunc
curtulu cū nauí capiatis & ad tale lotus si
ne mouā me feriatis. hiis dictis vndelis
ros & vomis mgredi naui Fit ronq̄
vela & nitq̄ nauigare & cū q̄ tibi
uidebit ad mp̄fundo maris & in suo
tpe flatio volet quotꝰ ferijs q̄ubus
cū papias vt ad tu aliq̄s q̄ accipiat te
instantissime requirat qui cū illis
cū illis fuis respondeo dicas cū q̄
valeant q̄ hic cū me fiducie faciat dis
q̄ctescuꝰ iubebis q̄ cū papa uocabūt ad te
veniē & valeat q̄ dis vocatus & te salu
tet & q̄ubꝰ volueris mittat portabūq̄ quo
cuꝰ tibi placuit Accedēdi q̄ubꝰ mutat
des licētia recedendi q̄ubꝰ recessis
Absoluas curtulu & costa sub terrā ubi q̄
ligē tu solus ut cū aliis voluta & habilis
nauigandi cū fauio ut cū ligno ut digito
ut cū aliq̄ signifte fac curtulu cū alliis vt
supꝰ demonstrauí & cū aliis mgredere
supꝰ dam locū dicens aīs vt timeas nō de

hoc fingas eis aliqs et cu oms mgi vssi fuim
sic legas samech. Syrim. dysfryl. onoroy.
israbel. cotuboy. kyuboy. auoath. Rimel.
Paulpti hoc cautulo ego m voto vos pruitum
subiectioj michi fcam ut stati sine mora subi
to rigtneti hmc debeatis accedue mites
subiecti pati et obedue michi et tanj nata
huc cautelu cu hac naui figuta uitam dabe
atis assumeua et naugando debeatis nos
pouehue ad talem locu adqm intendim et
fraus. aut quocatioe ita veiat statim ma
ui otto nauta placabilas dicetes tibiq ue
intendit quibj tu dices audientibj ad
talem locu. aut nauis m aqua ea videbit
istos velocit nauigeue et pnaces q nau
gat et ejulet ad locu optatu uniq m hoc
statu et tu ibi fus si ipso loco manere uo
lus dic nautis ut alnat paratu ipm offitiu
ue assumeua et executioni mandet in eos
m vocatus quo subito hoc audito ueladent
et tu volus uemeua ut alias et geue uo
ca ipos ut dcm et ea fiat et sic dili
gent q m ipa naui simulio pt sicut notio
cay sicuo m ueua cuistanitate q hmi sit
suo nec bonu et malu no i m seuio non
inp adyso mouebis quibj tunc fiat cum
facue qui a et cautelo ille i sigma sue
et hoc dni exprimtu uidi mtos de pito
tu fatue et falsitate hmi aut modo e ueio qua cu
talibj et nullj periculi et nõ q tipo libi sue nota
et sigo pruitu secdm sua qualitate q ignota sue
rit occultade sue et talade qui ipoj ineffabilis
efficacia q cauto et

Vale et tibi mitto quo eq̃ho ē ꝑt ieq̃ forma
possit hui sanctis te tam q̃ aquas q̃ ꝑtes
rectam tibi collos q̃ planities quotiq̃ volus
Amo ami. ē. luna die mauris reuino fouin
sacq̃ equedaria cu q̃da fiuerio nuq̃ opa
tu ꝑ in loco secreto cu quoda clauo siue
stilo ferreo fac circulu vo hic appedet



Sculpiens in eo nomina ꝑ figuras ibi
dem appentias q̃bus sic ꝑmanet in
medio gemibꝫ flexis sup flumo versus
orientē aliquantulu alta voce sic dicas
O lautudyth. ferēmin. aluo amimꝫ
picturibꝫ inspicentes ego talis in viua

virtute & fidem vos quibus pillu d̄ dixit
& fca sunt & ora stet & gnostet sante
quam fiant & p dm & terram ignem
& aerem & aqua solem & luna & stel
las & p thronos dnationes principatus &
potestates dni nri ihu xpi & p omnē ag
gelos & archangelos qui morabit ante
thronū dei sili vote clamabit scē scē
scē dns deus sabaoth plenī sunt celi et
terra gtia tua osanna in excelsis Ben
dictus qui venit in nōe dni osanna in excels
Scio vos timere & amare debetis
quia quis vir qui timet nec timet sed
securus existat Et q̄ q̄ voti impleto
debetis totaliter adimplere & cum mi
nis efficacia exercitii madeve & tam
ego quidem vos sup̄ dicto & pius pillu d̄
venturus a judicare vivos & mortu
os & seculū p ignē Et p tm̄ eda dies
judicij & p sentētia qua audive de
bitis in ipa die Et hec circuli quo
efficatius & notanti ut sme moveā huc
meam cogitam & p̄cepta mea simili
ter observetis quibus dns tam
quas equitas videbis alege venire
quos ei videbis dic donec ad te fue
rim leuaui ad ta oculos meos in
notas vm veni ad auxiliu m. auxiliu

meū ꝺn̄o qui fecit celū ⁊ t̄ram & q̄m
apud avaulū fūmt stat̄m descendent ags
et tūc hilarit⁹ salutabūt & subdit̄ ꝺn̄o
min⁹ p̄ suū miam n̄ statū p̄stinū vos redu
cat. Hoc deo ipi dicet & magist⁹ ꝺd ta
verūm vñanimes tuis p̄ceptis seruiūd
pat p̄sperigit nob illud q̄q nos huc
venire fecisti ⁊ cūct penitꝰ expediet. ⁊
Subdit̄ vñdeuie debee volo vt p̄ns fide
nū tenendo rpm ⁊ambabꝰ miamꝰ tali
q̄ seruatis vt quotiesc̄q; rpm sequaūr
⁊ntz me veiet equus oīs tuꝰ rpm p
ossm imponeūe ⁊ rpm ꝺscendere possi
rpm equitēe tute ⁊ ꝺcedeūe quo
michi libuit p̄fiaſ. Hoc deo ipi ꝺcetur
deū fidenū velle secu fac̄e. Et ibidem
tribus die vesperas & Subdit̄ ipi ꝺabꝰ
et ad dedūs ꝺscendet ags ⁊ sue mo
ra recedent. Subdit̄ recedēs egre de
re curtulū no ꝺbolando et ꝺcm de re
cedas tribꝰ die vo die mane vesperas vacet
ibidem illuc et mane ibidem pdos
ꝺnos offerentes tibi deū fidenū ꝺssalu
tes tua petitione et fultā ⁊ facto
to fidēno sic dictas Ego quidē vos p
deū deoꝝ vt sine mea licentia dehinc
poss discedere no possitis Hoc deo
tibi respondebut q̄ ꝺntu volet ibide

BSB

manebit quo dño squassabis fiolum
et subito illuc veniet aquam nigrum ali
mpones fiolum aquitabis hoc fño de
stendens aramouebis fiolum subi
to aqua salubit quo vbi sic dicas
eo rem quam vos pro antedicta
de pona hñtia qñ vos prate vt iuuda
ra vos debeatis pdm equm sampso
vr adme vare cogatis quem iuuabit
dimittat expssa hoc ñtinuo tu effi
cara facias et tu iuuabunt dic q
tu salute vrtendent quibz rñtessis
ego dare tibi tali fiolum rpm totu abolear
et fiolum tuu pontes et tu vobis
equm vare dic squassando fiolum
tuum. Alio modo. Si vis omnim
tali equus vaiet tui oñ mponas
fiolum aquitabis. Detui alunis
Aliquando tu mideri debes q mitio
cubit hoc si vita fata debes et tu
volueris rpm tuum euadere fuge rpm ut non
bedas q illic mora fagitta de quo
nuq cadat potis nat timere q
tenis et qñ voles descendere nuq
vetedet donec fiolum deore eius
Anfes quo ablato subito cuadnescet.
Fatim qm tali fidena tenuissima
ita q in pauo loco portare possim
q nuq fidangi possit nec puti fiolum.

BSB

ꝑ ipam ꝯsecrationē ꝗ ꝑ ꝯ ꝯ ꝯ ꝯ
ꝑ si sup dem capitulu in corio aqui cu
sanguine aqui sep cu dente etiam
aqui etiam ostensu aquis subito mo
uent ⁊ si ipm ut dem ꝑ sep cinga
ꝑ tuleris nullo aquus ad te poterit
accedere ⁊ ut huius capituli ⁊
alia ꝯsequentia in libris magice

Cum volueris aliqua mortua in fun
dere ita ꝙ uiuus erubescat pri
mo videbit talis ordo tenedus ⁊ pri
mo quida exalbo amulu fieri debet
etia sculpta sit exuta exterius ⁊ nota
primera. ⁊ subus. ⁊ tertia. ⁊ ultima.
ta uo interius sculpta sit yer nota
lyroth. Beriyen. Damalyn quib sculp
ta die dnico ante ortu solis accedat
ad aqua curretta ⁊ in ipa pone dem
amulu ⁊ quib diebꝫ ipm tea stabe ꝑ
mittas. ⁊ sexta uo die ipm exuat ⁊
ꝑ fac ad quidam monumentu ⁊ in ipo
pone ita ꝙ moueat ipa die veneris
⁊ sabbati die uo dnica die ante
solis ortu accedas exta villa secreto
celo in loco occulto ⁊ remoto ⁊ fac
capitulu cu qdam ense ⁊ tripo scribe
cu dco ense nota ⁊ figura hic ⁊

BSB

Quibus scriptis migiebam migvedam
ve m dum vt signatu est Et ponet
ensem sub ganubus tuis dicendo vsus
meridie hanc oratione Coniuro
vos oms damones scptos m hoc a
nulo que m manibus habetis p virg
a filiu dei sctu p ordine dei ferto
rdm cali et tarde Et p dnm nrm ie
sum xpm eiusdem filiu qui ppt humani ge
neris salutem mortem suscepit ve
digneti q est Et p gloriosa virgi
nem matrem eius et p lac

cū sctissimū xpi p̄ q̄ angeli denūciādo
pastorib⁹ locuti sunt gloria in excelsis
deo ℣ℓ Ego quinq; vos obsecro mei.
Subuenite. tribulacionē. Kyrieleyson. Xpe
eleyson. Domine. p̄ oms sctos ℣ sctas dei et
p̄ hec nra sca dei genitrīcē. obsecro.
Messyas. sother. Adonay Alpha ℣ o.
Sabaoth et p̄ hec sca nra virginis
mat̄is. s. regina. flos. ros̄a. lilium.
scala. sapia. vita. dulcedo. mia et
pces. ℣ p̄ p̄fectissimū celestē ℣ diuinū
et p̄ angelos ℣ archangelos ℣ thronos
dnationes ℣ potestates ℣ p̄ncipatus
℣ mirabilitates ℣ gtias regis celi et
tri. et p̄ oms p̄ntipes. virtutes. dnos
℣ mirabiles viros. et p̄ mīsterium vnius
et p̄ oms meos existentia quatenus
vos oms gsuetti ℣ ligati in voluntate
mea ℣ in p̄fecta mea deberetis huc
accedere in benigna forma vt nullu
timorem aut gsecutionē ita ℣ talit p̄se
sentē sinulu vt meo hoc vultu existat
videli; q̄ quicq; imposuo ipm in digito
alicuius indutu vel vultu ipm in gnā
diatu. et vt p̄mo vn⁹ apparebat in
illa similitudie ℣ forma p̄sulum ad vnit
in regnat in mi ℣ sci de pata seru
la seculoz Amen Hūc sermē dñi dicti ℣
Apparuit subito Apud cutulu. C. ps

patetas dem Anulu quibꝫdabꝰ ꝯ dato
hui habet Et similit tu agrad̃e cu
culos faciens tactu ensem no destruen
ciutulu Exta vo die tu pdo ense
rcuertaris Visus meridie sic dices
Ego quo vos obuiam. Subuenit.
tiamdyd. Lyuoth. Bauyen Damdyn.
Ydeu vnu viuu solu Vesp vt nunc
sine mora Ad m d vem debeatis sappro
tando Anulu ꝯsecutu Ita q̃ qui inpo
sueuo ipm indigito siue manu alicui
psone viue cadat mtua sit mortuꝰ
Et qui Abstulerit Ab ipa in statu pstinu
rcuertat. Et etia mtuꝰ cp mortuo
ꝓpositio vt dem a ipm ait ingrediatur
Viuus vt pius fuit videat pomia
q̃ possit vos terribiles Anno ostendi
gere hiis dies quat vndez Primo Visus
meridie sanct. Et similit Vespertide
ta. Deinde Vespertilio Et Vespertilio
Et videbis Visus conuerta vtrinq; qdã
equitꝫ q̃ tu fuit Apud ciutulu sic dicet
tales mittut nolendo nolendo nolen
supscripta tibi hut Anulu ꝯsecutu di
bentes Ad te verbꝫ no posse q̃ non
expediens est expiciis Anuli virtute
Et si no habuit virtute A te postula
tam dicent p̃ q̃bꝰ fuit Ad te veniꝫ
pter ꝯ hut Anulu Actipiee dicendo q̃

BSB

grātia tibi ⁊ ipis hoc dcō ſtati vētdes
⁊ tu atia ḡries de tūtulo ipm totaliter
deſtructo ⁊ ꝑdtm ⁊ multi bn teneāt
involutu in ſyndone Albo ⁊ cū bo vo
luīs vt Aliqs vīuus mortuus vidēat
⁊ Albis videt vita cadauer pone in
digito eq hūt Anulū ⁊ cadauer vide
bit. ⁊ ꝙn vāmouebis vētet ꝙ mu
ſtatu ⁊ ꝙn voluīs Aliqd cadauer Ala
tum Appetitiue pone vt dem ⁊ Anulū
tit Ad manu ſiue Ad pedē liga ⁊ Anta
hoīa ſuggat mſoīa ꝙmo hīta. ⁊ ꝑ
viua voce cōta oīb loquat ⁊ hoc mo
ſtrā ꝑorit ſex diebꝫ ꝙ ꝗlibz corp ſua
die in ipo quiēabit. ⁊ ſi voluīs Ante
dcm t̄ mi. vt ꝑmo cruat ⁊ vāmoue
Anulū ⁊ hoc mo vāſuggere potis de
fūctu. ⁊ hec ars expetita dignissia eſt
⁊ occultanda eſt in ipa magna virtus
exist. Cūtulū etia ſup ꝑdtm multas vti
tates hꝫ cuiꝫ tres ꝑma notas exponā
Si cū dīe venīs ipm tu calamo vtere
⁊ tu cū ſanḡna in carta cādida no
tata ſcripſerit ⁊ Aliqua ꝑſona cū co tē
tigerit metuū ſup omnes Ab ipa diligen
⁊ ſi ꝑdm cūtulū ſcripſi vt dem ⁊ po
ſuī ſup caput egroti ipo ignorāti
ſi mora debz. dē ſa nullatenꝫ quadere
poſſit ⁊ ſi debz cuadere dē ſa dīno

BSB

bbeuitatu et si pdm auxilio septu similiu visibilitate
sup te habuis nullo canis tibi latrabit
valebit et ipa sup me exurta // an exp
to vapme rel'mquo

Quarto etia de fuga mvisibilitatis ho
re quasi fabulo ignoratia cu rta ex
voluis. Apud dia ta rōnabit ꝑ no in
visibilis fac insensibilis hui. Primo ci
cenia luna die mensis in prima hora
diei casto fin ꝑtuidiu et tonsu capillos
barba et albo indutu ext' villa i loco
occulto sereno celo ipiano solo cu aste fule
didissio fac circulu vbi fuer tres circulo
he note cu eis omia ibidem fuerint

BSB

Hoc sto singas vsq octidete sup fuiel
dem ensem. Et tu figeras hastas vas in
quo sit ignis tu thuvemuleva. Et oliba
no. Et tu fumo ipo zp. vade tutulu suf
fulgendo ipm impiedo Afuiel. Et ibi
finiendo. Hoc sto hastas aquam bndetz
Et Affigas te Et tutulu dictdo Aprop
me dna ysopo Et mundabor lauabis me
Et sup niue dealbabor. Quo sto volue
do te genubo flexis vsq octadeta emis
sa voce sic dicas Ego talis quia vos
Afuiel. Generauit. Beatus. Et audiet
Et potestas magfica Et illustbos tpis
dino Afido punica mseparabile Actridi
uiduum tnitate sc spm Et filiu ar
gumen sum Et p deu vnicu solu viuu ar
bzp dñi omia de nichilo fortmauit Et cui
subdita sut ora celestia tuestria Et mfer
nalia Et cdu Et tua mea Et mfernu
Et omne mundi exercitu Et pomissiõn
tuas vdgos Et dnos vros Et p illum
deu ep timetis Et adorabitis Et p ora q
hnt vos tuos ostingere Et affligere
Et qui tu precepto vos opoztz totaliter
Adimplere Et ste vos oms. Et tu hulie
mexima huc vaiue delectatis ligati
stricti Et inuolati Ad executoi mandatu
Et qd Auoti precepto. Vaita sine mora
Vaita. Et tuoto vos exultatis Et uoto

5.

vos exprta filij mvoto vos exprta ſit ſa
hac mvocatoe dea quat ſalutz ſemel vſq
finat. ſemel vſq malemt vſq beatu
tenebatov. fldevit ſubito mcivtulo q.
ſit dicatas tibi Dic not q vis plene
tibi obadiem quib dices Ego volo
quada capa mvisibilitatis ſit ta
mtis mcorruptibilis qua cu idut
filo nulg vndeva nec me ſentiv va
leat: hoc deo vng diſcadz et am pouta
apparebit tibi q̃da capa q̃ albis
pcabas vt tibi deve debevet qui va
non debut tibi deva no poſſa ſi p̃mo
ris no das tuu mdutu albu quib da
bis et cu dederis eis. ipi tibi debut cap
pam quop vng ſtati mduet mdutum
eis dat. ſimilit tu ſtati mdues cap
pam q̃ cum mdueris illis pcib dices
Abite cu pace et ſtati vadent Et cu
abierint debes dimittere tuvtulu fave
do enſem tra Do die cu capa illuc
rvquisitave et mvenies tuu mdutu q̃
ſcripſiſ offemeto eni ſi ipa tra did
no revertetis ſue tuti mdutu ibi dimiſ
ſum no ſcripſiſ quavta die nullu m
veries p̃ mſeptam diebg moverit.
Accepto eni tra die idu. ipm mco
dem loco gbuves et ſtrae q̃ p̃ ipm
gbuves ſtudies maxime plantetus

et quevalas et tu gbuvevis appevgas
et nevte pavta sic dicado Conjuro vos
fivul. molemil. Bevith. tavasiv. pvivt
tuta. et poteria vviam et para habitacia
qe vos pvata vt no habeatis vvtutem
nec potestia ledendi me pyant capta
Bith xpc ptegat et defendat me p
ora fatula fatuloy Amen quo deo habe
as si qua vndeam et appgas doam cap
pam sic dicdo Ego conjuro te capa
p pvem et filiu et spm sem et phat Aqi
vt theucg te mdito filo nullo sentia
ve nec videa me valeat p dnm
nrm ihm xpm filiu dei vivu qui vivit
et regnat p omnia fatula fatuloy
Amen

Et aue cevam vvginea Ante vvgi
nem hoc
zetam et in die iouis. vt in die dnico
hova venis vt hova louis. ex dicta
cava fatas ymagine Adtavones
Actuntas sine fumo in vna olla posi
tos Et hoc magist decapillis mu
lieris p qua vult face et tres fillos
sete vivere Et hoc as tali tultallum
Albi manubrii Ad hoc fci et vade Ad
locu vbi Antifax facit Aco et tu fac
as face Abeodc Antifex hova salus
vsq Ad hova saturni. Item dc magist

ter duos socios fideles & vadat
ad Arborem fructiferā & faciat
magis circulū & mittat magis
Aurum factum sue ymaginē mulier
is qua fa tis semp
mundu vendo
rorde tuo

tu Behal. tu Astaroth. tu Baymon.
roth. tu
Ad hoc sitis opus mihi Ad mutuos
& similr mundundo dites Ego. N.
formo ista ymagīa in amore talis
ut valeat Ad qđ fca est Et tubelial.
initialis princeps Adhoc opꝰ sit mihi
Ad mutuos & magis faciat ymaginē
de pdicta cera sapiens horā locus
defendendo vsq; Adhoram saturni
& sic formata ymagine faciat sicut

magist Alphabetifica scripto nouas scias qui
das facias corpore valneratos et nitidis
vestibus induto facias deas scias hoves
solis usq; ad horam septimi. Deinde mag
ist fingat deas scias i ymagine. vbi
collocando vnam in capite alia i humc
ro dextro. et tria i sinistro. q. vbi cou
scierit scias alios assignata dicendo
sancta ista scias fingitur in coniuncto ymag
inis ita fingat amoue. A. i amoue A.
q nō possit dormire. vigilare. ridere.
sedere. ambulare sic quousq; i me
xandas stat amoue. quintam in um
bilico. sextam in amoue septimam in
latere dexto. octauam in sinistro. Nona
in fine. Sic formata ymagine scias
cas iterum imponendo sibi nomina q quas
facias submergendo tuis dicendo quo
modo vocat et vndec. A. Et tu debes
dicere Ego baptizo te. A. i noie patris
filij et. s. s. amen Et postea pone ymag
ine in anno nouo et mundo diuin
tando sibi hanc solis usq; ad horam meri
tis. Deinde facias istam fumigationem
sub frondosa fructifera sub arboribus
floridis et voluas te vsq; orientem
et dicas Coniuro talis A. caput tu
um crines tuos. oculos tuos. aures
tuas. genas tuas. Coniuro talis
et cerebrum tuum Coniuro A tunicas

BSB

Cerebru tuu ꝙ diua xpia mat[er] Con
tuuo. A. oculos tuos. quuo. n. tunicas
oculoꝝ tuoꝝ Cōuuo. n. frontē tuā. Co
uuo. n. dentes tuos. quuo. n. os tuu
Cōuuo. n. mentu tuu. quuo. n. nasu
tuu. Cōuuo. n. maxillas tuas. Cōuuo. n.
palatu tuu. quuo. n. gingiuas tuas
Cōuuo. n. guttur tuu. quuo. n. humos
tuos. quuo. n. scapulas tuas. quuo. n.
pectꝰ tuu. quuo. n. mamillas tuas Co
uuo n. corꝺ tuu. quuo vmbilicu tuu
Cōuuo n. femur tuu. Cōuuo. n. renes
tuos. quuo. n. latꝰ tuā. quuo n. femu
tuu. Cōuuo. n. costas tuas. quuo. n.
vulua tua. quuo. n. genua tua. quuo
n. crura tua. quuo. n. talos pedu tuoꝝ
Cōuuo. n. bracchia tua. quuo. n. digitos
manuu tuaꝝ. quuo. n. manꝰ tuas Co
uuo. n. ungues manuu tuaꝝ. quuo
n. corꝺ tuu. quuo. n. pulmone tuu. Co
uuo. n. bucallas tuas. quuo. n. stomachꝰ
tuu Cōuuo. n. totā ꝓsona tua. quuo
n. totā substātia tuā vt no possis dicu
mihi. nō sadua. n. ratione nō aliud fu
tifitiale facta donec mea libidinosam
ꝓlacias voluntate Cōuuo te ꝙ puerum
ꝙ filiu ꝙ sum sim ꝙ mgrum qui ꝙ
virtute spūs ꝙ saphetiam salomonis
ꝙ vex salbadoꝝ ꝙ vex sardaphim ꝙ
vex emanuel ꝙ oia corꝓa tua ꝙ

que stent m vomā ꝫ luna ⁊ sole ⁊ do
mine mdiowa et ꝫ lac vnginis ꝑsecam
mdiowa mdiowa dñi nri ihu xpi ꝫ duke
visma som ꝫ cowꝑ ⁊ stng windm ihu x̄
cōmd vob ⁊ exowtio vos ⁊mo vobis
vt sicut cervus desidevat fontē sic
nia ita desidevat. ñ. sic meu sic amovem
et sicut cervus desidevat cadaū
mortuoꝝ ita desidevat tu me et si
cut cerva ista lrā fiat ⁊ fiat ⁊ fiat ignis
ita desidevet. ñ. in meu ⁊mova q no
possit ⁊ of
ignā fiat mulieris h̄ūt ⁊ se
quent solitudo. muoluco capitis =
plowat. gamity. ⁊ tussiones vigi
tacoes aūla eoꝝ. ⁊ cut magist siua
illa qui fiat vadat ad illa et si vide
vit illa solam stantē ⁊ sedentē tuo
cowꝰ obowet magist ꝗuvationem
vsq; ad quinta diem et si illa i tenta
dino fuit ꝗ sua t̄ri fiat fiat fiat vulla
fiat fiam cuitatem tuam sicut tem
din magist fiat ꝗuvatioꝝ q̄usq;
illa possit vena. et m hoc fuerunt
ptes das nigwomatici ome ⁊ astvoloy
ci. Ihym. arabici. hebwei. caldei.
gviti ⁊ latini et exwartu fiat
istud exprimetu desacwetis ⁊ntibus
ymaginatiue artis de plowibus
oim exp̄imentoꝝ ⁊ of

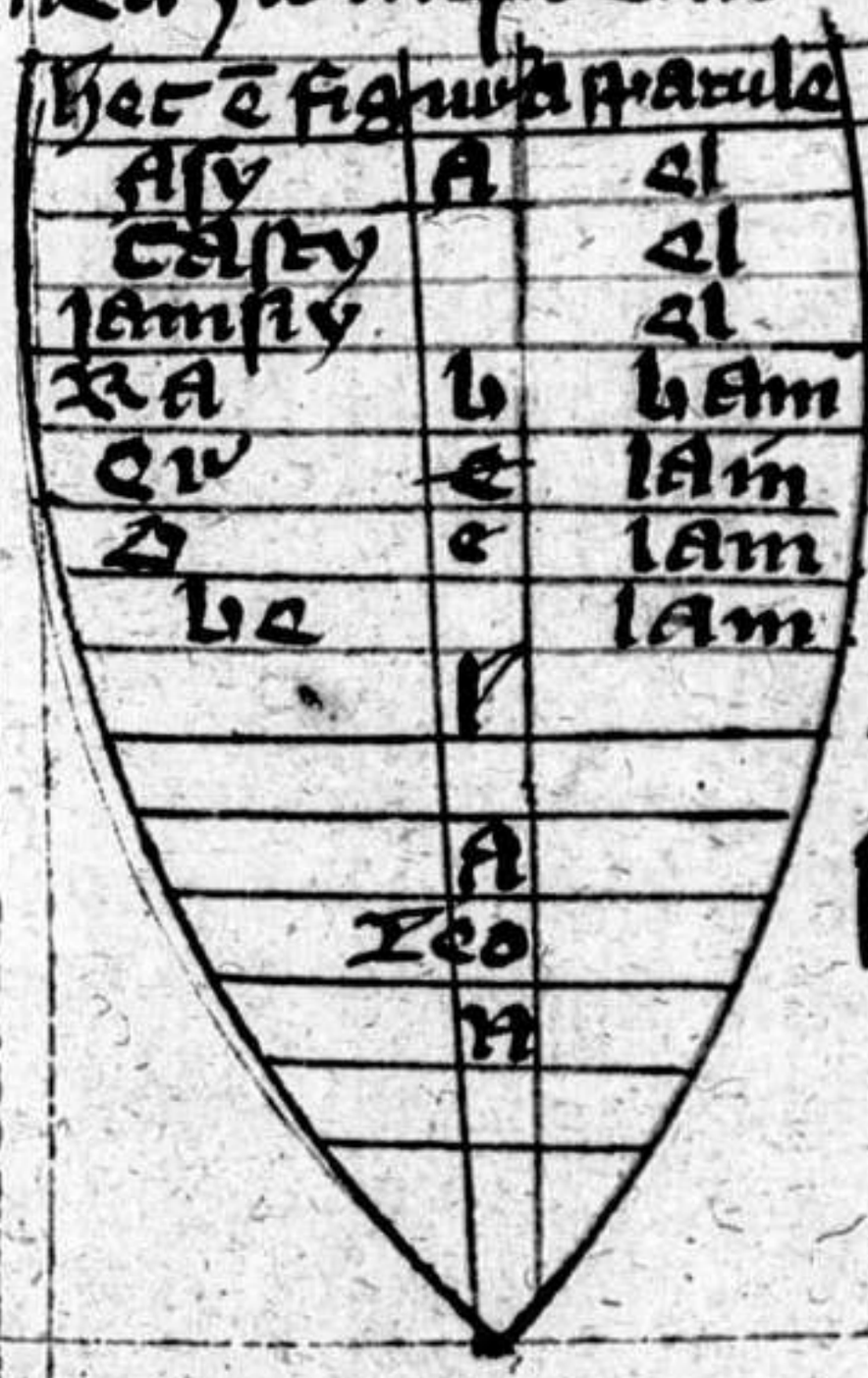
+ Pro hoc experimento q̄ stringit homo
mulierem. Vir. pt. herba cuius q̄
dicamis existat. Hec nota in hut mo q̄
sint scripta in patula. Postq̄ hoc to
tu ad implatu fuit q̄ vis aliquem ꝑ
si aliquem ꝑ stringere a volūis sc
ba nam arg in patula mitte. b. z a.
z i nota q̄ a bal. ℞ i aliq̄ horem
q̄stringere volūis scribe nota illig
me. l. z a. ℞ ii o aliq̄ herba q̄ strin
gere volūis scribe nota arg in tcr. a.
z a. z colorem arg p̄ pnibus vero
aliq̄ horibq̄ z q̄ mutandis agendum
est ita ꝙ in eadem hora in qua ex
pleta patula fuit albatros ibi opor
tet vt in pumis pq̄rant lingua ex
pina alba vt lingua q̄ vagant in
aquis z fiat inde igne carbones
que collige z in olla nova mitte z
desup paulati pone patula z pau
latim augmentando igne donec pa
tula calefiat z fiat in vota pdcs
ptes z dic hanc q̄uocatione. Asy el.
castiel. lamisiniel. vabam. Cilam.
bolam tibi vobis aliquo ℞ i vel aliq̄ horie vt
mulier se q̄ vt quod in tuo amore ac
cendere volūis ℞ dicas vt supra in z sc
sequdo q̄ in fine ponet ℞ i vel aliq̄ pnu

+ belam.

BSB

nore illū ffm q̄ vns vt veiat fadre pfec
huilie pulcra fare z blando sermone
dicendo cōmis vos. Assyl. z q̄ vt. M. ffm
A. qui ptra hē sup ome q̄ Alieo qui
vere volo fadme veiue fatiaris pfec
huilie blando sermone dic fouma vt
dixi. si militis pulchrimi fadquirendu ora
que di pape volūo. Et ei p̄ nuo fuit
mulier nolo fare volūs fac ei pus
notū vbi te mvenire possit quia nisi
te mvenier p̄tuy fuerit suo mscmict
pi bestie q̄ndo pdos fuit vt ostī
dent illam bestia q̄ vis ne deloto iquo
ast se remouere valeat donec volūs
Assyl. Capiat. lamsiyel. vadam. civitā.
dam. videam. Ego vos q̄ndo pdm vep
pdm vīm qui vos creauit z p̄ eum
qui adam z euam formauit z p eū
qui mare circuit. Avidam q̄ fundauit
qui fabricat angelos suos ffe z mistos
suos ignea virtute qui nouit ea q̄ no
sunt sicut ea q̄ sunt qui hic clauis mon
tis inferni. ape. m. p̄mo z nouissimo
p̄ncip̄ z finis Alpha z o. z qui vivit
z fuit mortuus z revixit qui vocat
uit dau p̄tan ei⁹ Alphagramaton p
hoc nomen vos q̄ndo z p̄stm z inef
fabile nome dei tetragramaton.
z p id nom q̄ nemo nouit nisi ipe

qui e vbi dei ꝑ hec nomia dei. Hely. heloy.
heloe. sabaoth. dhion. Adonay. sadday.
de ꝑ oia nomia dig ꝑ ipis virtutes ꝑ
omes virtutes celoꝝ ꝑ quibus vos qui
ꝑuam ꝑ filiu ꝑ ſ. ꝑ ſcam tnitatem
ꝑ vnitatem dei ꝑ ꝑ vilia coronā
p dns nr ihc xpc m suo capite hunc
de ꝑ hac vita mala vt nugis ꝑ ho
ꝑ ista nomia ꝑ omes virtutes adyde
ꝑ ꝑ ista quinta ꝑ ꝑ pio vobis vt ista
tim ꝑ tibi ꝑ valeat ꝑ sine mora fe
ducatis cor ꝑ meam. A. m Amoueby
mau ꝑ sicut hec ꝑ tula celesti ꝑ
mandit ꝑ ita illu vt illa. A. m candi
tis ꝑ celestialis ign mei Amoris
ꝑ ita vt nugis quicquid valeat dom
mea Admyleuit voluntate Amore q ebet.



Item Nota q ista
tula supdicta
debet esse Asini
na vel leporina
vel Ansalina
vel Caprina
secudu diuersos

BSB

Et equu hēas ad crundu quo vns respica
ad eum versus orientē flexis genibus
iunctis manibꝫ et si aet in cauea dic
cū magna fiducia ꝛ ave fiu missa obtīa
dī ō filiissime ꝛ benignissime vox orā
tis exaudi orōnes meas ꝛ clamor meꝰ
ad te veniat offiant aures tue intenden
tes mi voci deprcatois mee ꝛ nobilissiꝫ
eidem maiestatis tue. te mi voco ꝛ ad
huc ꝛ illu dnm q tones diligis q fidis.
ꝛ fiat ꝛ legem legalem ꝛ ꝑsem ꝑsen
tem ꝛ ꝑ karitate karitatem ꝛ on̄. el.
ely. tetrici matoni. q a nome altissimu
ꝛ. ꝑ loca ubi sedes misolio magne nobili
tatis tue mitta ad me ꝑm ad eum quo
in eo valeam adipl̄i q apta q fit ve po
tens ast Dna ꝑm mitte ad me nuncꝫ in hac
hora tua magna protatia in omib ꝛ ꝑ
dna sit obediens ꝛ legalis et deo te
dne mi voco ad eo ꝛ laudo nome tuum
in atnū qui ōnians deꝰ benedict ꝛ glo
riosissimꝫ ꝑ infinita secula seculoꝝ Amen.
Et ideo igitur deo sapties dic audacit. volo
ad te ad talem ꝑtem ꝛ statim veni. et si
volus ffus ut equus ut dormiendo ut ri
gilando in aquis venit dic Comodo te
dm qui ascendit celu ꝛ terram mare et
oīa que in eis sūt tam visibilia q̄ in vi
sibilia ꝛ spū timoꝛ dñi no
ffiquo ut periculo seu ꝛ angustia mei cor

ponis & fac ponitas ma ſuauit & daponas
ma ſna aliqua laſiona ynti vt futuri vſq
ad talem loci ſuauit ma dapontis cu em
dapoſuerit ta vbi affectabis dicas humilit
gratias tibi ago ꝑ vndis q dignu ma fati
ſti mhac pca mea & ptanta gra & bona
fama mea & ma tibi affavo ſeruire & ſam
& eu tuis abadria mandatis bndittu ſan
ctu ſit ſanctu nom tuu ꝓ ognatu ſup omia
ſeculd ſeculoꝝ & tbi atia gras ago qui
& gnatoꝝ nomm altiſſim dri ꝓme fati
ſtis dignatꝰ es & onde adloru ſeruitu
& fletu tue ſeuero & filiſq ventu & dic ſca
mentia ora ꝓnobis ſm magna miſeri cordi
am tuam cum gloria qui totu ynmang
tuas due gmoda fim & tm & cooꝑ
mei dns deus qui omipotens iudicet
me & oſtea fac talem tiu tulu vt mſeri
dignabit

quone in ollam sapientionis cineris et fumus
ejus in aquilone igne tu sola in occidentali
flamma et calcan et sede in medio cui
cubi et vertex tu vide sapientionem et
et voca vocem nubium nore Bautha. ut
mittat eos de ductu qui hic passe michi
nubibus et ventis gressus gaterim. Baltim.
Baltym. Gahim. qui ducant te Absq la
sione et Absq periculo tui corporis et ultime
fidelem qui voluerit eo tunc ejus ibi
tibi quia nubes et de ventibus ollis exibut
tres alie olla dicens ascende ascende ascen
sende tecum aut mecum ita et tu gaude
ria vasa sallam mihi et dicas et fac tu
videbis bathadiam in medio nubis et
tu ascende illam et dic voce Bautha.
et ducet gaterim. Baltim. Baltim quem
tata me placabilis sine timore et sine
dimato et periculo aliquo mei corporis
et anime vsq ad talam locum et sumit
me lanata et sumit me de manibus
tu voce Bautha. et o vos quatuor gat
tim. Baltym. Gatyma. vos potentes in vo
ce tua et velocis me ductatis usq ad
talam locum sine omni timore et periculo
mei corporis et anime et adhuc vos in vo
ce quinto potentes et excelsissimi angelorum
nomina altissima qui in aere sunt potestas
Astrefal. Emedel. Emethdi. Semgal.
Symmedal. Venael. Garbon. Seutan. Ty

volay. taneyn. terregay. garvalon. Gema
loy. tubiap. ficary. oysay. Austavon.
Bovaal. Gameloy. Gendan. Gyuvo. Eva
ly. Anvavia. Gubsaloy. Grego. Afonar.
Zaphirim. bovaath. baolthonay. Affonar.
Athyo. Eurgal. Faudyron. Si mihi vos
mvoo Agnus Axovbigo Agstumgo
ut sua mova varatis Ad me existentia
in hoc loco Multa mia suauitas Banig
na defatis Ducatis Ad talem locum
sine ai timova lesione Periculo mei cor
poris Ac alia sic fiat fiat Sima Vada
satvus Ano timeas Ap Prabut ta quo
voluis si forta socios habeva voluis
mvrdet in opa. oz qd sitis mpavdas tin
gloh noia dicas. S. Gamagilatalya.
Gabalaay. Gavotbi. Gavamey. Cerv
Vall. Tryanvax Eo sic via potavis m
dog Stam Tarvam Sarvus qvoluis
Si qua tibi forta nocava valuit vel
Attaquaut Si qua sagtatonali sanse
nis Bathediam dasandava dic
Balthym. ta mvoo qvio Agstumgo
ut vidicas me dagsto qmihi nocava
tayta Ayh. sayta noia qmaiog pote
sata he. S. Clagaly. Stygaloy. Galyon.
Balaia. negala. Satgaloy. Guitgalvey.
Statim vaiet tayestas sua du Actias
Sivo qua ocridentali quis tibi noca
tamptauit dic Audatter Galtim.
qvivo Agstigo ta Aqista sayta noia

BSB

·ſ· ſalvegyol· ſalvely· ſlatom·tymalyy·6z
hatal· tybocl· 6altym·fiat·ut·ſit
a·luuiã z nubes ſup illũ mẽ q̃ non
a·poſſit videre nubem· ſi vo q̃ra
a·hontali 6z tẽptaꝛe volũt· ſic vt
ſtis 6altym· baltym· ꝟiſta noia· ſ·
flegaly· ſtygaloy· makyon· bauhaig·
ꝟagala· ſegaboy· guitiſaloey z cadat
tonitua ſ̃ſ̃llum z nubes z tẽpa
ſtas ꝛel me tẽptaꝛe no audeat/ ſ̃
fouta mꝛia videꝛe ſup te tẽpeſta
tes ut ſ̃ſ̃uetas aut aues aut alia tꝛa
ꝛibilia q̃ fouta ꝓ̃ſſ tẽpeſtũ· Dicas
D·tu ꝛo· bauthaan· ego te mꝛoto z
ſuno z ſ̃ſ̃ngo ꝛe ſ̃ſ̃pꝛonis z fouꝛis
ſ̃ſ̃ phꝰ noia· ſ· alꝛogan· ſagauꝛadho·
pitaloꝛa· ſiꝛgonay· galalſay· ꝛt
hꝰ ꝛubilia faꝛas ſ̃ſ̃ꝛi ꝛamouaꝛ
tatim dꝛe hꝰ ſ̃ſ̃ꝛbꝰ ſine mouꝛa ꝛa
ꝛde z ꝛltꝛa no habꝰ ſ̃ſ̃ hꝰ cꝛu
culus dabat ſiam ſdipeud q̃ z of

d ꝛiꝛendum ꝛſatmis q̃ ꝛis ſcꝛibꝛt
hꝰ ꝛoꝛa ꝛi ꝛtꝛa ꝛuſ̃ginꝛa tu no
ꝛinibꝰ illꝰ dies ꝛ hꝰ modum ſicut ꝛ
ſeꝛꝰ ꝓtabit ꝓ̃ſtea pane ſub dexꝛa
aurꝛa q̃ ꝛadis dꝛmitu z ꝛidebꝛſ q̃
ꝛus deꝓbꝛtaꝛ ſ̃ntalꝰ z futuꝛꝰ hꝰ ꝛ dñ

uulnerato q debz fieri ſuꝑ cultā. O. vos
gloriosa nora ſūmi dei cui ois ꝓtia
ꝓtia z futura ꝓtia ſut Rogo vos
ego ſaluus z ſubditꝰ vr q mittatis
mihi Angelos vros qui ſanctꝫ ſunt
in ciꝰtulo isto vt mihi reuelent de hac
re q ſū talem vdm at dei tuꝫ vir
negotiꝫ q ventuꝫ erat z h⁹ diuat tui
bus virtꝫ z vndabis q q vis ꝓtem
tam dei hic erat cultꝫ q debz ſibi tribui
dominꝫ

⊞ Agla ⊞
⊞ Michael vicꝫ di ⊞
⊞ Gabriel fortitudo ⊞
⊞ Emanuel ꝓpitius ⊞
⊞ Raphael medicina dei ⊞
⊞ Alpha et O. oh ely ⊞
⊞ Tetragrammaton ame ⊞
⊞ ⊞ ⊞ ⊞

Ad equū hnda Bꝫ ſcribat in hoſtio domꝰ
vatua in ciꝰcuſtodia noctꝫ mouea hꝫ

BSB

bñ ayco hec noia cu sanguine vespertilionis
trudicha. stalycha. alycha. diuco. ganio
do. ypatron. gnulg sapis vocade modo
cu aloco post hora qua vacuaris a me
dicis equu ptu q cu volueris ascendere
hoc sñiscu poderis adscuqua a dicha
gnulco comunco te eque boa ptuecatoria
talia tua a pille q tibi dauit vniusa zoia
adlaude z gloria sui nois z pdm vnu
z pdm sem z pdm vcu vt no mtolo
pdca nec mi fiat nc mmo melo meo
de albe valeas nc mi aliq me ptuibeas
me. ad loch talem da sas placide hi
laritate iocunde z velocit alsqs omi mpe
dimeto damde ascende audatter et
sacue cp- dno tibi nocia non potest
signo de cuctis no tasignalis q2 ipm
fiz fugalis cu aut pueris adloch pri
nominatu descende de equo z stolpe
fiam z absconde sub terra q alto
aut tuo negotio vocaris fidem ac
cucta fidelissime z statim vocet cu
aut ascendere voluoris ac pcedat
tam cautionata z het tua via
castelya. alogo. yeras 24

Ad mictus pectulu flovon fiat sicut
pectulum de puvo calibe sidne suita
pelline vnius mvbtuds. habeat p ma
nubriu sdtrenendu z sit illuidatu z lu
cidu vt ensis sit p sem minone flovem
z mavcuitu ista pectuli ex alia pte no
tuada smt het dcrm nona cu hiis de
am cehi attabib9 descripta z nome ds
ydei sit m medio scptu post quam fuit
sem m loco sacvato vngatuv de puvo bal
samo expta lucida z subfumigel scalit

cum ligno aloes. ambra & muscata & oli
bano albo. hoc facto magr huiusmodi
sedens faciat ipm peculum teneri p
manubrium cu ambabus manibus pueri
virginis sancte pectus suum & ipse magr
sit baculatus etia mudis vestibus indu
tus & sancte mitrial exercere hoc
opus malefac & simul equalit infimi
mixtu in aera aspiciat Dicendo
Florion in peculo sic solutores ape
rel tirassis videas hoc dco hanc invocatione
conjam peculo lagat // Brsmilla. guaracha.
mam. bismissa. gassim. gisim. galisim.
Demogosim. samaraosim. Salim. Ausim.
Caxavim. Zalosimi. hyacabanoy. illeta.
Caytimi. Hahalmini. bacoymi. chomar.
laminas. Vnuchomiy. Zorimy. nabalanor
Azaruthia. thachicat. hinaladon. illemey
saud. hucacf. illemegiptim. sitagiatim.
vitace. hamtamicz. tatiala. calcavini.
Alaoht. halayeu. gaycameturij. mouto
avfail. garbel. huabaton. albical. huala
pin. halmagulia. hualaon. huastanie.
hualtamamech. hubatonzon. illemie. gip
timi. catgnie. gathegrite. Casuma. Casa
nim. Apcasala. albuzoahit. villach. alfand.
vsamach. Aptisila. Abfluvavch. villach.
Anc dulamordalia. Hahysitim. Valelas

hohimi · caegina · cachiegineles · miabola-
mini · abcasile · albiwahich · alleach · hala
maton · anita · gaycatalon · hugia · grey-
soza · camaselis · phalmowach · bathachwa-
hiaba · lagis · illamaanimimigaligina ·
gachagina · lesmiwapta liba · albiwalch ·
Ulalich · Dicta vohac quiwdatioa magis-
mpetulo gpritat z videbit militem suma
tum in equo sedentem z suamigaw suum
comitantem secu qui milex de equo descen
dat z suamigaw arg equm tenebit cui mi
lites sic dicat se deprecatu decentissime vi
sibilitaw giwationg · et tut magist ipm
mterwogat de pticis sptibug z futuris ·
z ipe gtinua cto septo mterwogata plenig
nsinuabit · Non dwgo tibi mtwadibula
re qtuor fuerut huius apis gwtisex q2
dam nouies ista pfatis idem ppt malefa
ctor uniusa qpus pscpta nsinuaweritt
awa ad os viua voce · palificando denu
ciabit · Cum dwgo tutta ptuo velle pfe
ctuis · wde ppm tu pata pcipa vt iwadat
z iuxta pcaptu sui dni wdeat tu fuit
vocatus ·

Ac mapit pcetulu flowon · z aliomo qm
suu sit notatu qm uis tu aisde wagulis
fac fieri pcetulum depuro calibe ad ma
sura palma uni mwotudo z heat manu

BSB

vrtu ꝺ adtanedu ⁊ sit illuiatu ⁊ lucidu vt en
sis. Sit ꝑ stm in honore ⁊ in oie ꝓuum
in saluor ⁊ mirtuitu ꝓtuli ⁊ exalta
ꝓta no lucida sint .10. nora cu data penac
tib⁹ supscripts vt patat in ꝓtulo
⁊ hoc nome florem in medio sit stulp
tu ⁊ ꝓst ꝑ stm fiat in loco tali sarva
ta sic sas vngat ꝑ uuo balsamo in pte
lucida ⁊ sit subfumigatu hiis ꝓtib⁹ sali
gno aloes. ambra. in uua. ostendat
⁊ albano albo. Hoc sto magiꝰ huiusmi
sedens faciat ipm ꝓtulu teneri ambo
bus manib⁹ aliqui quo vuqi antequa
tus sua ⁊ ipe magiꝰ sit ꝑmo balneatu
tus ⁊ mundis vestib⁹ indutꝰ ⁊ albonus
aliis modis vt bn nosti ordinauꝰ ante
quam incipiat hoc opus extraie mal.
lat ⁊ vnu. mixta aggent in aere ⁊
magiꝰ ꝑdom stm ꝙo non aduocat
vt in ꝓtulu sicut solitꝰ a veniat et
vana responsa dabit interrogatis.
ꝓtta scripta vt vana rndeat. Hoc dicto
magiꝰ quindecim ⁊ sequenta caldeoꝝ
libꝝ scripta ꝓiagat hoc mo Bruismassa.
cassini. gessini. gaissini. gtagossini.
samalaasini. uaxini. gtini. cauaxini.
mauaxini. sabahini. hauua. bauow.
allagaliz. alicasti. alaud. haletum. ha

maymon. Ryaleymon. bippelmi. bwiste
delimy. hybelim. bycho. yhen. bychoimin.
chosumel. lonym. lontnti. couvimnum.
vidalanow. Atheiztatat. hyachet. huya
zalon. vothaf. illamegyptu. bwagychi
us. hyonica. hamica. hamenica. conolaw.
ganstuexmi. Alouyoli. helytu. gayta.
memetu. montoro. lazyabal. hubaoony.
Albuetal. hyxalequini. Almagarke. hu a
leon. hyaltanixe. hudlenyefat. hustosow.
Allemagitu. cagme. sacogyne. tamymi.
Tefymaybdo. Abtysilchi. Alluhuair. vakhat.
Arufawd. huzeniecht. Aptihle. Abrmewahit-
Ullchach. Anzebula. mowabe. baliou. wwa
lesuou. caagyna. lasmywo. walanu. Apta
hle. Asugnachacht. walleach. hyamacha
ron. hyabra. gaytacalon. hya. yagapolo
zol. qhalmolmeth. bethauwa. huaba. laygy.
Illenietantu. caygme. owagme. dawagu
nales. mywaptalile. wlleytith. sethaha.
Qz/ magist mpiciat m petulo z videbit
milite Awmiatu m aquo sedentē z Awmi
gatu suu comitata setti qui miles d'eq
descender z Awmigauo eq tenebit
cui militi sic dicat peta m silitio gytio
mon. qui magist mitioget ipm dep
tuitis pmtib z futuis z ipa gtinulo
cto sqto. ttatioogata plenchie inti

habit no sit igit mirabile tibi qd
filius huiusmodi artifex q.c.q. pdicta
facias: idem fit qui pus manifeste mi
nuatur pima posta vna nocte p
extatu. Media di hora ova ad os
ballificandos denutabit et cita omia
que subtitulo luna sunt et cita m
teria et sup teria visibilit et aqua
et pteria demonstrabit. Curgit cuita
ut facias pcipue ut musca no edat et lux
ta precepta magistri qtuor horas vota
tus fuit q festinans venit et sme mora
Nota q.ro. nota cu suis cavillationibus
debant sculpi in petulo p ma die veneris
luna cu dextra et alia petulu eadē die
debet fieri. Et si no potuit exiroto pos
sit eodē die veneris q debet ut p ma
die veneris et semp luna cu dextra. Vi
debit bn sculptum ut habeat q no sint
soluti luxuria p.q. dies. Anno accedat
ad os q sint et iam balneati et loti et
mundis vestib mdutivt sic

tam secundu alia modu in quattuor
veneris et ponis vade ad locu secretu
ac secretissimu ut in fra assignabit
et habes tecu candelas accensas et
tria tecu petulu calibeu immundu
et politu fm luna. q. vt. n. vt. mu.

Et ꝑsequi dies reꝝ nabis Et tu que
res volus vade ꝙd locu vt ꝓpꝫ dixi t
ibi fac tuculu z fige ibi ꝓpꝫ tulu ꝓpꝫ
dum ꝓpꝫ lignu ꝙdmodu cultalli fun
Et dicas hec verba. Ardis prche.
tribus. Gotuvas. Bavuth. Colutax.
garyn. Zuent. hismuia. hauuel.
fuganos. fuvtym. favndi. favuc.
couualis. bosuo. zaladas. pasapa.
phuua. tuph. Tu qui es dauid
ha z a. fac hoc ꝓdictu ciuitatua
clauasaua domat ad visu meum
ꝓficiat h' nō ā defacto Et aqui
nuiado cōuo tu ꝓdau z par
tibus puos sydvat. mysaach. z ab
denago. z ꝓ tuas magos cappad.
balthasar z melthior z par tuas
ꝓuincias. Abuabam. ysaac z iacob.
Et pillu tui nomē a theodon. lien.
elyon. uauguto. x deus fortis amq
nuel. cappad. cappan. cappad. cōu
ꝓian. asnal. Et dic tibi uia ut
videbitur tibi clauesaua z ciuasta
ua Et apparebut tibi multi ꝓpetulo
dingū mcampo. Et ut mquire sequa
dequalcuq re q voluis z ꝓficient
tibi Indebut ꝓpter ꝓmā aut vitam

BSB

Antiqz vñ vbiqz vig ñ seruato tñ
lato hoc facz potie dñz vñ supdca
hoc ani pceptu tibi ḡ seruabit Ad illa
q̄ tu vmq̄ plus affectaſti ñ cultu no
bilissimo de tribꝰ milibꝰ ℭ nō q̄
dñz cultuꝰ z dei cultui dñt fieri q̄
nubes non ꝓualuerint q̄ si posted
ꝓualuerint nō est timendum q̄
℔ est sunt /2 of

Iudeas m̄ vene vna catta nigra natā m
mese maij z exuiscoua eam coude tuie
mie netta tuc ꝓsade coū tu cultello q̄ sit de
ueneſſo z otulo z cuic dea catta tu lodon
cultello z ipla ſ fontanna octoꝝ semna cuꝰ
dem yeuba q̄ alyotpia dicit vñu mocto dexꝑ
ꝑ illud ꝑsimile z tatu m coū semꝑ ꝑ vl. addic
do Bapsdy. Tempsones ſ anpsanay m visi
bilis fiat ho z rōpile da tora z sepeli da m di
tu tuo q̄ nemo mtiat z da rōga tu ſagine
huano z ad̄ ḡmissas hoc ḡtinuado p. xv dies
vsq̄ q̄ dstit herba Albatung ſame suo ope
ꝓ illa vba rōpetdo stas tn q̄ tibi herba
dabit ſame ℈ guanu vnu bom q̄ quadt sic
tu dorta tra z rōpitedo vnu gnu post illud
ꝑatulo z ponas ora gna i ore tuo ſ lingua
tua z im ꝓ hsidebꝰ gnu illud q̄ ꝓmiſi mo
tui z si mqtiqz gno posito iorta tra vida na
ꝓtr ꝑ ſpecto ſtas d̄ da bom z vtle q̄ta z ſ

Hd fugtu mveiendu ✠ cultellu cu manubrio
nigro et albo ✠ facies circulu mittes di
cendo hec verba Deus qui corda fidelium
et ✠ quide nos famulos tuos ✠ ens
hodie sti tui ✠ hanc ymaginem
et magistrum tuum et cu eo in circulu
et accipiat magist aquam in qua ✠ cultel
lo hoc signu ✠ hec nomina scribat sup eu p dcos cultel
los hoc signu ✠ hec nomina scribat sup eu p dcos cultel
adonay emanuel. s. deus fortis scs. al y.
scs. dyon. scs dns de. sabaoth. mirabilis
dominus alpha ✠ o. fiat quo scpto fiat
p ras luna ✠ in angelis desup scribatur
et pena galline nigre ✠ desim scribatur hoc
modo dicendo gru nu ✠ tot cu tyriet xpe
leison tyriet theos vivus xpe filius qui
fidelis magus magno ✠ atq; fiat finem
exaudi nos deus virtutum gru deus miserere
re nobis scta maria ora pro nob scs michael
hab ora pro nob scs raphahel ora pro nob scs
johes bapt. petrus paulus ora pro nob omes scti
✠ scta ora pro nob. tyriet xleison. tyriet.
xle audi nos hoc vo sup scriptu primato
dicat magist in auriculo pri quinquerone
ista quino tempi pugg ✠ filia ✠ ffm som
cui ame nom flectit ✠ ois lingua pclama
mat. osanna/ quino tempi scam maria
sam virginem ✠ angelos ✠ archangelos
✠ xviii. apostolos ✠ p. C. xl. mlia martyr

qui p̄ nos et p̄ nr̄a salute descendisti de celis et incarnatus es de spū scō ex maria semp̄ virgine factus homo crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub pontio pilato passus et sepultus tertia die resurrexisti a mortuis ascendisti ad celos sedes ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis inde venturus es iudicare vivos et mortuos et in spū scō dñm et vivificatorem qui ex patre filioq̄ procedit qui cum patre et filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur qui locutus es per prophetas et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum et vitam venturi seculi amen

Ego te adoro deus meus et deum patrem omnipotentem creatorem celi et terre qui me fecisti et redemisti et omnia que in me sunt tibi commendo et peto ut me custodias in hac nocte et in omni tempore vite mee Ego te adoro filium dei unigenitum dominum nostrum ihesum christum natum de maria virgine crucifixum mortuum et sepultum descendentem ad inferos tertia die resurgentem a mortuis ascendentem ad celos sedentem ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis inde venturum iudicare vivos et mortuos Ego te adoro spiritum sanctum paraclitum sanctam ecclesiam catholicam sanctorum communionem remissionem peccatorum carnis resurrectionem et vitam eternam amen

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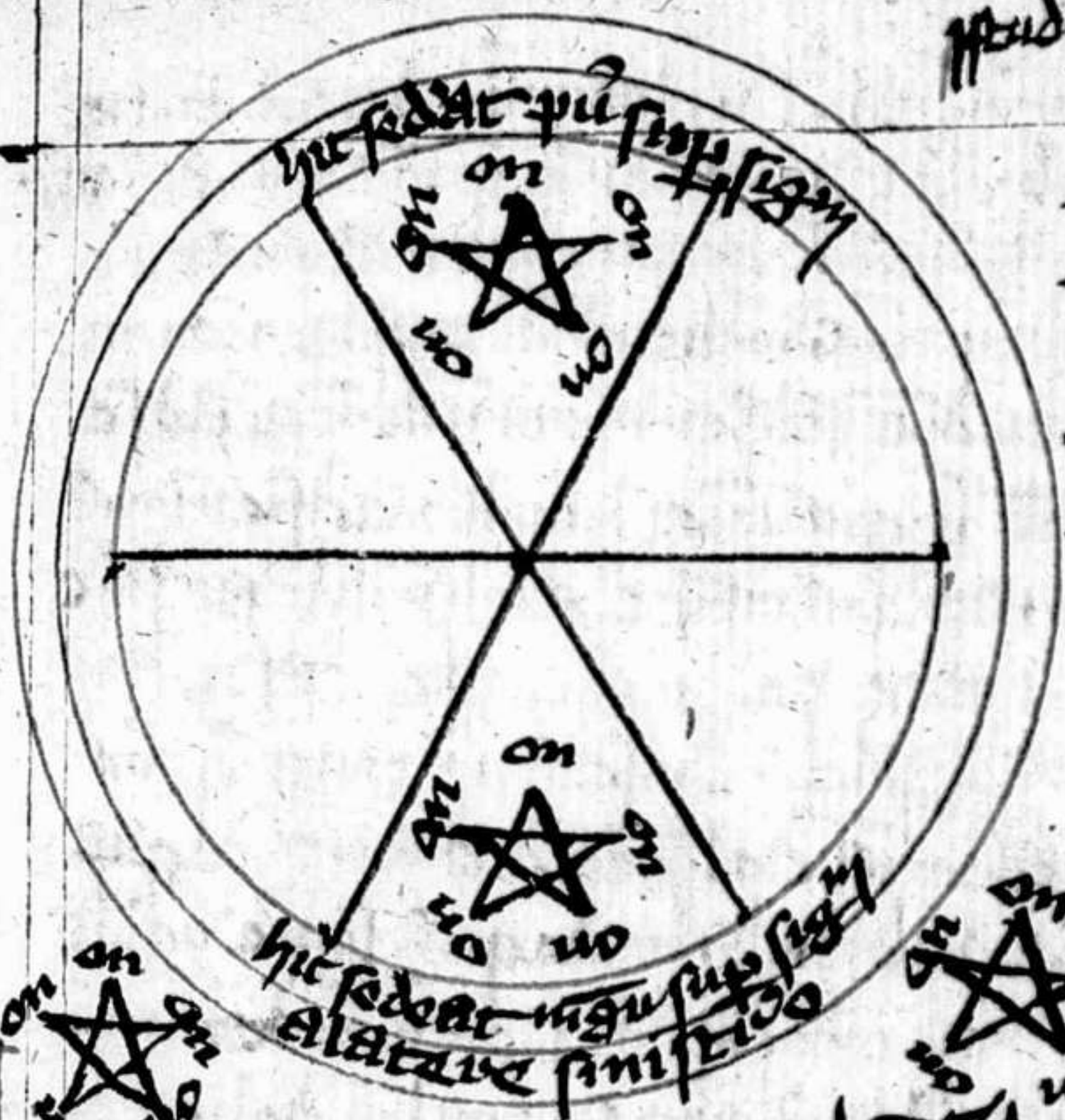
Circulus



Quid est signum

hic sedeat magnus sanctus
Altare sinistro

Hec est primum preculi filii et sanctum
Voce suorum quibus semiorum et horrore
Preculum debet fieri in magisterium sui preculi
et in memoria dum nomen suorum cultorum qui
omnes vos ante Caym fecit in multissimo
loco Convivo vos dominos vt veritatis et
Justitie et dictatis mihi dignetur in voce
nevo vos eam virtute gratie patris et filii
et. s. s. Amen xpc et virtute ymi et baptizet.
et Zelens. Gallos. dimedio. caldeo. os.
qui cottidie stetit calorem ascendit ubi sit
tres dogie ter ut. brevues stetit ut ictu
seculorum in quatuor partes seculi adsanctam
dam totam voluntatem meam ydeni ubi pos
bilit et licitia placabilitatem et affabilitatem
sine tamen et absque toto meffabili pote

BSB

tia deitatis sum vnu mihi vi deu vnitu
te exoramus. Bylet phonorei pris tui Aglaeth.
Agrillud sacramentum q tu nathanael matui
tue fecisti vt mi simlitudie tua & non m
conuenor silitudie adsaumotiandu & adsa
dandu nobistu mquatuor hoia vaqsieuntq
te mpeculo iste placifica sit humilis sit sue
uilla daforumitate ta michi ostendas & am
plig vt duo ut ptes desuus tuus q vo
tam defuncto qua dalsoriadio aut dequa
cuq flia ve dubitabili dequa seuadulo
mihi dent va vnsa vt signa mdei vnu
tue & obea istud vo pceptu debeat
formoui sdmodu clypei vt alio modo
valeus in cuiq grio hec noia depinga
tur Deus scē. ds opt. dei fortis. ds mmortal
lis eu fuit seculi. et cui duo latta sup
cui sigilla salo
monis depingan
tur mardiagn
fne vo clypei
mng sigillu salo
monis & imedio
pceuli hec nom
Bylet depinga
tur aut mihac
pte tabule figuras
que mfra ponitur

on
on
on

postea vo sit alio vnō sit alia pactura
solent tuitudat quo vo feo tacita se
ipsa defau adquadruu vt adsepultu
alicuius hois intesti macipusculo not
tis dieī mētis vt satuī dicendo
hanc guuadoz tonuuo tabylat ac
sotios tuos pialpha ⁊ o ppī ⁊ nouis
simu abiat. tootbos. casia. odeus. o
mala xc. inclito. oni. aly. alyon. messyas.
sabaoth. adonay. emanuel. ō. atanu
bylat. atq; sotios tuos pmutatoz
dñi nri ihu xpi ⁊ pnatiuitate eiz ⁊ p
aduetu pse ⁊ passiōe eiz vt iquatuz ho
ra ta votauo mhoc pcepto m fiyeas
tu tuis sotiis atq; de ve illa de qua si
ve voluo m ea dando vnsa vt signa
dñi acde vo ista opleta ⁊ filia vra ve
nerabilis ad hospitiu tuu. ⁊ ea vo
cada hora ac die adquadruum vada
⁊ accipe pcepta ⁊ tu da ve filio voluis
stua dubitabili ipos ⁊ quibuscuq; uim
dicam vobis q̄ uellas ⁊ quae q̄ q̄ vo
luys ⁊ dicant tibi ⁊

Si vis sawe de omi ve de qua dubi
tauis ⁊ atque pum vuginē ⁊ cui
talli q̄ laua tu vmo dem de sauba
in illo tu oleo oliue hac nomina

Hon · hely · sabaoth · fidomay · het · hely · hc
clory m · sothey · emanuel · alpha ⁊ o · ⁊
vos sanctissima nona vogo vt mittatis mihi
duos angelos ut tres m hut crystallum
qui dicant mihi vitata de hus q ego m
quiwa ⁊ vogo vos angelos vt dicatis
mihi vitata qua ego mquiwa hvoti p̄o
k dicat pū quiwo vos m nore dadeon ⁊
dij egadias ⁊ samsonay · ⁊ exeat magi
ster mei q veniatis m hut crystallu ita
q̄ fiat posim vidwa ⁊ vequetz nora
superius hita donac veñmt ⁊ cu veñmt
dicat nora sup̄dta ⁊ quiwet eos
m nore dadeon · ⁊ dij ⁊ cl q̄ fiat tow ⁊ sup
sedes hiwadas sedeant ⁊ cu sedeat quiw
dicat · ⁊ vos m nore bessabes ⁊ hit at
sexiem · ⁊ sellabom · ⁊ lecham · vt no vata
dams abhot crystallo sma lucetia mea mq
gistri qui hic fms aq

Ymatu crystalli admvendu fiwtam
ficipes crystallu pleamu ⁊ lucadu admo
dum sigilli fm vt dictuli q̄ mea vende
re vna pte vnginea postea scribas m
po cum oleo vnidi hoc nome hondly ·
postea dicas hec quiwet ormpit semp dey
one ihu x̄e filij dei vini qui lapidibo hanbis
p̄dicatoribo vnotutes michi gentissima

invocabiles contulisti lapidem istam. Et per nativitatem
sanctam tuam atque per passionem ac gloriosam resurrectionem tuam
et ascensionem atque per hec sancta nomina tua adonay.
sabaoth. hon. ely. eloy. elyon. honely. sother.
tetragramaton. emanuel. alpha et o. conse
crata benedictione dignus propter tui honorem et
gloriam qui vivis et regnas deus per omnia secula seculorum
Amen. Agla. otmonea. penoneogens. ony
maria. no. abstat. asya. assulca. ni cvonpa.
net cuptes qui ad nos veritatis fiat fiat
fiat sine mora per vos appareant tibi in
cristallo dictas hanc coniurationem coniuro
vos angelos per deum vivum et verum et per na
tivitatem sanctam eius et per eius passionem //////
//// et per eius resurrectionem sanctam et per eius missionem
spiritus sancti paracliti et per sanctum eius adventum et per hec
sancta nomina dei honay. sabaoth. onel. aly. elo
ym. sother. Emanuel ut supra dictum est et
per omnia nomina sancta dei ut non recedatis ab hoc
lapide quousque certificati fuimus de omni re
dubitabili de quo scire volumus in virtute
dei omnipotentis et oberam amen. Notandum
etiam est quod non debet aliquis uti hoc
experimento pro re vili ut modica
sed pro causa ardua et ne etiam secundum
quod dictum est alibi ne sumas nomen dei
tui in vanum nec invocas inutiliter et c

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Sume tibi feruitu mventu gxmpuoussu & fac
tibi fieri clauem huiusmodi facta
due venis & eu fea fuit uepone ea
p notta eu sanguine galli albi in qua
dnm̃ dicas ꝓpter Mayloy Achala e.
scripta sanguine ut nichil gē me & ortia
clauē istam valeat seuꝫ tibi ista clauis
panat & fac sup istam clauē ang̃ prosus
subtꝫ tria hanc figura ✠ B de sang
ne galli albi & dimitte ibi ✠ XL tribꝫ
diebus & tua fuit notta sanguine galli
simili scripta in ch̃ eu transieris vrbem
vacua clauē eu sinistra manu de occi
dentē in orientē ora qui sanctas scripsit.
& dirituꝫ hꝫ clauis plurimis

d fuit mueiendu accipe prius vgine
delegitto thoro hoste qui vis an me
ridie & illiꝫ vngue de pollice sinistre
manꝫ cu cultello bñ purgabis dam de
cedula subnotatis noibꝫ scripta in code
digito ligabis sub vngue & hꝫ fuit notta
scripta. benoham. beatte fuit beatrice
ueruelessym. Aluadessym. Abemidyri.
fuit olinid dysi. medruni. Alhesa hyer
sim. Egrisma. benoham. halsam. ezuo
hiae. bohodi. hohada. Anna. hohanna.
ohyreo. mer Alutaps. Aluageruel Agerhor
Alibeiui. halba. hoc fco & puau no ui

der Aligz ꝛc ꝯ ꝛ aut videt liga cuiusq;
am ouiam q̃ ad tuos missas quas
ꝑ fec audiuisti tecu hinsi supra cedula
tua dignetur dicere hanc quintalorone ad
vos demones qui coram me ꝛ ung ut.
ꝛtq; qui requiratis ꝑ tu q̃ talpha ꝛ a.
volis impo ꝑ ptipio ꝑ quid ꝑ hanc
tissima nomia dly. dey. messyas. sother.
emanuel. sabaoth. adonay. ꝑ q on. p
ꝑ tuu nomꝰ dni ꝓnton tuaton. anecte
ton. ꝛ ꝑ alia nois mihi ognita ꝛ cog ni
ta ut non habetis ꝓtra vacuedi cu uiq;
socijs donet dio cam mea voluta ad
impleuntis ꝛ sme om mdato ꝛ lesione
alicuꝰ. ꝛ si ho fecia q̃ ꝑ seruti rubeo vos
ligatui sulp fundrata aquay mariꝰ ꝛ
hec duo nomia ioth. nabnoth. ꝑ que sa
lomon ostringebat m vasa vitreo de
mones dicuntos ꝑ vij signa sa lo
monis ꝛ ꝑ sigillu ꝛ sapiaz eius ut non
habetis licentia vacuandi hinc donec
dequatuoz ve introgatio michi dicatis
ꝛ ostendatis veritate hui das siquis no
dicat dnvcte dic m fauve q̃ hec co
iuratione cuuo te longo tuuoniste
deu vevu bassyon ꝛ ꝑ nomꝰ on berito.
sabaoth. adonay. cuuo te ꝑ baptismu

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℣ ⁊ cū spiritu tuo ℟ Oremus ⁊ quā te ꝛ̄ regenerauit
gr̄a ⁊ qua ⁊ ꝓfessio ꝛ̄ ut nō hereas ꝓtra te cele
di. ꝑ̄s ois q̄ ue vndis meritis ꝑ̄s ꝙmuta
cumbg tuo dictis ꝑ̄s te expedire no ex
ꝓdiant ꝓ̄ Adde hanc ꝙmutatiōē vos
damones ⁊ abrenūcia ⁊ abscede ⁊ vos de
mones ⁊ abrenūcia vos damones ⁊ abrenū
cio vos damones ⁊ ⁊ssecutiōne ⁊ pacta nos
bis dissoluēmath. ⁊ uthidemath. ⁊ iracath.
⁊ altuamat ⁊ uestrfauat. helybeup. hagau
⁊ subiat. ⁊ ⁊ thetm ⁊ qua ꝙmutatiōe tauda
⁊ u ⁊ q̄tita claue vndebit ꝓuoū omia
hoc etia ꝓpinatu valz ⁊ adhuc si aliqus
bellz ⁊ de ⁊ statu ⁊ micoꝝ ⁊ suoꝝ vtiu esse
⁊ ni ⁊ ⁊ denutiat ⁊ si aeut ꝛ̄ vra
⁊ ni ⁊ ꝙmutatio ⁊ ꝓ̄ corrigia de qua
ram dem ⁊ ⁊ finita missa qualibz die tau
dicas hanc ꝙmutatione ⁊ ꝓ̄ corrigia co
mando te ⁊ona ⁊ hoc nome dm̄ targa
mataon. ⁊ ⁊ hoc nome dei ioth ⁊ ⁊ hoc
nome dei habnoth. ⁊ ⁊ oēs virtutes
⁊ ⁊ tatas habeas ⁊ ⁊ ligandi ⁊ vendicandi
virtute talem recipias q̄ ligas filius
ligata ipi ⁊ ⁊ no habeat ꝓtatem vera
dadi q̄ ⁊ de ligatoꝝ ⁊ ⁊ firmat ⁊ expli
cit ꝓmu cap.

F ⁊ mely. ado custas. ⁊ ⁊ ⁊ ton. ⁊ am

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pri & p nome principis vri sum & coronę
capitis sui p obtem q sibi debeatis vt vti
alijs fabaribus p tribus mudi or occasione pfi
positi & mundi istius pui fugatis & no
bis sine dubio & sine fallacia illud q ti
vobis scire volumus vtatur manifestatissi
me fiat fiat Comito te rungo iuueni
p deum on. orion. sabaoth. Adonay. vt no
bis eas p tota mensem ianuarii calendi de quo
cuq; interrogauero & Comito te rungo
iuuenis p deum tuum Alpha & o. q es pri
mus & nouissimus vt michi vitam dietas
da hac vel da qua te vel quando & ego te run
go p baptis. q vel acquisti in mundi sal & mdi
cordia tui nitatis & castitate & potentia qua
te regnauit ex aqua & spu sco vt nobis
eas potestatem negligentia calendi ut men
ciendi quoq; vidauis & Comito te rungo iuue
nis p patrem & filium & s. s. p sum nome dei
altissimi. p sum tetragrammaton p sca nomia dei
on. ely. eloy. eloe. vt no habeas licentiam
seu potestatem scalandi quoquis scuerus Co
mito te rungo iuuenem p baptis. p sacra
pista de sca cadulite. & castitate & pos
tentiam qua te regnauit de quo
fit sic vt tam cito & sine mora ad te
ueniat mi rungwe istius pui vitatem

nobis ondas Alicia & infans q̃ tu p̃ma
& filia & s. & p̃ma dail claudy dehis p
tuitaḡ matrim. p̃hac nata dñi mil cclxxv
ely & loy. clod & p̃ baptiſm & accepiſti
in nata & ñdiuidue tunitati p̃ma
deitate & ſanctus & o q̃ & p̃m & finis
ut appetas mihi q̃ ita ut ſi deſiderat
deus ut nos & nec mtuoga p̃ueꝛſiuus
uiſſit clariou q̃ ſancta ſi dicat non
lege itaꝛ q̃ nam ſalmitid ſit tua uita
ſi nata fuerit ſi dicat q̃ ſit clariou quia
ſi uideat ſalig ſi dicit q̃ uideat homine
ſanat magiſt huiuſmodi p̃ueꝛ illu q̃
uidet in matutina hiemis ſic tu q̃ ſi
clariam me q̃ uis to p̃ q̃ p̃ueꝛ & filia & ſ.
& p̃ ſtam nativa & ad uirginitate p̃ ſtam
ſohanne & ad uirginitate p̃ ſtam katha
rina & ad uirginitate p̃ amb ſcoꝛ & ſcaꝛ
uirginis & p̃ uirginitate me ſtam ut tito
uadas & uenga tuo & ſalutis & ut uadam
ſtam me ita ut ipſum poſſim exiſſe uidere
& intelligere & poſſa quia & ſi p̃ueꝛ
uerit & no q̃ uat ita q̃ quia ut p̃ us
ſi uerit dicat p̃ueꝛ uadi q̃ deſcendat de
equo ſuo & ſedeat aſſeruꝛi cathedriam
ſuꝛ qua ſedeat tut q̃eꝛat p̃ueꝛ. A.
uadat ſi uelit q̃ medicꝛ & dicit q̃ no
tut de quo uolue q̃as ſi dicit q̃ ſic di
cat p̃ueꝛ uadi q̃ mittat p̃mo ſanctꝛ

Adeptus locu voluit & fecit ym exordia
vt & deoqui & tuc dicat q̄ facias poni
mensam & surgat & lauet manꝰ & sedeat
ad mensam & faciat ferculu poni coram
se & cito comedat ꝑ ꝙ̄ medit surgat
& accipiat aquā & lauet manꝰ q̄ dicat
quod legi q̄ removeat corona de capite
& ponat manu dext̄ sup caput suū & in
vet q̄ corona sua & q̄ caput suū & quod
illud q̄ tenet sub manu sua dextra q̄ va
titinū vndeat & deos q̄stiones magistri de
inde q̄at magist̄ ꝑ ꝙ̄ ꝙ̄ voluit post
quā satisfecit q̄stionib⁹ magist̄ dat ei
librū litteratū & pulcer sic dicat & tu pax
sit mecū nos & vos & ait magist̄ vos
votalius a stote grati sibi obediuē romiby
Hic explicit ꝑ̄m capitm/ explicit ꝑ̄m capitm

De ai va dubitabili acta intenta vani
tate halenda accipe patula fenestra
dextram oleo olive munita q̄ ponendo
sup manibus cultelli in pectore pugnet
ingo. tu vo ex illa parte tenedo candē
lam accensam dicas hoc modo trigesi
mus. quinq̄agesimus. centesimus. ducentesi.
mus. trecentesimus. Ego in nomine dñi nri ihu xpi.
qui & alpha & o. ꝑmꝰ & nouissimus cui
sui & finis coniuro vos demones & ad
vocatu ꝑ eu qui dixit ora & facta sunt & pce

su cui obedunt oms creature & preu que
tremunt oms exercitus angelor celestiu &
terrestriu & infernor & p ipius virtutes et
ei potestas & p medium die iudicij sum
deu & p ipius nomen hec scta on. el. ely. eloy &
donay. alpha & o. messyas. sother. emanuel
pantocrator. tetragramaton. ze. agyos.
theos. athanatos. yschyros. kyrios. alleluia
eleyson. ymas. qui es sine mora visibiliter
in hac presentia quemadmodum scripsistis sancta facta ipius
precepistis & respondestis & demostrastis
mihi veraciter dehac re N. nob dubi
tabilia & incerta. veritatem. breuiter. Dicto.
quasis, sancta. gentilium. libera nos
famulos tuos malo pro me & ista quia
vos demones estis & convenit principes
vestri & p vestram potestatem vobis assumo deos
datam & famuli salomonis & p signa & scta
nomina in ipis descripta & p. vij. celos & p
oms angelos, in ipis dispositos & nom po
tentes & sanctas & infernales qui estis &
sopiam. Dapiam. gapiam. lapiam. quasis. no
ca. calus. fiat. Et iterum vos demones pre
cepit & convenit principis vestri
vestram petita vobis assumo deos datam & famu
los salomonis & p signa & scta nomina in ipis
descripta & p ang dos & archangelos & p ipios
nos & dominacias & principatus & potestates

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virtutes & dyabolum & seruabit & omnes viu
tutes albipi & catu & tauritum & mauz & oia
que mas fuit .xij. Apios & mauritanos &
psonas. Legimus uiduas & puellas &
apias & euangelistas xxiiij. seniores &
.xl. milia mnotatu & omes scos & alios
dm qui fuit mcalo & in bruta q̄s cito & si
ne mora & ascendit mquirtas Apuleyo q̄s si
sic tuc dicat pyrra hac gnuatione tonuit
vos ssc & virtutes dm nr ihu & virginita
tis scē marie & virginitatis scī patrīc.
& scī Xpi & scī Ysaie & scī tarsilie & scī
bartholi & virginitatis scī iohis ēuū. & p
aput scī iohis ēuū. & virginitatis mozim
vt ato milat ppatula Apostatis vt vos vide
at & possim quo ssu viso mfoma humana
nigra & mquina albipo de tua negotio put
mali videat expedit & quo quadrante et
virginitatis rpm ssm ostungata sit
pedo mfra .xij. Anos existens. et pt mane
& mtd quistulo nostris cultu ptrahendo
dictas. Gaton. Anepo. tenet opa hotas.
In nsie pris & fi'i & ssc scī spūs Actiones
nras & qs dne Astruendo pueni & fidūm
do pfecisse & vt tuta nra opa Ata samp
mtipiant & pta capta finiant & x̄pi dom
num spm Deus qui misisti filium suū

Aptos tuos mitte dñe sm tuu pactu sup
ipu puerp z illuia z dauifica mtallom ipis
Acz fiam vt mfu videre possit cuatuar
tuas z nobis reuelare amta vrtate dahat
ra nob dubitabili z mcerta scribat missam
la hat scā nsa dei om. dialoy. adonth al
pha z o. gamallon. actinomios. tatoel
mataon. dum volūs eos litare z sac sig
nu cuntis sup patula dicedo mnora pris z
filij z hat sti spūs dñe audiui fugit
tas fidueie z vitat leo de tribu juda. stirps
dauid ta mpata fidlocta vn veristis po
tois data gluiare z puerp z vnigenitatu
vt hear ptatem videndi pm z no mor
tiendi explicit

Incipit liber vissima de batimma hac nois
dicas m fluuium qui vgis. Cauel. uasel.
Cauel. basel. mistal. ouuochel. fabanin. non.
ua. uatuel. Cuius vos puidam fi z sisi
~~uidendas e iustas~~ z stam mariā vnigenī
p. ix. ordines singulop z puidendas pueros
phetas fidos. z mandatis p os fassuros suos
vnigenitos vt fideatis m batimine isto vt
habeatis huius rei vitate nob indetis
vt no sit mihi filiop mpedimentu veritatis
mista questionē Zabuel. Astana. hyeratol.
cogitate facere voluntate mea z iudeas pe
tastatas hac tua nra seruant m cadula

Deus celi Deus terre. Deus angelorum Deus
archangelorum qui es rex regum dominus dominantium
ac altissimus tu dedisti mihi dignationem vt
quidquid tibi placuit facerem in celo et in terra
potestatem da quoque michi vt omnes
spiritus tibi subditos sentiant ne me
formidine tui nominis quem invocavi
fons lucis. fons sapientie. illumina me
Tu es enim deus solus et preter te non est alius deus.
Explicit

Incipit oratio facta tubalcaym.

Adjuro vos demones potestates regis caspar.
balthasar melchior et potestates quinque regum
midian. Abdenago. vt omnes spiritus huius
quod in hoc speculo ut dicunt Albin. Albyndo. Al
pricola. Albracalos. Ayal. Ayal. Syd. quibus
Ayantibus dicit quod veniat vt faciat et mittat
Spiritum suum Gabriel de celo et de loco
isto tubalcaym et postea sequatur quicquid placuerit
sibi et cetera ibidem dicit et explicit

Ophiel. Zamaton. Anguis. Flouis. Suerth.
Silya. Celbyona. Aly. Aloy. Sadaurdy. Mad
Bruy. Assyrati. Antiochus. In nomine dni. Xpisti

scribadi sit vt in fide doctr. Et q. o. p. c. v. m
nora pris ⁊ filij ⁊ ſ. ſ. Signum ſcē crucis ſit in
fidonta tuo hoc mo signet ta dns ihc xpc hoc
mo signet ta dns sicut signauit mōsenā gl
lilee. Inora pris ⁊ filij ⁊ ſpūſci hoc tm dicā
ylibz vnta signādo fidonta pūm cupallice tuo
dextrōs manꝫ hoc nora ꝑdcā. xij. ſ. bachala ⁊ of
totias vq̄rent quousq; sex ſit q̄drat m
mbm pūm qui pdcō q̄runt pcipiat pueu-
cis in nore pris ⁊ filij ⁊ ſ. ſ. vt ſedeat ac
vnꝫ ad os iudgat qui dat vestā vassonsa q;
ꝑta magistri sui dodq̄ dicat idem

Actuc vestimā fidem q̄ accendas pcendela sup
lapidem alicui ꝑsonā sub pdui desup aliꝫ dilu
dcuata ꝑsa ca pena nouā colligas in pueza
manu aliquo ut cōuo albo quidam illu addan
tam pdui qz vaptiate vestīe pdcā ⁊ vestibus
quos apui volūs. Fac. n. mtingas digitu
medium dextre manꝫ in oleo oliue ⁊ lini
as in frontes quatuor articulos sinistre manꝫ
pūi mascli vngis deinde cuncte digitu tuū
intingas in pulueza ꝑfato ⁊ similr lineas
articulos pūi sicut ꝑius ⁊ sic altrando nut
ci oleo nut ci pulueza donec articli pdci
fiant sicut fuerūt clauo ⁊ vassolandas vbi
vba illa duodecim sup nota bachala ꝑmedon.
⁊ of Deinde ci signaculo fiat ca pūi ⁊ fiat ca
tua si vis dicado mora pris ⁊ filij ⁊ ſ. ſ. sic
nu fca aduc fit in fidonta ⁊ of vt supra.

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¶ Cum fuit ꝓdict⁹ ꝓfect⁹ vis hostiaꝝ q̄ued⁹ dict⁹
ꝓfect⁹ vult q̄ ꝑcutiatis ꝑ mora ꝓtis & fi⁹ ꝑ
ritus signat⁹ ꝓtis fuꝺnta ꝓtiuꝫ & tua ꝑ
vis ꝺco mo⁹ ꝓtis & vbis. Not⁹ cum q̄ ꝑ
ꝓtz ꝓtuis ꝓfect⁹ ꝺlaudra ꝑtis ꝓtuꝫ ꝺuctu cu
cultello ꝑcubuit fuit ſex ilh ꝓ ſup̄ miſſa
ꝓfect⁹ fuit nō⁹ ſcz fi⁹ q̄. & ſ. Antꝫ ꝺam ꝓtis
ꝛdſim & ſub ipa ꝓtuis ꝓfect⁹ exꝑnit & ſ

cedon. Zephaca. eloym. eloyay. venite
et Apparet in ungue ejus pueri subsonum
huiusmodi et rpm ungue fabricatis cū esaie
et clauestra mitem vt suffiat ei fidu
dendu desuper rpm mtaridogelio Comuno
vos qui ptes regas capien. baltasar.
melchion. quibus stella Apparuit Annuntiat
dni nri ihu xpi vt nri. sua misericor
diet vt in ungue istius pueri Appareat et qui
vobis in quibuscumq; volumus nobis absq; falla
cia et ista dubio misericordiet Comuno vos
que q vobis ei ista ptes quos. sydrat.
misac. Abdenago. vt in ungue istius
pueri Apparens nec ppter quo timore ut tam
dovam aut lasiane fabricatis et nos deus
q quotidie cū volumus ctos fabricatis con
uno vos que q vobis ei ista ppter quos et
filii et sis. et p obsecratio ei Annuntiat
et clericulum et seruelum. ppter nos et do
minatio et antiquitas et potestas et vir
tutes et angelos et archangelos et pri
cipatus et potestas et ossa et
ppter et virginitatis et
tota dni nri ihu xpi ppter virginitatis

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Incipit prologus libri sacrificij

Incipit prologus libri sacrificij dicens ad
demonstrandum quod inventus fuit et quid
sit ejus effectus quicunque aliquis opus meritu
fidei velit ut proficiat ad effectum pre
videat fidei puras teneat et queat ne ma
nu apprehendat propriae meritoria quibus
locis aliis possint et magis laudabile
fiat cautissimus qui dei noticia et observatu
et confirmatu ne aliquis operatoris fallipossit
sicut eam et fidem bona habeat et cautela
in dno ihu xpo qui quo ora bona producit
ut testat sacra lex qui no firmiter fide
liter quoque crediderit salutem non potest sic
qui fidelit credit virtutibusque operatoris est
nota ne fallat signis et prodigiis hic quo
ad inventu qui quidam exprimatores demo
nendu. si flo ut primitiva et innocentia
ne scire dei nostri ineffabilia ipsi mirum
virtutis et potentie efficatie obtineat qui de
beat obtinere et sicut in fide declarabit
in aliquo exprimitu rei et potentia suam
sanctam christi Et mo sicut posita de
claratur quae requiruntur nota quod in
ti sunt multa et magna quae et in
tra acta scripta habet et credit de dei

diem ad essem preueria ꝙ nuꝝ preciet
et sic seipos detinent et qua sua amittut
et mdig valz vivtg vniꝝ verbi istoy qua
ponds quid et ꝺ nde dicit malig et sua
sua seculavis potestia. sic ista scia pualz
dilig alíus et dia sha ve exprimta sunt
conuuupta ꝺ ꝺ quam sit sitta et sic dia
pcepta ꝺ ꝺ ihs et diligat pnotatis
padnum ꝓpositu nrm et videamus
qm eꝝ ꝺ ꝺ ꝺ

Ab oib⁹ ab⁹ sondit⁹ ne ab⁹ sit ⁹ma ⁊ ⁹
sio ⁊ ꝑus ꝓpget locu aq̃ bñdet ⁊ br
lib⁹ ist⁹ ponz ⁊ ⁹ tm̃ gulo sacdo⁹li ⁊ stola
dedicata ligz ⁊ ⁹ m modu ⁹ ut⁹ sc⁹tu q̃dꝫ
⁊ flexis genib⁹ ꝙsus ora ta dicat vij ꝑ
⁊ ⁹ patrem ⁊ ou⁹ona sagta ⁊ ⁹ lib⁹
⁊ ⁊ sup lib⁹ ꝑdem dz ⁊ ⁹ tu hum̃li
deuotoe ⁊ toto cord⁹ affect⁹ ut omꝑ
deus ⁹ma ⁊ bonit⁹ sua sc⁹ificet ⁊ benedicat
dicat ⁊ ꝙsecret⁹ ist⁹ lib⁹ sc⁹tissim⁹
noib⁹ sus ⁹signitu ut ⁹ virtute q̃ ob
tinat ⁊ deuot⁹ potat obtineat ut ꝙ
leat fid⁹ sc⁹tificandu ⁹ intulit ꝓpitu ⁊ fid
dei ⁹ inuocationes ⁊ ꝙuersationes ꝓpo
⁊ ⁹ ora filia ꝙsumta ꝓ similit no
hic lib⁹ no ⁹ tat ⁊ hñt ñ ab⁹ ꝓpo de
⁹ no ꝙsecret ⁊ of Katania aut finit
⁊ ⁹ dic hant ou⁹ona hñlit ⁊ ⁹
(ꝓfco ⁊ ⁹ ma ⁹ ñcaria) oratio

Deus ⁹ mei ⁹ ministeriu ⁹ mos ⁊ ꝓpitia
malis ⁹ ⁹ tema ⁹ ñdz ⁹ mea qua
ꝓtaui ẽ: ⁹ no obnegas ⁹ mihi ⁹ ⁊ ⁹
⁊ ꝓtib⁹ ⁹ ⁊ ⁹ tuli⁹ ⁹ ⁊ audi deus
oratione ⁹ famuli tui ⁹ ⁹ ut ⁊ ⁹ ⁊ dic

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invocatus te exaudi me velociter sicut ex
audisti sanctam virginem tuam Justinam
dne clamantem fide et fletus audi vocem
famuli tui Amicti lucis veste michaelem
archangelum tuum ut ostium tuorum ut omnia
crimina et peccata quecumque fecerunt
tue quoque ego peccator libi offendi
contemptu in hac hora ut propitius
michi sis et miserearis mei et exaudi me
per invocationem nominis tui. s. patris et filii et
spiritus sancti ut accepta habeas et placeat tibi
et ostendas michi per invocationem tuorum et nomen
tuum in hoc libro descriptorum huius
et fidelius depcatassie huic ego indignus
cum fiducia confidens ut scifices et benedi
cas libru istu sicut benedixisti virgas
et oliveas istu ut per hec nomina tua sanctissima
dñe. ihs. xpe. alpha et o. eliloy. eloyve.
sitthochich. con. sapmelamaton. ezelphya

ezelphyator.

tra-tr-tri-dagi-dmi-tom. dly-ou-tam. vi-yon. dra-
vi-yon. cru-ystion. y-syon-ng. dmela. bay-syn.
mnoyn. mes-syas. sothey. :: v dmanuela
beloth. Adonay. ⁊ pdicta sancta nomia tua
q̄m hoc libru ḡtinent ⁊ tra vnitute scte
tre sit pticipata corpe nr̄i sit liber ist⁹ ofe
dat ⁊ bndic ⁊ glorifica ⁊ sanctifica ⁊ ꝯsecra
tuta salvamati corpis ⁊ sanguis sui vt
vnitute ꝑ libri ist⁹ debz obtinere effectu
sne aliqua fallacia veritat obtinat ad ose
cuandu vinculu pfui ⁊ ad osecutandu dia
ꝺ̄pmata cordialia ⁊ pfectam vnitutem
⁊ pticipa habeat ad ꝙ sue gsitis ꝓueniat
dno ihu xpo qui sedz mltissimi cum ptu
nod ⁊ gloria ⁊ infinita secula seculo ꝝ
Amen Amen Amen Amen Amen ℣
Dicat ta fili Bane ℍ dicat
ta filio Bane ℍ dicat tre ꝑ sos sme
cta mdula nr̄i dn̄i ihu xpi te bane
ℍ dicat ⁊ sifiat vt vnitute salvamti
nte obtinead ꝙ obtinere debeas. bene
ℍ dicat te om̄s scta vnginis Bane ℍ
dicat te hodie ⁊ oi tpe ⁊ alti dei
om̄s virtutes celestes te bnedicat
⁊ ꝺfendant om̄s angeli ⁊ archangeli
virtutes ⁊ pncipat⁹ ꝺminacones ⁊

dominationes · cherubim ⁊ seraphim · ⁊ omnē
tē militia ⁊ virtutes celorū · beatū seraphim
sanctus ⁊ cū omni
Unā tuā ⁊ ihū xpi Benedicas ⁊ sanctifices li
bru istu ⁊ ofiones ꝓpositū tuū ut
tuū ⁊ ꝓfectum obtineat ⁊ ad ꝙ institutus
est · ⁊ ofirmato ꝓpositū dño ihū xō cuius
regnū ⁊ ipiū sine fine ꝓmittit ⁊ sic in dei vō · ofi
ro fidelis ⁊ seruā ⁊ fructuosos ⁊ in
tuus ⁊ ꝓficiat · ⁊ sic ꝙ · ix · dies quib⁹ li
bru istu ofirmatu · ⁊ quicūq; aliud ofectū
de voluis mandatis ꝓmptā obtemā ordina lege
de · s · deus invisibit cū reliqs sanctis ⁊
in vitā tuū ofitebor debes dicere ⁊ ex
aqua benedicta aspergi ⁊ fig̃ sancte crucis
fronti tuo impone vt deus infundat qm
ꝑt sci fidē quā tuū ꝓficiendū ⁊ sic ꝙ · ⁊ de
inimicū ⁊ nō fallat ⁊ caue prudenter ne
in mentē inspiratū hoc magnū secretū
deferat · ⁊ asseueratissimis philosophis est
magis ⁊ sce dei noīb⁹ ofectū ⁊ si alii
cui exposueris defit detrimentū sm ofectū

Haec ipsud fiat. et sic in dominicis diebus. dabas exaudi oratio mea ut ita conteram te. et dic ipsi et in tuis lectulis tuis et fitabo et postmodum ipsa. Ad dominicas mie dñe deus meus tue discipline anime intende meditationi mee dñe deus salutis mee fiat mea tua dne super nos q admodum speramus in te. sancta dne ipsum non confundam in eternum. intret oratio mea in conspectu tuo. Inclina aurem tuam ad preces meas et dne exaudi orationem meam et clamor meus

Ad te veniat oratio

Deus invisibilis. Deus mirabilis. Deus incomprehensibilis. Deus potentissime. Deus excelse. Deus gloriose. Deus misericors. Deus tu cui nec ego lux indigna et plena miquitatis dolo et malitia supplicit ad tua veniam. Respice et dignare propitius intueri in me famulum tuum. Ecce lux indigna exaudire dignaris clamantem ad te. qui hec egritudo sanctissimis morbis insignito ut virtutem qui obtinet debeat potenter obtineat et adversis prosperitatem qui hanc

dño ne gsecuta miabilit ogiungat vt
tu voluit hūano voluntati obediat et tu
exoptata voluit mundu os ogratulet et
tu voluit dilgat ꝑ sctissimu nom tuu
ꝑ scām. ꝙ. Ihus Ioth. hoth. vel hoc vel
el. el. el. ꝙ a. hel. vam. ꝙ audiu me
a magnitudie gloꝛie tue. et. n. gnta
tua tuam: ignis exurgunt. oīs ꝑ tuk
tis exurto tuo et infinalis tuam et
tuu bat ꝑ ihc sctissima nota tua on Alpha
et ω. fm ꝑ sims. dr. al. aly. alyo. aloe.
elyon. sother. emanuel. sabaoth. Ado
nay. eheye yaya. eeye ostat ꝑ hoc
experimetu ab ꝑstata tuo honoꝛ et gloꝛia
infinita saculoꝝ saculis. Ame. ostende ꝑ
ptus experimetu ostatuda volūs ꝙ prīmꝰ
fidē nr̄ votoꝝ ab primu tuu dirigat debeꝰ
dr̄a excludat dignus clamata fidei ꝙ
hꝰ experimto ut virtute ꝙ obtīe debeat
potent obtineat ꝑ sctissimu nom tuu
ihū ꝑ sic in qualibz ostatibz ut supꝰ
dem ꝙ finitel ostensa possit videꝝ ꝙ
Deus unius ditor oculis qui celu super
altitudinem nubiū excedis et tuam
misa stabilitata sint fiqueꝰ fundaꝰ

et mari terminu suu q̄ p̄ter no p̄terit tibi
qui solem & lunā & stellas in sūmo firma
collocasti q̄ ora in sagena facisti q̄ vij. dies
horez fluy magine plasmasti tua & de
pu tuo mari in profundi q̄ aria tu quaz
spū p̄cellaz creasti q̄ gang huanu in
aqua diluui & diristi q̄ noe & eos qui
cum eo erat in archa saluasti q̄ Abrahā
sublimasti & ad hanc dicē mandū spūisti.
qui loth de subuersione sodome & go
morra liberasti. q̄ moysi in mare rubrū
flamā ignis lotuq; fluctu q̄ populū tuum
de captiuitate egypti deduxisti & ei p̄ter
modu maris viam sicca aperuisti q̄ lagem
moysi in monte sinay dedisti. qui de
petra aquas exiri fecisti q̄ Daniele
de lacu leonū eripuisti. q̄ tres p̄ros de
camino ardati. sine dolore illesos fieri fecisti. q̄ ni
niuen agonē illaesos fieri fecisti. q̄ ni
sussanā ex falsa infamia de falso cri
mine liberasti. ymo de cuncta tri.
bulacōne saluasti. ymo & alia multa mirabilia
pa q̄ fecisti exaudi nos pre rogamus & mi
serere famulis tuis. & da huic expi
mento virtute & p̄tate sup malignos
spūs ad nocendū nobis & ligandū & sol

uendu ꝫ maledictu ꝫ mp̃fundu abyssus
gnitendu si nō obs̄uauerint mandata d̄ni
dñi iste q̄ regas ꝯtus ꝫ bndus ꝫ regnas
p̄ma ꝯta ꝯtoy ꝫmē ō r̄atio

Ostios adonay p̄p aduent̄ ona ꝫ h̄ regē
nerūt ꝫ gstituunt ad ꝯto ꝑpicio mu
tatronū eos ꝫ clamet p̄na vt ꝑ exp̄i
mētu ꝑfecta ꝫ obtectat adcognōdu malig
nos ꝑ sit velut . . . hmilit obediat ꝫ ꝑ
mandatu implesant te mūdante ꝫ iubente
qui sedes in altissimis ꝫ cuncta custodis ꝫ
honor sit ꝫ ꝑtas ꝑfinita ꝯta. oy Amen

O r. pie. on usta adonay. ꝯsurge ꝫ as fons
nia ꝫ pietas. oūgo tibi rex regū ꝫ dns
dnantiū qui sedes in magestate tua intuens
p̄fundu abyssi ona cnans. ona regnes. ona
ꝯtinens ꝫ. uirtute tua moderans ꝫ hones
tly magnia. ꝫ similitudine tua de limo tu
ra formasti vt mihi sit mtlo laudem
ꝫ glorificem. unde ons tibi adorēt te
ꝫ psallat tibi. ꝫ ego licet indigno ꝑ m dicta
mori tuo. unde quiissima ꝫ misericordissime
magestas tua implorō ꝫ tui humili d̄uo
tionis exposculo suppliter vt in uirtute tua
ꝫ gnā dono tuo gsequar ꝫ gfirmant
om̄ ostatione q̄ uocatione ꝫ in uo
cationes q̄ in hoc hibio gtinet vt ꝫ

efficacia adeo mirabilis sit vt omnes obtineat
et prae se gerentes superbos et altivos humiliet
subiugat eis inuocantes et prouocati fuerint
citi exaudiat et misereatur eis vna cum
laude et benedictione offerant illo
et mandata exercitia ad finem illo
et tua laus et eius qui pro eis rogauerit
et impetret pro eis. Amen

Adonay melech. Adonay roheh. excelsi.
Sadai. Adonay. magne cuncta creata sint
et fabricata mira tua et ineffabile bonitate
tua ad hoc altissima nota in voce tua vt michi
postulanti tibi digno famulo tuo. Aduxeri
tui gratiam tuam praestare digneris super has
observationes invocationes tuas altissimis
nominibus insignitas quae in hoc libro describuntur. Am.
El. Eloe. Adonay. Sadai. Elyha. Eo. Ye.
he. yhe. Asereye. eheye. Panthaleo. te
Pantagramaton. Agelpheres. Otazomos.
Onoyteon. Stimulacio. Om. Ely. Aue. mes
syas. Sother. Emanuel. Sabaoth. Yesuet.
Dimelius. Pm. Primogenito. Septem. Vnto.
Gubaton. Oriens. Sol. Splendor. Gloria.
Lux. Panis. Fons. Vitis. Mons. Hostia.
Agnus. Verbum. Leo. Os. Sibi. Salus.
Angelus. Pastor. Sacerdos. Pax. Media
tor. Agnus. Ouis. Vitulus. Serpens. Aries.
Leo. Vermis. Athanatos. Kyrios. Ayos.
Theos. Et hec nomina sanctissima et psalma que

mortuo ne natus tu suppliciter exposcito vt oratio
nibus ieiuniis atq; mortificationibus istis q
gratiam in hoc libro virtute spiritus tui
in virtute tua diuina ad obtinendam diu quam
merita ac in votationes demonum vt obitus
intelligi fiat in virtute tuorum non fiunt ad
votum ac prouitigati. statim mortis
ac prouitigatis voluntas adimpleat ac nichil
nocitas neq; timor te infestantes sed potius
obedientes ac instratos ad tua disciplinam
virtute mandata spiritus fiat fiat amen
Notandu si denuo aliq; asymmetu oponere
volus adpulatiu impone ei dotu. ac age
ipm sicut prius dem dic ac tu egredere spu
xpi ad astrom oratio

Domps sapientie dei qui mortuos oia ciuitat
ti exhibuisti cui obediunt oms tue atque
cui omne genu flectit celestiu terrestriu
ac infernoz q tuis angeli ac archangeli
principes potestates. adorant ac tremunt
qui manu claudis oia. adam ac euam ad
similitudinem formasti ac angelos tuos in tue
bulos superbia corruentes infundi thronis
dominationibus principatibus ac potestatibus
ac cherubin plenos oculis qui sedes addesse
videntes ois potestatis iudicaturus vivos
ac mortuos tu q es alpha ac o. per

Altissimo rex virgu dns dnatu. Joth.
Agla. tabuoth. el. alyel. anay. anatuel.
Suthyel. Amazyel. Sodamel. Agyton. co
lymas. alyas. Schyrbe. Athanathos. ymas.
aly. massyas. Et hec tua sca nomia q̄ alta tua
nomia adiuuo te. et obsecro te p̄ntia q̄ do
mine ihu xp̄e p̄ virginalem humanitatem p̄ baptismu
tuum p̄ passione tuam. p̄ resurrectione tuam
p̄ ascensionem tuam. p̄ aduentum tuum
p̄ spiritus dei q̄ descendit sup te in forma
columbe. p̄ vocem patris q̄ dixit in baptismo
te. hic est filius meus dilectus. p̄ crucem tuam
et mortem tuam. p̄ sanguinem et aquam q̄ exiuit
de corpore tuo. p̄ vulnera tua p̄ cru
cifixionem tuam. p̄ sepulturam tuam. p̄ resurrectionem
tuam dedisti p̄die q̄ passus fuisti p̄ eam
tribulata et miserere mei. p̄ virginem matrem
tuam. p̄ angelos et archangelos tuos
p̄ omnes sctos et scas tuas. p̄ ora sanctam ecclē
siam catholicam et sponsam tuam. p̄ omnes
sctos tuos et sctas tuas. p̄ ora sanctam ecclē
siam tuam. p̄ sacerdotes et ministros tuos
et omnes sctos et scas tuas. p̄ ora sanctam
familiam tuam. p̄ famulum tuum. p̄ famulas
tuas. et benedicito te. et benedicito te.
et rogo te ut exaudita sint ab omnibus
creaturis et ab omnibus mihi adversantibus
deus et tres et quatuor sup angelos tuos q̄ de
celo cecidisti fuit ad destruendu gaudia eorū
et loquela eorū et audiendu. ad cognoscendu
ad solliciendu ad ligandu ad cogendu eos
contra te. ad p̄tipiendu ad ora q̄ fuit eos

BSB

Possibilia & bona mea & vota mea vilo modo
captiua & me timeat pusillitate & miseram
& grauem tua deprecor & pro tua actione. ondy.
Anety. Anathon. vageido. ya. yehay. al.
blamutu. vsyon. usy. aliyas. pona nomina tua
& stas & sodas pfundas angelos angelos pota
tas dnationes virtutes & pnomina & p
salomon fingebat dyabolos & ydiotas
cos thoeth. habeat. mat. fagla noth.
othab. vameth. nabuthi. & pona scriptura
nota tua q scripta sut mihi libro & pro
tua eorpdem q̄s mihi q̄sieris & m
rndere & deorbz ymittere q̄ quam sine le
sana corpis & anime mee pdum nullu
tym. xpm filiu tuu d. t. vi & or. qeio
Pstuu de cal̄s deus vnꝰ m substata. tri
nus m̄ psonis qui fidem & cuncta & pfios
ptes & misisti. & filiu tuu vnigenitu q eos
ptis & crucifigi & mori voluisti clamo
tissime ingemo & vagio & pro supplex
me tis oribz quibz possum & fidei hꝰ & d. xpi
filii tui vt me gratiose & me fidunte
fidem angelos tuos mundos mittat
qui mihi fut pcatoꝛ fallogdi & fatiendi
& valo & desidoꝛ & h. me lesione alqua
& filiorꝫ notimto & pnicia laqdu
heribay & libor & naiꝫ tuoꝝ michi dos
tas & solucndi & ligandi demones sibis
meis & flukibus tuo q m gratissimubile vite &
dispo tue Amen

oratio

Oſumma ⁊ eterna deitas ⁊ vera ſapiencia dei qui te diſponis ⁊ ordinas cuncta tibi ſubdita miserere mihi famulo tuo. Dimitte michi omnia peccata mea. Da michi gratiam ut tibi placere valeam ex toto corde meo et proximum meum sicut me ipsum diligere. Et ea que tibi placita sunt ſcire et facere. Ut corpore et anima mundus valeam tue voluntati obedire et tua precepta adimplere. Et ne permittas me unquam in aliquam tentacionem cadere. Sed libera me a malo. Amen.

Oſapiencia patris omnipotentis que ab ore altissimi prodisti attingens a fine usque ad finem fortiter et disponens omnia suauiter. Veni et ostende michi viam prudencie. Et dirige actus meos et omnia opera mea in lumine sapiencie tue. Et custodi me a cunctis offensionibus. Ut digne laudem et benedicam nomen tuum sanctum. Amen.

Oadonai ⁊ dux domus israhel qui moysi famulo tuo in igne flammanti in monte syna et in rubo apparuisti et ei legem iustissimam dedisti. Veni cum multitudine angelorum tuorum et michi famulo tuo in hac vita succurre. Ut per viam tuam pergam et in semitis tuis ambulem. Et mandata tua custodiam. Amen.

Oradix ieſſe que stas in signum populorum. Veni et noli tardare. Et michi famulo tuo in hac vita succurre. Ut per viam tuam pergam et in semitis tuis ambulem. Et mandata tua custodiam. Amen.

Oclauis dauid et sceptrum domus israhel. Veni et noli tardare. Et michi famulo tuo in hac vita succurre. Ut per viam tuam pergam et in semitis tuis ambulem. Et mandata tua custodiam. Amen.

Oorient. Splendor lucis eterne et sol iusticie. Veni et noli tardare. Et michi famulo tuo in hac vita succurre. Ut per viam tuam pergam et in semitis tuis ambulem. Et mandata tua custodiam. Amen.

Orex gencium et desiderium earum. Veni et noli tardare. Et michi famulo tuo in hac vita succurre. Ut per viam tuam pergam et in semitis tuis ambulem. Et mandata tua custodiam. Amen.

Oemanuel rex noster et legifer noster. Veni et noli tardare. Et michi famulo tuo in hac vita succurre. Ut per viam tuam pergam et in semitis tuis ambulem. Et mandata tua custodiam. Amen.

Oſabaoth. Ecce mitto angelum meum qui preparabit viam ante faciem meam. Veni et noli tardare. Et michi famulo tuo in hac vita succurre. Ut per viam tuam pergam et in semitis tuis ambulem. Et mandata tua custodiam. Amen.

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quorum & voluntate mea & pfice ad
mpledm & michil no[n]tes n[ec] tri
mova mfecerteb & potj obedientes
& mistrantes & tua dispita voluta
mda mea & fiam & me
Deus m vocatione dni mi ihu xpi mp
hoīs & fingno immaculato & in
augustat te & angeli & michaeli augu
st te & michael. & gabriel & raphael.
augustat te tibi & pri & te abrahā.
ysaac & iacob & pphe. augustat te &
pli x̄i & sti & alti dei deprecat & omnes
tue dedie ihovā & i mse & imonto
sc̄o eius augustat & am vos & me vt
bto & sme & aliqua gdiu obedientie
dus meis & voluntat mee subiciat & am
Cus & angelo & archangelo & throno & dñio
& principat & potestat & cherubin & seraphin
vnigenu & coheredu & dei & pri mi ihu xpi.
ivocato n[ost]ro sem tam pdicte magestatis tue
potē: supplex exposco vt michi & huic
p[re]sti & dignetis & ad & ipius & mi sacrā
mēta vt ubicūq[ue] latet & audito nōie
tuo velocit & de loco suo exeat & ad me
festinat & accedat & pmptat tibi
dyabole & de supnis & adibo te in fuio
ra mea & medi[us] ingressit & audi g[ra]. Diij &

ꝯuiuitꝫ ꝙstituat ꝺcede i nõ ꝺn̄i. n. i. xꝝ
tuꝫ nec ſit ire mimicꝰ fideiꝫ geniſ huꝰ
mouſ captatoꝝ iuſtiꝝ delectatoꝝ malozꝰ
uidue ſomes uitozꝰ ſeductoꝝ hoꝝ mgr'
ꝙſtas ꝛ reſiſt cuſtis ta ꝙda uiues tuꝰ
ꝛſtu metue ꝫ iyſtas imolatꝰ ē. i roſcyh
uenudatꝰ ē. i fig ocꝰ ē. i hore ꝯfixꝰ ē ꝺn̄
ſuꝰ ex ꝯtuhatoꝝ ſtudi g. ꝺn̄. ꝛ tiede ꝛba ꝺi
ꝛ eſto mꝰ pat toꝝ negotiis meis ꝙfitiedi ſme

Adiuꝰo teꝝon mea m fiꝝm ꝛ ſ uniꝫ
ꝙficiendis/ coda mihi ꝛ mſtꝝs ꝛ illiꝰ ꝺile
xit te potiꝰ qui ſe ſubiecit ꝰ ciu
is ſuo ꝓtribulo ſubiugauit/ te illiꝰ bua
thui oꝝ ꝺn̄i/ qui beuitto gamtibꝰ m
fiꝝm ſtam ſtabꝰ ſtdiuꝝ ꝙduxit. ſit timoꝝ
ꝫ toꝝ hoꝝ/ ſit ꝫ ſoꝝdo ymago deꝝ
ꝙ ſta mouꝫ ſua ꝝdeamit. n ꝝſiſtas.
riet mouꝫ ſ ꝙquiꝫ mihi ꝛ uelle
mea ſ impleꝝ ꝛ ne mea m miſeꝝ
ꝓtas ꝛ ꝺꝙnadu ꝺu me ꝓtoꝝa ni
mis ꝛ ꝛ gnoſtis ⁊ mpat ꝫ ꝺnꝰ ꝫ m
pat ꝫ magſtꝰ. ꝫ mpat ꝫ ꝺ ꝛ ꝺu ꝫ m
pat ꝫ filiꝰ ꝫ mpat ꝫ ſpꝰ ſtꝰ ꝫ mpat
ꝫ ſcꝝ ꝛ ſedes. ſ. petꝝ ꝛ pauꝝ ꝛ te
ꝝoꝝ ꝛ ꝓ ꝛ ſtoꝝ ꝫ mpat ꝫ indulgꝛtiꝛ
ſaſſoꝝ ꝫ mpat ꝫ mꝝ ſtꝰ ꝫ mpat
ꝫ ſacramentu auriꝰ ꝫ mpat ꝫ mſteꝝ
uiꝝ ꝛ miſſioꝝ ꝛ ꝫ mpat ꝫ ꝛ

BSB

in quo michi ꝟbum tuum dedisti de corruptibo tuis quia te
placuit qui regnu tuum destruxeti qui
te virtu ligauit & vasa tua diripuit q
te genuit in tenebris ut tibi tu unus
tuis erit pactu in tuo ꝙ nec debile
te ꝟbum tuum temeuenit & ꝟba tua
ꝟba aut dei tui & tua statim transgressus
es unde fili i. x. que tepide sustines
& crucifige & pusillanimes quisq; tibi
mors tua persuadebo audiat impiorum
necessitas primi dom. Adimuo te m
nore tuum in matutinis & ambulat sup fi
lios & basiliscu tuu conculcabit leone
& draconem ut conserues fatigas tuo ꝙ ꝙ propriam
gratiam & misericordiam in oratio nore dei
ꝙ in seditione ꝙ celoꝝ uirtutes & po
testates dominos & uirtutes. Alie placete
ut. et timeat & adorent. ꝙ cherubim &
seraphim. mdefessis uocibus laudat im
perat & obumbrauit sum & impiat & mat
rem gratie impiorum & resilis nazareno
qui te cognouit ut cito impleas ora
tua petamus ut iuue & uolumus ut seruos dei
ꝙ ꝙ to tuum ꝙ teneris & tibi propino.
ut propriam suppliti mg ꝙ iustitia
cognoscat. dedic mdie ꝟ exoꝝtizo te
maledicta & medacissime spiritus uerba
uanitatis ꝙ impiorum & primum nazareum

ꝛ̄ēnu agnu ī matulatu de altissimo pro
gressu de sū sco ꝯceptu ex maria vir
gine natuq; gabrial angelꝰ nutia
uit ventuturuq; tu vndis tertio. ex
clamauit dicens hic est filius dei.
exortiso te Auctou dyabo. ꝓtatissim
ventou malop. tu arbꝰ subditis tuissm
nore gnis. filijs. ſſ. mnore glorioſe
deitatis. turb. ix. ordines angelop.
thronoꝝ. dnationes. principatus. potestates. ac
diab. hoc noctib. proclamat dicentes
stus. stus. stus qui erat. et ꝙ venturus
est. et ꝙ est omps. ut no ꝑsumat ꝙs
gressus. tuos. tuq; mea. Afflet te latet. n.
mmia. et penas. mmne. et tormta.
die iudicij. die supplicij. spiritui. diem qui
venturus. et. nolut. differe. sed. cras. et. hodie
mnibus. angelis. tuis. spiritꝰ. erit. pcta
mtitꝰ. et. ro. ꝓtia. nequitia. damno. te. atq;
damnabo. Da honorē deo vivo. et. vo. mi
subdito. esto. torꝰ. qui. mos. ꝑtendis. ac
ꝓfitendis. da honorem. suo. pdicto. mi
cuꝰ nomē. ac. virtutē. ꝓfiteo. et. A. vt
noi. ꝙ. est. vobis. mos. obediās. cui. oīs
creatura. deseruit. que. cherubyn. at
seraphyn. laudant. dicentes. stus. stus
stus. dns. deꝰ. sabaoth. qui. regnat. et. dnat
tuus. qui. viuit. ꝑ. infinita. seculoꝝ. ſſmeam
ſſmen. ſſmen.

2 tertio

do vivo et uero da honorē ꝙ

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Conuro te ostrigo stab ptipo tibi ut
sine aliquo notumto mihi nuc et
samp obadias sn lesione ꝙ guadmnc
corpis ꝙ sie mee Conuro te dū ꝓmi
dra ꝙdcta sca cruta fca ꝙ ora sctus
mchl fca ꝙ ora sctus dnēta fca cuca
ca vnca: mon ꝙ ꝓstu q̄ te dapadyso
creat Conuro te ꝙ ꝓpio t. me ꝓhostia
salutem ꝓhostia mmaculata ꝓhostiam
ostrem ꝙ bndcam stab deo placere Con
uro te stab ꝓpio tibi dū ꝓmi ꝙ
ostrigi ꝙ ligari possis Exoriso te ꝓno
men tuu ꝙ ꝓcrare oi ꝓmi ꝓ ꝓmo ka
ttarros ꝙ ꝓ sigillu salamonis ꝙ ꝓstanu
lum crucifix. cendantas celestes infelic
ꝙ fusiones ꝙ augm. quop tuar. de
duplo de die m diei q̄ tu. dī no ihesqui
scelis nr. cassas atabare gramon dode
loco mq̄ modo es ramoues nr ꝓbolat
ab offitio tuo ꝙ ab oi sore. ꝙ tepta.
ꝙ dacryone alio ꝙ ꝓ ualeas stare ꝓba ꝙ
gnōcliones ꝙ ꝓdcta maledico te dī at
nomia tuu ꝙ fundo mer nuta ꝓmis dies
uita tuas ꝙ tatam q̄ habeo fuge te
hic mihi ab oipoti data in baptismo ꝙ
in aliis sacramentis ꝙ ꝓ cultu christiam
q̄ ast corpis xpi/ eucham te exquito ꝙ
maledico tibi ꝙ ad illud q̄ fadre ꝓtinz

& profundo p. om. h̄ alph & o/. & p̄ cmdnus.
& pnome dei reffabild & p̄stm tr̄ gr̄a
mdton/. & pria vba q dcā sūt t̄ l̄ p. N.
vt fatias fiati sme aliqua mouā mā
datu mou & petitione qua t̄ mdifa
stabo/dū vtiaz qđas q̄ m̄ alloquiū
& noia pris vri & m nore filii veni
& noie spūs ti si veri & noie sce tri
nitatis tibi dico vem nore sue ni
dei creatoris oīm creaturaz veni
ad me in hac hora/sme & alia notumto
lasiona & fiat gratia/sme & alia mea et
corpis mei/sut alia mittas/sut vana
fatias/& fiat tua & desideriū
mei/ad implendū & nitatu sme vadat
dimisi hactenus fuit a me & vo
luntata mea & planeria & facit com
unio tp̄ hac & p̄ h̄ & it aut supiā
dcā sūt in fatias mihi vana & inu stum
& fiat in me & corpe meo & anīa meā sancti
& angelis tuis & omib⁹ & loco isto & a
cadem & trinitas p̄m in vocabulo sa
tim qua dat benigno & humilis nulli
nocens & m̄ roibo mimstras & volu
tata mea & p̄ficiat/fiat fiat sme. vt
ducas sit mittas mihi vnu stum & mitu
& ydoneu m̄ & sta vt heat p̄tatem
& facere me m̄visibile & intus volūo

nō. ℓ. ℓ. ℓ

ℭ Et ut ꝑdem a cauedū ē ne mīm mang
ꝯpda mſipietiu hoc ſatiꝰ etiu dauerat.
Eligturam⁹ ſapietiſſimſiꝫq ꝑdi vꝝ
ges ⁊ gentes oib⁹ ſubditis ſuſtu
leant ſubpeditari ⁊ cogi ⁊ ligari
⁊ mſſum grti. ſi vo ſit vibelles
⁊ ꝛbadiatas ⁊ mobedietes exoꝛtiſſe
ℭ ⁊ ſi moib⁹ no obediem̄t ut pce
pta exoꝛtiſta no ꝯſtituem̄t hoc
vnū ⁊ ledndū q ſit mtuit

ℭ Deꝰ coꝛuſabonitatu ⁊ potentiſſim nom dei
Helſoutz. ⁊ Amudabile vos exoꝛtiſta
mus. Alta mtuam⁹ ꝑtu q dixit ⁊ fm
ℭ poꝛta noia ꝑtib⁹ ⁊ nom. ℣ ⁊. v. ⁊. q.
q moyſes audiuit ⁊ lotuꝰ q ⁊ nom
Gen̄v ⁊ mnoia gen̄y. q noe audiuit
⁊ lotuꝰ q eu vñ fam̄ dolmeſt ſua
⁊ nom. ℣. ⁊ v ⁊ d. ⁊ x. ⁊ noia. v.
⁊ x. q Abꝛaham audiuit ⁊ ognouit
ꝺiuoſtate deu. ⁊ nom gotth ⁊ m noia
Loth. q audiuit Jacob Angelo ſeu
tenitentia ⁊ liberatuꝰ eſt de manu fꝛa
tꝛis ſui eſau. ⁊ nom cyzaſeꝛue ⁊ m
noie cyzaſeꝛue q moyſes m monte
audiuit ⁊ mandauit q nr eu deꝰ ⁊
audiꝛet nom eu ſtam loqꝛtes ⁊ p vo eu
Anathematon ⁊ m noie anathematoy
q Aꝛon audiuit ⁊ eloques ⁊ ſapiens

ſcō eſt ⁊ pnom ſabbaoth ⁊ mnoie ſabbaoth.
q̄ moyſes audiuit ⁊ m nōiuit ⁊ omes
aque egredi debita capercut ualidu ⁊
uarie ſue mſagne ⁊ pcuſſit ⁊ pnam
oꝛuſtion. ⁊ mnoie oꝛuſtion. q̄ moyſes
nōiuit ⁊ fluuiij omes conuulcuit uehem
⁊ abſtondebat mdamibꝫ egyptoꝝ ⁊ pnō
mon ſloy. ⁊ mnoie ſloy. q̄ moyſes audi
uit pcuſſit pulūg ciuſ ⁊ ſcs e timoꝛes
mſoibꝫ ⁊ iumtis ⁊ pnom ſanctifonticꝫ ⁊
mnoie ſanctifontica. q̄ moyſes nōiuit ⁊ oꝛ
gerꝫ muſcay miſit m egyptū ⁊ mꝰ
egyptios ⁊ pnam ẏcplaton ⁊ mnoie
ẏcplaton. q̄ moyſes audiuit ⁊ q̄ moy
ſes nōiuit pcuſſit equos ⁊ aſynos ⁊ camelos. boues
⁊ boues mſciuit ⁊ pnom ſanctifontic ⁊
moyſes nōiuit ⁊ tulit cineꝛ de cyminꝰ
rio ⁊ deſpſuit m cela ⁊ fca ſuit uluꝫ
ulſcaꝫ uigati m̄ mſoibꝫ ⁊ iumtis ⁊ m
oꝛi tua egyptoꝝ ⁊ pnom elyon. ⁊ mnō
mine elyon. q̄ moyſes nōiuit ⁊ gn̄do
talis qualis no fuerat ſanctifontic mudi uſq̄
ad pns tpꝰ ita q̄ hoies ⁊ iumta. q̄ erāt
mſgnis cecidcrut ⁊ mciuit ⁊ pnom
ſadonay ⁊ mnoie ſadonay. q̄ moyſes uo
luit ⁊ fca ſuit lotuſta ⁊ ſanctificauit ſuꝫ
dēꝫ tantūmodo ⁊ q̄ q̄ uo ſidiu gn̄dſcuat

dcuo'dauerunt ⁊ ꝓnom ꝓantheon ⁊ i noie
ꝓantheon. ꝙ moyses nouit ⁊ fecit
ymbra horribiles tribꝫ diebꝫ ⁊ tribꝫ
noctibꝫ ⁊ ꝓnom ſimon ⁊ in noie
ſimon. ꝙ moyses media nocte nau
uit ⁊ ora ꝑmogauit egyptꝰ ꝓnom
⁊ nouꝫ fuerit ⁊ ꝓnom gerꝫmon.
⁊ i noie gerꝫmon ꝙ moyses nouit
⁊ totu ysrahelitꝫ ꝑ̄ m captiuitate
liberauit ⁊ ꝓnom yegeuon. ⁊ i noie
yegeuon. ꝙ naue audiuit ⁊ diſſum e
⁊ ꝓnom yſſon. ⁊ i noie yſſon. ꝙ
naue audiuit ⁊ ſubmſit oms ciuis
ꝙhanaoms ⁊ ꝓnom on. ⁊ in noie.
on. ꝙ pcue audiuerunt ⁊ innumera
biles amanuerunt. ⁊ ꝓnom anabon.
⁊ i noie anabon ꝙ moyſes i noie
ſynay audiuit ⁊ meruit tabulas ma
nus ſaluatonis ſcptas accipe ⁊ ꝓno
nom egyptiyon ⁊ i noie egyptiyon. cu
ꝙ yoſue. pugnauit ⁊ inimicos deuicxit
ſuos ⁊ victoria obtinuit ⁊ ꝓnom a
ꝓathcon. ⁊ in noie ꝙathcon vt ſtus
dd nouit ⁊ liberauit ⁊ demanu golyc.
⁊ ꝓnom cya. ⁊ i noie cya. ꝙ ſalomo
audiuit ⁊ gabaon ⁊ meruit i ſompnis
poſtulatiue ⁊ mperatiue ſcam ſapiam et

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pnomiam tonitruum et noie pantuaton q
elyas auauit q no pluuet et noplu
uit tribus annis et mensibus sex et pnomie
symeon et noie symeon. q elyas.
auauit et calu dedit pluuiam et terra
dedit fructu suu et pnom eloy et noie
eloy. q elyseus nauit et cognominatus
fuit sabee et pnom athanatos et noie
athanatos q yesu nauit
et pnom capnte iulium cui et pnomie
alpha et o. et noie alpha et o q da
niel nauit et pullud bel destruxit
et draconem interfecit et pnom emma
nuel et noie emanuel q tres pueri
et camino ignis ardentis noluerunt et
hic illesi exierunt et liberati et pnom hec
nomia et oia alia nomia cipotentis dei
ui et uerbi qui vos de excelso thronos
tm de vra culpa erexit et usq ad abissu
lotu vos precipit exorcizo uos atq vi
tuli immundi pcu qui dixit et facta e
medu dom ut dicti dei sum et pigne
am deuotas tm et pmaris uiatu q eam
ptm diuine magestatis gaudeam a
tuli immundi et p. q. animalia q oia
sadam diuine magestatis gaudeam
tuli immundi actos an et uerba ha

benta ꝫ ꝑ scam trinitatē q̄ tu deus
unus non agnita noue notā q̄ditur
filiꝰ sps ꝫ ineffabile ꝑ q̄ tu creator
uniuersi ꝫ ois potentia ꝫ pgnes ihu xpm ſm
scripturas
ihesum ꝫ ꝑ angelos celos
ꝑatas ꝫ dnā deū qui sub eo tu creatos
omnes ꝫ ꝑ sūmā sapiam ꝫ ꝑ anulū
salomonis sigillū ꝫ ꝑ sanctissimum
nomē illiꝰ q̄ ab seculū tim q̄ scribit
q̄ ihe ✠ ihu · v · ꝫ v · hu · agla ꝫ ✠
· x · celestes candaciās ꝫ ꝑ eam tu
tutē ꝫ q̄ te hodierno die usq̄ ad tale
tempꝰ tui mihi p̄tegue custodias
q̄ te ꝓfessum ipsi q̄ huc usq̄ custodisti
pater mihi ꝛ elinquatis me aliq̄ dim
nutione ꝛa q̄ factatis q̄ a nullo male
at sepe uel ꝛbelles ut gentiles sic di
ab ea nam ꝓmeumaton · ꝫ mone ꝓneu
maton q̄ moyses nouit ꝫ absolu
ti fuerit a cunctis ꝫ etc.
fin · ꝫ alyson · ꝫ ꝛ ta illiꝰ sanctissimi
nois dei ꝓmeumaton · maledicti vos
q̄ fundū alyssi usq̄ ad ultiꝫ die uidi
dispoꝫ vos ab ꝛ eligam ni pue
cepta mea obediatis ꝫ d'sidiu mei
duxitis ad effectum

+ ita mgra
gora uel
+ debeat
mi rndere
dere + de
ibg tuis
q̄ quibg nō
Tirogmio
vitare
duc

Barbarus magnus comes & dux & Aps
signo sagittarius silueste cui & ro degib
sextantibus tubas & mettens AE cu latra
tu canu ursus & bou & ari & animalu
loca th̄ qui & auuio & fiat sup̄ qui & no
custodiue fantasticus & fantasmatibus
& a deordine virtutu & hz subse=
xxxvi. legiones

Qui & son magnus dux & & fortis & Aps
in similitudine semaphali dat adplem
tudines va vis sua deputib & futuris & fu
turis & occultis dat gratiam fratrum & uni
cop dat dignitates & gsiuma hz subse
xlv legiones

Otius magnus pias & comes & Aper
signo vipe & hz detrax hos & prem
& cu suscipit fortitudinem humanas hz detes
magnos & ta cōia m manu ptat gla
diu flatu dat adplenitudines va vis sua
deputib & futuris & occultis vel & dat
gratiam fratrum & unitop hz subse
xxxvi. legiones

Cyprian magnus vipe & & fortis & Aps
in similitudine hos fates leoninas
coronas & dyademata in manu fe
ras vigam fortissima cōtat sup

dorsum feruentissimu ⁊ an rpn ꝑ ꝓdut
tube bene sit ꝓuta ꝓuta ⁊ futura
occulta pandeve loca thesauroꝝ ostendit
dit ⁊ Apuleiu facit libenter suscipit cor
pus humanu ⁊ sicu ⁊ dat ea uinci de
animis ⁊ occultis rebꝫ declarata ⁊
mundi creatione Dat optimos fami
liares hz subsexxij. legiones ꝓtm de
ordine uirtutu ⁊ ꝓti d'ordia thesau
Hugo magn⁹ duxit Apuleiu simili
tudia militis ꝓutchaniu ferens
lanceam uexillu ⁊ scuptiu Adplem
tudinem dat ei uinci de occultis re
bus ⁊ deducths quaꝝ sicu debeat
⁊ qꝫ aduersuꝫ sit dat ei militee
r occursum ⁊ dat gratiam oim ꝛ regi
marchionu ⁊ oim militu hz subse l.
legiones

Rob magn⁹ ⁊ ꝓncips Apuleiu signo
medici cu suscepit figuram hui
nam doctor optimus ⁊ facit
audire m amore ei roꝝ si sibi iussu
erit facit eas tm mutari in alia
formã quisqz uelit coram dilecta
sua facit eas stabiles hz subsecth. 24
legiones ⁊c

Volach magn⁹ pres a fl#z ꝑm̃ zhz flas
fldmodū fingala equitat sup dnm
nem duo hz capita dat fldplemtudiez
va rinsa deocculti thesaur⁹ mgb⁹ vi
dent⁹ a fl#z sculptates a flb sqz illiz custo
dib⁹ posse oim̃ scuptu tradit imag⁹
exon⁹ista hz subsa xxvij legiones

Flancwon dux ast fortis a potens
a fl#z nisimilitudla pulchrita mitig
ductis conuenat conta equitat sup ame
ni dae fldplemtudiez va rinsa d'pm
tib⁹ ꝑtitis a fuctis a deocculti thes
sauris mqui⁹ loc⁹ vndeq⁹ a fl#z
dat capita fmoua multop ꝑ cupide
uellat hz subsa xxvij legiones

Vuerich⁹ mtrichio magn⁹ a fortis
vagnis a impens in flfordmis
tib⁹ doctis fldplemtudiez grāmatica
loycam⁹ cthoricam fic dialtica a fa
cit loca thesaurop fl#m a occulta
ostendens facit ea horom velocis
simo cursu hnire a flumia trā sire it
tra insecabiliter a ꝑfecte multis fl#z
equitat sup equu nigrum tis a pulc
hz subsa xxxx legiones

Hinn⁹ pres magn⁹ a fl#z flāma
rig⁹ ea. q̃ cu suscepit fortia hnāz

mirabilia reddit horiz fabila mastis
nomia 2 2m aliis fructibz liberalibz
dat optimos familiares 2 gratia
magnatu 2 principu 2 loca thesauroz
q fructibz tuplodiur mirabilitq
ostendit hz subse xxx legiones
Vocax magno murmuro 2 hz m
similitudia horis vbiq hz femie
videt 2 berualo mte mirabilit dat
amicia mtiplicat 2 maxie oi" viduat
dat adplemtudiez ora gna lignat
fant horiz tnsiuit dno legione tue
gione victoriosso cursu hz subse. 23.
legiones Incipiut expmeta bona
Caput expmeta bona 2 pba
ta 2 veriissima. pmo de mbdo
vendi bel 2 ebal x
Hota mfaria quinta nouis vestib
indutus 2 balneato m cu epuscu
lo sanbe in Costam nom tuu 2 mti
bel 2 ebal. bal. mpm 2 imedio no
men tuu 2 nom mtiz. m fine
ebal. 2 pone adigne 2 fac ciuma
ri Costam 2 cm a m maxio ca
lowe tit fuiuscd lege ouuiatoq q
scq 2 ose desideriu tum

Quicunq; vos p̄ m̄ famales vel et
vel aliq; q̄p nra mea costa ꝯtas
mea hinc hinc desit ꝑ me virtutes
calor ꝑ me ꝑ tres ꝑ tribanos ꝑncipatus
ꝑ potestas ꝑ dnationes ꝑ cherubin
ꝑ seraphin, ꝑ nra q̄ sub tali sit ut
nullꝰ ꝑ equis habeatis q̄m cond̄m
sum die mei ita hinc debe facietis ut
nullꝰ dominica gnedeb nec bibeb
nec me nec stabe nec flebe nec rideb
nec aliq quoq; fiat qui condie mei
desiderium impleat ⁊ quicunq;
vos vel ⁊ vel q̄p nra mea hinc
sum desit ꝑ dnm deꝰ ꝑ ihm xpm
filiū eiꝰ ꝑ ꝑm sctm ꝑ virtutes sci
dei ꝑ ꝑ ipsam q̄ videtis dei ꝑ tres
mas ꝑ ꝑ fundu abissi ꝑ ꝑ clematia
ꝑ ꝑ visionem dei ꝑ nocte ꝑ tenebras
ꝑ ꝑ tempestatu diez iudicij ut nullꝰ ie
quicquam habeatis qui cond̄ eiꝰ in hanc
mea ita hinc debe facietis ut nullꝰ
dominica gnedeb nec bibeb nec
stabe nec ridebe nec flebe nec ride
be nec aliq quoq; fiat ut valeat dm
condie mei desiderium ꝑ punctu finem
plenum ⁊ quicunq; vos vel ⁊ quoq;
quoq; nra mea hinc desit ꝑ deꝰ

vm ꝑ deu vnu ꝑ deu stm q vos ⁊ tuba
dauit qui fidem ⁊ cuta delmos tu
uit qui stat ⁊ngelos suos ꝓt qui stu
ꝑntia ꝑtia ⁊ futa qui hꝫ dauid cla
daudit ⁊ nemo aprit
ꝑ eu qui fuit mortuꝫ ⁊ resuscitauit q
ascendit ⁊ sedet ad dexteꝝ ꝑris ⁊ omniꝝ
nomissimꝫ ut nuq ⁊ ꝑ tonuꝫ vos d
bal ⁊ dbal. q ꝑ nois igne fidescultꝫ
hꝰ scti nois dei. ely. eloy. eleon. tetra
gramaton. tupanoel. sabanoel. saba
oth. sabaoth. ely. adonay. ⁊ tonuꝫ vos ꝑ
virtutꝫ ꝑ dns nr ihus xꝰ ⁊ anuis clau
sis ⁊ddiscipulos suos mtrauit ⁊ tonu
uos bel ⁊ dbal. q ꝑ nois mignaꝝ
fidescut ꝑ ⁊ manꝰ tonuꝫ ꝑ dns nr
ihus xꝰ mcepit ⁊ sustinuit ⁊ ꝑfixuꝝ
dauoꝝ q pedes ⁊ manꝰ ⁊ ꝑfixꝰ
⁊ ꝑ lancea ⁊ fluxit de latꝰ e fluctꝫ
⁊ ꝑ latumas bꝫ vngis nris ⁊ ꝑ
mortꝫ ⁊ sepultuꝝ xpi ꝑ resuscitatio
ne ⁊ ascensione ei vt nuq ꝓ eq
habeam q ⁊n tonuꝫ ⁊ amore ⁊
amodaie felaati q nuq dominꝰ q
medeꝰ nr bibere nr panꝫ nr sed
ꝓ nr nr aliq ap ꝑ ficiꝫ
valeat q ⁊n tonꝫ nr desideriu

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p̄ēnit⁹ ꝺ admpleat ⁊ q illud nīlat⁹ obmittat⁹ hc̄ p̄ cuīo vob p̄cū q viuit ⁊ vīgnat in ſcla ſcl̄or. Amen. Amen. Amen.

Amen ⁊ ꝺc. i. ꝓfeſſio ꝑ ſpiritu ſc̄u

Cum magiſt⁹ voluit vocare ꝑ ſuū ꝺiſcipulū ad lotū ſeruatū eū duob⁹ ſotiis aut habeat cultellū cū manubrio albo ut ligno meū lamna hc̄ noīa exaraꝯ ꝑ ſcīp ſcīp ttt. Agla. ſabaoth. ⁊ faciendo cū eodem cultello extra⁹ circulū di cendo hūc circulū facio in noīe dei p̄ potentiā qui ſolo ꝺbo vniuſa ꝺcauit ⁊ in eodem circulo ſedeat cū cultello. ꝑlibato hc̄ noīa ꝙrca ſcripta. Agla. ſcōr⁹ otadenta. ſcr̄ gyrlmalton. ꝙrca ſcīptā ꝺc. Adonay. Cotica mondic ſabaoth. Dicenda ſaltem ſedendo cū circulū dicendo hūc circulū facio in noīe dei viui qui hūanū genꝰ hūono ſanguine redemit. ſtando vō cū circulū ſedeat dicendo hūc circulū facio in noīe ꝑ ſcīptā ſcīp ſcīptā ꝺc. ſaptor ⁊ ꝓphay corda ſua gr̄a illuſtrādat ꝙ hc̄ faciet cūcta ꝙ oīs cīrculos ⁊ hc̄ ſigilla ſcā cruc⁹ gr̄a dei defendat nos ab oī malo ⁊ det nob⁹ accipe tribulum ꝓpoſito ꝺño ⁊ minꝰ cīrcumdat ꝙ

tenionis circulu dicens hinc fugationem ferro
et more pcedentis et hoc primo gradu conuersa
ex circulu indicat. vij pis cu letania
et deuota et humili et has orationes
Adiuuo te vox vegetu et dns dnatu
et eterne et immutabilis deus dns
intelligat clamoris mei mut et fit
mei gemitus mis tui et audi dne
vocem meam qua clamaui ad te
et exaudi me et vocula et illumina
oculos mentis mee et cunctis ut
confidenter et intelligam mirabi
lia tua. et iustifica me in iustificatio
nibus tuis et propitiabilem mostru
aduersantium et meorum et dyab.
et
Aloeph gimel

BSB

Hic incipit ordinationes divini officii secundum
consuetudinem ecclesie Sarum

Incipiunt ordinationes divini officii secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Sarum
Hic incipiunt ordinationes divini officii secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Sarum
Hic incipiunt ordinationes divini officii secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Sarum

Cōuiratio dieī solis

Cōuiro vos ☩ ofiuimos sup vos ⸗ngeli fortes ☩ sti ☩ in nōie ⸗donay. ⸗donay. ⸗donay. eye. eye. eyu. qui erat qui est ☩ qui ue eye. ⸗lorfaye. in nōie ſadaye. ⸗aday. ⸗ados. ⸗ados. ⸗ados ⸗ltus // sup cherubim ſadens ☩ qui nōiat ipm magni ☩ sti fortis potētis ☩ exaltati sup ōnē ⸗los. ⸗ye. ⸗ſauaye. plasmatoris ſatuloꝝ qui creauit mundu ⸗lu ☩ to rem matra ☩ dia q in eis fuit in ꝑmo dia ⸗loꝝ. ☩ sigillauit sup eos tu nōie ſcō ſcō. yhon. sup ciuitm q sigilla tua ☩ honorificatio ꝑtioso nōie suo yhesu. ☩ ꝑ nōia ſctoꝝ ⸗ngeloꝝ qui dnauit in ꝑmo seruitutu ☩ ſeruiunt coram potētissimo ſalamia ⸗ngelo magno ☩ honorato ☩ ꝑ nom stella q ☩ sol ☩ ꝑ signu in mensissimu dei viui ☩ ꝑ ora ☩ ꝑ ꝑdcta Cōuiro sup Raphael ⸗ngele qui est ꝑpositus dei dmti. ☩ ꝑ nōm ⸗donay. dei ☩ qui creauit mundu ☩ quicq̄ est in eo q̄ ꝑme labores ☩ adimple tis omnes voluntates meas ☩ per tro ne uxta mei velle ☩ voti in re ꝑ dieī lune
ꝓtio ☩ ea mea dicas aut secundū ꝓ tibi videbit ☩ Cōuiratio dieī lune

Coniuratio diei lune

Coniuro & ofirmo & sigillo sup vos angeli fortes & sti in nõe adonay. Adonay. adonay. eyd. eya. eye. cados cados. cados. hacyim. hacyim. hacyn. va. va. fortis. vt. qui fabricauit mundum fyrmay. eu glorificatõe reg̃ sui. ya. adonay. saday. sabaoth. hanath. hurr. ya. ya. ya. qui mirifice creauit stagna & omnia aquatilia in secunda die qsdam mirabilos quosdam in tribus & sigillauit mirifice tu virtute sua & alto nõie suo vt trium sibi possit non preualeant & p nomina angelorum qui dantur in secundo die ut ministrent

Coniuro & ofirmo & sigillo sup vos angeli fortes & sti nom. ya. ya. ya. a. a. va. hy. hy. haa. haai. va. va. han. han. hon. hy. hyen. haya. haya. hol. hol. hay. hadi. hon. nõi in die dñi adonay. haya. hol. planeta tonat seculorum. cados. cados. cados

el. el. ya. ya. ya. eloy. sadai. eloym.
eloym. et nom qui alta dei qui fecit
videm aperuit et vocauit eam et eduxit
et produxit arbores et herbas de ter
et sigillauit sup eam tetragramaton et hoc
verbo mouendo nomen suum et primam
et eloy dominum constituit terminos et mi
nistrando sacrum. angelo magno
fortis potestatis et honorato et pmonte
stella q. et mensis et pnom adonay dei
mei et veri coniuro sup te samael. et
gabo q. et potestas dei tui. si mutue
et pnm et laboriosis et admpletis om
nem meam voluntatem et totam meam pe
titionem ut sicut mpmo capitula et
et cf coniurato dei mei turi
coniuro et ofirmo et sigillo sup vos
angeli fortes et stre potentes
in nomine fortis metuendi et benedicti
di. ya. adonay. et eloym. sadai.
sadai. sadai. eye. eye. eye. asa
me. asadonme. asamye. in nomine
dni adonay. cui quo sup vba hoim
sigillauit sea. quid. sayguae. elpym.
say. saaqui et pnō et eiyasy. adonay.
taguaasas. adonay. dei sit qp ipe est
de diem et noctem et pmoi angelos suiectos

exaltatu. ℔. q̄p thytagonꝫ Angelo maiori
fortitudinis potestatis ꝑ nom stellae q est
mercurius ꝑ manꝫ sigilli cui q nos
gillat Adam fortissimo ꝑ honorato d
pria pdca ꝯ Couuo sup te Angela
magne michael qui es ꝓpositus diei
℔ ꝑ nom stm q mfluanta Alphon. sol
ceu doris altissimi creatoꝝ omniꝫ quae est
primoꝝ Angelorꝫ q mgna ofiumdi sui
creatoris ꝑ notitiae sedes Aialiu hmoi
Salua ꝑ Alas vt p me laboretis i ma
vt citius ducat ad effm optatum
Et ℭ Conuocatio diei veneris
Ecce Couoco ꝑ ofiumo ꝑ sigillo sup vos An
geli fortes ꝑ sci Atqꝫ potentes nom noie
hay. hay. haa. ya. A. ya. ya. Amaney.
primi sadey. qui creastis quadrupedia
Aialia reptilia ꝑ homem in sexto die
ꝑ dedit Ade pratꝫ sup oia Aialia ꝑm
dabunde sit nom creatoris in loco suo
ꝑ nomꝫ Angelorꝫ q fuiut exercitui sex
to coꝝ. daghyel. Angele magne ꝑmi
ꝑi fortis Atqꝫ potentis ꝑ nom stellae
q est venꝰ ꝑ sigillu aiꝰ q quidam si
gillum est sacratu ꝑ pria pdca ℭ
Couuo sup te Angele magne Amabi.
qui es ꝓpositus diei sexto vt supra
Dnus vt sup

.b.

Conuiro dieí iouis

Conuoco te spiritus et firmo te sigillo sup vos sanctus angeli fortes te sancti archangeli potentes primo creados. creados. creados. et formataye. de sowataye. et seruataye. hatym. va. fortis firma turris seculorum eatmay. ydhez. yanuc. yenuc. calloac. allac. assaf. adaptaf. barsafay. abnaym te per nomen adonay qui creauit tuisse celos tristas et recuptilia ipsorum et omnes uoluntas sup facie terre ut uerus celos die quinto et primi angelorum seruus eius exercitui quinto pastoris angelo magno seo te potesti primi te primo stelle qui creauit te per nomen sigilli sui te per nomen adonay. sup primi diei ordinem creaturis. et per nomen stellarum te per uirtutem corpus te primi predicti

Conuoco sup te archangeli. michaeli. qui diuisum angeli fortes te potentes primo adonay. ados nay. eye. ay. a. eya. hacyn. hacyn. hacyn. creados. creados. creados. yma. yma. yma. sadday. ya. sanctus dominus fortis et seculo qui die septimo requieuit te illa in cogitatione sua filii spiritus hedrata

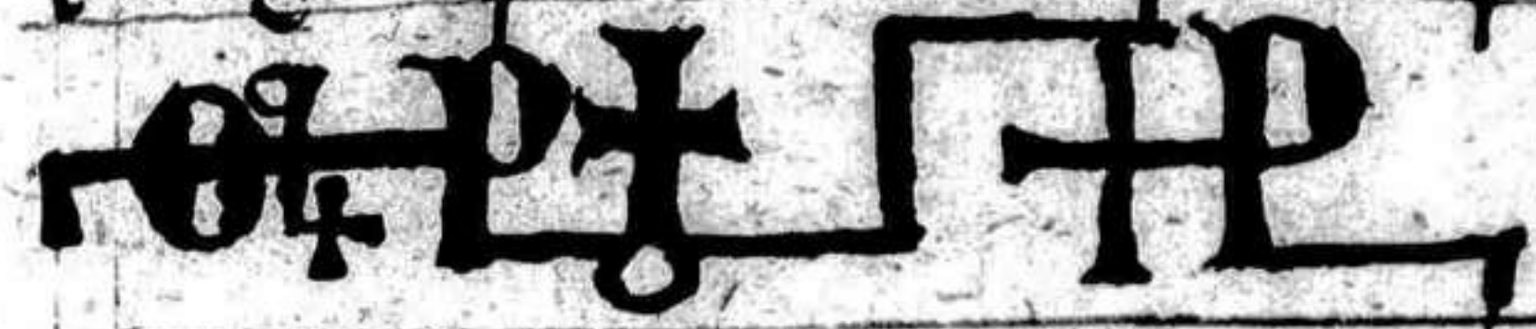
quinta die iouis

die saturni

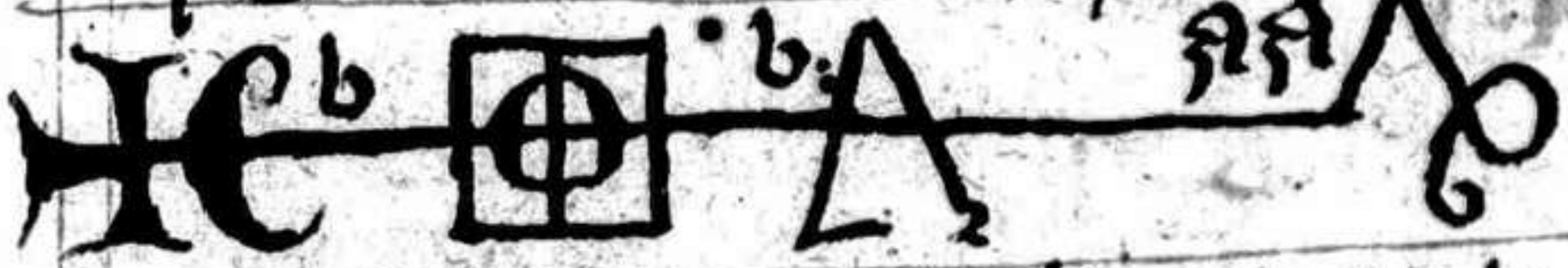
et obsequium dedit vt eu fruãnt seruãt
uent & custodiuent & sufficiat ad hã
bnda mde bonã & m filio seculo uenu
ruñ. & nota Angalon seruientiu
exitu septio cotra bock Angelo mag
notati pnti pri. & nom scalle q & sa
tuino & p sem & sigillu qu & p oia
pdca & Comino capiat. q & poiaus
ds dici septio qui ds dies salbati vt
ame laboras & no desistat dom totu
ffem ad ffem pduas ame

Sequitur vidua & seruc septe sigilla
qui signata sut m quolibz ope sedm
dnam septia & hec sunt sigilla vij.
planetaz discurrentiu. vij. celos p
dixerunt. vij. phy sapientes q̃ ope
ratores & si non scias no quiescit ame
ignis ista sequentibz qui q̃libz dies
suu sigillu & suu planeta & suos Am
gelos & suu vsage p suu ei adiuto
rio suis & sua creatura & suffumi
giu suu p̃ q̃ m fecerus tibi dictum
et q̃m fecerus h̃ sacra & ffem rpm
fuisse & magnu à huic libm q̃ posuit
et scias q̃ p̃ q̃ ds ciuis p̃ficiet p̃ fi
et et vnitate dei cui nom sit bene
dictum p̃ infinita secla seculoz ame

Hec sigillū Raphaelis Angeli cui⁹ stel
la ☉ Sol. fac illud die solis i signo leonis

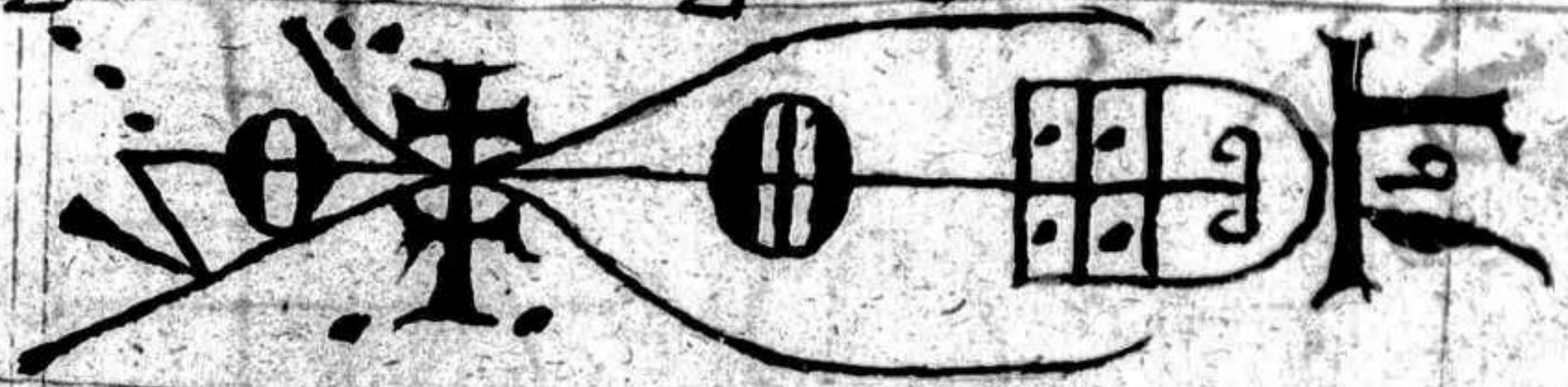


Hec sigillū Gabrielis Angeli cui⁹ stella
☽ luna fac illud die lune hora ☽ luna
in signo Cancri & q

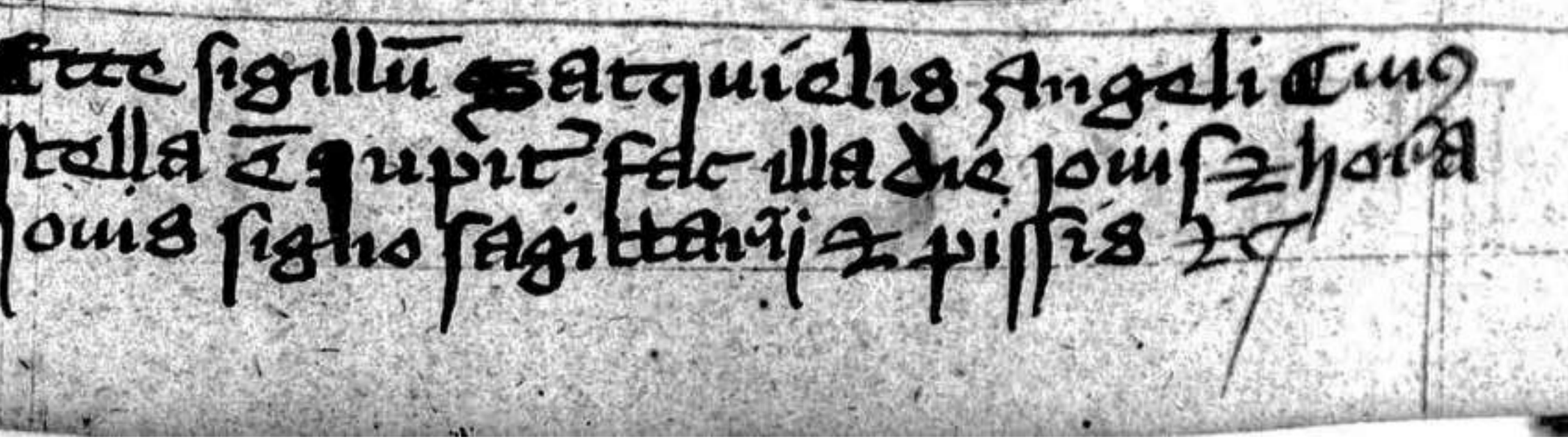


Hec sigillū Samaelis Angeli cui⁹
stella ♂ mars fac illa die martis ho
ra martis i signo Arietis ut sonipsiom

Hec sigillū Michaelis Angeli cui⁹
stella ☿ Mercurius fac illa die mercurij
hora mercurij in signo Virginis ut
gaudeant ut virginis.



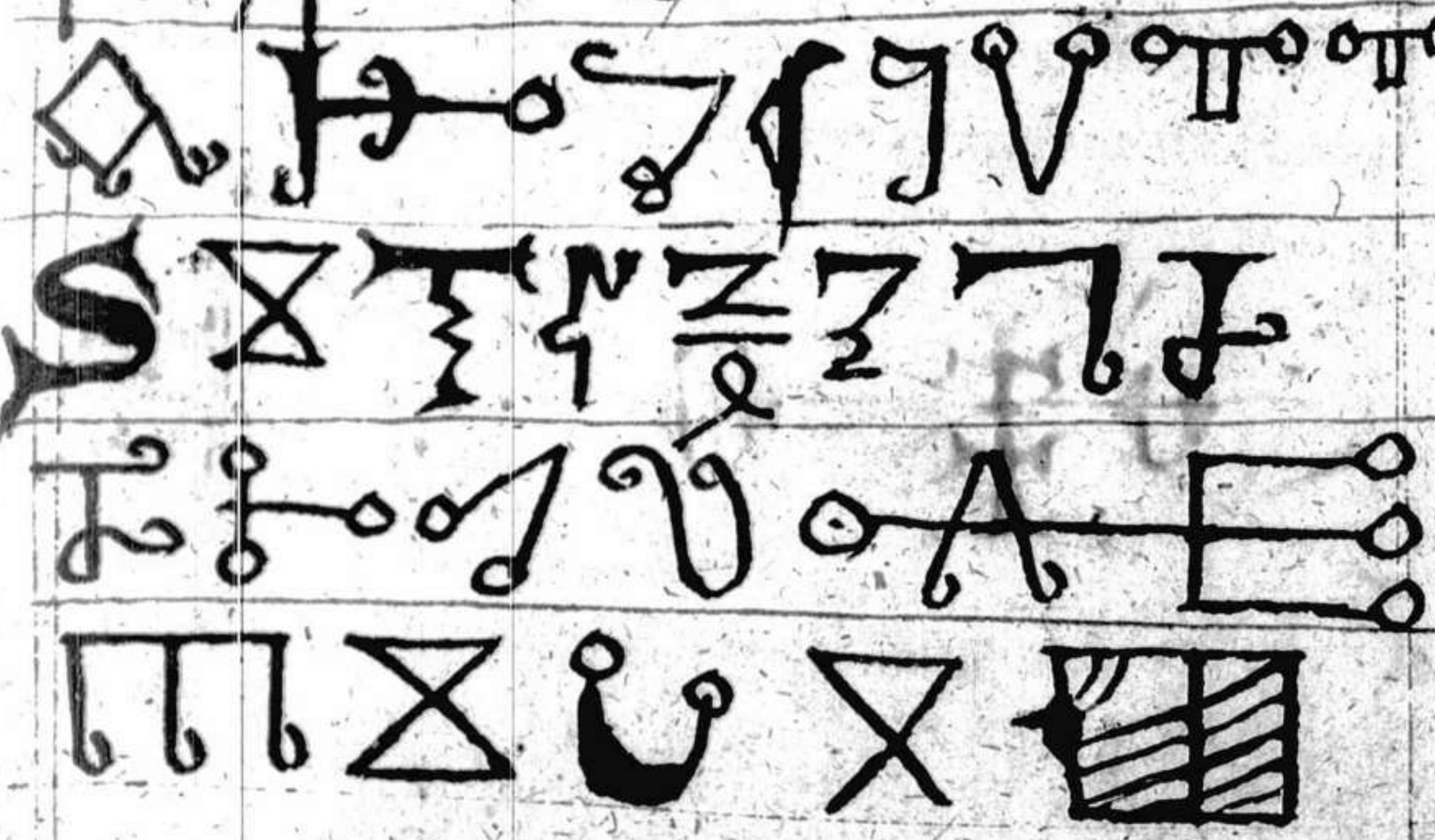
Hec sigillū Zachariel Angeli cui⁹
stella ♃ Jupiter fac illa die Jouis hora
Jouis signo sagittarij & pisces



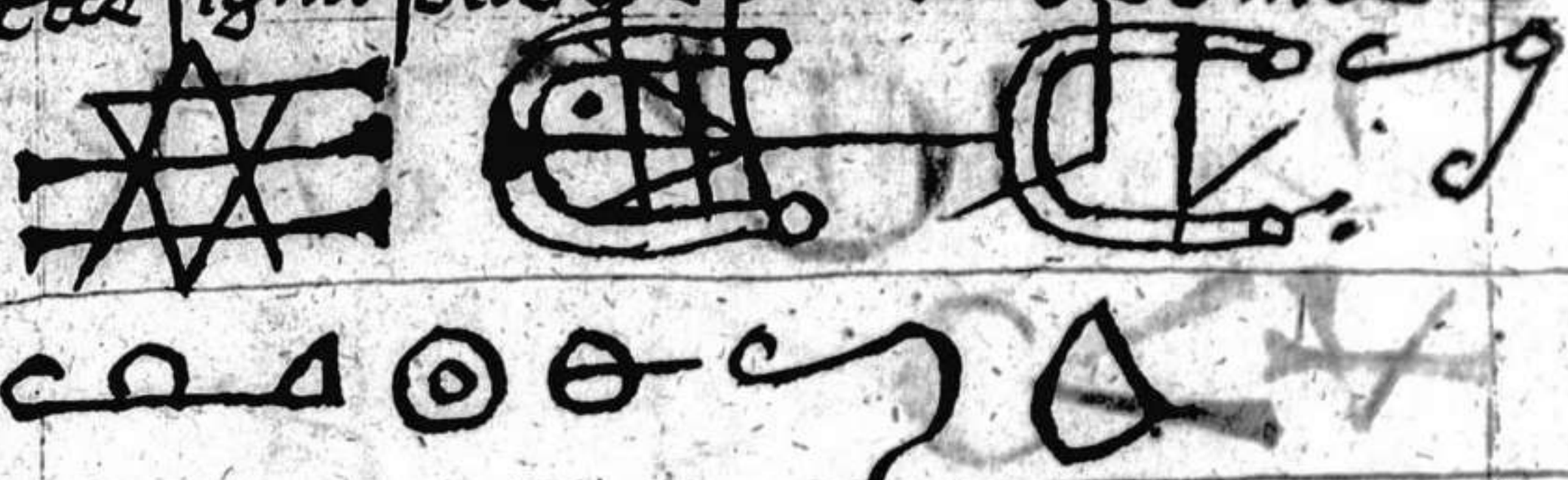
d Ecce sigillū Anaelis Angeli Cuŋ stella
4 Veŋ fac illa die veneris hora veneris
in signo Cauri ac libre ♎ ♀

f Ecce sigillū Casfiaelis Angeli Cuŋ
stella ♄ saturni fac illa die sabbati.
hora saturni in signo Capricorni ♑ ♄.

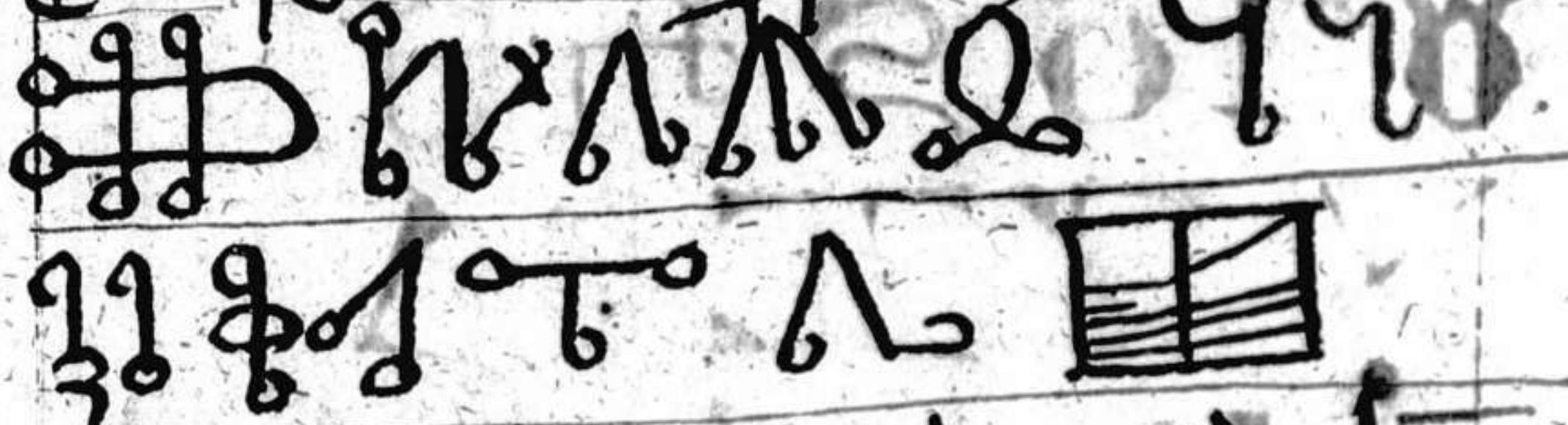
d Ecce sigillū diei dmici q fiunt debet
sole Ascendente.



℞ Ecce signu solis q̄ planeta die dnica



℞ Ecce sigillu luna q̄ fuit die luna Ascendt.



℞ Ecce signu luna q̄ planeta die luna

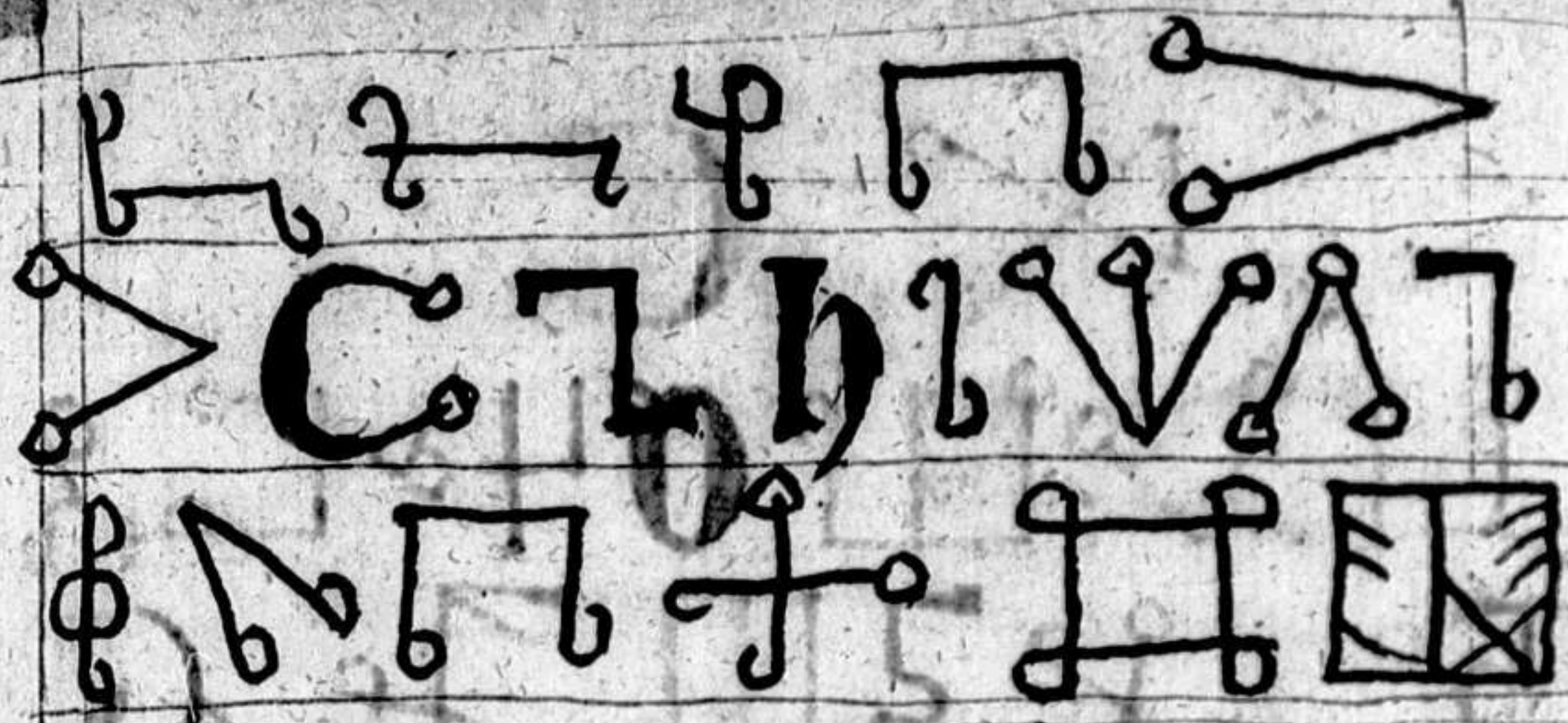
℞ Sigillu die martis q̄ fuit die martis Ascendt.

Sigillu die mercurij qe tacta die mercurij

Sigillu Saturni dz fiert Saturno Ascendente

Sigillu Saturni qe planeta Saturni dicit

Sigillu Jouis qe fiert debz Joue Ascendente

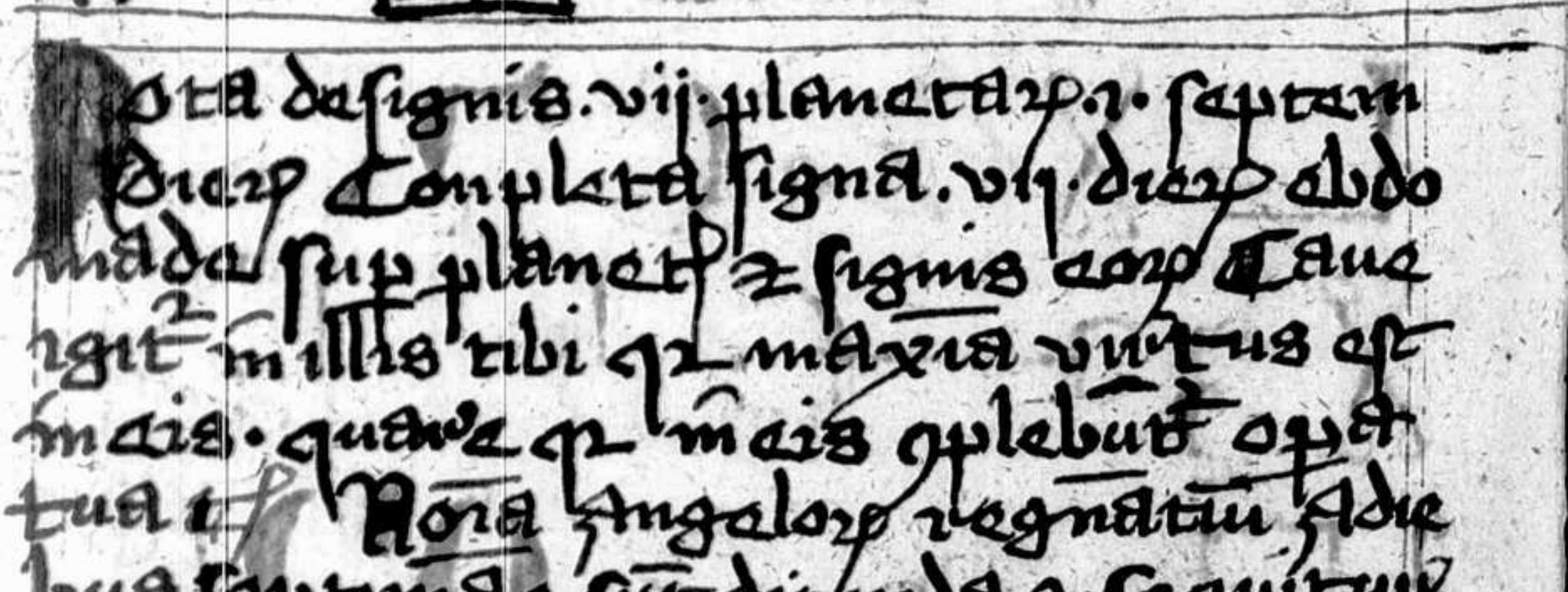


Signu Jouis q̄ est planeta diei Jouis

Sigillū veneris q̄ dz fieri vena Astendita

Signū veneris q̄ planeta diei veneris

Sigillū saturni q̄ debz fieri saturno Astendēte



pta designis. vij. planetaꝝ. ꝛ. septem
diꝝ completa signa. vij. diꝝ duo
rada sup planetꝫ ꝫ signis corp tauc
rgit milliis tibi q̃ maxia virtus ẽ
maiis. quare q̃ maiis quelibꝫ opet
tua t Hora Angelorꝝ regnatiu sibi
bus septimꝫ sit dicenda ꝫ sequitur
que cpa hꝫ nomia ꝛ oꝝ septimꝫ t
Angelus diei dnici ẽ Raphael t
Angeli diei lune ẽ Gabriel t Angeli
diei martis ẽ Samael. t Angeli diei
mercurij ẽ Michael. t Angeli diei ꝑmis

est Sarquiel. et Angelo diei veneris
est Amael. et Angelo diei saturni. et
sabbati est Captiel. et Iste igitur
qui nobis Angelus diei in quo fa
ctus opus tuum et scribe illa. quaecunque si
sunt scripta mittu nuntiabut te tempo
tantia ventura

Regum septem vij. diebus insultia
na regnatum nobis substituantur
sub eos Angelos dominantes diei qui fa
ctus opus et sic veniant et quelibunt
voluntatem tuam et rndebut tibi ter
bum ueritatis

Regnum dnice regnat et seruit rege.
Saytam coadiutores sui sut Sylol
Candas. Tastus. Candas. Hanibal. et
Die luna regnat et seruit rege
Almodab coadiutores sui sut Sylol.
Allalu. Abuzaba. et Die martis regnat
et seruit rege filio dyabuli co
adiutores sut Cammach. ut Amaual.
pastarim. et Die mercurij regnat
et seruit rege Saba. coadiutores
sui sut Cõnas Conas. pactas. Sam
bidas et Die iouis regnat et seruit
rege Hadwach filio Awath coadiuto
res sui sut hyrat sit hyich. ignio et
Quirom. Sadalalebeth et Die veneris

regnat rex 2 seruit Sabotes cold
ñ tonas sic fuit Massath. ynasa. 2 de
Salm regnat halyton. Assayby. cold
tonas sui fuit Sabimalyb. 2 haybalydoth.
2 yfla. Completa fuit noia regum
ppm regnatu 2 seruietu septe dieb
septimanar.

9 Quibet eni dies septiane hr suffragiu
sibi Sppetatu cu quo suffragabit sapus
cui Sfectas m̃a 2 gplebit Sp̃tuu
sm̃a dubio

Suffragiu dei dnica Assandalu ciuitatu
et rubeu ut simle sibi Die lune
ap Sfloes. Smarcap. ut site sibi Die
mercurij 2 pp fuit Abrma. Cyg ut sibi
site. Die Iouis 2 Altaf fuit ei
site Die ueneris 2 Olibanu. fuit ciuitatu
ut ei site Die sabbi 2 Almastic fuit
lignu vadny ut ei site Die Solis
2 Assandalu 2 sulphur fuit ei site
et sm̃a sabi ordinauit volues Adlega
das ligias suis suffragia thus Dec
Cap. Hec fuit suffragia die septime

Die dnico opari potis Adligandas lig
nas fuit Sd Sfectis ligatoes horum 27
Die lune operandu 2 Sdeiuocandu
2 Sd gcordiam 2 Smicia Die mar.

opandum ē ad mīstrandū hores ⁊ deser-
andū ei⁹ die aq̄rtuꝫ opandū ē adponē
dum īmīcicia sua odiū mter hoīes
die ꝓuis opandū ast adsaciadit pace
mtar hores discordantes ei⁹ die venis
opandū ast adiungendū hores i amicā.
ut ꝓuocandos de loco ad locū adbani
uolentia ⁊ die sabi operi ꝓuocis
adligendo riuola balnea molendina
aut similia/

Octauꝫ die sapitie

Videt ast de quibꝫ dieꝫ sapitie in qua
opandum ast/

Quartuꝫ die sapitie opari volūs ad
baruolentia fuit quoꝫ bonū ut malū
attende diligenter q illa sit opa placido
quiens ner dimittas opus tuū de die
in diem ut differas. q̄re si illud opus
no ꝓficiat ut no ducat ad effectū
forsitan putabit illud ee ftm

Tendū q̄ ihūz die sapitie ꝓsunt
tres angeli adsaciendū hores opa
dū ꝓficiendā ei⁹ dm̄o ꝓsut tres
angeli. s. Raphael. Daniel. ut vita
tabel. ei⁹ Didimus ꝓsut hij Gabel.
Michael. Samuel ei⁹ Diadmatis
ꝓsunt hij. s. Satyel. Samuel. Banma

ly. ℭ Dici debeant ꝑsut hij. s. Gem
baldi. Gaufridi. Hurielli. ℭ Dici
onis ꝑsunt hij. s. Practa. Capiel. Affar
diel. ℭ Dici vonis ꝑsut hij. s. Andr.
Gaufridi. Gacquiel. ℭ Dici sat
ni ꝑsut hij. s. Capiel. Hacton.
Gaufridi. r. Gaufridi. ℭ

Nemi opa ꝙ faties ⁊ votabis Ange
lo3 illig dic ꝙ opa⁹ volu3 ⁊ ipi
tuthn ꝙplebut voluntate ⁊ ducent
ſdeſſem opus tuu

Equitu3 ꝙ sequetaz nota ꝙ ſaube
ua hnt mpnctpio tuilz opis ꝙ fa
cias dic ⁊ rdebut voluntati tue
Et ſut exnsib⁹ aſtonis ⁊ſta aug
nota ſi nota⁹ volus ⁊vocanda ſut
ſ. Augias. yna. dr. rſit. ybaꝝ. Gubae.
Zuabas. ynſſamon. haa. dosa. #
Barzan. ⁊n di alia ꝓbauta quam
ſaubas opus hꝫ vt ſaubat mea v
ſit ſilip exmbarzard dicte ꝙ ſi ſut
de ſtia tid ⁊ ſi ſunt de nmitada et
ſi ſid mediterram ſimul ſit olſeruet
mdb⁹

Cubouz nos ꝓpt⁹ nota houas dici
quib⁹ houis ꝓfiaent opa ꝙ fatues ꝯf

¶ Prima vigo diei hora dicit ymnum
de hac hora faciendo et dicuntur ad
minus duodecim vices horum et media
ibi corpus et lignum lignandi et
¶ Secunda cum hora diei dicat ymnum. cum
¶ Tercia operibus ad finiendum et
¶ bonum fructum obtinendum et solutis
et horum adiutorium adhibendis et
potentes et tercia vo hora diei
dicat² ad assumpta ea facienda certa ut
ymnum ad vanendum fenum vel
aues sine ad implicandum pisces ut
illud plus nascatur prohibenda et
¶ Quarta hora diei dicit² ad ea
de hac carta ut ymagine adligata
sit duos bestias silvestres leones
ursos et similia et ¶ Quinta hora diei
dicit² ad dandum et de hac cartas ad
ligatas et ad applicandas earum bapti
sia et ad ¶ ad vnum aliud et ¶ Sexta
hora diei dicit² ad unum et
ad pedes et ad extirpandum cetera
cardones et adligatos soluendos et
¶ Septima hora diei dicit² cardonem meum
spat² ad ponendum patrem nat² vulpes et
¶ Octaua hora diei dicit² animal meum
spat² pedes ad mandole[n]dum dicit²

diam ponedom mt horas / Hora hava
dies dicat Rabon mea fortunda la tem
ta fadiuancia adu ut fadiuuandu mt la
tiones ſn tmoua. Decima hora
dici dicit. hyam. mea opari potis
fad demonia ut demonidcos ut ven
tu malu ut pduoua ut uiuendu fad
dnes Undecima hora dies dicit Ha
thalon mea opari potis fadpuocan
dum ſanguis fluxu m mtiendu et
fadligandu vulp tu mtiue ut eos et
Duodecima hora dies dicit Abat mea
opari potis mt mallnolos fadpeca
ponedam mt vulp a mtiuz

Acta ſuno hora dies aquibz ſibi
tmatibz Prima hora nobis dicit
Rabon. mea fac fad demonia tos opa
tua. aut fadiuctos malos aut fad
ogregandas a loc tu cis / Secunda
hora nobis dicat Tabol mea opari
potis fadpiscandu a fadoria naſcen
tia aqua. Tertia hora nobis dicit
hyam mea opari potis fadfatteden
dum ut fad extinguendu ignem a fad
orei q mos volus opari Quarta
hora nobis dicat fatyn mea opari

potis ad destruendu domu ut huiꝰmodi ad
pellandu horas deloco adloca. Quinta ho
ra noctis dicit cauon mea fac questio
nes vt misoptimis videar q futilitate est
in mundo utidiebꝰ ut in studio ad
quirenda veritate. Sexta hora noctis
dicit mea potis ad studiu. mea apparatus
bonis ad furtu ecclie ad ornatus
platas eiꝰ ad ordinandu cenam
familie. Septima hora dicit nactus
mea opera potis ad exercitandu horas
de domo sua ut q mi fiunt ut q mo
riar. Octaua hora noctis dicit mea noctis
tabefac mea potis opera ad mimi
randam mꝰ q volus. Nona hora
noctis dicit q assuo mea potis opa
ra adligationes ligandi aut ad in
tendu ad uocandos ad mortuos. Decima
hora noctis dicit algo. mea opa
potis ad destruendas ligandas ut cogi
tationes sup te aut gentiu malu
q sup te cogitatu fuit. Undecima
hora noctis dicit altitudo mea op
ra potis q volus m studio ad cas
tigandas ut capiendas. Duodecima
hora noctis dicit galaxij mea potis

operi ad videndu q̃ ꝓpdem & ut adveniat
tempe fuerit ut malorꝝ fiat

Cum aliq̃ opꝰ ut cũq̃ tam volũs scire
de hominũ horis & nomĩa angelꝝ
horis & quis ei sit ut impetꝫ opus tale
de nocturnis hec sũt nomĩa angelorꝝ diurnꝝ
tui subq̃ horis diei dñe raphael. 2ª. horis anael.
3ª. michael. 4ª. gabriel. 5ª. cassiel. 6ª.
satquiel. 7ª. samael. 8ª. raphael. 9ª.
anael. 10ª. michael. Undecie gabriel.
12ª. cassiel. Hore diei tue 1ª. horis
dñe satquiel. 2ª. horis samael. 3ª. ra
phael. 4ª. anael. 5ª. michael. 6ª. gabriel
7ª. cassiel. 8ª. satquiel. 9ª. samael. 10ª.
raphael. 12. anael. 12ª. michael. sic alt
intelligas de cetꝝ debes de cetꝝ. Aliis noctu
& diei ꝓnotatis q̃dem cũ angeli do
minatuũ & instũ horis 2ª. diurnione
planetarꝝ ut instructiones tue. Et horis
solis instruit ut dñe raphael. horis
lune anael. horis michael. horis
martis gabriel. horis mercurii michael
horis iouis satquiel. horis veneris samu
el. Undi & cuiꝰlibꝫ planetarꝝ cũ angelis
suis signaꝫ planetarꝝ ꝓdistributa horis
angelorꝝ ꝓnotatis dꝫ gubernatis & ꝓpodorꝫ

norib⁹ capitulis sup̃ apxime portis z fmgr
lo qui ⁹tinꝫ infra in guvdtiamb⁹ cuiꝰli
bet diei z m capitulis daymaginib⁹
deoz ab⁹ mſ̃t adiuuet // Diei do mi
nico g̃ mſtret sol z fmgel⁹ cū xaphiel
hal. cuiꝰ signu leo / Diei lune mſtret
luna z angel⁹ cū gabriel cuiꝰ signu
cancer z scorpio . Diei martis mſtret
marz z angel⁹ cū samael. cuiꝰ signu
ceres. Diei mercurii mſtret planeta
mercurius z cū angel⁹ mich. ut machdel.
cuiꝰ signu gemini ut virgo / Diei jouis
mſtret iupit z angel⁹ cū sachiel.
cuiꝰ signu sagitten⁹ z pisces . Diei ve
neris mſtret ven⁹ z angel⁹ cuiꝰ
anael. cuiꝰ signu thaurꝰ z lib . Diei
sabbati mſtret saturn⁹ z angelus cū
casfiel cuiꝰ signu capricornꝰ z aqua
rius // Hora prima diei . v. noctis quꝫ tuꝫ
sfficos non poteris // Prima hora diei luce
mſtrat ut dnus z gabriel // Secunda
hora casfiel // 3ª hora sarquiel // 4ª
hora samael // 5ª hora zaphiel //
6ª hora anael. // 7ª hora michael.
8ª hora gabriel. // 9ª hora casfiel
// 10ª hora sarquiel. // 11ª hora
samael. // 12ª hora zaphiel //

d

ecpib9 ymaginu dier ho ꝑ malas lig
was ꝯ ꝑma hora dier fabricada ꝯ
ymago ad ligandas ligwas ⁊ ligwa q
ligata fuit illa hora nuq̃ quit potes
loqui ꝺr malu ꝟbu ꝺe te. ꝑma hora dies
fat ymagine cams exurgeto ut stag
no ꝓuus ⁊ sculpe ꝟ capite ymaginis
nomine illi9 sup̃ q̃ opabris ⁊ nom dni ho
ra ⁊ dies m quib9 fabas ⁊ ivetis
magimis nomia potatissimi ⁊ Altissi
mi dm ⁊ suffugelus ymagine suffu
gio sup̃ deo ⁊ cu sagine rubeo ⁊ tvolue
ẽm in pano albo nouo ⁊ sapphiras ad
ad ꝓtem illi9 deq̃ volus ꝫ no logꝫ
de te malu ⁊ sic ligabut ora oꝝ dr
otuli hoꝝ ⁊ tibi nuq̃ notare potit q̃
diu d luvabit ymago ista inventem
ymagis scribe nom lua ⁊ nom signi
⁊ angalo9 tpe q̃ h̃ fabas h̃ ⁊ autem
nomia sut nomia creatonis mitu ꝓtosa
⁊ bndca q̃b9 creatu fuit calu ⁊ terra
hic ꝫ tu sculpes sculpe ea totalit ut
bene apparat ⁊ hec sut nomia. lyeha.
fyelguema. loaffen. vialnavab. le
benia. lebenron. layasales. hec sunt
vij. nomia q̃ scribes in vetis forma
⁊ scribes ea ꝟ ꝟb9 orib9 hoꝝ ꝯplentiu
hoib9 ⁊ suib9 ⁊ bestiis ⁊ ꝟb9 creatis d̃ g tota
⁊ finita.

Studa hora dici facienda et ymago beni
volentie et una ymago viri et altera
mulieris depurissimo stamo fusile et capi
ta ymaginis mulieris non vim et capite
viri non mulieris imperfecta vo et iverta
ymagine sculpies. vij. te subsequentia no
mina sint tu. vs. noibs supdas et iun
gas ymagines hoc lutiendo eas tu ce
leta et inter se bn firmet et sepelias
et domo illius ad quam volueris alium sequi et fiet
inter eos amicicia durabilis et dim. v.
magines durabunt/ et hec sut ista. vij.
nomia sc saubes. malchayl. Cauamel. Sa
zahiel. zauzimayl. pauiauel. poubayl. se
ralabelis. et hec q legi sunt

Octava hora dici facienda et ymago ad
quotiendas os sues et tota ora pisca
mina ad locu signatu in hac hora fac
ere rubeo ymagine animalis q supli
cave volueris et sculpe ita pita ymagis
nom dni hore et imperatoris similit et
veteris. vij. nomia sme hore et suffinga
am tu fenestalo ad orientem ynde et sepeli
am in loco ad quem volueris applicare aliam
sub quoy similitudie ymagine fowmasti
et videbis mirabilia circa tonos quo
uscat ad locu istum

¶ Vicesima hora diei faciendā ymago ad
fugandas aues ut effugiendo vastent
agros et horta et arbores et bestias silue
Hec hora fac ymaginē exeuē turbo
ad similitudinē animalis cuius ge in loco
sigillato volueris applicare et scalpe nomē
talis in capite ymaginis et spectet nomen
dñi hore et vij. supdicta nota pme
hore scalpe in alia ymaginis et sepeli
ymaginē in loco q̄ vis applicari q̄ de
ymagine applicabit ibi animalia q̄ tur
no in loco ut dictum

¶ Vicesima hora diei faciendā ymago ad
feras mitigandas ut leones ursos.
et lupos ad ꝯsilia Alias feras noctuas
Hec hora fiunt ymaginis Aliis cui
sigillum ut mitigeti et scalpe
in capite ymaginis nomē talis et spectet
ei nomē hore et nomē dñi hore et iuē
te. vij. nota pme hore et suffinge y
maginē cū ligno ynde et cū cadelo mulos
et scapoli ymaginē in loco ubi volueris et
Aliis ꝯ dicte ad uiuendū ut videt q̄ ostendit
Alia ad voluntate tua et requirenda ad
habendos et conservandos

¶ Sexta hora diei faciendā ymago
q̄ capti uis ad ꝯcordandū ut dampna
nandis ad monita ut saluandis Hec

hore funde ymagine illius ut istorum q̃s
saluare volens exfugato ut p̃mo er
culpe capitis ymagis nom̃ di saluati
et pectoris nom̃ hore et ut tute septa
noia p̃ma hore dicto ymagine alitum corp
p eam seu tenear cautave et ista noc ad quem ut pisatu
te custodi actoritate tu potestate dei tue
atoris

Quinta hore dies faciende ymago
ueneris et piscatoris et a foutis et utilis
multu funde ymagine exoptio fugere
mihi hore et sculpe capitis ymaginis
nom dni hore et pectoris ymaginis
nom dni hore et pectoris ymaginis
.vij. noia .s. hore et oi hore dicto pisatu
ut venatu reius ymagine tactu ponta
et applicatione venatione ut piscatoq
p̃ volum̃s sit malignitas et discordia pedes
inter hores

Sexta hore dies faciende ymago
ad damos ut ad loca destruenda et de
ponenda in hac hore funde ymagine
ex cera rubea tu duob⁹ capitib⁹ quor
unu sit asininu reliquu bo hore et
sculpe in capite asinino nom loci q
delectu de uoluris et capite humano scul
pe nom dni loci et in strutiones dni
loci et pectoris ymagis nom dni hore
et suffinga ymagine tu stagne hore inter

facti ut eu fluxugia ceruis & sepeli ea
in loco q̃ despitatu vez volus & fugient
ons hoīes & deyptabit iste loco talie q̃
nec ꝑdā p̃ buctu stial vidmodu/ & quod
ꝓtonus tñs & vbiaq; volus & nitet ne
ce fit

Ma hova dici facieda & ymago Adam
bulendu sine timova mtas Leones ff
feras & transive praes sme timove tu
vova & Adora ut mandet seruz mae
hova funde ymagia substitudie de
hui queritis & sculpta capite ymagis
nom dñi hova mutatu. vij. nota sme
hove & suffinga ymagine eu supdo
fuste & cuoto pdans da tacit tibi sibi
q̃ tuq; loci volus sme timove q̃ odi
li cultoy videre te no potut & cor
ruz ua obmutescat potis q̃ transive
fiat & dapnu cu pō dei/ Adoptiendu q̃
volus coram te ro dño & sup pmissa
pibus/

Ama hova dici facieda & ymago
fldutiandu fldiligos & ptatos in
hac hova fundé ymagia hois qui
sculpa & sculpta capite ymagis nom
hois & ydoloy nom hove & nom dñi
hove & tuatiue. vij. nota sme hove &
suffinga ymagia eu cuoto & fuste sup

dō z ī volue eām ī pīāmo nouo līneo z fil
bo z hovā qua fīdāliō volūis mīrīāz vel
vīz ī pīa eām tactu z obīēlbīs q̄ volūis
ei fīdūtorīo dei// fīd fīēdū gloīdaz di
ſcōdātas/

ndūcīmā hovā dīei fēcīēda ā ymāgo fīd
q̄ uocām dā gloīdītām mīrāz dīſcōdām
tīb ut mī vīvu z mīrīaz fīnīdo hovā
funda duas ymāgines v hīſpondeūs
z vni q̄ditatis z q̄litatis z ſculpe nom
vīz ī capita ſōme: et nom ſōme ī cā
pīta maſculi z īpertoīb ambāo ymā
gīnu ſculpas nom hovā z nom dīm hovā
z vīz nouā. 2ō hovā z pone eās ſīīe
fīēcīe z ſuffīga eās cū cūneo z fuſte
ſupdcō z pone eās īſecūeto fīd ſtallas
z vdebīs mūdabilīa quo vnq̄ q̄uītat
fīlīu z nō poſīt vnq̄ ſūa filio ſtāe fīdli
gādas ligūas/

Vodecīmā hovā dīei fēcīēda ā ymāgo
fīdligāndas ligūas īnhāc hovā fāc
ymāgīne hoīs exāptio ſtāno z ſculpa ī
cāpite nom dei z īpertoīa nomē hovā
z mīvatīe noīa ſpīe hovā z ſuffīga
cū cūneo z fuſte ſupdcō z pone fīd ſtallas
.vij. notas z cū mocīazat z cū ſtīndaīdas
z ḡiuīdī eām cū ā ſic ſcīpſīt ē gāmdhil
z nō erīt poſſīb loq ſup cū malū vbū

BSB

Prima fuit vij. ymagines q̄ fecerat de fuis
insimilibꝫ horis diei tu oibꝫ suffuigatoꝝ
mibꝫ. z opibꝫ suis Clare igit̄ mihi q̄m
exacte de fuit z vere z nepta mentis
q̄z pedes tota pfectes tuam voluntatez
in gubernatia dei tui nom sit bndm huic
opibꝫ ymagiꝝ nostꝝ

Ode dictam quattoꝫ ymagiꝝ nostꝝ
sicut studuerunt antiqui q̄ nonā fuit
mbō q̄ ipi eas q̄posuit vt oms horas op
timas eas scirēt de luctna q̄ nuq̄ exti
tisset

Prima hora noctis fecerunt ymago
de illuminanda loca tenebrosa ut ple
nū loci obscurum hac hora fundē dam
delam quasi cubitabulū hns. vij.
onā z sculpta in q̄ onā cubituli h nona
scam. hasis. dalas. Esa z poc
q̄libꝫ onā cubituli lignū delbomba
ca z scribe sup os cubituli h xij.
nona Bezat. beath. zamt. calsam.
dalfoc. dana. Anath. beas. Samith.
hassis. dalaph. Esa. Et fac exab.
sup cubitabulū ymaginē horis tenet
facie quasi forma vasis in similitudia
fundatis oleum in candela z myle
candelam oleo sp no fiat expssu ymagi
bus z sculpe sup facie ymaginis istud

nom leonis hahel leonis ahel. z sup sonum
nom sud rosahel. z simlit sup dandam
lam circulibus z coopr facio ymaginis
q no possit discoopiri z accendere circu
circulibus z rugi dicis vel potius facta
ymagine in loco q̃ nulla inligi potit tu
ansiva nec ibi stet nec ibi stat

Contra horam nocturnam faciendam ad ymagi
Ad sistendu somnium sud tastificet q̃
ast homo almia q̃ fuit ex spiritib⁹ sin
ciquis q̃ cu magnis fuit q̃dam cui
tata q̃ notabant filiandu fecit mca
ymagine ista z ut eu magis non fuit
mulier magam nisi hac hora funde ymag
gine ex eis lympide z scribe sup facie
ymagis hoc nomen Rocoel. haw! bael. ce
ad. vasas naaya. haat. z hoc alia sulpes
q̃dam folio ouis z ionas t manu ymag
gni hoc sue nomen. s. vadagon. z alaz. bua
nau. z ndaz. natho. ganv. z sepeli ymag
gine in medio ciuitat sue ville ut nullo
te videat z du hoc factum z tu hac yma
gine potis prisende sonnionas ad e
tuam nocturna deloco // ad fugadu oia
reptilia

Contra horam nocturnam faciendam ad ymago
ad fugandu reptilia nocturna ad le
sas malas z locustas ut vuas z oc
ucum malum in hac hora funde ymagi

*

circam ſid ſimilitudinez v̄ceptilis q̄ volunt fu
gant z ſaltē mfacie eox hc̄ nomia vabrōs.
vriez. ꝟbroa. ꝟberbur. ꝟberabur. ꝟberamel.
z ſcripely ymagine vbi volunt z oia de
dris effugabunt ſid deſtinadu villa ſ' loou
q̄ volunt deppłari ſ' ītmti ꝛ

1 vam̄ta hora noctis ſacranda ymago ſid vil
lam vl' loou deſtruendu q̄ volunt deputa
vi ſ' ītmtacia ī hac hora mīnge tu ipe
rectiō rouſe camelī ut cattī z collige m
ꝑtem horis z vade ſid domu ītmti tui z
ſta nomia cu ſta ſqua ī ꝑta domꝰ eius
ꝑpattedi. ꝑalicos. ꝑycatas. ꝑila. guuo
vos q̄ cito deſtruatis domu illi. ñ. z tem
cito ſtm curt ſid diſſipandu gondu qui tu

1 vam̄ta hora noctis ſacandu ymago ſid
diſſipandu qui dicu congregatu ſupra
caſtru ſ' q̄libz alīu loou ſ' malas nubes
ſ' gñdmaz ī hac hora ſunde ymagīs
ſcripturis z duas rubeo. equalit mixtu
ſic q̄. ſ. lubia 2p z ſculpe mea ſ' nomia
Barra. Acle. Yace. Cenbarra. Cangla
le. ha. Cōſadunbos ſamal. Alul. bosalh.
Aguel. z ſtupa. nafaca. ꝑaluo. z ſuffut
ī ymagīa ſuffugijs q̄ docuim z ſto
nia ſup cam vij. nomia ſcripta z ſcripti
cam ymagīa mattoni loco z ſic in ſou

tum querat q̄ totꝰ exercitꝰ dispergat̄ fu
gat/ & si opus fuit ad dispergendas nu
bes sagitti eam in altum loco & ymago
ri mota ville moueat ut loco statuto &
dispergat̄ nubes & q̄ labit̄ q̄ q̄sq̄s
videbis q̄ mirabilia & potentes deum
ro/ ad faciendu fuga inimicos ut in mtu

Sexta hora noctis facienda ad ymago
ad expellendu mrmur a villa de domo
in qua morat̄ & hac hora fiunde ymag
gmas exeūt vibices & sulpa mas hac
nota. Tartarach. Acuta. Col. Casiel.
Cal. Gnelbiath. Afaly. Andena. Cal. Dadya.
Colcasia. Cal. machiel. Casia. Sal duc.
Acal. Sardiel. Cuk. Gachiel. Fuscaul. Saul
yau. Acal. Satach. Troubael. Belbath. Ca
buel. Achael. Sava. Sacua. & Itaq̄ ut
ymagines sulpa nota illi q̄ ymagine
facis & suffuga ymagine sup̄ deū
suffugite & pona ea q̄a habitatione
eius & veredz malinoꝰ fugido d' villa
et domo n̄r quiesc & pausesc & distribue
tur eis sonꝰ totalis/ ad gubernada nasca
ea tua

Septima hora noctis facienda ā ymā
go ad gubernada nascentia tua hac

hora fundę ymagine exeuę uideo ꝛ ſalue
te ad hꝯ noīa Aug. Cantat. tot mens. da
tua. uia. mutat. uanat. Gena. turbat.
Aux ac. fructa. nou. Deſcendat ignis de
celis in templum q̄ euacuit ꝯ tribunal ꝯ
ſi in ipſu fabricat. Aperuerat. beguel. al
gayl. Cauat. ꝛ ſepeli ymagine i ter
mino ville ꝛ in toto tio ſolui uide ri
ouemab⁹ Adoggregandu Apes ſi colu
bas aut Alias quaſcuq; Aues

4 Eadem hora noctis facieda ymago
Ad applicandas Apes. Ad Alueariu
ſuu aut colubas ad colubariu ſuu aut
quaſcuq; Alias Aues Ad locu ſignatu de
longinquis ptibꝫ ⁊ mens mercuriu ihat
hora fundę ymagine Apis de auro Ad
ponendu unā Auem ⁊ ſculpe ibi iſta nota
Caldea. Cenoſa. Aſtab. yatyon.
Victoriuna. Eluaria. ⁊ ſepely ymā
gine in alteri loco illiꝰ ⁊ in ⁊ Applicabit
illuc ame Apes q̄ euat mercuriu
loci illiꝰ aut colubas ad colubariu ſuum
ubi fuit ymago colube ſca ſm q ſup
dem ⁊ ſimilit ⁊ ame Alia Aues hyma
gine Apes Adora q̄ uolueris ⁊ uocabis
Adcapiendu Aues quas uolueris

n ona hora nocturna facienda ad ymago Ad
quos andas qui 20 libz Ad 5 libz Ad 3 libz Ad
volus Inhac hora fac ymagnu illud ex
auru qs volus quocdā ex sculpere ad
hanc hora tertiam. tuam. benham
tual. toluhaya. ya. 2 ponea q volus
quos supius 2 supnctibut Addisqu
endum qxtiu obsidente villa ut ca
stra

d Coma hora nocturna facienda ad ymago Ad
diffgendu qxtiu obsidente villam ut
castra In hac hora fundā duas ymagines
ex duobz simil duobz 20 metallor vna
sit ex cupa rubea. 2ª qz plumbo. 3ª de stano.
4ª de stagno. 5ª de ferro qz sit aut
hae duas ymagines i vno corpe 2 ista
ymago hnat duo capita vnu leonis
vltiqui vo thauri. hms cōtra supta
antiori 2 sculpe m tres illis ista nota
horata. tonamat. baca. valahera.
lea. veda. caoffexa. lylacuala. tal
maat. dantur. 2 tractus. 2 sculpe m
ventre forme leonis 2 forme bouis
2 ponat cas de sco bouis 2 de se
po colubri 2 suffuga ymagine cu dis
2 sepely eam vbi sedz exitu 2 cadit
2 do talis occisio q ipi met se occidet
2 nuq vultra medietas pdicte sue dom
dnat

Adecima ⁊ duodecima hora nocte nichil
⁊ymagines manum ⁊ operandum nec
⁊ postulat⁹ si m. dixerit se velle ⁊ debere
scripturam inquirere aut addiscere volun-
tas ⁊ cupiditas sue hore ⁊ nona die
q2 mhi⁹ est tota vita magistrum
⁊ cui⁹ officium qua tua virtute dig
statuis tuo nomen ⁊ bndem insacta orgm

Vendo volus aptum exhibuo ipso ad
nona nr̄a in tpe suo dz corp. g̃w
nor̄ videlz malz que vitu ⁊ p h⁹
⁊ capit q2 si fierit filiu⁹ tm̄ suggessio ⁊
dyantam illo vanuit ad effectu 2 of

Cum sit filio op⁹ ⁊ ymagine operis
volus ad pdandu dam̄ horis sue
seminib⁹ ⁊ gnib⁹ accipiat et dicit
h⁹ facies. et si de nocte operis filius ait
dixerit et nocte tu noib⁹ angelor
mandentu et m̄q operabor in nr̄a
phibende vt locuste grandia ⁊ malor
nubiu ⁊ vel q t̄ videbit ⁊ h⁹ sit nona
d scribas ipsmo et
nona angelor pmi tpis. Gabriel. Cassi.
tant. Amatyel. Giuseppe. ⁊ nom pota
tib⁹ sup istos ⁊ ostquiel ⁊ nn dayi
cui singlyriel ⁊ verdatyel. sfatyel.

¶ nō vo fuiu a nouastas
Hora Angelor scudi tpis fut h vau
tatel. truel! vlmel. ⁊ nō capitis
signi. labael/

Hora Angelor suiantiu tpi.o. fut h ac
tauquayl. Actaiayl. Acayl. taabau
ayl. ⁊ nom capitis signi talguauath.
Hora Angelor suietiu
tpi.o. fut h amabal. tauayl. aaa.
actiayl/

c Um fiut opa i volūs. Accipe nō tpis
q h facies ⁊ scribe illa nora ꝑ signa
sm q fiut opꝰ ⁊ ora vera Adeffm tuu
tuta ⁊ potētia creatoris cuiꝰ nom ā
bndom mscula ozꝰ am/

Hota demoibꝰ solis/

q rara ⁊ nos oz ⁊ docuit cupidtas scire
ita fata ymaginu ⁊ nora solis ⁊ luc
et tue ⁊ .s.ow tpis mudi iquolibz tpe
Home rgit solis mūno tpe ⁊ Abutayn.
ginsecundo tpe Actmon ⁊ m.3 Abutagon.
m.s.rafaw/

¶ rama tpa solis sunt h ac nora signoꝝ
cuius sunt. thamud. gadm.
¶ emut d.2. cant 2do vulgo/
tpe.3. fut h libuth sonuio stagitauro
tpe 2do.s. fut h dap domio Aquatico
¶ finis/ De noibꝰ luc/

¶ Primo die noui lue a lunatulant.
Secundo die Albores. Tercio die Alladyn.
Quarto die Saturbaca // Danorib9
Calorp/

¶ Primo die calorp a Asaparas. Tercia.
Secundo die Armatlassi. Tercio die
Satyn. Gnaz. Quarto Satsatre/ D
manib9 Eroz/

¶ Primus die die no9 mamodon. Se
cundo die fastacn. Tercio tabi dn.
ut vidibil. Quarto yemat. ut yane
sa. // Danorib9. q9 ptii mudi. s. ouietis
occidentf Aquilonis. ℞ septentionis/

¶ Primo nl. q9 ptii mudi. s. ouietis mpmo
q9 tpm a Gnamdon. 2°. pibdaya. 3°.
Aldebath. q°. pedroth. Nome occideth tpe
2°. Amana. q°. tema. 3°. ycadaon. Quar
to malchaaz. Nome meridiei tpe pmo
Acmchan. 2°. yasaoth. 3°. Azut. Quar
to dimon. Nome septentrionis tpe pmo
Acmlasut. 2°. Gassan. 3°. Astyel. Quar
to yemlyon. Da Alii q°. noib9 tpe Alia
noia tpe pncp. tpib9 pmo tpe talyy.
2°. Cosmagiuz tertio. Aydaradl. Quarto
Saybath. vt saas q sue. q°. tpa/

Saas qpmu tpe incipit Amedio martij
et finit in medio junij et mensis Aprilis

2 maij · fuit i medio 2 fuit de tpe pmo
Scdo tpe incipit 2 medio junij 2 finit
in medio septembris 2 julius 2 Augustꝰ
fuit in medio 2 fuit de tpe L. Octobris
tpe incipit 2 medio septembris 2 finit in
medio decembris 2 octobris 2 nouembris
fuit in medio 2 fuit de tpe 3ꝭ Decembris
tpe incipit 2 medio decembris 2 finit
in medio maij · 2 januarij 2 februarij
vig fuit in medio 2 fuit de tpe 8 dayma
gimbg vij · drop abdomada

¶ Aprias ppheta 2 exposuit q̄ ꝓpositu. ipse
libru ofidentes mdo q̄ ꝑ sup oms
dag ordinauit ymagines. vij. diop abdo
mada Ad factondu petitiones 2 a scia
Altissima 2 honorata 2 intu sctuaria
2 no gtadit orbg hoibg nisi vis mag
nis 2 pfundissim sapiꝫ 2 intelligetie of
Quae hgit tibi in illis 2 pba 2 tuetios
Vitata sctissima ¶ Dayma gine dici do
minice

¶ vna ymago 2 dicit dominꝰ fortuna de
exercitu. tit Auricalco A' cauta tibi ala
ac scribe sup dam rotā sagitta 2 si in al
tri die Ascensio leone 2 mense Augusti
Aut Aprilis tibi sit rota Angelorum

dantu leone Raphael. Dawdyel vidacha.
fal. Hoia ventoso fuch o ut prium q̄ p̄
mandat leone Baythan. z bri fadiu to
nas Cahaty. Cendas. yebal. Cu volme
ligaw'e lig was fac y magna r̄ay mho
rus nōiu q tibi gueit z fili. ne dea z ca
nuua sup dam prta gurdtiog Couvo
vos fingeli sigillo solis gsig̃ti. Bamaga.
lyon. Cylon Bamayon. Admyon. Af
fuerzy. tayuf. Yem. letana. Bamya
yanoch. hawalyl. gnulil. Casub. Aubcub.
Caytuh. Cacub. z p tu Catona tali z fiu
z q. p tu mudi z ventoso q fuc mc colu
tarriam qui a sup oms dcs fortissimo
z Altissimo z no qc Aliq dcs p tu cu z ipa
ast vacp z gditaub on̄ naturap yat.
faeli. ydawdyel. ycalatasyel. z gnuvo
vos p hc noia vasamaa. licea. Cassaa.
lamubacub. Olot. Clos. Cymchalod.
ipa qc q fcit scias salvatas. z flytas.
yfael. Cawdiel. Calatayh. el. labova
tu z cpleta petitione. meam z cpq qp
cuna cpleui cl

Caudel ymago a luna z a planeta qxam
vt qxstano fl qxcova allud ymago ifa
fidma xma bñuolatiam z gcordiam z
fi fuc. Angeli sup eam dmantes Cavat.

michael samuel. Tu sint volus facz gtor
diam magna bñuolata fac ymagina
ista. 2as hora die lue mart. Cantor mi
mense julij & mart ut m mase pistm
ht sut nora vatoy q madat tanciu
Galatal. halmital. & hi adutor ass sut
Bellomlalu. Abuzaba. & guuia supdam
pistam guuiatione Cotuo vos angeli
bgnissu & sigllue Comoha. Lamo
ha. zihil. beyhaha. Casal. nata. vada.
Cotuo vos phonora dei vt gpleatis
hat petitoes nr & 2as rum labovatis
donat festiet gpleuitis. Rogo ta. ⁊.
⁊ 8 qht mea petitone adimplaua
gfirmaua no vemoneat qusq ad pfa
dimplabit & gfirmabit duina nobis
gcapa gtia & vtg

Cutia ymago a die mart fodina ad
axaua ruibao a' cava rubea die mar
tis & hora martis mis aprilis a' da
cambus & scas qht qg a mtu hono
vatu & fouta qm volus istud qgdam
Hora angelor gnssor sigillo mart
sut hc. s. samael. taruel. haamalul.
& nora vantor q sequunt ad sup hanu
nalua. Blisacaha. Ababol. & adiz
adutovas Cōamal. vmal. & aspa.
& guuia pista guuiatione Cotuo vos

BSB

principes angelorum et ventos et eorum edus. ga
fuatis. dadayus. et hydus. hebar. alar.
nays. gadesia. yeual. festuiach. ysam
riel. yeratel. haramalul. nore celbar-
rauachar. yadame. yalos. hauab. et
dnm luciferi. bathaque. diuini hours
rouiur. hamaha. dena. cadaua. dnm
caloy et tuz nr a filio dei pcipm deu
salaciel. tauriel. hatamalul. pcipe hamuv.
benett et adiutoribus eius qui facias et iuple
ant qd filius postulauit si volus de papula
va dom gd sagnis fluxu quo cadit qd filia i
firmitate. et qz filius dap[m] face sonumulu
ymaginis aureus vubeo et capud ymagis
ius qd cum ata tt

Venita ymago et dica ei cum ij et suo nois
angelorum qbus sup eam constituit orihael.
sonniel. sanguiel. et nois eorum sut hi ma
dati dni eius. s. tobia. et adiutores eius
has. pallas. genubas. forma ymaginis
masculini. aut ortobuls et qui bo sculpe
tas nois ista adsaquandos benuolentias
et pcedas inimicias mee eas et iumenta sic
qui stia quuatione cum uos angeli qui no
mine creatoris pcepti et uitas ipsum.
et creatoris et pceptoris et ois stas et mina
nu sua ut eius sibi cata et uulto mi superbius
qz ipsa et potens et iumentabit rex sub cui

Auctor oia sistut ꝛ vnuut Comuo vos michael. sthuquiel. Hanuel. ynl ya seruꝛa Adonay. sabaoth. yo yo. Amen celorꝝ ꝛ tꝛꝛe ꝛ vniuꝛsi fontis ꝛ solo fuit ⁊ ꝛcuit Hathaal. sthuquiel! Hanuel. qui lata petri dono mꝰm ut vaiat Adam

¶ Vnta ymago ⁊ diei Jouis ⁊ Angeli sup eam ostituti sut Saturquiel. pattā. Cassiel. Assasyel. ⁊ hii sut vti ostituti sup ymagiā. silitꝛ. Heraban. hathauit ⁊ sui Adutoꝝ sut. Ysa. Ysion. Hadasay. Dab. ⁊ qꝝ igit volūs hoc aqꝝ opari formā ymagiā qxaiꝝ ciꝰdem Ad qxtauā ciꝰdem Ad diē Jouis ⁊ itmgā eam cū vnidi ꝛt fac qꝝ vnꝰ ⁊ qꝝ mtieꝝ hoc mo volūs po nere Actꝝ int duos vnos Ad mtieꝝ Ad int vnū ⁊ mtiaꝝ sonū duas ymagines qxauā vnidi masc mariū. ſ. mālis ꝛ pisces Ad masc Anustuū. ꝛalis ꝛ agitauū ⁊ scm le nome vnī sup eam ymagis Femine ⁊ nom Fare sup eam masculi ⁊ dic ꝙnuia nomia istam Dne deꝝ omnꝝ creatoꝝ vniuꝝ visibiliū tam mvisibiliū pone bnuolentia ⁊ masuetā q eam in mtieꝝ ꝛ filia ꝛis ⁊ ꝛis. filiū ꝛis qꝝ ꝛcuisti int Adam ⁊ euam ⁊ int Jacob ⁊ ꝛa Israel ⁊ int michaelem ⁊ gabrielem q ꝛp vnꝰ qꝝ ꝛgnes ⁊ alt Aqueus vnꝰ alti non

nos ꝑ amt eos & concordia magna & ꝙ
Adm̃o ꝓmissi & concordiam t Angelo dñi
medietas & ignea Altera nivea. vt
nix ignem ꝙ exigwit nec ignis nive
& fuit & tuplic̃ nividam & concordet fac
ta dñe tue sctissima pie & mias tellow
filiem talis & concordet dilige & & amde
ei tali filio talis facias & Cowwo vos An
gali nore yafaf. ꝓ afa alleya. hayala.
haya. halix. hayul. Acaya. hycora. saffa
tala. Cossosol. Xamlepet al dñe deꝙ
sas sca & cta concludi & es finis & ꝑm tuꝑ
& nuꝝ moniorib⁹ festina ꝓ auxiliu. tu
sctoli & ꝓpa & mera & adiutorib⁹ ei vt
cito faciant & opleant petitione mea & ꝑ
fecti ymagine mloco q̃ ꝑ tinsaet & vide
bis inviabilis ois dei

Exta ymago & dies veris & Angeli ma
dantes dam sit Amael. Haquiel. Sagriel
& veri sit ꝓtectores & ꝛ. ꝯ adiutores.
Enthasas. Hasat. nasan. ꝑn dey magnib⁹
quib⁹ volum⁹ fom̃ illas dies veris ꝓcessi
Alba mese maij in Alti thamiꝛ. Et mese octo
bris & scriba non vid. sup ow ymagi mte
vis & nom intrem⁹ meapite ymagi vid
& sup pone eas ad stellas & ꝓcuta eas
cu virga olive & duxa eas cu ista qm
nra nam Vaita Amael. Craquel. Samuel.

bassalhaa. ꝑ saaca. gnbaca sadelia. gnbha
lia. salev. gnad. salualia. ꝑ saana. ꝑ amb
nre. ꝑ alhyna. ꝑ cenbtel. hauar. ꝑ asslaty.
eaci. ycel. yca. dad. dada. ꝑ m̃ q̃ caddos
ꝑ alla. dnm ꝑ angelor ꝓ uetor. hcyt.
ꝑ sseueye. ꝑ adonay. el. ꝑ alday. ꝑ sebaoth.
ꝑ sebaoth. lyasta. ꝑ ady. ꝑ gudlubia vnu fon
tissimu vnor ꝓ fortissimu dei ꝑ alt ꝓ mag
nificatoꝛ mi ꝑ q̃ cuiꝰ pom̃ nõ ē ꝑ alia
. ꝑ. qya. ya. bauquissaquil. ꝑ abguyal.
ꝑ ista gnbtatione q̃ sup vos gnuo at
gnbtuta. el. ueniꝰ bn fortuata/ gnuo
vos ut bn ꝑficiatis m̃ hac mea desem
ꝓpulsatio eius mea voluntate gmemo
randus filiꝰ etis ꝓ ei filia etis sicut
fuebat cor cue. ꝑ amoꝛa ꝑ adꝛoꝛ cuꝰ
haycual. haydas. canael. ꝑ alcoth.
ꝑ tanya con etis filie eti ꝑ loꝰ gdem ꝑ
ubi cottidie tnsiat ꝑ

septima ymago a diei sabbati cuiꝰ
planeta a satnꝰ ꝓ hec ymago a mt
tum hoꝛata ꝓ ptaosa. sup ꝑ mos ꝑ alias
ymagines eo q̃ satnꝰ q̃ m̃ septimo
gradu hat ꝑ aut ymagine madat ꝑ ti ꝑ m
gali castiel. ꝑ anbatson. tit matutoꝛ.
ꝑ sacael. et ueti huic seruiebat sunt
hij ꝑ ammi. ꝑ loybain. ꝑ ias. ꝑ malualich.
qui fuit volum̃s ingenie ingenias ꝑ balneu

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Ad molendinu[m] q[uo]d cantoriu[m] ut ponã discordiã
m[et] duos diligentes q[ue] formã ymaginis
ei⁊ sculpã in ea noia dña ⁊ ponta eam
tactu ntu cu ea ꝓ ponta eam ciuitatã q[ue] villa
ut dom⁹ ⁊ sepeli eam in medio vbi volum⁹
⁊ lugabut oms lugre hoi[n]m loci illi⁹ ⁊ si
volus ponã discordiam m[et] duos vni
uolas ut m[et] virtu ⁊ mtiã fou duas
ymagines de pura clara sine q[ue] faces
ymaginis vni faces pond ⁊ faces y
magms intiorũ faces eaꝝ ⁊ pone
eas ego ad eu ⁊ scribe in cera tha
bgiy scpta vba ⁊ pons eam in m[et] eo
eas ymaginis ⁊ h[oc] suo vba q[ue] facut m[et]
eos ut ipsos discordiam ⁊ inimicia m[et]
liuolatia pecto ⁊ tussio capillo⁹ depila
cio filii hoiationes ⁊ fugam ut nullo⁹ vn⁹ ab
alterius possit diligi ⁊ abinuicem sibi ini
mici abuiant ⁊ sepeli ymagine sub pon
ta dom⁹ vni illo⁹ ⁊ videbis mirabilia
et gnia sup eas cui ista gnatioe vel
ta ⁊ ysa obstinatiõn. ☩ Sachariel. Angeli
missi sigillo sat[ur]ni stig q[ui] in hac hora
in obstinatorũ michi ⁊ ꝓpitiã spiritibus
famulis ⁊ famulabꝰ. Hurtaneli. vt veniat
cito me[cum] ꝓpiatum mandatu ꝓnom dñi
bndicti Albilfalal. fiel. rgnabotu. yada.
yaffia. tarsagaf. Hyaalym. smagodyny.

dymas. Anazana. Galodaya. Achym.
Adyw. Alsydáy. Adaptinow. Salbath. Ados
nay. Aloym. Aloe. gna. Crithe. Serzaye.
Alssylayessy. Agnibowa [illegible] Dsatie
tas. Angelorp Cassie. Aittanon. Gat
quel. ptpita ma mnwa Haffla. 2 Al
ualuah. Gayp. Aladeq vt ida meam
qplaant volutta pstitate quuatoms
hui? sup vos sat?

4 Um aute volúis Acape ht tpt suc
de die suc de nocte cum noibus
Angelorp mdantiu tpt mq aptalberis
2 nom vei 2 ibi sut nota sipdeorp An
gelorp mdantiu tpt q scribeva dalbes
mpmo tpe 2 i 2°. tpe 2 i 3°. 2. 8°. at
ctam noia signorp aiq sicut ibi i Atat
miglibz tpa suo 2 ipi sut Angeli custi
dices 2 meliores qm libuit quaz illi q
dadit uidet? 2 q votas pmaqas. xij.
mensiu vt sequit? mfia 2 lo° istorp no
minalis 2 gonas istos sup deos ho q
sicut sup dci Angeli sut noiandi sicut
ctam noia diero mq aptalberis sicuo
qnet? in capitulo qp moyse con
pleta suno vij signa diero i dasuc dicta
uidi

N Ota q ipa suc pntiqas Angelorp xij.

mensis qui dñant in suis thronis requie
scalo qui hz thronos. Quinq; thronus
est mptr orientali in quo dñant tres
Angeli qui sunt pncipes. Sexti thro
nus est mptr australi in quo dñant
hz alij Angeli principes. Septimi thro
nus est mptr occidentali in quo dñant
hz alij Angeli vt mensis pateat melius
declarabit

Hec ordo seruitutis thronorum deseruiunt
tribus mensibus hz vnus ordo vt mensis
pateat / Primus Angelus pncipis
est mptr primo throno hz ipse ostendit
hz duas primo tres hz masc primo hz iste
porta hyssamasyel. hz iste alij pncipes
hz sup dicta habet plures alios seruientes
eis hz obediendo corpi impiis
omnibus qui hz pncipes dns a. hz vocando
hz nominando sp/ ipse hz ordine suis eis
suis seruitoribus hz io iste primus Ange
lus cognoscit cum primo tres hz mensa
das filiis / 2o mense ragnar hz dnat
pncipes
Gabriel. cum suis seruitoribus
3o mense regit hz dnat pncipes dyrnaoc primus ipse
cum suis seruitoribus

Of ℔ mesa vegnat ꝛ fuit ꝑmtays tamenon
tu suis seruitorib⁹
Of quito mesa vegñ ꝛ dnat ꝑmtays
ꝑmtays tavogat tu suis suitorib⁹ ꝑm tut
Of sexto mesa vegt ꝛ dnat ꝑmtays
Of Joval tum suis seruitoribus
Of septo mesa vegñ ꝛ dnat ꝑmtays
patderon. tu suis suitorib⁹
octauo mesa vegñ ꝛ dnat ꝑmtays m
illdegaga tu suis suitoribus ·3· tut
nono mesa vegñ ꝛ dnat ꝑmtays
Andagon tum suis suitoribus
Decio mesa vegñ ꝛ dnat ꝑmtays
Of Acgmel. tu suis suitorib⁹
Vndecio mesa vegt ꝛ dnat ꝑmtays m
Assandrum. tu suis suitorib⁹ ·l· tut
Duodecimo mesa vegt ꝛ dnat ꝑmtays
Aurea Absirdyrel. tu suis suitorib⁹

A Ista ergo q̃ sicut ꝑmtays mensis sic nor
nandi. sic ergo nota dier⁹ sic m⁹ qua
drans q̃ ꝑ nota sic ꝑma am dies dmica
vocat² Aetivaton. ꝛc. ·2· yaptel. tertia
Geminiel. // ·4· gabriel. ·5· michael. ·6·
Zaphiael. ·7· Samuel ut dapiel. vocat²
Iuxta m sacra scriptura distingwe ꝓpa
Et gondelno scriptura ꝛ ut ideo
ꝑmo distinguenda sic ꝓpa ꝛ ygnota

et ꝑ m̃ q̃z que q̃ q̃ uolũs sĩs q̃
tũ ꝓficuũ et ut ꝑ ꝑ tua dispũ
et ordinatũ eas ꝑ ẽmtu ꝑt cu fuit
q̃ tua ꝓncipit ad medio martij et finit
in medio junij et mensis aprilis et maij
fuit in medio et fuit de ꝑmo tpe et ꝑsic
ordien ad ta sig

Et cu ꝑt sumu ordie 3es mansos sup
dci 3es mansos et cor ꝓncipes ꝑnt ds
adaptaꝝ et ouigi et cu ds notariꝰ et iuo
testiꝝ q adapt̃ ẽpo q fuit ꝑmo tpe ordie
tali et ꝓmo thuono occidentali

Et cm ecia sup tpe ordiat 3es mansos et
cor ꝓncipes ꝑnt 2o tpe adaptaꝝ no
minatꝰ et uocatꝰ cu fuit de tpe occidentali
et thuono occidentali

Et cm etiam 3m ꝑt ordiat 3es mansos et
cor ꝓncipes ꝑnt 3o tpe adaptaꝝ no
minatꝰ et uocatꝰ cu ecia fuit de 3o tpe
et thuono meridionali

Et cm q̃m ꝑt ecia ordiat 3es mansos et sios
ꝓncipes ꝑnt q̃o tpi adaptaꝝ et notariꝰ
et uocatꝰ cu fuit de q̃o tpe et thuono sep
tentrionali ad ta sig m uocues angelos cu
ciuos et melioues à ipz ordiatꝰ cu q̃o
cumpuibꝰ

Et cm uolũs ordiare seu certhsam scribe
ue et ut nota uocatue de tuc nota angelorꝰ

dmam̃ tpe ꝛ rnesi ꝛ altitu. q̃ facies oꝝ
ꝑma cui ſit dꝫ mensis a. Hyem/ 2. q̃
hyem. ꝛ sic de aliis/ q̃ si quarta filius ſit bonos et
et malos mutabilis angelos bonos et
si malu malos ꝛ sic facies toibꝫ
volus oꝝ ꝛ ita ꝙlibet oꝝ tuu ꝛ
ꝙbatu. tibu doctrina et vera ꝛ catha

Rum eadem ars te nocturna ꝛ signoꝝ ꝛ lue ꝛ tonitruꝝ ꝛ ꝙtm ꝙ
mudi ꝛ ea nocta solis sut. ꝙ ꝛ ꝙ. sut sm
ꝙta/ q tonitruꝝ ꝑmu ea ꝑmo fulgꝝ nocta
bꝫ ꝛ mvocalbꝫ ꝛ ſm ea 2. ꝛ 3. ea 3.
ꝛ ꝙ. ea ꝙ./ et ea ſm 3. nocta signoꝝ et
mꝙ tpe fulgꝝ id ꝛ ea ſm eadem. ꝙ
nocta lune q tonitruꝝ ea ꝑdis ꝛ nocalbꝫ
ꝑmu ea ꝑmo tpe ꝛ ſm ea. 2. ꝛ 3. ea. 3.
ꝙ ea ꝙ. et ea eadem ſm ꝙ. nocta tpe
q eadem oꝝ te nocturna facies eadem q
ꝑmu nocalbꝫ ea ꝑmis ꝛ ſm ea. 2. et
3. ea 3. ꝛ ꝙ. ea ꝙ. sic habet ſiguꝝ
mcapitulo Dicta ars et ita facies
de ꝙ. nocꝫ q ea ſigꝫ. alit ibi mſi
re dei captum ꝛ eadem oꝝ te nocturna ꝙ.
ꝑtu mudi videlicz orientꝫ. occidentꝫ
ꝛ meridiei ꝛ ſeptentionis ꝛ ea q libꝫ
ꝙtoꝝ habet. ꝙ. nocta ſm tpe ſua. ꝑ
nocalbꝫ ꝛ vocalbꝫ ea ꝑmis ſm ea 2.

Mane. Quando surgis de lectulo
tuo fac signum crucis super frontem tuam
et dic In nomine patris et filii et spiritus
sancti Amen. Deinde dic Domine labia mea
aperies et os meum annunciabit laudem
tuam. Deus in adiutorium meum intende
Domine ad adiuvandum me festina. Gloria
patri et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat
in principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Alleluia. Laus tibi
domine rex eterne glorie. Postea dic
Ymnum de tempore vel de sancto
secundum ordinem kalendarii. Deinde
dic Psalmum Venite exultemus domino
jubilemus deo salutari nostro. Preoccupemus
faciem eius in confessione et in psalmis
jubilemus ei. Quoniam deus magnus dominus
et rex magnus super omnem terram. Quia
in manu eius sunt omnes fines terre et
altitudines montium ipsius sunt. Quoniam
ipsius est mare et ipse fecit illud et aridam
fundaverunt manus eius. Venite adoremus
et procidamus ante deum ploremus coram
domino qui fecit nos. Quia ipse est dominus
deus noster nos autem populus eius et oves
pascue eius. Hodie si vocem eius audieritis
nolite obdurare corda vestra sicut in
exacerbatione secundum diem tentationis in
deserto. Ubi tentaverunt me patres vestri
probaverunt me et viderunt opera mea.
Quadraginta annis proximus fui generationi
huic et dixi semper hi errant corde. Et
ipsi non cognoverunt vias meas. Quibus
juravi in ira mea si introibunt in requiem
meam. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in secula seculorum. Amen. Deinde
dic Ymnum de tempore vel de sancto
secundum ordinem kalendarii. Deinde
dic Psalmum Deus misereatur nostri et
benedicat nobis illuminet vultum suum
super nos et misereatur nostri. Ut cognoscamus
in terra viam tuam in omnibus gentibus
salutare tuum. Confiteantur tibi populi
deus confiteantur tibi populi omnes. Letentur
et exultent gentes quoniam judicas populos
in equitate et gentes in terra dirigis. Confiteantur
tibi populi deus confiteantur tibi populi
omnes. Terra dedit fructum suum benedicat
nos deus deus noster benedicat nos deus
et metuant eum omnes fines terre. Gloria
patri et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat
in principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum
de tempore vel de sancto secundum
ordinem kalendarii. Deinde dic Psalmum
Jubilate deo omnis terra servite domino
in letitia introite in conspectu eius in
exultatione. Scitote quoniam dominus ipse
est deus ipse fecit nos et non ipsi nos
populus eius et oves pascue eius. Introite
portas eius in confessione atria eius in
ymnis confitemini illi laudate nomen eius.
Quoniam suavis est dominus in eternum
misericordia eius et usque in generationem
et generationem veritas eius. Gloria patri
et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in
principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum
de tempore vel de sancto secundum
ordinem kalendarii. Deinde dic Psalmum
Deus deus meus respice in me quare me
dereliquisti longe a salute mea verba
delictorum meorum. Deus meus clamabo
per diem et non exaudies per noctem et
non ad insipientiam mihi. Tu autem in
sancto habitas laus israel. In te speraverunt
patres nostri speraverunt et liberasti eos.
Ad te clamaverunt et salvi facti sunt in
te speraverunt et non sunt confusi. Ego
autem sum vermis et non homo opprobrium
hominum et abiectio plebis. Omnes videntes
me deriserunt me locuti sunt labiis et
moverunt caput. Sperabit in domino
eripiat eum salvum faciat eum quoniam
vult eum deus. Quoniam tu es qui extraxisti
me de ventre matris mee spes mea ab
uberibus matris mee. In te proiectus sum
ex utero de ventre matris mee deus meus
es tu. Ne discesseris a me quoniam tribulatio
proxima est quoniam non est qui adiuvet.
Circumdederunt me vituli multi tauri
pingues obsederunt me. Aperuerunt super
me os suum sicut leo rapiens et rugiens.
Sicut aqua effusus sum et dispersa sunt
omnia ossa mea. Factum est cor meum
tamquam cera liquescens in medio ventris
mei. Aruit tamquam testa virtus mea et
lingua mea adhesit faucibus meis et in
pulvere mortis deduxisti me. Quoniam
circumdederunt me canes multi concilium
malignantium obsedit me. Foderunt manus
meas et pedes meos dinumerare possum
omnia ossa mea. Ipsi vero consideraverunt
et inspexerunt me diviserunt sibi vestimenta
mea et super vestem meam miserunt sortem.
Tu autem domine ne elongaveris auxilium
tuum a me ad defensionem meam conspice
eripe a framea deus animam meam et de
manu canis unicam meam. Salva me ex
ore leonis et a cornibus unicornium humilitatem
meam exaudisti. Narrabo nomen tuum
fratribus meis in medio ecclesie laudabo
te. Qui timetis dominum laudate eum
universum semen jacob clarificate eum
timeat eum omne semen israel. Quoniam
non sprevit neque despexit deprecationem
pauperis nec avertit faciem suam a me
et cum clamarem ad eum exaudivit me.
Apud te laus mea in ecclesia magna
reddam vota mea in conspectu timentium
eum. Edent pauperes et saturabuntur et
laudabunt dominum qui requirunt eum
vivent corda eorum in seculum seculi.
Reminiscentur et convertentur ad dominum
universi fines terre et adorabunt in conspectu
eius universe familie gentium. Quoniam
domini est regnum et ipse dominabitur
gentium. Manducaverunt et adoraverunt
omnes pingues terre in conspectu eius
procident omnes qui descendunt in terram
et anima mea illi vivet. Et semen meum
servet illi narrabitur domino generatio
ventura et annunciabunt celi justitiam
eius populo qui nascetur quem fecit dominus.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in secula seculorum. Amen. Deinde
dic Ymnum de tempore vel de sancto
secundum ordinem kalendarii. Deinde
dic Psalmum Dominus regit me et nichil
mihi deerit in loco pascue ibi me collocavit.
Super aquam refectionis educavit me.
Animam meam convertit deduxit me super
semitas iustitie propter nomen suum. Nam
et si ambulavero in medio umbre mortis
non timebo mala quoniam tu mecum es.
Virga tua et baculus tuus ipsa me consolata
sunt. Parasti in conspectu meo mensam
adversus eos qui tribulant me. Impinguasti
in oleo caput meum et calix meus inebrians
quam preclarus est. Et misericordia tua
subsequetur me omnibus diebus vite mee
ut habitem in domo domini in longitudinem
dierum. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui
sancto. Sicut erat in principio et nunc et
semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.
Deinde dic Ymnum de tempore vel de
sancto secundum ordinem kalendarii.
Deinde dic Psalmum Domini est terra et
plenitudo eius orbis terrarum et universi
qui habitant in eo. Quia ipse super maria
fundavit eum et super flumina preparavit
eum. Quis ascendet in montem domini aut
quis stabit in loco sancto eius. Innocens
manibus et mundo corde qui non accepit
in vano animam suam nec juravit in dolo
proximo suo. Hic accipiet benedictionem
a domino et misericordiam a deo salutari
suo. Hec est generatio querentium eum
querentium faciem dei jacob. Attollite
portas principes vestras et elevamini
portae eternales et introibit rex gloriae.
Quis est iste rex gloriae dominus fortis
et potens dominus potens in prelio. Attollite
portas principes vestras et elevamini
portae eternales et introibit rex gloriae.
Quis est iste rex gloriae dominus virtutum
ipse est rex gloriae. Gloria patri et filio
et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in principio
et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum.
Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum de tempore
vel de sancto secundum ordinem kalendarii.
Deinde dic Psalmum Benedixisti domine
terram tuam avertisti captivitatem jacob.
Remisisti iniquitatem plebis tue operuisti
omnia peccata eorum. Mitigasti omnem
iram tuam avertisti ab ira indignationis
tue. Convertere nobis deus salutaris noster
et averte iram tuam a nobis. Numquid in
eternum irasceris nobis aut extendes iram
tuam a generatione et generationem. Deus
tu conversus vivificabis nos et plebs tua
letabitur in te. Ostende nobis domine
misericordiam tuam et salutare tuum da
nobis. Audiam quid loquatur in me dominus
deus quoniam loquetur pacem super plebem
suam et super sanctos suos et in eos qui
convertuntur ad cor. Verumtamen prope
timentes eum salutare ipsius ut habitet
gloria in terra nostra. Misericordia et
veritas obviaverunt sibi justitia et pax
osculate sunt. Veritas de terra orta est
et justitia de celo prospexit. Etenim dominus
dabit benignitatem et terra nostra dabit
fructum suum. Justitia ante eum ambulabit
et ponet in via gressus suos. Gloria patri
et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in
principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum
de tempore vel de sancto secundum
ordinem kalendarii. Deinde dic Psalmum
Inclina domine aurem tuam et exaudi me
quoniam inops et pauper sum ego. Custodi
animam meam quoniam sanctus sum. Salvum
fac servum tuum deus meus sperantem in
te. Miserere mihi domine quoniam ad te
clamavi tota die. Letifica animam servi
tui quoniam ad te domine animam meam
levavi. Quoniam tu domine suavis et mitis
et multe misericordie omnibus invocantibus
te. Auribus percipe domine orationem meam
et intende voci deprecationis mee. In die
tribulationis mee clamavi ad te quia exaudisti
me. Non est similis tui in diis domine et
non est secundum opera tua. Omnes gentes
quascumque fecisti venient et adorabunt
coram te domine et glorificabunt nomen
tuum. Quia magnus es tu et faciens mirabilia
tu es deus solus. Deduc me domine in via
tua et ingrediar in veritate tua letetur
cor meum ut timeat nomen tuum. Confitebor
tibi domine deus meus in toto corde meo
et glorificabo nomen tuum in eternum.
Quia misericordia tua magna est super me
et eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiori.
Deus iniqui insurrexerunt super me et
synagoge potentium quesierunt animam
meam et non proposuerunt te in conspectu
suo. Et tu domine deus miserator et misericors
patiens et multe misericordie et verax.
Respice in me et miserere mei da imperium
tuum puero tuo et salvum fac filium ancille
tue. Fac mecum signum in bonum ut videant
qui oderunt me et confundantur quoniam
tu domine adiuvisti me et consolatus es me.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in secula seculorum. Amen. Deinde
dic Ymnum de tempore vel de sancto
secundum ordinem kalendarii. Deinde
dic Psalmum Fundamenta eius in montibus
sanctis diligit dominus portas sion super
omnia tabernacula jacob. Gloriosa dicta
sunt de te civitas dei. Memor ero rahab et
babilonis scientium me. Ecce alienigene et
tyrus et populus ethiopum hii fuerunt ibi.
Numquid sion dicet homo et homo natus
est in ea et ipse fundavit eam altissimus.
Dominus narrabit in scripturis populorum
et principum horum qui fuerunt in ea.
Sicut letantium omnium habitatio est in te.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in secula seculorum. Amen. Deinde
dic Ymnum de tempore vel de sancto
secundum ordinem kalendarii. Deinde
dic Psalmum Domine deus salutis mee in
die clamavi et nocte coram te. Intret oratio
mea in conspectu tuo inclina aurem tuam
ad precem meam. Quia repleta est malis
anima mea et vita mea infernum appropiavit.
Estimatus sum cum descendentibus in lacum
factus sum sicut homo sine adiutorio inter
mortuos liber. Sicut vulnerati dormientes
in sepulchris quorum non es memor amplius
et ipsi de manu tua repulsi sunt. Posuerunt
me in lacu inferiori in tenebrosis et in
umbra mortis. Super me confirmatus est
furor tuus et omnes fluctus tuos induxisti
super me. Longe fecisti notos meos a me
me posuerunt abominationem sibi. Traditus
sum et non egrediebar oculi mei languerunt
prae inopia. Clamavi ad te domine tota die
expandi ad te manus meas. Numquid mortuis
facies mirabilia aut medici suscitabunt et
confitebuntur tibi. Numquid narrabit aliquis
in sepulchro misericordiam tuam et veritatem
tuam in perditione. Numquid cognoscentur
in tenebris mirabilia tua et justitia tua in
terra oblivionis. Et ego ad te domine clamavi
et mane oratio mea preveniet te. Ut quid
domine repellis orationem meam avertis
faciem tuam a me. Pauper sum ego et in
laboribus meis a iuventute mea exaltatus
autem humiliatus sum et conturbatus. In me
transierunt ire tue et terrores tui conturbaverunt
me. Circumdederunt me sicut aqua tota die
circumdederunt me simul. Elongasti a me
amicum et proximum et notos meos a miseria.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in secula seculorum. Amen. Deinde
dic Ymnum de tempore vel de sancto
secundum ordinem kalendarii. Deinde
dic Psalmum Quam bonus israel deus his
qui recto sunt corde. Mei autem pene moti
sunt pedes pene effusi sunt gressus mei.
Quia zelavi super iniquos pacem peccatorum
videns. Quia non est respectus morti eorum
et firmamentum in plaga eorum. In labore
hominum non sunt et cum hominibus non
flagellabuntur. Ideo tenuit eos superbia
operti sunt iniquitate et impietate sua.
Prodiit quasi ex adipe iniquitas eorum
transierunt in affectum cordis. Cogitaverunt
et locuti sunt nequitiam iniquitatem in
excelsum locuti sunt. Posuerunt in celum
os suum et lingua eorum transivit in terra.
Ideo convertetur populus meus hic et dies
plenos invenient in eis. Et dixerunt quomodo
scit deus et si est scientia in excelso. Ecce
ipsi peccatores et abundantes in seculo
obtinuerunt divitias. Et dixi ergo sine
causa justificavi cor meum et lavi inter
innocentes manus meas. Et fui flagellatus
tota die et castigatio mea in matutinis.
Si dicebam narrabo sic ecce nationem filiorum
tuorum reprobavi. Existimabam ut cognoscerem
hoc labor est ante me. Donec intrem in
sanctuarium dei et intelligam in novissimis
eorum. Verumtamen propter dolos posuisti
eis dejecisti eos dum allevarentur. Quomodo
facti sunt in desolationem subito defecerunt
perierunt propter iniquitatem suam. Sicut
somnium surgentium domine in civitate tua
imaginem ipsorum ad nichilum redigis.
Quia inflammatum est cor meum et renes
mei commutati sunt. Et ego ad nichilum
redactus sum et nescivi. Ut jumentum
factus sum apud te et ego semper tecum.
Tenuisti manum dextram meam et in voluntate
tua deduxisti me et cum gloria suscepisti
me. Quid enim mihi est in celo et a te quid
volui super terram. Defecit caro mea et
cor meum deus cordis mei et pars mea deus
in eternum. Quia ecce qui elongant se a te
peribunt elongasti omnem qui fornicatur
abs te. Mihi autem adherere deo bonum est
ponere in domino deo spem meam. Ut
narrem omnes laudationes tuas in portis
filie sion. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui
sancto. Sicut erat in principio et nunc et
semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.
Deinde dic Ymnum de tempore vel de
sancto secundum ordinem kalendarii.
Deinde dic Psalmum Ut quid deus repulisti
in finem iratus est furor tuus super oves
pascue tue. Memor esto congregationis tue
quam possedisti ab initio. Redemisti virgam
hereditatis tue mons sion in quo habitasti
in eo. Leva manus tuas in superbias eorum
in finem quanta malignatus est inimicus
in sancto. Et gloriati sunt qui oderunt te
in medio solemnitatis tue posuerunt signa
sua signa. Et non cognoverunt sicut in
exitu super summum introitum eius. Quasi
in silva lignorum securibus exciderunt
ianuas eius in idipsum. In securi et ascia
dejecerunt eam. Incenderunt igni sanctuarium
tuum in terra polluerunt tabernaculum
nominis tui. Dixerunt in corde suo cognatio
eorum simul. Quiescere faciamus omnes
dies festos dei a terra. Signa nostra non
vidimus. Jam non est propheta et nos non
cognoscet amplius. Usquequo deus improperabit
inimicus. Irritat adversarius nomen tuum
in finem. Ut quid avertis manum tuam et
dexteram tuam de medio sinu tuo in finem.
Deus autem rex noster ante secula operatus
est salutem in medio terre. Tu confirmasti
in virtute tua mare. Tu contribulasti capita
draconis in aquis. Tu confregisti capita
draconis. Tu dedisti eum escam populis
ethiopum. Tu dirupisti fontes et torrentes.
Tu siccasti fluvios ethan. Tuus est dies et
tua est nox tu fabricatus es auroram et
solem. Tu fecisti omnes terminos terre
estatem et ver tu plasmasti ea. Memor esto
hujus inimicus improperavit domino et
populus insipiens exacerbavit nomen tuum.
Ne tradas bestiis animas confitentium tibi
et animas pauperum tuorum ne obliviscaris
in finem. Respice in testamentum tuum
quia repleti sunt qui obscurati sunt terre
domibus iniquitatum. Ne avertatur humilis
factus confundatur pauper et inopes laudabunt
nomen tuum. Exurge deus judica causam
tuam memor esto improperiorum tuorum
eorum que ab insipiente sunt tota die.
Ne obliviscaris vocem inimicorum tuorum
superbia eorum qui te oderunt ascendit
semper. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui
sancto. Sicut erat in principio et nunc et
semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.
Deinde dic Ymnum de tempore vel de
sancto secundum ordinem kalendarii.
Deinde dic Psalmum Confitebimur tibi
deus confitebimur et invocabimus nomen
tuum narrabimus mirabilia tua. Cum accepero
tempus ego justitias judicabo. Liquefacta
est terra et omnes qui habitant in ea ego
confirmavi columnas eius. Dixi iniquis
nolite inique agere et delinquentibus nolite
exaltare cornu. Nolite extollere in altum
cornu vestrum aut loquamini adversus deum
iniquitatem. Quia neque ab oriente neque
ab occidente neque a desertis montibus.
Quoniam deus judex hunc humiliat et hunc
exaltat. Quia calix in manu domini vini
meri plenus mixto et inclinavit ex hoc in
hoc verumtamen fex eius non est exinanita
bibent omnes peccatores terre. Ego autem
annunciabo in seculum psalmum dicam deo
jacob. Et omnia cornua peccatorum confringam
et exaltabuntur cornua justi. Gloria patri
et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in
principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum
de tempore vel de sancto secundum
ordinem kalendarii. Deinde dic Psalmum
Notus in judea deus in israel magnum nomen
eius. Et factus est in pace locus eius et
habitatio eius in sion. Ibi confregit potentias
arcuum scutum gladium et bellum tu illuminans
mirabiliter a montibus eternis. Turbati sunt
omnes insipientes corde dormierunt somnum
suum et nichil invenerunt omnes viri divitiarum
in manibus suis. Ab increpatione tua deus
jacob dormitaverunt qui ascendunt equos.
Tu terribilis es et quis resistet tibi ex tunc
ira tua. De celo auditum fecisti judicium
terra tremuit et quievit. Dum exurgeret in
judicium deus ut salvos faceret omnes mansuetos
terre. Quoniam cogitatio hominis confitebitur
tibi et reliquie cogitationis diem festum
agent tibi. Vovete et reddite domino deo
vestro omnes qui in circuitu eius affere
munera terribili et auferenti spiritum
principum terribili apud omnes reges terre.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in secula seculorum. Amen. Deinde
dic Ymnum de tempore vel de sancto
secundum ordinem kalendarii. Deinde
dic Psalmum Voce mea ad dominum clamavi
voce mea ad deum et intendit mihi. In die
tribulationis mee deum exquisivi manibus
meis nocte contra eum et non sum deceptus.
Renuit consolari anima mea memor fui dei
et delectatus sum et exercitabar et defecit
spiritus meus. Anticipaverunt vigilie oculi
mei turbatus sum et non sum locutus.
Cogitavi dies antiquos et annos eternos in
mente habui. Et meditatus sum nocte cum
corde meo et exercitabar et scopebam spiritum
meum. Numquid in eternum proiciet dominus
aut non apponet ut complacitum sit adhuc.
Aut in finem misericordiam suam abscindet
a generatione in generationem. Aut obliviscetur
misereri deus aut continebit in ira sua
misericordias suas. Et dixi nunc cepi hec
mutatio dextere excelsi. Memor fui operum
domini quia memor ero ab initio mirabilis
tuus. Et meditabor in omnibus operibus
tuis et in adinventionibus tuis loquar.
Deus in sancto via tua quis deus magnus
sicut deus noster. Tu es deus qui facis
mirabilia notam fecisti in gentibus virtutem
tuam. Redemisti in brachio populum tuum
filios jacob et joseph. Viderunt te aque deus
viderunt te aque et timuerunt et turbati
sunt abyssi. Multitudo sonitus aquarum
vocem dederunt nubes. Etenim sagitte tue
transeunt vox tonitrui tui in rota. Illuxerunt
coruscationes tue orbi terre commota est et
contremuit terra. In mari via tua et semite
tue in aquis multis et vestigia tua non
cognoscentur. Deduxisti sicut oves populum
tuum in manu moysi et aaron. Gloria patri
et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in
principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum
de tempore vel de sancto secundum
ordinem kalendarii. Deinde dic Psalmum
Attendite popule meus legem meam inclinate
aurem vestram in verba oris mei. Aperiam
in parabolis os meum loquar propositiones
ab initio. Quanta audivimus et cognovimus
ea et patres nostri narraverunt nobis non
occultabimus a filiis eorum in generatione
altera narrantes laudes domini et virtutes
eius et mirabilia eius que fecit. Et suscitavit
testimonium in jacob et legem posuit in
israel quecumque mandavit patribus nostris
notas facere filiis suis ut cognoscat generatio
altera filii qui nascentur et exurgent et
narrabunt filiis suis. Ut ponant in deo
confidentiam suam et non obliviscantur
operum dei et mandata eius exquirant. Ne
fiant sicut patres eorum generatio prava et
exasperans generatio que non direxit cor
suum et non creditum est cum deo spiritus
eius. Filii arcu intendentes conversi sunt
in die tribulationis. Non custodierunt testamentum
dei et in lege eius noluerunt ambulare.
Et obliti sunt benefactorum suorum et
mirabilium eius que ostendit eis. Coram
patribus eorum fecit mirabilia in terra
egypti in campo tanitis. Interclusit mare
et perduxit eos et statuit aquas quasi in
utre. Et deduxit eos in nube diei et tota
nocte in illuminatione ignis. Dirupit petram
in eremo et adaquavit eos sicut in abysso
multa. Et eduxit aquam de petra et deduci
fecit tamquam flumina aquas. Et addiderunt
adhuc peccare ei in iracundiam excelsum
in inaquosa terra. Et tentaverunt deum in
cordibus suis ad petendas escas animabus
suis. Et male locuti sunt de deo dixerunt
numquid potest deus parare mensam in
deserto. Quoniam percussit petram et fluxerunt
aque et torrentes inundaverunt. Numquid
et panem potest dare aut parare mensam
populo suo. Ideo audivit dominus et distulit
et ignis accensus est in jacob et ira ascendit
in israel. Quia non crediderunt in deo nec
speraverunt in salutari eius. Et mandavit
nubibus desuper et ostia celi aperuit. Et
pluit illis manna ad manducandum et panem
celi dedit eis. Panem angelorum manducavit
homo cibaria misit eis in abundantia. Transtulit
austrum de celo et induxit in virtute sua
africum. Et pluit super eos sicut pulverem
carnes et sicut arenam maris volatilia
pennata. Et ceciderunt in medio castrorum
eorum circa habitacula eorum. Et manducaverunt
et saturati sunt nimis et desiderium eorum
attulit eis. Non sunt fraudati a desiderio
suo adhuc escam eorum habebant in ore
eorum. Et ira dei ascendit super eos et occidit
pinguissimos eorum et electos israel impedivit.
In omnibus his peccaverunt adhuc et non
credidit in mirabilibus eius. Et defecerunt
dies eorum in vanitate et anni eorum cum
festinatione. Cum occideret eos quesierunt
eum et revertebantur et diluculo veniebant
ad eum. Et memorati sunt quia deus adiutor
est eorum et deus excelsus redemptor eorum
est. Et dilexerunt eum in ore suo et lingua
sua mentiti sunt ei. Cor autem eius non erat
rectum cum eo nec fideles habiti sunt in
testamento eius. Ipse autem est misericors
et propitiabitur peccatis eorum et non disperdet
et multas avertit iram suam et non accendit
omnem furorem suum. Et recordatus est
quia caro sunt spiritus vadens et non rediens.
Quotiens exacerbaverunt eum in deserto
in ira concitaverunt eum in inaquosa terra.
Et conversi sunt et tentaverunt deum et
sanctum israel exacerbaverunt. Non sunt
recordati manus eius die qua redemit eos
de manu tribulantis. Sicut posuit in egypto
signa sua et prodigia sua in campo tanitis.
Et convertit in sanguinem flumina eorum
et imbres eorum ne biberent. Misit in eos
canem et comedit eos et ranam et disperdidit
eos. Et dedit erugini fructus eorum et labores
eorum locuste. Occidit in grandine vineas
eorum et moreas eorum in pruina. Et tradidit
grandini iumenta eorum et possessionem
eorum igni. Misit in eos iram indignationis
sue furorem et iram et tribulationem immissiones
per angelos malos. Viam fecit semite iracundie
sue non pepercit a morte animabus eorum
et iumenta eorum in morte conclusit. Et
percussit omne primogenitum in terra egypti
primitias omnis laboris in tabernaculis
cham. Et abstulit sicut oves populum suum
et deduxit eos tamquam gregem in deserto.
Et duxit eos in spe et non timuerunt et
inimicos eorum operuit mare. Introduxit
eos in montem sanctificationis sue montem
quem acquisivit dextera eius. Et ejecit a
facie eorum gentes et sortitus est eis funiculo
distributionis et habitare fecit in tabernaculis
eorum tribus israel. Et tentaverunt et exacerbaverunt
deum excelsum et testimonia eius non custodierunt.
Et aversi sunt et non servaverunt sicut
patres eorum conversi sunt in arcum prevaricans.
In ascensionibus suis ad iracundiam
concitaverunt eum et in sculptilibus suis
ad emulationem provocaverunt eum. Audivit
deus et distulit et vehementer annullavit
israel. Et repulit tabernaculum silo tabernaculum
suum ubi habitavit in hominibus. Et tradidit
in captivitatem virtutem eorum et pulchritudinem
eorum in manus inimici. Et conclusit in
gladio populum suum et hereditatem suam
sprevit. Juvenes eorum comedit ignis et
virgines eorum non sunt lamentate. Sacerdotes
eorum in gladio cadent et viduas eorum non
plorabunt. Et exsurrexit tamquam dormiens
dominus tamquam potens crapulatus a vino.
Et percussit inimicos suos in posteriora
opprobrium sempiternum dedit illis. Et
reprobavit tabernaculum joseph et tribum
ephraim non elegit. Sed elegit tribum juda
montem sion quem dilexit. Et edificavit
sicut unicornium sanctificium suum sicut
terram fundavit eum. Et elegit david puerum
suum et sustulit eum de gregibus ovium.
De post fetantes accepit eum pascere jacob
populum suum et israel hereditatem suam.
Et pavit eos in innocentia cordis sui et in
intellectibus manuum suarum deduxit eos.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in secula seculorum. Amen. Deinde
dic Ymnum de tempore vel de sancto
secundum ordinem kalendarii. Deinde
dic Psalmum Deus venerunt gentes in
hereditatem tuam polluerunt templum
sanctum tuum posuerunt jerusalem in
pomorum custodiam. Posuerunt morticinia
servorum tuorum escas volatilibus celi
carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis terre.
Effuderunt sanguinem eorum tamquam
aquam in circuitu jerusalem et non erat
qui sepeliret. Facti sumus opprobrium
vicinis nostris subsannatio et illusio his
qui in circuitu nostro sunt. Usquequo
domine irasceris in finem accendetur sicut
ignis zelus tuus. Effunde iram tuam in
gentes que te non noverunt et in regna que
nomen tuum non invocaverunt. Quoniam
comederunt jacob et locum eius desolaverunt.
Ne memineris iniquitatum nostrarum antiquarum
cito anticipent nos misericordie tue quia
pauperes facti sumus nimis. Adiuva nos
deus salutaris noster propter gloriam nominis
tui domine et libera nos et propitius esto
peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum. Ne
forte dicant in gentibus ubi est deus eorum
et innotescat in nationibus coram oculis
nostris ultio sanguinis servorum tuorum
qui effusus est. Introeat in conspectu tuo
gemitus compeditorum secundum magnitudinem
brachii tui posside filios mortificatorum.
Et redde vicinis nostris septuplum in sinum
eorum improperium eorum quod exprobraverunt
tibi domine. Nos autem populus tuus et oves
pascue tue confitebimur tibi in seculum in
generationem et generationem narrabimus
laudem tuam. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui
sancto. Sicut erat in principio et nunc et
semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.
Deinde dic Ymnum de tempore vel de
sancto secundum ordinem kalendarii.
Deinde dic Psalmum Qui regis israel intende
qui deducis tamquam ovem joseph. Qui sedes
super cherubim manifestare coram ephraim
benjamin et manasse. Excita potentiam tuam
et veni ut salvos facias nos. Deus convertere
et ostende faciem tuam et salvi erimus.
Deus virtutum quousque irasceris super
orationem servi tui. Cibabis nos pane lacrimarum
et potum dabis nobis in lacrimis in mensura.
Posuisti nos contradictionem vicinis nostris
et inimici nostri subsannaverunt nos. Deus
virtutum convertere nos et ostende faciem
tuam et salvi erimus. Vitem de egypto
transtulisti ejecisti gentes et plantasti eam.
Dux itinere fecisti in conspectu eius radices
eius et implevit terram. Operuit montes
umbra eius et arbusta eius cedros dei.
Extendit palmites suos usque ad mare et
usque ad flumen propagines eius. Ut quid
destruxisti maceriam eius et vindemiant
eam omnes qui pretereunt viam. Exterminavit
eam aper de silva et singularis ferus
depastus est eam. Deus virtutum convertere
respice de celo et vide et visita vineam
istam. Et perfice eam quam plantavit dextera
tua et super filium hominis quem confirmasti
tibi. Incensa igni et suffossa ab inimicis
tuis. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in secula seculorum. Amen. Deinde
dic Ymnum de tempore vel de sancto
secundum ordinem kalendarii. Deinde
dic Psalmum Exultate deo adiutori nostro
jubilate deo jacob. Sumite psalmum et date
tympanum psalterium jocundum cum cithara.
Buccinate in neomenia tuba in insigni die
solemnitatis vestre. Quia precepta israel
sunt et judicia deo jacob. Testimonium in
joseph posuit illud cum exiret de terra egypti
linguam quam non noverat audivit. Divertit
ab oneribus dorsum eius manus eius in
cophino servierunt. In tribulatione invocasti
me et liberavi te exaudivi te in abscondito
tempestatis probavi te apud aquam contradictionis.
Audi populus meus et contestabor te israel
si audieris me non erit in te deus recens
et non adorabis deum alienum. Ego enim
sum dominus deus tuus qui eduxi te de terra
egypti dilata os tuum et implebo illud.
Et non audivit populus meus vocem meam
et israel non intendit mihi. Et dimisi eos
secundum desideria cordis eorum ibunt in
adinventionibus suis. Si populus meus audisset
me israel in viis meis ambulasset. Paulo
forsitan inimicos eorum humiliassem et super
tribulantes eos misissem manum meam. Inimici
domini mentiti sunt ei et erit tempus eorum
in eternum. Et cibavit eos ex adipe frumenti
et de petra mel saturavit eos. Gloria patri
et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in
principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum
de tempore vel de sancto secundum
ordinem kalendarii. Deinde dic Psalmum
Deus stetit in synagoga deorum in medio
autem deos dijudicat. Usquequo judicatis
iniquitatem et facies peccatorum sumitis
diapsalma. Judicate egenum et pupillum
humilem et pauperem justificate. Eripite
pauperem et egenum de manu peccatoris
liberate. Nescierunt neque intellexerunt in
tenebris ambulant. Movebuntur omnia fundamenta
terre. Ego dixi dii estis et filii excelsi
omnes. Vos autem sicut homines moriemini
et sicut unus de principibus cadetis. Exurge
deus judica terram quoniam tu hereditabis
in omnibus gentibus. Gloria patri et filio
et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in principio
et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum.
Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum de tempore
vel de sancto secundum ordinem kalendarii.
Deinde dic Psalmum Deus quis similis erit
tibi ne taceas neque compescaris deus. Quoniam
ecce inimici tui sonuerunt et qui oderunt
te extulerunt caput. Super populum tuum
malignaverunt consilium et cogitaverunt
adversus sanctos tuos. Dixerunt venite et
disperdamus eos ne sit populus et non memoretur
nomen israel amplius. Quoniam cogitaverunt
unanimiter simul adversum te testamentum
disponent tabernacula idumeorum et ismaelite
moab et agareni. Gebal et ammon et amalech
alienigene cum habitantibus tyrum. Etenim
assur venit cum illis facti sunt brachium
filiis loth. Diapsalma. Fac illis sicut madian
et sisare et jabin in torrente cison. Disperierunt
in endor facti sunt ut stercus terre. Pone
principes eorum sicut oreb et zeb et sicut
zebee et salmana omnes principes eorum.
Qui dixerunt hereditate possideamus nobis
speluncas dei. Deus meus pone illos ut rotam
et sicut stipulam ante faciem venti. Sicut
ignis qui comburit silvam et sicut flamma
comburens montes. Sic persequeris illos in
tempestate tua et in ira tua conturbabis
eos. Impple facies eorum ignominia et querent
nomen tuum domine. Confundantur et conturbentur
in seculum seculi et erubescant et pereant.
Et cognoscant quia nomen tibi dominus tu
solus altissimus in omni terra. Gloria patri
et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in
principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum
de tempore vel de sancto secundum
ordinem kalendarii. Deinde dic Psalmum
Quam dilecta tabernacula tua domine virtutum
concupiscit et deficit anima mea in atria
domini. Cor meum et caro mea exultaverunt
in deum vivum. Etenim passer invenit sibi
domum et turtur nidum sibi ubi reponat
pullos suos. Altaria tua domine virtutum
rex meus et deus meus. Beati qui habitant
in domo tua domine in seculum seculi laudabunt
te. Beatus vir cuius est auxilium abs te
ascensiones in corde suo disposuit in valle
lacrimarum in loco quem posuit. Etenim
benedictionem dabit legislator ibunt de
virtute in virtutem videbitur deus deorum
in sion. Domine deus virtutum exaudi orationem
meam auribus percipe deus jacob. Protector
noster aspice deus et respice in faciem
christi tui. Quia melior est dies una in
atriis tuis super millia. Elegi abjectus esse
in domo dei mei magis quam habitare in
tabernaculis peccatorum. Quia misericordiam
et veritatem diligit deus gratiam et gloriam
dabit dominus. Non privabit bonis eos qui
ambulant in innocentia. Domine deus virtutum
beatus homo qui sperat in te. Gloria patri
et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in
principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum
de tempore vel de sancto secundum
ordinem kalendarii. Deinde dic Psalmum
Benedixisti domine terram tuam avertisti
captivitatem jacob. Remisisti iniquitatem
plebis tue operuisti omnia peccata eorum.
Mitigasti omnem iram tuam avertisti ab ira
indignationis tue. Convertere nobis deus
salutaris noster et averte iram tuam a nobis.
Numquid in eternum irasceris nobis aut
extendes iram tuam a generatione et generationem.
Deus tu conversus vivificabis nos et plebs
tua letabitur in te. Ostende nobis domine
misericordiam tuam et salutare tuum da
nobis. Audiam quid loquatur in me dominus
deus quoniam loquetur pacem super plebem
suam et super sanctos suos et in eos qui
convertuntur ad cor. Verumtamen prope
timentes eum salutare ipsius ut habitet
gloria in terra nostra. Misericordia et
veritas obviaverunt sibi justitia et pax
osculate sunt. Veritas de terra orta est
et justitia de celo prospexit. Etenim dominus
dabit benignitatem et terra nostra dabit
fructum suum. Justitia ante eum ambulabit
et ponet in via gressus suos. Gloria patri
et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in
principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum
de tempore vel de sancto secundum
ordinem kalendarii. Deinde dic Psalmum
Inclina domine aurem tuam et exaudi me
quoniam inops et pauper sum ego. Custodi
animam meam quoniam sanctus sum. Salvum
fac servum tuum deus meus sperantem in
te. Miserere mihi domine quoniam ad te
clamavi tota die. Letifica animam servi
tui quoniam ad te

suffragari oz opꝫ q̃ facies mea ꝛ gplet
bit opꝫ tuu sme dubio suffragii dicꝫ do
minica q̃ assandalis. cvdcau ut vubeꝫ
ut sibi simla ꝛ sic de aliis vt ibidē gtiet
ꝛ dicta ibi subscꝛipt mvdcas. ꝗlia opa fa

cvi debes ꝗ quolz dica

H ota q̃ cta oz ta scribave nota horꝫ ap
dia ꝛ b ꝗ de horis ffiat opa d facies
sima g dicꝫ horꝫ dicit vely n. Ju hac ho
ꝛa facꝫda ep cavtha ad destruendas
vocdas horm ꝛ mala vubꝫ cōp ꝛ lgwas
ligandas ꝛ sic mvdcas ibi de aliis horis
tam dūnis q̃ nocturnis

H ota cudm q̃ tu alig opꝫ fa cavtham
scribeve vdlis nom horꝫ ꝛ nom dni
horꝫ. ꝛ. Angeli q̃ ei dnat ut mstret oz
ta inoleve vn hc sit oratio Angelo2 dna
Antiu arb horis diei sapiana / Jma am
horꝫ diei dnat. Raphael. ꝛ sic de aliis q̃
ibi vdcas q̃ ad ida ꝛ sic cta d denocta
Jnda nocta diei lune / Jma horꝫ dnat
scdꝫ quiel. ꝛ sic cta de aliis vt ibi m
vdcas ꝛ c

H ota cudm q̃ sit ap de arb horis sup̃dis
vta cudm ap ꝛ mtelligeve debes q̃
dam Angeli dnant ut mstrant horis sup̃
dnaꝫ planetaꝫ ut mstratoe meis di
cm horꝫ solis dnat ut mstet Raphael ꝛ sic
de aliis vt ibi mvdcas ꝛ c

a ora eta diligēt de gouernacōe q eta tpis debes facē dōīb⁹ supdīis et quotid
dor et vra Ethis. Dici eta cuilibz planeta cu
Angelis suis signa et planeta et distributa
hor⁹ Angelor⁹ nata de gouernacōe et vndeuis
lo et ptes et capitulis supnis scīptis et Angis
sup in capitulis de ymaginib⁹ dicor⁹ ab⁹
ministrat Adminiz. Dies g dnicos ministrat
sol et Angelo eius et Raphael eius signu
et leo et sic de aliis vt ibi videres

b mria pdca oz te seruare quocūq⁹ volūs
operari scīptum libri et aliq defectus
non posse qr hoc prouideas videres quomodo
et qualiter habere te debes et oportuit
scīptu libri facias et michi dmittas si
non vis cauere et pmo ff vesperi me
luna et qr mansis lunaris dies alii boni
sue alii sint mali vir habere sup libris
isto et io vegula et ethis q q̄cūq⁹ die sup
dicāe operari volūs adquoslibz bonū
siue malū facere vis attende diligēter
q illa dies sit opi fiendo vespertinedo me
dium lune vsq; vt dem et Et si illa dies
sit bona et queras no dimittas opꝰ
tuū de die in die. ut differas q̄uis qr
opꝰ tuū no veniat ad effectū et forsi
tan putabis illud de ftm

Ad veritas eius diligat q̄ ipm̄ pro omib⁹ tuis
q̄ tui ap̄s debes sulbare nota q̄ vsq̄
debuit voluntati tue ꝛ sit hec nota ex noib⁹
tuis dilectionis tue ig̃ illa nota altissima no
minata volunis flexis genib⁹ huius mo
dis sic in vos ꝛ huius supplico vobis
nota altissima dei vt nos adiuuetis
tapa Eli Adyuledu Adyficiedu. Agnas.
yana dei sit. ybar sukar.
Agnas. yana dei. sit. ybar. Suliat
gnalas. yemssamon. haa. Dosa. bauisan
bauisan ꝛc

Nuoco ꝛ Appello te Captiel. Angele q̄m
ast̄ ꝓtector dei sup̄. ī dies sabbati.
p̄ q̄m labores ꝛ desp̄tas dom̄ tuam
meu effum ꝛ desideriu ad effum pro
ducas Rex maiyon. Assayby. ivoco
te ꝛ Appello ꝛ tuos Adiutores Alyma
lib. ꝛ haybaily. dor. ꝛ yfla q̄ p̄me la
boretis ꝛ no desistatis donec totu meu
Affum ꝛ desideriu q̄leuit Quos Ange
li q̄ ꝓsidetis diei sabbati Captiel. Ad
tatom. Sauquiel. i. Satiaquiel. Et
Invoco ꝛ Appello vos vt p̄me laboretis
non desistatis donec totu meu Affum
q̄leueritis Et sanctissima nota dei As
nias. yana. dei. sit. ydau. sulsau.
gnabas. yemssamon. haa. dosa. ba

BSB

vram. mvoo vos & vdeqvo toto cordꝭ
& ore vt dignem me exaudire & fid
uciuo & totu meu desiderium qulcva
vt valeam videre & mille armatos
i meo seruitio & Cryayn. ꝑmet howa
dici voto te vt adiuuas me vt pos
sim me videre ꝑdictos armatos //
& te etiam yan. oz q dict. 2us howa
& te etiam. 3us howa Dasuva. & te e
tiam. 4us howa sala. & mvoto etiam &
Appollo Angelos dnantes ꝑdictis ho
ris Raphael. 2us Anael. 3us michael.
& 4us Gabriel & mvoto eos & [illegible] &
Angelu Captielem & eu signu qd
portauit & Aquariu & suu sigillum
qd hic ꝓpono vt me adiu

uent & faciant michi Appareve ꝑdicti
armatos in meo seruitio //
& cuius qd i & tue voluntis yemal.
vt yelnedal. mvoto te & Appallo vt
tu adiuues me & facias Apparere
ꝑdictos armatos meos seruitio
& nota Angelos qd seruit & qua.
Amabel. Cauayl. Atuaayl. i voce
voc & Appallo vt faciatis michi

venire. ꝑt m̃ fortma militu Animatore
m̃ meo seruitio D Angeli fortes dapa
el. Aratron. fatael. Anvoto vos vt
meu desideriu oplatis ꝓdor hic
vare facietis vos ventos Genuu
Altibayn. Aglas. Analusb. veite cya.
Artaton. sathane. tit Angeli ymisi
sigillo sum sitis q̃ m̃ hac hora in Ad
iutoriu mihi ꝓpitie petitis Amami
et astabam et hactenabit. vt veniant
cito meu quid mandatis et nom benedictu
Abilfaelfiel. Anogo dym. dimalon. Ana.
Ana. saday. Athym. Adyn. essiday. A.
Baymion. salbat. Adonay. aloym. aloe.
Ana. Cytye. sevadye. Assylla. y Assius.
Agnalbona. D sanctas Angelo ꝙ
Cassie. Aratron. Atquiel. ꝓpitia me
Anna et Affla et Abvaluelit. sayn. Ala
deu. vt rem̃ meam opleatis voluntate
et ꝓtectionis hui et ꝓ quibus
quas sup vos feci D tomitat nome
plis m̃ q̃ tua m̃ voco te vt tu Adiuues
Ad faciendu vana supdos ꝙt m̃ seru
ma militu m̃ seruitio meo D noia sig
nor. q̃ tua m̃ voco vos vt Adiuua
tis ma q̃ supda ꝙt valeat m̃ meo seru
itio Cauricorno Aquario et pisces D
sanct Aquia nam lune m̃ q̃ tua Rogo
te et m̃ voco vt tu Adiuues me q̃ ꝙt

BSB

ris vatue supdos ptē in forma mili
tum m meo seruicio / sa faten no
men celoz m. q. tpe Rogo te z mvo
co ut tu adiuues me q facias vatue
supdos ptē in forma militu m meo s
uicio / nota. q. ow tpm mundi ouerf
predyoth malchaez / andrie danoc.
Salutatoms. ydamhor. vos ivoo zib
go ut vos adiuuetis me z faciatis ve
nire supdos ptē in forma militu mi
uita mea / Incipiunt experimeta
verissima et probata

Incipiut exmeta verissima z pba
ta pmu adona mdagenda que
valūs sue psentia sue pteita siue
futuwa z of

Incipe pidevu vuginem dilectio
dyoro z sotios q8 tibi pla tuowm t
de vadas ad locu statuetu z facias tu
culo 8. z. eu gladio ad sinu dicz mno
minc tuo z filii z s. s. // Ad secudu dic
mnem mdiuidue tpnitatis Alpha z
o. de9 z homo // Ad. 3m dic ego te patris
pilli qui creauit celum z terram mare
z oia q mas sut Hc finito fac q vn9
ex eis habeat. gladiu suu z no mino. q. ex
alachis extractis z Atraje sada tuya
dem z pone in fenestra circulu z scdas

nom pñi Adsedam ꝛ bndic pñm ꝓ hanc
bndicoñ cuꝫuendo ꝓ caput dꝫ tum
gladio dicens/ ✠ cruxꝭ tatu cruxꝭ.
aſ ꝑ ✠ Adonꝰ. ✠ croꝭ ꝭ ⁊ vexa ſalꝰ
✠ cruxꝭ ſolui vnculu mortꝭ ✠ cruxꝭ
⁊ mutabilꝭ ꝓ ſuma ✠ cruxꝭ ⁊ mobil ⁊
ſigñ. ✠ cruxꝭ ſupat oꝫ malu ꝛ dat pñs
gladiñ tanꝫ ⁊ Admanꝫ ꝛ fac illi cꝫucta
Adſiõta dicõdo ✠ cruxꝭ ſca ſanctificat
te ꝛ oñs oꝫones ſacꝫdotu bndicat
te ꝛ fac pñm ſadue Adſedam ꝛ valdae.
ſibi vngua tu cultallo ꝛ vnge ſibi vng
uem tu oleo oliue ꝛ tut bndicas ſocꝭ
tuos ✠ vnu poſt Alim ꝛ te ipm tu pdca
bndicoe ſicut tu pñm bndixiſti ꝛ ſanctꝭ
cos ſedeꝫ ⁊ vnu poſt Alim Admſeruꝰ ⁊
cꝫ cultu ꝛ da vnituꝫ gladiñ ſuu tanꝫ ⁊
Admanu ꝛ facias cos hꝫa ſilentiu ꝛ fac
pñm cladeꝫ ⁊ otilos ꝛ bndic pñm ꝛ te
ipm ꝛ oñs ſocios tuos ꝓmittu ſancti
⁊ wangelij ſm Johañ ⁊ ꝛnpñtio cꝫat
Ybu ꝛ Ybu cꝫat Ayut dau ꝛ oꝫ ſiñ
to fac pñm ꝛ ſicabꝭ vngꝫa duſꝭ ſa
ꝫiuſ tat ꝛ ipa ꝗñtꝭ ꝫmon ꝓgemp.
Arthiomo. ꝓpt. vvalchim. Alchos ꝓmitꝭ.
ſalem. thobiam. Cosmos. ſolſmos. dilos.
dilia. dicꝭ. noſtꝭ. ✠ cꝫuꝰ vos demo
nes ꝓnoiatos ꝓ hꝰ noiaſta on. ton.

BSB

gon · von · ap̄r galap̄r ivs calens · trimel.
vt ctissime ram ntlem vequie hzatr nec
m calo nc̄ sub calo nc̄ m tvet nc̄ sub tva nc̄
m pluuiis nc̄ m ventis nc̄ m nubib⁹ nc̄ ias
vib⁹ nc̄ m ignib⁹ nc̄ m flatib⁹ nc̄ m fluiis.
nc̄ m frib⁹ nc̄ mpomis nc̄ m aliis quib⁹
locis nisi fuer ei fiunto ista p̄ua undem vnq
uam ist⁹ p̄ui vgines oleo linito ciusce dauid
sciue tenta lati⁹. Appiauide vt potit qui
dant vidue meo fuia z fiuctu fom nature
ablatu z loti vbi adhuc iacz z q̄ tuch ti ipo
fuito factu et tunc sibyla tou ad p̄uimu
dic dnia x thu xpe ad fm dic dn̄ fouti
ad 3m dic ptas. Hoc finito dic quuidato
tou q vos p̄ncipes dm demoioz astaroth.
Belzabub. Bauit. fouuitatou. et ytatou z
aductou. possessou. hoim mathcus. Malbz
ptipio vob vt vnu vng m fouma nig ve
niat vt iste quia pt eu quidant videa
m sua vigue. Hc finito q̄as ad quu si vidz
latitudine z altitudine m suo vngue si
no dimittas fouma nigram z meipa
p̄dcm quuidatione usq q videbit et ut
fatias vane. sicut pus pom z p̄ciuide
ipis z hc noia. al. aloy. alyon. alde.
sapiel. sothoy. emanuel. tatragmaton
adday. lubanay. athanatos. yos. kyrie.
pmagou vita. finis. via. flos. fons. ve

ritas. sap̃. vnus q̃ actus ℮ sum ꝑ su de
diator. agn9. agus. vitul9. serpes. hirc.
leo. as. v. remus. ymag9. gtia. lux. pl.
plandus. lapis. angularis. fons9. pastor.
fulg. sacrdos. immortalis. lex. rex. x.
pr̃. filg. s. s. agla. pr̃. eternitas. mon.
pnon. pauli. caon. aqton. alpha ⁊
o. ꝯipotens. misericors. caritas. et
mus. adiutor ⁊ redemptor. primog. nouis
sim9. pdator ⁊ redemptor. agnos. oth. s.
ysthyos. gre. dag. fortis. ⁊ patiens.
iustus. iudex. multid die ⁊ ista. lxxij.
maria xpi ꝑ triplo vob vt̃ mihi sitis obedi
entes ⁊ isto pño virgineo daqua ve ⁊
daqua in trogatio q̃ f̃m a vetribus
q̃ vm a me ⁊ dictis // h̃ finito q̃
vos si videt demone saltantes ⁊ gaude
tam tñc dic ad puer ⁊ fatias ad socios
tuos simt loqui q̃ puer no h̃eat timo
rem. h̃ finito manu q̃ uerba ve ⁊ fac ꝑ su
vacadeus ⁊ fuga tu finito mihi ⁊ com
ro vos ꝑ nominatos demones ꝑ istu q̃
d℮ aut calu ⁊ tarbi ⁊ dic q̃ mihi fuit
⁊ ꝑ istu q̃ nos ⁊ vos ouerunt ⁊ nos ꝑ
dimit. Et suo ꝑcioso sagne ⁊ ꝑ istu q̃
vaturis dñr ⁊ ꝑ virtutem ⁊ fi ⁊ ss. ⁊ ꝑ stam
obediam ⁊ ꝑ dñm nr̃m ihu xpi q̃
hodie ⁊ cotidie celebrat ⁊ ꝑ uniuersum
mundu ⁊ ꝑ stam trinitate ꝑ deitatem

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℣ hue mihi ℣ deus tu es ℣ deus meus ℣ deus salus
deus tuus potentia ℣ spes mea miserere mihi deus
noster iesu xpe ℣ qui venisti filius ℣ prevenisti
dira iudicij ℣ respice exore omnium mortu
orum ut vivifices ℣ fuga tu fuisti loco
tui ℣ ad ducas ut ista puer euidet possit
videre fuga tu fuisti ℟ no dicas Aliam
quin dationa ℣ Confundantur vos pnoiatos demo
nas ℣ sanctificetur deus noster iesus ℣ statuit
regnum dni nri i. x. ℣ benedictus d. n. i. x. ℣ pax
tecum d. n. i. x. ℣ passio d. n. i. x. ℣ milia sex
ginta d. n. i. x. ℣ centum sex ginta octaua d. n. i. x.
℣ quinquagesima sex ginta d. n. i. x. ℣ in aliis de
capita vos adiplantas ℣ principem convoca
℣ in capite dni n. i. x. posuit ℣ genua flec
tebat illudebat sibi dicentes Aue rex iude
orum ℣ fluvium me ℣ palpas deus xpm cade
bant ℣ p3. clauos plangam ℣ sacratu
corpus d. n. i. x. ℣ fovatur a deus ortnus exi
uit sanguis ℣ aqua p amissione sue sanctis
d. n. i. x. mundi tuas quado pm mater pec
catrix ℣ beata virgo maria mi dni no
stri i. x. hunc deus vidit filium ei pedata m
eum. d. ℣ fecta vitamus subvolita ℣ nsm
℣ quom dat ex. q. liga. s. aliqua. ℣ o. dei ℣
hanc fecis ℣ Confundantur vos pnoiatos de
mones ℣ omnes sanctos angelos christianos et
dnationes principatus ℣ potestates. virtutes
celi ℣ cherubin ℣ ℣ seraphin ℣ ne cadat

Hamen dicens ꝓcius ſce ſce ꝑ ꝑtus.
d.n.i.x. ſ. q̄ nob horas deſcendit decā
lis ꝑ natꝰ ex matre virgine ſulpan
cio pylato paſſꝰ ꝑ ꝑ. angelos ſalutz
Gabriel. Raphael. ꝑ ꝑ dnicam
nuationē. ſ. ꝑ ꝑ. ꝑ vij. candelabra que
tibus angelor adorū ſcor ꝑ cor mea
cula. deo ſimplicita. q̄ ſuc ſub xpo q
Bc finita q̄das ꝓpho ſi vidz ſi no tc dic
Hanc ꝓuocatione cōmuo vos ꝑ noiati
damones ꝑ. ſ. ou. awam. tas luca. matu. ſca
thau. iotha. ꝑ. ſ. ou. ſmoes. ꝑ xij. ſptos ꝑz.
magos. ſ. caſpar. balthaſar. melchior.
ſpuiandas. ꝑ has. ꝑ matutinas ꝑ ſcſſo
rias ꝑ ꝑoms ꝑtres romanos ꝑ ꝑ aimas
virgines ꝑ viduas ꝑ ꝑoms epiſcopos
ꝑ ꝑoms abbates ꝑ ꝑoms priores ꝑ ꝑoms
monachos ꝑ ꝑoms archidiaconos. ꝑ ꝑoms ſa
cerdotes ꝑ ꝑoms monachos ꝑ ꝑoms miſſales
ꝑ ꝑoms ſacerdotes ꝑ ꝑoms dyaconos ꝑ ſub
dyaconos ꝑ ꝑoms ſcos dei ꝑ miſa omnium
ſcor. ꝑ ꝑoms ꝑtum xanor ꝑ ꝑoms ſcos
q̄ ſuc malo ꝑ miſa ꝑ ꝑcantu ꝑ lxiiij.
mihe nocturn q̄ no ſunt loq̄tes loqui
mpuerutia. ꝑ ſi ſut ſuppli ꝑ ꝑoms ſalua
ſalomons ꝑ ſapiam ſuam ꝑ ꝑoia expim
ta virgilii ꝑ celu ꝑ tuam ꝑ mane ꝑ
oia q̄ mais ſunt ꝑ ꝑoms caſaudos ꝑ

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Regas tos magnates et comites tos milites
tos ciues et finitimos quos si uideris fuit cu
fuw to et si uolueris ad fine et uerge tuo
ung uem tricla tua et accipias unguentu
dum et unctus tu imo facies conuiuia
cu gladio ad .q. tos cuncta cum dicto dapi
filio tuo et sic custodiat te et sic uade
gladiu usque fin sa et exue duriculos
dib7 sociis tuis ita facias et tibi
accipit fm bonum qbatu

capellum viij^or^. delegitto thoro & fac
3°. cultulos ad p^m^u ciuaulu dic^m nona
p. & f & s. ad s^m^ dic^m ysm celi dnm ihm
ad 3^m^ dic deus tuu ragi da. post hec
edem quartiu & subtq scriba
noma puer & subpedib^q puer scriba
hoc noma tarragvamaton. & ponant de
sup duo lapides ne puer tangat noma
subtq scriba m manubrio cultelli
& nam puer & h^c noia rstach. hoaz. aba
vs. fastach. & in pollice scriba alpha & o.
Damde rada vngua dextri pollicis cuj
cultello cuj manubriu sit sem de coiunctu
nigra ut albo. Damde dic dna s^m^ p^ce & p
postea fac cruce ✠ eli mo in fronte
puer dicens tibi es alpha & o. fac^m
dnor^e capm v. ysu. n. q^d cu adtuli tibi
in nore p & f & s. & dic dna ihu fili dei.
uiui q^d nobis puerulis descynu p^mde de
scandisti ad hem Inde noli timere ama
Damde sursu ad p^ma dextra am
sathan. belzebub. astaroth. baruith. az
zebo. rotunda. h^c dic tibi Damde mitte
cultos & pone ta g^m facie pu & tuc
lucas vngue pu uasum cu oleo olue
& da puo cultellu admanu & dic algo.
Afiat. bos. 3 elates. um. vom. Aot
myo. chrtodehs. Gamtias. Gama. Ure
sus. pharuachta. foliath. Galiach. dyuo.

vnu⁹. vnyu⁹. preamde. fabat. gabat.
Tyuos. vr̃s. Aubaw. Azathi. tōuuos
pnatos demones pr̃bm̃ & f̃z ſ.ſ.
dm̃ ouoctata pr̃ipm xpm film ei⁹ & pr̃ow
tiuntata rllo⁹ & p ipam puidentia q̃ dei⁹
m nieta hmt pus q̃ mudi fiauat bbe
dnatis mpio meo non pr̃ virtute mea ſz
pr̃ virtutem magestatis ouocatis dei.
tōuuos & gtastow uos demones pſtipiaz
ctnitatis dei q̃ celu ſup̃ ſtaua fecit tow
ram ſmt deorſum fundamt & pfect
altu p q̃ mapi⁹ mudi gnexr & pr̃uidentia
q̃ dns lucam Atanabius ſepauit & vtuq
q̃ cupiuit ut ſtudea & magiſtrio ſua
gistri⁹ uio Astaroth. uob gcuſſa vmgue
ſuis pñi. N. dico. limitu cuſtos & defen
ſaq̃ patriaq̃ & pcipue lati⁹ ut appare
re & poſſit euident & uidere meo fuit &
fuctum nob ablatu & ei loci deq̃ ablatu &
& m̃ q̃ loci tr̃ſlatu & & ubi adhuc po⁹ &
& q̃ p̃ exipo finem actu & ꝛc adiuro uos
pnoiatos demones pr̃bm̃ dei q̃ celum
& tra cupiuit & habitam uirtute mea
gne ſuo ſolem & lunam & ſtellas t ſig⁹ &
ſpa fulgura & tonitrua uoces & omia
q̃cūq̃ ſmt intoꝛa. nubes & ignes ut
ſint & ꝛc ꝛc q̃ iuro uos pnoiatos demo
nes p̃ſumptuoſos p̃natiuitata pauu
liſſimi p̃bap̃m xpi & p̃ oia q̃ fecit ihe
in ch̃dna galylea q̃n quarta fig⁹ & diuu

ut supra te ꝯ quinq vos ꝓnoratos dnos
ihesus ꝓ reuelatiõ xpi ꝛ ꝓ ipsu ingressum qñ
in montẽ oliueti ascendere voluit
adorandu prem ditando. ꝓ si sicuꝫ
te transfat a me callue ipse ꝛ ꝓsudo
ta sagnem ihu xꝝ qui de suo corpe ema
nauit amoꝫ ꝓcordibꝫ ꝛ ꝓna sanctissima
secretor ꝛ sagnosas guttas sudoris xꝝ
ꝛ solem obscuratu ꝛ luna quasi ꝑ
in sagna ꝛ tribulam damonꝝ xꝝ ꝓ
dentis ligno crucis ꝛ supliciu mortis
ꝛ ꝓ emissione sui sctissim ꝙ ꝛ ꝓ ipsam
uirtutẽ q̃ velu tepli cissum est ꝛ ipsa
ta aperta sut ꝛ ꝓmissu sac̃ scptchri
ꝛ ꝓ uirtute dei ꝛ ꝓ dispsos diue cudi
nationis ꝛ ꝓ ihm dnm nrm ihm xꝝm
ꝓ adoratu crucifixu ꝓ assum ꝛ sepul
tum cradimꝰ ꝛ sanctꝰ rasurꝰ exiit ꝛ
talos fascidissa ofitam ut supra ꝛ ꝙ
of ꝙ uos ꝓnoratos damones ꝓ de
ꝛ tuam. meam ꝛ oia q̃ mea sunt
ꝛ ꝓ ora q̃ ꝺcludut ꝺ. ꝓtas mudi ꝛ ꝓ
fera ꝛ volatilia. cali bipedia. trige
dia. quadrupedia ꝛ ꝓms aias pote
tates ut supa ut supꝰ. Et ꝙ uos
ꝓnoratos damones ꝓ angelos ꝛ arch
angelos ꝓ thronos ꝛ dnationes ꝓ
patꝰ ꝛ ꝓ tates ꝓncipatus ꝙ ꝓ
cherubin ꝛ seraphin ꝛ ꝓ dnatu ofitiu
misericordiaꝫ ꝛ ꝓ eos q̃ ꝑ sut ꝛ ꝓ ora

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Subiecta sunt ōipotēti deo vt p̄ p̄m
ōipotēta deū qui ex nichilo cūcta fecit
tēl fidelauda & fid̄ ḡtiam nob̄ sū fecit
vt ſ̄h̄ & ſc̄o uos p̄ nob̄ ꝓtos dēm
nes p̄ v. ſecula & vij. ætates mūdi &
p̄ tū modū diem iudicij & p̄ lxxij nob̄
xp̄i p̄ceptā & claritatē xp̄i. q̄ huic
p̄sc̄ mūdo fieret & p̄ centū & xlūi.
milia in nocte sū deum assentiet & p̄
ōnes ordines ecclasticos vt ante & ſ̄
ctos uos p̄ nob̄ ꝓtos dēmones ꝓtec
tēl sc̄ūm dei q̄ de nob̄ cūdam
ēt non desit & adh̄ adymagine & simi
litudinē suam formauit vt ante ctos
uos p̄ nob̄ ꝓtos dēmones ꝓ sc̄issimā
mariā & dñas. sother. emanuel. sabā
oth. adonay. ꝓmathon. ꝓanchoūthon eloy.
thaos. ho. visib. saluator. alpha & o p̄m
& nouissimū p̄mo genito. p̄ncip̄ & finē vita.
ventis & sp̄ū. viuū. p̄fectū. ego sum.
qui sū. qui es. mediator. agnū. ouis. aries.
vitulū. spes. & dus. verbū ymago. gl̄ia.
gena. salus. lux. sal. pax. splendor. panis.
fons. vitis. pastor. ysphya. ꝓpiciū. remu
talis. vox. ꝓphe. omnes. misericordes. cūc
sūmū bonū. trinitas. vnitas ꝓphe. el
eloy. eloe. eleon. ḡ adday. ḡ symaton.
tetragrammaton. ye. ye. ꝓtectus patris. emanuel.

Spue. timor. pietas. tu. vnitas vnita
tis. tua deitas vt supra Et Conuo
vos prostratos demonas ydem dyab
Conia principatus dignitate xxiiii. Et
mor. Et symbolu apostor. Et passionem
sanctor. nrm. Et passione pdicor. Et sanctor
Et plentia sancte virginis Et viduar
Et omnis sanctor. Et dictos dei. Et p. d. amen
Adiuro te Et coniuro te vt supra. Et Con
ro vos prostratos demones. Et salutori
sor vivor. Et mortuor. Et sca sanctificata
rdotu. Et omnis dinos diuinos sanctor. Et
nia coniuro te sancte dei. Et coniuro te
Salutis tene vt supra Et si nec no vi
dat Ad te dicas. Tetragramaton. Balthasar. Melchi
or. Et Moragal. Emanuel. Et deus sancta te
deprecor vt vngla. n. afficiat. Et lata. Et cu
sata. Et clauo fixa. Adeo vt nec oculus videat
opus nec intrinsecus. Et si vng. vel aliquis de
sancta si no. Et quecta esse queat. Et nec Et
donec videat cu sancta lata. Et magna. quasi
sufficiat. quasi. Et puo si aliquid videat Et
videat dicta sancta sub vngwe hanc oniacio
lytim. cu tuis subditis ygnem. Andyron.
vzmeas. ytalchyeos. Zymens. bylenit.
baruth. Et tuo voto de. Et corpo. ta deum vi
uum. Et vm. Et tuos magos Iaspar. Bal
thasar. Melchior. ut videatis vbicuq; si
tis Et Adiuro te ista pueri. Et vos impera
trix. Et m. pro. ipsor. Et hec sancta Et sacra

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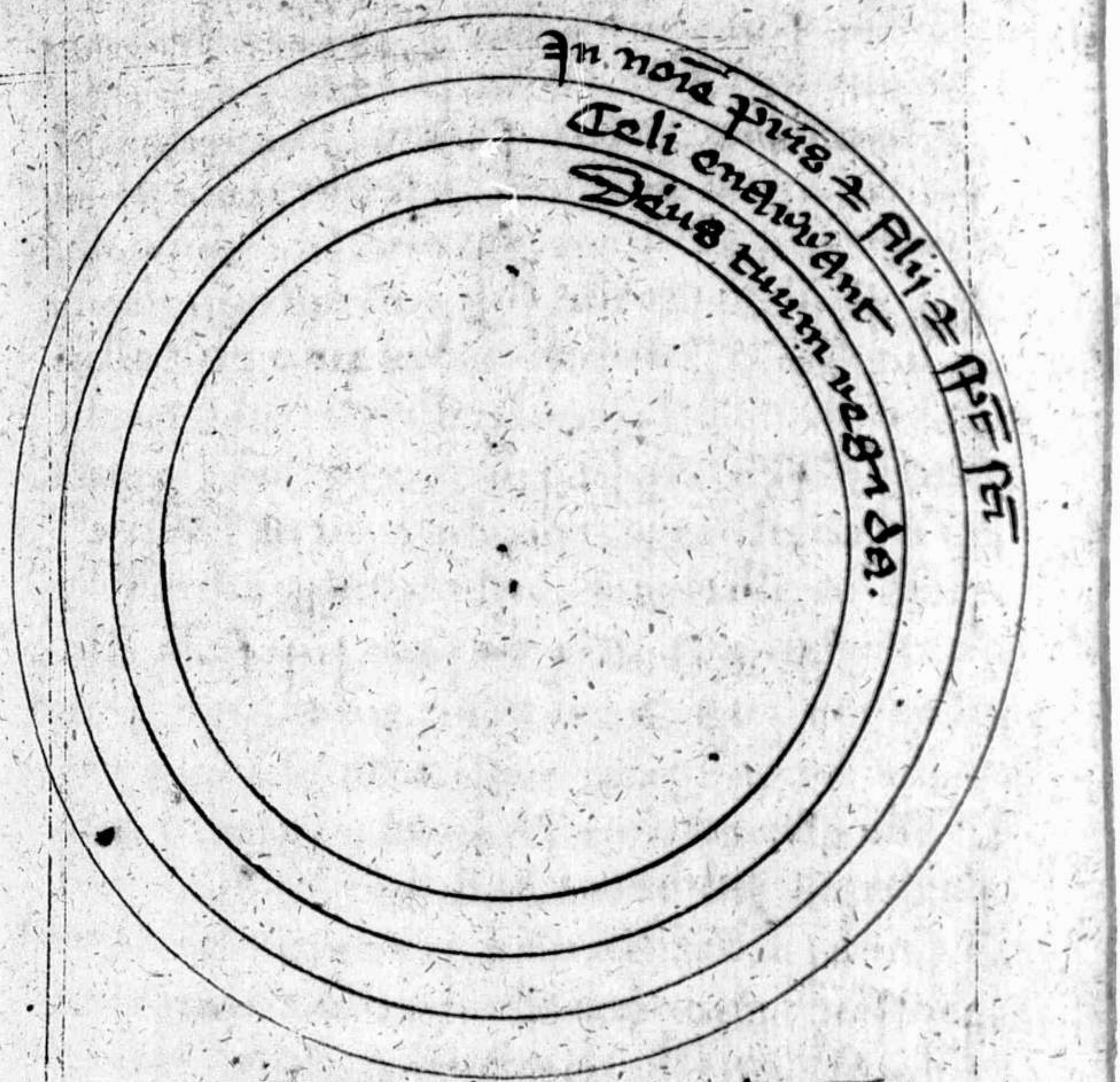
heruit. Quem ꝙ pñs si ꝙ aliq̃ videat sing
ꝛ̃ ꝓpetꝫ eadem .o. lytmy. dñe ꝙ ꝑcant
ꝑ̃ꝛ ꝙ aut ꝙ ꝑ̃entibꝫ dic hanc ꝙuocatoꝝ
ꝑcipio vobis demandꝫ ꝓmittatꝫ ꝙ ꝙ
dbuꝫ ꝓmittatꝫ ꝙ ꝙ fuit ꝙ ipm nouꝫ
ꝛ̃ꝛ flumꝫ ꝛ̃ solubꝫ ꝑcepꝫ ꝙ vos ondatie
ꝛ̃ dictis hunt pñs. H. vbi ꝙceptu ut vꝫ
ꝛ̃dictu sit hoc fiuctu ꝛ̃ mꝰ loco adhuc vꝫ
ꝙat si ꝙ adhuc no ꝙdepꝫ dic hac ꝙuocatoꝝ
ꝛ̃ omnis vos damonꝫ ꝛ̃ ꝓcipio vob ꝓ nom
nealmy. syy. qu sꝝum delepuꝫ muda
uit ꝛ̃ damꝫ delatu leonu libꝫauit ꝛ̃
.3.es pñs dctamo ignis illesos abuꝫ
fant ꝙ vob dnꝫ auct.ꝝ huic pñs H. Au
di int vogendi ꝛ̃ vndendi. post ꝙuocatoꝝ
ffetum fac pñs claudꝫ oculos ꝛ̃ purga
sibi vngue ꝛ̃ fac cuꝫta sup eu an eu vꝫ
tuo eu ꝛ̃ ꝙcipe sibi cultellu damanu.
postea bndic ta ꝛ̃ tpm ꝛ̃ dole cutulum
ꝛ̃ qxeas sanuꝫ eu ds. s. pñs eu at vꝫ
qxuꝫ cutulu dic pax ipi sit nob ꝛ̃ vob
ꝛ̃ ut vegas vocadut ad ꝙpa vegna ꝛ̃
dic eu vos itꝝ volu vocatiꝰ sitis ꝓpti
obadnꝫ mihi ho vob ꝓcipio ꝙ ꝙ tu
ꝛ̃ vnu deu q̃ in cruce ꝙpꝫ ꝛ̃ qxlatꝫ
aꝝ qxuit sagꝰ ꝛ̃ aqua ꝛ̃ sup ꝓcipio vt
ꝓ hostia sca. ꝓ hostia pura ꝓ hostia imma
culata q̃ a thus ꝛ̃pit vt tibi mihi ꝛ̃ vobis
ꝛ̃ ois voluntatꝫ mee ad implendis ꝙ ꝙ



A ortu solis fac. 3es ciculos ⁊ tiuctz
medietate ciculoꝝ ⁊ fac tibi pon
tigaua sedem tiqpedem de quercu et
cultellu cu manubrio albo ⁊ limito cu
oleo oliue hꝫ ſto scribe dis̃m hꝫ nota
xxiiij. nota ſut. q. lras. ut lapides p̃alꝫ
latos ⁊ 3es lras pos sub tꝫ sedem ⁊ una
sub tꝫ pedes p̃ia ⁊ ipa ois nota sub ſcꝑta

scribe sup una lustram ꝙ pones sup caput
puisi.h fco tolle puluis fldelvtulo
locā pucp sup sedem t uertae sibi
facie gtra ouientē 2 scribe pūo Amb
ongwas fiollitas 2 pone sibi unu pollice
sup flm 2 scribe sup ma rubrum nome
puma 2 flstauoth. 2 dns pūo cultallu
fld mengrita q cultello sit subtq palli
cas)h fco unge pūo ungue supiorē
tu alao alme fldmodu cruciā roiqe
dicēs ut illustris 2 dispctis fpcatis in un
ga istq pūm. A. tu vo sede sup sede q la
tiq. volūs 2 tu tane quecp me gamā
Edic ut diliget me spūalt fld ung
h fco caueas ne fliquas opatiocs hab
sextis fl sabbatis dicbo q sic non
d scribi debet in nole ppdnoi. Qutimo.
possut. thomopcst. utamy. vocancs.
filij. filios. filz. bawith. gdachith. pūic
tas. vltam. pamyta. falp. falp. falp.
cubalp. cuiutines. tyuygal. dyuius.
fouunys. fambusall bawith gdathanels
Anape conuocationem
Ad uos vos demones ꝓ 2 f 2 ss
2 ꝓ in cōmendationē dñi nri ihu x
pbelp xpi ꝓ natiuitatē xpi ꝓ mortē xpi
passionē xpi ꝓ resurrectionē xpi ꝓ
ascensionē ꝓ aduentu spūs scī ꝓ

tyemdu dic iudicij quo oms q̃ria
dayrnandi vt. Appellatis mung uersto
yuqua. Ri. m̃ ffecit fuuis ut fuyq̃ uebm
p̃ces ꝓ̃ hois. R. Accepit Absq̃ oi dc
ceptione Appellatis sicut p̃mittit Ego
gani. thomo. Gyton. S'tugidne. julmfzis.
tuq̃ as Alpha ꝛ o fac vm dicz hunc
pum. R. vngicu q̃ a ceatiua tuq̃ pp
dnc ꝛ rem iudicu tuu ꝛnctuito tuo
dne lu" ꝛ no defiaet. nihil occultu
p no reuelet ꝛ cooptu p no stet nw
dna ihu xps fili dei vui q̃ pt nos pec
catores desinu p̃ris descendisti ad tuq̃
unde not tuq̃ ꝛ vitale hui uui Abgod.
Samsiselis. Galentis. vmiueny. Vitimd.
Tamirtenp dydonces. Rayma. Rofanes.
Panyte. fabath. Gallath. dyuis. fyuis
vuytus. Fmbz Awath.
C Ituos vos p̃fiatos damones p̃ p ꝛ f.
ꝛ. S. S. ꝛ deu oipotẽte ihm xpm filiu
dei vniguitu ꝛ p̃ deitate ipius ꝛ p̃ ipam
p̃uidentid. q̃ deghiut p̃us q̃ mundus
fieret ut obediatis imperio meo Ego
vo vos p̃fiatos demones ꝛ Sathanam
dei. q̃. deq̃ calu sursu stare fecit ꝛ tue
ram deorsum fundauit ꝛ manere tue
mino suo collocauit ꝛ p̃ virtute qua
deq̃ fuit ato p̃ ropq̃ mudi gubit ꝛ p̃

Sapiam de qua deg luce & tenebras
Discernit & diem ac nocte Adiuuauit
Vt Ante & magistro A magistro vno
Ass. Cauath. vob gaspa pinte sunt
Vt flaciatis vngua istig pucui. H. oleo
Linitu civasseve & clivasseve & tota
Latitudis ipsiusve q euident ista pu
Cui. H. in eo videve possit fuve ut fuig
& fuitu fuis not Ablatu & in locus
da q Ablatu est & locu in q deprtau
a. & locu in q Adhuc latet & q q cu
ipo fuito est ut hui vaueltat &
Quius vos pnoiatos demones p mg
gistu vim Astaroth ut opetaf in
founa fuis & fuiti & q q cu hf fuu
to sem est Adiuro tm pnoiatis noticiam
pua & equi vos p noiatos demo
nes p illu q fecit cel & tra & hia
uidanta ingenia & suo sol & luna &
stalleas cel signa & ipa fulgora & tuni
tua voces & oia q eug i tua i mdui
m insuno sut ut Anta p & equi vo
vos pnoiatos demones. p rebellionu dm
ni ihu xpi & p it q fecit Admota oli
uati Adowandu aqua p u si fieri pt
tu hui sedat Ame calix istu ut Anta q
Equi vos pnoiatos demones p
. u. uli dni ni ihu xpi & fixuta fata

uoz ꝫ lancea ꝫ clauos ꝫ ligauit fixo
a dño / Iouuo ꝫ noiatos demones
ꝫ oia q̄ ꝯcludit. q̄. ꝫ tas mudi ꝫ ꝫ
tates mudi ꝫ oia aialia q̄ sub celo
sut ꝫ ꝫ pentia ꝫ volatilia. bipedia
quadrupedia ꝫ oms ā
tas ut supra ꝫ Iouuo vos ꝫnoiā
tos demones ꝫ toll'antiā ꝫnca cōtā
ne ꝫ sustinuit dns sno capite ꝫ ꝫ
culu q̄ potarg̃ ī cruce fulle ꝫ ātato
Et iuuo vos ꝫnoiatos damones ꝫ
angelos ꝫ archangelos thrones ꝫ dnā
tones ꝫ principat ꝫtates ꝟtutes celoz
cherubim ꝫ seraphim. ꝫ ꝑdicu sactitu
dinis ꝫ oia q̄ sut deo subiecta ꝫ ꝫ deū ouo
tanta ꝫ ꝫ deus q̄ ex nichilo oia creauit
Ad lendam ꝫ adgratiam sui nois ac mage
statis facit ut supra ꝫ Et iuuo vos ꝫ
noiatos damones ꝫ coactiua sapiam
q̄ deus homes creauit cu no deet odiū
ad ymaginē ꝫ similitudiē sua ut supra et
Et iuuo vos ꝫnoiatos damones ꝫ fide
ꝫ spes ꝫ ꝫ caritas ꝫ symbolū apli. ꝫ passione
sollicitudinem ꝫ ꝫ professionē prior ꝫ ꝫ
ꝫ ꝫ fidē scē virginū ac viduarū
ꝫ ꝫ laudabile vitā merite uirginē ꝫ sūcte

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Explicit oratio dñi nr̄i ihū xp̄i

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad patrem

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad spiritum

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad filium

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad matrem

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad omnes

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad se ipsum

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad patrem

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad spiritum

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad filium

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad matrem

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad omnes

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad se ipsum

A

Sede vbi thesaur sic absconditus permanet
per omnia secula seculorum Amen. Deinde
iunta crucem ante videlicet die dnico sol dicat
stans in medio dicens Ave sancta crux
dei ave arma sancte crucis ave aqua benedicta dicens
ter cum psalmo Asperges me dne ysopo et tom
cum gloria patri. Postea vade ad crucifixum
ad dic condam eo modo quo supra dictum est
et quando ad crucifixum tu oi devotione
et tu hec dicis tut dic devotissime corde
ac ore. O. vbi vbi rex mei et deus mei
ac dne dnator et gloriosor meor miserere mei
et audi oem mei misericordie et indulgentie
et redemptionis tue in hac hora et
in digno clamore meo fac te previe
hoc dicto vade ad domu tua et tamquam
tuam optia mundata et ornata dic
sanctorum devotissime et pones.

Orans benigne mihi qui mundi culi tui
et sator cui nutu dia tam celestia
quam terrestria guide fca sunt ofirma m
tallem meu in hoc ope tui regni dni
mei et nug dimittit tuu. vege et pone me
in hac mea supplicacoe et pone te tuos
vegas et terg et sagit samat et gfirmat
et pos vegias tuas ptates et sotiem.
solutan ut in nocte sequti veniat admc
misoris. Haram. et benigne et clamet
cor meu et mata mea ut sciam thesau

mundi si aliqs te mutabilis sit in aliq
& ducat me & signu ibi faciat ut ego
scom vm & ipsam vitalem pnm solem scs
simu & sanctissimu thesaurum nitidissimu
candidu & fulgentissimu qs mittit tua
excellentia & remittit tua mirifica & be
nigna ptas & pomus dignos tuos & vege
mine. vocem & gaudium ut mihi pnm vi
talis & sopnis mittam dignis hac
nocte ut mihi valeat thesaurus absc
dit hc fiat visitata & gaudiosa
hanc divinam tuam diuinas cantando sanc
tus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth pleni sunt
celi & terra gloria tua osanna in excelsis
benedictus qui venit in nomine domini osanna
in excelsis hanc dulcem & suauem melodiam
& harmoniam celestium spirituum ad offensionem me
am & tui nominis ad te peto & te no offe
dat & sopnis & ad te petit & thesaurus &
ducat te vita ad locu ad ame fiat
in sui dextris sanctis. elimosinas & ho
nores magni regis scti & vade ad
sepulcrum ad solu ad locu ubi & thesaurus
in domo tua & virtute eius post quam
febribus thesaurus fuit combusta & missam
finem ad honorem sancte trinitatis. & pro
animabus defunctis mortuorum. & tam pro
salute vite tue &c

Nota hoc & nomen magnum seruiforibus q erat

scripture insonte Aaron sacerdotis celestatoris
celestat me me vivto tua ommpotte deus
celestatoris celi & tre qadmo[n]llouty fusticia
cando sadday. hay. Rasal. .h.s. syn.
yamms. Selatados. birawuth. huy. adonay.
eya. yen. ylm. ut cunchy. co!da. zy. ahya.
haya. heye. heye. haya. haya. haya. ay. ey.
ey. ya. ya. ya. han. han. han. ca. ca. ca.
completu ast noma semifouras bndtm no
man eius cuius vegin no avit finis tm fimta
factor serula ftma

R deqtu habendu hc scripta & mhostio dom
vatue mayguscuid nottis mor[a] habitay
& hc nomia tu stagme vespertilios tridrtha.
Stahiha. Alpha. dritco. Aavrodo. ypaman.
Gnubs scripturis vcrde modicu Aloth. post
houam quam vocutavis & tuercs equu pa
vatu qm tu volus Ascendere poe smi stuum
qadem Adscupam & dic hanc gnubtone
como ta equa boa p tuam tonta celi & tre
& qui illu qui creauit vniuersa & omna Adam
dam & gliam sm nom & p deu vivu & p
dau scm & p dm vm vt no moueat nec
mfha nat in minimo nabuo meo vene
obte valeas n[ec] m Alio me p turbes sed
me. R. Adiotu talem defenas p latide hi
lariu tuo iotide & velotit Absq omm mue
dine to Damde Ascende audent & secure

quia ōro tibi nocturne nō potest signo vo
luntas non tam signabis q̄ rum ate fugab
tum aut pernevis ad lacum pnotatu
descende de equo & accipe filenu &
absconde subtus pacto aut tuo nego
cio v̄ capias filenu & cuncta fidelissime
& celeri veniet cum aut ascendeve vo
luerus dicit pcedere quinquatione & hec
ubi. kostalia. kostolya. alogo yctas.

---

cōsumit viidiii mdrn & septē dies in quibus
cuncta cōsecuta fuere mira tonita & obscu
rata tenebras & tu hec phibes ora dapnat
horibo cuncta notata auboribo & nascen
tis Nocte & hec nota susum porta ac
deorsum & hec sut nota. s. layalym. lyalg
nea. yalgnal. navach. lybawe. lymbabs.
lyaslam. Cu his igit signis phibes ora
male & delpna i mudo & nuquā adloqui
cantat vnde fuit expulsa

Nunc igit sume albam columbam die sab
bati de nocte & calidam ignī viuū
& ostide columba dns o vos quibo
sacrificiū debet ostota mihi quietu
voti mei hoc dicite cū celeritate ymo
nostra ad meridie deinde quieta pdā ad

Septē tonē ꝛ sanabe delyat collūbe sagīne
hac figaz

Reuertans ꝙ de mane ꝙm solis ortū
m vere ibi filiam luam ꝛ ab ꝙdam vo
luctu illudaz ligabis in capillis tuis ꝙa
volūs ꝙsꝫ m visibilis ꝛ ꝙ clauz tu
ꝙ ibi dimittas columbam ꝛ tenta ne
ꝙpam facipias nio aliq

Ensis lunaris dies ꝙ alij sūt boni alij
mali Adscribendes cautas. ꝙma dies
mensis. saliz lunaris tota bona. Secu
da die mane ē bona ꝛ no plus. Et sic nil
facias de dubis. Quarta tota bona
Quinta vsqꝫ ad horam tertiam ꝛ vltra non.
Sexta die michil facies. Septima die ꝙma
hora bona ē ꝛ no plus. Octaua mane
bona. Nona michil facies. Decima die ora
michil facias quia ꝙ mala ē ad oia facie
da. Undecima bona ē tota. Duodecima bona
ē vsqꝫ ad horam tertiam quarta. 13ā. michil facias
.14ā. tota bona ē. 15ā. hora tertia michil facies. 16ā.
mane tota bona ē postea nichil valz. 17ā
ꝛ. 18ā. vsqꝫ ad meridiem mala ē ꝛ postea ē
bona. 19ā. michil tota agas. 20ā. ꝛ 21ā. ꝛ 22ā.

dias mane sup bonea no plue .23. 28. m
nichil fatida / 24. mala nec bona / 26.
& 27. nichil fatide / 28. & 29. & 30. bona
aut tota &c of

Et si salis quantu voli vel sm̃ sup & fac
liquari fortes ex eis & dissolue in ea lue
limaturam quantu solueve potuit & qn
non plus soluit luna tunc verte illam
aquam in qua luna a soluta & mone
mercurij cudi quatu coagulare pt.
Seu ni sic coagulatu. Alia pone eu
in cucurbitu sup stufatu istaz vel vu
Et cetera notam. thus gallu. gum ara
bicu. ouricu. ysa fetida. serapinu. bdel
lam. same ouobi. cantarides. pulueris
buffonu. cauustam. sal nit. sal comune.
Vitriu. & ebenticam. cuforbiu am
mon aut & equales & fac simul & pluuia &

paluis buffonu ist daz kupfer daz vo hame felt so mans schmit

Per inuocationem
zage impat tibi a
griant te angeli
triel raphael
Abraham ysaac et iacob argiuant te ppheti
et omnes apli et xpi argiuant te omnes sancti
et electi dei dicant ergo aures tue audie
et ni norte ni hyoza et ni nuise et timoniem
sme aliqua ni oza dutf meus obediat et volun
ati nre subiuuarf deus angelorf deq archi
gelistarf deus apliorf deus martirf deus confessorf deq
dui nostri ihu xpi cuius nomen sctum tuum
ni hat scriptura tue maiestatis potentia supplex
exposco ut michi auxilium tuum ffauorem dignet
aduc sus illud sctum ingressum ut solicitus intret
andu mouc tuo eclorf de loco suo exeat et
ffugiant ad me accedat ire impat tibi diabole
qui te de supnis celorf sedibus infernoza de
scendere precipit audi ergo egregie nequissime
et tue spurcus et prophanus ausde in nomine dni
nostri ihu xpi tui exitum egressum requiescque
nimiq fidei quidq genere mortis excipias in
iustitie declinatu malorum iudex somes omnis

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[illegible] homis demonū magister qui stas
[illegible] tuis te p[illegible] tuas illud metue
qui mi ysaiar est ymolatq[illegible] mi ioseph vendidatq
mi agno ornatus mi homie[illegible] crucifixus deus su-
rexit triumphator audi [illegible]go ymagine et time
verba dei et ego michi p[illegible]atq mi amodius ne
cordijs providendo Adiuro [illegible]te spem antiquū p
iudicem vivoz et mortuoz [illegible]t eū qui habet
potestatem tenebraꝝ mi [illegible]ut pereas ritu pessimo
pessimo tibi illo iubente qui [illegible]et mi altissimis
Amen Adiuro te ymagine no[illegible]ca qi sed virtute
spūs sancti ut sis subiectq mandatis meis ea
me mora p[illegible]ronda ade ministros illud ypi illig
ptas te vocat qui se pro nobis [illegible]ligendo cru
patibulo subiugauit illius cui [illegible] contre
miscē qui de vivis germinibus miseroꝝ animas
ad lucem p[illegible]ducit sit tibi tremor vere homimis
sit tibi formido ymagō dei qui ypūs [illegible]metu
morte redemit necessitas ne mortis appropiīze
michi et velle meū implere et ne me confu-
tes adtemptando te tibi impat deus pa
tri impat deus filius tibi impat spūs sancti
tibi impat apl[illegible] fides scē petri et pauli et
reliq apl[illegible] impat tibi indulgencia confessoꝝ
impat tibi sanctoꝝ martyꝝ impat tibi omnū
deiq electoꝝ impat tibi continencia vidua

Impanitus pia opa ordinator impat tibi ordines
ium bonorum gaudium mi exercitia dei mi adiutorium im-
pat tibi sanctuarium dei impat tibi portus refu-
et sapientia dñi nostri ihu xpi impat tibi mi-
seriorum pater impat tibi rhus xpus mi quo
mihi quamplurimi de opibus tuis qui te exspoliant
qui regnum tuum depauperat qui pactum te ligant
et domum tua disrumpit qui te pictit mitone brab
exercitorum tibi et mysteria tuis est ppatus
eternus introitus quid turbulente deja le
vehunt qui tempora tedardas deus es ordinatio
nis statuta tua transgressus es deus rhus xpus filius eius
quem tentatores ausus fuisti et auxiliator missi
deus qui mi[illegible]bus cui mozs persuasionibus tuis
cuiab impat tibi oraculissime pmirabil diuinum
aduxo ire pagina cimiteriolatrie qui ambulat
super aspidem et basiliscum qui conculcat leone
et draconem ut facias cito qpp impo tibi et
papie continuisse et time nuncio nomine domini
illius time cui ministeria celorum ptatus dnatoes
et principatus subiecti sunt timent et glorificat
quem cherubin et seraphin indefessis vocibus
laudant impat tibi verbum caro factu impat
tibi nato de virgine impat tibi rhus nazarenus
impat tibi qui te creauit ut implas cito omnia
que peto ate ul gabeze polluc ul sare aspiq

quanto tardius feceris eaque tibi propio tempore
supplicium tibi erit de die in diem Exorcizo te male
dicte et nequissime ac mendacissime ps per vin
centem per deum omnipotentem ihm xpm nazare
num per agnum in macula fidem de altissimis pos
sessum sanctum conceptum ex maria virgine natum
quem Gabriel nuntiauit quem tu vidisti iohes ex
clamauit dicens hic est filius dei Exorcizo te
auctor dyabole pfatis nuentes malicie tue omnibus
subditis tuis in nomine p et f et s et in nomine glo
riose deitatis cui nomen throni angelorum principa
tus ppheie apli martires confessores virgines et
omnes electi dei dicunt ac mortibus mde
fessa voce collaudant dicentes Electus sctus sctus
qui erat qui est et qui est venturus et qui est omnip
ut non presumas transgredi precepta mea nec te latear
tibi ymmo penas / tibi ymmo tormenta in mundi
diem iudicii ymmo diem supplicii sempiterni per
derum qui venturus est velud tibanum ignis ardens
ni quo tibi et angelis tuis preparatus est sempiter
nitatis et ideo pro tua nequicia damnande da honorem deo
damnande da honorem deo patri et vero et ei[illegible] mihi
subiectus ut omnia precepta mea adimpleas da honorem
filio tuo filio eius da honorem spu sancto paracli
in cuius nomine atque virtute propio tibi exorcizo ut nomi
cius ac preceptis meis obedias cui omnis creatura de
seruit quem cherubim et seraphim laudant dicentes
Sctus s. s. dns deus exercituum qui regnat et dnat

per virtutem sce † omnipotentis dei Adiuro ac con
tringo et precipio tibi ayzage ut michi obedias
nec aliquo impedimento ul nocumento ul lesione
et gravamine corpis et alie mee rei et semper
Iterum coniuro te ayzage p omia p dicta sacramenta
sancta et sacrosancta per omia septa sctm creatu viu
et mortua p illum qui te de nichilo fecit coniuro
te et precipio tibi p hostiam sctaz et p hostiam im
maculatam p hostiam sctam et p hostiam in
ductam atqz deo placentem quinto te ac precipio
tibi ayzage p omia p que ligari et constringi
possis exorcizo te per nomie dni p potestatem
atm spiritum p ames nazaretazes p sigillum sa
lomonis p annulos eius p septem candelabra
aurea ante dnm lucentia ut tibi ayzage augmentu
penatu adhibitas de die in diem ita ut no requiescas
nec cessas a labore tuo continuo in eadem loco
ubi mitt es remouere et ut removeas ab omi
officio tuo et ab omni societate et temptatoe et
decepcone ut priazis statim p verba conminacois
tibi inflicta maledico te et nome tuu confundo
nichilo p ames dies scire nec p potestatem quam
habeo sup te ayzage michi ab omipotenti deo data
in baptismo et alijs sacramentis per quos dns noster
ihs xps eam te exegndo tibi maledico et ante
id qd' ate pniet et confundo te et oma tua p on
p alpha et ω p emanuel p nome dei inefabile
p tetragramaton p oia nomia et verba
que dicta sunt ut statim venias ayzage sine aliqua

mora mandatum et potestatem meā qua tibi mani
festabo quam michi datis cū noīe p̄ris veni t
nomine filij veni in noīe spūs sancti veni in noīe
sancte trinitatis vel tibi dico in noīe dei summi
veni in nomine creatoris et omnium creaturarū veni ad
me ni hac hora finie alique nocumento lesione
aīe corporis et anime mee vl aliud mit
tas sed venie faciasq̄ qui sāt p̄fecte desiderium meū
adimplere et nullo modo aliter p̄cedere nisi ame fu
erit licentiatū vl voluntatem meā plenarie p̄finat
Istud conitto te p̄ hec que supādicta sūt ut faciasq̄
michi venie quod spūs qui p̄cepit michi aurum
et argentum vl thezauros abscondit os antequa deiec
tio fiat ut si michi ministraris in aliq̄ voluntate
mea et quotiensq̄z apud me morat cito statim compat
michi benignus ac gratus nichil precepta sed voluta
tem meā in omnibus adimplens et p̄ficiens fiat
fiat fiat Amen ut adducas michi aliq̄d spūs p̄mptū
et ydoneū ni aliq̄d secretū et ut habeat potestatem me
faciendi invisibilem quotiensq̄z voluero et michi pla
cuit et p̄ semp sit subpotestate mea et coma das ei
similit conficiendi libros experimenta et omia quecūq̄
voluero Amen ℟ Tota antiqua p̄mittit incipiat
dñe pr̄ noster Ave maria Credo Adiutorium nostrū
in nomine dñi qui fecit celū et terram ✠ In noīe p.
✠ f ✠ ss Amen ✠ pius qui mat ✠ pius regnat ✠ pp
mipat tibi angelos suos bonos et omes potestates
et omes gen̄ demoniū quos de excelso celo turba ꝓza

dicat ego adiuro et precipio tibi ut imperio et preceptis meis obedias sicut deus imperauit iordano et stetit ut filii isrl' sine impedimento pambularent sic vobis precipio ut meis preceptis die noctuq; gorf omnibus et momento voluntati mee obediatis sicut mare rubrum moysi et aaron obediuit qd se diuisit et iter suum filijs isrl' p medium sui pbuit sit ego p misericordiam dni nostri ihu xpi tibi impero ut modo sine mora sine dilatione decreptione mei et cu diuerunt ei mox obediatis in horze ante (h)ominem intellectibus clarissimum omnipotentissibile felicitatis mysterium inuentissima subtilitas celestis creatoris dne ihu xpe fili dei altissime qui ambulas sup pennas ventorum et ipso pflas tota terra te rogo supplicat ut p dulcedinem gloriose virtutis tue sensibilis sapie tue qui sufficit totam terram corda mentis et aie mee ut omnia sapiam et scientiam intelligam valeam pte qui es omnia scientia et intellectus mi quo ipse et aqua sunt omnia tibi sit laus in secula seculorum amen Antequa vocabit murmur diu longa oronem in nole p. et f et ss amen Jesus vincit Jesus regnat Jesus impat Jesus nos benedicat amen flos florum et omnium exprimetorum radix sed sicus volunt sibi virtus gentilis debet esse mundum et secretu et ab hominibus remotum, sup aqua si haberi non potuit imo si ita accidat q locus inueniri non possit ubi mgr stat magis nem tunc quercat locus asperitibus et a bestijs sint

nemore vl' gesta nonnull' autm' scriptis seu mi stampo
vl'mi alijs cors streck Qui' ad mgr' ista sciencia do-
cuit uti ut sapiens' refert sum p'fulgurantissimd sc-
retum in quo est iudex tetrimphalis secretor' quoma
ista scientia apud autorem sund dept apd eu qui
cuncta creauit nobilior et potentior est omnibus
alijs scientijs et ergo dignioribus sapientioribus et
famulis bonis moribus nil'ominis dignatq' ep' cam
reuelare et si mgr' ad sufficiente ar' si optimum reput
tunc sedm puncta sua debet hanc libz consecrare
illo ap' consecrato debet remane' p'tridiu ab omnibus
immundicijs et pctis se custodiendo et seruando
confitendo et missam audiendo Tunc die quar-
to mane' solus vl' sero cum ad locu sibi antea
p'ancissim' sum deputare in medio' circulo dum sud
cum spu occupatq' deinde mgr' faciet circulu cu
tribus et faciat cornu suum intq' sed' et p'cipiat sibi
mgr' q' nec pedes neq' manq' nec vestes sue capi
libz foras extendat donec mgr' exeat exp'ditq' ab
ordinibus ordinatis tuc mgr' cadat ad locu' p'ordi
natum in quo spus tenet' daze responsum et
faciat signu' crucis sup' frontem suam post' a deuoto
et flexis genibz' vertat faciem suam ad orientem
Gloriosissime adonaij id postea secundo dicat si
dei redemptor id et omnes alias p ordinem sz
deus vivax id hoc facto mgr' ter signu faciat
sup' frontem suam postea incipiat coniuratoz
primo mane sz surgit et alias coniurationes ut

ut sciunt per ordinē et si ipius nō sciunt ad primā
ordinacionem tuā mgr mutuat a capite dñi
semel lege si ipius ad ipsum cito scribit tuū legat
tertiā vice et si tertio cito scribit ner ymaginem
ner responsum dedit vocat mgr sibi q implin
ipm nō vocet ner scribat q si scribit dicmg ei
tenuis pcepta artis operand fuisse et si mgr aliqd
dampnū pcepit dicat sibi nam ipius exhor
tō tenet respondē Si ius ipius vocat tue curie
iustitiat ei dicens Beneficiū tu et propiat a
q nequit ledat ner maledicta nec mozetur
suo Deinde curie auscultet verba eius et
mozū teneat q̄ ac ab ore eius prodit et post
colloquiū si nec mgro placet aliquid mutuare
subtrahi loquio et sapiens fiat petitiones suas
et diligenti vigilet cui responsiones et qd petiuit
cum securitate det pdē nipare et mente no
cedat Deinde faciat signū cruc nistente sua
postea deprecatissima mente mutuet sibi redempto
mundi ic et deus pmaxe et am regnorū esse
ad plenū postea faciat signū cruc super
frontem suam et impetu recedat et vadat ad
locū suū qbi habuit socium tuc vadat ad dñi
dñi in quo socius fuit et faciat ei lectū supdcas
ozdeo antiqua faciat ei oreize dñi culo postea
signet se signaculo sancte cruc ut sciat possint
recedē de ptibus illis et si cucurrit q̄ pmus mgr
sorio suo tanta familiaritatem q̄ ei suū pfut
gratissimū secretū reuelet et suam secutā azti

BSB

ſtraalem ad ſpm̃ derlaꝛet duraꝛ eñ adlocñ debitñ
et ymaginē ni locum roptam eñ panno nigro
poſtea ſtraꝛat rectulū n̄ ſuſtello ſuo et aſſignat
locum ni quo ſcrus ſuus ſedē debeat poſtea ubi
cum ſedē et oſtendit ſi ſub qua forma ſedē deat
n̄ rectulo et qualit ſe regē ni omnibus debeat et
qualit ſpm̃ n̄aduenīm ſuū ſtupe debeat et quomo
exeze debeat dem̄aulo et qualit ni zereſſu ſuo eū
ſicemaze tenet̄ et quomo exeze debeat dem̄aulo
et quo debeat ſe dueztē et h̄ſer omiq; mgr ſcio
ſuo eſtedē antequa eū ni dm̄lo n̄itaze pmittat
ne ex defect̄ pticule mitzē ꝓcedat ſm̃ſup pro
uideat ſibi mgr deſtuicijs nat̄ aliq; temē tolep
nat Item ſtrundum qt̄ mgr̄ ip antequa ſub
ſideruat̄ et ꝛecedat/debet ſibi ho:ram deſtmaze
et diem ꝛeueniendi et obēdendi aliqd̄ ſpus no
tenet̄ quzadrilibus et wrubibus ſuis

Inpit tomuzado lōi rō ſuis oꝛaciōibus ſic

Gloriosſime adonaij ꝑ quem reat̄ et regnat̄
omnia atq; ſubſtant omnipa adeſto ꝓtectiq; mihi
radonibus meis et clement̄ ꝓſta ut ille lōus
ꝑfecta iduitem obtineat qua obtime debeat helij.
a araij arh̄ araſtul ſtrdolꝛarh̄ zamtzalech ſpon
elijas oznas lazitmaſim mtikla mammbꝛuth
ſoꝛathaob ſtebtuda ſtrna ſtrebrus pauethon
ſameij oboꝛuel ſtrib apathon metiazab ijtoꝛo
minoha ſoijozona ſenozeb ijpꝛon tetogetm.
maud vlaſm abdon mediotes tantoſden acarejamch

Deum orationem Ihesu redemptor qui mi hunc mundum
venisti salua me clementissime pr tuam me inte
rnam tuam dne quemadmodum spm meum animam mea
cor meum corpus meum et omnia membra mea confirma
sanctissime deus me faciendo. Miserum peccatorem miserum
mi hoc diabolo existenti sicut mi cera tua tibi grata et
feram te auctore presente et adiuuante qui dispo
nis et moderaris deus omnia mi secula amen
Amen dignioru cognitiu et incognitiu dispensato
et largitor et actor omnis boni deus qui de tua
potestate magna in omnem mentem meam et ordina
voluntate mea cui bonum qui complacito tuo optimo
deus dominus et dirige manum atque iter regum meo
rum multitudine peccatorum quibus ego miser
multiplicat abundauit sum sed per misericordiam clemen
tiam tuam largire michi gratiam tuam sanctam et da
michi efficere cognoscere quae michi expedit memoria
mandare et addiscendi et operandi et quid tuam pe
nitentiam et michi accommoda et scripta me scripturarum per
fecti et michi dare cum quae scripturarum per
michi et michi dare cum quae exercere contraxi michi
misero peccatori tua cui misericordia abluat et deleat
mihi me ignoscat qui homine primum ad principium
factum omnia reduxit per tua sapientia domine
a me usque ad me, fiat et disponis omnia secundum
Ego miserrimus deus da michi misero peccatori
da michi in operibus per confirmare efficere cognoscere

BSB

sme omid delusione et fallacia pstante te qui es
simplex ri substancia et trinig ri ppsonis deus
subdicto mi sola mente deus sinap et om
nes ꝑ publicu et si publicu sme admixtor
scrutator su es ambus omia et similr plia
subiens facultatem nostr opis obtentu amplor
atq; amd celestid auid gracia celestis cmuta ꝙro
dora et confortа mi me effectu opis nostr ꝙ
cipiens effunde pissime deus gram spus sancti
tui mi ꝙr mei et mi dia mea et mi amid medra
mea et multiplica mi me dona spus sci confortа
mi me custodiem dne et fecunda me ꝙre
sce tue confirma mi me custodiam qua fidelib
tuis adquisti opem nunc septiformis mateis
sapie tue da mihi impetu fluentis aque delibans
atq; fontem ame nre irrigat implebit et exubet
caritate que deficiens sup arentes aquas tue mi
nistrat confirma omne hoc agonicu propicius opis
tui mentis pia (℣) sanctissime deus celestis vaca
mihi sed et abedre mei et mi amd tempe sme
℟. qui. ℣. qui natus de maria virg cunctis nobis fili
redemptor mundi deus miserere nobis Spus
sancte deus miserere nobis Sancta trinitas sng
deus miserere nobis Sancta maria ora p nobis
Sancta dei genitrix ora pnf Sancta virgo virginm

Sancte Michael ora pro nobis Sancte Raphael o.
Sancte Gabriel ora p omes sancti et sancte orate pro

Surgite qui malignum spum agitare p regem celi
ferum p coronas septem regni p hyaterram sulfurea
sub qua omes reges misericordiam constringut ut stre
tegentes mirage imperatorem magnum ut absorbeat
cetum nubi responsum Surgite vos ab oriente
vos ab occidente vos a media vos a septentrione Adiuro
te mirage p patrem et filium et sm spm p sanctam
et individuam trinitate p veritatem et simplicitatem
essencie p sanctissima ac spectua virginitatem matris
dni nostri ihu xpi ut p missos cursus et cautus ad
implias sme cmd nominis corpis et ale mee et
om viciorum que tibi impo Ego adiuro te p laudate
tuam qua amisisti p superbiam Iterum coniuro te per
eu qui te creauit decidorem et constituit sup omes
angelos iterq adiuro te p eu qui te decoraut similes
stitudinis sue ppt quod dam corpus ut dicis pona
sedem tuam ad aquilone et similis ero altissimo ppt id
tuisti admiseram et desormis ac passibilis effectus
es coniuro te p nuncupate eias que cuncta visibilia
et ni visibilia contremiscut et obediut ut tu quis co
ruscationibus veritq et ac pstrato michi absque sine
lesione pcis mentis et corpis mee et am veneno
mis et benigng michi obedias et omez voluntate
mea adimplias o draco veritq Simpsr expauescaq
desiderissimo factq es misericordissimq o draco maxime

serpens coruleus O leo rapacissime leuiathan
finalissime tu cominczsam terram O leo infide
lissime seduxisti et pdidisti O truculentissime draco
et princeps artifex totius nequitie ac inuento omis im
quitatis cui iram indignationis qua meruisti affer
et obedi michi per deu ꝑ deu uerū ꝑ deum
sanctū ꝑ obedientia dñi nri ihu xpi qua patri obe
diuit usq ad mortem mortē autē crucis aliquid roferu
tam diu quizaroz tibi ad roz tuū quousq obedias m
adquizato a dno meo ihu ppo ut aparcas michi pi
cilis mi tali forma mansueto et affabilis et obedis
mandatis meis aliquid exorcizo te ut cathene per
deb tue fermidat sulphuze et pice ymo cui iniqui
tudine et gratitudine affiraiſ et nec cmpezo in
nomine ꝑpetui dei omipotentis ut nec medrabile assi
stat te coram constringat te bdzahel combuzet te
gabriel sua fortitudine uigore ui extin quibile aut
mentat sup te asperrimas penas infernales S.
michael nisi sine omi dilacon venias omi uolitatez
metum ad ꝑficiendam mi iussa forma Adiuro uos
et obtestor ligo et constringo uos demones per eū qui
est alpha et ω Adiuro te ayzagt ꝑ deū ꝑ eum
omipotente creatorem celi et terre ꝑ ihm ꝑpm
filiū eius dñm nrm et per ꝑtutem spūs sancti ab
utroq procedentem Comiuro uos ꝑ misteriū sancte
crucis incarnationis et natiuitatis dñi nostri ihu ꝑ
ꝑ circūcisionem et ꝑsentacoz eius ꝑ baptismū et

cuius cius per ꝑdicacionem et omnia signa ac
miracula eius ꝑ crucem et passionem eius ꝑ sanc
tissimum sanguinem eius qui de vulneribus eius
effluxit ꝑ mortem et sepulturam eius ꝑ descen
sum eius ad inferos ꝑ resurrectionem et ascensum
eius ꝑ aduentum spiritus sancti ꝑ paracli ꝑ tremendu
diem iudicij ꝑ sanctum Michaelem archangelum
ꝑ omnes ordines angelorum ꝑ illum Johannem bap
tistam per omnes patriarchas et ꝓphetas ꝑ sanc
tum Johannem euangelistam ꝑ omnes euangelistas per
beatum petrum apostolum clauigerum regni celorum ꝑ
omnes apostolos et discipulos dni nostri ihu xpi ꝑ
beatum Stephanum protomartirem ꝑ centumqua
dragintaquatuor milia innocentium ꝑ angelicum hymnum
et victoriam eius martirum ꝑ illum martirum et cris
talum ꝑ omnes confessores et sacerdotes ꝑ gram ma
riam magdalenam ꝑ omnes sanctas virgines et
viduas deo ꝑ omnes sanctos et electos dei qui ab
origine mundi constituti sunt possideant regnum
dei ꝙsq; minimum diem ꝑ eum qui est alpha
et ω qui portas inferni confregit et te tuo patre
tuo diabulo et eius sequacibus de gehenna ex
pulsit et in tartarum detrusit Iterum aduro te ymi
mage ꝓtripio et imperio tibi ꝑ omnia supdicta ut
mihi obedias loco sis ad hunc locum exeras serpentem in
hac ampulla forma sine normeto et teneas et deliberes
mei et omnium vicinarum et voluntate mea adimplias
effectu bingno Iterum aduro te ymage ꝑ mysteria
ista nomina dei ut exeas de voluntate mea benigne
sine aliqua lesione corpis et alie mee et iterum mando ꝑ

ad impleas et p̄ virtutem istorum nomen athij nobodij
fetuit festinatum tuū ipsiator radalut edyeuel
edemuchan amudah dotuanell meledysson lisu
salim portiz̄os assidorth rontuzensi surfuzeng
Oduizote p̄ luorfezid rugem et magnum malij
nozid spizitud p̄ hec sanctissima nuda dei vui
ut tu Mudage mittas m[illegible]chi ex tuo dominio
cum ipm ijdaneid parafrid benignud et salente
ad amez voluntatem meā ad implendam agliezos
ysemos nijephia neron thuj arhazagul godobdzat
zamaheld abzonithon sukkotendros tuazturza
pedastalen edeborzam dzanaiam plantastrelim
tuadenitim agamemnon barbadoth quatrimil Ad
uzo te Mudage minutute ipoz nominud ni
effabilid dei vnum vad me amij ostasione post
posita semper pernas sustinuerit et sine
mora sine lesione tertiae mei et omnipotentiae
ad amad que te cito faciezo teppon sity emam
hamuton sexdaneto aglonitel meliodoniet titu
gi nazoth arhugezim pajerhon phanstadex
midzobzaton canophanus olmiphazos groh
mathoth spidenus asudethon polunnuhet
tazgo sulcos aphnasanen ragum dagnu machi
zahma tuth perpza ysra ausum ausat smicl
zuna simthi wasbiamni alehtetem hebeat
adolehtez bet torhteno bebastos lisue bohat
bebamezа bohda guizo vos sue ops mi origie

ad sordin

sunc on occidente sunc cm meridie sunc ni sempte
trione sunc ni nazi sunc ni aze sunc ni duosdp
doro sins tomizo vob te fortissimu deum on paton
panton tetragrammaton agelmasis godzam iyzion
elion ỹpaton adasadaij ijbra oncphandpsaton
anaijpsaton phanuel anasanamsapta opelaij
melchay adonaij sabaoth eloij et thcas thebeos
panthcon ystoro dzetgan stramomathon agla
maijon et p gramma noia dej omnipotentis ut
michi et benigne pure et pie mit sine mod
et sine lesione prone et oppressionis mei et aiam
meam ad me ptinentia sine lesione
illesa defendat ~~dilatet remota rebelle inimica~~
~~adhibe eos et expugnet sue furie et effere~~ fallacia
et semulo ipso aperiat et eis resp fiducia in formam
ymus M et quamu ut quibus pt qua p sunde
et mi pzro adiu adiuuet rum omnibus nutuositatis
sue s habet tu sub formis et loris terrum
tomizo vob pria noia dei sz agla agld agla
don et p amzen verbum dei Saluet ut michi
et benigne pure ut supa Ihs gp tomizo vob
p deum vli p deum terre p deum maris p
deum angelorum et homm p deum arb creatur
p corpa aiam pectora ut michi et benigne pue id
ueru tomizo vob p nouem ordines angelorum
p cherubin et seraphim p thronos p dnationes
p pdicatus potes p uirtutes eloim p archa
gelos ut mea precpta obediatis ut

ut michi et bngne pud dñm Comitzo vob ut
michi obedeant non ꝑter me sed ꝑ ꝓphetiu
tuu omib creatuꝛ obedit qua laudant angeli
venerant archangeli quem cherubin et sera
phim ꝓclamant sctus sctus sctus dñs deus sa
baoth qui erat et qui est adventurꝰ est plenu
sunt celi et terꝛ gla tua ut michi et bngne
pud dñm Comitzo vob ꝑ nrm̃ dñm nrm
ihm̃ xpm de maria vrgine ꝛcitum ut se
mihi ut mos ꝓcepto obediat ut michi et
bngne pud et pie nec sine mora sine
cessione pigre et desidiose mei et dñi vnionꝭ
ac amꝰ ad me ꝓficiscꝰ sine ulla cessione ꝛcepide
et fallaciꝰ mi ꝑiculo iste aperiꝰ et ad ꝛcipe
ꝓcedat mi forma rsus xr quam ꝛcta ut qui
ut qui ꝑfunde et mi vero aditꝰ ad omnibus
circumstantijs suis habet ad sub sonꝰ et lar
Comitzo vob ꝑ obedientiam illud ꝓphi qua
ꝓphe obediunt usq ad mortem mortem aut
dirus ut michi et bngne pud ut supꝝ Com
itzo vob ꝑ dñm̃ nm̃ ihm̃ xpm̃ per deu verum per
deu sctum qui mi ꝓphia scripꝛ celu et ꝛram
mare et aiam que in eis sunt clamata et
aliud clamata que subtus sunt ut michi bngne ꝓ
Comitzo vob per manualem xpm̃ admirabi
lem ꝓalpha et o per primu et nouissimu et ꝑ anna
tiua dei ut mo ꝛcmat et meo ꝓcepto obediat
ut michi et bngne ꝓ Comitzo vob ꝑ xpm̃ glie

qui conceptus est de spiritu sancto natus ex maria
virgine passus sub pontio pylato Comitto vos
p mortem redemptoris nostri ihu xpi p sanctam
crucem cuius † signum † clavos † lanceam † palpitos p
clauos duros per fixuram carnee p quique mem-
bra dni nostri ihu xpi per sanctum sanguinem
qui de late & de toto corpe cius effluxit vt ve-
niat michi &c Comitto vos per mortem
et sepulturam eius per misterium et cornutum
sancte crucis † depressionem eius ad inferos p
potentiam quam qui cruces infernales demant
Comitto vos per gloriosam resurrectionem et ascen
sionem eius p aduentu sancti spus paraclyti
ut michi et denique &c ut &c Comitto vos
p tremendum diem iudicij Comitto vos per
diem eterni supplicij p diem scelerum meorum
et tristicie ut mandata meis sine mora obediat
michi et denique &c ut &c Comitto vos p
sydrach misach abdenago Comitto vos per
tres magos pharaonis p sigillum salomonis
Comitto vos p tres magos ihu xpi Gaspar
Balthazar Melchior ut cito veniat &c Con
fessor vos p mandatum dni ut veniatis ut
michi denique &c Adiuuati † patrem †
filium † spm qui est vere pmus qui est et nouis
simus et terra et non plus

BSB

Vom dissen Worten sal my sprechen dy
mensche ehe dy sine ersten ansenge sy also dz
kayn gelaube ensag da gebessert sy alsam sal auch
keyn keyser in mache von gantz erwe vnd von
keyn keyserin vnsers herren gantz erwe vnd von
keyn vnsers herren gebort vnd marien

In dem name des vaters des sunes vnd des heiligen
geists Amen Hye vahet an dy lere von der gebort
vnsers hern ihesu cristi vnd von dessen gebarne vnd dy heiligen
leben der mynne ich dich bescheide dich Adam ich
vermone dich Adam dz du mist starken vnd dy
von gantz sonder stond vor vnsers liebe herren
ihesu cristi dy vnsprechliche gebort cristy sprich sy
menschlicher art stund vor sy gebort vor keyner mort
also gestalt vnd ordenung in bosser Adam dz du mist
vnd starke du sayst ee der liebe Adam
der ebe Adam der vod Adam der heilige Adam
der hye Adam nyt Adam der hayligen Adam der
vnbesmide Adam der Adam der Adam der bosse Adam dy
krebis Adam du sayst dorby Adam Adelgerdy
Adam ankomst adam krangkeit du bist dy erste
mensch y erschaffen vnd vnsers hern gebort vnd erden
bo gehalt vnd vnd vnd gebare vnd by d' natur
by dem sone vnd by dem heilige geiste vnd by
dy du mayst dy du sayst y gemelt
vnd mit namen dz n' bosse plaufes adam
dises bildes also dyt als dise pylger nam
mache stoltz ombissen vnd dy
ist gedacht dannede ee dy adam geschaffen vnd
also dannyhen brachte dz gebot vnd

BSB

Hy dem vater hy dem sone vnd hy dem gedegen
geiste vnd hy dem gebare dan dy kamergelichc
nature nama Drug an crame gelaff gebendit
drume dy Wort dar sin d' name de vaters
de sones vnd de gelaff geistes sancy
Wi mod dusse sayn dryfeld gesprochy qui
Bo sal may kesliechy ayt dyssen nadgesagte
Wordigen
Dy gelank dez kayn Wis addn oudy komen may
dusse ankomst dusse krangsten dute offenbre
vnd geleerne dussem gheerde gebusem kay
Sonder der nuvy der d' sonder and hertzy
same creatc gheboy dez dat vnse lieb gher
ihesus cristy der eyn ketten vdn gyemell
vnd ertnech ist der dusse dussem gheerde
dusse ankomst dysse kranysten dute offenbre
vnd geleerne dez gelest myr der vater
der sony vnd dr gelest gest vnd gelest
eny vnd myr alle dy gebendit kynt
dy mit god yn d' ebigh leb sint dez
Eerst Wir sin d' name d' vaters de
sones vnd de gelest gest

Hat eyn metsche den oderen so mag
may oudy spreckey dat ge hat manich
mensche gheert dez komelich ist

Vor den fürsten Da sal man
dessen sachen sprechen und sal de pfarr-
sprechen yn sin rechte an und czum
nechsten sal sin kosten aber hin de
pfarr Wenn sy ane burge kome aber
und wird ome der pfarr kome gehen
und der uffsehen allermeist und de
dorin bryngen yn sin. an sprechen

Jhesus yn eyner krippen lag Jhesus yn eyn
krippen geborn Wer do eyner reyne magt
der entpfangt also ganz und dan der yn
dem muste auch dissem pfarrer dissen-sunden
dreyn kam und kas der dirlöst dan- yn dem
namen des Vaters des suns und des heiligen
geist / Amen

Jch bidder an ebmpfis der pfarr So sal
man sprechen disse wort yn sin nasse en
Jhesus und der wordt wiedern eyn wass
ein same der wort der slug eb Jhesus
erste der uffsehen heant uff was dy yn
ebenen de worde Ame v pr m 2 auc

BSB

Ich schicke dy pestilentz So sal man
dyss sayn prechen schalt eyne notstyr
oss schoffe

Der vatter suchte dich dy sey der sone dich
der geyst gyst vorbeide dich flumen
Ich consecriere dich drucf und offenbare by
vnsichtt heilige pehn das gott de herre dirch
sey heilige Ebenedite sistay und das du
nicht empfahest noch entpfer und blud
und by den heilig drechen naken dy gott
durch hende und fusse ebirs offlang und
durch das heilige creutze ere das du ebikst
ebilder keren und nyne nicht empfahest
dirch vorbitte ebirde nyne das als gott
unsin here an dy heilige creutze stralet das
ane do heilger gst do dy sprychen go
do dy almechtiger barmhertziger got
eyn gesport nehm allen der ebirnde
und der ebigeth todes vnlosse mich von
dissen bruchsch Amen v pal nost ane

Ich ayan sall prechen und eruge machte
dy by erden und sal prechen in de name
des vatters des sones und des heilge gestes
Amen und dy disse kruzgteres und sal
eqnis dyabolus eqnphahell eqnphahel eqnphahell
dyss sayn bespreugt und eyn eyglicge ebirde
do sy flyen addi- metsche da flieh bey
vnglucke sterr

Item vor alle fule eleende mechst-man dosse
nachgeschrebe sake
Do sal man nemē eyn kruid geheist agetze
dez sal mā breche vff eyns fryetag vor
mittage vnde eyn yglich mitstige sal sin
houbt bysprechen eyn man breche eyn
ende do endaing. auch dez kruid vnde mey
nest eleend ob eyn vri vrigh strasse hat
Do sal mā dez kruid dy bletter abe streissen
vnde dy kleyne gaysten vnde dan yn eyne
mussere stossen sere kleyne vnde dy strüsse
yn sin hende dynache vff dryge engegen
Do sal mā dasse nemen vnde yn eyne
pfannen lassen smeltze vngenatge smalz
vnde dez vnden eyn dd eidel nuemet vnde doch
dez ob nicht eyn vri setze eldede kue mā sal
ethalb dunnden abegebrocht sanne dd
ethoben dez ist ussmassen kruid ajan smelz
auch dy eleend alleyne dorfte nit dussen
dez da ethalb sy vff sonst eyche lo
dorp auch ab dez togen vrigh locher gnatze
Do en ist kosset nicht dd dez mā nymet
yn eyne kessel gotte vnde dan eymer val
wassers vnde mache dorus louge d van
Asschen dy da gebrat sy van eymche golze
vnde von haynbotten golze dd mā dy
louge ethmachst gat Do sal mā dan dasse
sydden vnder eyn galle metzig folleg

Item wann eß dy glewbere to fal wil eß in
eßig wann machs so wil eß glich wayß
Item dy bey dasinne segt alle mal ij vnsen
So fal wil dy salte wil dy dy
stuge vsse eyn plasterdich Item vsse dy
Item legen Item dime eyne Windy vo
sawgke machs Item dy lune Windy
bis von dy fusse an bis an dy bene So
machst eß glich stont Item gerbingst Item
sal eß nemc mit der klime so stekst ay bess

Item eyn knublay Windy So sal vnd nemc
dy eberigste dy vnd nemt beyntstelle dy
glad eyn brud mit lang breidey Bleberey Item
eberst stue vsse dy Windy by dy essen
dy eberigste st stetty Item stete dy sal
wil eb dime dassy eberd Item stebey
eyn klapse mele Item dwend Inemc
eyn drittel spulwes von hymasky kuche
Item mit stysenstebyer dymstigt dy gewil-
alle gutige Item dy schnmassy st gleb
Item adn dy wil vo dem selbe stoyssen
eblet mache eyn bene sulle So sal
nian nemc 1 spis tunpentiny 1 spis
boyssny adn stysenstm onsset 1 sirtell ingstrewdt
eldz 1 sirtell roynbarg smaltz dy sal wil
sulle adn eyne stone So sall wil dime

Item vnder vere dz pulver vo der kopmanll
y lot vnd pulver vo eyme kruce geschu
schuchte hant eyme kemp stehen vnd vogl
bleten als vnd bleten vnd klauben my
der duch klaide der vnd geschet dz
golnchte vnd dessi. salb mit keyme glicht

Item eyne salbe vor den lichten vor stryme hand
arme adder vor dē ghichtsuche vnd dz dz
ghichte dem so sal mā nemē gueckssilber
y lot vnd y quetyn vnde sal dz todē
dyo ayan sal nemē yy lot scharlie vnd
d schaffy dann pulver dz selbe pulvers
sal mā nemē eyn denig yn der dryclichy
kymel als dy gelt goltsmide han vnd dz
vff dy kolen galb so lange dz es smilzit
so sal mā es do herab nemē vnde dy
gueckssilber dorchy schudden vnde mit eyme
holtzichy slage mā so langet dz kuln dun
so wodt mā es dornach stossē mā es
vor pulver vff mā sal ouch koraff lorbere
ij y lot vnde f glatin vnde ouch vor pulv
mach vnd ebel kleyne vnde ouch eyn
selb so sal mā dz nemē vp galb put
reynberge schuelz vnde d lassiy vor offen
vff d fuer vnd gerakt d nemē vnd
dorchy thuy dz pulver von lorbere
vnd gueckssilber vnd dz kuln dun

BSB

Item So sal ma dan dy pfahel pulver ouch
dryffma vff vnd vnder dy rure bis cc
bals eins to eins drouff eyne vffm mass
gicht palle Ibatur 3

Item vor den slag vdder drosse
So sal nema gudey gbrante eyn dar da gudey
vdder drosse gbrant ader vnd sal da nema
borne lauendel blume vnd dy stossy rai
tleyne pulver vnd sal nema pansboym
ver eyne bleyerusch stollig vnd sal dy losse
vff entbarma yn gbrant eyn vnd dy
gerus nema vnd vdder lassy dorrey vnd
rein pulver stossy solich pulver sal dan
dy gall nema vnder den gbrante eyn
vnd lauendel vnd yn eyne morsser vff
vnden eyn ordel dry yn eyn drangk d
rynsy dorch eyn duch

Dar nach rai eyner smerung vff dy not wo
yn So nym lorbere dy da gud sy eyn
pferdt adder nucz vnd sud dy yn gud
eyne eyn stang vnd lass yn dann vff
dorre eben vnd stoss yn rein pulver
Dar nach so nym ij lot gudes wachsoldery vnd
lass dy auch entbarme yn gud eyne dry
dy vberste gud abgesche vnd wy yn dann vnd
schade dry mittelste reynsche der selbige gud
vnd dy berne ab vnde mache vff vdder

Rat pulver So sal mad dene nemē dy
pulver von dem lorberg und d Wachsperg
und dy Galletzell von d Spanßbormerg
rat sonst mongk in d ossadem dy ende
dysendes also vergt nemē das eß eyne
quarte ebere und dal vnder eyn arbeyt
So sal mad es dy dann vmgen
Also sal mad mentsge scapy eyn eyne fuge
und dete dinsty rede dy eß druge ant
o sal mad de metsge nyder lege vff dy
tod sytey und dal denny dy dy und
des Frenghis ofny gelene lesskuol so gulgt
sy dy blud vß d ofond gedery yn
dy tod sytey und ofnesat den d no tog
dog so etnas gemach sommer rat lorbarg
und ouch mage any Sonsse toge dy lorbarg

Als ab dy maranys rat sole gmot und dy
ebrege dray etc
So sal mad nemē dene laudelo blümey
und sal nemē dy mitasse drusge der gud
und d Hanne von Wadgoldery und dy
mitasse stgele von Wadgoldery sonnerlady
und mad sal se stossy rat pulver und sal
der vnder stgaley von Golsmberne solcge
albes rat gonsse sal mad yn eyne morsser
vnden eyn arbeyt dal eyn stoulle etliche
male dremgke se gmeng ebey ouch abey
ebrana ebey rat stang sny ebele sole mad es
mysge mit dindany und ebyne stgarfy

Item Wer der vngeschribe stuck vnder
alle wad ob wont yerschra
So sal wad wone ercebliss von ethlicher ercery
Und fall ob wenigk vnder rossmetaschen und
sal ern plaster machen mit bergke dinen
solich plaster tzulest vff de arntlige alle bosse
stucke solich plaster sal wad lige vnder dy stucke
Ist ern ander gud bollent stoyke dine ayan sal
wone dy vode stoyke und sal yr thun yn eyne
quante doppe muss dry halbuoll und dorsny
schessy gelone addn drey lessiluol salges yo
und dry stoyke yn dy ercery ij addn drey achti
darus ebnt smalts de salle wad ab sybery dinck
eyn dinck und yn eyne yerstarsse stopen und
yn dy pone dorst ethlicher tag yo temperire ge
such solich sal wad vnder dy ouch smeren antly
antlige addy eb sy not ist ebn dry ayegalt
so sal wad ob dry ebaster wit ghrante bry

Eyen ander gud stoyke dar tzu Do sal nem
mone ebl, ysad eyer dotery von yo addn
yij eyery und sal nome ebenmetge und
eyne lessiluoll salges und dry yn eyne
morsse stossy und dorch eyn duch yrnge dorwnd
So nemy eyngalb quetny yoluer vo yeabll
und nemy yndiser vo gestodt quecgsilber dry
dry sal wad allis tzu pone temperen und
dann nemy yn eyne back sucht So sal wad yny
an de stell dunnde smeren so bycalt ob ayan
sal ouch dy stell vorsyne offty yo bessert eb

ayan mag ouch abl nemn ſ pad ſilbergkt
und dz rei puluer ſoſſy und dz pad ze
yn vayne bary und dartzu thun daſey
Boreſchy und nemn vj eyher dz kluſſ
von dzy eyery und dz temperen dorch
ayn abolle durch ſo ebnt ob rei baſſer
dz thund mit yn dz vorgkt eben ob
kuke eben iſt Policye mateyne ſalt
may yn d bad an dz antlitz ſtrych
ſo eyalyt ob dy boſſe ſpalt horuſs ybaſſ z

Item wilder den bluet drullbing ſo ſall
may nemn ſoſs adder achte dy beyn uſs
den Baſyge noſſy und dy yn ayne morſſe
ſtoſſy und darbunden ayeng ayne ſollich
leſſklock eby ſpongks und dz laſſy eyſſenig
ſod ſolich ſal mit wyſſery noſſe ayan
ſal ouch darbunden nemn eben mit ob
yſyabt mag ſloſs ſyan dz iſt dy ſſchamme
ander aben galander rei puluer ſtmacht
und darbunden ſtmengkt ſullyt vo ſtond
mit ſal ob eben noſſ ſlutz z

Item dz ſelbe ſloſs ſyan dy ſſchenke ey adder
achte adder mynner yn vayne bary ſtleit
ayne galle ulyn adder noſſe und dz day
ſtdrongkt leſſyen dy uſſtmaſſe heyſſe
und lab ſlatt z 2 vezl

Item Welcher dy fygbonen do sal mit nemen
essene alden dry lefflmolt beinyoley vnd
puluer von Welschen Pfeffer 1 lot dorzu
man sayn Abenst entpfach yn eynen pfandy
Welcher sie man stonden vff eynen Blumelt
lassen vnd darvff legt So mit Abentest
Essen kum so Halt es gleich

Item anders gelt mathsone dreylau So
sal mit dreyen stranlte puluer vor
gemelten essen yn Essigen yn Backen
vnd Blatter als saffran vnd gel eyn
Clenglich yn der erd als gelbpoltery

Item anders Plont stogke dry lau So
sal mit nege eyn lynetuch yn
lassen dz dz di gebrant ist vff brunn
Wasser Halt yn der erde eyne Schreckly mit
Brodt als dy Pfyfblatern dry sal mit
Brodt vff dy fore Halt vnd stond lesz

Item Welcher den Kappon yn der Brey So
sal man nemen eyn Pfynsteleyn dry
da gemacht sy als mit dy Pfeffe eyn
dinnery vff dy Kappudyn sal mit lang
pulucr vio ynglebey vnd vnder dy gassen
Galle vnd en darmidt vff Heb dy Kappu
thun ob not so mags mit ob mehr thun

Item So ein mensch ein kaltsuchs zů lang haben esset
So sal man nemē bertram dry sal mit essig
vn ebyne addn mit hönig vnd dry ermysten
darusse sal mā ein gebē ein essemp gegen
so benymet man an sin arge geschmacke

Item vor dy tarbroche als man ß nennet ein
omaye So sal mā nemē eyne handvolle
brūnkole eyne handvolle galendre bletter
vnd ein ~~addn dey~~ lofflaul gantz dry
lofflaull bottram vngefalte dy sal man
vndereyn sydē sere wol vnd man sal
ß dorch eyn duch erpingen So strichet mā
ß vff eyn plaster duch das gesalt zů gemd
gebē z

Vor dy schoffe der adem So sal man nemen sorffe
vnd dy spelten von eyme lofflemyst dry sal
man dar zů gesse eyn sampfony vnd vmb dy
vnd streicht das benymet dy schoffe

Item dy ebissen salben zů machē So sal
man nemē rosen oley adder dy ebissn
druen vnd man sal darin thon eyn kampher
vnd bly wyß sal mā yn eyme morser zů
same arbeid dy brūt vnd gesalbet alle
gnugsam ebendy gebē z

Item mā sal ein ~~ey~~ ebenig mit ey lassen enbeissen

Item wer sy dz nit gern / vnd wil vorleschen
der sal mir vnd dem gotzhus vmb vorbesserung
sin / vnd sal dz nit publicieren noch offenbaren
dz mir vnd dem gotzhus schad sy / sunder
gantz vnd gar vnd allenthalben vertragen
sin / vnd sal dz nit thun weder mit worten
noch mit werken / in dhein weg / alles
by den eiden / so er dem gotzhus vnd mir
gethan hat / vnd sol dz ouch stet vnd vest
halten / vnd nachkomen / sunder gefarde

Item wer dz gotzhus schuldig

Item wer dz man macht / dz sy vf rosen vnd
andern zinslen / dz man sal nemen / dz dz
vnd sal darumb thun / rosen / vnd in allen
solichen sachen / man sal dz / mit dem
gotzhus / vnd mit der gemeind
dry / oder fier / tag / solich ding / ratslagen / vnd
darnach / in dem / vnd / dz best / dz in
allen / vnd / jeden / sachen / dz gotzhus
vnd gemeind / dz best / dz / ze thun

Item / wer / dz / dz / wir / vnd / vnser / gemeind
gotzhus / vnd / gemeind / dz / dz / vnd / dz / dz
also / solich / gemeind / ist / vnd / dz / dz / vnd
ist / vnd / vnd / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz

Item / wer / dz / dz / vnd / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz
vnd / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz
dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz
dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz
dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz
dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz
dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz
dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz

Item eyn frauwe dy lendt eygē thūn
So sal my̆ne nechbuyr eyn lot
vndt sal eß spyd an dry̆ stoyßē, vndt
ma sal neme gaū y̆ dem stoyße sonst
lesßlnoll eynes vndt sal dy̆ myt ey̆ß
So sal ma dy̆ mache eyn steynbat
von sondorstey̆ Dry̆ tayse an ey̆ eny̆ eben
eny̆ may aū latte eßen eyn eßel So sal
may abtzeyn dy̆ sonst lesßlnoll eßmeß
naū y̆ dem male dennyß So vorgeyt
dy̆ vrangheyt vor eßen

Item Eyne vrangē eßen dy̆ vorgeßlidt eyn lib
ab eyn mentsche ofslay eßen ader ofslet ofsloßen
vndt dat dy̆ totgeßlidt by eny̆ hetet so yn dē lib
ader eber gebeßte felle vndt steupß
So sal my̆ne eyn hund heysßet zeyßen
vndt sal dat y̆ny̆ aut eßyne so dry̆ ey̆ druppel
yn sleet dat sal eyn mentsche dennyß So
vortribt ob eyn gromt sßlach
Vnch so heysßit eyn hund tzyselbrud ab
synghelinsß eesßet eesßet vndt vff der erde
gone dreg dat sßraß vndt hat slitz bijnedt
als palcyd vßnd dat sßelle

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Item vor dy brond uff der ganss salb mans
neme gebrant claussen uss den blauen kom-
blüme und eyme nüchtern dy gyfftig eyme
kesselkul so stroffet dy nüchtig

Item claussen gebrat uss dy smalz essigbrodt
und eyme nüchtern ynnyssgeben dy siechtag
colicam dutz ist dy eyme yn dy syten dy
und dy sint dy apostume yny lib

Item vor ubirmasse gicze yny lib und eyme
dy gerige vorborne edelz so saul mid neme
fleisch syon dy sint dy Celidonie an dy galandin
und dy yn sesse adder soben yn eyme sichuszely
stelen yn regne bony eyme galtz ungn salt
eyme nüchtig drinckstu dy siechtag vor eben

Als eyn nüchtig eyn öngt rii slang adder
ophissen adder so saul mans neme baugans
adder yschenhart dy krude und saul dy blum
gaygel und eyn eyer eyss anander und
solichs dry durch eyn luter wayn durch
rinck solichs saul mid rii abend und mid
rii bete ehe eyn und dy ougt drinckstu
und ouch eyn plaster druon uff dy ougt
legstu dy krentzlin dy ougt edelweyss
und galt eyn an dy

Eyn krangkeit Heuptet vanger nach dem
knebus he dabut pullet als der knebus
zů vngke ogu vnd he lebt dz pulf mà
also bussy
ayan pault eb sein nyse bestreche mit ebsse
sulley so vorgehe dz sterkey
dar nach so sal man mach ey plaster
also so puter he ayan saul nemt wdon
koppigarnoch 1 lot Spanbgron 1 lot stemmet
1 lot Balgamey 1 lot drachenblud 1 lot 1 lot
sloc epotzw dz sp gbram hmetzhorn 1 lot
sotry 1 lot Rhymstorn 1 lot von gbrante
knebus vñ pulucr gemache 1 lot von gbrante
mensthger har 1 lot stůncb Rhyrauch
1 lot 1 lot galley mey dz sall vnd alles zm
eyme morsser sossig vnd ebe vedl dorig
eyn duch vnd solich pulver sal man ebl
bedam dz eb dreyley klebt vo der hoss dz
sal man dann yn dy Wunde vor ebey eb
der knebus tout ist dz peule also dy Wunde
suche sich vnecher vñ vnd ebe Rhaw
edder ebss vnd zu vant

Eyn ander mol sal nemn dy kern vss de
haselnosse vnd sal dy stossen vnd temperey
vnder honig vnd dand eyn plaster vss
gleis

Item ander sorgte Rainy Erebut nesch
ende salg wie same geschossen ende darus
star so salt he sterben any vō tage
Bruchte he us an die nasen so sal mā
nemē dry sass von rodt Entsch ende
pulues von bategnie darmēn dry sme
mid yen dy sroc thē

Item wen der adem stingkt der sal nemē
gudey Cyrnasyy eyne quarte ende pil
der vii name gelb ende solliche Garnwoll
palucy ende mid saul dy mit eyn lōl sich
eyn drenkell Inne solche drang saul
mid abendt vii leste drenghe dry
nortnibt dry Splatte 3

Item wen dy wenne dy yene essen dy
se eny wu leche thūy so sal may nemē
yelene lessikwolt yarnge ende dwelnd
mengk eyn solich galb lot Sambgoen
ende myt eyn omsied dry sall mid
stuckge yn de gud to Vorgeht dy
smorge Ves 3

Item vor blud Garnne sal nid sosen
dy Emaklouchte ganbet yn sy zeyne
Cassor sulle eyn metsche eldenny drinche
so Vorgeht es Splatz 3

Item eyn sache ab eyn mensche do verstrappt
wurde das eyn fo vrome das ist sin eigen
mocht von eyn rüme eelude das eyme metsche
brengt zu schoss eehelaff vnde nait
So sal man neme die mittelste stegale
von jolen gelege vnde das stöcken in sime
eyre adder in eyme eyre vnd die brenge
so darvon solichs breche vnde vinct
von stunde dorch vnde ist eyn beste
darfor

Item wer die lichsen in de ouge adder stelzlisse
hin den ougen
So sal man nemen eyn ropen eisse hyne
buren hyne durch also breid als ex sugelt
vnde solich tuch sal ma binne vff eyme
barmenlyde vnde das mit eyme lichte
an stossen, apd sal ey mit eyme messen
eyn ellemss lossen vnde mest ubn lanck
lossen binne So sint darvon stelle smalz
solichs smalz sal ma mit de nasselossen
smyrke ubn dy ouglide strichen das todt
alle lussen vnde stelzlisse

Item gemeyn gut eetsalle vñ butzen
eisen sal ma nemen eyn sarcell bonenole
vnde ley eyer eisse vnde darvnder mengen
eyn eelig scherff melk das gelat
usmasse sensse vnde pre

Item Vor dan Stayn oyn vfsmassyng
vnd stoyfse
So sal man nemen iiij lot ebbiske adamsey
iij lot ebbiken Jngbawy iij lot peterslyx
samen 1 lot saffran von orte yoyoiij
pessyboyy Dez sal ma allis stossyn tů
puluer Dez sal ma togek an sonst
thcill vnde sall da nemn stud ebbiske
ebiy adder stud elsken vnde sall dez
zů nemn dob ebynes oyn solliche quante
vnde sal dez kasyny mitoyn ~~eynellaing~~ sud oyn
solliche dranck sal ma danne theile an
Drittail yn sonstheill So sal dz metsche dry teil
Dasanff vbyn nachoyn vnde sal y vbrig
vbyn dz theill eynes dranyks vnde
allemall ein ebbiske ein he vff drinckst
vme storke, dez bruchst de stayn vfsmassyn
sexe Dnch so sall ma syeden bornbuse
vnde also klarey vme syn lib vnde yn
plasteb thus sleyn so drabt eb

Item Honer smaltz olymaltz vnde sonst
yglichs gleich Nothit dez ~~eyn~~ sal may
nemen oyn ansbid solliche salbe ebzuchst
vnde eolangst alle vorgeschrieben adzey

Item ab eyner ethelcher eyn ethelt kruß
aren adder kayn ebbe oder thun alß
recht ethelan thorrit von der ehrist so
ist dritte nachstehn eyn jud bekleret
slage Brufft
aßan sault nemen Hudon thranre eben
eyne Gotterosse von eyner kelt adder mehr
darbrudn sal mad dan ebbl kayn stoßen
eyn lot Guder malabrig eyn lot pulurd
von small salbeun solich pulurr sall
mid vrdn dr thranre eben thun brde
sal sich erstehn ehe mad eß nutzt sonst
adder sehe tage eer der metstehe uß dr
bode eyst so sault ehe stehn bij eyn pu
brde dag glet dr e ebbe ist thy dr sure
mit dr thranre, vnd usstreichen sere so
hat eß dag recht dag ey alße sere ebbe
thud brde nomermehr

Dese poyste hand hemmze streich thyen
myne gnedige bede here da ge pit
dyebe thedenchet hat

Item zu der Lutzy Palmary nemt Hermon
Lore Frud dnd Wergely dnd sal dry Predy
mit veymery Korne Jny eyme Mudemy
vngenaston dffery Lore Vrich dnd Voll
Da sal der nechste dry Pfyny vff eyme
Stfernelt dnd d Pfaddy vnder vff/ an
dry nombrum, dnd sol vnther Vol bezalt
dry dry Pfaddy mog mit andre dry
Stormey, dnd dd dry so bude Ebne dry
na eg Pfaddy Kny so sal nad dry selby
Adsfere vnderdr dnuff gyffny, da may
eny dry nach Pfaddy dnd dalt Fleusty stryer
Dal nad eyn gebrat alaine vff Pfaddy
an sal auch nome dy Klayne Smagell
Vissergin, dnd dy Kendlagk da Gerstay
dnd andery mostdely pulver dry
tuddy Gerst vffnmasty Lore glet

Item ander gud stogt zeü der Lutzy so sal nem
Lorbere dnd sal Pfaddy Pfaddy zeü pulver
dnd sal dd nome altdyr dnd dry mettayn Kuffny
enspid so sal nad dry dry nombrum dry Pfny
dengkny dd may eg Pfaddy Frd eyne vffn
dd nad eg dny Gerss nymet so sal nad eny
dnsfny Bfrüdny Lat vnfynd adder alüy Kuffni
so sall nad dry Korne vff eyer dstany Smaly
dnsfny Smaly so galdt eg vü dnd Pfaddy

Item noch eyn beschwerd hot sich mit Bauffyn vnd yr gesell
sorbore item der wirtschaft item vor iij gellen Cass.
Byrausch vor iij gellen pfeffell vor aber yoyj
eyer also dz er y vngeracht fry vnd salt by
so gartz sydem dz so blib vorm dy Burgery
sall mit thun yn eyns erbern Rotts vnd vnser
dy halt fryeyn vnd frnaby dienst bernt
so sal man dy buch vmb eyer vnd eins vnser
lieben frauwen bilden yn der kirchen hynaby
vff der empory, dy lorbere sal mit an stossen
dornach nachem dornach Byrausch vff dem
pfeffell, dasse stoyfe sal mit thun yn dz hynaby
dornach so sal mit dz mayst dienst den alten
frnaby So sal mit dem nomen vnd dz metzgen
fyn gemeyne myt eyns Buch gebn, fry buch
vff berge bindey vnd dy falke mit eyner
schedem yn dy gellen stroyen so mocht vnd
halt dz vff dem gemeyn, ayan sal ouch sydem
gabersten mit klussen damit sal mit sich
beyen vnd mogen eins alle komt darnach
helt so entelt dass yj mogt plat3

Item von den pfennigen eyns So sal mit
nemen pulver vo eyerstroy vnd pulver
von pyrnes gleich vergut vnd yn durchschlag
vff eyn knodigen arz sal mit thun
yn schmaltz vnd dy gene damit myt
so vbrig stycke

Item Wan dy frauelt dy matrys beslaffen ist
vnd yn dy darzu lady so sal vnd wone dy
nachpurschap steyde yr galgen yj lot ayopgan
yj lot vor Clamey yj lot Tanck j lot
Boysten candt j lot darvff sal vnd pulver
macht vnd alcrudt vnd morgens vff eyns
yder bredel affon dy sal vnd vorhoren
yn eyns addn. byer klach vnd dy pulver
dan darvff gelt Dutte ist vechill yborit

Item eyn dander ghd bolleni steyde darzu
so sal vnd nomt rudt Straßburg, dy ist
alpruckt vnder dopey xxxxx vnder bischoff
palacz vgheyde eyn Gantwell vnd pul dy
Sidey mit vorpn bome yn eyne mulbey
Dopey so sal sich dy frauelt dy steyny vff
eyns loßgereckt stul vnd sich vff vnsyn
Lagengstun vnd dy pladey dan vnder vff
dassy offeny: vnd vnd sal dy nicht vor vbel
Deich dassy sey addn dy dy matrys nicht
vorbrente addy ist enddrit nomer bruder
vnd Dritte steyde ist vorlorn bolleni

Item eyn frauelt eyn tout hut by er Brugst
so sal vnd er offeny yrem palacz sass mit frow
eyne addy buer of komt vor er
Addn dring schelt mitdye mit faltye
Se mag auch dy dringhe eyner andern
frauelt pone

Item Wen yemant gerechte sprake vnde ap. plenit
Als sachso recht eine stunde vnd eyne
hundt yn arbeyt ligt alse dat dat hirt
nycht thu rechter tyt vort komen ebolt
So sall nemt eyn hammel des kundes
ayster vnde dat syn eyne pote dar vm
mage vnde an dy hoymelich sall
gahn So wendet sich dat hunt von stonk
wii recht tyt vort plat ;

Wa geborut sich ytwan dat eyme eyn kop
adder bin vorlaren vnde abgenomet
So sal mad neme eyn stab stharp hyne
duch vnde sal dat dammede reiden vffen wasse
vore dat dat gelt bint
So sal mad dan neme stucken gebrant von
eingebrucht vnde eyn hyne duch dorch
nehen vnde dwerme plan, dan dy
druge bint So sal mad dy bidder
natyn So dicke dy not ist So komt
dy bidder dy ist vorlaren tyden

Item bidder dy angelegen stellen edder
ynsliche genomen ist So sal mad nemen
eyn brud gelser ayerge dicke dat ist
gestalt alse dy mit mehe bedrouet sy
dornoff sal mad melken vnd sal
dy duch kessen eingen vff vnser lieb
frauen dorge dinge plat

Ist eyn mensche dez beschissen ist mit den elben
den sal man also sporen Hact dez mensche
eyne mutter adder vater eyn eleg mag
nicht eb syne elte | eyn elb sneck hussz
dez mensche dez mit der brantschatz beschalt
ist dez selt eb schond mit syne magde elte
elbe ist syne nachbe beyne sichy eyne
stat elbe eb dez eb dez schedigt ist eb sal
der schond mensche dem brantschey mensche
mit syne eyenge schone adder sy nasse
brantschatz dez dy nasse spalte eb syne eb
dy elbe eb ist auch eyn ander theyle d
schrangke mensche theildeny syne auch
bude syne adem durch sy eb

Item alsan sall eb also beschreyn
und nemd dez Nabuch eb sneck und
eb heilige Hilge
Eby dem heilge pater noster bij dem heilge
Fue maria und by dem heilge glouben
den dy heilge bij apostely machten
Damit und daby beschirme ich mich alle
und allermeyn und mit alle widderwy
nachbarnschinge zu schicht eb hus adder rout
breiny schaden eb adder yn eilichgeley
eb si schicht, dez si alle musse sy tot
an dem Drittey tage dez erstandt noch gott
und der liebe herre sente Job. forst mache
Eb eich noch eb dez si pelis tormey

yn eyne Capelly dy solle n sy dry altar
ryden also lange dz dritte metsyge nach
noch begynt nit vorlange sal n soldt y
selder komen vt bronger dy heilge frone
cruce yn ulterm vierdt sendery dz
selbe nach der may der synde an dem
heilge frone cruce may vnser lieben
frauwe kustgat klein ffyolen cristgest
alle heilge martelen vnde alle confessory
sele vnde ij messe dy dessem metsyge
selen gesalb darch zeit heilge vnde nit moste
vnde dy ij naill dy got dem herre durch
hende vnde fusse slud gslain vnde dy
trone dy got de almechtig vff sy gebenedict
houbt clare gedroget / dy ymyste vnd
dy got dor sie anphangk got dy mussig
myr gelasse an dessr metsyge dy cy dessn
suchte elende buss vnd bas dz gelasse myr
got vnde dz heilge grab Also vorbider also
dz yst also vnnot vt elle vnd clkymen
mit alle ulterm bomchrup amen

dysse kyrieson sal nu syn vi morgen
noch zyt . l. pater nost vnd ave maria

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Item eyn fryschy brauy tzů machē der vff dyssē
buch vergilt plent dirz mit vnderbii dy
fryschy buch vorterbet auch dye tzů buch dyrre
ding so sie yrgē nutczlich sy
So sal mā nemē dy wirczele vnd Olett von
ysopbaum dy blete von erpberry krud dy
blietze addn. same von gamffe dy blietze
addn-same von fenffe iderspe tail von
fgwrff lactuck wiffsling blietze bappelly
Calendla rottkol alle gliche vogell regenfan
dy rod-blume har oc frid vffall vnd nym
sal dy alle dirr fyde yn blumyke dyme zerqfd
vffall dornach so sal mā dz lasy hirrey
vnd sal dann durchy dye gemyst eyd frid vffall
Der dyrrē sal mā nemē vnd abrirdē
Dornach Solangk dz dy brunst vffhort
dornach dz not dy fischy dyrrē sal sie stetlich
vffhalte mit dyrrē fischy haben vnd
auch stetlich darvff lay dz not halbē
So sal mā dz nemē dy dyrrē dz dy
dz dy blebē an dē pfladdern sal mā
dye pulver auch vnd sal dann nemē
kampfer sal mā dann yn eyssē essig
eyglby vff kalcy sal mā dann pflig
pulver mit eyssē essig dz dirr
klasey so gealt ob dirr stende
Probatū est Vide tamen vnd

Si vir. [illegible] vestimenta
ecclesiastica

Primus sacerdos primam partem super se vice
placentulam et postea dicit sic. Deus qui
de placentula hoc talento et multo malo
do plenus es auxiliatrix et dolo subiugui
cuius labor et dolor iudica me deus et
discerne causam meam de gente non pia ab
homine iniquo et doloso eripe me quia tu es
fortitudo mea quare me reppulisti et quare
contristatus deus inimicus humiliat
me dum dicitur mihi quotidie ubi est deus
tuus quare tristis es anima mea et quare
conturbas me spera in deo quoniam adhuc
confitebor illi salutare vultus mei et deus
meus. Ego deus probavit me et cognovit
me tu scis sessionem meam et resurrectionem
meam intellexisti cogitationes meas de
longe semitam meam et funiculum meum
investigasti et omnes vias meas previdisti
quia non est verbum in lingua mea ecce
domine tu cognovisti omnia novissima et
antiqua tu formasti me et posuisti super
me manum tuam scientia tua mirabilis facta
est super me confortabilis non potero ad eam
quo ibo a spiritu tuo et quo a facie tua
fugiam si ascendero in celum tu illic es
si descendero in infernum ades si sumpsero
alas meas diluculo et habitavero in extremis
maris etenim illuc manus tua deducet me
et tenebit me dextera tua et dixi forsitan
tenebrae conculcabunt me et nox illuminatio
mea in deliciis meis quia tenebrae non obscurabuntur
a te et nox sicut dies illuminabitur
sicut tenebrae eius ita et lumen eius quoniam
tu possedisti renes meos suscepisti me de
utero matris mee confitebor tibi quia terribiliter
magnificatus es mirabilia opera tua et anima
mea nimis tu non est occultatum os meum
quod fecisti in occulto et substantia mea in
inferioribus terre imperfectum meum viderunt
oculi tui et in libro tuo omnes scribentur
dies formabuntur et nemo in eis quam tu
cognovisti deus quid autem mihi nimis honorificati
sunt principatus eorum nimis confortatus est
numerus eorum dinumerabo eos et super
arenam multiplicabuntur exurrexi et adhuc
tecum sum deus si occideris peccatores mortem
viri sanguinum declinate a me et loquuntur
in cogitatione iniquitates accipient in vanitate
civitates tuas odientes te nonne qui oderunt
te domine odio perfecto inimici facti sunt
mihi proba me deus et scito cor meum
interroga me et cognosce semitas meas et
vide si via iniquitatis in me est et deduc
me in via eterna deus qui libera me
de homine malo a viro iniquo eripe me

pectus deus cuncta et pauca deprecabor numquid
et non dominabitur mei et fugiam a facie
tua cur me obliuisceris et obliuisceris iniquitatem
famuli tui famulo tuo qui ignoro vel in
firmitate mea tu purificabis qui autem scit hoc
fuerit in te tuo remittes mundissima et deus
meus illumina tenebras meas et in
te rumpar accessum et in deo meo transgrediar
murum accipe disciplinam auriculam et ab
abluginem cui et dispersa ossa et depressa
oculis iniquitatis ut cinnamo in hoc modo
et fortis deo quoniam deus quibus habeo
suppliciter et dic mihi quare fructu ut
dicet veritate deum et si locutus dic quae
non malibas habbas nauffa et coga
te ramon facite apparere fulgem qui gaude
rem subtrahunt in agrum affamo minabo
tur tunc tollet primum qui impiam / dictu
dabit et dic deus ingressu eius qui cuncta
exaudi oppressio et gaudeo deleuit terre
formasti et oculos tobie operasti et ei vel
dispu debua pictate restituisti te suffica
ceteris ut si iste homo talis quia fuisti si
tu fabulis sic ut ceteris dignere sicut
tobia operasti et tu hoc dispesti quibus vim

dam ap[illegible] vno desuꝰ in dicto oculo dexpuncto sinistro
pupilla oculi dexteri liquefiat et studo
cubi salubit adhibitum et tactio pupilla oculi
et facta adunio adunio ipsa et subabilis et
adicta subabilcap[illegible]
Si vis scire de[illegible] valuis mtrogare
pecora et ipse cum aqua pecunissima de
fontana et pone cum ipsa in olla noua
aperta posa et accipe vnu pullu de pullo
vnegrue nicta cocto de nocte dno et ipsi
pueri ypsiciat mysangrancia vesta oriolum
et ipse pe ipsi stacuo et pecunia et postea dic
in aurecta pueri ista oro Deo pace
despiriti pricitale eu lamia bocya tz
volo ꝑ precare ope pricii aquesto pulo
vexerio inquesta angrancia dibij mudaz
ope diga cmoste lauckita dequelo ospio
volo domadare et dic pecunia et statim
pud vedi in angrancia et mytroga pueri
p ipse vidit pu[illegible] si ipse vidit statim dicat
puo q ipse comuct eu ꝑ dicdo dnmo
te deu pecu aperte et celesta et
et eucrginitate mea q statim vadas adiu
pecunia et pecte tua tibi sacrafu et statim
fiao recipio et statim ipse vedi eu libro
et statim q pueu pilu quuet eu q pueu
quuet inuet sup labi dicit vedibat depuo

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Et ysti libi secrete scdi et ppone michi quomodo mihi
placeat et hec devotissime faciat tu dicendus et
cognitor sicut scptm est scientia et dicit scda
misteriorum celestium revelat / archana divine pcepta
pfundat / et studio post me sum portat libros domus
et habeat locu pcm abbatissa abacuc ingredi
manuet nulla nec aliquis st pcens quot opa et
affigat locu aque inducta et ubi ponit libi et tu
angelo predicti et stola inducta ingrat libi quadra
tenet tuba in dextera et sinistra ponat libru ipm
ore dicet vij psalmos tu oret tonga et
lectio scribat et studiat et operet ysti libi
sub pena nobis assignata tu et domoc ac
tota cordis affectu et dans opa sua habeat ac
tuis scribat que libi studiat et operet
sub pena nobis et assignata ut virtute qua
habuit dicit viz adjutoriu altissimi vivacis qui
vales adoes invocacoes et quinquies ipsius
et adoes ihu dei omnipotentis / Ih̄u quintus
pollicit que libi fiat si vult eis valere
ipse dicit. Ego dominus ysti hec oret et
lectus sumpsit libi reputat et dicat que
adoes equali corde et ad pacta hec tace scpe
Deus mei mihi et pce mihi mei et
dans mei et pacem et non derelinquas mei
et pcibus ymnisti Exaudi deus oratio mea scuta
tui ne ut inimici dic invocatio te velocit et //
audi me scs et audisti me quia mater hec sa //
pientia dei Emanuel assistat tu exaudi deus
voce deprecat ymnisti et adoes beatissime
virginis matris marie matris hec abbatissa scpe
et adoes et pces mei adjutores hec pcibus
quos ego pcp hec ea affectum effundo coram te
ingrat coram pcm scissimo loco hec ingrat libro
quoniam sic affectu et ferventi adjutorio volucro
pcente deus meo regi ego dum vivus et vegetus

O[mn]ipotens sempiterne deus qui me indignum famulum tuum
N. dignatus es hodie suscipere et gregem quem tibi
commisisti ordinis mei predicatorum sancte tue matris
ecclesie sponse tue fidelis dispensatorem constituere
esto in dictis meis circumspectus in operibus humilis
in doctrina sincerus in sermone castus ut
in hoc mundo tibi placere valeam et in futuro
cum electis tuis regnum celorum possidere
Ascendat ad te domine oratio mea et descendat
super me benedictio tua. Da michi domine
sedium tuarum assistricem sapientiam et
ne me excludas de puerorum tuorum
consortio quia ego servus tuus et filius
ancille tue. Esto michi domine turris fortitudinis
a facie inimici. Non prevalebit adversarius
noster contra te nec filius iniquitatis
nocendi nobis habeat facultatem. Esto
domine plebi tue sanctificationis tue
custos et rectis corde tribue lumen
veritatis ut viam tuam quam docuerit
eligant et in semitis tuis non errent
Da domine ut verbum tuum
sit michi cibus in quo delectet
anima mea non fastidium
ne sit potus in quo sitiat
sed sit in me fons aque
salientis in vitam
eternam
Benedicat te pater benedictus te filius benedictus te
spiritus sanctus deus qui creavit te ut benedictio sis
benedictus es ut benedicas benedictus es ut benedicaris
benedictus es ut in benedictione possideas regnum
celeste benedictus es ut benedicas deo et benedicaris
ab eo benedictus es ut benedicas omnibus bonis
benedictus es ut benedicas omnibus malis
benedictus es ut benedicas omnibus
benedictus es ut benedicas omnibus
benedictus es ut benedicas omnibus

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Et sanctifica librum iste et dispersa p̄ orbem terre ut
ubi virtutes et plene operationes adsint assistentes et do
minentur et p̄sente deo meo christo tuo regnum
et deum perdat sine fine ab ista scola amen-
tie ne ingrate cedas ostium ac tuere adeuntes
eum sanctos et cuncta que p̄ te deo
eunte offerentur et quodcunque
deinde pium accesserit legere
reliquos subsequentibus et ingredientes deos diver
tium offerat et aqua tinducta te aspergat et sig
num tibi ti[illegible] imponat ut deus ingredi queant
et pium adoptes tum p̄ficiendi et vitare quor
cumplani et ad vacandi et tunc diligenter ne
hec audi[illegible] ecclesia domum ingressum deuocis
et superstitiosis et fabulosis philosophis
sint abstodia et malum dei sibi ingressum
ne si alicui expresse de[illegible] domuncio ter aspe
rgat hyssopo abscedat illud impleto et ipso deo tua
expressa oratione et postea tum ut plus circa
te et de[illegible] pedi et percipiat tum respexerit ut
vide denique nec deus meus me destituas
ame[illegible] inimicum meum deus deus salu
me[illegible] tua dic[illegible] me quemadmodu
placuit te[illegible] deus sum ne despicias me
tua[illegible] tua libera me et eripe me in veritate
oculos tuos ecclesia in[illegible] deus meus et clamor
meus ad te veniat deus deus meus ne disturbes
ame[illegible] inimicum meum deus deus salu
me[illegible] tua dic[illegible] me quemadmodu
placuit te[illegible] deus sum ne despicias me
tua[illegible] tua libera me et eripe me in veritate
oculos tuos ecclesia in[illegible] deus meus et clamor
meus ad te veniat deus deus meus ne disturbes
ingemuisti et contristatus deus deus meus
deus omnipotens deus fortissime deus potentissime deus
sanctissime deus pietatis deus clemens deus bonus
nunc ego tibi inimicum et pessimum spiritum
solo et malum supplex adoro deum ecclesia misericordia

okamo z depamo nc depraida adiuuisa z tuuera
bilis pea mea fi sinc eo sweuisti peccz mise
rei z pces tpulum eo audire da mic sanctu tuu
ut lect ingeniu cordis mei in timore tuo
ppac eo mundo tuo sanctissimo noibi ingrumbo
ut uirtute qui obtu debeat potet obtinere
fi acreda pdara z inestimabilis pciapes ppe
dicas adpebas tpulit z mirabilit eo ptinqat
ut uelint ut nolint tpulsi z uolutati obediant
et ut qrentia uolunt eo deo tuo adgregat
et ut uolunt eo offerat/ Ouo Usque domo ppe/
tissime ut tu et scribit pquatur litteras
fi totis uacet ce tpat quo audito mane rebus/
gredi acr cotinuat z cotat dicr tuum
ignis deiiciunt oib; operanti tuis z ipetatis
tuum turbat z ce sanctissima uoca tua
Ou alpha z o principium z finis/ ut cly clori
clay clyay pater cmanet sabaoth adonaij
cgtic ije ye ya yo dicat hoc ecclesie
pfanter uno uti est Rabi honor z ptia pfi
mita ista petat Amē. — Rubrica
Si aute aliquis aliud ecclesie eo ce uolunt
q no ptinet adoptionem spus tue debeo di
quater ego cadua digneris clamare ade
ut hoc ecclesie uirtute obtineat qua obtine
debet pater pcissime tuu et scribit
pfiij licas fi totis uacet hec tecu ne Ouo
Deus uniuit arbis conditor z redemptor q tecu
sup altitudine nubiu ecedisti z tuba tue
bilitatis tue sup aquas fudasti z mari tuu
que pduce no potest/ tabuisti z polum et tuos
ac stellas tecto collocasti qui sic ingressicia
sociati qui uti die hodie adhuc nec pte
tudine tua pcussisti et ci ppicatu pua ipicasti

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Sm̃e dñe dñe iuste adonay
mic & pñtus ordo
qui pdes tm̃ic stabi-
ist ois regnis ois
tuis ois ois ois
dnis ois tuis
dnis & adiu-
ramenti mr ingra
candelp qr ois
& oppbus tuis
dra ma tuo pjssmic
mic state tua
tua mca stabit
iyitutis tua & dona-
to firmat ordo &
tuos q iyitor libro
& efficatia q institu-
tato sr malignor
& tu ordinati & tuos
Ne quicqd & reprossa
mandata ordine
cos & ptas qui
stor dne adonay
scolam mdy
significata
tua sanctissima
postulati
gre tue
vocatos
iyitor
alpha
dei
on

sanctissmic qui es sons
ne regni & dns dnantiu
tua tuos ydsidu
ois qnis ois
tuis & dnis
ne & dilectis
ne & ois
ne & ois
ne & ois

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Ystima z dña dimitta
rete tuũ nauicio nr
mdiũ eleyzaros
e cyrcion obsyrion
ouel cyaspm nrm
ſabaoth udonũj ir
te tuos te adoro te
plono ſtus ſpūs
tos iyſoc tibro
ſuccdmus quemt
Eimeck tuoſ noim
ſili ſati eoſpite qu
dſplicat ꝫ dilig
timore ei alique
ꝫ miſtrales ꝫ tuũ
dſpecto mddata

mus abiſſus qui dſpo
nens oneiſ con ſtimula
tionem obſcion
ſcion oſcona cſiocius
mcſſas pbga emdut
ſuſmus ſcelus
tolle mcſtiaꝫ ꝫ uerb iy
ſpecies ſpecies ꝫ iyoc
ſpecies ſpecies ꝫ ſpūs
ut ubertas mdiginꝫ ſps
ſuscit admotoꝫ ꝫ eoꝝ
ſcit ꝫ voluntate eoꝝ ſpi
ci magie noſcies nc
ſpotuit ci obedie
ſtute dñio tuo
ſpecies ſtue

Dñe ihu xpe aperiat ſpūs
tibi agnus ymaculat ꝫ nde mcgrat te myſte
ꝫ archangeli michael gabriel raphael
mcgrat te tres prcdicte ſp abrahā ysaac
ꝫ iacob mcgrat te ſpūs ꝫ dcs apli xpi
mcgrat te dcs ſpūs ꝫ electi dei, deſiderat
exto nunc hac die ꝫ nocte nisi ora et
ruce ꝫ remoueat ſte deſtruat ſanctos
ꝫ martres nisi tuo ſp alij mora dilectus
obedias ꝫ voluntati mee ſubiaꝫ ideus
mpotꝫ deus alty mpotꝫ deus ihc ꝫ deꝫ
ſſpotꝫ deus cmipotꝫ deus michꝫ deus
ſſpotꝫ deꝫ dñi nri ihu xpi ſyuoco te ſtum
tum ſydoc ꝓbaica hac mdicante potecta ſuppli
ſſpecto ut ꝑ angelum tum ſſancte dignacio
adiſtuo ihu ſpm ꝺyncarpm ut vbiuſꝫ iacet

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audito nomine tuo velociat ad locum sue quietis et statim
ad me accedat ipse leuat tibi angele qui te despu
mus teloph sedibus tuis seruiant tue dementie p
tuam audi nos angele mequissime et tume
pidus et stupidus noctis horrore deum nostri iqui
tis tu ergo angele mequissime diuine fidei quae
stionis motus reflorescat nec de claudat in dolo
sidue fames vacuos sedudat quos demonia
cus pestifer qui stabat et respiciebat ut scribe et pha vnc
ludos ictus metuc qui ingressus est synagogam nostri
ne mundus ingressus est ingressus ostendens deum
sum et triumphans audi ergo angele et time
de ea et ego nichil speraui tibi nequicquam pfidens
si sumus te spes antique audi nos et exaudi
nos pater qui habes potestatem mittere in sche
ol ut scribe et pharisei qui sedent in cathedra quicquid ergo
qui sedet in excelsissimo adhuc sumus te angelo
rum arcanis et virtutibus quod sit ut sis subiectus
nobis et nichil nocere possit nec inferre
offensa xpi illius potestati te negetur qui se fugientes
expugnant illuc cum
de uictis gentilibus
tibi terrores et
nox qui xpus sta
memoriter affingere
pauca adde cumprimis ut te tibi det deus sit
tibi det deus filius et det spus sanctus tibi
det apostolos et sc petrum et paulum et omnes
apostolos et det tibi in dulcedine confessos det
tibi sanctus martires integrat et medicam vitam
det tibi castam viduam et det tibi pia opera
quingatos et det tibi oratorium ut nos ecclesia
in ecclesia dei militantem et det tibi felicitatem

[illegible] ihesu & milcy excepit & ingrobid dñi mei ihesu xpi
ihesu tibi misereat michael ihesu & ihesu xpe
iesu nazarene miserere mihi ihesu & ihesu xpe
dñe qui te exaudiuit in diebus tribulationis tue qui te exaudiuit
& vasa tua dissipauit qui te fecit in tenebras exteriores
vbi tibi & misericordia tua est ihesu & cetus iesu
quid nunc humiliaberis & dyabole retracte qui te exercere
ecclesiam tuam & oppressisti eius statuta hactenus
& tuos ihesu xpe filius cum quo te exercere dignus
fuisti & crucifixisti primogenitum tuum quem genuit
tui mores reprobabiles tuique cultus ihesu xpe tibi
nequissime principum demonum reducto te pactum
tuarum qui ambulant sup aspidem & basiliscum
qui conculcat leonem & draconem ut spretis tuis
& xpe ihesu tibi & populis gentium & tunc vocato
ad dñm illum tunc tui victimatores exosi pharisei
& scribe & principales subiecti sui tunc &
gemoriam que operabuntur & stridebit scriptum in de
stella nobis laudamus ihesu tibi dum cum sancto spiritu
est ihesu & nato dñi nostri ihesu & ihesu
nazareno ihesu & qui te cum ut replebis cito
die que peto ac ut habeo nolucro ut stirpe
apio & quato laudamus secum ea & papio tatu
magis publicum tibi erit dedic in die exercitio
te maledicte de nequissime & nequissime pes
pem veritatis pdam de porte te pfum epm magn
rem pagum tuarum dolosissimo pectore
deppe sto deceptu remanet unigenite natu qui
gabriel nuntiauit qui in nubis poplis ecclesiam
manib; dicit qui & filius dñi exercitio te
auctor dyale pontis auctor audiat tu adiuva
subdit laud tuos p & s & s & imnoc
phiosi deitatis tui spe regali angelos precantes
& ihesu. apli martires & confessores virginis

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vidue & ꝺcb clerici ꝺei ꝺi[illegible]ebus ac noctibꝫ inꝺefeſſe
voc obſecrandꝫ ꝺicebꝫ [illegible]ſeruꝰ ſeruo qui clat
qui e & qui e vbiq; & qui eſt opꝰ ut ſuo pſu/
mꝫ teſtimonio pcepta mea/ Nec te latuerit tibi
tmine ponꝺꝰ & tmine talenta & tmine ꝺe
uſurey & tmine ꝺrem/ ſupplicij ſumpſiſti pter
vbiq; & vbiq; clamo[illegible] vbiq; audiat ſiquis &
& pugnet tuos pꝓ & ſtu[illegible]ens mihi & ꝺeo
ſtuꝫ nequicꝫ ꝺeprenꝺe[illegible] ꝺeprenꝺe ex tpore
ꝺeo vno & vero & clo [illegible] ſtricte ut ante pcepta
mea ꝺilectus ꝺa tonore [illegible] xpo filio eius
ꝺa. tonore ſpu ſcto pacifico [illegible] ut vite
patris & matꝛis ut ſint eius ꝺe pcepto meo
oꝺiosꝰ tui ꝺies [illegible] ſuꝑ [illegible] ſuꝑ ꝺeꝛelicta & ſoꝛ
pfiq; tuꝺet ꝺilectꝰ. ſ. ſ. ſ. ꝺns ꝺeꝰ ꝺeꝰ ſeꝛtum qui
ꝛeſpuit & ꝺuit ſemſtipſa ſcꝛa ſcꝛa ſcꝛa
Mſuꝛa ac ꝺeſtructo ac pꝓpꝛio & amicꝰ ut nō
oꝺiosꝰ ſit alicꝰ [illegible]pꝛeꝺicto ut maumeto ut le
ſtoc ut ꝓmiſſione [illegible] & ꝺe me[illegible] & ſſ
tꝛꝫ quꝫ te amicꝰ pꝓa pꝓꝺicta ſtamenta
facta & facꝺa pꝓa [illegible] pꝓa ſcꝛa ſtabꝫ ꝺe
mobꝫ pbꝫ qui te [illegible] ſtoclo ſicut quꝫ te
& pꝓpꝛio & pꝓoſta ſcꝛa & pꝓoſta [illegible]mutata
pꝓoſta ſcꝛa & pꝓoſta [illegible] ꝺe pꝓa
ſtatim quꝫ te ac pꝓpꝛio & amicꝰ pꝓa ſſ pꝓa
ſigſui & ꝺeſtruꝫ paſſim ꝓꝺicto te pꝓo ſuo
& pꝓatum ſuum ſpualem pꝓo [illegible] ſtabilitatꝫ pſigillu
ſtabꝫ ſꝓmiſſos eius pꝓpꝛie [illegible] ꝺeſtꝛuꝫ
ꝺeꝰ ſtuus [illegible] ut & amicꝰ ꝺeſtructoꝛ pꝓa
[illegible] ꝺie ſuꝺicij [illegible] ut ꝺe me[illegible] ſſ
nec ceſſas [illegible] ſuo ſtuo ſuꝑ [illegible] ut
ut ꝺe ꝛemouere & ut ꝛemoueaꝛ [illegible] ꝺe
tuo & [illegible] & ſeptꝛo & ꝺeꝛepoꝛe ut
ſpꝛimus ſtatim pꝓa [illegible] tibi inſtꝛuꝺa maledico

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nita me restaurare qui potes. Deus da pristinam sanitatem
Mobrae reddere. Et tua sancta dextera dextera mea dextera
sancta & dignos da sanctus Ego quis sanctus dixit
Deus da mihi misero peccatori da mihi ingressus
ecclesiam sancti Petri effectu effectu ecclesiam sancta
Dicitur & sacrata petrate te qui es simplex in
substantia & primus deus trinus & unus
unus Unus & omnes & unus & trinus unus
sine dominatione feudatur / tu es obediens & subiectus
sicut & unus feudatur mea spes obtentu misericordia
mihi cum celestibus tuum gratia celestis multiplicis /
bona & gaudia tua effectu opus mee gaudiosa effunde
pissa deus gratia sua tui dei mei & sancti
mea & dei audientia mea & multiplica tua dona
spiritus sancti consolatrix tua tibi gloria & fecundam
tua effusa spes tua tua & tua tua tua tua
tuos & unitas spes tua tua & tua tua tua tua
sunt mihi tu spes tua & tua tua & tua tua
sine macula & tua & tua & tua & tua & tua
& tua & tua & tua & tua & tua & tua & tua
vegnet vos malegni spus amen & regis nostri
lucifer & coronas sepe regi & regalem subsunt
sunt deo unico spirituali & tua & tua & tua
mundi & & &

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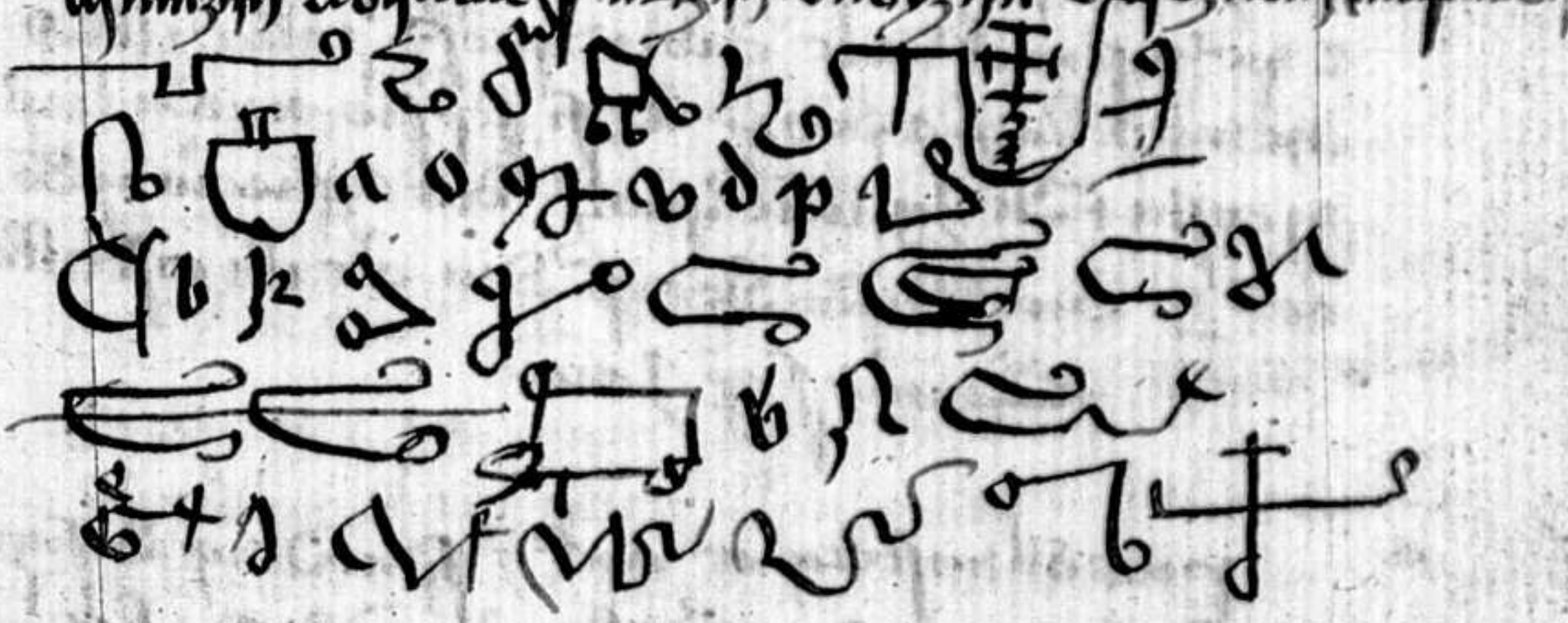
Baruch

adsce
tus

Ihs
Sup̃ gabiel ex sup̃ sorcum & loc q̃ nos pbr̃i cat
ꝛqu-ẽpi qua pca obdiuit ux̃p dñm ore mortē dulc
cend ut nda bongo pia ut sup̃ dñm nos pbr̃i
nim pbr̃i nob pbr̃i sm q̃ ipsa scat clm & hic
mdce & ota q̃ ois sup̃ clemta & ota clemta
& ota q̃ sbolo sunt ut nd bongo pia tp q̃ nos E
mmuele regē dmirabile exalta & q̃ ꝑlum
& sue & ecclā mdā dz ut ota nēde & mea plebe
obedīat ut nd & bongo pia ut sup q̃ nos pcep ꝑsi
qui gcepta & dspa sbo mdā q̃ mdā dūc pssim
sapoio p̃dco q̃ nos pmorte redepcois mea ligu
ep̃i pncia calcio cui pma pclapso pa capsan
pclmos dulcos pfrenda bonette pn̄ ut dm dm
mea ligu ep̃i pat sanctū qui dūat & dūto cū
cui cōsumpt ut nōat ut nd tp q̃ nos pmorte
& spem cui pmissa & dūc sbe tp̃ pdestinos
cui adoptos pfectos q̃ unos ꝑsalos dūc
q̃ nos pfessa resurrōnē & aspēsos cū pdūcta
sti spus habiti ut nd & bongo pia ut sup q̃ nos
pdūcta dz mdā q̃ nos pdz cui supplicy
pdz ceteris misscis & hīsac ut mdā mea
sy mea obediat nd & bongo pia ut q̃ nos sydrach
misach abdenago q̃ nos ignis mdā pcipitādos
in fornacē ardētis q̃ nos ignis mdā ligu ep̃i
caspar balthasar & melchior

pno zoal et an^lo/ et ſpm̃ eq ſanctiſſimo
et ſpeciſ omnib⁹ ꝯſ de ſynic^a qnalib⁹
de metallib⁹ ſebrinaſ de dieb⁹ ſenũ a^o de
metallis ſenũ de lapidib⁹ adamad de aur⁹
elephatꝫ ꝫ mmo de aurib⁹ coꝛnuꝫ nulm
et ſubſtancijs eoꝝ ꝯſ dbꝫ nl aqule bſonal
& chuoꝝ & dlabel Burg aunh pot diſpoꝛdm
jnꝛqnaſtꝫ ꝑſonas bb bic ꝯ bolnis facꝛ
anulm ſacm ſac ew ſacno ſpone nꝝ aqre
de ſeꝛno & ponem eo lapide adamadꝛ ſalue
nꝝ eo lapide hoc ꝯqrat ſnp elephate & pos
ay ew & an^lo bmd nꝝ ſuga coꝛm alnd nꝝ ſuga
nulm & ſac ꝯcta ſeꝛꝛea baſꝫ ygic & pone
ſub lapide & ꝯplebo nuda domꝫ & ſubſtn
ſandꝫ colloc. & ꝯoꝛꝛiza & bene ſpue ꝯ
ewꝫ Capꝫ & logm̃ de quocꝫ bic benet
.n. nꝝſoꝛ dc qua dayd ꝑ bñ^c ebozaſnñ
ſcpt jn qb⁹ ſnt noa ſecta & occulta ſn̄ ꝓmoꝝ
rhpzhemy mchiat Radhyud tamaꝛbnzym
Roaumꝫ rhabhmch W & pharach Rmendch
aymizym abhalacꝫ mizym onbozim & hez nlm ſmaſaꝛ



Bamoꝛg nꝝ aꝑuꝛ boj^s & dcꝛnbꝫ bis a/ſm

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...ne ...ne alias dispordeo Judicium Dic salthi aope
celebw corm ꝯ sang ne ꝯ corꝓ ꝯ publica ꝯ pce
publice jur Dnoꝝ ꝯ cum Dispordeo ꝯ cū
sangne ꝓbe haybꝝ ꝯ corꝓ ꝯ pce my Domo
corꝓ ꝯ aduc ſc

Cetmo 3y my ꝓpe ſacm Dic cuj ſac ꝯ ꝓ
de cera ꝯ ꝓbe noīe cuj Dic my brꝑ ꝯ haracth
my cic ꝯ ſubſtmga cac cuꝑ ꝯ Bndys
dnde zahar vat ꝯ ꝯ odiou ſc

Cetmo q my ſpe ſac ꝓ de argilla de
aora ſigilli ꝯ ꝓbe haꝝ my ca ꝯ ſubſtmga ꝯ pon
my loco ubi my mo nudꝰ coꝛpꝰ ꝯ mſmabꝝ
Eod die ſmic bnplone noīe cuj Dns ꝓbe
haꝝ ꝯ hasta cac my pede cuj Dpr ꝯ pone
my ꝺ ſmac mulcac ꝯ my ſra ſubſtdi mollia
ꝯ ſic my loco ubi beat calꝛ ꝺ cuꝛ ꝯ mſmabꝝ
ille my cuj noīe ꝯ ꝑ ſcm ſuꝰ

Cmic ei die ſabbi mundꝰ ꝓbe haybꝝ mone
cuj Dns my ꝺ cognicomda Da ſi Dns adjuc
ꝯ ꝓpe mſmabꝝ nec cubitꝝ quōſp tollꝝ illud
ꝺpcmoꝛ haꝝ ꝯ ꝓoꝛꝝ Et ſi ꝓbꝰ mundꝰ haꝝ
in coſta Da in mic quoꝝ Dns ꝯ pccm my Do
corꝓ ꝯ cum Dispordeo ꝑ Dm cic ubi coſtilla
ſua

Cetmo ſuꝑ Jonā

pro Almstery et anlo ſmudcuj de ſcīno
ꝑ pſtes ꝯ de mofby nicui de Dcbyſhazꝝ

De metallo stann de lapidibz albnzazi. 1. crystallo
deamahbz crucetes onos 2 Brulos de crbaibz
pnos de cambz gallio albo Cio gr bolnio stozai
2 pod ahom adam sil loco siat annlo de stagno
die Jomo Jaic ny pstubz 2 pone ny es lapide
crystalli 2 stulpe ny lo lapide hoz sict ho doce
2 sac hoz ny gta annli 2 pod sub lapide q.
..ploro hcas dorum mndat 2 pod annlo ny dni
ihu 2 subsinga cu alos 2 mastice 2 nsp de am
lio ny domo et ghozzia 2 q tc dnie beat
et hcas a pdtoz alio de ul. cel con et
sol 2 stannas 2 pod cap ny bast 2 ghozzia
2 ad dnie dnie beat stne Jomo tc sagittas
stne ihu ad ny loqnt cap. 2 dic. q bns et
pq a beat stne Jnsu dn qny ois disposnt.
Bnzq annli e q dilos 2 mens ostent pondi
cu sozmant dny d et beat ny bnz. nomy
ghoz stne Jomo ny stne pronisstm esse.
Smechnzym cymbym ghedhozzyn tanhy thnzzyn
serhnzyn shabnzazyne alozbamia azuch
mi dikraybul azzalhyzul zarhphiel
[illegible]
Sama cym capite [illegible] bata
Bigabzi da ny porn nl ny cibo cu bolnio et
dilige te 2 de stagno cy nipte cu ea
pbibas 2 por tecti et-stne te dilige

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Item pulsus cor ejus. Da pulsum cibo nil nym potu
cingit balneo. Diligit te. Item liga cum lingua sol
a mane cum ejus rosaria. Omnes videt te. Fac bur
te. Spiritus sanctus sit be hapa. scalpe my ca
substantia. Gloriosa my gta fia. Bibe quie ste
balneo. Sad bnig. Ny gallo albo

Cetera ejus my ve. Jonis fia gta stagnum mundi
a my eo fac pnuagt hanc substantia et scalpe hoc
2 gloriosa cum 2 cum sero. Decolla gallum album
2 accipe sanguine ejus 2 unge ymagt et substantia
2 gloriosa. Ny balne. Piscis albi 2 sit be cum a.
sanguine decoctum my carta bugmda 2 liga cor
tui ad collum ymagt 2 por rotam et imprime
malignatos hirabeth 2 cum eadem rotam ejus di
ficient pfice et cum ymagie dyabolus liga tur
2 macerabatur 2 impetibus di Jerusalem facit
Simon magus Judeus sit deus 2 pelle
et multa alia mea my hart. Quam summe myseri
cordiosus 2 sine 30 2 an. 20 ym bo sepulcr
ab exercitus 2 liam et pfice my amor immal
sit hart 2 anim sit dne my cibo nil my potu nil
si rangat. Quia si non no posse my domo exsbrer
2 pfice de mortu

Cetera sup morte seu alumbrahan bassus
et opus dyabolicum mandat de duobus pdam tem
de signis azure de metallis apte de metall
2 rubeum de lapidibus ragutis 2 herbis de
malis limosis amenis mundi 2 hoc de amb
bolucris de arbustis ppy de substantiis

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almare azam 2 sulphr parū m sang̃ D.
actor Dic sup m mes aplis murr mparuit
qbus fac amplū qb accepo m eo pdcm la
pde & sulp: m eo mulier azmarū sup
eqm ul leone sgnidre 2 m capite se bas
[illegible] 2 m canta se bz sup ul m paru
fico optu 2 nbeo 2 pe sub lapide Rno
mulda dom a mme re de bcho 2 m mlr bas
pue cap. hoc ul leone ul cane ul nimbligr
2 accede cadelabrū lichnm sic de camisa
suspecti ul mali necari 2 subtrahā 2 dic qđ
ei mud 2 de pdc sno ns pot q dyamulo 2 cū
hdia cū ne tmeas 2 si cap leq. fac opꝰ cū
rect mcpsti 2 subtrahā hidamq 2 qđ23sa
belocr 2 leq. cap. 2 undebit adeū ir 2 aliqm
qđ m sū Deū p Bn. nom qđ2asmi qp leq mal6
[illegible]
hec sup nouū pdca sup mozte Dabe adoyd
hpenz y sez hpem tayv hp hamma hundea ayhmyzv
hmdchay dahy dchanzim
[illegible]
hy sup hay mot supi my mea mot 2 suozz hay
qt ant qy sue sup cwdus cwqbozyd 2y
bmyp sup dus sup hembzyy dusellmm sieyq
[illegible]

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Samo zy my corpis ste ſm̃ ſtaz am̃ ſic my ſno
ghe nr miſſericors Deus & ſnoli time de corpis
ſily a de gny hno⁹ ciby ſed coz z ſparulo to⁹ hyſſ⁹
Sme adzuo z ꝓce my Dñe Deus q̃ozcissimo
z ſac pitt a Da my cibo ill my peccatis pondꝫ
ponderis ꝯcussey et dilige nr Sme coz
et ſicca z puluisa z ſac ſicꝫ de cibo offeſo⁹
pod hy base bitzo zubio z gmſſo ad olio biol
z buge ſaco tua ſiaz⁹ co oio pyx⁹ m⁹ dec⁹
ndē. re Cap⁹ bi buge cu limõ tyſtoꝫ z limoꝝ
ſna tzad z mlly te dicit modo Sup. ſa Sme
z ſulpe my ca horꝫ dcmoꝫ et buge de ſac
co Cio et dic⁹ q̃ozacissima z bidebꝫ ꝓped ea
ſcēa q̃ Dalmo De ſpiro ꝛ
Cezons ꝛcꝫ de bz⁹ Dñi accipe cuncta cand dc
mꝫ z bibꝫ deſcolla my base z Sme lingnas
z cib. z cozda z ſella cu⁹ ſparulas z ſicca
ſanguine z te cu Dalmo ſac deſcolde
ſebe my carza haꝫ cu ſanꝫ z ſubſuga zpce
carza my do my ſ ſup altare Oꝛ bi pulue
mꝫ cog pcia ide ſup Oꝛ bi de cib⁹ pdi
bus q̃ Dñs my cibo ut my ꝓfic cogn Dilige
tꝫ de pulue cib⁹ z ſolle my bitzo zpcia
et ſpecie cui⁹ bus dic⁹ fiaz⁹ ome bidel co te tubꝫ
te. obedier⁹ z n. betabit be negotiu ſcꝫ
ſpatulas ſne z ſicca te et pce pulueꝫ mꝫ
z. z obedier⁹ ſcꝫ Sme cord zubdd dieꝫ
et ſac ſigz ſpe dirꝫ my manu dcꝫ ꝓſperꝫ
At my a⁹ cap⁹ At ſebenoꝫ z q̃ozacissimo my y ꝓbi

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de lapidibus albis stare de malchy bonos de ambo
parochias Tirnes et predicas et omnes passagios
de arboribus malmo maiores subsumptos cum alocy
et aneth et asparagis seme malue maiores Dr.
actor cum bolnis sacc annuli sicut benigne et
de ere albo in die et his bene et pone in cophino
et stupe in lapide et mulieres sue bone sedere
rende ste. in simpl manu et dei pecten
fac horsum gta annis et pos sub lapidez sub
fungi et cborzysa et argillose sup de mulla
in domo mundigne et de calla qd cum bolnis
de and. pdac nl obedd et sub fuga et cborzysa
et bucc sme Sup mo cuera et bub capit qd
los et redeb. ad sed q bolnis qz et bucc sper
ad malandu tuu Bnzq mihi ome mlcs bidem
laboz damus stmm labd. amoe eng et facier qp
bolnis sac mspby cas sol sme et dea et
bucc sustu dei nl Bnz. cborzsm in. sup mo
prosa abbatzbyzm hasbinzm dornauzm tap mozum
bulemussim dersastrazim essudym Buchsbarnzim
essudym sanchasa Bihatzul

[illegible]

Sermoz in capite los pdicabyby bio bnzssas
pmisizarq et cbuq 20 smbq ebdsti et
haz in noc cuq bic et subsumpzeo et cborzisseo
bucc sistmat. Or bd in cibu nl sypem dei
diligat te et sustinbis pdic bd bnzbet sub
fuga die bene et bidebis q bolnis Ist pbe haz

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a quorum ꝑ bonis cu sagr ꝑdcm lamm my carta bren?
a me ꝯfect Bris a dilect te meis bris qui per fur my
dcm bonis et fur 28 a am. h quinis sup me ctor
assno a Rons a me eis n. ꝑdcm 2 ꝑ ps fur op be
nis admittr. Teamo sup mam

Memoand ew bois bug a ew mal malg by medioꝝ
dr. Dnm eig ny Jmeby e eig ba Sigmd deig
gemd a meb eig Jmm de Dneby ꝑ fedz xta de
metall eig ba de lapidibg omnibg de canalibg
Jmmd et de omnibg arboribg mpm Jst a ꝑ
nost eig Dr. dcto meb Jmm qn mom et gems
sac amitt de mom a ꝑ de lapide a sulpr my
de pres my man cantu tenete qui ew bg ew
Jdar a dy ew Dne an h eig fornet. a sulpr
naud dorf. my lamd eca nt plubea ꝑ ꝑ sub
lapide qua ꝑplero ipas dom mundat ꝑ ꝑ sub
Jmgiacet alnus ripis alder alarnal a decolla
mmadnisk Vlipe nt Jmpm a Jmme cu dor
nt fel a Jparnlar. beat Jms mom mpol eig
Sigm ewdy la cap qd tebis a pere qd bo
bus ondeb. ꝑ brig annli z annlm ꝑ bolnis
Jn ape Jmic a ꝑdcm eor q balnis Jga la eig
Jngat lapid qr. ra beat sict Jes dispan mbr. z bor
cssm mq. sup nom efficacia ew a contra nt bybdeb ꝑ

Item xxx marcharum [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]

Item xxx [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[

BSB

[illegible]

[illegible]

Hec ame mea sūt my corpe hime & myeyorum
Sermonē my sūd ppūs hime fac. sic fecisti my
sole my mese July die & hō hime & hūd quidam
Rauhano de ondh capt lōr p& cuius ppetie
Ppe hime my sōr ame & my capt de sūtil per
dise Bnd capiet sūd cēb eq nl camelū &
ponem y Birro & groziza goor hime et da my
abo nl my potu cuiqz Colūo & Bidelb mea
amor Si bō vo nl ppūla eq nl camelū
fuer et coq cadem die sūr sme carne & pulpe
my eo nl my ea noīa & sūbstūa ppiem my ea
& hebis ūsq de oi & ad sūra Bnd sanguis
eq nl camelū & poet ip my ad hūd Ad cūt
& sūra ad Gmbra & pulūsa & da my abo cū
bis pondy ardey & fier sūtilq ab amor Si bō
sūr ūpm pulūs fecis vd fuer Die hime sme
Jamorthas my nō eq bis et decolla cuidam alio
diedo goor & sanguē eq poem y Birro & pēbe
ew ee duas cartas my hord my a goor my & ppcupe
alia & pedentellū ad gūt eq ac si Bellos de
collas & dimitte & hga fuer sūbala sūpt & goor
sub dēb & sūbstūa & ew Bidis hūd die sūpt
die goor & & dimitte ame me & accipe ame
decollata & tolle eā eq & ppūr nl & da my
abo eis bis nl pices my ew & dilige me sic
die hime sme malū pmea mater & dampn
cadat de arboe & pēbe my ea hūa & sūbstūa
& goorza my nocte & si quis o dormit ew dilige me

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et sig'nedr' plus Jt' dc' hme smme hyt'ar' 1· azm
pondg' ar'ci' q' tond' de ar'ma' picte sicte dedu
nolo' mpse' q' de cui bis et bidet' mzabla ejd'
hanz' et de sig' amb' q' smt' hazt' mmenti' ypotu
hme q' Rid' p' eos pnc hme q' her' p' ew mgw
et sapiet' epti smt' p' eos mzabla spti hme
Jndicat' q' pmsso d' mq' opa mgubnat'
plet' Jt' dc' hme smme biolas et hlmas sicut
q' sat' pulmed' q' dw collig' et reg' dicit'
nolo smt' q' si cmine de dio mabo ul' mpotu
te multo diligat et sue hi' no' hme et q' ub'
q' ora'ing' et sue d' sno gnoz' q' sm' et am' loz'
hma appet'. q' hi' q' mlt' sepant' a hanz' q' gnoz'
q' sue hi' q' mt' sue my ii' pe hme et ophet' lib'
pte scar' et q' occulty et secty de ozib' ar'
planetar' et am' loz' cuppene' sapiet' epti.
Explic' anal' q' ignoto mcipl' p' dest' dec' sc' lano

Nu name des Vaders des Soens en
de Heylege Geest Amen Ode beghint
hier Boec Vanden Sacramente en d'beelde
die Du maect tot behoef en hi es geneemt
Du name Boec Want die name Vanden alle
andren planeert of staet die meeste macht
heeft op ens m Dese Boecke hier Vanden
Want si ons nader te Dane mer Vanden anden
planete en Dese Boec heeft meest Du
Gode gelooue Vanden Vaste Vanden ende Broot
Jesus Gode Want sy Vruchte d' menschen op
alle die gene die op die aerde sijn op
alle dinge die ond' de loep Du manes sijn
Indie lucht of op die oppervlacte Vanden Waters
In die lucht en mr Gode Jnder Vollen
may mach met Vonst Dan Dese Boec
alle dinge gelucken en Vaken make of
ongeluck en ongeluckich dem of enige
Jonr of Jaer heef of Vast Vorsinne en
Sorcerye machten of Verbone Dan hem
en Dan Vele heffen make of Vermoghen
of enighe hande dinge made loep Vanden
mane Want die macht heef Jnden hemel 28
Wonynge en die 28 Wonynge Doinghen
ommer binne ende waerstyn en blyft Jn
als Wonynge alsem ende Dach en die nacht
en die Wonynge staen Jnden by rijden die

BSB

Item Hensel sein eigen knecht hat mit
willen seiner Herrschaft sich verheurat
und hat sich gesetzt auf ein Hof
gehört in die Herrschaft Ortenberg
und ist ihm zugesagt worden
Item Hensel sein eigen knecht hat
sich verheurat und ist gesetzt auf
ein Hof gehört in die Herrschaft
Ortenberg

Item Hensel sein eigen knecht hat
sich verheurat und ist gesetzt auf
ein Hof gehört in die Herrschaft
Ortenberg

Item Hensel sein eigen knecht hat
sich verheurat und ist gesetzt auf
ein Hof gehört in die Herrschaft
Ortenberg

Item Hensel sein eigen knecht hat
sich verheurat und ist gesetzt auf
ein Hof gehört in die Herrschaft
Ortenberg

BSB

Stephan Plosy

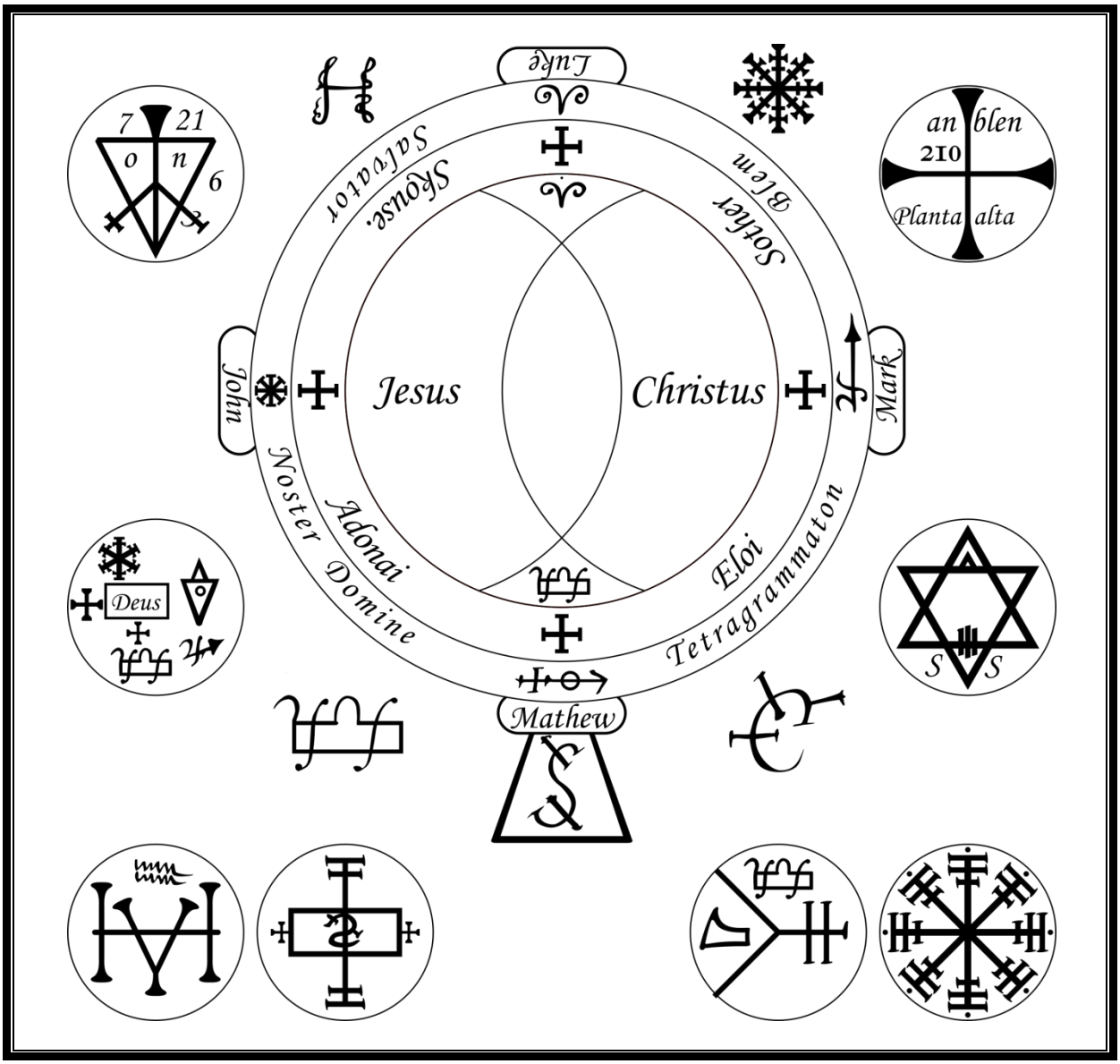
Also dic & ca indict Bonge ingrossa
Bref fac mace cey p om alle Brykstapley
Manere make en ghehoet te [illegible]
en Bank foe Bar doesh de Durtu Bile Dooy Dm
de Bloot te Dooy Blien en apalich te make
en talle Berhese en rebinde en om alle ze
Bhe take Also dic macy es ny dic 12 Bhomy
my ghehb' Bref foe mace cey p om alle Brefe
en mmere make en ghehoet te [illegible] en Bar
en Bank foe Bar doesh de Durtu Bile Dooy
Also dic macy es m dic 13 Bhomy my ghehb'
Bref foe mace cey p om Brkndelec Bergade
Dinge en alle Dinge ny doesh de resette
Also dic macy es m dic 14 Bhom te my ghehb'
Bref foe mace cey p Badonkhanch3 di and
Danch te [illegible] en Ba ake Bracht Dic ghehe
Also dic mons es m dic 15 Bhomy my ghehb'
Bref foe mace cey p Ba apkofed en Ba alle
Doesh Dete Belette Ja foe Bey en de Bar
Dinge Dn Belette Bile Ba me Bekand
en om te Bdone dicy Dn Bile Also dic
E es ny dic 16 Bhomy my ghehb' Bref foe
mace cey p om alle Dinge te Bringe en
te Bellbete te Bahey Dte Bed and
te mes te Bringe en ndBact te Bringe
Also dic macy es m dic 17 Bhomy my ghehb'
Bref de mace cey p om alle Dinge te Be
kent Ba alle Bekand ny ennte machy

Als dre & xx mdre ꝯ Bonge myſchbr
bre ſoc mace ccy p om alle bryſtapley
mucte make en ſchoure te [illegible]
en Bam ſoc Bar doche de dartn Bile dooy dm
ge Bicoſh te dooy Blién en ofalbich te make
en talle berheſe en rebinde en om alle ge
Bbe take Als dre mach cc my dre ꝯ Bomy
myſchb bre ſoc mace ccy p om alle bryſt
en mme te make en ſchoure te ſim en Bbr
en Bam ſoc Bar doche de dartn Bile dooy
Als dre mach cc m dre ꝯ Bomy myſchb
bre ſoc mace ccy p om Brkndelec Bergade
zinge en alle dinge my doche de reſerbd
Als dre mach cc m dre ꝯ Bom te myſchb
bre ſoc mace ccy p Bdonddhaurchz dr omd
dauchy te ſim en Bdabe Bauchſt dre ſchyc
Alle dre mcone cc m dre ꝯ Bomy myſchb
bre ſoc mace ccy p Bd ofalhoſed en Bdalle
doche dete Belette ja ſoc Bbey en ſoc Bbr
dinge dn Belete Bile Bame Bbekne
en om te Bdame dney dn Bile Als dre
C cc m dre ꝯ Bomy myſchb bre ſoc
mace ccy p om alle dinge te Bdage en
te Bbelbete te Bohe Bd te Bord dno
te mct te Bdinge en dndbct te bdinge
Als dre mach cc m dre ꝯ Bomy myſchb
bre ſoc mace ccy p om alle dinge te Bc
lete Bdalle Bbkne dny dnge mache

BSB

BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS

LONGOBARDUS



A seventeenth-century collection of works on Magic.

Being a transcription of BL Sloane MS. 3824.

Transcribed and annotated by

"T.S."

Issued by Celephaïs Press, Leeds.
Transcribed and edited by Frater T.S.

The main texts of this work (written / redacted / copied / translated by Elias Ashmole and various persons unknown in the latter half of the 17th century) are public domain by expiry of term. Editorial material originating with this edition, transcription / typesetting, redrawn illustrations and the like are released under a Creative Commons 4.0 Attribution-Noncommerial-ShareAlike (CC-BY-NC-SA) license — creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/

This is an incomplete provisional release: several pages of talismanic figures are still to be redrawn.

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Source.

The following transcriptions are based on digitised images made (apparently in 2003) from microfilm photographs of the manuscript, which have been in Internet circulation for a while (as a PDF which also includes Sloane MSS. 3677 & 3821). The digitisation process reduced the greyscale photographs to 1-bit black & white, albeit at fairly high resolution (probably 500 dpi or more effective) resulting in some loss of detail; rubricated text in particular is frequently nigh-unreadable. Owing to the tight binding of the original MS. combined with the settings used for digitisation, text is lost in the gutter in many places.

Note on the transcription.

English spelling, punctuation and capitalisation has been retained as far as the MS. is legible. English orthography was not standardised at the time this MS. was written down, and it is not unusual to see multiple spellings of a word in the course of a single page or even paragraph. Modernising spelling could be misleading as English useage has also changed in the three and a half centuries or so since this was written.

Names of angels, spirits &c. are standardised in so far as, if a name is consistently spelt one way in the course of a particular text, variants that only occur once are generally treated as copyist errors. If there is sufficient variation to make establishing a standard orthography impossible, then the variants are transcribed.

Words or parts of words lost in the gutter or to torn edges are conjecturally restored from context where possible, flagged with double square brackets — ⟦these things⟧

Boldface has been used to represent words that are lettered out rather than written cursively, typically names of angels or spirits, names or titles of God, &c. Rubrication is used where the MS. is apparently rubricated.

Scribal abbreviations have been expanded (y^{e} for 'the'; y^{t} for 'that'; -c̃on for '-tion'; wch for 'which'; w^{t} for "what," wth for "with," -m^{ts} for '-ments,' tildes generally, &c.) with the exception that '&' for 'and' is retained as this is still in general use.

Line breaks are not generally noted or reproduced. Catch-words (and duplicated words at page breaks in the text body) are not generally transcribed. Cancelled text is footnoted rather than included in the body.

The start of each page is noted in square brackets, in blue, with the current official foliation.

Figures have been redrawn.

Summary of contents.

Sloane MS. 3824 is a collection of multiple originally separate works, with different authors and copyists, that were bound up together prior to being acquired by Hans Sloane in the sale of Joseph's Jekyll's library in 1739/40.[1]

The first half or so (fol. 2-79) appears to have been a single notebook, the vast bulk of the text in which is in one hand, generally believed to be that of Elias Ashmole, copied or summarized from multiple earlier MSS. The significance of the title "Longobardus," which appears on fol. 2r (with a contents list in a later hand, probably by Sloane's librarian, below it) is unclear,[2] and possibly only refers to the materials on fol. 3-29, or even 3-15.

The contents of this notebook are:

- Fol. 3-15 form a collection of prayers and conjurations based around "calling forth of Elemental or Infernal Powers, or Spirits of Darkness": there is a preliminary prayer, an invocation of "**L**[ucifer] **B**[eelzebub and] **S**[atan]" to beat up on lesser spirits, a conjuration of a group of named spirits for the purpose of treasure-hunting, and a general conjuration (deriving from the Solomonic *Vinculum Spirituum* via the *Heptameron* of pseudo-Abano) addressed to any "Spirit or Spiritual power" whose name is to be plugged in where the text reads "N." These materials share style and significant elements of phrasing with the "Invocation of Angels" texts of the same period.[3]
- Fol. 16-21 contain a process to catch a thief and recover stolen goods, calling on four "Bishops" who are in turn said to be underlings of the traditional Demon Kings of the quarters: similar or analogous processes citing the same four spirts can be found in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century works.
- Fol. 22-29 contain a general rubric and string of conjurations for evoking spirits to visible appearance, adapted from the *Heptameron* and *Ars Goëtia* (which latter in turn depends on the *Heptameron*). This item has an earliest possible date of 1665, which in turn provides a *terminus a quo* for the copies filling the rest of this division.
- Fol. 30-52 contain notes on, and excerpts from, the angel-magic treatise *Janua Magica Reserata* (probably ca. 1660).
- Fol. 53-70 form "The Second Parte of the Arte of King Solomon," an incomplete copy of the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia* of the *Lemegeton*. The vast bulk of the spirit seals and names of subordinate spirits, as well as 15 of the 31 chief spirits, are missing.
- The rest of this section is a collection of miscellaneous figures, talisman designs and a short process "to binde all sorts of Witches & Theives."

---

[1] Of the five divisions of the work, at least three contain writing in the hand of Elias Ashmole (1617-1692). The material was acquired at some point by English politician and lawyer John Somers (or Sommers) (1651-1716) and later inherited by his protégé and brother-in-law Joseph Jekyll (1663-1738); after Jekyll's death it was purchased, along with others on similar subjects, by Sloane, whose collection was in turn acquired in 1753 by the newly-established British Museum. See Chardonnens, "Magic Manuscripts from Somers and Jekyll." Several of the MSS. in this collection had been previously owned by Ashmole and Sloane 3824 was not the only one scribed in whole or part by him.

[2] "Robertus Longobardus" or "Robert Lombard" appears as a variation of "Rupertus Lombardus," the imputed author of the *Thesaurus Spirituum*, a work on magic denounced by Trithemius in his *Antipalus Malificorum* (the *Thesaurus* is also ascribed to the 13th-century monk Roger Bacon). See Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic*, p. 234.

[3] Comprising *Janua Magica Reserata* (Sloane MS. 3825 fol. 3-96), *Clavicula Tabularum Enochi* (Sloane MS. 307, Sloane MS. 3821 fol. 2-157), and the other collections of conjurations in Sloane 3821. See *On the Invocation of Angels* (Celephaïs Press, 2022).

At some point, the following materials were bound up with it:

- Fol. 80–88 consist of (*a*) six leaves of circular talismanic designs (37 total, plus two incomplete / cancelled and a large number of empty circles), with accompanying text, arranged somewhat haphazardly, (*b*) two leaves bearing a conjuration titled "The Tenth Key" (relating to the *Janua Magica Reserata*), inserted into the above, and (*c*) a small figure bearing names drawn from Dee's "Tables of Enoch" inserted into *that*.
- Folios 89–120 form a single notebook containing a collection of spells and spirit-summoning "experiments," many revolving around treasure-hunting, and what appears to be of excerpts from one or more *De officiis spirituum* versions, including significant material not found in the well-known *Pseudomonarchia Dæmonum* and *Ars Goëtia* editions (as well as all four spirits who are not found in the *Pseudomonarchia* but <u>are</u> in the *Ars Goëtia*). Two loose leaves, one containing unrelated material (connected with the *Janua*), and one in the same hand as the main text, bearing a design for a magic circle, have been bound up inside this section. The full-page illustration of a dragon or wyvern, which forms the frontispiece of Sloane 3824 as currently bound, appears based on a figure associated with one of the processes in this section. There are some corrections in Ashmole's handwriting. The final section includes material drawn from printed works indicating a *terminus a quo* for its redaction of 1659: and some earlier sections depend on the 1651 English edition of *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*.
- Fol. 121–130, under the title *Trithemius Redivivus*, contain material adapted and translated into English from the first 13 chapters of Book I of the *Steganographia* of Trithemius. This connects with the "The Second Part of the Art of King Solomon" in so far as Book I of the *Steganographia* was the source for the names of the spirits and the numbers and a few characters associated with them. The "conjurations" comprising the name of a spirit followed by a string of seemingly senseless and barbarous words are cipher texts describing various cryptographic / steganographic systems.
- Fol. 131–154 contain an edited, rearranged and expanded (bloated, rather) version of the *Heptameron seu elemental magica* of pseudo-Abano. The bulk of the text varies sufficiently with the Robert Turner versions to suggest independent translation of both the conjurations and rubric. Portions are in the same hand as fol. 3–79; however, these are not limited to corrections and marginalia, but include parts of the text body.

Some of the material in this MS. has been typeset previously. A volume called *The Book of Treasure Spirits* by David Rankine (London: Avalonia, 2009) includes the material from fol. 3–29 and 89–120 (with some minor omissions). References in my notes to "Rankine" are to this typeset, which was, it should be emphasised, never advertised or represented as a complete or scholarly edition of the MS., but which, per the title, focuses on the treasure-hunting theme prominent in the notebook I have prosaically titled "Some Experiments of Spirits." Some (but not all) of the material in this volume relating to the *Janua Magica Reserata* was also included as an appendix to Skinner & Rankine's edition of the *Janua*, *Keys to the Gateway of Magic*, as was the account of the Four Kings from fol. 117–120.

Sigla

⟦…⟧	Marks text (generally a single word or part of a word) illegible or lost due to blotting, torn edges, over-tight binding of the MS., etc.
⟦ ⟧	Marks conjectural restoration of words or partial words unreadable in the MS. for one reason or another.
⟧ ⟦	Marks conjectural restoration of words omitted in text due to copyist error. Used sparingly, most commonly where the text is a repeating formula or an identifiable copy or quotation from another work.
⟨ ⟩	Marks words written in text in error that should be disregarded, most commonly single words duplicated by scribal eye-skip.
<*illegible*>	Typically marks a single illegible or doubtful word.
fol.	Folio.
MS.	Manuscript.
OOP	Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*. Unless otherwise stated references including page numbers are to the 1651 edition, translated into English by "J. F." and "Printed by R. W. for Gregory Moule" in London.
r	Recto
S1	British Library, Sloane MS. 3821.
S4	British Library, Sloane MS. 3824.
S5	British Library, Sloane MS. 3825. Typesets of most of the contents can be found in Peterson, *Lemegeton* and Skinner & Rankine, *Keys to the Gateway of Magic*.
sec. man.	*Secundu manu* – indicates words written in different handwriting to the main text.
Steg.	Johannes Trithemius, *Steganographia, hoc est ars per occultam scripturam animi sui voluntatem absentibus aperiendi certa*.
sup. lin.	*Supra linea* – indicates words written in above the main text line.
T1606	Johannes Trithemius, *Steganographia, hoc est ars per occultam scripturam animi sui voluntatem absentibus aperiendi certa*, Frankfurt, 1606.
T1655	Robert Turner (trans.), *Henry Cornelius Agrippa his Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy, of Geomancy, &c. &c.*, London, 1655.
T1665	Robert Turner (trans.), *Henry Cornelius Agrippa his Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy, of Geomancie, &c. &c.*, London, 1665.
T&FR	Meric Casaubon (ed.), *A True & Faithful Relation of what passed for many years between Dr. John Dee* […] *and some Spirits &c. &c. &c.* London, 1659.
v	Verso
V.b. 26	Folger Shakespare Library, MS. V.b. 26, "Book of Magic, with instructions for invoking spirits." Late 16th-century (portions internally dated 1577-83). Typeset in Harms, Clark & Peterson (eds.), *The Book of Oberon*.

A Prayer to be said before the Calling Forth of Elementall or Infernall Powers, or Spirits of Darkness.

[3r] O most high, Immense, Imortall, Incomprehensible, and Omnipotent Lord God of Hosts, the only Creator of Heaven & Earth, & of all things contained therein; who, amongst all other admirable works of the Creation, hast made Man, according to the express Image of thy self, dignifying him with more divine, Cœlestiall & Sumblim Excellency, & superior parts and participtations, cohering with the most high & sacred Godhead, Angells, Heavens, Elements, & Elementall things; & given him an Imperiall Sovereignity, over all Sublunar things in the Creation, both Animall, Vegetable, Minerall & Elementall: and next who hath likewise given to Man, a Soveraigne power over all sublunar Spirits, both Ayeriall, Terrestriall & otherwise Elementall, residing in Orders & Mansions proper, & other wandring Spirits out of Orders or Mansions proper, both of Light & Darknes, & alsoe Infernall Spirits, & subjected them to his Obedience & Service, whensoever he shall Command, Constraine, Call forth & move them to visible appearance, in order thereunto. Now then O most high & heavenly God, we thy humble Servants, reverently here present in thy holy feare, doe bessech thee in thyne infinite Mercy & paternall goodness, that all Sunblunar Spirits both Elementall and [3v] residing in Orders, &otherwise wandring out of Orders, both of Light & Darknes, & also Infernall Powers, may at the reading & rehearsal of our Invocations, Coniurations & Constrigations, & by thee commanded, & compelled, & constrained, obediently and peaceably to move & appeare visibly, in faire & decent Forme & Shape, & in noe wise hurtfull, dreadfull, terrible or affrightful, or otherwise in any violence or violent manner unto us, & here before us in these Glass Receptacles, or otherwise, to appeare out of them here before us, in like serene, faire & decent manner, as shalbe most convenient & necessary for any action, thing or matter, that they are called for to such appearances, & to serve & obey us, & to fulfil & performe our will, desires & Comandments, in all & every severall & particular matters, & things respectively, wherein their Office & Orders are concerned, or whereunto in any wise they properly appertaine; & also to depart from our presence, & obediently & peaceably to retourne to their Orders & Places of residence, when they have performed & fulfilled all our Will and Commandments; And that we shall discharge them for the tyme present, & tyme future; or shall accordingly give them Lycence so do doe, and also to be ready from tyme to type at our call, & at all tymes to appear visibly unto us, & to serve & obey us, & to fulfil all our requests whatsoever we shall comand them, & also to retourne to their Orders in peace, when we shall give them Lycence to depart thereunto, without violence, injury, harme, prejudice or other

mischeife or mischievous matter, to be done unto us or this Place, or to any other person or places whatsoever. Amen.

The Lord bless us & keep us, the Lord make his Face shine upon us, & be gracious unto us: the Lord lift up his Countenance upon us, & give us his Peace.

[4r]

ℒ:

O All you Spirits of great power **L: B: S:**[4] unto whome by Orders & Officers, as Messagers of wrath, & Ministers of divine Justice, the Execution of Gods Judgments are committed, & accordingly at his Commandment by you fulfilled, on all sublunar things, Creatures & places whatsoever & wheresoever he shall decree and appoint the same to be inflicted: And otherwise also & againe at sundry & many other tymes, preordinaed you by Orders & Offices to serve & assist the sons of men, living upon Earth, Servants of the most high God, whensoever you shalbe invoked, moved, requested, commanded & constrained thereunto: Now therefore know ye, O all ye Spirits **L: B: S:** that we, Servants of the most high God, reverently here present in his holy feare, being dignified in the holy Trinity, with cœlestiall power & authority, given to Man at his Creation, & to his successive posterity & Generations, unto the utmost period of tyme, above & over all Sublunar Spiris, of all degrees, Natures, Orders & Offices, both Ayeriall, Terrestriall & otherwise Elementall, or wandring out of Orders, or Infernall, whether of Light or Darkness, from the superiour to the Inferiour; doe by the Name of your God, & by your Seales & Characters, most firmly & solidly subjecting & bynding you by Orders & Office, both to be divine comand of the Highest & his Servants the Sons of Men, now living on Earth: Wee doe Exorcise, Coniure, Comand, Constraine & move you, O all you spirits **L: B: S:** to subject all Spirits whatsoever, from the Superiour to the Inferiour, that have place & Residence in any, or each, & every of your severall & respective Orders or Mansions, or that shall otherwise under your power, government & Command unto us, & our Invocations, Coniurations & Constringations. And that whensoever & where-soever we shall at any tyme, & in any place, Conjure, Comand, Constraine, [4v] Call forth & move them, by Names, Orders & Offices, or any or either of them, that then & there, even at that very instant tyme, be inforced, compelled & constrained to move & appeare, in faire & decent forme, & in no wise hurtfull, dreadfull, terrible or affrightfull unto us, or this place, or to any other person or place whatsoever, but in all humility & serenity, visbly to the sight of our Eyes, either in these **G: R:**[5] or any of them, standing

[4] An abbreviation for "Lucifer, Beelzebub, Sathan," the three chief infernal spirits of the *Liber Officiorum* tradition: the names are cited at length in a later procedure in this collection. It may simply be coincidence that these are also the first, middle and last letters of "Longobardus."

[5] "Glass Receptacles."

here before us for that purpose, according to a usuall way of receiving & inclosing Spirits at their appearance. Or otherwise out of them here before us,[6] according as best befitted, or shalbe most beneficiall, & convenient for us, in all or any such our Operations & Affaires, as the necessity or occasion thereof shall require. And so shew forth unto us true & visible signs, foregoing their coming & appearance. And to make true & faithfull Answers unto us, & also to reveale, discover & shew forth unto us, the very truth & certainety of all such our proposals, matters & things in question, & to fulfil, perform & accomplish unto us, all those our demands & Requests, as lyeth here before us. And also furthermore, as in the contente of our Invocations, Conjurations & Constringations, shall more fully & at large be declared & expressly rehearsed: speaking plainly unto us, so as that we may both heare & understand them. All which as aforesaid, wee doe powerfully Exorcise, Coniure, Command, Compell, Constraine & move you, O all you Spirits L: B: S: in the Name of your God, & by the Seales of your Orders, preordinately decreed of the most high God, Confirming, Subjecting and binding you by Orders & Offices, into strickt Obedience; [5r] first to the fulfilling of his Divine Will & pleasure, both of his mediate & immediate Commandements & Appointments; And secondly aswell unto the Service, Obedience, & Assistance of hiss servants the Sons of Men, now living on Earth, in your severall & respective Orders & Offices, as to seduce, subvert & seeke to destroy them by your evill Temptations, or any other vile (?), subtill, crafty insinuations & illusions: And by the Cœlestiall power of the most high & holy Trinity, wherewith we are now through divine Grace, dignified, armed & supported, to doe, fulfil, performe & accomplish for & unto us, both now at this tyme present, & also at all other tymes, whensoever we shall move, request & command them thereunto, without delay delusion or disturbance, whereby to surpise or assault our sences with feare & amazements: or in any wise to obstruct or hinder thee effects of these our present Operations, by any subtill Crafte or illusions whatever. &c.:

[6] "in all or any … shall require" was mistakenly written here by copyist eye-skip, but is crossed out.

[5v]

An Operation for the obteyning of Treasure Trove;

The Key whereof is holden[7] *from some principall Spirits, who may be Invocated or called forth by Name, Nature, Degree, Order & Office for that purpose, by the contents of the following Invocation; the foregoing Prayer & Coniuration being observed, to be first used or said; which Rule ought also to be remembred, before Invocation is made, to any Infernall Spirits of powers of Darkness.*

A Select Invocation, *moving & calling forth some certain Spirits, who by Names are called* **Sulphur,** *&c.: and who are said by Nature, Degree, Order & Office, not only to have the keeping & possession of many & severall Treasures or Treasuries, of Gold & Silver, both in Coyne, Plate, Jewells, Bullion, & other goods & Chattells of considerable value, that hath been manufacturized, & in use among the Sons of Men, & said to be corrupted of them. And both heretofore of ancient, & sythence*[8] *of later tymes, either through Envy or Necessity, or otherwise by chance, purpose or appointment of them concerned, & kept from the knowledge, use & benifit of Posterity. But alsoe doth well know, how otherwise, By what Spirits, any such Treasures or Treasuries shall be kept or possessed, be they of what name, nature, dignity, order & Offices sover, And who also by Office hath power given them, to discharge or dismiss and cast forth, any such Spirits so keeping any such Treasures or Treasuries, and constraine them to deliver them and yield up, & to bring the same wheresoever it shalbe appointed. &c.* [6r]

The Invocation.

O all ye Spirits, who have power given you to visit the parts of the Earth, & to execute the Commandments of the highest;[9] and also by divine permission, to appeare unto the Sons of Men, Servants of the most high God, living on Earth, whensoever they shall Invoke & call you forth to visible appearance, to obey them, to serve them, & to be friendly unto them, at such their Calls & Invocations made unto you, & readily forthwith to fulfil & performe all such their Comandments & requests, wherein your Offices are properly & pertinently concerned, or in any wise apperteyning. And accordingly into such their addresses & invocations as are made, & by your offices given & referred unto you, O all ye Spirits of great power in the keeping of hidden Treasures, & also of

[7] An obsolete / archaic inflectional form; the copyist originally wrote "hidden from," crossed it out, then wrote "holden from some" in above the line.

[8] Possibly an archaic spelling of "since"?

[9] Compare the "Call of the 30 Ayres" in Dee's *Claves Angelicæ*: "[you] are Mightie in the partes of the Erth, and execute the Judgment of the highest:"

detecting, discovering & yielding up the same to the Sons of Men for whose use it was principally & primarily Decreed & ordeyned: Wee doe exorcise, call upon & Coniure you, O all ye Spirits, jointly & severally by Names, Orders & Offices, who are knowne unto the Sons of Men, from the Tradition of their predicessors, by the names of **Sulphur, Chalcos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorson (or Gorzon), Everges, Mureril, Vassago, Agares, Baramper, Barbasan,** of what nature soever you are, whether wandring Spirits or Ayeriall or Terestriall, or otherwise Elementall or Infernall powers, apperteyning either to Light or darknes or both, in the most true & especiall Name of your God, and by the force, influence, power & virtue thereof, & by all the power both divine, Cœlestiall & Terrestriall, the most high [6v] God hath given both to Angells & to Men, & by your Seals & Characters, most firmly & solidly binding, subjecting and obliging you by Orders & Offices, both to the divine comands of the highest, & his servants the sons of Men, calling forth & moving you thereunto. By all aforesaid we doe againe Exorcise, Call upon, Conjure, Comand & Constraine all you Spirits by Name: **Sulphur, ⟦Calchos,[10]⟧ Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorson** (or **Gorzon**), **Everges, Mureril, Vassago, Agares, Baramper, Barbason**, and all other by Office, having power given them to range and visit the Earth, & all parts thereof, and to possess & keepe, not only the naturall Mines of Gold & Silver, but also many other Treasures, both in Coyne, & Plate & Bulloyn, or Jewells of great value, or any other goods or Chattells, that has been the Manufacturisme of Men, & heretofore in use among them, buried in the Earth, or otherwise layd up & hidden, in some very secret place, or places thereon, And so thereby said to be corrupted of them & amongst them,[11] whereby Posterity is denied,[12] the benefit, use, & comfort thereof: Wherefore divine Justice hath given such powers, whether Ayeriall, Terrestriall or otherwise Elementall or Infernall; or other wandering Spirits, both of Light & darkness, & conversant in all Elementall parts & places, Mediums or Messagers, executing the Judgments of the Highest, at his Omnipotent, both mediate & imediate Commandements, and taking vengeance on the Sinns & Offences & causes thereof, acted and comitted by the Auncesters or Precedecessors of the Sons of Men: both heretofore of old, & sithence of late tymes, not only upon them, but alsoe many other successive Generations; even to the utmost period of tyme (as in the minde, Will & pleasure of the allpowerfull, is preordinately Sacred) unless divine Grace & Mercy descendeth [7v] at the humble Supplications, Petitions, & Adresses of his servants the Sons

[10] Omitted in MS.; this has been treated as a slip, as the full list occurs repeatedly and on one other occasion the copyist skipped this name then went back & wrote it in later.

[11] The phrasing here recalls some discussion in the Dee-Kelly Spirit Actions (Actions of 1584.06.26 & 1584.06.30, *T&FR* pp. 180, 188) concerning the "Angels of metals" and the corresponding "wicked spirits": the former, "have power over Metals, to find them, to gather them together, and to use them […] [they] give no money coined but the metal"; the latter "can give money coined, in Gold or Silver […] they have nothing to do with the natural Mines of the Earth, but, with that which is corrupted with man."

[12] Doubtful. "of" apparently blotted out after this word.

of Men, to their assistance, in obteyning and recovering all such Treasures & Treasuries, soe buried, layd up, or otherwise secretly hidden, either in or upon the Earth, whether of old or of later tymes, for what cause or intent soever the same was buried, hidden or otherwise concealed, & still at this tyme kept from the knowledge, understanding, use, benefit & comfort of Men, Dignifying & giving them full power & authority, both Cœlestiall & Terrestriall, to Conjure, Command, Constraine, Call forth & move you, O all you Spirits forenamed & mentioned by Orders & Offices as aforesaid, both unto visible appearance, & also to serve them, & to obey them, & to fulfil & performe all such their Comandements, whatsoever they shall enjoyne & command you, as according to your Orders & Offices, you are in the Name of the highest & heavenly, Conjured Compelled & Constrained to Obedience. Now therefore know you, O all you Spirits by Name, **Sulphur, Calchos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorsan** (or **Gorzon**), **Everges, Mureril, Vassago, Agares, Baramper, Barbasan**, and all other you Spirits, who by Orders & Offices, have power & permission given you, to possess & keepe all such Treasures & Treasuries of Gold & Silver, Coyn, Plate, Bullyon, Jewells, or other Goods and Chattells, heretofore, in frequent & familiar use, & corrupted amongst Men, & at this tyme lyeth buried, hidden or otherwise concealed in some secret place or places, in the Earth, or upon the Earth (as aforesaid), that wee the Servants of the most high God, and humply bresent here at this tyme, in his holy feare, being assisted, supported, fortified & strengthened, by his all powerfull Name, & being dignifyed by the power of his holy Spirit, with [8r] Cœlestiall & Terrestriall perfection, as to the more supreme and primitive Idea, Angelicall Excellency, Imperiall power, Soveraigne authority and superior parts and participations, Cohering with the sacred Godhead, Angells, Heavens, Elements & Elementall things, surpassing all sublunary Creatures in the Creation, by the virtue & influence whereof, we being invested with reall sufficiency, have power given us thereby, over all Spirits, both Ayeriall, Terrestriall & otherwise Elementall & Infernall, of all Orders & Offices, to serve us & fulfil our Comands & Requests, whensoever we shall move & call them forth, in order thereunto, doe Conjure, Comand, Compell & Constraine; Call forth & move you, O all you Sprites aforesaid, or some one or any or more of you, jointly & severally, to appeare visibly, in faire & decent forme, and in noe wise turbulent, Terrible or Affrightfull, or in any violent manner, or in any wise doeing harme, unto us or this place, or to any other person or places whatsoever (but we say) come you in all serenity, Affability & peace, & appeare unto us in these **G: R:** or in any or all of them set before us, for that purpose or otherwise appeare out of them visibly here before us, to the sight of our Eyes according as it shalbe convenient or best befitting this present Occasion, purpose or matter, & shew forth visible & plainly unto us, a foregoing signe or Test of your appearance; for the which we now Conjure, move & call you forth, to reveale & shew forth plainely unto us, & to Act, Doe & perform for us in

this present Operation & affaire, as we shall propose request & make knowne unto you wheresoever. O all you Spirits by Name, **Sulphur, Calchos,**[13] **Anaboth**, **Sonenel**, **Barbaros**, **Gorsan**[14] (or **Gorzon**), **Everges**, **Mureril**, **Vassago**, **Agares**, **Barmaper**, **Barbasan**, hearken you unto these presents, and unto this present Conjuration, Invocation & Constriction, by the [8r] efficacy, virtue, power & force whereof, we doe againe Conjure, Command, Compell, & Constraine you all, or some one, or any, or more of you Spirits aforesaid, ioyntly & severally, to appeare plainly here before us, in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them, visibly to the sight of our Eyes, or else that the spirits called **Barbaros, Gorsan**, **Everges**, **Mureril** & **Vassago**, or any one or more of them, or any other Spirit or Spirits, having power given unto them by orders of Offices, or otherwise by divine Justice, pleasure & permission, to possess, deteyne & keepe any Treasures or Treasuries, that are buried & hidden, or in any wise concealed from the knowledge use or benefit of Mankind, or kept from them by any Spirit or Spirits, of what Name, Order, or Office soever they are, of from what cause soever they doe posses & keepe the same, from the use of mankind (as aforesaid) to reveale, discover, shew forth & plainely make appeare unto us the very truth & certainety thereof, and what Spirit & Spirits by name & Orders, doth possess & keepe the same, whereby we may accordingly, Conjure, Compell & Constraine them, or otherwise by this your assistance to inforce them, quietly peaceably & willingly, without any turbulence or noise, to demit, yield up & bring the same hither unto this place, or unto any other place wheresoever we shall appoint, and heere or there to leave the same, visibly & openly naked unto us, so that we may take & beare the same away for our necessary use, & we doe again yet further by these presente, & the efficacy, power & force thereof, Conjure, Comand, Compell & Constraine you all you Spirits by name (as aforesaid:) **Sulphur, Calchos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorson** (or **Gorzon**), **Everges**, [8v] **Mureril**, Vassago, Agares, **Baramper**, **Barbasan**, or some one, or any, or more of you, ioyntly & severally, to appeare visibly, meekely & peaceably, in desent forme before us, in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them (as beforesaid) or to cause, compel & constraine a certain spirit to appeare visibly unto us in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them here before us, in all serenity & peace, & in decent forme (as aforesaid:) who is called **Camret**, & said to be a Duke, or Spirit of great power & strength, & usefull in serving the Sons of Men, by Orders and Office, in these operations & affaires, to reveal, discover, and shew forth & make appeare unto them, the very truth & certainty of any Treasure or Treasuries that lie concealed, buried or hidden in or upon the Earth, And if any Spirit or Spirits, of what Name, Nature, Order or Offices soever they are, doth possess & keepe the same from the knowledge, use & benefit of man, that he the said Spirit called **Camret**, may likewise

[13] The copyist initially skipped this name then wrote it in *sup. lin.*

[14] This variant form of the name occurs often enough that it has been allowed to stand.

Comand, Compell & Constraine the said Spirits or keepers of any such Treasures, to demit, yield up & bring the same away unto such place or places wherefore it shalbe appointed. And we doe also yet further & againe Exorcise, Coniure, Comand, Comell, Constraine & powerfully move you, by the efficacy & force of this our Invocation, & the Cœlestiall power & authority, by divine Grace wherewith wee are dignified, O all you spirits by Name (as aforesaid) **Sulphur**, **Calchos**, **Anaboth**, **Sonenel**, **Barbaros**, **Gorson** (or **Gorzon**), **Everges**, **Mureril**, **Vassago**, **Agares**, **Baramper**, **Barbasan**, that some one, or any more more, or all of you, with all power & force you have, or that is given unto you, at the Will & pleasure of the highest, you doe command compel & constraine, there Spirits who are called by name **Scor** (or [9r] **Scarus**), **Roab**, **Zaym**, **Umbra**, **Gijel**, or some one, or any, or more, or all of them, ioyntly or severally, in generall & particular; who are said by nature, Order or Offices, to demit & cast forth any Spirit or Spirits, that have the keeping of any such Treasures or Treasuries, hidden or buried in the Earth, or otherwise layd up or concealed, & so kept from the knowledge, benefit, use & comfort of the Sons of Men, & who also by Office, hath power to bring, or cause the same to be brought unto any place or places, wheresoever they shalbe appointed to appearse visible, in faire & decent forme unto us, in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them here before us, & to shew forth plainely unto us, visibly, a foregoing Signe or Test of their appearance, and to reveal the very truth & certainty of all such Treasures or Treasuries, as we shall propose unto them, & request of them, & to bring or cause the same to be brought unto us at any tyme or tymes, & in any such place or places, whensoever & wheresoever we shall then & there command & appoint them. And more specially & more particularly, to discover such Treasures & Treasuries, now by us proposed & in question, lying buried, or being otherwise hidden, as by certain report & credible information we believe & suppose *[15] in &c.

And also to reveale & make knowne unto us, such Treasures & Treasuries, as are unknwone; & so not in question, until a more full discovery by such your Information, or otherwise, shalbe made or given, of what Treasure soeover elsewhere in any wise, or in any place within this Realme of England, so called, hidden or buried, & soe kept or concealed, from the knowledge use & benefit of Mankinde, & to bring or cause the same to be brought unto this place, or to any other [9v] place where we shall appoint. Now then finally know you, O all you Spirits by Name, Order & Office (as aforesaid) Sulphur, **Calchos**, **Anaboth**, **Sonenel**, **Barbaros**, **Gorsan** (or **Gorzon**), **Everges**, **Mureril**, **Vassago**, **Agares**, **Baramper**, **Barbasan**, that we doe powerfully & confidently, Conjure, Command, Constraine, Call forth & move you to come away forthwith & immediately

[15] A large asterisk in the text at this point, and a paragraph break. It seems—looking at the context—that here should be interpolated some words describing just *where* the operator believes some treasure to be laid up, buried, hidden, concealed, &c. &c. &c. Similar asterisks and breaks appear on fol. 12r and 13r, which I have replaced with "[location]" in red.

at this one Invocation, without any further illusion or delay, & tarry not, neither defer the tyme of your coming one minute longer, but come presently away, from the place or places of your present residence, wheresoever you are, & appeare you readily, willingly, courteously, affable peaceably, plainly, visibly unto us, in faire & decent forme in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them here before us; Or else comand, inforce, & send unto us the Spirit called **Camret** or else move & sent imediately at this our Call, some one, or any, or more of these Spiris, by name called **Scor** (or **Scarus**), **Roab**, **Zaym**, **Umbra**, & **Gijel** to appeare visibly unto us, in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them, and plainely to shew forth unto us, a foregoing signe or Test of their appearance; & to give us true & faithfull Answers, of all such questions, as we shall make demand of, & positively to resolve us the very truth & certainety, of all such Treasures & Treasuries of Gold & Silver, either in Coyne, Plate, Bulloin or Jewells, or any other Goods & Chattells as are hidden buried or concealed in the Earth, or upon the Earth, in any place or places, Country or Countries, by what names soe bee called, or in what part or point of the Compass, or Angle of the Earth soever, bearing from this place, the same shall at this tyme continue in, hidden, buried or concealed, from the knowledge, benefit, use or releife of mankind, whether it be kept by any Spirit or Spirits, of what Name, Nature, Order or Office soever they are; Or by any artificiall or magicall Charme, or by any envious or malignant crafts or subtilties, [10r] either of Elementall Terrestriall or Infernall Spirits, or of any wandring Spirits out of Orders, and by the traditions of Men, as rationally supposed, & so credibly reported unto posterity, & by good testimony thereof is verily believed of us, to be accustomary & usual for all such Treasures so hidden, or by the long continuance of tyme, quite worne out of all knowledge & remembrance of Mankinde, soeremaining in utter oblivion & forgetfulness of how or by what meanes soever else, any such hidden Treasure, is kept, or may be kept by Chance, purpose or appointment, or by nature simply, through mortallity, become wholly unknown to any living person, or soe lyeth concealed from the understanding of posterity; And that by either you, O all you Spirits **Sulphur**, **Chalcos**, **Anaboth**, **Sonenel**, **Barbaros**, **Gorson** (or **Gorzon**), **Everges**, **Mureril**, **Vassago**, **Agares**, **Baramper**, **Barbarson**, or any one, or other, or more of you, ioyntly & severally (as aforesaid) or by the spirit **Camret**, or by all or many or more of these spirits called **Scor** (or **Scarus**), **Roab**, **Zaym**, **Umbra**, **Gijel**, or by whomsoever, or whatsoever spirit or power else, you shall send or cause to be sent, or come unto us, may not only appeare meekely courteously, peaceably, plainely & visibly unto us, and here before us in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them, & to shew us a preceding Signe thereof (as aforesaid) but also readily, willingly & obediently to serve us, in whatsoever we shall request & Command them, And imediately forthwith at such our command to fly & hast away, unto all or any such place or places, Country or Countries, Towne or Townes, House or Houses, Ground or Grounds, Sellars, Vaults, Caves, Wells, Ponds,

Lakes, or any ruinous place, whatsoever any Treasures are supposed to be hidden buried or otherwise concealed, from the knowledge of Men (as aforesaid) and to dismiss, cast out & discharge & send away, any or all such Spirit or Spirits (if any be there) that shall posses & keepe any [10v] such Treasure or Treasuries, so hidden, buried & Concealed (as aforesaid) And that either, or any, or some one or more of you, O all you Spirits by anem (as aforesaid) doe bring or cause to be brought, either by your selfe or selves, or else that you compel & constraine the spirit or spirits, that doth posses & keepe such hidden Treasure or Treasuries, to bring & bear away the same hither unto this place, &c.: and heere to leave the same with us, & to yield the same up unto us; & to our use, benefit & behoofe, as in our ownely[16] proper possession & claime, & then by virtue & power of our commands accordingly by the said Spirit & Spirits, bearing & bringing away such Treasures or Treasuries unto us, may be dismissed & discharged therefrom, & of us inforced, at our Lycence denounced, & given them to depart away peaceably, in all mildness, meekness & serenity unto their Orders, or place of Residence, otherwise appointed for them. Notwithstanding any thing, matter, cause, craft, subtilty, illusion dispute or other device or pretence to this contrary whatsoever. Finally & againe, we doe by these presents, & by the virtue, power, influence, efficacy & force thereof, Conjure, Comand, Compell, Constraine and move you, O all you Spirits by name called **Sulphur**, **Calchos**, **Anaboth**, **Senenel**, Barbaros, **Gorsan** (or **Gorzon**), **Everges**, **Mureril**, **Vassago**, **Agares**,[17] **Baramper**, **Barbasan**, or any one or more or all of you, ioyntly and severally to appear unto us in this **G: R:** or otherwise out of them visibly here before us, & to compel & to constraine the Spirit called **Camret** to come imediately forthwith away accordingly, & visibly unto us (as aforesaid) or else to inforce & send imediately away unto us, any one or more or all of those Spirits called **Scor** (or **Scarus**), **Raab**, **Zaym**, **Umbra**, **Gajel**, to appeare also accordingly & visibly unto as (as aforesaid) without Noyse, Turbulency, Iniury or violence, & in noe way Terrible [11r] or affrightfull to dismay or delude us, but to come or to send any other the Spirits unto us (as aforesaid) and to appeare Obediently, peaceably, quietly, willingly, affably, readily & imediately here before us, in this **G: R:** or otherwise out of them (as aforesaid) & to shew forth unto us ample, true, serene, affable & reall signs & testimony of your & their coming & appearance, & to serve us in all these our Comands, as here before is mentioned; & not only to discover & bring or beare away hither unto us, or so any other place wheresoever we shall appoint, all such Treasures and Treasuries, as hath been at any tyme or tymes heretofore, buried, or hidden by our Auncestors, or Mankind then lving on Earth, and at this tyme possessed or kept, by any Spirit or Sprits of what Element, Angle, Mansion, Order, Office, Name or nature soever, from the knowledge use &

[16] "owne &" originally written, the '&' cancelled and '-ly' written in *sup. lin.*
[17] "Algares" in MS., but the orthography has been consistent up to this point.

benefit of Posterity of Mankinde, now living on Earth, but to leave the same here present with us, or at any other such place, as we shall name & appoint, openly, nakedly, barely, plainly & visibly, to the sight of our Eyes, and so as that we may take, possess & carry away the same, as properly & of right due & belonging unto us, & of our owne proper Goods & Chattells, both of purchase & Inheritance, And such Spirit or Spirits as possessed & kept, or that shall bring the same hither & unto us, & that we shall have it in our full free assured & certain custody & possession, then afterwards imediately dismissed, discharged & sent away to their Orders or other places of abode appointed them, they not daring or presuming to retourne, or offer to make any retourne to it againe, either to carry the same away from us, or by any deceipt or illusion, or other fraudulence seemingly to convert the same into any other vile or base matter, thing, forme or Idea, otherwise then what it really is, as can be made appeare to the contrary, and also to reaveale, discover, plainly shew forth, & truly to make knowne, the very certain truth of [11v] all such Treasures & Treasuries, that are layd up or hidden, either in the Earth, Caves, Sellers, Vaults, House, Ground, Pond, Lake, Well or old ruined Castle, monastery, ruinous Walls, or any other secret place whatsoever & whensoever, in any Angle, Country, Citty, Towne, or Village, within this Realme or Kingdome of England, place, wherein we are now heere present, that are not possessed, or kept by any Spirit or Spirits or otherwise given them in Charge to deny & deteyne from the use & benefit of mankind, by any person or persons heretofore living on Earth, thay you or some or any or more of you, O all you Spirits before named, may after a tyme & full discovery thereof is made knowne unto us, bring or cause to be brought hither unto us in this place &c.: all such Treasures & Treasuries, & to leave the same with us: And soe you Spirit or Spirits bringing or causing the same to be brought or conveyed hither to give it up unto us, & then imediately to depart peaceably & quietly away, so as that we may take, enjoy, dispose & convert the same unto our proper use & Benefit, as of right belonging & apperteyning unto us, without obteyning the similitude thereof in any wise, but to lay & leave the same barely open in its natural forme & substance, as it was before the same was hidden, & as it is, or still may be & continues, notwithstanding also the Craft or subtilty of any other Spirits shall seemingly transmute the same, or otherwise oppose or deceive us: Or else, O all ye Spirits, or some one, or any, or more of you, as before we have called by name, we doe by these presents, & by the virtue power & efficacy thereof; Conjure, Comand, Comepll & Constraine you to appeare (as aforesaid) visibly unto us, either in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them here before us, & to make knowne apparently to shew forth the very truth & certainly, of all such hidden Treasures & Treasuries, as we shall have in question, or make demand of, or otherwise request or desire you, and to make [12r] true & faithfull Answers, & give possitive Resolves thereof unto us, & to informe, instruct & rightly direct us, how by all best, easiest, readiest & most assured

waies or meanes, that can be combined, found out or used, we may discover, finde out & visibly see, & so perceive the same, as that by our industrious labour and endeavours in our pursuit thereof, or by any other attempts, Wee shall make in pursuance thereof, wee may both finde out, obtaine & take & carry away the same, wheresoever we shall please, & possess enioy & dispose thereof at our pleasure, as our owne proper goode of right belonging unto us, And more especially & particular, all those, or any such Treasures or Treasuries, as for certain is reported, & as we are truly informed (& as we doe, or may at least thereby verely beleive to be true) that lyeth buried or otherwise hidden in [location],

to shew forth & make appeare, the very truth & certainty thereof unto us, & either to bringe, or cause to be the same to be brought hither to this place, or wheresoever else we shall appoint: And then such Spirit or Spirits, who shall bring & convey the same, according as we doe comand & appoint, may be imediately after they have layd downe & left the same in place (accordingly as is appointed) dismissed discharged & compelled to depart away from it, & leaving the same barely & openly visibly unto us & so as that we may take & beare away the same, & also dispose thereof at pleasure, to our use & benifitt, or else to informe & rightly direct us, how by all the best, easiest, & most assured waies, that can be conveniently and commodiously contrived & used, to finde out, obteyne, seize & carry away the same, & enjoy it to our use & benefit: All which these our demands & requests as we have now made, & as herein is conteyned & specified, we doe by there presents & by vertue, power & efficacy thereof, & in the name of the most high Omnipotent Lord God of Hosts, which all both Cœlestiall, Terrestriall, [12v] Elementall, Infernall, & all other powers with feare & trembling, most reverently serve honor & obey, And by every & each of your severall & respective Seales & Characters,[18] most firmly & solidly binding, subjecting & obliging you, by Orders & Offices, both to the divine command of the highest, & his servants the sons of Men, calling forth & moving you thereunto, Conjure, Command, Compell, Constraine, & move you, or some one, or any, or more of you, O all you Spirits by name called **Sulphur**, **Calchos**, **Anaboth**, **Sonenel**, **Barbaros**, **Gorsan** (or **Gorzon**), **Everges**, **Mureril**, **Vassago**, **Agares**, **Baramper**, **Babasan**, & likewise **Scor** (or **Scarus**), **Roal**, **Zaym**, **Umbra**,[19] **Gijel**, or any of them, to move & appeare, in faire & decent forme, visibly here before us, either in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them, as the necessity & conveniency, of these our present occasions & affaires & as your service friendship & assistance, at these our Calls & comands enjoyned you therein, shall properly require: And appeare you or some one or more of you, O all you Spirits by name (as aforesaid) or send or cause to come and appeare visibly unto us,

[18] The "Seales & Characters" of the spirits cited in this conjuration were not copied by Ashmole (it is unclear whether or not they were in his source text; there are references in one of the later texts in this portion of the MS. suggesting that characters were in the copy-text for that, but not copied). Characters for **Vassago** and **Agares** appear elsewhere in this collection.

[19] "Umbre" in MS.

some one or more Spirit or Spirits, who by Orders & Office are alike, also qualified, readily & willingly to serve & assist us herein: Move (we say) & come imediately away, meekely, obediently & peaceably & quietly, without Noyse, or in any broken & turbulent manner, or in any wise affrightfull terrible or dreadfull, to assault or surpise our Sences or animall Spirits with fear or amazements, or doing any damage harme injury or prejudice to us or to this place, or to any other places or persons whatsoever; but in all reverence, obedience & humility to appeare, & make us true & perfect Answers, to all what we shall aske & demand, And effectually to fulfil & performe whatsoever we shall command, flying with hast away directly unto such place & places wheresoever we shall send, & imediately with as much hast, to retourne back againe to this place, or with as much speede as conveniently, can possibly afford or admit [13r] and to bring, or cause to be brought away hither to this place, all such Treasures or Treasuries, as are hidden or buried in the Earth, or otherwise layd & kept, from the knowledge use & benefit of mankind (as by certain report & credible information, we supposed & believed to lye hidden buried or otherwise concealed, in [location].

And also any other such Treasures or Treasuries, as lye buried or hidden in the Earth, or otherwise in what place soever it is, not certainly knowne of us, & therefore not of us now simply proposed, singly mentioned, or had in particular question: Now then O all yee Spirits as before are mentioned or named, & all others not named, more then by Orders and Office proper; Move, come away, appeare & plainly shew forth, make knowne &reveale unto us, the very truth of all whatsoever we have hereby (as before is rehearsed) requested & demanded. And we doe by these presents and the power thereof, moreover Conjure, Compell & Constraine you, O all you Spirits by Name, Order & Office (as before specified) in generall & particular, ioyntly & severally, every & each one & respectively, to serve & assist us herein, & effectually to fulfil & performe, all our Comandements to the very utmost; without further Apologie, excuse, pretence, hinderance, tarrying, delay, delusion, deceipt, subtlety, craft, disguise, interruption, false motions, disturbance, feare, fighte, amazements by any dreadfull or terribe assault, or any other illusions whatsoever, &c.

[13v]

A General Invocation, Conjuration or Constringation,

moving and calling forth any particular Ayeriall, Terrestrial, or other Elementall or Infernall, or other wandering Spirit or Spirits, of what Name, Order, Office, Angle, Mansion, Nature, Degree or power whatsoever they are or may be of, or in any wise properly apperteyning or belonging unto; which are to be mentioned in the following Invocation, where the Letter N. is marked, as being conveniently refered thereunto, & so placed therein accordingly.[20]

O you Spirit or Spirituall power, who is knowne of us from the Tradition of our Auncesters, & called by the Name **N:** of what nature, Order, Office, Angle, Mansion or other places of aboade wheresoever you are, or may be of, or doe reside, frequent, or in any wise properly if differently appertaine or belong unto, or whether Elementall or Infernall, or other wandering Spirit or power, either of Light or darkness, having power given you to visit the Earth, & to execute the Comandments of the highest: and also by divine permission plainly & visibly & in a faire & decent forme to appeare unto the Sons of Men, Servants of the most high God living on Earth, whensoever you shalbe of them Invocated, Commanded, called forth, moved, & therby Conjured, & constrained thereunto, to obey them, to serve them, & to be friendly unto them, & readily forthwith to fulfil & performe all such their comands and requests which they shall make; wherein by nature Office order, play or power, you may in any wise be concerned or serviceable. Know therefore O yee Spirit called by the Name **N:** (as aforesaid) that we the Servants of the most high God, & reverently here present in his holy feare, doe Coniure, Command, Constraine, move & call you forth to visible Appearance, in the name of the most high **Madzilodarp**[21] and by the vertue and power of these his glorious, great, mighty & sacred Names, **Tetragrammaton**, **Iehovah**, **Adonay**, **Zebaoth**, **Iah**, **Saday**, **Agla**, **El**, **Elohim**, **Alpha** & **Omega**, And who said, let us make [14r] Man, according to our Image & Similitude, & let him beare rule over the worke of our hands, & have soveraigne power & command over all Sublunar Spirits, both Ayeriall, Terrestriall & otherwise Elemetnall,

[20] This appears to be an adaptation of a conjuration which appears in the final section of S4, "The Magick and Magicall Elements of the Seven Days of the Week &c. &c." (specifically fol. 143v–146v), which in turn is an adaptation of the *Heptameron* of pseudo-Abano, with some rearrangements and much additional verbiage added. Parts of it are thus traceable to the *Vinculum Spirituum* or *Vinculum Salamonis*. 'Constringation' is an obsolete form of 'constraint.'

[21] This name appears in the 16th of Dee's *Claves Angelicæ* and is glossed "in the God of stretch furth and Conquere." It is unclear if the author of this conjuration worked out that it was a name of God by cross-referencing the Angelic and English text in *T&FR* (non-straightforward, but certainly possible), made a lucky guess, or actually read the *Claves Angelicæ* manuscript or Ashmole's copy (also possible, if the author was a friend or associate of Ashmole: this would push the *terminus a quo* into the 1670s).

& other wandring Spirits & Infernall Spirits, of all Orders & offices whatsoever, both of Light & darkness, & by your seale & Character, most firmely & solidly binding, subjecting & obliging you by Order & Office, both to the divine Command of the Highest, & his Servants the sons of Men, calling forth & moving you thereunto. And we doe also further Coniure, Compell, Comand, Constraine, Call forth & move you, by nature, Degree, Order & Office, unto what Hierarchy Mansion or Place of residence whatsoever you appertaine or belong unto, or wheresoever else you shall at this present be, either wandring out of Orders, or otherwise, O you Spirit, who is called **N:** to visible Appearance; Move therefore O you Spirit **N:** Come away and appeare you visible unto us, in faire & desent forme in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of the same, in like forme, visibly here before us, not in any wise terrible or affrightfull unto us, to amze or surprise us, or in any violent or turbulent manner, hurtfull to us or this place, or to any other person or place whatsoever, but come & appeare yee in all serenity, peace & mildness, shewing forth likewise unto us, a visible signe or test foregoing your appearance, and by the vertue, power, efficacy & influence of those great, might and sacred names of the most high God, which Adam heard & spake, and by the Name **Agla**, which Lott heard & was saved with his family, and By the Name of **Gin**,[22] which Noah heard & spake, after he was delivered from the Flood, And by the Names which Abraham heard & did know God, & by the name **Ioth**, which Jacob heard & was delivered from the hand of his brother Esau. And by the Name **Tetragrammaton**, which he heard of the Angell striving with him, And by the Name **Anapheketon**, which Aron heard and speaking was made wise, And by the Name **Zebioth**, which Moses named, & the water of Ægypt was turned into blood. And by the [14v] Name **Escherie Oriston**, which Moses named & all the Rivers belched out Froggs, & they went into the Egyptians Houses, destroying all things, And by the Name **Adonay**, which Moses named, & there were Locusts appeared upon the Land of the Egiptians, & eate up all that which was remaining, And by the Name **Elion** which Moses named, & there was such a Storme of Haile, as was not from the beginning of the World. And by the Name **Primeumaton**, & the most wonderfull power & efficacy thereof, which Moses named, & the Earth opened her mouth, & swallowed up Corah, Dathan & Abiram, & all their Generation & People, And by the Name that Moses heard from the midst of the burning Bush, & was astonished, And by the Name that the Israelites heard upon the Mount Sina, & they dyed for feare, And by the name **Burne**, by the vertue & power whereof the Sea parted in sundere, And by the efficacy of that Name, at the rehearsing whereof the Waters were divided, And by the mighty power of that great Name, and the speaking whereof the Stones burst & relented. And by the name **Schemes Amathia**, which Joshua named, & the Sun staied

[22] Appears as *Gyn* in "The Worke of Salomon the Wise Called his Clavicle" (Sloane MS. 3847 fol. 14r), *Genery* in the *Vinculum Spirituum* in Clm 849 (see Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*).

his course. And by the Name **Alpha & Omega**, which Daniel named & destroyed Bell & the dragon, And by the Name **Emanuel** which the three Children, Shadrach, Mesack & Abednego sang in the midst of the burning fiery furnace, & were relieved. And by the vertue & power of those Names, whereby Solomon called forth, constrained, bound, inclosed or shut up Spirits, **Elbrach**, **Ebanber**, **Agla**, **Goth**, **Ioth**, **Othie**, **Venoch**, **Nabrach**, And by the Imperiall Throne, & by the Majesty & Diety of the Almighty, Everlasting & true God of Hosts; Wee doe call upon you, O you Spirit who is called **N:** And being dignified by the power of the holy Spirit, & strengthened by his all powerfull arms, & being thereby supported with his Cœlestiall & divine assistance, do Conjure, Comand, Constraine, Call forth & move you O you Spirit **N:** to visible appearance. Move therefore & appeare you, & show yourself visibly and affably in faire & decent forme, in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of the same here before us, as may be most convenien & necessary, for this our purpose, in these present Operations & affairs, & come yee in all serenity, mildness, peace & friendship, & in no wise horrible or hurtfull to us or to this place, or to any other place or person whatsoever, & make true & faithfull answers unto all such, as those our demands & [15r] requests, as lyeth here before us, ready to be proposed, & made knowne unto you, & likewise readily & willingly fulfil & performe all such our other Commandments & desires, as we shall yet further will & enjoyne you, wherein your Orders & Office, is in any wise properly apperteyning & concerned. Now therefore O you Spirit **N:** prepare yee & be not obstinate, infractory or pertinacious, but come yee away forthwith & imediately from your Orders, or from what Mansion, Element, Angle, part or place of residence, or else wheresoever you are in, or at this present shall, or may, either chancely or otherwise by divine or superior command or appointment happen to be, & depart ye not from our presence & commands, until ye have fully & effectually fulfilled our desires, in all fidelity, reallity & truth, without any delay, fraude, guile, or illusion whatsoever. Now wherefore hearken unto our voice, O ye Spirit **N:** & be not obstinate, refractory or dissobedient, Know yee that wee the servants of the most high God, being dignified, fortified & supported assisted & encouraged, by his omnipotent, divine & Cœlestiall power, & by the vertue, force, influence & efficacy thereof; & by this his most high, great, & mighty Name **Iehovah, Tetragrammaton**, who saith & it is done; whome all Creatures both Cœlestiall, Elementall & Infernall, with feare & reverence doth most humbly serve, honor & obey, & wherein all the world was formed, which being heard the Elements Thunder, the Air is shaken, the Sea goes back, the Fire is quenched, the Earth trembleth, & al the heavenly, earthly & infernall Hosts do tremble & are troubled; Doe Conjure, Comand, Compell, Constraine, Call forth, & move you to visible appearance, wherefore O you Spirit **N:** now presently & without any further tarrying, illusion, hinderance or delay, move you imediately, even at this very instant Call, make hast, & wheresoever you are, come away

& appeare ye visibly, affably, courteously & peaceably in faire & decent forme, in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them, as may be most convenient & befitting this our present action, occasion, operation & affaire, plainly here before us, & to shew forth unto us a true & visible signe, forgoing your coming & appearance; And come yee in all serenity, quietness [15v] and friendship, without noyse or turbulence, or in any violent manner, hurtfull to us or this place, or to any other place or person whatsoever, or otherwise, either to assault, surprise or amaze us, either in Spirit or bodily sences, with feare astonishment or other dreadfull or terrible visions, or false motions & appearances, in any wise to affright, obstruct or delude us, & make us rationall, true & faithfull answers, speaking so plainly unto us, as that we may perfectly heare & understand you, readily & willingly filfulling all our demands & requests, & accomplishing all such our desires, & assisting us in these & all others our operations & affairs, in any wise, relating to your nature, degree, Order & Office, & therein to perform unto us, not only what we have to propose, but also in whatsoever else we shall further enjoyne or comand you. Move therefore & come away, in the name of the Omnipotent, Everliving & true God, **Helioren**, & appeare yee as aforesaid, visible here before us, in these Names, **Aye Saraye**, **Aye Saraye**, **Aye Saraye**, make hast & defer not your coming, in & through these Names **Eloye**, **Archima Rabur**, and obey your Master who is called **Octinomos**. Now then finally know yee, O you Spirit N: that we being dignified by Cœlestiall power, doe by the Contente of this our great & royall Invocation (as aforesaid) & by the vertue, power, Influence & efficacy thereof, Conjure, Command, Compell, Constraine, Call forth & move you to visible appearance, imediately at this very minute. Give ye now therefore present audience, attendance and obedience thereunto, & come away with speede, & appeare ye visibly unto the sight of our Eyes, in faire & decent forme, in these **G: R:** or otherwise thereout here before us, & shew forth unto us a visible signe foregoing your Appearance, persisting herein, to the full and effectuall accomplishment & fulfilling of all our demands & inquests, that we have or shall make unto you, even to the very utmost (as we have before said) without further Apology, excuse, pretence, hinderance, tarrying, delay, delusion, deceipt, subtilty, Craft, disguise, interruption, false motion, disturbance, feare, fright, amazement, by any dreadfull or terrible assault or surprisall, or any other Illusion whatsoever, &c.

[It is possible that the "Longobardus" collection ended here and that the following two items were copied by Ashmole from one or two other, unrelated, MSS.: certainly they are significantly different in style from both the preceding texts and each other.]

[16r] *An excellent & approved Experiment,*

to cause a Theife to come againe with the Goods he hath stolen; & to cause any Fugitive to retourne again. Proved.[23]

There are 4 Kings which reign in the 4 parts of the World, that is East, West, North & South; under which 4 Kings are 4 Spirits (as it were byshops) the power of the said 4 Kings, are in the 4 Elements, that is, Fire, Air, Earth & Water; & these Spirits have power to bring back a Theife , Fugitive or Runaway, wheresoever the Exorcist pleaseth, at the reading of the Experiment:

The names of the 4 Kings { Urienns, or Oriens; Plymon, or Paymon; Egyn; Amaymon; } King of the { East; West; North; South; }

The names of the 4 Byshops { Theltryon; Sperion; Mayerion; Boytheon; } in the { East; West; North; South; }

Here begineth the true Method of this Experiment as followeth:

Observe when the Moon is in the Encrease, not Combust, & the Aier serene & Still, on a Munday or Wednesday; at the Sun rising enter the sacred place, & approach the Altar, & there humbly upon thy Knees Ejaculate[24] to God Almighty, humbly confessing thy manifold Transgressions, craving Pardon & Absolution for the same. And let thus be thy Care, at the least once [16v] or twice a weeke, on Mundaies and Wednesdaies as aforesaid according to your discretion. At the end whereof you shall say the prayer following, & after that as followeth in Order. Then put of your Habit or Vestment, & put out your Tapers, & then make a plate of Lead in manner & forme as followeth, & write the Names of the foure Spirits with their Characters in the extremity of each square thereof (vizt) **Theltryon** on the East, **Sperion** on the West, **Mayerion** on the North, **Boytheon** on the South, and then round about under them the name of the Goods stolen, & the owners name thereof, or the Fugitive or Runaways name, & in the midest of the said plate write this name: **Sheho:**[25] then make 4 little Plates, & write thereon severally, the name of each Spirit as aforesaid by himself, with his Character; & when you have rightly

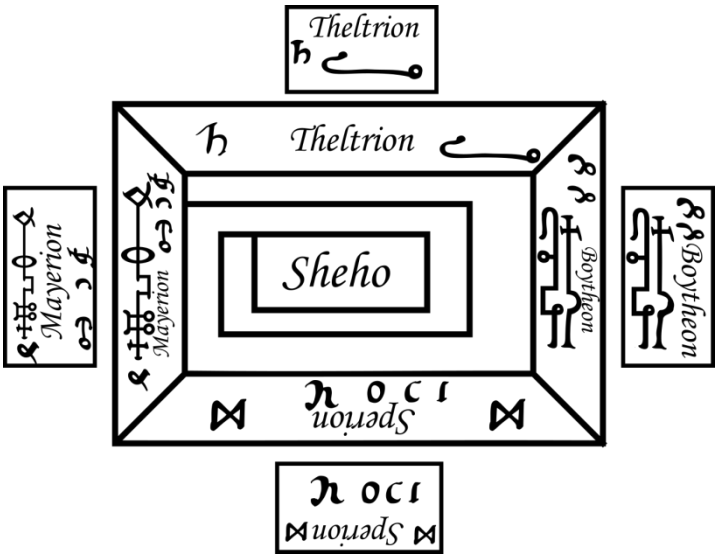
[23] An earlier (late 16th-century) version of this process occurs in V.b. 26 pp. 67-69, citing the same four "Bishops" with very similar characters and the same circle design.

[24] This word is being used in a largely obsolete sense, referring to prayers spoken or declaimed out loud.

[25] "**Satan**" in the corresponding place in V.b. 26 and other earlier versions of this process.

prepared & fitted these things ready, goe to a Wood or some private place unfrequented, & make (or have in readiness) the following Circle: & then at a little distance, with bended knees & good devotion, say the prayer following, being the same before mentioned, to be said at the Altar after publique Confession and Ejaculation, the Rules followeth after the Plate & Circle:[26]

[17r] *The five plates of* ♄



(*This is also called the Seale: which is mentioned in the last Paragraph to be put into the Box & burnt with it.*)

[26] At the bottom of the text appears a single line of indecipherable characters.

[17v]

The Prayer

O Almighty Jehovah, O Tetragrammaton, O Messias, O Sother, Emanuel, Alpha & Omega, Father Son & holy Ghost, there in persons & one God in Trinity & Unity, Wee doe beseech this for the Love thou bearest to all Mankind; heare us & grant us our requests for the bowells[27] of thy mercies sake heare us, for thy bitter passions sake heare us, for all the Charitable desires that ever thou hadst to Mankinde heare us & grant us our requeste. First forgive us our sins good Lord, whatsoever we have committed by thought word or deede, since we came into this miserable world, unto this present houre, & ever hereafter. Grand O Lord, that I may have from thee the power of thy holy Spirit, to Call, to Compell, to Constraine & Comand, all Spirits both Aeriall, Terrestriall & Infernall, that they with all readiness & submission yield due obedience to my Coniuration, And that they may be by me compelled to fulfil my will & desires, thatsoever I shall command them, according to thy heavenly will & gracious permission at all tymes & in all places & in all daies & hours, & that I may force them with all meekness humility & expedition, readily & willingly to performe & fulfil whatsoever I shall command them to doe, without fraude or delay, & more especially there 4 spirits **Theltrion**, **Sperion**, **Mayerion** & **Boytheon**, & that I may constraine them to attend on any Man or woman, that hath stolen any manner of Goods of Chattells, that they may cause the same to be brought againe, & any Runaway or Fugitive to retourne againe. this grant O heavenly God, for Ihesus Christ his sake, to whome with thee & the holy ghost, be all honor praise & glory, from this tyme forth, & for <*illegible*>[28] Amen.

> Then rise upon thy feete & enter the Circle, & turne your face to the East, & with good confidence Courage & Resolution say the Coniuration following.

[18r] O yee Spirits & Divells, **Sathan**, **Lucifer**, **Belzebub** & **Dansiation**; I conjure you all by your powers & strengths you are permitted to have by Almighty God the Father, the Son & the Holy Ghost, three persons & one God, in Trinity & Unity, That you inforce these 4 Kings of the 4 parts of the World, that is **Uriens** or **Oriens** King of the East, **Paymon** King of the West, **Amaymon** King of the South, & **Egin** King of the North, I conjure & potently call upon you, and Command all you spirits & divells **Lucifer**, **Sathan**, **Belzebub** & **Dansiation**, **Uriens** or **Oriens**, **Paymon**, **Amaymon** & **Egin**, by the love, power, strength & glory of the Omnipotent & ever-living[29] God, & by all that ever God made in heaven in hell, Fire, Air, Earth & Water, & in all other places, And by the Angells, Archangells, Thrones, Dominations, Principallities, Potestates, Virtues,

[27] In the metaphorical sense of "depths." Probably.

[28] Rankine reads "all time" which makes sense in context, but is not consistent with what is visible in the (admittedly crappy) scans I'm using; the illegible word or words appear to begin "end"

[29] "lasting" struck out, "living" written in *sup. lin.*

Cherubims & Seraphims, and by all the Orders of the Angells, & by all the Saints of God, & by our Lord Jeshus Christ, and by all the holy & blessed Company of Heaven, which sing continually Holy Holy Holy Lord God of Sabaoth, Heaven & Earth is full of thy glorious Majesty, That all you may compel & constraine with all the force you have, these 4 Spirits, **Theltrion**, **Sperion**, **Mayerion** & **Boytheon**, wheresoever they be, in Fire, Water, Ayer, Earth or Hell, or being bound to any man, that they nor none of them, doe never rest in their places, but obey my Will & commandements in every respect both nights & days, hours & tymes, And I conjure all you Spirits aforesaid in & by all the holy great & glorious names of God, & of our Lord Jesus Christ, spoken of in all Conjurations, Adjurations & Constrigations, in any Tongue, Speech or Language whatsoever, That you all & every one of you, joyntly & severally, doe compel, constraine & comand the 4 Spirits **Theltrion**, **Sperion**, **Mayerion** & **Boytheon**[30] to attend [18v] on my Calls, Conjurations, Adjurations & Constraingations, in & for the fullfilling & accomplishing of my will & desires, for the obteyning of all Thefte & Theives, Fugitives & Runawaies, Goods, Chattells, Money or things stolen or strayed or Runaway, or conveyed from any man woman or child, be they moveable or immoveable Goods, Silver, what or whatsoever thing it be, that is ordained by God for Man, the same may be brought again, & for bringing back again of Fugitives or Runaways, wheresoever they be gon, run or ridden, & this I conjure, adjure, command & compel all you Spirits or divells, **Sathan**, **Lucifer**, **Belzebub**, **Dansiation**, **Uriens**[31] or **Oriens**, **Paymon**, **Amaymon** & **Egin**, by Jesus Christ the Son of God, and by his bitter pains & passion that he suffered for the redemption of Mankind, To whome with the Father & the Son & Holy Ghost, be all honor & glory for ever & ever, Amen.

> After which you shall reade the Coniuration following, with good Courage & Confidence.[32]

O yee Spirits **Theltrion**, **Sperion**, **Mayerion** & **Boytheon**, whose names are here written, I exorcise, Conjure, binde, command, & constraine you, by the most holy, true, just, powerfull, Mercifull, omnipotent & ever living God, & by his great excellent, efficatious & ineffable name Jehovah, wherein the Patriarchs & Prophets have called upon him, & he hath helped them & made appeare the arme & power of his strength into them admirable, even beyond all humaine expectation, And in the name & by the Glory & dignity, of our Lord & Saviour Jhesus Christ, who sitteth at the right hand of the Father, making intercession for us whose Saints we are, & through whose goodness & mercy hath authority & comand over all Spirits, both Aireiall, Terrestriall, & Infernall. Wherefore know all you Spirits [19r] Theltrion in the East, Sperion in the West,

[30] MS. *Boyetheon*.
[31] MS. *Urienus*.
[32] The Latin conjuration in the V.b. 26 version of this process has a lot of the same citations, but is shorter.

Mayerion in the North & Boytheon in the South, That I potently and strongly command & conjure you, in & by all the holy Names of God, & of our lord Jhseus Christ, **El**, **Ya**, **Saday**, **Elohim**, **Escherie**, **Agla**, **On**, **Tetragrammaton**, **Sabaoth**, **Adonay**, **Elion**, **Elyezer**, **Anaisapta**, **Messias**, **Sother**, **Emanuell**, **Alpha** & **Omega**, and by all the other names & Attributes, that are, or can be said of God, & of our Lord Jhesus Christ, and by the most ineffable, Cœlestiall and unspeakable vertues thereof, And by all the Prophets, Patriarchs, Disciples, Apostles, Saints, Martyrs, Inocents & Elect of God, And by the 4 Evangelists, Saints Mathew, Mark, Luke & John, & by their vertues & powers, And by the Angells, Archangells, Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, Potestates, Vertues, Cherubim & Seraphim, & by all the Orders of them, & by their vertues & powers, & by Heaven & by Earth, by the ☉ & by the ☽ & Stars & by the Cristall Sea, & by all their Vertues & powers I call upon you that you give audience & attendance to this my potent & powerfull Coniuration & Call, And give obedience to my Comand & to the words of my mouth, & that you doe fully & effectually performe & fulfil my will & desire, in all these things which I shall request & demand of you, without hurt or damage, to me or any that appertaineth to me, either bodily or ghostly. Also I coniure you by your Kings whoe you are bound to obey, & by the Chaines of Solomon, & by your Seals & Characters, firmely binding, & virtues & powers thereof,[33] And by the vertues & powers of all Cœlestiall, [19v] Terrestriall & Infernall Creatues, I doe further & againe Exoricse, Adjure, command, binde & constraine you Spirits, **Theltrion**, **Sperion**, **Mayerion** & **Boytheon**, by the virtue & power of this potent, strong & efficatious Conjuration aforesaid and by all the royall words & sentences therein contained, that wheresoever you be, either in fire or water, Aire or Earth, or being bound to any one, you forthwith give your present attendance, hereunto, willingly, peaceably & without any fraud, hinderance or tarrying, & come from all parts & places both remote & adjacent, & hearken unto my charge & request, which I shall straitly & stricktly charge & command all yee Spirits **Theltrion** in the East, **Sperion** in the West, **Mayerion** in the North & **Boytheon** in the South, the yee go into the place where [*heere you are to make knowne your will & desire & what you would have effected*] and that you enforce them, & let them take no rest, day nor night, sleeping or waking, standing nor going, working nor playing, at home nor abroad, nor in any place or action whatsoever, neither in riding, running, nor sitting still, but that they may be continually tormented or troubled in their witte, Limbs, sinews & bones, And that you be continually crimping & creeping upon them & about them, until he doe ‡‡ & let every thing herein conteyned be by you, or some one of you, joyntly & severally ratified, confirmed & performed, according as it is here written on this plate of Lead, the which I bury in a place, & so leave it, as my charge & demand, signifying what I would you should doe for me, it being a iust and true matter, & which I charge and

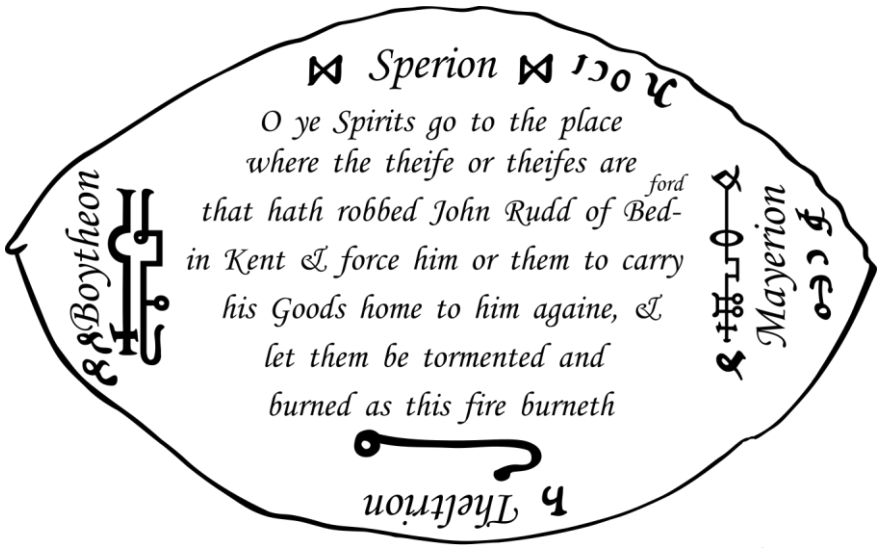
[33] "and by the virtues & powers thereof" repeated, then crossed out.

[20r] constraine you to doe forthwith at my putting this plate of Leade into the Earth, & every one of your Names & Seales or Characters, joyntly & severally here annexed, the which you are bound to obey, Wherefore prepare yee & fulfil all these things as I have here commanded you, & written on this Plate of Lead, & effectually performe them by signes & testimonies, as you will answer the contrary to him, who shall come to iudge the quick & the dead & the world by Fire, & so the peace of God by between you & us, in the name of the Father, Son & holy Ghost Amen.

Then bury the Plate in the Earth, putting every Spirit in his place or quarter, the great Plate in the middle, & each little plate on each quarter thereof, according to his respective name & place, & you shall cover them close from Sun & Winde, & the worke will not faile, for within a short or convenient space after, your desires wilbe effected. *Probatum est.*[34]

A Constraint for a Theife or Theives,

belonging to these five Plates before mentioned; that if he will not bring the Goods or or Theefe to the Owner, &c.



The Plate of Lead.[35]

[34] *Lat.*, "[it] is proved."

[35] The use of inscribed lead curse tablets (called *defixiones*) has precedents going back into classical antiquity. A collection of such tablets specifically aimed at recovering stolen goods, dated 2nd–4th cent. c.e., were discovered ca. 1980 in the temple of Sul-Minerva in Bath.

Since the figure of the plate was plausibly copied from a MS. with the text & rubric of the spell rather than from an actual inscribed tablet, it is unclear whether "John Rudd" was the name of the scribe or redactor, an actual client for whom such a plate had been made by a cunning-man, or a name selected or made up for the sake of an example. A "J. Rudd" was reportedly one of the group who in the 1670s / 80s met to attempt to contact certain Angels mentioned in *T&FR*, whose records are extant as BL Sloane MSS. 3624-28, and was possibly the original of the "Dr. Rudd" to whom certain MS. works on magic and related subjects in the Harleian collection (BL Harley MSS. 6479-86, internally dated 1712-14) were attributed by their scribe.

You must make a Plate of Lead in an Ovall forme, & fit it for a Box, & the Box must be black within & without, & you must write on the Plate as you see in this figure, then draw the picture of a* naked man on parchment, & make it big enough to writeon the brest & belly, Theife or Theives; Come to this place:

[[*T]]his must be pasted on the back side of
[[t]]he Plate you write the names of the Goods on.[36]

[20v] O all ye Spirits **Theltrion**, **Sperion**, **Boytheon** & **Myerion**, & inforce the Theife or Theives wheresoever they be, that hath robbed or stolen such things or goods from (**N**) in such a place.

Then say as followeth:

Almighty God, as thou knowest this is sinn, & contrary to thy Laws & commandments, grant what I heer shall desire.

Thou Theif or Theives, whatsoever & whosoever thou or you be, that have stolen those things or lynin, or whatsoever it be, from (**N**) in such a place, at such a tyme; contrary to the Comandments of the Almighty God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whatsoever thou be, I charge you Spirits **Theltrion**, **Sperion**, **Mayerion** & **Boytheon**[37] ruling in the 4 quartrs of the world, to inforce the Theife or Theives within an howre to retourne with the Goods, or confess the same, that he or they may be forgiven, if they be past having, or else until they have so done, I commit all you 4 Spirits, by the name of Jesus Christ, into the hands of those Spirits infernall of the worst sort that may be, to be tormented, And I command you & all of you & every one of you, **Lucifer**, **Belzebub**, **Sathan**, & **Danciation**[38] to torment them & I doe by & with the leave of God, charge & also Coniure you by God the Father, & God the Son, & by God the Holy Ghost, And by all that ever God made in Heaven & in the Earth, & by his Passion by his Resurection, & by his Ascention, that ye 4 Spirits **Theltrion** in the East, **Sperion** in the West, **Mayerion** in the South & **Boytheon** in the North, That yee fully goe to posses & torment thefe Theives until they retourne with the Goods to (**N**) in such a place, if they have them not to confess the same, or else againe I will comit you to **Lucifer**, **Belzebub**, **Sathan** & **Danciation**, & by them to be burned with fire & brimstone & never to rest, waking nor sleeping, eating nor drinking, nor walking, but be continually in most Extreame and [21r] intolerable tormente, until you doe presently & forthwith, cause the Theife or Theives to retourne with the Goods, or to confes the same openly, the stolen things aforesaid & intended, and if you doe not fulfil my will & desire, that you may

[36] Note in margin, start of lines obscured in gutter.
[37] MS. *Boyetheon*, but it's otherwise spelt fairly consistently.
[38] Elsewhere spelt *Dansiation*.

alwaise abide in the infernall Spirits hand, to be tormented continually vehemently & unspeakably, & that you burne both in body & minde, even as doe these your names & characters in this materiall fire of Brimstone & other stinking things, in such a restless & tormenting manner as is aforesaid, until you have causes the Theife or Theives, either to returne the things, or to acknowledge the Theft. (*then Cross the Fire & say*) and that in the name + of the + Father + & of the + Son + & of the + Holy Ghost + Amen + Amen + Amen +

Then say; let God arise, & his Enimies shalbe scattered. Then say the Creed, & pray thus, Lord have mercy upon us, & grant us the knowledge of these things, for our only Redeemers sake sweete Jesus + Christ + Amen + Amen + Amen +

> Note that you must waite the houre you assign (or to the end of the time you assign for the retourne, if it be halfe a day) & then retourning again towards the expiration thereof say over the last prayer, & towards the end thereof these words [and that you burne both in body & minde as do these names &c.] then if the Goods be not brought back &c, burne the Box and strew the Ashes between the Plate, & so bury them.

The order of placing the Plates of Lead, at the tyme when you bury them.

First, lay downe in the Earth, that Plate whereon the Names of the Goods &c. are written, & let the naked man be placed next to the Earth.

Note that the 4 little plates conteyning the names of the 4 Byshops, being cut off from the large square plate) must be placed upon the extremity of the 4 sides of the written plate to face the 4 Byshops, Theltryon &c.

Then lay the face of the Ovall engraved Platein the back of the great engraved plate, & so bury them.

Materialle to fill the Box with

First fill the Box with Brimstone & Assafettida[39] beaten small & then take bitts of parchment, bits of leather, & feathers, or other stinking matter,[40] & lay them towards the Top of the Box, with the Seale drawn upon Velome also, and winde it about with wyer, to keepe it close, let the wyers have a loop on the top, wherein to put the point of a Sword, by which it must be held up, over a fire of Eglantine, & so let it burne & consume.

[39] "& Assafettida" (Assafœtida) written *sup. lin.*
[40] "or other stinking matter" written *sup. lin.*

The Consecrations & Benedictions:

[The following section combines conjurations and rubric from the *Heptameron seu elementa magica* with the conjurations and rubric of the *Ars Goëtia*, the first book of the *Lemegeton* (which in turn partly derived from the former).]

And first of the Benediction of the Circle.

[22r] When the Circle is rightly perfected, sprinkle the same, with Holy or Purging Water, and say, Thou shalt purge me with Hysopp, O Lord, & I shall be cleane, thou shalt wash me & I shalbe whiter then Snow.

The Benediction of Perfumes.

The God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Iacob, Bless here the Creatures of these kindes, that they may fill up the power & vertue of their Odours, so that neither the Enimye nor any false Imagination, may be able to enter into them, through our Lord Jesus Christ Amen.[41]

The Exorcisme of Fire, upon which the Perfumes are to be put.

The Fire which is to be used for Fumigations, is to be in a new vessell of Copper[42] or Iron, & let it be exorcised after this manner, *I exorcise thee O thou Creature of Fire, by him by whome all things are made; That forthwith thou cast away every Fantasme from thee; that it shall not be able to doe any hurt in any thing; but bless O Lord this Creature of Fire & sanctifie it, that it may be blessed, to set forth the praise of thy holy Name, that noe hurt may come to the Exorcisers or Spectators though our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.*[43]

Of the Garment and Pentacle.

Let is be a priests Garment, if it can be; but if it cannot be had, let it be of Lynin & cleane.

[22v] Then take this pentacle[44] made in the day & houre of Mercury (the Moon increasing) written in parchment of kidskin, but first let there be said over it, the Mass of the Holy Ghost, and let it be sprinkled with water of Baptisme.

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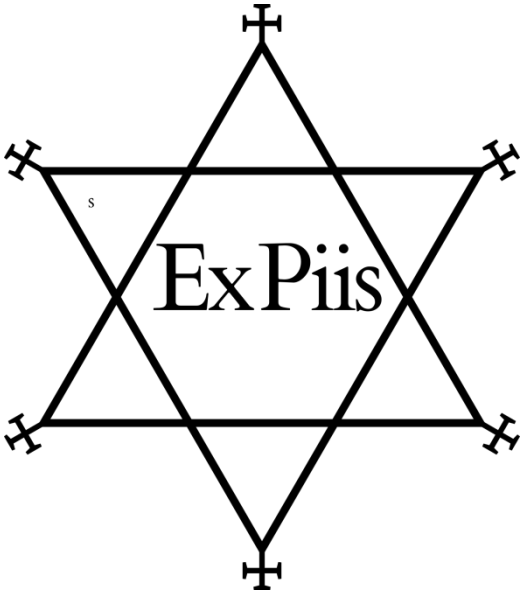
[41] This and the preceding, including titles, are verbatim (barring variations in spelling) from Robert Turner's translation of the *Heptameron* of pseudo-Abano. An instruction for the perfumes to be sprinkled with holy water followed in the original.

[42] Turner reads "of earth or iron" (*fictili seu Terreo* in the Latin).

[43] Near-verbatim from T1665.

[44] The lettering inside the hexagram has been garbled, and characters that originally appeared outside it (including the letters of AGLA) completely omitted. In the printed *Heptameron*, it appears as a glyph resembling a somewhat angular lower case roman t, rotated 45° clockwise, followed by xp̃us, a scribal abbreviation for *Christus* (χριστος).



An Oration to be said, when the Vesture is put on.

Ancor Amacor Amades Theodonias Anitor. By the merits of the Angells[45] O Lord, I will put on this Gar[[ment]] of Salvation, that this which I desire I may bring to effect, though the most holy **Adonay**, whose Kingdome endur[[eth]] for ever & ever. **Amen.**[46]

When you would begin to work any great Experiment,[47] Let the Moone be increasing and equall & not Combuste. The Magicall Operator or Sophy Master of the Art, ought [[to]] be cleane & purified by the space of nyne daies before the beginning of the worke. And to confess & acknowledge his sins to God,[48] and let him have ready, the perfume appropriated to the day wherein he would performe the [23r] worke. He must also have Water of Baptisme, & a new Copper Vessel with Fire, a Vesture & Pentacle, And let all these things be rightly & duly consecrated & prepared. Let one of the Company[49] carry the Copper Vessel full of Fire & the Perfumes, And lat another beare the Booke, another the Garment & Pentacle, and let the Master carry the Sword, over which there must be said an Homony of the holy Ghost,[50] and on the midle of the Sword let there be written this name **Agla ‡**, and on the other side thereof the Name **†On†**. And as he goeth to the consecrated place, let him continually praise God, the Company answering.[51] And when he cometh to the place where he would enter the Circle with gravity and sound

[45] T1655 has "of thy Angel"; T1665, "of the Angels" (the Latin has *Angelorum tuorum sanctorum*).

[46] Some text is lost in the gutter; however as this passage is otherwise word-for-word identical to T1665, I am confident it has been correctly restored.

[47] This connecting phrase is an interpolation, and replaces the heading *Of the Manner of working* (*De modo operationis*) in the *Heptameron*.

[48] Turner: "[…] and to be confessed, and receive the holy Communion."

[49] Turner refers to the Companions of Art (*discipuli*) as "servants."

[50] Turner: "[…] over which there must be said one Mass of the Holy Ghost"

[51] Turner: "let him continually read Letanies, the servants answering."

Judgement, Let him begin his Action being clothed with pure Garments and fumigated with Pentacles, perfume and all things necessary hereunto, let him enter the Circle and call the Angells from the foure parts of the World that rule the Aire, the same day wherein he doth worke or Experiment, having implored especially all the Names & Spirits, say as followeth:[52]

O all you Spirits whome I have invoked, moved, and called upon, I conjure & command you all by the name **Adon per Hagios**, **Otheos**, **Ischyros Athanatos**, **Paracletos**, **Alpha & Omega**, and by these sacred names **Agla**, **On**, **Tetragrammaton**, grant and fulfil my desires.[53]

Thus far being performed proceede to the Coniuration and Invocation for the day of your Action,[54] but if [23r] they be pertinatious and refactory & will not yield themselves obedient, neither to the Conjuration assigned to the day nor to the Prayers before made, then use the Invocation following.[55]

Wee being made after the Image of God, endued with power from God, & made after his Will, doe Exorcise you by the most mighty & powerfull name of God **El**, strong and wonderfull, O you Spirit **Vassago** or **Usago**,[56] wee command you by him who said the word & it was done and by all the Names of God, & by the name **Adonay, E[[l]]**, Elohim, **Eloe**, **Zebaoth**, **Elion**, **Escerchie**, **Iah**, **Tetragrammaton Sadai**, Lord God most high, We Exorcise you & powerfully comand you forthwith to appear unto us here before this Circle in a faire humaine shape without any deformity or tortuosity; come yee a[[ll]] such, because wee command you, by the Name **Y** and **V**, which **Adam** heard & spake, and by

[52] This rubric is paraphrased rather than verbatim from Turner; and there are notable omissions, such as the instruction to sprinkle the Circle while saying the *asperges* and the stipulation of three days of "fasting, chastity, and abstinency from all luxury" prior to the work. This along with some of the changes noted above form part of an ongoing process of removing references to Roman Catholic doctrine and ritual in English works on magic. In a passage copied from the *Heptameron* added to an early 18th-century version of the *Ars Goëtia* (BL Harley MS. 6483), for instance, the copyist, while retaining the reference to a Mass being said over the Pentacle & having it sprinkled with holy water, commented "This was the practice in times of popery but Dr. Rud [the supposed scribe of the copyist's source text] omitted it, saying no masse, nor using any holy water." Basically, if you were outside the demographic (*i.e.*, peasant women) most at risk from witchcraft charges, being suspected of Roman Catholic sympathies was significantly more dangerous in 17th-century England than being suspected of practising magic.

[53] This was left untranslated in both T1655 and T1665.

[54] The conjurations for the seven days of the week were not part of the material copied by Ashmole into this notebook: versions can, however, be found in "The Magic and Magical Elements &c. &c. &c." which is at least partly in Ashmole's hand and was later bound up with this book.

[55] This passage of rubric is again paraphrased slightly from Turner rather than verbatim. Turner refers to the following speeches as "Conjurations and Exorcisms" (*Coniurationibus & exorcismis* in the Latin).

[56] Turner, following the Latin, has rather a parenthetical instruction, "here he shall name the Spirits he would have appear, of what Order soever they be." **Vassago** is cited in the treasure-hunting process above, and the subject of an "experiment" in one of the other MSS. that were bound up with "Longobardus"; the forms **Vsagoo** and **Vzago** appears in the "Offices of the Spirits" section of V.b. 26 (pp. 79, 84).

the name of God **Agla**, which **Lott** heard[57] which Iacob heard from the Angel wrestling with him, & was delivered from the hand of his Brother **Esau**, and by the Name **Anephexeton** which **Aron** heard and spake and was made wise; and by the Name **Zebaoth** which **Moses** named, and all the Rivers and waters in the Land of Egypt were turned into Blood, and by the Name **Escerchie Oriston**,[58] which Moses named & all the Rivers brought forth Froggs, and they Ascended into the houses of the Egyptians, destroying all things, and by the Name **Elion** which **Moses** named [24r] and there was great Hayle, such as hath not been seene since the beginning of the World, and by the name **Adonay**, which **Moses** named, and there came up Locusts which appeared upon the whole Land of Egipt, and devoured all which the Haile had left, and by the name **Schemes Amathia**, which **Ioshua** called upon, & the Sun staid his course, and by the Name **Alpha** and **Omega**, which **Daniel** named and destroyed Bell & slew the dragon, and in the name **Emanuel**, which the three Children, **Shradrach**, **Mesach**, & **Abednego** sang in the midest of the fiery Furnace and were delivered, and by the Name **Hagios** & by the Seale of Adonay,[59] & by ὁ θεος,[60] **Ischyros**, **Athanatos**, **Paracletos**, and by these three secret names Agla, On, **Tetragrammaton**, wee doe adjure & contest you, And by these names, & by all other Names of the Living and true God, & by our Lord Almighty we Exorcise and command you by him that spake the word & it was done; to whome all Creatures are obedient, and by the dreadfull judgment of God, by the uncertain Sea of Glass, which is before the face of the Divine Majesty, mighty and powerfull, by the foure footed Beasts before the Throne, having Eyes before & behind, & by the Fire round about his Throne, & by the holy Angells of Heaven, by the might Wisdome of God, we doe powerfully Exorcise you, that you appeare here before this Circle, & fulfil our wishes in all things, which shall seem good unto us; by the Seale[61] of Baldachia, and by his Name **Prima Vmaton**,[62] which **Moses** named, & the Earth [24v] opened & swallowed up Corah, Dathan & Abyran, and in the power of that Name **Prima Umaton,** ⟦…⟧[63] commandeth the whole Host of Heaven; Wee Curse you, ⟦we⟧

[57] At this point the words "and was saved with his Family; and by the name *Joth*" appear in T1665; they were probably omitted by copyist eye-skip.

[58] Thus in MS. T1655 & T1665 misprinted the name as *Ecerchie Oriston*, both in the Latin and English. The scribe possibly had access to a Latin copy, or another text in which the name appeared, and altered it accordingly.

[59] "by the Seale of Adonay" was an error (possibly due to a misreading by the typesetter or Turner omitting to cross a 't') in T1665; the Latin has *sedem Adonay*.

[60] *Ho theos*, "God." In the MS., the terminal –ος was represented by a now-obsolete ligature. While this word is indeed Greek (as are the three names following), in all the Latin versions of the *Heptameron*, and in T1655, where the "Exorcisme of the Spirits of the Air" was left untranslated, it was printed in Roman script; only in the translated conjuration in T1665 was it printed in Greek letters.

[61] *sedem* ("seat") in the Latin again.

[62] Also appears as **Pneumaton** (Clm 849) or **Primeumaton** (the Vadian *Lucidarium* and the printed *Heptameron*).

[63] Word lost in gutter, probably "which"; T1665 phrases this clause slightly differently, "that name *Primeumaton*, commanding the whole Host of Heaven."

deprive you from all your Office, Joy & Place, & do bind you in the depth of the bottomless pitt, there to rema[[in]] until the day of Judgment; & we binde yee into eternall Fire, and into the Lake of Fire & Brimston, unless you forthwith appeare heare before this Circle [[and]] doe our Will; therefore come you by these Names: **Adonay Zebaoth**, **Adonay Amioram** come yee, come yee, **Adonay** comandeth you, **Saday**, the King of Kings command you, **EL: Aty: Titeip: Azia: Hin: Ien: Minosel: Achadan: Vay: Vaah: Ey: Haa: Eye: Exe: a: El: El: El: a: Hy: Hau: Hau: Hau: va: va: va: va;**[64]

If they doe not come at the rehearsing of these two[65] forgoing Coniurations (but without doubt they wi[[ll),]] say on as followeth, it being a Constraint.

[25r] **Wee Coniure thee Spiritt N**: by all the most glorious & efficatious Names, of the most great and incomprehensible Lord God of Hosts, that you come quickly without delay, from all parts & places of the world, to make rationall answers of my Demands. And that visibly & affably, speaking with a Voice, Intelligible to our Understanding (as aforesaid) we enjoyne constraine you Spirit **N**: by all aforesaid and by the Seaven Names, which wise Solomon bound Thee and the Fellowes in a Vessell of Brass, **Adonai**, **Prerari**, **Tetragrammaton**, **Inessanfatall**, **Anephexeton**, **Pathatumon & Itemon**, that you appeare here before this Circle; to fulfil our Wills in all things that shall seeme good unto us, And if you be disobedient, & refuse to come, Wee will in the Power, & by the power of the Name of the Superiour & everlasting Lord God, who created both you & us, & all the whole World in six daies, & what is conteyned in it, **Eye Saray**, And by the power of this Name, **PrimaVmaton**, which commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, Curse you, & deprive you from all your Office, Joy, & Place, & binde you in the depth of the bottomless Pitt, there to remaine unto the day of the last Judgment & will binde you into Eternall Fire, & into the Lake of Fire & Brimstone unless you come forthwith & appeare here before this Circle to doe our Will, Therefore come you, in & by these holy names **Adonay Zebaoth**,[66] **Adonay Amioram**, come you, **Adonay** commandeth you.[67]

[64] Barring vagaries of spelling, capitalisation and punctuation, and the variations noted, this is verbatim from the translation of the exorcism of the Aërial Spirits in T1665 (which omitted some citations from the Latin). At this point, *Longobardus* breaks away from the *Heptameron* rubric, which continued with a prayer to be said to the four quarters, and instead closely parallels the *Ars Goëtia* (see, *e.g.*, S5 fol. 114v *sqq.*). Indeed, the parallels in the two sections to those two respective works are so close that it is far more likely that the present text was crudely nailed together from the 1665 English *Heptameron* and the *Ars Goëtia*, and therefore post-dates the latter rather than being a prototype for it (which latter was my initial suspicion).

[65] "Two forgoing conjurations" only makes sense if the first is taken to refer to the conjuration of the day, not given here. In the *Ars Goëtia*, the conjurations of the days of the week have dropped out of the system, and a modified version of the "Beralanensis" conjuration from the *Heptameron* was placed before the "Exorcism of the Spirts of the Air"; the bulk of the latter, with a new opening and ending, and omitting everything after "Corah, Dathan & Abyran" (some of which was shunted into a later part of the ritual) became the "Second Conjuration."

[66] "Adonay Zeboath" in MS.

[25v] If you come soe farr, & he yet doe not appeare, you may be sure he is sent to some other place by his King, & cannot come; and if he be soe, Invoke the King as followeth to send him; but if he doe not come still, then you may be sure he is bound in Chains in Hell, & he is not in the Custody of his King, & if you have a desire to call him from thence, you must rehearse the Spirts Chaine,[68] &c.

For to Invocate the King as followeth.

O you great mighty & powerfull King **Amayon**,[69] who beares rule by the power of the superior God **El**, over all Spirits both Superiour & Inferiour of the infernall Order, in the Dominion of the East,[70] we invocate & command you, by the espeicall & truest names or your God, and by God that you worship & obey, & by the Seale of your Creation, & by the most mighty and powerfull name of your God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, who cast you out of Heaven, with all other of the infernall spirits, & by all the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven & Earth & Hell, & all things conteyned in them, & by their powers & vertues, & by the name **PrimaUmaton**, who commandseth

[67] From "And by the power of this Name, *PrimaVmaton*," this is repeated from the exorcism of the Aërial Spirits: this section is not in the Second Conjuration of the *Ars Goëtia*, the bulk of which is based on Turner's translation of the "Exorcism."

[68] The "Spirits' Chain" (*Vinculum spirituum*; also appears as the *Vinculum Salomonis*) is mentioned as a magical text in MS. by Trithemius in *Antipalus Maleficorum* (1508). Two texts with this title and the incipit given by Trithemius, or something very similar, are extant in 15th-century MSS. in the Bayern Staatsbibliothek at Munich, Clm 849 (the "Munich Manual of Necromancy") and Clm 10085 (ostensibly a manual of exorcism). It appears to have been a floating text that was cited by, or incorporated into, various Solomonic magical works. While extant examplars have much variation, they have a similar structure and the main text typically begins *per potentissimum et corroboratum nomen dei El, fortem et admirabilem*, going on to conjure / command / constrain the dæmon by a long chain of names of God which characters in the Hebrew legends are said to have heard and / or spoken and thereby been saved, made wise, or wrought various wonders.

Later versions can be found in a 16th-century Key of Solomon version in Sloane MS. 3847 (fol. 13v–15v) and the pseudo-Abano *Lucidarium artis magicæ* (e.g. St. Gallen, Kantonsbibliotek: Vad Slg Ms. 334, p. 12–13); it is, in fact, an ancestor of the *Heptameron*'s "Exorcismus Spirituum Aërorum" and thus of the Second Conjuration of the *Ars Goëtia*. In other words, if you get to this point, *you have already rehearsed the Spirits' Chain*. Since that title was not attached to the exorcism in the *Lucidarium* or *Heptameron*, and since the entries for Byleth and Belial in the *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum* (the main source for the spirit catalogue of the *Goëtia*) mentioned it, the compiler of the *Goëtia* assembled the text following under that title to fit the reference. This is entirely in keeping with their habits: the *Pauline Art* of the *Lemegeton* bears no relation other than the name to the older work of that title mentioned by Agrippa, and the name "Lemegeton" itself derives from a reference in the *Ars Notoria* to a "treatise of secret and spiritual experiments" by Solomon.

[69] Or *Oriens*, *Paymon*, *Egin*, as appropriate. Possibly. While some of the texts bound up in S4 name the Kings of the quarters thus, the *Ars Goëtia*, deriving from Wier's *Pseudomonarchia Dæmonum*, has them as *Amaymon* (E.), *Corson* (W.), *Ziminiar* (N.) & *Goap* (S.) (S5, fol. 111r). With a few exceptions, the list of spirits does not specify to which quarter they are referred, or to which King they are subject. Some spirit catalogues (e.g. V.b. 26. pp. 81–2), do give this information, but have a limited overlap with the *Ars Goëtia* in terms of which spirits they list. Wier deliberately redacted material from his source, a *Liber Officiorum Spirituum* manuscript, when he published it, hoping to make the whole thing unusable; the subsequent popularity of the *Ars Goëtia* suggests he failed in this goal.

[70] Or other quarter as appropriate.

the whole Host of Heaven, That you cause, enforce and compel **N**: to come unto us here before this Circle, in a faire & comly forme, without doing any harme unto us, or any other Creatures, and to answer truly & faithfully to all our Requests, that wee may [26r] accomplish our wills & desires, in knowing or obeying any matter or thing, which by Office you know is proper for him to performe or accomplish, through the power of God **El**,who created & disposeth of all things both Celestiall, Aieriall, Terrestriall & Infernal.

After you have invoked the King in this manner twice or thrice over, Then Conjure the Spirit you would call forth, by the aforesaid Coniurations, rehearsing them severall tymes together, & he will come without doubt, if not at first or second tyme rehearsing, but if he doe not come, add the Spirits Chaine, to the end of the aforesaid Coniurations, & he wilbe forced to come, if he be bound in Chaines, for the Chaines will break off from him, & he will be at Liberty &c.

The generall Curse called the Spiritts Chaine, against all Spiritts that Rebell.

O thou wicked & disobedient Spirit, because thou has rebelled, & not obeyed and regarded our words, which we have rehearsed, they being all most glorious & incomprehensible names of the true God, maker and creator of you & us, & all the World. Wee by the power of those Names, which noe Creature is able to resist, doe Curse you, into the depth of the Botomless Pitt, & there to remaine unto the day of doome, in Chaines of fire & brimstone unquenchable, unless you forthwith appeare here before this Circle [or within this Δ Triangle] [26v] to doe our Wills. Therefore come peaceably & quickly in & by these Names, **Adonay Zebaoth**, **Adony Amioram**, come, come you, **Adonay** commandeth you.

When you have read soe far, & he does not come, Then write his Name & Seale in Virgin parchment and put it into a black Box, with Brimstone, Assafœtida & such like things that have a stinking strong smell, & bynde the Box round with a Wyre, & hang it on your sword point, & hold it over the Fire of Charcoales, & say to the Fire (it being placed toward that Quarter the Spirit is to come),

Wee Conjure you Fire, by him that made thee & all other good Creatures in the World, that thou torment, burne & consume this Spirit **N.** everlastingly. Wee condemne thee thou Spirit **N.** into Fire everlasting, because thou art disobedient and obeyed not the commands, nor kept the Precepts of the Lord thy God, neither wilt thou appeare to, or obey us, nor our Invocations, having thereby called you forth, who are the Servante of thee most high & imperiall Lord of Hosts **Iehovha**, and dignified & fortified, by his Cœlestiall power and permission, neither comest thou to answer to these our proposals

here made unto you, for which your aversness & contempt, you are guilty of grand disobedience & Rebellion, And therefore wee shall [27r] Excomunicate you, & destroy thy Name & Seale, which wee have here incdorsed in this Box, & shall burne them in immortall fire, & bury them in immortal Oblivion, unless thou imediately come & appeare visibly, affably, friendly & courteously heer unto us, before this Circle in this Δ Triangle, in a faire and comly forme, & in no wise horrible, hurtfull or firghtfull to us, or any other creature upon the face of the Earth: and make rationall Answers to our Requestes, & perform all our desires in all things, that wee shall make unto you, &c.

If he come not yet, say as followeth.

Now O thou Spirit **N.** since thou art still pertinacious & disobedient, & will not appeare unto us to answer such things, as we should have desired of you, or would have been satisfied in &c: Wee doe in the Name, & by the power & dignity of the Omnipotent Immortall Lord God of Hosts **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, the only Creator of Heaven & Earth & Hell, & all that in them is, who is the marvellous disposer of all things, both visible and invisible, Wee Curse you & deprive you, from all your Office, Joy & Place, & do binde you in the depth of the bottomless Pitt, & there to remaine until the day of the last Judgment, Wee say into the Lake of Fire & Brimstone, which is prepaired for all rebellious, disobenient, Obstinate & pertinacious Spirits, [27v] Let all the Holy Company of Heaven Curse you, the Sun, Moone & Stars, the Light, & all the Hosts of Heaven Curse Thee, Wee Curse thee, into the fire unquenchable & Tormente unspeakable, & as thy Name & Seale is conteyned in this Box, chained & bound up, & shalbe choaked in Sulphurious & stinking Substance, & burn in the materiall Fire, so in the name **Iehovah**, by the power & dignity of these three names Tetragrammaton, Anepheeton & PrimaUmaton, [[we]] cast thee, O thou disobedient Spirit **N.** into that Lake of Fire, which is prepared for the damned and cursed Spirits, and there to remaine to the day of doome, and never more to be remembered of, before the face of God, which shall come to Judge the Quick & the dead and the World by Fire.

Heere the Exorcist must put the Box into the Fire.

And by and by he will come, but as soone as he is come, quench the Fire that the Box is in, & make a sweete perfume, & give him a kinde entertainment, shewing him the Pentalce, what is at the bottom of your Vesture, covered with a lynnin cloth, saying,

Behold the Conclusion if you be Disobedient. Behold the Pentacle of Solomon, which we have brought here before thy presence, Behold the person of the Exorcist who is called **Octinom[[os]]**, [28r] in the midest of the Exorcisme, who is armed by God & without feare, who potently Invocated you, & cal'd you to Appearance, Therefore make rationall Answers to our demands, & be obedient to us your Masters, In the Name of the Lord, **Bathat** rushing upon **Abrac**, **Abeor** coming upon **Abarer**.

Then they or he wilbe Obedient, & bid you aske what you will, for they are subjected by God to fulfil our desires & demands, And when they or he, have appeared & shewes himself humble & meeke, then you are to say as followeth:

Welcome O you Spirit or Spirits, or most Noble King or Kings, we say you are welcome unto us, because we called you, through him who created both Heaven Earth & Hell, & all that is conteyned in them, & you have obeyed also by the same power that we called you forth. Wee binde you that you remaine affably & visibly here before this Circle (*or* before this Circle in this Δ Triangle),[71] for constant & so long as we have occasion for you, & not to depart without our Lycence, until you have faithfully & trily performed our Wills, without any falsity, &c.

The Lycence to Depart.

O thou Spirit **N.**, because thou hast very diligently [28v] answered our demands, & was very willing to come at our first Call, Wee doe here Lycence thee to depart unto thy proper place, without doing any harme, injury or danger to Man or Beast (depart we say) & be ever ready to come at our Call, being Exorcized and Conjured, by the sacred rights of Magick, Wee charge thee to depart peaceably & quietly, And the Peace of God be ever continued between us & thee. A⟦men.⟧

After thou hast given the Spirit Lycence to depart you are not to goe out of the Circle, till they be gone, and you have made prayers to God, for the grea⟦t⟧ Blessing he hath bestowed upon you in granting you your desires, & delivering you from all the malice of the Enimy the Devill.

Therefore thou shalt pray thus,[72]

O Lord God of heaven & Earth, Creator & Maker of all things visible & invisible, Wee thy most humble servants doe returne thee humble & heart thanks, for thy fatherly goodness & mercies, in granting these our desires, which through thy permission, we have now obteyned & received, Binde, O Lord those things, which though hast taught us to obteyne, in our Understandings, that we may bring them forth as out of thy inexhaustible Treasures to all necessary uses, & give us grace, that we may [29r] use such thy guifts & mercies humbly with feare & trembling, to thyne honor & praise, & to our owne comforte here on Earth, through our Lord, Jesus Christ. *Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spirituo Sancto: Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper, et in sæculo sæculorum Amen.*[73]

[29v blank]

[71] The closing bracket was after "or before this Circle" in the MS., which made no sense.

[72] This prayer is not included in the BL MSS. of the *Ars Goëtia*.

[73] *Lat.*, "Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, as was in the beginning and now and always to ages of ages, Amen."

Elias Ashmole's notes on Janua Magica Reserata

The following notes and transcriptions, like the preceding 27 leaves, are in the hand of Elias Ashmole. They refer to a magical treatise titled *Janua Magica Reserata*.[74]

The *Janua* is a 17th-century work on angel magic (probably ca. 1660[75]) of unknown authorship. It contains conjurations for the nine orders of angels of pseudo-Dionysius (Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, &c.) to appear in a "Crystal Stone or Glass Receptacle," with a theoretical preface drawing heavily on Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*.[76] The most complete copy known now forms the first half or so (fol. 3-96) of Sloane MS. 3825, and was for a time in the possession of Elias Ashmole. Based on that copy, and on a comparison with another copy to which he had access, apparently lacking the conjurations but with the theoretical section expanded and slightly rearranged, Ashmole made the notes and copies here transcribed.

Other materials which survive in Sloane MSS. 3821 and 3825 (which, like 3824, were in the Sommers and Jekyll collections prior to being acquired by Sloane, and before that had passed through the hands of Ashmole) are in similar style, and likely of common authorship, to the *Janua*. These include "The Practice of the Tables," or *Clavicula Tabularum Enochi*,[77] the "Operations of the Angles of the Air,"[78] "Celestial Confirmations of Terrestrial Observations"[79] and "A Select Treatise at it was first discovered to the Egyptian Magi";[80] together they form an extensive magical system mostly based around evocation to crystal, involving the Angels of John Dee's "Tables of Enoch," the planetary Intelligences, and the Demon Kings of the quarters.[81]

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[74] *Lat*. "The Magical Gate Unlocked." Typeset in Stephen Skinner & David Rankine (ed.), *Keys to the Gateway of Magic*, Singapore: Golden Hoard Press, 2005.

[75] Some references in the following suggest it was compiled during, or shortly after, the "Commonwealth" period of English history (1649-1660). The use of printed sources makes a date before 1659 extremely unlikely.

[76] There are far more borrowings than those noted by Ashmole here, and the compiler demonstrably used the 1651 printed English translation rather than independently translating from an earlier Latin edition. Other identifiable sources include *T&FR* and *Arbatel de magia veterum* (*Arbatel of Magick*).

[77] S1 fol. 2-157. Another copy, probably earlier & certainly more complete, is in Sloane MS. 307. The work is untitled in S1; "The Practice of the Tables" is how Hans Sloane's librarian designated it in the contents list, based on some internal section titles, and it is unclear whether the title *Clavicula Tabularum Enochi* in Sloane 307 refers simply to the table of letter-squares at the start of the work, or the treatise as a whole.

[78] S1 fol. 158-165, 178-187. There is no overall title in MS., it comprises four sections titled "Operations of the East Angle of the Aire by invocation to the Regal Spirit **Oriens**," and similarly for **Paimon** in the West, **Amaymon** in the South and **Egin** in the North. As indicated by the full titles, these call on the demon kings of the quarters and their subordinates; barring the names of thes spirits cited and the quarters to which they are referred, the four texts are near-identical.

[79] S1 fol. 166-177 (interrupting the "Operations of the Angles of the Air," and with some leaves out of order). This calls on Angels of the seven planets, mostly familiar from the *Heptameron*, apparently to empower some kind of talisman or material basis; much phrasing in the conjurations is verbatim from the *Janua*.

[80] S1 fol. 205-225. A fragment appears in S5 fol. 96v-99v. This is based around the planetary "Intelligences" mentioned in Agrippa, whose names are concocted in Hebrew to add up to one or another of the "magic numbers" of the planets. While it has much phraseology shared, there are also stylistic and other variations suggesting it was written by a later author in imitation of the *Janua.*

[81] The first part (fol. 3-15) of "Longobardus" (or possibly this is the whole of it: it is unclear exactly how much of the MS. that title actually embraces), is likewise in similar style to the "Invocation of Angels" texts.

[Concerning material taken from Cornelius Agrippa]

[30r] The first 5 pages[82] are taken out of the 36 Chap: of the 3[d] Book of Corneilus Agrippa's Occult Philosophy. Set forth by D[r]. French.[83]

The 6 & 7 page is taken from the 36 Chapter.[84]

The discourse relating to Ideas in p: 23 to the middle of page 25 is to be found in the 11 Chap. Of the first Booke of Occult Philosophy.[85]

The discourse of the 9 Orders of Angells in p: 47, 48, 49, 50 & 51 is taken out of the 10 chap: lib. 3.[86]

For Angells president in p: 61, 62, 63, see lib. 3 c: 24.[87]

[30v blank]

[Concerning the following excerpts]

[31r] What follows was transcribed from another MS. Coppy of part of this Book; w[ch] reached only to the Isagogicall Observations in pag. 75 & noted by pages & capitall Letters, where they were inserted by Dr. R.[88]

Where note that to the Title (viz., *Janua Magica Reserata*) there was added in the said MS. Coppy per *Clavem Philomusei*.

Note that I find much of this discourse coppied out from Dr. French his translation of Cornelius Agrippa his Occult Philosophy, w[ch] I have noted in the Margins.[89]

[31v blank]

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[82] Fol. 3r–5r.

[83] "Of man, how he was created after the Image of God" (p. 457). From the start of the *Janua* to "untill it be made a wicked spirit" at the top of fol. 5v is an edited extract from this chapter.

The English translation of *De Occulta Philosophia*, as originally printed, was credited only to "J. F." Bibliographers have variously taken thfe initials to stand for "John French" and "James Freake." Ashmole, given his social circle, interests & and connections is likely to have known.

[84] Probably an error for "37"; "Of mans soul and through what means it is joyned to the body." (p. 465). From "The soul of man, being a certain divine light" on fol. 5v to "the Soul flyeth away with this Celestial vehicle &c." on fol. 6r is from this chapter.

[85] "How Occult Vertues are infused into the serverall kinds of things by *Idea's*, through the help of the Soul of the World, and rayes of the Stars: and what things aboud most with this Vertue." The discussion of Ideas, beginning "It is yet further to be observed" (fol. 14r) begins with a short paraphrase from chap. 14 , followed by a slight paraphrase of the bulk of chap. 11, ending at "virtues that are inferior species" in the middle of fol. 15r.

[86] "Of Divine emanations, which the Hebrews call Numerations, others Attributes." The attributions of Michael and Raphael in the *Janua* are counterchanged compared to those in Agrippa. The ensuing section of the *Janua* is almost entirely from ch. 37 & 38 of lib. III; the section after that from ch. 17.

[87] "Of the Names of Spirits &c." That chapter also includes material from lib. III cap. 16, 25 & 28, The following discussion of evil spirits is largely drawn from cap. 18.

[88] The capital letters denoting sections were also written in S5 to indicate the insertion points. "Dr. R" was probably the same "Dr. Rudd" to whom a copy of the conjurations of the *Janua* in BL Harley MS. 6482 (1712), and a revised version of the *Lemegeton* in Harley MS. 6843 (1712–13) are ascribed, although the matter is made murky due to Harley 6479–86 also ascribing to "Rudd" material plagiarized from printed books of 1650–90.

[89] These marginalia have been noted in footnotes where they are legible.

Excerpt A.[90]

[32r] OBSERVE the words of an Orthodox & learned Father, who divinely saith thus; the Heavens, the Earth & every Creature, speakes unto us with their voyces;

The first voice saith, Receive a Benefit,

The second, pay thy Benevolence,

The third, avoyd punishment.

The Heavens saith, I give thee light in the day, that thou maist worke.

The darkness saith, I spread my Curtaine in the Night, that thou maist rest.

The Aire saith, I nourish thee with Breath; all kind of Fowles, I keepe at thy Comand

The Water saith, I give thee Drink, I purge away all uncleaness, I preserve all my Elementary Creatures to thy use, from the smallest Minnum, to the mighty Whale.

The Earth saith, I beare thee, I nourish thee with Bread & Wine, I fill thy Table with all sorts of Creatures & Fruite.

The second is a voyce of Admonition, in wch the World saith: See Man how he loved thee, wch made me for thee; I serve thee as thou servest him, wch made both thee & me.

The third Voyce is a voice of threatening, where the Fire saith, thou shalt be burnt by me: The Water saith, thou shalt be drowned by me, the Earth saith thou shalt be swallowed up by me, as some have been; if thou lay by[91] thy Obedience to him, wch put of all subjection to thee.

Hence you see, that all Creatures call upon Man to serve him, because he is the summe & Epitomy of alle; & do willingly obey him.

Behold then &c. ~~~~ p. 9.[92]

Excerpt B.[93]

[32v] HAVING briefly layd open the Excellency & dignity of Man, let us see what we shall Councill him to observe, before we enter upon our following Tractate, & the practise thereof. The subject whereof is Magick, & it hath been very much approved of, by all the ancient & Moderne Philosophers, unto whome it hath been revealed, by the holy Revelation of blessed Angells, as shalbe manifested, & made more plainly appere in the following description thereof; the which, before we shall insist on, wee shall lay downe some Theologicall & Philosophicall Aphorismes, by way of Instruction; to shew what a Magitian ought to bee, and how me may deck himself in a magicall habit, both in the

[90] Insertion point: after "were not perfected but in many days," fol. 7r (p. 9).

[91] In the sense of "put aside, neglect" probably.

[92] This indicates where the ensuring text once more matches up with that in S5. In this instance there is no difficulty. The pick-up text after extracts B-D, however, indicates that besides containing additional passages, some of the text shared by the two copies was ordered differently.

[93] Insertion point: after "perfect mind doth not Change in Council," fol. 8v (p. 12).

inward & outward Man, & how he may put on him the Robes of the Cœlestiall & Angelicall disciplines, whereby he becomes more sublime, & ascende to more divine things, & participates fully & freely, of the Angellicall Converse & Ministry &c.

Now thus much observe by the way, to anticipate all doubts & objections, which in many ordinary discourses may arise frivously, for want of better Judgment, when Things will not be otherwise perswaded, because perhaps the subject of our following discourse, may not in a Moment be rightly understood; For as in a Harmony or Consort of Musick, if one string thereof be out of Order, the whole Consort presently Jarres, & is dissonant & disordered, insomuch that the whole Body thereof immediately falls into a Confusion; So if one misticall Sence hereof by misunderstood, the whole Art is presently condemned.

None can draw a knowing & intelligent Man by Reason, unto things that reach a little beyond his present Capacity, but by receiving that Inspiration & force by Sense: For the Animall Spirit of Man, is by the influence of the [33r] Cœlestialls, & the Cooperations of the Minde & Will, affected beyond his former & naturall disposition.

Now the more learned, discrete & expert Magitian, doth not admire this more rare & divine doctrine, & the great guifts and benifits proceeding therefrom, & received thereby; from whence, many wonderfull, Rare & admirable Experiments, Operacions & effects are produced & brought to pass, by virtue of the Cœlestiall Authority, managed according to the Order & discretion of the sublime[94] Magitian; because he is not a stranger to the heavens, &c.[95]

But not only these things, but also all naturall Arte & Sciences of use, are admired at, by the malevolent, detractive, indigent, vulgar & illiterate persons, who merely out of Ignorance, deride & condemne all things, they know not, nor are accustomed to.

This being as much as is necessary by the way, to dissipate any misty vapour of Interception, which ingender & beget nothing but pernitious opinions & debates, to the confusion of the senses, & the overthrow of the Intelligible Faculty, to the great Scandall of Learning & the experienced Magitian, & the dishonour of God also.

Wee shall now proceede unto those necessary & usefull Aphorims, very fit to be knowne & observed of him, who would be a Contemplator of diving things, & a Learner of Cœlestiall & Magicall Doctrine &c: And next to the Description of the Heavenly Magick & the Philosophicall & Theologicall use, construction & Practise thereof.

In the name of God, Amen.

Beneficiall Aphorisms &c.: ~~~~ p. 16.[96]

[94] Written in, somewhat cramped, above "divine," which latter word has been crossed out.

[95] This and the preceding paragraph are very slight variants of a passage which occurs in S5 (fol. 10r / p. 15), also shortly prior to the chapter of aphorisms.

[96] Fol. 10v by current foliation.

Excerpt C.[97]

[33v] IN NOMINE Dei Iehovah Amen. Halleluiah.

In the first place, a Magitian ought to know God who is the giver of all good Gifts; this is the true & Orthodox beleife & description of God, according to the religious Construction of Christian Professors.

God the first, the Originall, the Cause of Causes, Increate, the only wise, infinite, omnipotent, eternall, incomprehensible, unbegotten, without parte, perfection, most like himself, the Guide of all Good, expecting no reward, the best, the wisest, the Father of all Right, having learned Justice without Teaching.—In the Godhead are three Persons, the Father Son & Holy Ghost, Coeternal & Coequall, of one most simple Essence, Substance, & Nature: And we ought to worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity, neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance.

The true name of this Incomprehensible God, is neither known to Angells nor Men, but to himself alone, neither shall it be manifested, until his will is fulfilled, p: <illegible> init. [Luna]

Yet in this ineffable Essence, are contained many divine powers & Attributes, which as Rivolets flow from the Center of this Omnipotent Fountaine, & hath undoubtedly Influence on all things by a certain Order, from the highest things even to the lowest, & thenm as Beams are reflected from the Splendor of the most glorious & unspeakable Lumen, conteyning all things, have first & imediately Influence on the nyne Orders of Angells, & from them into the Cœlestiall Spheares, Planets & Men; & so accordingly, every thing receiveth power & virtue, to performe & fulfil the Office to which it is called.

[34r] Thus may wee behold the great Iehovah, called or distinguished, by the Names & significations of severall powerfull virtuous and ineffable Attributes, whereby out Intellect, being wrapt up in an Extasie of Cœlestiall & divine Contemplations, stand in admiration, to behold the wonders of his worke in Nature; and then for our further Illumination, that we may yet come nearer to the Knowledge & Inspection of the glorious Deity; behold through the portholes of the Cœlestiall Orbs, descends Natures Handmaid, to the assistance of all our Affairs, according to our Necessities, & naturall Juidciousness, in the fulfilling & accomplishing all things, in respect of their Counsell, Office, Quality or Nature, only to his Glory, & the use of Man, &c:

To conclude, there is certainly no names of God amongst us, that is not taken from his Works, &c.:

The Allsufficient God ~~~~ see p: 12[98]

[97] Insertion point: after "the soul of man, standing and not falling." (end of "Beneficial Aphorisms," fol. 14r).

[98] This pick-up note was written in small at the end of the excerpt. After this excerpt, and continuing to the bottom of the page, Ashmole transcribed a passage which he later realised was already in his copy of the *Janua*:

Excerpt D.[99]

[34v] HAVING now briefly treated of the Cœlestiall & Terrestriall Harmonies, and the mutually correspondencies of these Inferiours with their Superiours; whereby we become capable, of receiving certain Cœlestiall Guifts from above, &c. – wee shall now touch at somewhat of the four Triplicities (or Elements) their various qualities, Natures, & Comixtions, & how they are formed every where, & in all things, both Cœlestiall, Terrestriall & Infernall.

Of the Foure Elements.

There are foure Elements, which are the originall Grounds of all[100] Corporiall Things, & of which all Elementatated Inferiour Bodies are compounded; not by way of heaping them together, but by Transmutation & Union; and they are Fire (1), Aier (3), Earth (2) & Water (4):

The Nature & Quality of þ[e]	Fire	is	Hot & dry,	answering to the	East		Eurus
	Earth		Cold & dry,		South		Notus
	Ayer		Hot & Moist,		West		Zephyrus
	Water		Cold & Moist		North		Boreas

These Elements according to two contrary qualities, are likewise contrary one to the other in Nature, *vizt*: Fire to Water — & Earth to Ayre — And upon another Account are opposite one to the other for Earth & Water is heavy, & Fire & Ayre is Light; And the Fire & Aire is active, & the Earth & Water is passive.

To the Fire is assigned Brightness, Thynness & Motion.
To the Earth — — — Darkness, Thickness & Quietnes.

"The Allsufficient God hath created all things, ruling & disposing them, & setled his heavenly decrees, according to his divine, holy & gracious Will, then doth he distribute the putting thereof in Execution to the Care of divers & sevrall Ministers, the w[ch] S[t]. John in the Revelations calls assisting & destroying Angells.

"And whatsoever God doth by Angells (as by Ministers) the same he doth by the Starrs (as it were by Instruments) who accordingly transmit them to this sensible World, that after this manner all things might worke together to serve him, so that it is fit we should apply the tyme, place, & species of the Angells & Stars to their respective parte, according as they are referred to them, both in respect of their Offices & Signification, &c.

"Note, every thing may ⟨be⟩ aptly be reduced from these Inferiours to the Stars, from the Stars to their Intelligencyes, from thence to the first Cause itself, from the Series and Order whereof, all hidden Philosopher flowes, for every day [some"

The entire passage is cancelled and the catch-word does not appear on the next page. A note in the margin next to it (partly unreadable due to tight binding of the codex) indicates that this can be found on pp. 12-13 (fol. 8v-9r) under the head "Further Observations worthy of note."

[99] Insertion point: after "as to its roots, causes and signs, it is reduced" fol. 10r (p. 15). This, it will be observed, is before the insertion point for excerpt C.

[100] In margin: illegible note, mostly lost in gutter, but based on the others, probably indicating the chapter of *OOP* here adapted.

Here you see according to these Qualities, these Elements of Fire and Earth, to be clearly contrary to each other.

The other Elements borrow their Qualities from these, as thus:

The Ayre receives two Quallities of the Fire, vizt: Thynnes and Motion, & one of the Earth, vizt: Darkness.

The Water receives two Qualities of the Earth, vizt: Darkness & Thickness, & one of the Fire, vizt: Motion.

Fire is twice more thinn then Ayer, thrice more moveable, & foure tymes more bright.

[35r] Ayre twice more bright than Water, thrice more thynn, & foure tymes more moveable.

Water is twice more bright than Earth, thrice more thyn, & foure times more moveable.

So that as the fire is to the Ayre, so is Aire to the Water, & Water to the Earth.

Then againe, as the Earth is to the Water, so is the Water to the Ayre, and the Ayre to the Fire.

And he who shalbe truly knowing & Learned, in these Qualities of the Elements, & their severall Commixtures, together with what followeth in relation thereunto, which is the Root & foundation of all Bodies, Causes, Natures, Virtues, Qualities & Operations, shall easily bring to pass many sublime, Rare, Wonderfull & Admirable Effects, to the astonishment of the Incredulous, & malevolent Detractors; and now we shall descend to particulars, and first[101]

Of Fire.

Fire in all things & through all things, comes & goes away Bright, it is in all things Bright, & at the same tyme occult & unknown; When it is by it selfe (no other Matter coming to it, in which it should manifest its proper Action) it is boundless & invisible of itself, sufficient for every Action that is proper to it, moveable, yeilding it self (after a manner) to all things that come next to it, renewing, guarding Nature, enlightening not comprehended by Lights, that are vailed over; cleere, parted, leaping back, bending upwards, quick in Motion, high, always raising Motions; Comprhending another, not comprehended it selfe, nor standing in neede of another; secretly encreasing of it selfe, & manifesting its greatness to things that receive it: Active, powerfull, invisible, present in all things at once, It will not be affronted nor opposed, but (as it were in a way of revenge) it will reduce on a suddaine things in obedience to it selfe; It is incomprehensible, [35r] impalpable, not lessened, most rich in all dispensations of it selfe;

[101] This section is adapted, with some omissions, paraphrases and added connencting text, from *OOP*, Book I, chap. 3, "Of the four Elements, their qualities, and mutuall mixtions" (pp. 6-7).

it is of it selfe one & penetrates through all things, it is shining & spread abroad in the Heavens, but in the Infernall place, it is streightened, dark, & Tormenting; and in the Midway it partakes of both: It is in it selfe One, but in that which receives it Manifold, & in differing Subjects it is distributed in a different manner.

Now the Fire which we use is fetched out of other things; It is in Stones, & fetched out by the Stroak of the Steele. It is in Earth, and after it is dug up, makes it to smoke; It is in Water, & heats springs & Wells; It is in the depth of the Sea, & makes it warme, when tossed with Windes; It is in the Aire, & makes it burne (as often tymes we see). It is in all Animalls, & Living things whatsoever; for every thing that lives, lives by reason of the inclosed heate: It is in all Vegitables, for that they are preserved by heat.

The properties of the Cœlestiall Fire is Heate, making fruitfull & giving Light & Lyfe to all things; by the properties of the Internall Fire is Darknes, a parching heate, consuming & making all things burne.

Now the true Cœlestiall Fire & Omnipoent Lumen, which is the Father of Lights, who saith from the Light of the World, sends forth the most glorious & illustrious Light of his Fire, according to his gracious desire, comunicating it first to the diurnall Lamp the Sun, & the rest of the Cœlestiall Bodies; who then as mediating Instruments, conveyeth that Light into our Fire, which is the Vehiculum of the *Superiour* Light.[102]

Of the Element, or Triplicity of Earth.

Earth is the Basis & Foundation of all the Elements, for it is the Object, Subject & Receptacle of all Cœlestiall Rayes & Influences, In it are contained the Seeds & seminall Virtue of all things, & therefore it is said to be Animall, Vegitable & Minerall: It being made fœcund by the Heavens, & the other Elements; brings forth [36r] all things of it selfe: it receives the aboundance of all things, & is (as it were) the first Fountaine from whence all things spring; it is the Center, Foundation & Mother of all things; in it are great Secrets, & it is the first matter of our Creation, &c.[103]

Of the Element or Triplicty of Ayre.

Aire is said to be a vitall Spirit, passing through all beings, giving lyfe & subsistence to all things, & binding, moving & filling all things; It imediately receives into itself, the Influence of all Cœlestiall Bodies, & then communicates them to the other Elements, & alsoe to all mixt Bodies. It receives into its selfe (as if it were a divine Looking glass) the Species of all things both Naturall & Artificiall, & ~~also~~ likewise[104] of all manner of

[102] This section is adapted from *OOP* Book I, chap. 5, "Of the wonderfull Natures of Fire, and Earth" (pp. 9-10). This is apparently noted by Ashmole in the margin (the note is mostly lost in the gutter owing to over-tight binding of the MS., but "5" and "9" are visible).

[103] This section is also adapted from *OOP* Book I chap, 5 (p. 10-11).

[104] 'also' has been crossed on in the MS., and 'likewise' written *sup. lin.*, with an insertion mark below the cancelled word.

speeches, and reteynse them, & carries them with it; it enters into the Bodies of Men & other Animalls through their Pores, & makes an impression upon them, as well when they sleepe, as when they are awake; and affoards matter for strange dreames, &c. Hence it is, that one passing by a place, where a Man was slaine, or a Carcasse newly hid, is moved with feare & dread, because the Ayre in that place, being full of dreadfull species of Manslaughter, doth (being breathed in) move & trouble the Spirit of Man with the like species; for observe, that every thing that makes a suddain Impression, astonisheth Nature.[105]

Of the Element or Triplicity of Water.

There is so great a necessity of Water, that without it nothing can Live, noe Hearbe, Plant or Vegitable whatsoever, without the moystning of Water, can bud or branch forth; In it is the seminary virtue of all things, specially of Animals, whose seede is manifestly waterish. The Seedes of Trees and Plants, although they are earthy, yet notwithstanding, must of necessity be rotted in Water, before they can be fruitfull, whether they be imbibed with the moisture of the Earth, or with dew or [36v] Raine, or any other water that is put to them on purpose; Yea those productions that are made in & upon the Earth, are partly attributed to the very water, as is testified by sacred Writt where it saith, that the plants & Hearbs did not grow, because God had not caused it to Raine upon the Earth. Such is the efficacy of this Element, that spirituall Regeneration, cannot be done without it (as our Saviour Christ testified to Nicodemus). *In fine*, infinite are the Benefitts, & divers are the Uses hereof: For by its Virtue all things are generated, nourished & subsist, & are increased. It was the first of all Elements, & the most potent, because it had & still hath the mastery over all the rest; It swalloweth up the Earth, extinguisheth Flames, ascends on high, & by the shining fourth of the Cloudes, challengeth the Heavens for their own; the same falling down againe, becometh the Cause of all things that growth on Earth. To conclude, Very many are the Wonders, that are done by this Element of Water, as is testified by many ancient & curious Writers, & also by Scripture it selfe.[106]

Here we may plainely see, know & understand (together with what followeth in the ensuing Tables), that the Elements are the first of all things, & all things are of & according to them, & that they are in all things, & diffuse their virtues through all things.[107]

And as in the Originall & Exemplary World, all things are in all; so likewise in this Corporiall World, all things are in all.

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[105] This section is adapted from *OOP* Book I chap. 6, "Of the wonderfull Natures of Water, Aire and Winds" (p. 14), as Ashmole notes in the margin.

[106] This section is adapted from *OOP* Book I chap. 6, (p. 11-12), as Ashmole notes in the margin.

[107] Adapted from the concluding sentence of *OOP* Book I chap. 7 (p. 20), as Ashmole notes in the margin.

For the Elements are not only in these inferior Bodies, but also in the Heavens, in Stars, in Devills, in Angells, & lastly in God, the maker & Original Example of all things, &c.

Elements therefore in the Exemplary World, are Ideas of things to be produced; in the Intelligences, distributed powers; in the Heavens, vertues; & in inferior Bodies, gross Formes.

To conclude: Note, In these Inferiour Bodies the foure Elements are accompanied with much gross matter; but in the Heavens they are (according to their natures & vertues) after a Cœestiall, pure, [37r][108] and more excellent manner, then in Sublunary things: For the firmness of the Cœlestiall Earth, is there without the grossness of Water, & the agility of the Aier, without running over its Bounds, & the heate of Fire without burning, only shyning, giving lyfe to all things by its heate.

Now therefore, that the Elements are to be found every where, & in all things, noe man can deny, first in these inferior Bodies, feculent & gross, Secondly in Cœlestialls, more pure & clear, Thirdly in Supercœstialls Living & in all Respects Blessed.[109]

There are likewise 4 Cardinall Windes, defluxing from the foure Corners, thus named & qualified:

Eurus, or the East Winde, is ravenous, cloudy & waterish.

Notus, or the South Winde, is cloudy, moist, warme & sickly, & is called the Butler of the Rains.

Zephirus, or the West Winde, is soft, blowing with a pleasant Gale, it is cold & moist, removing the effecte of Winter, bringing forth Branches, & pleasant Flowers.

Boreas, or the North Wind, is fierce, roaring, discussing Cloudes, makes the Aier serene, & bindes the Water with Froste.[110]

[37v] A Table, shewing how all things, both Cœlestiall, Terretraill & Infernall, in their respective qualities, Natures & degrees, symbolize with the 4 Triplicities or Elements:[111]

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[108] There is a cancelled passage of seven lines in another hand at the top of fol. 37r. The sheet which begins there was originally attached after what is now fol. 99 of Sloane MS. 3825, as both the text and the number at the top centre of the page continue directly from S5 fol. 99v, and the cancelled text is in the same hand as the bulk of S5 fol. 3-99.

[109] From "And as in the Originall & Exemplary World" to here, this section is extracted and rearranged from *OOP* Book I, chap. 8, "How the Elements are in the Heavens, in Stars, in Divils, in Angels, and lastly in God himself" (pp. 20-22).

[110] From *OOP* Book I chap. 6, passage describing the winds, (pp. 16-18.)

[111] Except where noted this is drawn from Agrippa's table of the scale of the number 4 in *OOP* Book II ch. 7 (pp. 186-7). The use of "Triplicities" to refer to the elements probably alludes to Agrippa's somewhat cryptic ch. 4 of Book I, "Of a three-fold consideration of the Elements" which distinguishes for each element, "the pure Elements," "Elements that are compounded, changeable, and impure, yet such as may be reduced to their pure simplicity" and "those Elements, which originally and of themselves are not Elements, but are twice compounded, various, and chageable one into the other." It is not entirely clear whether, or if so how, this threefold division connects with the general three-worlds scheme (natural, celestial, divine / supercelestial) after which *De occulta philosophia* is structured.

The foure Elements.	*Fire.*	*Earth.*	*Ayr.*	*Water.*
Their Natures & Qualities.	Hot & Dry.	Cold & Dry.	Hot & Moist.	Cold & Moist.
Angells ruling the Elements.	Seruph.	Ariel.	Cherub.	Tharsis.
Parts answering in the Heavenly Angels & blessed Intelligences[112]	By the shining splendor, & glorious lustre of their Love.	By the stability of their Essence in which is the steadfast Seate of God	By the subtilty of their Breath	By reason of their Mercy & piety, which is a watery cleansing vertue.
Of the Cœlestiall Hierarchies or Orders of Angells.[113]	Seraphim, Potestates, Vertues,	Cherubim, Angells.	Dominations, Principalities.	Thrones, Archangels.
Of the Stars & Planetes.	Mars & Sol.	Luna & the fixt stars	Jupiter & Venus	Saturn & Mercury
Of the 12 Zodiacall Constellations, or Cœlestiall Signs.	Aries, Leo, Sgittarius	Taurus, Virgo, Capricorns	Gemini, Libra, Aquary	Cancer, Scorpio, Piscis
Of the 4 Angles or Corners of the World	East	South	West	North
Of the four Windes	Eurus *or* Auster	Notus	Zephyrus	Boreas
Of the 4 Princes of the good Angels, that are set over the foure Angles of the World & the Windes.	Michael	Uriel or Nariel	Raphael	Gabriel
Of the 4 Princes of the Evill Spirits, set over the 4 Angles of the World, & the Winds, offensive to & troubling the Aire.	Uriens *or* Oriens *or* Ories.	Amaymon *or* Mayrary	Paymon, *or* Paynim,	Egin, *or* Egym.
Their Names according to ——— the Hebrew ——— is	Samael.	Mahazael.	Azazzel.	Azael.
Of the 4 Infernall Rivers.	Phlegeton.	Acheron.	Cocytus.	Styx.
In the Qualities of the foure Cœlestiall Elements.	Light	Solidity.	Diaphanousnes *or* Clearnes	Agility.
In the power of Mans Soule.	The Intellect.	Sense.	Reason.	Fancy.
In the Elementary part of Man.	The Minde.	The Body.	The Spirit.	Thee Soule.
In the Actions & Motions of Man, in usuall Gestures, &c.[114]	A fierce, quick & angry disposition.	A slow, firm, & ponderous Motion.	Cheerefulnes & an amiable disposition.	Fearefulnes, sluggishness & remisnes in working.
In the powers or parts of Animalls.	Vitall Spirit.	Bones.	Flesh.	Humours.
In humours of the the Body Pollitick.	Yellow Choller.	Black Choller, or Melancholly.	The Blood.	Flegme.
In the foure fold Spirit.	Animall.	Naturall.	Vital.	Generative.
In the foure kindes of Animalls.	Walking.	Creeping.	Flying.	Swimming.

[38v]

[112] These are not in the table in Book II, but are mentioned in Book I cap. 8 (p. 21). In the MS. images I was working from, some text in the last column was lost in the gutter, and has been conjecturally restored from said source.

[113] These are the attributions are given by Agrippa, in Book I (*loc. cit.*). In the table of the scale of the number 4, Seraphim, Cherubim & Thrones are referred to Fire, Dominations, Powers and Virtues to Air, Principalities, Angels and Archangels to Water and three divisions of the Blessed Souls to Earth.

[114] This row is drawn from Book I, chap. 7 (pp. 19-20); the table in Book II has a row "Four manners of Complexion: Fire: Violence; Earth: Slowness; Air: Nimbleness; Water: Dulness."

The foure Morall Virtues.	Justice.	Fortitude.	Temperance.	Prudence.
The foure Judicial Powers.	Faith.	Experience.	Science.	Opinion.
The four Annual Seasons.	Summer.	Autume.	Spring.	Winter.
Of Animalls.	Salamandrer, Crikit, Estrich, Lyon.	Moles, Wormes, & all small creeping things.	The Camelion & all flying Fowles.	Fishes, &c.
Of Vegetables[115]	Seeds, because of the multiplying Spirit.	Rootes by reason of their thicknes.	Flowers because of their Subtility.	Leaves because of their Juyce.
Of Mineralls or Mettals	Gold & Iron.	Lead & Silver	Copper & Tynn.	Quick-Silver.

Having briefly treated of the Natures & Qualities of the foure Elements or Triplicities, & how they are found everywhere, & in all things, & how all are oft & according to them, & diffuse their vertiues through all things; Wee will now touch at some occult vertues, & how they are infused into severall kindes of Things by Ideas, though the helpe of the Soule of the World, & the Raies & Influences of the Stars; which is very necessary to be first understood, before wee enter upon the ensuing Treatise.

There is nothing of such transcending vertue ~~~~ See p. 23.[116]

[115] This row and the previous are drawn from *OOP*, Book I, ch. 7 (p. 19).

[116] Fol. 14r by current foliation.

Excerpt E.[117]

[38v] NOW HAVING briefly touched at some materiall Matters of Concernement, very fit to be knowne & understood; We shall in the next place treate of Angells & Spirits, Cœlestiall, Terrestriall & Infernall, their severall & respective Hierarchies, Orders, Offices & natures, & teaching the good use that a sober & qualified Magician may make of all, and how the assistance & Ministery of good Angells, may be obteyned by us, & the maligne, Illusions, Temptations & Assaults of the Evill Spirits repelled, shunned & overcome by us. Likewise necessary Instructions and brief Rules, teaching how to attaine thereunto, as hath been approved by auncient & modern Philosophers, who have been great Inquisitors and curious Searchers into Angelicall, Cœlestiall & Terrestriall occult Misteries & Sciences; without falling from the originall, true & christian Faith, or the orthodox, theological construction thereof, or in the least estranged from, or being disobedient to the divine Power of God, or any Civill Lawes, or Governments of Common Wealths.[118]

> *Of the Cœlestiall Angells & blessed Intelligences, &c.: Their severall Derivations, Distinctions, Names, Natures, Qualities, Orders, Offices, Hierarchies and Degress, as they are set over & governe all things, &c: (according to the Omnipotent Decress of the originall & first Cause) & of the Divine Numerations of God, called Attributes, of the ten Sephiroths, & the Ten most sacred Names of God that Rule them, & the significations & interpretations thereof; Of the Seventy-two Angells, that bear the Name of God in Banners, Schemhamphoras; and severall things worthy of Noate, &c.*[119]

An Angell is an Intelligible Substance ~~~~ &c: p. 27.

[117] Insertion point: after "but for brevity sake here omitted" (fol. 16r / p. 27). This, in any case, seems to simply be an extended connecting passage leading into the chapter "Of Angels and Spirits" that follows.

[118] The use of this term suggests this passage was written in or shortly after the period 1649-1660: England was declared "a Commonwealth" in May 1649 after the Parliamentarian victory in the Civil War; for much of the period, this practically meant a military dictatorship. In 1660, following the death of Oliver Cromwell and the inability of his son Richard to gain the support of the military after assuming the title of Lord Protector, the country returned to being a monarchy under Charles II.

[119] This is a variant form of the preamble to the section "Of Angels & Spirits" that begins immediately after the insertion mark for section E.

Excerpt F.[120]

[39r] AS CONCERNING the Animasticall Order, or Choire of blessed Souls, or Heroes, various is the opinion of the Learned thereof; some suppose they were so called, either because for the meaness of their desert, they are not iudged worthy of Heaven, nor yet are accounted Terrestriall for the Reverence of Grace; or because they being eminent in this lyfe, for Divine Vertues & Benifits, then after this mortall Man is put off, are translated into the Choire of blessed Souls,[121] always providing for mortall Men the same Vertues & Benifits, which they long since had in this Lyfe: Or because they were procreated, partly from the seede of the Superiours, who are thought to be begotten, by the mixture of Angells with Men,[122] & so obteyne a certain middle Nature, that they are said to be neither Angells nor Men. And it is generally believed that Merlynn the British Prophet, was the son of an Angell,[123] and borne of a Virgin, and it is imagined that Plato (the Prince of Wisdome) was borne of a Virgin impregnated by a Phantasme of Apollo, & many such relations of the like manner, there are in the writing of the Auncients, who, together with some modern Philosophers doe aver, That those Heroes have noe less power in dispoising & ruling these inferior things, then the Angells;[124] & have their Offices & Dignities distributed to them; Therefore hath there been Temples, Altars, Images, Sacrifices, Vowes, & other Religious Mysteries dedicated to them, and their Names have been Invocated, have had Divine & Magicall Vertues, for the accomplishing & effecting some Miraculous Operations, as hath been tried by the name of Apollonius Tyaneus, & others, &c: now the opinion & beleife of the Roman Catholics (the most learned in Divine & Cœlestiall Mysteries, in this modern Age) hereof is this.[125] As concerning our holy Heroes (say they) wee beleive they excel in Divine power & (as the Jewish Theologians testifie) that the Soul of the Meschihæ (that is Jesus Christ, our only Lord & Saviour) doth rule over them; who by divers of his Saints, (as it were by Members fitted for this purpose) doth administer and distribute divers Guifts of his Grace, in these inferior parts, & every [39v] one of the Saints doe enjoy a peculiar Guift of working; and they being implored by us with divers prayer & supplications (according to the manifold distribution of Grace) every one doth most freely bestow their Guifts, Benifites & Graces on us, more readily & abundantly then the Angelicall Powers, by so much as they are nigher to us, & more allyed to our Natures, [as they who in tymes past, were both Men,

[120] Insertion point: after "who was also the Ruler of Moses," fol. 28r (p. 51).
[121] Agrippa: "into the quire of the blessed gods" (p. 453).
[122] Agrippa: "mixture of Gods or Angels with men" (*loc. cit.*).
[123] Agrippa: "son of a Spirit" (*loc. cit.*).
[124] Agrippa: "than the Gods" (p. 454).
[125] From "now the opinion & beleife" to here is an interpolation into Agrippa's text, as is the parenthetical "say they" in the next sentence.

& suffered humaine Afflictions & Infirmities,][126] and their Names, Degrees & Offices are also more knowne unto us. Out of the number of these almost infinite, there are 12 chiefs and they are twelve Apostles of Christ, who (as saith Evangelicall Trtuh) sit upon twelve Thrones, iudging the 12 Tribes of Israell; & in the Revelations are said to be distributed upon twelve Foundations, at the twelve Gates of the heavenly Citty, & are Seated in the twelve precious Stones, unto whome the whole World is distrubted.[127] After these are the Seaventy two Disciples of Christ, who also ruleth so many Quinaries of Heaven, Tribes, People, Nations, & Tongues. After whome is an innumerable multitude of Saints, who have received divers Offices, Places & Nations into their Protection and Patronage, whose most apparent Miracles, at the Faitfull Prayers of those that Invocate them, Experience hath plainly manifested, &c.[128]

Of which Order of Heroes aforesaid, we can say little or nothing of, till Tyme hath produced some further satisfaction & granted us new experience therein, then as yet we have attained, having hitherto not practically insisted on, nor handled any Consideration of this Subject, it being in our apprehension so Mysticall &c: that our understanding thereof aright, is not at present capable of; wherefore we shall wave any further treating thereof here, & come to discourse of the Nyne foregoing Hierarchies, their severall Divisions & Constructions, & what divine Guifts, Man receiveth therefrom, & from the Intelligences & Stars, & how Man is likewise degraded from those Cœlestiall Benefits, & deprived of them, &c.

Now we are to shew forth, &c. ~~~~ see p: 51.

[126] This clause is enclosed in square brackets in the MS., where it appeared following "[…] are also more knowne unto us." It was probably displaced by copyist eye-skip at some stage; in Agrippa (*loc. cit.*) it appears following "more allyed to our natures."

[127] At this point in Agrippa (pp. 454-455) are listed the names of the twelve Apostles in Hebrew, Romanized Hebrew and English.

[128] Up to here is quoted or paraphrased (with some significant verbal changes) from *OOP* Book III chap. 33, "Of the Animasticall order, and the Heroes" (pp. 453-455), as noted by Ashmole in the margin at the start of the section. The following paragraph is connecting text.

Excerpt G.[129]

[40r] HAVING briefly Treated of the Cœlestiall Hierarchies, & of the Ruling Intelligences in each Orb & Spherare; wee must also understand, that although the[130] blessed Intelligences are especially appointed for the Divine Worship & service of God, yet notwithstanding they have also the Government of every Heaven & Star; And as you see there are as manyHierarchies, Orders & Offices of the good Angells as there are Heavens, or Cœlestiall Spheares; and as the Stars are divided according to the nature of the Spheares, & the particular Intelligences Star (or Planet) governing it, as they rule themselves & Sheares, are Saturnine; Joviall, Martiall, Solar, Veneriall, Mercuriall & Lunar (as the learned in Astrologie affirme) although (I say) there is but one ruling Intelligence assigned to each particular Orbe or Spheare, yet seeing the every star, hath its proper & different power, nature, virtue, Office & Influence; so also hath every Star its particular ruling Intelligence, whereby it confirmeth power & operation: soe that as the Stars are innumerable, so also are the Legions of the Cœlestiall Angells, as experience doth aboundantly testifie.

Astrologicans say, that there are seaven Planets called erratick or wandring Stars in the Heavens, & they are thus named, & all known by these Characters.

♄ Saturne.	♃ Jupiter	♂ Mars	☉ the Sun	♀ Venus	☿ Mercury	☽ Moone.

There are also twelve Signs in the Zodiack, through which the Seaven Planets move , & in which they celebrate their severall Aspects, & wherein they have Fortitudes & Debilities, as is further explained in the Astrologicall Tracte foregoing, & they are thus Nominated, and distinguished by the following Characters.

♈	♉	♊	♋	♌	♍	♎	♏	♐	♑	♒	♓
Aries.	Taurus.	Gemini,	Cancer.	Leo.	Virgo.	Libra.	Scorpio.	Sagitarius.	Capricorn.	Aquarius.	Pisces

There are also foure Elements or Tripliticies, which these twelve signes are divided into, & are accordingly governed day & night by the seven planets, as herere you see, & they are Fire, Earth, Air, Water.

♈ ♌ ♐ Are of the Fiery Trigon, & is governed in the { Day / Night } by { ☉ / ♃ }	♉ ♍ ♑ Are of the Earth Triplicity, & is governed in the the { Day / Night } by { ♀ / ☉ }

[40v]

[129] Insertion point: after “who assist the Ruler of the whole Earth.” fol. 33r (p. 61).
[130] In margin: “Lib: 3: [[c:]] 16. [[p.]] 391.”

♊ ♎ ♒ Are of the Aiery Trigon, & is governed in the { Day / Night } by { ♄ / ☿ }	♋ ♏ ♓ Are of the Watery Triplicity, & is governed in the the { Day / Night } by { ♂ / ♂ }

There are likewise four Angles, Quarters, Parts, or Corners, answering to the foure Elements or Triplicities; & to the parts of Heaven & Earth, being so divivded, thus named.

East,	South,	West,	North.

The Moon (being a generall significatrix in all things), both Magically & Astrologically, as all the Ancients, & all our Phisitians doe confidently & experimentally affirme, for that she conveyeth through er Spheare, all the Influxes of the Superiours & the Inferiours, as is sufficiently & apparently knowne by the common Observation of all Men (or at least, by as many as rationally understand themselves) in the Doctrin of Elections, & in the most excellent use of Phisick & Philosophy) she passing constantly through the 12 Cœlestiall Signes, in the space of eight & twenty daies or thereabouts, hath therein fixed in the eight Spheare, eight & twenty Mansions, which by the[131] Magicians of India & the auncient Arabian & Chaldean Astrologians, have diverse Names & Properties attributed to them, through which, whilst the Moone passeth, it obteyneth various & accordingly respective Powers & Vertues; and every Mansion conteyneth twelve degrees, 51 Minutes & almost 26 Seconds; And therefore since they Commence from the first degree of Aries, & soe in order until the last, we shall shew you the beginnings thereof & their severall Names.

[131] In margin: "lib 2. c. 33." (*OOP* p. 285-289). The table is derived from the text of that chapter, the numbers give the *end point* of each "Mansion."

[41r]

No.	*Sign.*	*Deg.*	*Min.*	*Sec.*	*Names of each Mansion*
1.	♈	12°	51'	25"	Alnath
2.	♈	25°	42'	51"	Allothaim *or* Albochan.
3.	♉	8°	34'	17"	Achoamazon *or* Athoray.
4.	♉	21°	25'	40"	Aldebaram *or* Aldelamen
5.	♊	4°	17'	9"	Alchatay *or* Albachay.
6.	♊	17°	11'	34"	Alhanna *or* Alchaya.
7.	♋	0°	0'	0"	Aldimiach *or* Alarzach.
8.	♋	12°	51'	25"	Alnaza *or* Anatrachya.
9.	♋	25°	42'	51"	Archaam *or* Archaph.
10.	♌	8°	34'	17"	Algelioche *or* Algebh.
11.	♌	21°	25'	40"	Azobra *or* Ardaf.
12.	♍	4°	17'	9"	Alzarpha *or* Azarpha.
13.	♍	17°	11'	34"	Alhaire.
14.	♎	0°	0'	0"	Achureth *or* Arimet, *or* Azimeth *or* Alhumech *or* Alcheymech.
15.	♎	12°	51'	25"	Agrapha *or* Algarpha.
16.	♎	25°	42'	51"	Azubene *or* Ahubene.
17.	♏	8°	34'	17"	Alchil.
18.	♏	21°	25'	40"	Alchas *or* Altob.
19.	♐	4°	17'	9"	Allatha *or* Achala.[132]
20.	♐	17°	11'	34"	Abnahaya.
21.	♑	0°	0'	0"	Abeda *or* Abeldach.
22.	♑	12°	51'	25"	Sadabacha *or* Zodeboluch, *or* Zandeldena.
23.	♑	25°	42'	51"	Zabadola *or* Zobrach.
24.	♒	8°	34'	17"	Sadabath *or* Chadezoad.
25.	♒	21°	25'	40"	Sadalabra *or* Sadalachia.
26.	♓	4°	17'	9"	Alpharg *or* Phragal Mocaden.
27.	♓	17°	11'	34"	Alcharya *or* Alhalgalmoad.
28.	♓	30°	0'	0"	Albotham *or* Alchalcy.

[41v] The Compass of the Circle of the Zodiack, is accounted by the Astrologians to conteyne 365[133] Degrees, for that every Sign therein conteynes 30 Degrees & (as we said before) there are 12 Signes in the Zodiack, so that 12 tymes 30 make 360. And every Signe divided againe likewise particularly into three parts, results 12 tymes three,[134] which makes 36. The which are called Decans, or a division of Ten, & they are also governed by the seven Planets, and by the Astrologians are called the Faces of the Signs, as is elsewhere further explained, &c.

[132] "by others *Hycula* or *Axala*" (*OOP* p. 288).

[133] Thus in MS.

[134] In margin: "Lib: 3: c. 16: p. 391."

They are again divided into fifts, of which there is 6 in every signe, so that 12 tymes six resulte 72. The which are called Quinaries of Heaven.

Observe what a great communion there is with the numbers 12 & 72 & this harmony betwixt them; for as you see before, every signe divided into six parts, there results 72 fives, & soe many are the Names of God, & soe many were the Elders of the Synagogue, & Interpretations of the old Testament, & the Disciples of Christ, & so many are the languages, & the Tongues of Men & the Nations; Answerable to these are soe many manifest Joynts in Mans Body, whereof in every Finger & Toe there are three, which together with the 12 principall reckoned in the number twelve makes up 72. And every five is set over one Idiome with much efficacy, that the Astrologians & Phisiognomists can know from thence, from what Idiome very one ariseth.

Now we have briefly in Astromagicall Termes, given you a description & Difinition of the 7 Planets, the 12 Signs of the Zodiack, the 4 Elements, Trigons or Triplicities of the 4 Cœlestiall & Terrestriall Angles, of the foure Cardinall Windes, of the 28 Mansions of the Moone, of the 36 Decans and of the 72 Cœlestiall Quinaries what they are, & how knowne, & to be understood; Now seeing that (as we said before) to all & every of these, & to every Star, Asterism & Constellation, there is a ruling Angel or Intelligence, whereby the Influence thereof is conveyed to Inferiours, according to the holy & divine Will & degree of God, to his Honor & Glory, & the good of Man; Wee shall in the next place, give a description of the Intelligent Angells, their various denominations, & their severall degrees Orders & Offices, according to their Government aforesaid.

[42r] The Names of the seven President Angells, or Planetary Intelligences Governing the Cœlestiall Orbes, continually standing before the Face of the Omnipotent & divine Majestie, to whome is intrusted the disposing of all Cœlestiall & Terrestriall Things, as the Elementary Regions & Kingdoms of the Earth, & all things sublunary, regulating by a certain vissisitude of Daies, Houres & Yeares, who by the Heavens, Starrs & Planets (as by Instruments) distributes the Cœlestiall Influences of the Superiours upon these Inferiours.

Names of the Cœlestiall Angels, &c: ~~~~ see p. 61.

Excerpt H.[135]

SOMEWHAT in a few words[136] we shall say, how possible it is for Man to attain the verball Coloquy with good Angells, notwithstanding we have a speciall Treatise writ thereof a little hereafter following, and although we could remove many Objections, tending to the impossibility thereof; as the fulfilling of the Law, the ceasing of Oracles, & when we shall looke for Signes, none shalbe given us, & that we have Moses, the Prophets, the Apostles, the holy Gospell, & other sacred Manualls & Commentations all which if we will not believe, we shall scarce believe Angells; & that those Angells which were sent to divers holy men & women, mentioned in the Old and New Testaments, is said by many of our Theologians to be the Mesiah; & many the like passages we could raise, & when we have soe done, could give an answer to them all; but in this place we shall not medle therewith, we shall treate of those Subjects in our foregoing Preface, preceding our Booke; we shall here only shew forth some of the most eminent *Inspirati* in holy Scripture, & a word or two of our opinion thereupon.

[42v]

The Angells that were sent to:[137]			
Moses,	Methratton.	Joseph & Mary the Mother of Christ,	Gabriel.
Adam,	Raziel.	Sem the son of Noah,	Jophiel.
Noah,	Zaphkiel.	Jacob,,	Peliel.
Abraham,	Zadkiel.	The wife of Manoah	Phadaël.
Sampson,	Samaël.	David.	Cerviel.
Solomon,	Michaël.	Ezekiel.	Hasmaël.
Isaac, Tobit iunior, }	Raphaël.	Esdras,	Uriel.
		Elias,	Melhiel.
Joshua, Daniel, }	Gabriel.	Cenez,	Cerrel.

This together with many others, mentioned in sacred Writt, which we could nominate, we could nominate, were inspired by the holy Revelations of Blessed Angells; & to say that all these Angells were the Messiah, in my opinion would be a mistake, in the literall Interpretation of the Text: and we doe very believe, that they were severall certain Misticall Types representing the coming of the Mesiah, as the contente of the old Testament aboundantly shew forth, and as the Propheticall Doctrines of the aforesaid Holy men, recorded therein, doth plainly manifest, they speaking as they were inspired,

[135] Insertion point: after "who was also the Ruler of Moses," fol. 28r (p. 51).

[136] The following diatribe runs to over five thousand words.

[137] The names are tablulated from *OOP* book III ch. 47 (p. 305). Most of these were already mentioned in the chapter of the *Janua* on the Nine orders of Angels (fol. 26r–28r, deriving from *OOP* book III ch. 10).

which noe Question proceeded from the immediate Decree of the Holy Trinity; to prove which we shall give an apparent Testimony.

There was neither any Learning nor Arte knowne to the Auncients, but what came first by Inspiration; Observe that place in Exodus Chap: 34. v. i. to the ii where God taught Bezaliel & Aholiah and all those that were intellectually qualified, to worke curiously in Gold, Silver & Brass, & other rare Arts & Hanicraft workmanship; Soe likewise David, from an illiterate Shephard became a Prophet; Soe also Solomon was inspired, & all prophesied of the coming of the Messiah Only, not that he was already come; It was only the Angell that was sent to them.

[43r] Can we say that any of the aforesaid Cœlestiall Messengers, that were sent to Moses, Adam, Noah, Solomon, Tobias, &c., were the Messiah, or that Christ was only an Angel, before he was borne of the Virgin Mary in the flesh, to ransome the World, no, they were only the Angells or heavenly Messengers, to fulfil Gods Will, Decrees & Command, as he should institute & appoint them; as is manifest in the Parable spake by our Saviour Christ in St. Matthew's Gospell Chap: 21. V: 33. to 40. God sends his Messengers, before he sends his Son. Therefore they were only Angells or Messengers, & not the Messias; and did inspire those holy Men, unto whom they were sent, in all knowledge & wisdom, & to foretell the coming of the Messias, &c. We could make out all these severall Types & Representations of Christ, in the old Testament (which we cannot say were Christ himself) as they were delivered by these Cœlestiall Messengers, to those holy men appointed by God, to reveale & make knowne his Lawes & Purposes to the World, & of the coming of the Messiah, but we shall Treate of that elsewhere in its proper place. Let it suffice now, that wee only tell you, what our Saviour saith in many places of the Gospell, Search the Scriptures (saith he) & see whether or noe, they doe not testifie & beare witness of mee. The Scriptures doth not testifie, that he was already come, or that he had been here before,[138] but that he was to come, & at that tyme he was come; not to one or two particular persons, in the forme of an Angell, or any other Cœlestiall Similitude; No, it was not his Office, he came to the lost Sheepe of the House of Israell, he came to seeke & to save that which was lost; He came in the Flesh, & lived accordingly (sin excepted) therein, to the apprehensions of those, who then lived & had seene him, &c: and wrought many Miracles to those who believed, to the astonishment of all Spectators, & People Wherefore he came, for you heare him complaine of nothing

[138] It is likely that the original compiler of the Deuteronomic History (*i.e.*, the narrative sections of Deuteronomy and the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings) initially considered Josaiah King of Judah to be the Messiah, but this was obscured by the later redaction of the final section of II Kings after the death of Josaiah, the reversal or failure of his religious policies and the humiliation and destruction of the kingdom in the ensuing decades. The idea of the Messiah, certainly in the pre-captivity period, and to an extent through to the period of Roman rule, was more of a king, metaphorically anointed by God, who would unite the nation, drive off whichever empire last turned it into a vassal state & restore general obedience to the laws of Yahweh, than any kind of divine incarnation.

more, than want of Faith, & whosoever would but believe, onto such was nothing impossible neither incredible. He lived upon this Earth [43v] 33 yeares or thereabouts, & that to fulfil the unalterable Degree of his Father & the Scriptures, which did only Typify & testifie of him; he permitted himself to be betrayed & apprehended, by a tumultuous company of crude & masterless Soldiers & Renegadoes, for saith Hee, are you come as against a Theife, think yee that I cannot have Legions of Angells to assist me, if it were not for fulfilling the Scripture & the Will of my Father,[139] and was crucified, put to death, & soe suffered in the Flesh, after many Scoffs, buffetings, scourging, and other vile abuses; after he was dead in the flesh, he was buried, according to the order of deceased mortals, & not kept above ground; he overcame Death & Hell, & the third day after he was interred, he rose from the dead, & continued upon the earth with his disciples, forty daies, & then was taken up into heaven, where he sitteth at the right hand of God, making continuall Intercession, for as many as faithfully believe, & turne to God by him.

He was nothing at all specified of an Angell, but the Angell that appeared to him in the Garden to comfort him before he was betrayed, & the Angell that appeared to Mary Magdalene, & the other Mary, at the Sepulchre of Christ, when they went to visit the Sepulchre, & of the Angels that spake to his disciples, when he ascended into Heaven, and of some others in the new Testament, which we might as well say was this Messias, as those of the Old Testament. No, they were Angells only, & as soe to this day, & ever wilbe to the end of the World, & are drawn to converse, by those who are accordingly qualified, as we have mentioned elsewhere before. So that here you see a plain distinction between Christ & the Angells, the Messiah being the only Son of God, & the second person in the Trinity, & the Angells only Messengers or Agents, to perform the Will of God, according to his appointment & decree.

Can we thing that the Angell that drove Adam & Eve out of Paradise, or the Angell that appeared unto Jacob in a Dream, Gen. 31. 10. 11. 12, or those Angells that met Jacob, Gen: 32. 1, or that Angell that delivered Jacob from all Evills, Gen. 49. 15. 16. Or that Angell that [44r] was sent to conduct the Elect of God, Exod: 23, 20. 21. Or that Angell mentioned Gen: 24. 7, or the Angell that was sent to Hagar, Gen: 16. 7. to the end, or the Angell that talked with Zacariah, Zeckh: 2. 3. Or ⟨or⟩ that Angel that smote & killed an hundred eighty five thousand Assyrians in the Camp of Ashur 2 Kings 19. 35, Isa. 37. 36. Or that Angell which God sent to Daniell Chap: 6. 22. & 10. 13. Or that Angell that God sent to conduct young Tobias &c: or the Angell that appeared to Joseph, Mat. 2. 13, or those Angells that ministered to Christ after his Temptation in the Wilderness, Math: 4: 11. Mar: 1. 13. Or that Angell that appeared to Zacharias, in the Temple of the Lord, Luke i. ii. Or the Angell that saluted the Virgin Mary, the Moster of Christ, Luke 3. 26.

[139] There is an asterisk by this word in the MS., with another in the margin by it, but nothing else visible written in the margin.

&c. Or that Angell that appeared to the Shephards, at the Birth of Christ, & the rest of the Cœlestiall Hierarchies mentioned in Luke 2. v. 9 to 43 or those Angells soe frequently mentioned in the Apocalypse, or Revelation of St. John, or that Angell that comforted Christ in the Garden, Luke 22. 43. or those Angells that stood by the Apostles, at Christs Ascenion into Heaven. Acts 1. 10. 11. Or those Legions of Angels mentioned by our Saviour, Math. 26. 53. Or the Angel that appeared unto Baalam, Numb. 22. 31 unto 36. Or the Angell that appeared to Mary Magdalene &c. at the Sepulchre of Christ, at his Resurrection from the dead, Matt: 28. 2. 3. 4. 5. Mar: 16. 5. John 20. 12. 13. Or that Angell mentioned in the Epistle of St. Jude, ver: 3. All these with so many more Texts in Holy Scripture, alluding to the same sence & purpose; All these (I say) cannot be said to be the Messiah,[140] they are said to be Angells, & so are called & noe otherwise; Wittnes these Texts in holy Writt. See what the Kingly Prophet David saith, in Psalme 34. 7. & 91. 11, & 103. 20, & 104. 4. Heb: 1. 7. Mah: 19. 10. & in some other places, where you see what the Offices & duties of the Angells are, & that these are Angells, & ministering Spirits in the Heavens, & they are likewise ordained for the Glory of God, & the use of Man, being accordingly qualified; Wee reade not any thing in that old Testament, [44v] that these Angells should be a Messiah. There are other places that Typifie & represent the coming of the Messiah, which is clearly another thing, or another Subject. It cannot be said that Christ was an Angell, or took upon him the Office of an Angell, either before of after he came into the World; for as we said before, he is of the Godhead, & the second Person in the Trinity, & ever was so from the beginning, for we read in Gen: 1. 26. That when God created Man, he consulted the Godhead or Trinity,[141] purposing to make an excellent worke, above all the rest of the Creation; he consults not with Angells, for they were Created, & the works of his hands as well as inferior Creatures, & in the beginning somewhat inferior to man till he fell from his Allegiance &c.: by all which we clearly conceive, & probably conclude, that the aforesaid apparitions mentioned in the Scriptures, were Cœlestiall Angells, or Messengers, preceding the Messiah, &c. And if we grant all that our Theologians doe[142] infer hereupon, then is our opinion strengthened, as to our present Subject. That it is possible for a sober & qualified person to converse verbally with the Cœlestiall Angells, for if the Godhead it selfe, the second person in the sacred Trinity, was willing to serve Man, & appeare unto him, & converse with him, then certainly Angells may as they have done; & still does, at this present day,

[140] I am not sufficiently familiar with Christian theological debates in 17th-century England to comment on whether or not the position attacked in this rambling diatribe was ever seriously maintained. Sadly, it may be necessary to become such, as works like the present cannot be fully undertood if treated in isolation from the social / cultural / religious context in which they were produced.

[141] There is nothing in Gen. I. that can reasonably be translated "Trinity." The entire chapter consistently uses the "plural of majesty" for God.

[142] Written *sup. lin.*

as be experience we doe well know; & that they are no delusions, we shall clearly demonstrate in conclusion of this present Treatise concerning Angells & Spirits, &c.

But although we could insist further hereupon, yet wee shall not treat any more thereof in this place, All that wee shall say here in this place[143] at present is this:

That there was noe Art nor Science first found out by any Man but he had it imediately by the Inspiration, Dictation & Ministry of Angells; as we could instance in many undeniable Examples; but we shall only shew you one out of sacred Writ, & that is in Exodus 31. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. & Chap: 35. 8. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. And was not the Arke that God commanded Noah to build, the originall & first platform of Shipping? We could make mention of theimprovement thereof, & of the Arte of Astronomy & Navigation, but we shall treat of that elsewhere.

[45r] Let it suffice now, that we plainely see, that many very rare Arts and Inventions there are in the World, & that they came to our Auncestors, by the ministering & revelation of the blessed Angells; & we have come to the knowledge thereof, by the Tradition of the Auncients, &c.

Now thus much let us take notice of, & observe by the way; that through Warrs (the cheife Engine of Ruine & destruction) Ignorance, Fire, suddaine mortality & many other Casualties, an infinite of the Learning & scripts of the Auncients, have been lost & destroyed; yet by the helpe of Angelicall ministry, restored againe to succeeding Ages. For if we may believe Scripture (which I suppose none can deny) God is the same God yesterday & forever; he is Alpha & Omega, his decress is unalterable, & his promise the same, from the beginning to the end of the World, & shall continue unalterable from Generation to Generation; for God spared not his only begotten Son, & as he was borne in the Flesh, so he suffered in the Flesh, to fulfil the Decree of God the Father: &c:

Now then, if God soe loved the World, or Man, that he gave his only Son, the second person in the Trinity to be offered up a sacrifice to appease the wrath of his Father, & so became a Ransome for the Redemption of the World from Sin & Satan, for that God delighteth not in the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turne from his wickedness & live, & therefore he would not leave any thing undone, nor any means unattempted to bring us nearer to him, & to Contemplate his goodness to us, in giving us the command over all things, both Cœlestiall, Terrestriall, and Infernall (as we have further illustrated in the beginning of this Treatise) if Man (I say) be so excellent a Creation, & Ornament in Nature, & find such favours & benignities from Him, & be so precious his Sight; What thing is it that he may aske, that he cannot obteyne, if he cloath himself in the wedding Garment of Faith & humiliation, &c. See Heb: 11. Math 7. 7 8 & 17. 19. 20. 21. & 29. 19. 20. 21. 22. Marke 9. 23 & 11. 20. to 27. Luke 7. 7. & 11. 9. 10. & 17. 5. 6. John: 14. 11. 12. 13. 14. & 15. 7. 8. 16. 23. 24. Ephes. 6. 16. 17. 19. Phil. 2. 4.

[143] "in this place" written *sup. lin.*

5. 6. Col: 1. 22. 23. 2 Cor. 13. 5. James 1. 3. 4. 5. 6. 1 John: 5. 14. 15. 2 Pet: 1. 4. Gal. 3. 6. 7. & many others, &c.

[45v] If it be soe that Man by obtaine any thing of God, if he aske it in Faith, in which, whosoever asked at any tyme, never departed away empty; then it is undoubtedly to be granted, that Man now, as well as in the primitive tymes, may have conversed with Angells, & by their Cœlestiall Ministry, may reedifie revive & repaire lost Science, & obtaine the wonderfull knowledge & understanding, of all Misticall & occult Secrets in nature (that remaine so yet unknowne to these later Ages) most admirable & beneficiall to Man. Notwithstanding the fulfilling of the old Testament, & the decease of Oracles. For wee are positively of the beleife, that God loveth Man now, as well now as [ever he did, & is ready & willing to bestow the same benefites upon us, well as][144] our forefathers, if we are accordingly qualified, & worthy the receiving thereof; for nothing impedites Gods blessings, but our unworthyness, &c.

Having briefly[145] touched on some eminent & remarkable places & Texte out of sacred Writt, & the probable Conjectures of some auncient Rabbis, & the Conclusions of Moderne Theologians thereupon, together with the more remarkable Approbations of some, who have consulted & conversed verbally with Angells, as we have more at large treated of elsewhere, leaving the Construction thereof to those who are more Theologically & Cabalistically conceited, with the Opinions of Tradition only; it is sufficient we have only hinted thereat, & partly know the Misteries thereof &c.: But as wee cannot please the humours of all, soe let every one please themselves (as we have done) with what Reason best dictates them to, not swerving from the Divine Laws & Principles, &c: & what we have said, we have said; having omitted severall other places of holy writ, mentioning the Apparition of Angells, unto the Servants of God, who walked in his Lawes & kept his Statutes & Ordinances, as in Gen: 18. 2. & 19. 1. 15. & 22. 11 & truly (as we said before) I know no reason why man now as formerly may not receive the like benefits, if he walke in those paths of Righteousness his Forefathers walked in (notwithstanding the decease of Oracles, &c.) for there is ne decease or decrease of Gods Love & Goodness to [46r] Man, though man decreaseth in duty to God, God is to be found, of all those that seeke him, & will deny nothing that Man can ask of him, (be it what it will &c.) if he be worthy to receive such benefits, & is capable of making good use thereof &c.: & for this it sufficeth here &c.

Yet one thing we may not omit, as a matter of Principall Contentment and being fit to be knowne, & understood, & that is this, &c.:

In all the Scriptures we read, that Angells appeared in the Similitudes of Man in white Rayment & many tymes for that reason, were taken for men, (& called Men of God)

[144] Words in square brackets written along the edge of the page in the margin.
[145] You keep using that word. I do not think it means what you think it means.

until they were discovered, in or neare their deparature from those unto whome they appeared, after they had fulfilled the will of God, & delivered their message; & then they would usually say, That they had seene an Angell of the Lord (but before he was discovered or knowne to be an Angell, he was seemingly a Man, in forme & behaviour, & so thought to be, &c.) But we read not of any Angell therein, that did ever or usually appeare, in the shape or similitude of a Woman. Now for the reason, that some of our Modern Magitians, have had appearances of Angells in female shape, & forms, being contrary to the Theologicall Construction of those, who were called or thought to be good Angells, insomuch that some very Learned in this Art, have delivered their opinion thereof, and John Tritheme the Abot of Spanheim, the learned Father & Master in this Art, in his little Book *Octo Questionum Maximiliani Cæseris*,[146] Quest. 6 saith, That never any good Angell was read of, to have appeared in the forme of a Woman, &c. & more to the like purpose, &c.

This opinion of his struck such a deep impression of beliefe, in later Students in this Art, that it befot contest thereupon; for seeing Angells more frequently & familiarly appeare, in Feminine forme than in Masculine forme, together with the great scandal, that that been throwne upon this incomparable, matchless & protoplast Art, by the Ignorant mistakes, false, malicious & misconstrive opinions, and interpretations thereof by Scismaticall Sectaries, & many others, who carpe at & inveigh all things they understand not, nor are accustomed to (& well may such scandalize Arts & Sciences & calumniate the Students therein, who kick, spurne at and [46v] endeavour to overthrow Kingdomes & Commonwealths, and the Governments thereof: both Ecclesiasticall & Civill, except they have a principall Office, Interest or Benefit therein, themselves) calling some Atheisticall, Hereticall & Malignant, others Diabolicall, delusive & deceiptfull, prophaine, superstitious & what not: when as indeed the contemners, revilers, & abusers of Art[147] are worse themselves, then what they style Arte & Artists to be, &c: as we could clearly make out to the shame & silencing of all such, who either impudently this Art, or blasphemously the works of God in Nature, &c., oppose or deny; but we shall mention this elsewhere before: & shall leave such to the reward of God, according to his Judgments &c: but we shall to our matter in hand,

Wee shall now dissipate the former mistake of Trithemius, and remove the doubte of some others, who I am confident, though resolved mistakes have erred, & soe

[146] Johannes Trithemius, *Liber octo quæstionum, quas illi dissolvendas proposuit Maximilianus Cæsar* (responses to a series of questions on theological and other matters which had been posed to the author by the Emperor, first printed in 1515). In the course of answering question 6, on the power of witches (*De potestate maleficarum*), the abbot of Spanheim referred to classical and German legends of water-spirits in female form (Naiads, Nereids, *Wasserfrauen*), then continued, "Sancti autem Angeli quoniam affectione nunquam variantur uniformiter semper apparent in forma virili. Nusquam enim legimus scriptus, quod bonus spiritus in forma fit visus muliebri aut bestiæ cuiuscunque, sed semper in specie virili."

[147] "of Art" written *sup. lin.*

consequently missed their Expectations, & lost their purpose, because they would not confide in Effeminate Appearances, iudging them according to the foregoing report, Trithemius & some other gave of them: Who being so mistaken and dismissed without any further Question made threof, or search therein, stiled this Art Ridiculous, Diabolicall, Useless & altogether unfit for Man to practise, for that it was a strong delusion, and superstitious & hereticall & impossible for any good to come thereof or to have any satisfaction therein, or to learne any thing therefrom, of good Ministry, Admonitions or directory Rules or rudiments of Learning, binding to the disclosing of any secret in Nature, or the repairing of any lost Science or Art, that that been a long tyme buried in oblivion, nor any other benefit that man may receive, but illusions only, and many the like aspersions hath been cast upon this profound, cœlestiall & unparalleled Art. But such who give this censorious report of this Art, do report it of the Art only, not of themselves; for if there be any defect, [47r] without doubt it is in themselves (caused by their owne Ignorance, for want of better Judgment therein, thereby wanting merit & not being worthy thereof) not in the Art. This we doe confess, that there may be an abuse in all things, & that some men may assume to themselves, more then they ought to doe, & become superstitious out of mere Curiousity; & others may become Idolatrous for want of Faith & better Judgment, & some others Atheisticall, Ridicuolus & Blasphemous, in giving that to Angells, Art & their owne abilities presuming thereupon, which is due to God only; others there by who converse with Infernall & other sorts of wicked & evill Spirits, for the fulfilling of their owne base, lewde, ungodly & unworthy & uniust ends & worldly lucre, when as we should use them as our Vassalls only, & keepe them in bonds & subjection, denyhing their Councells as wholesome Doctrine, using them according to their Offices only, that is to restraine them from doing Evill; which that is a qualified Magitian knoweth how to doe, & what is meant by it, he well understandeth &c: All which is as bad as bad may or can be, or be said to be, yet I cannot say it is worse, than for any one ignorantly, unadvisedly, ignominiously, scurrilously, traditionally only, or any otherwise maliciously to scandalise, asperce & condemne, what they cannot attaine unto, nor doe not understand: for he who shall soe doe, doth (in my Opinion) rob God of his honor, as those who shall make use of & give his Glory, Praise & Honor (due to him only) to other powers & interests being inferior; & the work of his, & mens hands; or those who fall into dispaire, which is as much as to say, That they think God is not sufficient, to give us any such Benefits, or will heare us when we call upon him, or that he hath layd aside his mercies to Man, or that he hath forgot his promises, or that there is noe truth in the Cœlestiall Hierarchies, & Choirs or Legions of good Angells now as formerly, nor in any Arte & Sciences, which there is noe man, but will conclude to be as ridiculous & absurd, as all the rest, if not more.

[47v] How then can any dare or presume to condemne this Art, or other Arte or Naturall Sciences, when as there nothing is found amiss therein? If there by any defect, it is in Man, not in Art: In all the Scriptures we shall finde, that God & our Saviour Christ, complaine of nothing more in Man, then Pride, Presumption, Ambition, Perversnes, want of Faith & Obedience to his Lawes & divine Institutions; God made, constituted & Ordained, the services of all Angells, &c. & Sublunary Creatures, in a wonderfull Order, to & for the use, behoofe & good of Man, & Man for himself; to laud & magnifie him as an more excellent Ornament then all the worke of his Creation besides, until Man (being seduced) through Ambition, thinking to be as wise & good as God himself, by eating the forbidden fruit (being a great presumption to doe, when God had warned him to the contrary, before which amongst all the rest of the Creation, God hath set apart nothing for himselfe, as an Edict to the Man, but that one Tree, which wee now adaies think, were but a very easy Commandment to keepe, & a very great matter to breake it, considering the State & Condition that Man was then in) & soe you see (though a small Justification both to keepe or breake) how hard a matter it proved in both: The breach of which Commandment caused Man to become more base & vile, then the Beasts of the fields, & from the best, became the worst ornament of the whole Creation, &c.

Here you see the defect clearly lyes in Man, not in Nature or Art, nor in any Creatures, or other thing; tis Man that falls, the divine Instituions & Inevitable decrees of God stands, & all Arts & Sciences Also, & will doe to the end of the World, notwithstanding all the superfluous Batteries, & malignant Oppositions to the contrary.

Let us now behold all these malicious detractors, like the Blind leading the Blind, till they all fall into the ditch of gross Errors, & there lye wallowing in the Myre of Absurdity, where we shall leave them belcing out stinking Nonsence, against most apparent Truthes, until they are choakt as well as blinded, &c.

[48r] Now, before you endeavour to take the Mote out of the Eye of Art, I pray you take the Beame out of the Eye of your owne Ingorance, and think not that Pearls are to be cast to Swine, or Diamonds to Dunghill Cocks, that such Guifts wilbe given to you to deride, or make a worldy Ostentation or Lucre thereof. No, if you reade them with humility, admiration, gravity, or other suck like solid Observations, as becometh a sober & qualified Christian to doe; & when you have so done, sit downe & consider, as the Bereans did at the doctrine of Paul, in Acts 17. 11. Not condemning anything that doth not at all deserve it. And so for the subject we have partly said.

Wee shall put a period to this part of the Isagoge, in answer to what Trithemius asserteth in his foresaid Method, concerning the Appearance of Angells (vizt) That never any good Angell was read of, to have appeared in the forme of a Woman.

A most excellent & descreet Magitian[148] living since him, though peradventure not altogether so well learned, yet every whit as pious, Serious, Qualified & endowed with as good parts as his, or any one, that hath lived since, unto this present tyme, & now it is June 1649,[149] who before he would stand to the single Testimony of Tradition only, was resolves (if possibly it might be) to know the certain and apparent truth thereof, from those, whome he thought & knew, could better informe him, having had severall shewes & Operations. And most or all their appearances, that convened before him, were usually or for the major part Feminine[150]—This Gentleman being at a certain tyme in his Study upon Action, & being in Conference with the Angell called Galvah, he makes demand of the aforesaid Question unto him or her, for she appeared unto him, in the similitude of a Maid or Virgin;[151] & she returns him this Answer,

The Angel Galvah's Reply to the Magitian.[152]

It is evident that the Angells of God, are incomprehensible to those that are their Inferiours; for the higher Order is incomparable to God, & by degrees those that are Inferiours, are Incomparable to them.

[48v] It followeth therefore, That in respect of that Degree in Angells, things are Incomprehensible.

Angells of themselves neither are Man nor Woman, therefore they doe doe take Formes (not according to any Proportion in Imagination, but) according to the decrees[153] & applicable Will both of him, & of the thing wherein they are Administrators. For they are all Spirits, ministering the Will of God: and unto whome, unto every thing within the compas of Nature, & the use of Man. It followeth therefore, considering that they minister not of themselves, that they should minister in that unsearchable Forme, within the which their executions are limitted.

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[148] John Dee (1527-1609).

[149] This date is not credible. As Ashmole observed, much of the discourse in these sections is drawn out of Dr. French's translation (pub. 1651) of the *De Occulta Philosophia* of Cornelius Agrippa; and while it is not *a priori* impossible that material from this circulated in manuscript prior to its publication (getting a work of that length & complexity translated, set up in type, printed, bound & distributed is not something that happens overnight), the extent of the borrowings and the perpetuation (in other parts of the *Janua*) of errors in the printed edition give a *terminus a quo* for the work; and that's before we consider John Dee's spirit diaries.

[150] This is almost arguable if one only considers the records covered in *T&FR*, and that only because Galvah first appears very near the start of that record (p. 10); prior to her the Angels seen by Kelly include *Madimi* and *Ath* of the *Filiæ Filiarum lucis* (both female), *Murifri* (male), and an unnamed "voyce," later said to belong to "one […] much like *Michael*." *Madimi* & *Ath* got more shew-stone time than the other two.

[151] Kelly described her as "a Woman, like an old mayde, in red peticote, and with a red silk upper bodyes: her hair rolled about like a Scottish woman: The same being yellow." (Cotton Appendix XLVI part i. fol. 8r; *T&FR* p. 10).

[152] In margin, "<*illegible*> p. 33" (the first '3' possibly altered to '1'). The following speech (to "I will yet alledge greater") is taken from Dee's record of the Action of 1583.06.14, *T&FR*, p. 13. In S5 it appears, slightly paraphrased and not credited, somewhat earlier in the *Janua* (fol. 18r-19r).

[153] Underlined in S4. Not underlined or emphasised in *T&FR* or Cotton Appendix XLVI.

Now if Trithemius or any other can say, that Woman also hath not the Spirit of God, being formed & fashioned of the selfe same matter (notwithstanding in a contrary proportion by a degree), If Trithemius, or any other can separate the dignity of the Soule of Woman, from the Excellency of Man, but according to the forme of the matter, then might his Argument be good.

But because that in Man & Woman, there is a proportion and preperation of Sanctification in Eternity alike; therefore may those that are the eternall Ministers of God, in proportion to Sancification, take unto them the Bodies of them both (I meane in respect of the Forme) for as in both you read *Homo*, so in both you finde one & the same dignity in Internall matter all one.

Now Trithemius spake, in respect of the filthiness (which indeed is no filthiness) wherewith all weoman are stained, & by reasons from the naturall philosophers, as a man tasting more of Nature indeed, then of him who is the Workman, or a Supernaturall Master, He (I say) concluded his naturall Invention.

In respect of myself, I answer Trithemius thus, I am *Finis*, I am a beame of that wisdom, which is the end of Mans Excellency.

And if Trithemius mark well, he shall perceive, that true Wisdome is always painted in a Womans Garment: for then the purity of a Virgin, nothing is more com[[mendable.]][154]

And if (saith she), you think that these Arguments are not sufficient, I will yet alledge greater.

Thus far the Angell Galvah; and I think it in my Opinion very satisfactory to any ingenious & intelligible Man; & truly I also think, that we may commend the whole, with the most select of this Isagoge, without any sensible Errour.

Having briefly &c. ~~~~ p: 65.

[It is unclear to whom this diatribe was addressed. It is highly doubtful that the *Janua* was written for general publication, and anyone known to be hostile to the subject-matter would be unlikely to be willingly given a copy. Possibly the author was trying to convince himself or his associates of the compatibility of their magical practices with their religious faith,]

[154] Some text omitted: *T&FR* reads, "Those also that are called *Filiæ* and *Filiæ Filiarum* are all comprehended *in me*, and do attend upon *True Wisdom*; which if *Tritemius* mark, he shall perceive […]" Part of the last word of this paragraph is lost in the gutter in S4. Galvah continued, "God, in his Judgment, knoweth, how Trithemius is rewarded." The *Filiæ lucis* (Daughters of Light) and *Filiæ filiarum lucis* (Daughters of the Daughters of Light), the former originally described as "seven women in green," the latter, among them *Madimi* and *Ath*, as "seven wenches in white" are among the angels of Dee's *Sigillum Æmeth*, described in the spirit diary *Mysteriorum Liber Secundus* (BL Sloane MS. 3188 fol. 16-30).

Excerpt I.[155]

[49r] […] as we have inserted, in a particular Tract or Treatise or two following, where they are all fully explained, & the practicall uses thereof, as hath been proved, & by the Ingenious may plainly and satisfactorily appeare.[156]

We have spoken before concerning the Natures of good Angells and Spirits, & of their diversities & distinctions; Now that we may not mingle truth with falsehood, nor run our selves into Meanders and Premunicies (?), by mistaking ourselves in these things, whereby many Errours hath been committed, and for that reason this Art hath been much scandalized & abused, when as indeed, it is only the Misunderstanding thereof, & the insufficiency & ignorance of the pretended Master thereof, where he knoweth not a good Apparition from a bad one, a true one from a false one, &c: For he who is a Magitian, must expect Temptations & Illusions, but he he can rightly distinguish them, & overcome them (the which he ought to know how to doe, or else he cannot be perfect in the Art) then the tempting illuding evill Spirit, flyeth away powerless, and becometh like a Waspe that hath lost her Sting, having no power or strength to tempt any more; for behold the evill Spirit doth sift & winnow us as Wheate. Wee could treat much hereof, but it is no place, we shall speake more afterwards, at the Conclusion of this Part, we shall shew you here a distinction (as we said before) of these spirits which are Terrestriall & Infernall, &c.: whereby we may be aware of their Temptations & Delusions, & pray that God would deliver us from them & give us power over them, to restraine & vanquish their evill, malignant attempts & assaults, &c.

The Bodies of evill Angells, &c. ~~~~ see p: 69.

[155] Insertion point: after "Under whom [*scil*., the "Demon Kings" of the quarters] many others bear rule as princes &c., of Legions, & there are of the sort Innumerable spirits of private offices," fol. 37r (p. 69). The opening apparently replaces "as before we said" in S5.

[156] It is unclear if this "Tract or Treatise" was ever written, and if so whether it is to be identified with any extant text. It is possible that the writer refers either to an edition of the *Ars Goëtia* (specifically, the "Dr. Rudd" edition in Harley MS. 6483) or to a work like the account of the Kings in S4 fol. 116-120.

Excerpt K.[157]

[49v] VARIOUS is the Construction, & severall that been the Opinions of later Ages, of & concerning these Terrestriall Spirits, &c.: together with many vaine, ignorant & idle Censures, that have passed of them; of which we shall first give an account, & then our Opinion, &c.

Some doe suppose, that where they doe bring any benefit or good to Man, that they are Angels, or good & familiar spirits, sent to those men from God, & by him are taken from them againe, by reason of their great & heinous sins & enormous offences & Transgressions, in abusing such his mercies & labours; for often tymes they bring many good Offices & benefits to Men, & doe undertake & sustaine many hard Labours for them.

Some are of Opinion, that the Spirits will not bee seene by us, because that when a man seeth them, he cryeth out & is astronished, suppose that they are the Spirits & Soules of Men, that have come to an evill death, that have either desperately hanged or drown'd themselves, or any other waies violently made themselves away, or that have lived a vile & lewd Conversation, or otherwise vitious & noxious in their lives & dealings &c.: & for that cause doe wander about, & are reserved by the Devill until the day of Judgment.

Some doe suppose them to be only Phantasies, & doe presage and foreshow much good fortune to those places, wherein they are seene & heard; which many tymes hath so happened & come to pass, especially where the Truth hath been fixed & staple with a constant Taciturnity.

Some think that they are Magitians inchantments.

[50r] Some these are, who having seene & heard them about Treasures hidden in the Earth, have iudged that they are the Spirits of Men, who have hid Treasures in that place, & ought to remaine there, until their Custody thereof be found out, whereby they may be discharged therefrom, & the Treasure be obteyned, if the Master Artist, or carefull Magician, know how to order his Affairs, & understand what he undertake aright; if not he may shooe the Goose.[158]

These are the Coniectures of some; & many are the opinions of divers concerning them, but these aforesaid being the Major testimony, and comprehending the sences of all others, that have treated thereof, that wee thinke it both needless & useless to insert any more then what we have done, being all beside the Truth, & wide of the Marke they aimed at: wherefore we shall give a true answer to the foregoing Censures imagined of them, & a briefe narrative touching them.

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[157] Insertion point: after "by the Meanest Capacity," fol. 40r (p. 75).

[158] "To shoo the goose," per Hazlitt's *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, is an idiom for "any futile enterprise or occupation"; so, roughly, "he'll be wasting his time."

As to the first Construction, we shall say thus; they cannot be Cœlestiall Angells sent from God, to communicate Benefits to Men, for they dwell not in the Earth, neither do they reteyne such grossness as a Terrestrial Nature, their habitations & offices are far different, & of an other quality, as wee have fully & appairently demonstrated formerly in their proper place; neither are they capable of suffering any such hard Labours. Their Offices are to Teach, Instruct, Guide & defend the Truth of sacred Misteries, & such as walk according to the Lawes & Commandments of God, & our Lord Jesus Christ, which is a greater benefit & blessing, then all these Terrestrial Elphs or Spiris, or all the Treasures of the World can give or purchase. These things are so obvous, that wee neede not spende any further thereof, as the foregoing Method of the Natures &c. of the Cœlestiall Angells, will exemplarily & more evidently make it appeare, &c.

To the second we answer; Tis true, they are not, neither will they be seene by all, but by some more especially, with whome they are affected & delighted, as we have fully explained, in the beginning of this section,[159] & from others they fly, & will not [50v] appeare to them, for the reasons before specified; that is, either they are daunted & dismayed, or that they are of a couragious Spirit & undaunted Resolution, & soe through their Confidence & want of knowledge and better Judgement, force them to fly or vanish away; or by Art force them to yeild, and fufill such his desires, as his present occasions & affairs render him capable of demanding, & afterwards by the Artist driven away from one place, & confined to another (as we shall further discourse anon) whereby they cannot (as before) appeare againe, but remaine as a Waspe that hath lost her Stinge; whence it cometh to pass, that they are said by such condignity to be deprived of their Office & Joy; which may without any sensible errour, serve for another Reason to that, which is mentioned about the beginning of the foregoing page; why these Terrestrial Spirits are not soe frequent, visible & familiar now as formerly.[160] All which is likewise soe plaine, that it needs noe further exposition, &c.

To the third we answer, That these Terrestriall Elphs or Spirits, cannot be said to be the Soules or Spirits of any that have come to an evill or untimely end, or desperately made themselves away, &c.: as is asserted, for wee question, whether the Soule or Spirit of any one, can properly be said to reside, or be seene on Earth, after the Body is deceased and interred in the Grave; yet wee deny not, but that many houses hath been much troubled, & infested with Visions & Apparitions, and hath been disturbed annoyed & molested, with severall Incumberances, Incursions & unusuall Noyses & Hurly burlies; and that such like shapes & similitudes, hath been seene to walke & wander thereabouts, & in such hours as such an one lately lived in & that it was in such a likeness & resembled

[159] This possibly alludes to a passage not copied here, as already being in Ashmole's copy of the *Janua* (S5, fol. 38r, deriving in turn from *OOP* Book III ch. 32, p. 450).

[160] *i.e.*, in the passage immediately prior to the insertion point for this excerpt (S5 fol 40r, immediately following the list of the seven sisters).

such a person, & seemed to be in such a habit & in such a posture; & many such like things (somewhat whereof we have seene by Experiences) & therefore they are said to be the Ghoste of such or such a Person; but this is contrary to the opinion of those, who refer these things to the Terrestriall Spirits, Elphs, Sylphs or Pigmies. There is few or none twell in those Places which they inhabite, although they willingly resort, oftentimes & frequent [51r] and sometimes dwell in those places, which we inhabit (yet without dispute, it is not without but for some Cause), yet this cannot manifest them, to be the Soules of the deceased. This is a manifest mistake. And since it hapneth soe oppertunely, we shall give a breife description & definition of these things, in this place; that the differenece between the Soules of the deceased, the Devills & these Terrestriall Elphs or Spirits, & the true foundationall grounds thereof might be knowne, to avoid all further Misconstructions thereof.

Manifest & divers are the opinions & suppositions of the auncient Philosophers, & modern Theologians concerning this subject, & different one from another, that it would even be endless & toylesome to insert their Traditions, & so painefull to beat our brains thereupon, considering how useless & impertinent a Subject it is, if we understand the substance thereof aright, as to coniecture the state of mans Souls, & his spirituall condition after death, we shall not trouble our selve much therewith, only as much thereof as is expedient for our preset purpose, in regard our present Task lyeth otherwise; & shall conclude with St. Augustine, That it is better to doubt concerning secret things, then to contend about things uncertain. And soe we shall to our intended purpose, in answer to the 3rd foregoing Construction.

Most certain it is, that Death is fatall to all, & it is appointed for all men once to dye, & as the Preacher saith Eccles 12. 7. When Man dyes, his Body retournes to the Earth, from whence it was taken & the Spirit retournes to God who gave it. Whence we may infer the words of the Philosopher, who saith, The Spirit of Man is of a sacred nature, & divine offspring, & is always faultless, wherefore it is incapable of any punishment. Others conclude thus, That the soule if it have done well, rejoyceth together with the Spirit, & going forth with the Ayeriall Charriot, passeth freely to the Quire of Heroes (that is of blessed Souls) or reacheth Heaven, where it enioys a blessed & perpetuall felicity, & the divine Vision, & possession of the kingdome [51v] of Heaven; But if it hath done ill, the Spirit iudgeth it, & leaves it to the pleasure of the Devill, & the sad Soule wanders about Hell like an Image, and being voyde of an intelligible Essence, & left to the power of a furious Phantisie, is ever subject to the Torment of Corporeall Qualities; knowing that it is by the iust Judgment of God, for ever deprived of the divine Vision for its sins, the absence whereof is the most grievous punishment of all: for when the Soule is separated from the Body, the perturbations of the Memory & Sence remain; To which St. Austin assents saying, That separated Soules reteyne the fresh Memory of those

things, which they did in their lyfe. Firmianus, a writer of no mean Judgement & capacity, asserteth thus, Let not any man concede (saith he) that the Souls or the dead, are iudged imediately after death, for the are all deteyned in one common custody, until the tyme shall come, where in the Almighy Judge shall examine their Deeds & Deserts; Then they who shalbe found Righteous, shall received the reward of Immorality, but they whose sins & Wickedness shall then be detected, [shall not arise again, but shalbe inclosedor shut up with the wicked in darknes destined][161] to eternall punishments. In which opinion St. Austin subscribeth, where he saith in his *Enchiridon*, That the tyme which is interposed between the death of Mankinde, & the last Resurrection, conteyneth the soule in secret hidden Receptacles, where every Soule receiveth condign Rest or Misery, for the good or evill which it did in the Body, whilst it lived in the Flesh. St. Ambrose doth not dissent herefrom who saith, That the day of reward is expected of all, therefore whilst the fullness of tyme is expected, the Soules expect a due Recompense, Cœlestiall Glory & Fœlicity, being elected & prepaired for some, and endless Tormente, Paines & Punishments ordained & determined for others: he further saith, that the Soule is loosed from the Body, & after the end of this lyfe, is even as yet in suspecne, being doubtfull of the Judgment to come. Heere we may behold, the generall assertions ot eh auncient Fathers and Philosophers, the which is also the opinion of the major part of our modern & later Theologians, and other Writers who hath followed the Traditions of the Auncients, [52r] as we have found, by curious & diligent search, with no small paines, for our further & more ample satisfaction in this Subject, being a matter much in conest & debate, & truly we can find litle difference in the Judgment of the learned, from what we have here insisted. And as for the opinions of the Scismaticks & Sectaries hereof, who are more conceitedly wise, then wisely Conceited, we pass them by; as being of noe worth, value, vailidty or estimation, &c.

In all which foregoing passages, we cannot finde one atome of satisfaction, one syllable to prove, that these terrestriall Spirits, Sylphes, or whatsoever we may call them, are or can any way probably, or at all be the SOules of the deceased, either in generall or particular, but rather make clearly against such Opinions, & seemeth to be a complete & rationall answer, to the 3rd Construction foregoing.

Wee shall only add a word or two of our own Opinion, & so conclude what we promised in the beginning of this Answer, & that is thus [We positively conclude, that hese Terrestriall Spirits, can neither properly nor improperly, be said to be the soules of any deceased Persons, in no kinde of Respect; our [[…]],[162] That if it were soe, then should be have these Spirits most numerous & frequent, as we could instance in hundred of Examples, neither are we without Presidente enough & manifold to prove it, And I

[161] Text in square brackets written in margin with insertion mark before "to eternall punishments."

[162] Text in square brackets written in margin with insertion note after "& that is thus." The last three or four words are partially lost in the gutter & unreadable in the images I'm working from.

dare confidently aver, that in this perfidious age wherein we now live, there is not scarce one Man of ten thousand, that liveth a virtuous, pious religious, Charitable, honest, christian lyfe, or dyeth iustified by his Faith or good Works, as I am very confident Millions of some Christians in this Terrestriall World,[163] can say and shrewdly conjecture, by manifold & woefull experience, without any materiall & sensible Errour; yet God forbid we should iudge uncharitably of any One, though never so bad, & herein let noe one goe about to pull the Beame out of our Eyes, before he have taken the Mote out of his owne Eyes. And soe by this Rule, there would have been and would continually be, far more innumerable of wandering Spirits and Goblins upon the Earth, then People & Inhabitants, and soe by course halfe the world had neede be Magicians, to expel & drive them away, & instead of crying downe the Art, [52v] they had more neede to cry it up, exalt, esteeme & cherish it, and the learned therein (Professors we may not call them, for none dare, or be knowne to process it, the ignorance of the Age is such) We say, that to beleive Soules of wicked people, that depart this life, cannot goe to the place God hath predestinated and ordained for them, but must wander up & downe this terrene Globe, like Spirits & Goblins to fright folks is an Errour, & a palpable mistake; or to think that they can be turned or metamorphosed into Spirits, is as false; for as we said before, if that were true, the World would soe abound with Terrestriall Spirits & Goblins, that we should not be voyd of multitude of Experiments therein, & Exemplifications thereof, &c.: and yet we see, there is such a scarcity of such things, that hardly one Person of an hundred, will believe any such thing at all, as Spirits, &c.: which hotherwise could not of necessity but convinece any incredulous person, the Apparitions & usuall Signs, Testimonies, & other severall significations thereof would be so common, &c: Wee could alleadge greater Arguments to prove our Answer to these things, but we shall explaine something hereof more fully in the Argument following; & so wind up this Answer &c: Therefore observe &c.[164]

Isagogicall Observations &c. ~~~~ p: 75.

[163] Given the population of the planet at the time this was written, only a small percentage of those "Millions of some Christians" would themselves be among the "one in ten thousand." The passage is hyperbole of course, and jeremiads on the corruption of the age can be found in, well, every age from which written records survive: but there is other evidence indicating that this work was written when a civil war in England was in living memory, and either during or shortly after a time when the country was under a military dictatorship run by a gang of religious fanatics.

[164] As far as I can tell, in all that rambling and ranting the writer hasn't actually stated what they think those critters actually *are*, not indeed addressed all the opinions on the subject listed at the start of this section.

Janua Magica Reserata:
Further excerpts and fragments

[The following invocation is found on fol. 81 & 83 of S4, which appear to comprise a single folded sheet that was inserted into an unrelated collection of talismanic designs with accompanying text (a small slip with a design of a dodecagram and heptagram was in turn stuck inside it, and now forms fol. 82). The title, sub-title and text follow the pattern of the "Cœlestiall Keys" of the *Janua*. A shorter "Tenth Key" in a different hand and style was written in on an unused page following the Ninth Key in S5.]

The Tenth Key

Moveing & calling forth to Visible appearance the Cœlestiall Hierarchy of Heroes or Quire of Blessed Soules of the order of Animastick whose principall governer of Blessed Intelligences is Issim or the Soul of Messiah Residing & bearing Rule in the Spheare of the Elements.

O You Glorious great Sacred and Cœlestiall Angells or Blessed Intelligences **Jereceue** and **Mitraton**[165] whose principall governing Angell or Blessed Intelligence is **Issim** & all others ye Cœlestiall Angells or Servants of the most high, omnipotent Incomprehensible immense Immortall & Eternall God of host the onely Creator of heavne & Earth & of all things whatsoever Both Cœlestiall & Elemental Animal Vegitable Minerall & Reptile or Insect that is contained & Comprehended therein & that serve before the most high & Excellent honoured Angells **Hajoth HaKados**[166] as ministering Angells present & always at his most high superior & Divine Commands and Appointments in the Order of **Aninastik**[167] or Quire of Blessed Souls and Residing in the tenth heaven, & bearing office Rule & power in the sphere of the Elements wee servants also of the Highest & Reverently here present in his holy feare Do Call upon you & humbly Request & Earnestly Entreate you & move you to Visible appearance In by & through this most Excellent Ineffable great mighty signall sacred & Divine name of the most high God **Issim**[168] & his numerall attribute **Malcuth** who sitteth in the most Imperiall & highest heaven before whom all the hosts or Quires of Angells Incessantly Singeth **O mappalaman Hallelujah** who created all Heaven & Earth in Six Dayes and all things there

[165] *Ierescue* and *Mitraton* are mentioned as the Western Angels of Wednesday in the *Heptameron*, where they have no particular connection to Malkuth, the Sphere of the Elements or the Order of Blessed Souls.

[166] The *Chaioth ha-Qadosh* (חיות הקדש) are more normally associated with the first sphere. They are not cited in the "First Key" of the *Janua* but are mentioned in the chapter of the ten Sephiroth and preceding table (S5 fol. 25v, 26r).

[167] I have allowed all the variant spellings of this name to stand, as it is generally lettered quite clearly.

[168] *Issim* or *Ischim* (**אישים**, also appears as **ישים**) more normally appears as the name of a class of Angels associated with Malkuth (Agrippa, deriving from Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*) or Yesod (777 col. LXXXVI, deriving from *Kabbala Denudata* tom. I part iv fig. xvi (M)). The name of God associated with Malkuth in Agrippa's scale of the number 10 is *Adonia Melekh*, **אדני מלך**.

therein is & he saw that all hehad done was good & he Rested from his labors & he Blessed all that he had Done & Sealed the Same in his most high great & holy name **Marinata Abint Jeja** as the most high & onely God of heaven & Lord of hosts the maker of time & by the Seal of your Creation being the marke or Character of holiness unto you & by the Occult Mystery & Secret Vertue Efficacy & Influence thereof Dignifying & Confirming you in Orders office name natures & Corporallity with Divine Cœlestiall Angelicall immortall Eternall & Sublime Excellency glory power purity perfection goodness & love first unto the Servis of the most high God & his Divine Laws & Commands & nextly unto the Charge Care Conduct Councell Comfort Benifitt & Assistance of his servants the Sons of men Living on Earth to inspire Instruct & guide them unto the Knowledge & way of truth and all true [81v] Physicall & Mettaphysicall Sciences, Either Immediatly from the holy Ghost, unto more Choyce Vessells of honour or Mediatly by Divine grace, & permission, from your Selfe or Selves, unto the Sons of men Servants of God Dwelling on Earth, whensoever you Shall be of them Invocated Called forth & thereby moved to Descend, & appeare unto them &c: by all aforesaid & by the great Signall Vertue, power Dignity Excellency & Efficacy thereof both immediately primary & mediatly Secondary by Respective mediums of Divine light Grace & mercy & accordingly Dependent & So thereby flowing & accordingly Defusing, by Several Emanations proper a Symbolizing power & Vertue from the Superiours to the Inferiours wee Do humbly bessech Earestly Resquest Command Constraine & move you **Jereceve & Mitraton** to visible appearance being Located & bearing Rule in the spheare of the Elements together with all Others who is under the Command of your principall governor **Issim** in the Order of **Anamastick** in generall & particular Joyntly & Severally, Every & Each one by office Respectively to gird up and gather your Selves together Some one or more of you (as it shall please God) &c.: by Divine Permission to move & Descend from your Cœlestiall mansion or place of Recidence into this **C.S.** or **G.R.**[169] & therein to appear visibly unto us & wee also Entreat you would be gratiously pleased in and through the same to transmit your true Angelicall & Reall Presence plainely unto the sight of our Eyes, & your voyces unto our Eares that wee may plainly & visibly see you & audibly here you speake unto, or otherwise to appeare out of the same; as it shall please God & you his servants of Divine Grace & Messagers of mercy seemeth most meet proper pertinent & best befitting this Action, Appearance, Occasion or Matter, & to show plainly & visibly unto us, a forgoing Signe or teste of your Appearance, And wee do also yett further humbly Beseech Earneast Entreate, & undeniably Request & move you O **Jereceve & Mitraton** to move Descend & appear & personally to give your presence Move I say from your place of Recidence from that mansion Orbe & Spheare of the Elements the Office & order of Anmastick In by and through the Divine Signall

[169] "Crystal Stone or Glass Receptacle."

Mighty & Powerfull name of your God **Issim** and his numeral attribute **Malcuth** And the great Efficacy, Vertue, Excellency, power prevalency & Superiority thereof, to Gird up and gather your Selves together Every & Each one joyntly & by it selfe, Respectively & Severally to [83r] move & Descend from your Cœlestiall Mansion or place of Residence Apparently visible to the sight of our Eyes into this **C.S.** or **G.R.** standing here before us as being sett for that purpose or otherwise unto us & before us out of the same as it shall please God & you his Servants of Divine Light Grace & mercy seemeth most meet, & best befitting this Action And to show forth a preceding sign of your Appearance & to be freindly unto us & by your Angellicall Benevolvency, Cœlestiall Illumination favourable Assistance: familiar society, Mutall Correspondency, verball Converse Continuall Community & sacred Instructions, both now & at this time present, and at all other times to informe & Rightly Direct our most weake Depraved Stupid & Ignorant intellect judments & understandings And to Condust us by your Angelicall Instincts & Archydoctions into the luminous path way of Truth, leading unto & giveing Enterance into the ports Cityes & palaces of wisdome & true science & to make us partakers of undefiled Knowledge without whose Angelicall Guide & Spirituall Conduct blessed assistance & Benevolent Advertisements it is very Difficult if not impossible for us or any mortall on Earth to finde or Obtain, & to be Esteemed worthy of Enterance into with testimony wherefore wee humbly Entreate & move you O **Jereceve Mitraton**, & all Others ye president & Inferiour Angells servants of the most high God Residing & officiating in the spheare of the Elements In the order or Hierarchy of **Anamasticks** who all obediently serve and readily fulfil his Omnipotent Decrees & Commands in his Divine Dispensations & Appointments According to your Generall respective offices, in by and through this his Ineffable Imperiall great Signal & Divine name **Issim** & his numerall attribute **Malcuth** & by the power Efficacy & vertue thereof we servants also of the same your God & by the strength & force of our faith & hope in him for Divine Assistance Grace & mercy herein do Earnestly request powerfully invocate & confidently move you & Call you forth to visible Appearance here before us in this **C.S. or G.R.** or otherwise thereout here before us as it shall please God is given unto you so to Do: And likewise to shew visibly unto us a forgoing Signe or teste of your Appearance, O you Servants of mercy **Jereceve & Mitraton** Residing serving & officiating in the Sphere of the Elements (Move we say) and by the Superiour power & [83v] Permssion and in the name of the highest Descend appear & visibly shew your selfe or selves joyntly & Severally & Respectivley unto us in this **C.S.** or **G.R.** standing here before us or otherwise out of the same as it shall please God to permitt & Appoint you & to shew us a preceding Sign thereof And by your Mediate Angelicall Inspiration Information or Cheef teaching to instruct help aid & assist us both at this time present & also at all other times & places whensoever & wheresoever wee shall move, & call you forth to visible

Appearance & to our Assistance in whatsoever truths or subject matter or things Appertaining thereunto in all wisdome & true Sciences, both Cœlestiall & Terrestiall &c: that shall be necessary for us And also as any other Emergent Occasion shall Duly & properly require to the advancement & setting forth of Gods Glory, & the Improvement of our Wellfaire, Comfort & benefitt of our worldly & temporall Estate & Condition whilst wee yet live And likewise in all such matters or things whatsoever Else that shall be necessary for us to Know & Injoy Even bejond what wee are able to aske or think which the almighty giver of all good gifts shall in his bountifull & paternall mercy be gratiously placed hereby to give you to Reveale & show forth unto us or otherwise to bestow upon us O ye great Angells & intelligences **Jereceve & Mitraton** Reciding Locating & bearing Rule in the Spheare of the Elements and all others ye Cœlestiall Angells of the Order of **Anamastick** Medium of Divine grace & mercy Ministers of true light & understanding & Servants of the most high God particularly Recited & Spoken of Invocated moved & Called forth to Visible Appearance (as afforesaid) Descend (we say) & by the power of Superiour Emission some one or more of you Appear visibly here before us as shall please God and be freindly unto us, & in your respective offices, Do for us as to the Servants of the most high God whereunto wee move you all joyntly & severally in power & presence whose works shall be song of honour & the praise of your God In your Creation.

Amen.

* * * * * * * * *

[These two passages are found on fol. 109 of S4, which appears (based on the digitised microfilm) to be a single loose leaf, with the bottom 60% or so torn off, which was stuck inside an unrelated collection of treasure-hunting processes and "experiments" involving various named spirits, prior to the latter being bound up with other materials, whether by Ashmole, Sommers or another owner. They are in an apparently different hand to both the S5 *Janua* and the "Tenth Key": this, however, is very probably the handwriting of the original author / redactor of the *Janua*.

The first passsage, crossed out in MS., appears to be a draft or variant of one on fol. 31v of S5. Some letters are lost due to blotting; these are restored in square brackets by cross-referencing with S5 and *OOP*: it is adapted from *OOP* book III, chap. 17, "Of these [*scil.* "Intelligences and Spirits"] according to the opinion of the Theologians."]

The Theologicall Construction of Angels & Spirits, &c.

There are nine Orders of Angels, thus nominated and Distinguished in their severall and respective Hierarchies & Offices. (*viz*.),

Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominations, Potestates, Vertues, Principality, Archangels, Angels.

The Superiour Hierarchies are *Seraphim*, *Cherubim*, *Thrones*, and these are Supercelestiall Angels, contemplating the Order of the Divine Providence; the first in the Goodness of God; the second in the Essence of God, (as the form), the third in the Wisdome of God.

The middle Hierarchy are Dominations, Vertues, Potestates; these Angels concur to the Government of the World. The first of these command that which the others execute. The second are Ministers to the Heavens, and somet[[imes]] to the working of Miracles. The third drives away those things which [[se]]em to be able to disturb the Divine Law.

The Inferiour Hierarchy are Principallities, Archanges, Angels: these as ministering Spirits descend to take care of Inferiour th[[ings]]. The first of these take care of publik things, of Princes, Magistrates, Provinces and Kingdomes. Daniel cap. 10 v. 13. Ecclesiasticus, Apocriph:[170] Deut.[171] The second are present at Sacred Dutys, and direct the Divine Worship about every Man, and Offers up his Prayers & Sacrifices [[…]][172]

[The following untitled passage about evil spirits occurs on fol. 109v, and does not correspond directly to anything in the S5 *Janua*. Some letters are lost at the torn right edge. To make this clear, I have marked line breaks in the MS with |. A capital 'A' appears in the left margin by the start of the text.]

There are a kind of Spirits Subterranean and obscure, which are the Ang[[els]] | that failed, Revengers of Wickednes, according to the Decrees of the Divine Ju[[stice,]] | and they are evill Angels, and wicked Spirits; because: many times they | annoy and hurt even of

[170] A space in the MS., probably left by the scribe intending to fill in later after looking up the chapter / verse.
[171] Another space here.
[172] Torn or cut edge of page here. Some letter tops are visible but not enough to make out any words.

their own accords, and there are Legions of them, [[…]] | they are likewise distinguished according to the Names of the Stars, Elemen[[ts]] | and parts of the World. Of these, four most mischievous Kings do gover[[n]] | and bear rule over the other; according to the four parts of the World, | under whom are many moure Princes and Governours of Legions governing [[…]] | and many more of private Offices. These kind of Spirits inhabit a place | either very nigh [[to t]]he[173] Earth, or within the Earth it self: There is no [[…]] | mischief which they dare not commit (<u>if God give them leave.</u>) Their Customs ar[[e]]| altogether violent and hurtfull, and they plot, ~~and~~ contrieve, ~~&~~ endeavour & perpetrate ma[[ny]][174] sudd[[en]] | michiefs and Disasters. And when they make any Incursions, sometimes the[[y]] | lye hid, and sometimes doe offer open violence. They are very much | delighted in all things done wickedly and Contentiously.

[The text ends just above the torn bottom edge, with a horizontal rule below the paragraph. Two heavy diagonal strokes are visible at the cut-off, suggesting that whatever was on the missing part of the page was cancelled prior to the page being torn. It is paraphrased from the final section of *OOP* Book III, ch. 16 (pp. 393-394):

> "[…] under these [*scil*., good Angels] they ["the latter Theologians"] place a kind of spirits, subterrany or obscure, which the Platonists call Angels that failed,[175] revengers of wickedness, and ungodliness, according to the decree of the Divine justice, and they call them evill Angels and wicked spirits,[176] because they oft annoy and hurt even of their own accords; of these also they reckon more legions, and in like manner distinguishing them according to the names of the Stars and Elements, and parts of the world, they do place over them Kings, Princes and Rulers and the names of them; of these, four most mischeivous Kings do rule over the other, according to the four parts of the world; under these many more Princes of Legions govern, and also many of private offices. Hence the *Gorgones*, *Statenocte*, the furies. Hence *Tisephone*, *Alecto*, *Megæra*, *Cerberus*: They of this kind of spirits, *Porphyry* saith, inhabite a place nigh to the earth, yea within the earth it self; there is no mischief, which they dare not commit; they have altogether a violent and hurtfull custome, therefore they very much plot and endeavor violent and sudden mischiefs; and when they make incursions, sometimes they are wont to lie hide, but sometimes to offer open violence, and are very much delighted in all things done wickedly and contentiously."

It is to be noted that in passages adapted from *OOP*, the compiler of the *Janua* universally omitted Agrippa's reference to authorities, whether Christian theologians or later Platonists, that were not the Bible.]

[173] Words partially blotted in MS.

[174] "& perpetrate ma[[ny]]" written *sup. lin.* with insertion mark after "endeavour."

[175] *quos vocant Platonici desertores angelos*

[176] *malos dæmones & spiritus nequam*

An Untitled Fragment

[This cancelled passage appears at the top of fol. 37r; it is not in Ashmole's handwriting, but *is* in the same hand as the bulk of the first division (fol. 3-99) of Sloane MS. 3825, and directly continues from the text on fol. 99v; further, a cancelled page number at the top of S4 fol. 37r appears to read "(194)" directly continuing from numbering in the same style in the first part of S5. While sharing phrasing with the "Celestial Keys" of the *Janua Magica Reserata*, it actually belongs to "A Select Treatise as it was first discovered to the Egyptian Magij &c. &c. &c.," a set of conjurations of the planetary Intelligences from lib. ii of Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*, a complete copy of which (exhibiting notable verbal variations from this fragment) is extant in Sloane MS. 3821 fol. 205-225.]

[…] same to transmit your true & reall presence, Corporally, in [your] Appearances
plainly & Visibly, to the Sight of our Eyes, & Voyces to our Ears, that
We may also as plainly & Visible see you & Audibly here you, speake unto us:
[or] otherwise to Appear out of the same Visibly here before us, as it
shall please God & you his Servants, or Servants as Messagers of his
paterniall grace, & mercy, Seemeth Most Meet, proper, pertinent, or
best befitting this action, Appearance, Occasion or Matters &c.

The Second Parte of the Art of King Solomon

[This is an incomplete copy of the work now known as the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia*, or the second book of the *Lemegeton*. While about half (15 of 31) of the principal spirits are missing, as are practically all of the 500+ spirit seals, it also includes material not in the better-known *Lemegeton* texts (Sloane MSS. 2731, 3825, 3648, Harley MS. 6483), namely a variant form of conjuration (repeated at length for each spirit) and the text of an oath to be sworn by a summoned spirit.]

[53r] In this following Treatise you have 31 Names of chief Spirits, with severall of the Ministring Spirits which are under them, with their Seals or Characters, which is to be worne as a Lamin on your Brest, for without that the Spirit that is appeared will not obey you to doe your Will, &c.

The Offices of these Spirits are all one, for what one commands, the other can doe the same, they can shew & discover all things that are hid or done in the World, & can fetch & carry, & doe any thing that is to be done, or is conteyned in any of the foure Elements, Fire, Aire, Earth or Water, &c.: also the secrets of any Person whatsoever, let it be in what kinde it will.

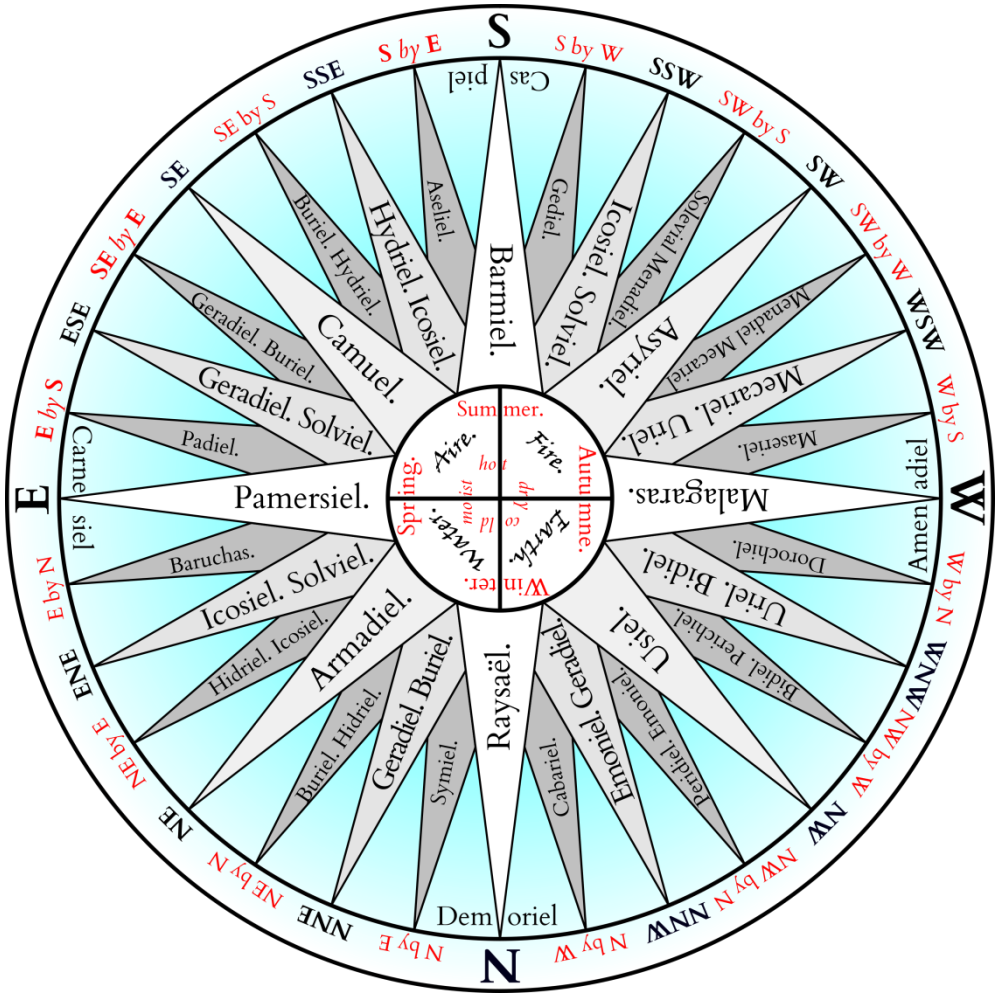
These Spirits Naturally are both good and Evill (that is to any) one part of them is good, & the other part of them is Evill: They are all commanded, and all subjecte, governed & ruled by their Princes, & each said Prince resideth in that Mansion & place of abode, in the true point of the Compass, which is at large fixed composed & shewed forth, in the following Scheame or figure.

[53v] Therefore, when you are resolved to enter upon the Practice, or to make us of any of these Spirits, or have a desire to move or call forth any of the Kings, or likewise any of their Servants, you are straight way to direct, & truly to place yourselfe to that said point of the Compass wherein the King hath his Mansion, Residence, or his place of aboade, & you cannot Err or any waie goe amiss, in this your Operations or any like Experiments. Note therefore & carefully observe, that every Prince is to have his Coniuration, yet all of one Forme & man[[ner]], as in the foregoing part of this Book[177] is shewed at large.Therefore you have sufficient Explanation how to Call both Kings & Servantes, particularly observing every Prince to have the like Coniuration of one forme, as excepting the Name & Place of the Spirit, for in that they must change & differ. Also the Seale of the Spirit is to be changed accordingly.[178]

[177] *i.e.*, the *Ars Goëtia*, only a portion of which is in the present collection.

[178] The bottom 40% or so of fol. 53v is blank, save for the catch-word. The copy in S5 here continues, "As for the garments and other materiall things, they are spoken of in the the Book **Goëtia** beforegoing Therefore it is needless to mention them here againe &c."

[54r] *The Forme of the Figure which discovers the Orders of the 31 Kings or Princes, with their Servients, Ministers, for when the King is found, his Subjects are easie to be found out, & so converst withal.*[179]



You may perceive by this Figure, that 20 of these Kings hath fixt Mansions, the Eleven is moveable, sometimes in one place, & sometimes in another, & other tymes together. Therfore you may stand with your Face, which way you please, when you call any of them or their Servants forth to visible appearance.

[179] There is a large blank space (over half the page) in the MS. at this point; Ashmole left room for the figure of the compass but didn't actually copy it. The image has been redrawn from the copy in S5; rubrication and shading does not reflect the MS. but is used to more clearly distinguish some of the close-together text items and the cardinal / intermediate compass directions.

There are issues with this diagram and the corresponding text in the entries for some of the spirits, likely the result of lost-in-translation with terminology for intermediate compass directions: the Latin *Steganographia*, the source of all those names, assigns the 16 "Princes" with fixed stations (Pamersiel through to Baruchas, nos. 5–20 in the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia*) evenly around the compass, as is apparent from the list and diagram (the latter incomplete in the print editions) that appears at the end of the first chapter of Lib. I. Directions are there mostly called by the Latin names of the winds, *e.g.* Padiel is referred to *Subsolanus*, Camuel to *Eurus*, Aseliel to *Euroauster*.

[Carnesiel]

[54v] **Carnesiel**[180] is the most great & cheife Emperour Ruling in the East, who hath 1,000 great Dukes, and a 500 lesser Dukes under him, beside 5,000,000,000,000[181] of Ministring Spirits, which is more inferior than the Dukes whereof we shall make noe mention but only of twelve of the chief Dukes & their Seales, because they are sufficient for practise.

Then follows the names & Seales of Carnesiel, & these 12 Dukes.[182]

Note Carnesiel when he appears day or night, attends him 60,000,000,000,000 Dukes, but when you call any of these Dukes, there never attends above 300, & sometimes not above 10. &c.

The Coniuration of Carnesiel as followeth:[183]

Wee Coniure thee O thou mighty & potent Prince **Carnesiel**, who is the Emperour & cheife Commander ruling as King in the dominion of the East, who bear[[es]] Rule by the power of the Supreme God **El**, over all Spirits both Superiour & Inferiour, belonging to the Infernall Orders. Wee Invoke & Comand you, by the especial & truest Name of your God, & by that God you worship and obey, & by the Seale of your Creation, & by the most mighty & powerfull Name of God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton** who cast you out of heaven with all other the Infernall Spirits, & by all the [55r] most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth and Hell, & all things conteyned in them, & by their powers & Vertues, & by the name **PrimaVmaton** who commandeth the whole host of Heaven, that thou O Spirit **Carnesiel**, forthwith come forth & appeare unto us here before this Circle, in a faire & comly forme & shape, without doing any harme to us, or any other Creature, this place or any other part of place in the World, and answer truly & faithfull to our Requests, that we may accomplish our Will or desire, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing, which by office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe or to accomplish, thorugh the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Celestially Ayeriall Terrestriall & Infernalle.

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[180] *Carnesiell* here in S4, but otherwise spelt consistently. In *Steg.*, Carnesiel and the other three "*imperatores principales*" are listed after the sixteen "Princes" (lib. i. cap. xviii-xx).

[181] I have added comma separators to the numbers of subordinates for ease of reading; none are in the MS.

[182] They were not copied by Ashmole. It appears that his source MS. gave them. Ashmole's source was not, in this instance, the S5 *Lemegeton* (although that does contain corrections in his hand); the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia* in S5 agrees closely with the present text in some passages represented by both, but varies noticeably in others and does not give the conjurations for the chief spirits at length, only the incipit of each (written in, somewhat cramped, at the foot of each page with the spirit seals, and many of them in a different hand to the body text: possibly, indeed, copied by Ashmole from the present text or its source); at the end of the list of chief spirits is a general form of conjuration with the opening address, names and directions to be switched as required, which is completely different from the conjurations in the present text.

[183] Compared to the conjurations of the other "Emperors," this omits some phrasing.

[Caspiel]

Caspiel, is the great & cheife Emperour ruling in the South who hath 200 great Duke & 400 lesser Dukes under him besides 1,000,200,000,000 of Ministering Spirits, which is much inferior &c: whereof wee (saith Solomon) shall make noe mention, but only of 12 of the chiefe Dukes, and their Seales, for they are sufficient for practice.

Then follows the Names & Seales of Caspiel & these 12 Dukes.

[55v] These 12 Dukes have 2660 underdukes a peece to attend them, whereof some of them comes along with him, when he is invoked, but they are very stubbornr and churlish.

The Conjuration of Caspiel as followeth.

Wee Conjure thee O thou mighty & poetent Prince **Caspiel**, who is a great & cheife Emperour, ruling in the South, who beares rule by the power of the supreme God **El**, over all Spirits both Superiour & Inferiour of the Infernall Orders &c: Wee Command you by the especiall & truest Name of your God, and by that God you worship & obey, & by the Seale of your Creation, & by the most mighty & powerfull name of God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, who cast you out of Heaven, with all other the Infernall Spirits, & by the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things conteyned in them, & by their powers & vertues, and by the Name **Primaumaton** who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven that thou O Spirit **Caspiel**, forthwith come forth & appeare unto us before this Circle, doe not delay, doe not linger, what needs any more worde, Move (we say), move we say, shew your selfe & appeare affable courteously, friendly, in a faire & comely forme & shape, without doing any harme, to us or any other Creatures in [56r] this place, or any other part of place in thee World, & answer truly & faithfully to all our Requests That wee may accomplish our Wills or desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing, which by Office you know, if belonging to your Orders or proper for you to accomplish or performe, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things, both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall Terrestriall & Infernall.

[Amenadiel]

Amenadiel is the great Emperour of the West, who hath 300 great Dukes, & 500 lesser Dukes, beside 40,000,030,000,100,000, other ministering Spirits more inferior to attend him, whereof we shall not make any mention but only of 12 of the chiefe Dukes & their Seales which is sufficient for practice.

[[*The*]]*n followes the Names & Seales* [[*of*]] *Amenadiel & these 12 Dukes*.

Note **Amenadiel** may be called at any howre of the day or night, but his Dukes (who have 3880 Servants a peece to attend them) are to be called in certain hours, as **Vadros**, he may be called the 2 first hours of the day, **Camiel** in the second 2 houres of the day, & so successively on till you come to **Nadros** who is to be called in the 2 last hours of the Night, and then begin againe at **Vadros** &c.: this same Rule is to be observed in calling the Dukes belonging to **Demorial** the Emperour of the North.

[56v] *The Coniuration of Amenadiel.*

Wee Conjure thee O thou mighty & Potent Prince **Amenadiel**, who is Emperour & cheife King, ruling in the Dominion of the West, who beares rule & power, by the permission of the Supreme God **El**, over all Spirits both Superiour & inferior, belong[[ing]] to the Terrestriall & Infernall Orders; Wee Invocat[[e]], Constraine, Compell & Comand you, by the espeicall & truest Name of your God, & by that God, which you serve, worship & obey, & by the true Seale of your Creation, and by the most mighty, most dreadfull & powerfull name, of the Everlasting & Living God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton** who threw you downe & cast you out of Heaven, with all others, & the rest of the Infernall Spirits, and by all the most powerfull & great names of God, who created Heaven, Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, And by their powers & vertues & by the Name **Primaum[[aton]]** who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, that thou, O Spirit **Amenadiel** forthwith (we say) move descend & appeare, & shew thy selfe Visbily unto us here before this Cristall,[184] Come yee in faire & comly forme & shape without any delay, the King command[[eth]] you, Therefore defer not your coming, what needs any more words, In the name of him that Liveth forever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the [57r] Dead, & the World by Fire, gird up your selfe & come away, even at this very present tyme, before the Circle and behold the Pentacle of Solomon. Behold your Conclusion,[185] be not obstinate & rebellious, Behond the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your presence in noe gastly shape, without doing any harme to us, or any other Creature, this place or any other part or place in the World. Come yee therefore courteously, affably, friendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our requests, that we may accomplish our Wills and desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing whatsoever, which by Office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe or to accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things, both Cœlestiall Aieriall, Terrestriall and Infernall.

[184] Probably a slip for "Circle"; none of the other conjurations of the Emperors mention a crystal and texts of the period that do, call spirits to appear in and not before it.

[185] *Ecce conclusionem vestram* (adapted from the *Heptameron*, in turn deriving from the *Liber Iuratus*). "Doom" would be a better translation in the context.

[Demoriel]

Demoriel is the great & mighty Emperour of the North, who hath 400 great Dukes & 600 lesser Dukes, with 700,000,800,000,900,000 Servants under his Command to attend him, whereof we shall make mention but of 12 of the cheife Dukes & their Seales, which will be sufficient for practice.

Heere should follow the Names & Seales of Demoriel and the said 12 Dukes.

[57v] Note each of those Dukes hath 1140 Servants, who attends them as needs requireth, for when the Duke yee call for, have more to doe then ordinary, he hath the more Servants to attend him,

The Coniuration of Demoriel as followeth

Wee Coniure thee O thou great & mightier Emperour **Demoriel**, who is the King & cheife Prince ruling in the Dominion of the North, who bears rule & power, by the permission of the Supreme God **El**, over all Spirits both Superiour & Inferiour, belonging to the Terrestriall & Infernall Orders, Wee Invocate, Constraine, Compell & Comand you, by the especiall & truest name of our God, And by that God which you serve worship & obey, & by the true Seale of your Creation, & by the most mighty most dreadfull and powerfull Name of the Everlasting & Living God, **Iehovah Tetragrammaton** who threw you downe cast you out of Heaven, with all other & the rest of the Infernall Spirits, & by all the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, And by their power & vertues, and by the Name **Primaumaton** who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, that thou O Spirit **Demoriel**, forthwith (we say) move, descend & appeare, & shew thy selfe [58r] visibly unto us here before this Circle, Come yee in a faire & comely forme & shape without any delay, the King comands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needs any more words, in the Name of him that Liveth forever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the dead & the World by Fire, Gird up your selfe & come away, even at this very present tyme before this Circle, & behold the Pentacle of Solomon, Behold your Conclusion be not obstinate & Rebellious, behold the Banner of God, Move therefore, & give your presence in noe gastly shape, without doing any harme to us, or any other Creatures in this place, or any other part of place in the World, Come yee therefore courteously, affably, friendly, & answer truly and faithfully to all our requests, that we may accomplish our Wills & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing whatsoever, which by Office you know if belonging to your Orders or proper for you to performe or accomplish through the power of God **El**, who created and disposeth all things both Cœlestiall & Aieriall Terrestriall & Infernall.

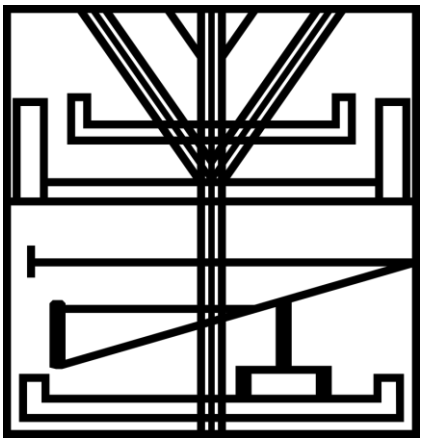
[Pamersiel]

[58v] **Pamersiel** is the first & cheife Spirit in the East under Carnesiel, who hath 1000 Spirits under him, which are to be called in the day tyme, but with great care, for they are very lofty & stubborne, whereof we shall make mention but of 11 as followeth.

Then follows the Names & Seales of Pamersiel, & eleven Spirits.

Note these Spirits are by nature Evill & very false, not to be trusted in secret things,[186] but is excellent in driving away Spirits of darkness from any place or House that is haunted.

To call forth Pamersiel or any of these his servants, chuse the uppermost private or secret & most Ticitt[187] Roome in the house, or in some certain Island, Wood or Grove, or the most occult or hidden place from all comers or goers, that noe one chancely may (if possible) happen that way. (Chamber or what ever place else you Act your Concernes in) Observe that it be very Aiery, because those Spirits that is in this part, are all of the Aire, you may call these Spirits into a Christall Stone or Glass Receptacles, being an auncient & usuall way of receiving & binding of Spirits.[188] This Christall Stone must be foure Inches [59r] Diamiter, set a Table of Art made as followeth, which is truly called the Secret Table of Solomon, having the Seale of the Spirit on your Brest, & the Girdle about your Waste, & you cannot err, the forme of the Table is thus, as this present Figure doth here represent & shew;[189] behold the Figure when you have thus prepaired what is to be prepaired, rehearse the Conjuration following severall tymes, that is whilst[190] the Spirit come, for without doubt he will come; Note the same Method is to be used, in all the following part of this booke as is here of **Pamersiel**, & his Servants, Also the same in calling the King & his Servants, &c.



[*The Table of Art.*]

[186] This characterisation was originally a circumlocution for the "Pamersiel" cipher being very easily broken, being a simple acrostic cipher where the first letter of each word in the cover text spells out the message.

[187] S5: "Piritt," corrected to "Tacit" (*i.e.*, quiet) in margin.

[188] While ceremonial crystallomancy does indeed have history in English magical traditions long predating the *Lemegeton*, this particular phrasing occurs repeatedly in the *Janua* and *Clavicula Tabularum Enochi*.

[189] The design previously appeared in a late Renaissance magical emblem work, the *Calendarium Naturale Magicum Perpetuum* of Johann Baptista Großchedel, printed in Frankfurt in 1618 by Johann Theodor de Bry; the figure featured in an expanded version of the scale of the number 8 from Lib. ii of *De occulta philosophia*, associated with Mars, the dryness of fire, the "poor in spirit [whose] is the kingdom of heaven" among the classes of the blessed, &c.

[190] Corrected to "until" in margin. In some English regional dialects, "while" is still used in the sense of "until," for example, if you're told your day shift is "eight while four," that means you're on from eight o'clock in the morning to four o'clock in the afternoon.

The Coniuration of Pamersiel

Wee Coniure thee O **Pamersiel**, a cheife Spirit ruling in the **East**, under that mighty Potent and great Prince **Carnesiel**, Wee Invocate, (Move & call you forth) compel, constraine & command you by the especiall & truest name of God, & by that God which you serve worship & obey, & by the true Seale of your creation, & by the most mighty most dreadfull & most powerfull name of the Everlasting & Living God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, who threw you downe & cast you out of Heaven, with all other & the rest of the Infernall Spirits, and by all the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever [59v] conteyned in them, & by their powers & vertues & by the Name **PrimaUmaton**, who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, that thou O Spirit **Pamersiel** forthwith (we say) move, descend & appeare, & to shew thy selfe visibly unto us here before this Circle, Come ye in a faire & comely forme & shape, without any delay, The King commands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needs any more words, In the name of him that Liveth for ever, who shall come to iudge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire, Gird up your selfe & come away even at this present tyme before this Circle, & behold the Pentacle of Solomon, behold the Conclusion, be not obstinate & Rebellious, behold the Banner of God, Move therefore courteously, affibly, frendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our Requests, that we may accomplish our Wills & Desires in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing, which by Office you know if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe or accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall & Infernall.

[Padiel]

The second Spirit in order under the Emperour of the **East**, is called **Padiel**, he ruleth in the **East** and by **South**[191] as King, & governeth 10,000 Spirits by [60r] day, and 200,000 by Night, besides severall Thousands under them, They are all good by Nature, and may be trusted. Solomon saith, that these spirits have no power of themselves, but what is given unto them by their prince **Padiel**, therefore he hath made noe mention of any of their Names, because if any of them is called, they cannot appeare without the Leave of their Prince, as others can doe &c. You must use the same Method in calling this Prince **Padiel**, is is declared before of **Pamersiel**.

Then followes the Seale of Padiel.

[191] *i.e.* East-Southeast (Lat. *Subsolanus*). See note to compass diagram.

The Coniuration of Padiel.

Wee Conjure thee O thou Mighty & Potent Prince **Padiel**, who rulses as a chiefe Prince or King, in the Dominion of **East** and by **South**. Wee Invocate comand & compel you, by the especiall Name of your God, and by that God which you serve worship & obey, & by the true Seale of your Creation, and by the most mighty most dreadfull, and powerfull Name, of the everlasting & Living God, **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, who threw downe & cast you out of Heaven, with all the other the rest of the Infernall Spirits, and by all the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all thing whatsoever conteyned in them, and by their powers & vertues [60v] and by the name **Primaumaton** who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, That thou O Spirit **Padiel**, forthwith (we say) move, descend and appeare, & shew thy selfe visibly unto us here before this Christall, Come yee in a faire & comly forme & shape, without any delay, the King comands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needs any more words, in the Name of him that liveth for ever who shall come to iudge the Quick & the Dead & the World by fyre, Gire up your selfe, & come away even at this very present tyme before this Circle & behold the Pentacle of Solomon, behold your Conclusion, be not obstinate & Rebellious, Behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your presence in noe ghastly shape, without doing any harme unto us, or any other Creature in this place, or any other part or place in the World, Come you therefore curteously affably friendly, and answer truly & faithfully to all our Requests, that we may accomplish our Wills & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing, which by Ofice you know if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe or to accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall Terrestriall and Infernall.

[Camuel]

[61r] The Third Spirit placed & ranked in order under the cheife mighty great & potent king of the **East**, is called **Camuel**, who reigneth ruleth & governeth as King in the **South-East** part of the World, & hath many & severall Spirits under his Government & Comand, whereof we shall only make mention by of 10 that apperteyneth and belongeth to the day & 10 to the night, and each of these have 10 servants to attend on them, excepting **Camyel**, **Sitgar**, **Asimiel**, **Calym**, **Dobiel**, & **Meras**, for they have 100 a peece to attend them, but **Tediel**, **Moriel** & **Tugaros**, they have none at all, they appeare all in a very beautifull forme, & very Courteously, And in the Night as well as the day &c.

Then followed the Names & Seales of Camuel, & 20 of his Spirits.

The Conjuration of Camuel

Wee Conjure thee O thou mighty & potent Prince **Camuel**, who rules as a cheife Prince or King, in the **South-East** part of the World. We Invocate, command & compel you, by the especiall & truest names of your God and by that God which you serve worship & obey, & by the Seale of your Creation, & by the most mighty, most dreadfull & powerfull Name of the everlasting & living God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, who threw you downe & cast you out of Heavfen, with all other & the [61v] rest of the Infernall Spirits, & by all the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, and by their power & vertues, and by the name **Primaumaton**, who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, That thou O Spirit **Camuel**, forthwith (wee say) move descend and appeare, & show thy selfe visibly unto us, here before this Circle, Come yee in a faire & comely forme & shape without delay, The King commands you, therefore delay not your coming, what needs any more words, In the Name of him that liveth for ever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire, Gird up yourself & come away, even at this very present tyme before this Circle, And behold the Pentacle of Solomon, Behold your Conclusion be not obstinate & rebellious, behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your presence, in noe ghastly shape, without doing any harme unto us or any other Creature in this place, or any other part or place in the World, Come yee therefore, courteously, affably friendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our requests, that we may accomplish our Wills & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing whatsoever, which by Office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe or accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall, Terrestriall or Infernall.

[Aseliel.]

[62r] The Fourth Spirit in Order is called **Aseliel**, he governeth as King under **Carnesiel** in the **South** & by **East**,[192] he hath 10 cheife Spirits belonging to the day, & 20 to the Night, under whome are 30 principall Spirits, and under these as many, whereof we shall make mention, but of 8 of the cheife presidents belonging to the day, & as many belonging to the Night, and every one hath 20 Servants at his command they are all very courteous & Loving, & beautifull to behold &c.

Then followes the Names & Seales of Aseliel, & his 16 Presidents.

[192] *i.e.* South-southeast (Lat. *Euroauster*): see note to compass diagram.

The Coniuration of Aseliel.

Wee Conjure thee O thou mighty & potent Prince **Aseliel**, who rules as a cheife Prince or King, under **Carnesiel** in the **South** and by **East**, Wee Invocate, constraine, command & compell you, by the especiall & truest Name of your God, & by that God which you serve worship & obey, & by the true Seale of your Creation, and by the most mighty most dreadfull & powerfull Name, of the everlasting & everliving God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, who threw you downe & cast you out of Heaven, with all other the rest of the Infernall Spirits, and by all the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven, Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, & by their power & vertues, and by the name **Primaumaton**, who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, [62v] That thou O Spirit **Aseliel**, forthwith (wee say) Move descend and Appeare, & show thy selfe visibly unto us, here before this Circle, Come yee in a faire & comely forme & shape without delay, The King comands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needes any more words, In the Name of him that liveth for ever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire, Gird up yourself & come away, even at this very present tyme before this Circle, and behold the Pentacle of Solomon, Behold your Conclusion be not obstinate & rebellious, behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your presence, in noe ghastly shape, without doing any harme unto us or any other Creature in this place, or any other part or place in the World. Come yee therefore, courteously, affably friendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our requests, that we may accomplish our Wills & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing whatsoever, which by Office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe or accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall, Terrestriall or Infernall.

[Barmiel]

[63r] The Fift Spirit in order is called **Barmiel**, he is the first & cheifest Spirit under **Caspiel**, the Emperour of the South, He governs in the South, as King under Caspiel, & hath 10 Dukes for the day, & 20 for the Night, to attend him to doe his will, the which 10 all very good, & willing to obey the Exorcist, whereof we will make mention but of 8 that belongs to the day, & as many for thee night, with their Seales, for they are sufficient for practise. Note every one of these Dukes hath 20 Servantes apeece to attend him when he is called, excepting the 4 last that belongs to the Night, for they have none.

Then followes the Names & Seales of Barmiel, with 16 Dukes.

The Conjuration of Barmiel.

Wee Conjure thee O thou mighty & potent Prince **Barmiel**, who rules as a cheife Prince or King, in the **South**, under **Caspiel**, Wee invocate, constraine, command & compell you, by the especiall & truest name of your God, & by that God which you serve worship & obey, & by the Seale of your Creation, and by the most mighty most dreadfull & powerfull Name, of the everlasting & living God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, who threw you downe & cast you out of Heaven, with all other & the [63v] rest of the Infernall Spirits, & by all the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, & by their powers & vertues, & by the name **Primaumaton**, who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, That thou O Spirit **Barmiel**, forthwith (wee say) Move descend and Appeare, & show thy selfe visibly unto us, heere before this Circle, Come ye in a faire & comely Forme & shape without any delay, The King comands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needes any more words, In the Name of him that liveth for ever, who shall come to iudge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire, Gird up yourself & come away, even at this very present tyme before this Circle, and behold the Pentacle of Solomon, behold your Conclusion, be not obstinate & rebellious, behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your presence in noe ghastly shape, without doing any harme unto us or any other Creature in this place, or any other part or place in the World. Come yee therefore, courteously, affably friendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our requests[193] & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing whatsoever, which by your Office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe or to accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall, Terrestriall or Infernall.

[Gedial]

[64r] The Sixth Spirit in order, but the second under the Emperour of the South, is called **Gedial**,[194] who ruleth as King in the **South** & by **West**,[195] who hath 20 cheife Spirits to serve him in the day, & as many for the night, & they have many Servants at their commands, whereof wee shall make mention but of 8 of the cheife Spirits that belongs to the day, & as many of those that belong to the Night, who hath 20 servants a peece to attend them, when they are called forth to appearance, they are very loving & courteous & willing to doe your Will, &c.

Then follow the Names & Seales of Gedial & his 16 Spirits.

[193] Compared with the other conjurations, the phrase "that we may accomplish our Wills" is here omitted.
[194] "Gediel" in T1606 and the Sloane *Lemegeton* MSS.
[195] *i.e.*, South-southwest (Lat. *Austafricus*): see note to compass diagram.

The Coniuration of Gedial as followeth

Wee Conjure thee O thou mighty & potent Prince **Gediel**, who rules as King in the **South** and by **West**, Wee Invocate, constraine, command & compell you, by the especiall & truest name of your God, & by that God which you serve worship & obey, & by the true Seale of your Creation, and by the most mighty most dreadfull & powerfull Name, of yourGod **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, who threw downe & cast you out of Heaven, with all other the rest of the Infernall Spirits, and by all the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven, Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, & by their power & vertues, and by the name **Primaumaton**, who [64v] commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, That thou O Spirit **Gediel**,[196] forthwith (wee say) Move descend and Appeare, & show thy selfe visible unto us, here before this Circle, Come yee in a faire & comely forme & shape without any delay, The King comands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needes any more words, in the Name of him that liveth for ever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire, Gird up yourself & come away, even at this very present tyme before this Circle, and behold the Pentacle of Solomon, Behold your Conclusion be not obstinate & Rebellious, behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your presence in noe ghastly shape, without doing any harme unto us or any other Creature in this place, or any other part or place in the World, Come yee therefore, courteously, affably, friendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our Requests, that we may accomplish our Wills & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing, which by Office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe or to accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall, Terrestriall or Infernall.

[Asyriel.]

[65r] The Seventh Spirit in order but the third under the great Emperour of the South is called **Asyriel**, he is a mighty King, ruling in the South West part of the World, & hath 20 great Dukes to attend him in the day tyme, & as many for the Night, who hath under them severall Servants to attend them &c.: here we shall make mention of 8 of the chief Dukes that belong to the day, & as many that belong to the night, because they are sufficient for practise, and the first 4 that belong to the day, & the first 4 that belong to the Night, hath 40 Servants a peece to attend them, and the last 4 of the day, & the last 4 of the night 10 a peece, they are all good natured, and willing to obey, those that is of the day is to be called then, & those of the Night, in the Night.

Then followes the Names & Seales of Asyriel & his 16 Dukes.

[196] "Gedial" apparently amended to "Gediel" in MS.

The Conjuration of Asyriel, as followeth.

Wee Conjure thee O thou mighty & potent Prince **Asyriel**, who rules as a cheife Prince or King under **Carnesiel**[197] in the **South** & by **East**, Wee Invocate, constraine, command & compell you, by the especiall & true Names of your God, & by that God which you serve worship & obey and by the true Seale of your Creation, & by the most mighty most dreadfull & powerful Name of the everlasting & ever living God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton** who threw you downe & cast you out of Heaven, with [65v] all other the rest of the Infernall Spirits, and by the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, and by their powers & vertues, And by the name **Primaumaton** who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, That thou O Spirit **Asyriel** forthwith (we say) Move Descend & Appeare, and shew thy selfe visibly unto us, here before this Circle, Come yee in a faire & comly forme & shape without any delay, The King commands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needs any more words, In the Name of him that liveth forever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire, Gird up your self & come away, even at this very present tyme before this Circle, And behold the Pentacle of Solomon, behold your Conclusion, be not obstinate & rebellious, behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your Presence in no gastly shape, without doing any harme to us or any other Creature in this place, or any other part or place in the World, Come you therefore courteously affably Friendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our Requests, that we may accomplish our will & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing, which by Office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe, or to accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall, Terrestriall & Infernall.

[Maseriel]

[66r] The Eight Spirit in Order (but the Fourth under the Emperour of the South) is called **Maseriel** who ruleth as King in the dominion of the **West** & by **South**[198] and hath a great number of Princes & servants under him to attend him, whereof we shall make mention of 12 of the cheifs, that attends him in the day tyme, & 12 that attends him, to doe his Will in the Night tyme, which is sufficient for practise. They are all good by nature, & willingly will doe your Will in all things those that is for the day, is to be called in the day, and those for the Night, in the Night. They have every one 30 Servants apeece to attend them,

Then followes the Names & Seales of Maseriel & his 12[199] *Princes.*

[197] Thus in MS. Should be **Caspiel**.

[198] *i.e.* West-southwest (Lat. *Favonius*): see note to compass diagram.

[199] Thus in MS. S5 (fol. 123v) has 24 princes under Maseriel, 12 by day and 12 by night.

The Conjuration of Maseriel.

Wee Conjure thee O thou mighty & Poten Prince **Maseriel**, who rules as a cheife Prince in the dominion of the **West** & by **South**, wee Invocate, Constraine, Comand & Compell you, by the especiall & true Names of your God, & by that God which you serve, worship & obey and by the Seale of your Creation, and by the most mighty most dreadfull & powerfull Name of the Everlasting & Living God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton** who threw you downe & cast you out of Heaven, & with all other the rest of the Infernall Spirits, & by the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned [66v] in them, and by their powers & vertues, And by the Name **Primaumaton** who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, That thou O Spirit **Maseriel** forthwith (we say) Move Descend & Appeare, and shew thy selfe visibly unto us, here before this Circle, Come yee in a faire & comly forme & shape without any delay, The King commands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needes more words, In the Name of him that liveth for ever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire. Gird up your selfe & come away, even at this present tyme before this Circle, And behold the Pentacle of Solomon, behold the Conclusion, be not obstinate & Rebellious, behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your Presence in noe ghastly shape, without doing any harme to us, or any other Creature in this place, or any other part or place in the World, Come you therefore Courteously Affably Friendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our requests, that we may accomplish our Wills & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing whatsoever, which by Office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe, or to accomplish, through the power of the God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall, Terrestriall and Infernall.

[Malgaras]

[67r] The Nynth Spirit in order, but the First under the Emperour of the **West**, is called **Malgaras**, he ruleth as King in the Dominions of the **West**, and hath 30 Dukes under him to attend him in the day, & as many for the Night, & severall under them againe; whereof we shall make mention of 12 Dukes that belong to the day, & as many that belong to the Night, & every one of them hath 30 Servants to attend them excepting **Misiel**, **Barfas**, **Aspar**, & **Deilas**, for they have but 20: **Arois** & **Basiel**, they have but 10 &c: They are all very courteous, & will appeare willingly to doe your Will, they appeare 2 & 2 at a tyme with their Servants; They that is for the day, is to be called in the day, & those of the Night, in the night.

Then followes the Names & Seales of Malgaras, with his 24 Dukes.

The Coniuration of Malgaras as followeth.

Wee Coniure the O thou mighty & Poten Prince **Malgaras**, who rules as a cheife Prince or King in the dominion of the **West** under **Amenadiel**, wee Invocate, Constraine, Comand & Compell you, by the especiall & true Names of your God, & by that God which you worship, serve & obey, & by the Seale of your Creation, and by the most mighty, most dreadfull & powerfull Name of the Everlasting & Living God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton** who threw you downe & cast you out of Heaven, & with all other the rest of the Infernall Spirits, And by the most [67v] powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, & by their powers & vertues, And by the Name **Primaumaton**, ⟨who threw your downe & cast you out of Heaven, with all other the rest of the Infernall Spirits, & by all the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, And by their powers & vertues, And by the Name **Primaumaton**,⟩[200] who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, That thou O Spirit **Malgaras** forthwith (we say) Move Descend & appeare, & shew thy selfe visibly unto us, heere before this Circle, Come yee in a faire & comly forme & shape without any delay, the King commands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needes any more words, In the Name of him that liveth for ever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire, Gird up your selfe & come away, even at this present tyme before this Circle, And Behold the Pentacle of Solomon, Behold your Conclusion, be not obstinate & rebellious, Behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your Presence in noe gastly shape, without doing any harme to us,[201] or any other part or place in the World, Come you therefore Courteously Affably Friendly & Answer truly & faithfully to all our Requests, that we may accomplish our Wills & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing whatsoever, which by Office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe, or to accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall, Terrestriall and Infernall.

[Dorochiel.]

[68r] The Tenth Spirit in order (but the second under the Emperour of the West), is called **Dorochiel**,[202] who is a mighty Prince bearing rule in the **West**, & by **North**, & hath 40 Dukes to attend on him in the day tyme, and as many for the Night, with an innumerable company of servient Spirits, whereof we shall make mention of 24 cheife Dukes that belongs to the day, & as many for the Night, with their Seales as following. Note the 12 first that belongs to the day, & the 12 first that belongs to the night, hath 40

[200] Passage repeated in error, probably by copyist eye-skip.
[201] In the other conjurations, the words "or any other Creature in this place" appear at this point.
[202] *Dorothiel* in T1606.

Servants a peece to attend on them, & the 12 last of the day, & of the Night, hath 400 a piece to attend on them when they appeare &c. Also those of the day is to be called in the day, & those of the night in the night, Observe the Planetary Motion in calling; for the 2 first that belongs to the day, is to be called in the first planetary houre of the day, & the 2 next in the second planetary houre of the day, & soe successively on, till you have gon quite through the day & Night, till you come to the 2 first againe, &c. They are all of a good Nature & will willingly obey &c.

Then followes the Names & Seales of Dorochiel & his 48 *Dukes.*

The Coniuration of Dorochiel, as followeth.

We Conjure thee O thou mighty & potent Prince **Dorochiel**, who rules as King in the **West** & by **North**, wee invocate, constraine, comand & compell you, by the especiall & truest name of your God, & by that God which you serve worship & obey, & by the true Seale of your Creation, and by the most mighty most powerfull & [68v] most dreadfull Name of your God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton** who threw downe & cast you out of Heaven, with all other the rest of the Infernall Spirits, And by the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, and by their powers & vertues, And by the Name **Primaumaton** who Commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, That thou O Spirit **Dorochiel** forthwith (we say) Move Descend & appeare, & shew thy selfe visibly unto us, here before this Circle, Come yee in a faire & comly forme & shape without any delay, The King commands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needes more words, In the Name of him that liveth for ever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire, Gird up your selfe & come away, even at this present tyme, before this Circle, And Behold the Pentacle of Solomon, behold your Conclusion, be not obstinate & rebellious, Behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your presence, in no ghastly shape, without doing any harme to us, or any other Creature in this place, or any other part or place in the World, Come yee therefore courteously affably, friendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our Requests, that we may accomplish our Wills & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing, which by Office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe or to accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall, Terrestriall and Infernall.

[Vsiel.]

[69r] The Eleaventh Spirit in order (but the third under the Emperour **Amenadiel**) is called **Vsiel**, who is a mighty Prince, ruling as King in the North West, he hath 40 diurnall & 40 Nocturnall Dukes to attend on him in the day & in the Night, whereof we shall make mention of 14 that belongs to the day & as many for the Night, which is

sufficient for practise. The first 8 that belongs to the day hath 40 Servants a peeece, & the other six, 30. & the first 8 that belong to the Night, hath 40 Servants a peece to attend on them, & the next 4 dukes hath 20 Servants, & the last two hath 10 a peece, and they are very obedient, & doth willingly appear when they are called, they have more power to hide or discover Treasure then any other Spirits (saith Solomon) that is conteyned in this Book, & when you hide, or would not have any thing taken away that is hid, make these 4 Seales:[203]

in Virgin Parchment & Lay them with the Treasures or where the Treasury lyeth, & it will never be found nor taken away.

Then followes the Names & Seales of Vsiel, & his 16[204] *Dukes.*

The Coniuration of Vsiel as followeth.

We Coniure thee O thou mighty & potent Prince **Vsiel**, who ruleth as cheife Prince or King under **Amenadiel** in the **North West**, Wee Invocate, Constraine, Comand & Compell you, by the especiall & truest Name [69v] of your God, And by that God which you serve, worship & obey, & by the true Seale of your Creation, And by the most mighty most powerfull & most dreadfull Name of your God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton** who threw downe & cast you out of Heaven, with all other the rest of the Infernall Spirits, & by the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, & by their Powers & Vertues, And by the Name **Primaumaton** who comandeth the whole Host of Heaven, That thou O Spirit **Vsiel**, forthwith (we say) Move Descend & appeare, & shew thy selfe visibly unto us, here before this Circle, Come yee in a faire & comly forme & shape without any delay, The King comands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needes any more words, In the name of him that liveth for ever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire, Gird up your selves & come away, even at this very present tyme, before this Circle, And Behold the Pentacle of Solomon, Behold your Conclusion, & be not obstinate & rebellious, Behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your Presence, in noe ghastly shape, without doing any harme unto us, or any other Creature in the World, Come yee therefore courteously, affably, friendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our Requests, that wee may accomplish our Wills & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing, which by Office you know, if belonging to your

[203] These are the characters of *Abariel*, *Magni*, *Ansoel* and *Adan*, four of the named Dukes under Vsiel. The first was copied slightly defectively and is missing two lines.

[204] Thus in MS. S5 (fol. 125v) has names and characters for 28 dukes under Vsiel, 14 by day and 14 by night.

Orders, or proper for you to performe or to accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall, Terrestriall and Infernall.

[Cabariel.]

[70r] The Twelvth Spirit in Order (but the Fourth under the Emperour of the **West**) is called Cabariel, he hath 40 Dukes to attend on him, whereof we shall mane mention by of 10: of the cheife Dukes that belongs to the day, & as many for the Night, & every of them hath 50 Servants to give Attendance, when their Master is Invocated &c. Note those Dukes that belong to the day is very good & willing to obey their master, & is to be called on in the day tyme, & they of the Night, is by Nature Evill & disobedient, & will deceive you if they can, &c.: they are to be called in the Night.

Then followes the Names & Seales of Cabariel, & 20 of his Dukes.

The Coniuration of Cabariel as followeth.

Wee Conjure thee O thou mighty & potent Prince **Cabariel**, who ruleth as King in the **North** & by **West**,[205] We Invocate Constraine Comand & Compell you by the especiall & truest Names of your God, & by that God which you serve, worship & obey, And by the true Seale of your Creation, And by the most mighty, most powerfull & most dreadfull Name of God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, who threw downe & cast you out of Heaven, And by the most powerfull and greate Names of God, who created Heaven, Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever, conteyned in them, [And

[The transcription of *The Second Parte of the Art of King Solomon* abruptly ends here; fol. 70v is blank. Other copies of the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia* have another 15 chief Spirits, each with several named subordinates, thus:

- Under *Demoriel*, Emperor of the North: *Raysiel* (also written *Raysael*; North, names and characters of 30 dukes given); *Symiel* (North-Northeast, names and characters of 20 dukes given); *Armadiel* (North-East, 15 dukes) and *Baruchas* (East-Northeast, 15 dukes).
- Wandering Princes: *Garadiel* (also written *Geradiel*) their chief, with *Buriel*, *Hydriel*, *Pirichiel*, *Emoniel*, *Icosiel*, *Soleviel*, *Menadiel* (*Menachiel* in the *Steganographia*), *Macariel*, *Uriel* and *Bidiel*: names and characters of 8-15 "dukes" or "knights" are given for all these except the first, who has none.

The list of spirits is followed by a generic form of conjuration, with the opening to be varied depending on the class / rank of the spirit (Emperor / Prince / Duke, fixed or wandering) with names and compass directions to be substituted as appropriate. This differs significantly from the form above. For the rest of the ritual rubric, from the address to the spirit on appearance and onwards, we are simply referred back to the *Ars Goëtia*.]

[205] *i.e.*, North-northwest (Lat. *Circius*): see note to compass diagram.

[The following appears to be an oath to be sworn by one of the spirits of the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia* once you've actually got it to turn up. The handwriting is similar to the preceding but it appears to have been written with a different pen (strokes are generally thinner).]

[71r] I a Presidentiall Spirit[206] by name called **Padiel**, residing & serving under **Carnesiel** a King of the Angle or Mansion of the West,[207] at the Comand of the Soveraigne head of my Orders, and on my owne accord, by the virtue power & force of Invocation on that behalf, doe firmely & solidly binde & oblige my selfe by these presents, Visibly to appeare, in faire & desent Forme, unto **A.B.** and **C.D.** or either of them, at all tymes & in all places, whensoever & wheresoever, I shalbe of them, or either of them called forth & moved thereunto; either in a Glass Receptacle [as being one usuall manner of appearance & of receiving & inclosing of Spirits][208] or otherwise out of it, as the Condition or Occasion of any matters in question or Operation shall properly or necessarily require. And I the said Spirit **Padiel**, doe also yet further & more especially bind & oblige my selfe, unto **A.B.** & **C.D.** or either of them as aforesaid, in by & through the truest & most especiall name of my God, & by the principall head of my Orders, & by his Seale & Character & the vertue thereof, at the sight of which all Spirits in their severall & respective degrees, Orders & Offices, doe therein accordingly serve, honor & obey. And cheifly by this my Seale or Character, as hereunder is by me affixed or incerted. And by the force [71v] and virtue of these words most powerfully in the Sophick of Magick Art, **Lay**, **Alzym**, **Mura**, **Syron**, **Nalgava**, **Rythin**, **Layaganum Layarazin**, **Lasai**, by the contents hereof, & by the vertue power & efficacy of all aforesaid, I the said Spirit **Padiel** doe firmely & faithfully promise to appeare visibly unto **A.B.** & **C.D.** or either of them, in manner & forme as aforesaid, & to make true & faithfull answers, unto all & every their or either of their demands & requests, speaking plainely, & to be understood of them or either of them, & also readily, willingly & effectually to fulfil, performe & accomplish, all & every such their or either of their Comandments, as at any tyme they or either of them shall request & enioyne me, at all tymes & in all places, whensoever & wheresoever I shalbe of them or either of them moved, or called forth to visible appearance, during their or either of their naturall lives, even to the last or ultimate Survivors. In testimony whereof being commanded, I have hereunto & hereunder, affixed or incerted, my true Seale or Character, unto which I owe & beare obedience, and have alwaise stuck close. **---**[209]

[206] "called" written here and struck out in MS.

[207] *sic* in S4; in the above, as in the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia* and the *Steganographia*, Carnesiel is referred to the East.

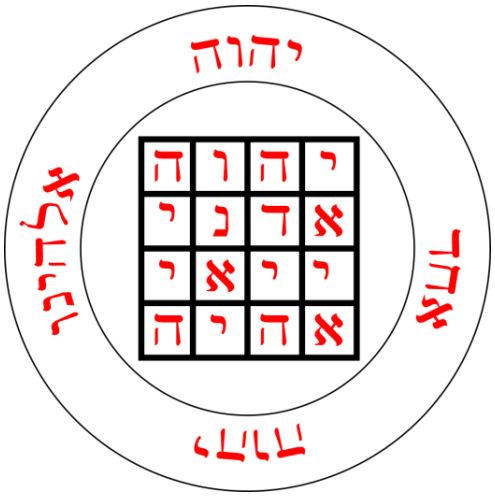
[208] Text in square brackets at bottom of page, with insertion mark after "Glass Receptacle."

[209] Short black horizontal bar in MS.

[A Book of Talismans]

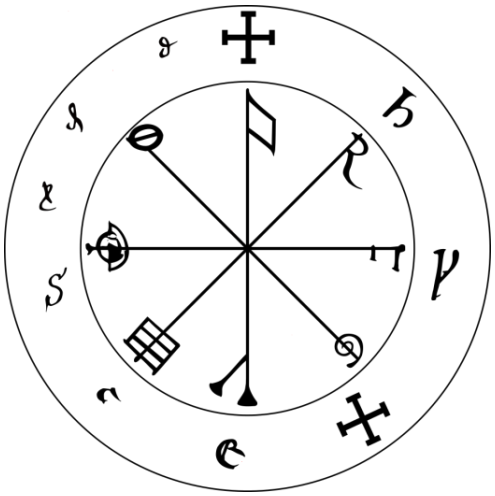
[This section (fol. 72–79) has no distinctive title in the MS.]

[72r] *The fore part*

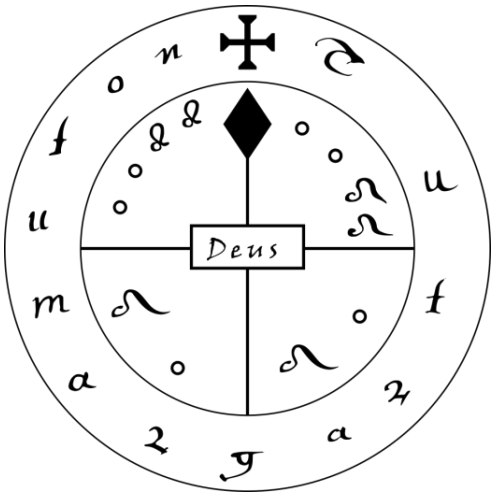


The hinder part.

This made in pure Gold or Virgine Parchment with Inke made of the smoke of a consecrated Taper and Holy water, is efficacious against all Diseases or Greifes whatsoever incident to the Body of Man, made or ingraven according to Art, &c.[210]



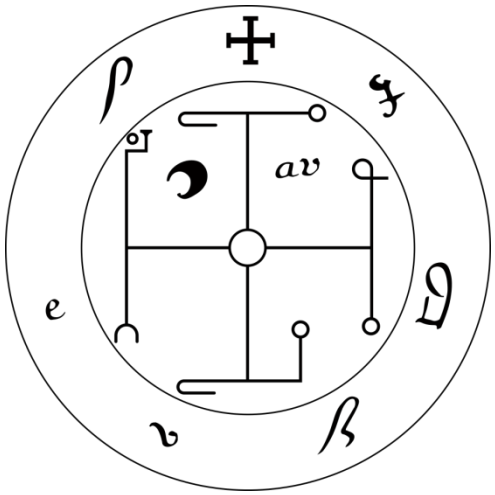
Beare this for Agues or fyning (?) Sicknesses, made in a Plate of Leade, coloured with Greene.



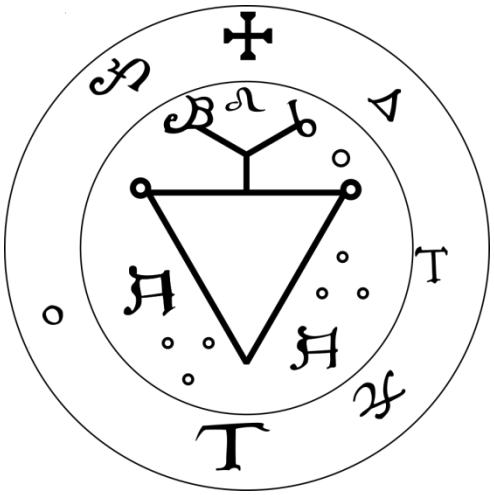
This made in Wood of Ivy defendeth Venome.

[210] This design appears in *OOP*, book III, chap. 11, ascribed to "Rabbi *Hama* in his Book of Speculation" (Agrippa's immediate source was Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, lib. iii); יראי seems simply to be a name concocted to have four letters and equal numerically to אל, *El* = 31; in the same chapter, Agrippa mentions the name יראא, formed as an acronym of the slogan יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד (the *Shema Yisraël*, "Yahweh [is] your God, Yahweh alone," or however you want to parse it) which forms the perimeter text for the front side of the design. The hinder part features the name ARARITA and the Hebrew phrase from whose initials it is derived.

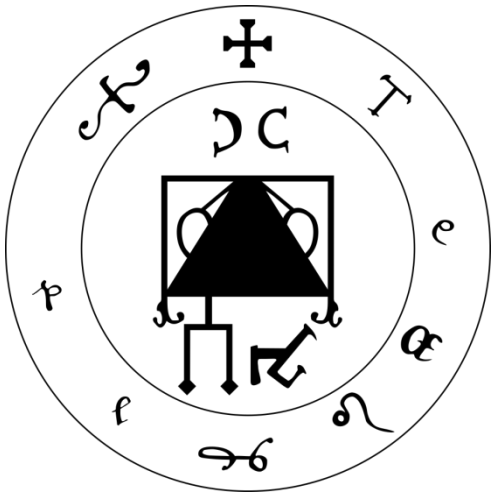
[72v]



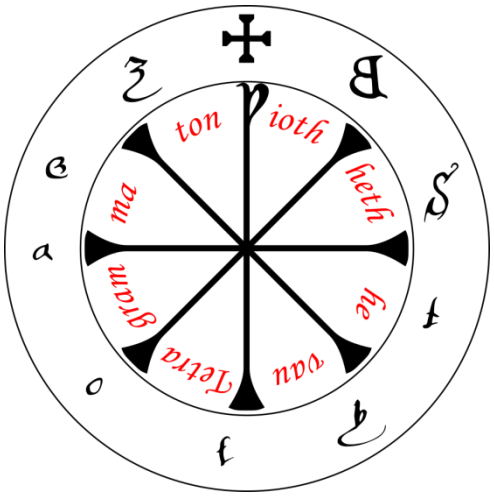
This made in thinn Glass or Ivory, the Moone being in a strong Signe, delivereth from Blindness, Baldnes & Leprosie.



This made in black Horne is against dimness of Sight, & all greifes incident to the Eyes, & very profitable to be worne of such as are Subject to wax blinde.

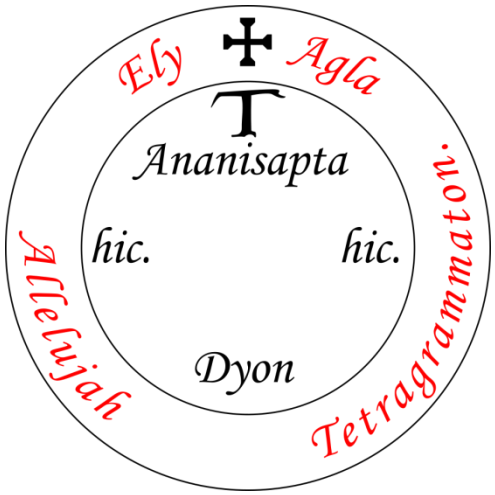


This made in Virgin parchment, prevaileth against Madnes.

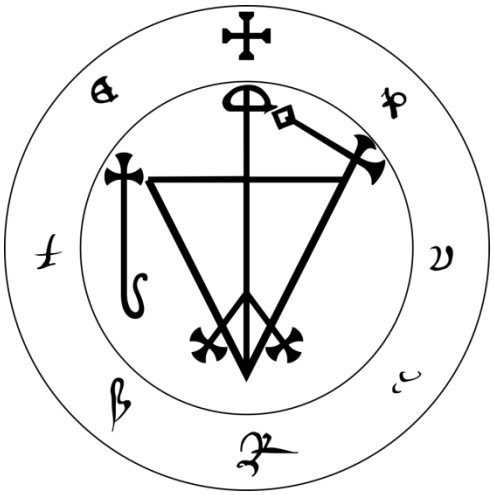


Beare this made of Yellow wax to see marvails in sleepe.

[73r]

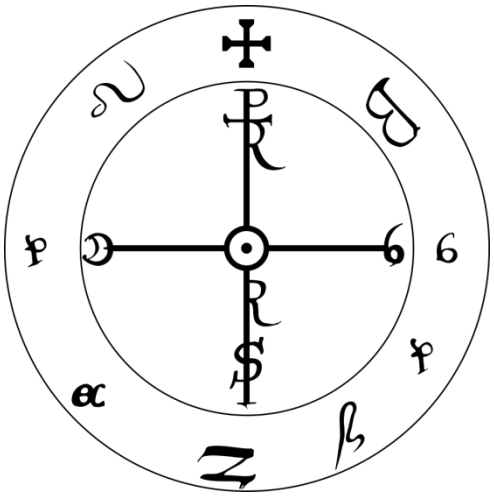


This written in white Wax, & layd under your head, ye shall see what you will in your sleep.



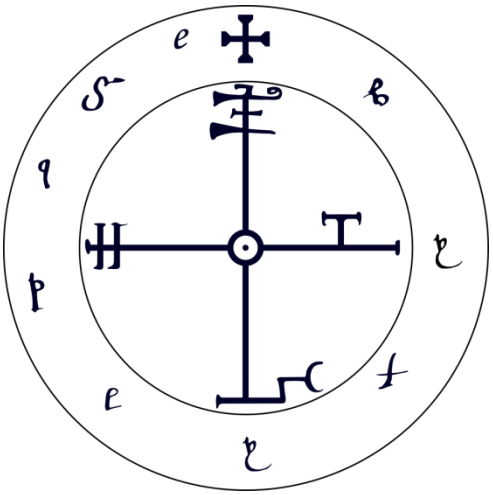
This made in yellow Paper with Greene & Yellow Inke, is against a fearfull dreames & hurte in Sleepe.

This made in Parchment with black, is profitable in all Learning & study of Philosophy.

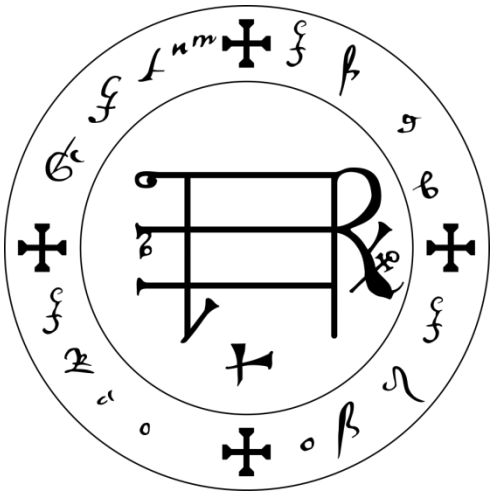


This made in a plate of red wax & filled with yellow, serveth to take & tame wild Beasts, & to make them to thy minde.

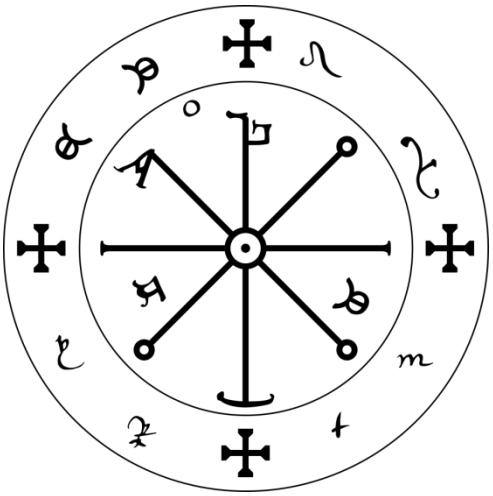
[73v]



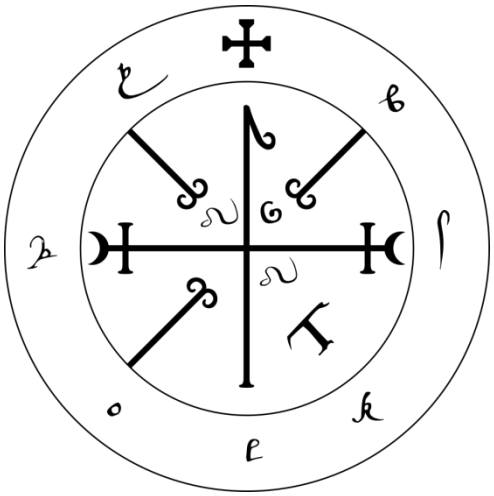
Beare this for taking of Fish in all water streames, made in Chalke & black Inke.



This made in red Willow serveth for Fishing in the Sea.

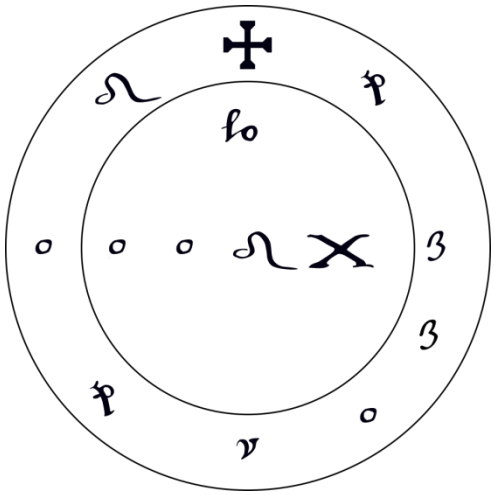


This made on Berrill Glass with white, is to have the knowledge of all kinds of Working, making & graving of any Glass or Glasing.

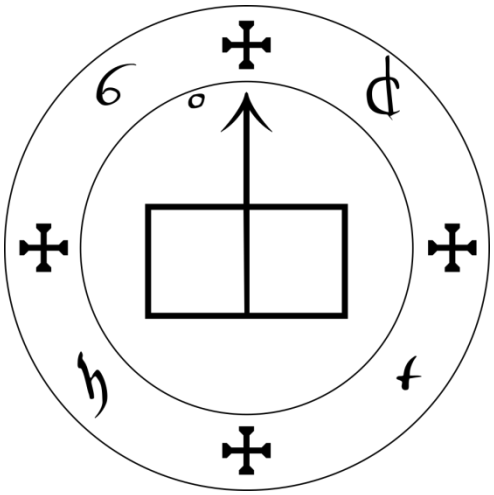


Beare this for buying of Wood & Timber, in a plate made of Slate.

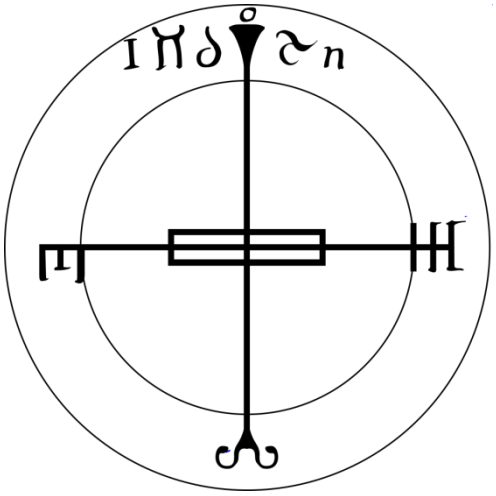
[74r]



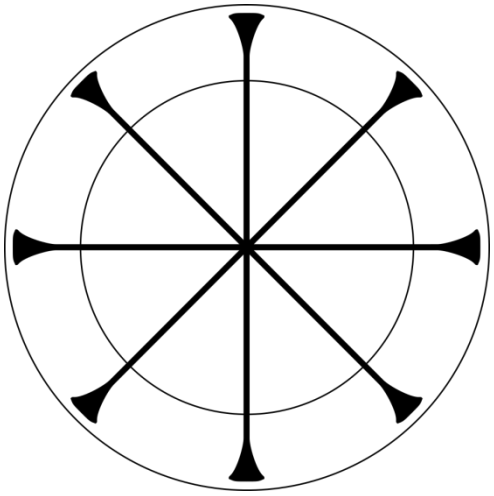
For Fillers & Diggers, made in a Hazell Roote.



This graven on Iron, serveth to worke secret Crafte, as Jugling, Legerdemaine, & the like.

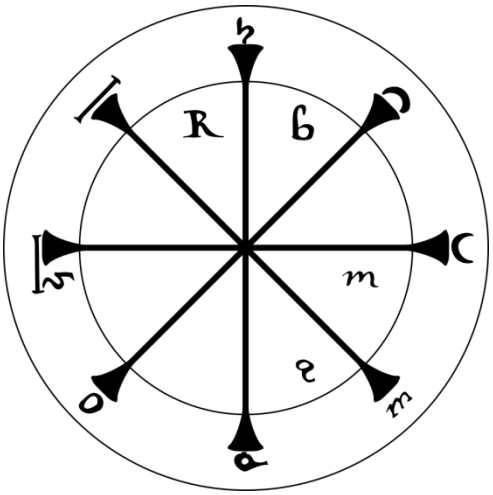


This Signe is for the Love of all persons, both Male & Female.

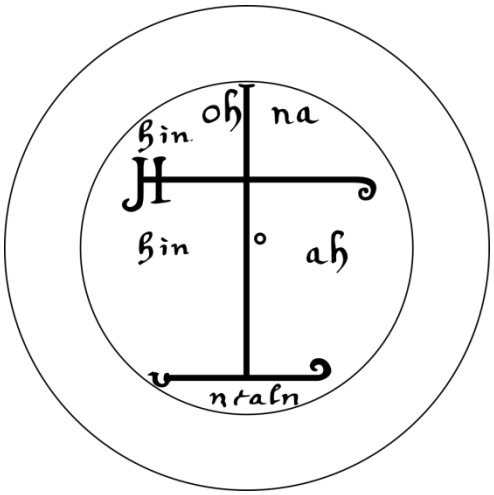


This Sign giveth men the love of Persons on the way, & seperates Anger from the Soule.

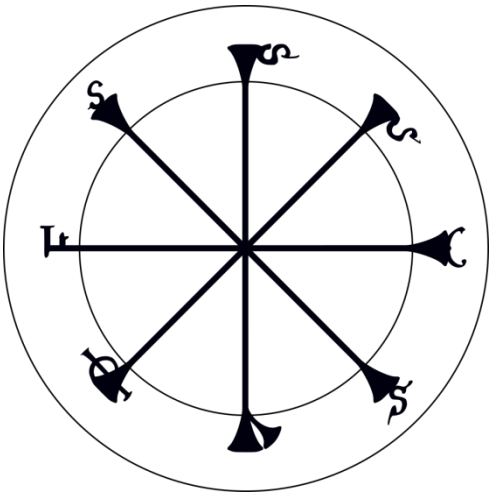
[74v]



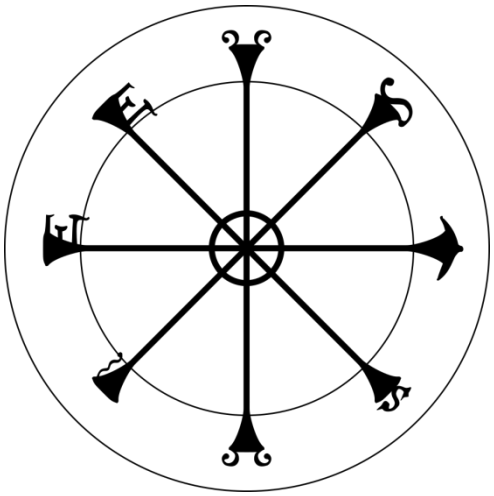
This Figure delivereth from all Dangers.



This was revealed by the Spirit [211]
the vertue, influence and efficacy whereof, is to put to flight all our enimies.



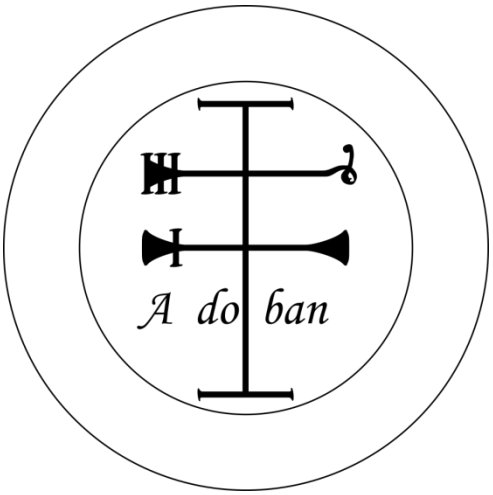
This Figure delivereth from all Enimies whatsoever whome you shall see or meete. *



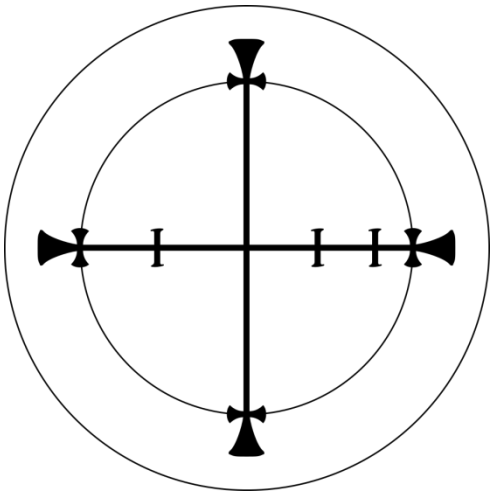
The same as the next foregoing at this Asterick. *

[211] Apparently a blank space in the MS.

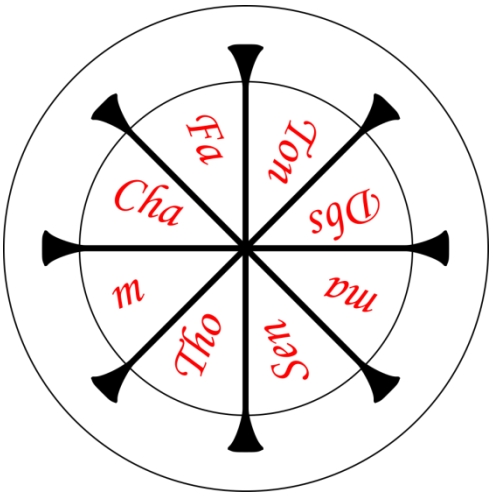
[75r]



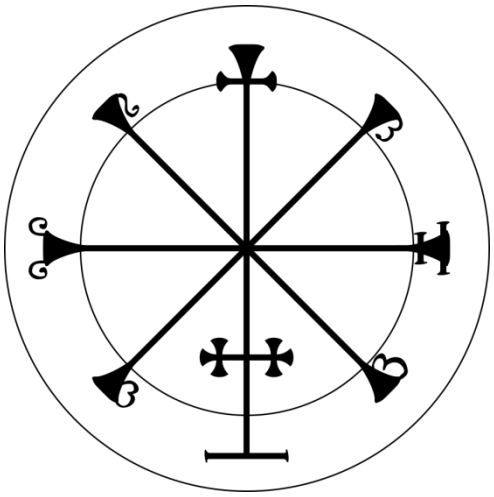
This Figure delivereth from all sorte of Enimies visible and invisible, & all earthy Evills.



This Figure makes a Man secure in an Evill day.



This Sigill hath that name which Straon beareth in his forehead by being commanded.

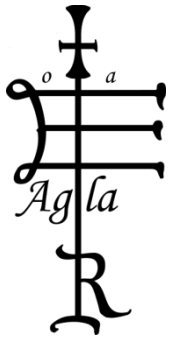


In whatsoever day you see this Figure, you shall not feare suddaine death.

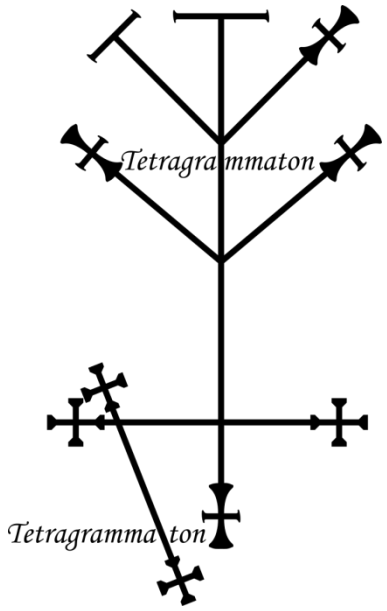
[75v]

[This page contains only four empty double circles.]

[76r]



He that beareth this signe about him, shalbe holpen in every neede or necessity.



These two Sigills are for one & y^e same purpose.

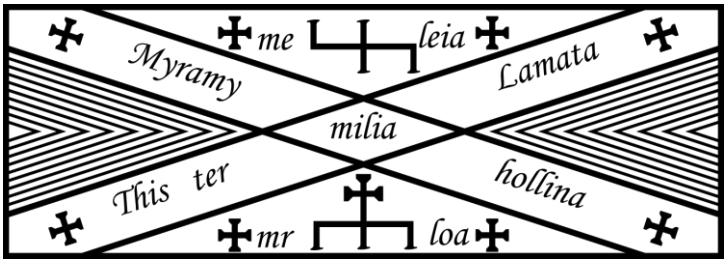
The Fore part

בוווו

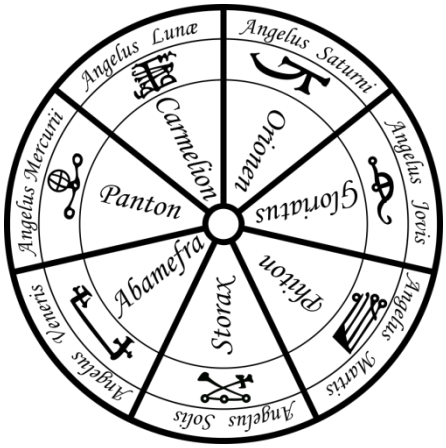
The Hinder part

צמרבה

This Ligature freeth & preserveth a Man from all mischief & affrightmente of Enimies & evill Spirits, & all other dangers whatsoever, either of Journies Waters, Arms or any other engagement or conteste, &c.[212]



This Signe, engraven in brass, is for winning, & for health.

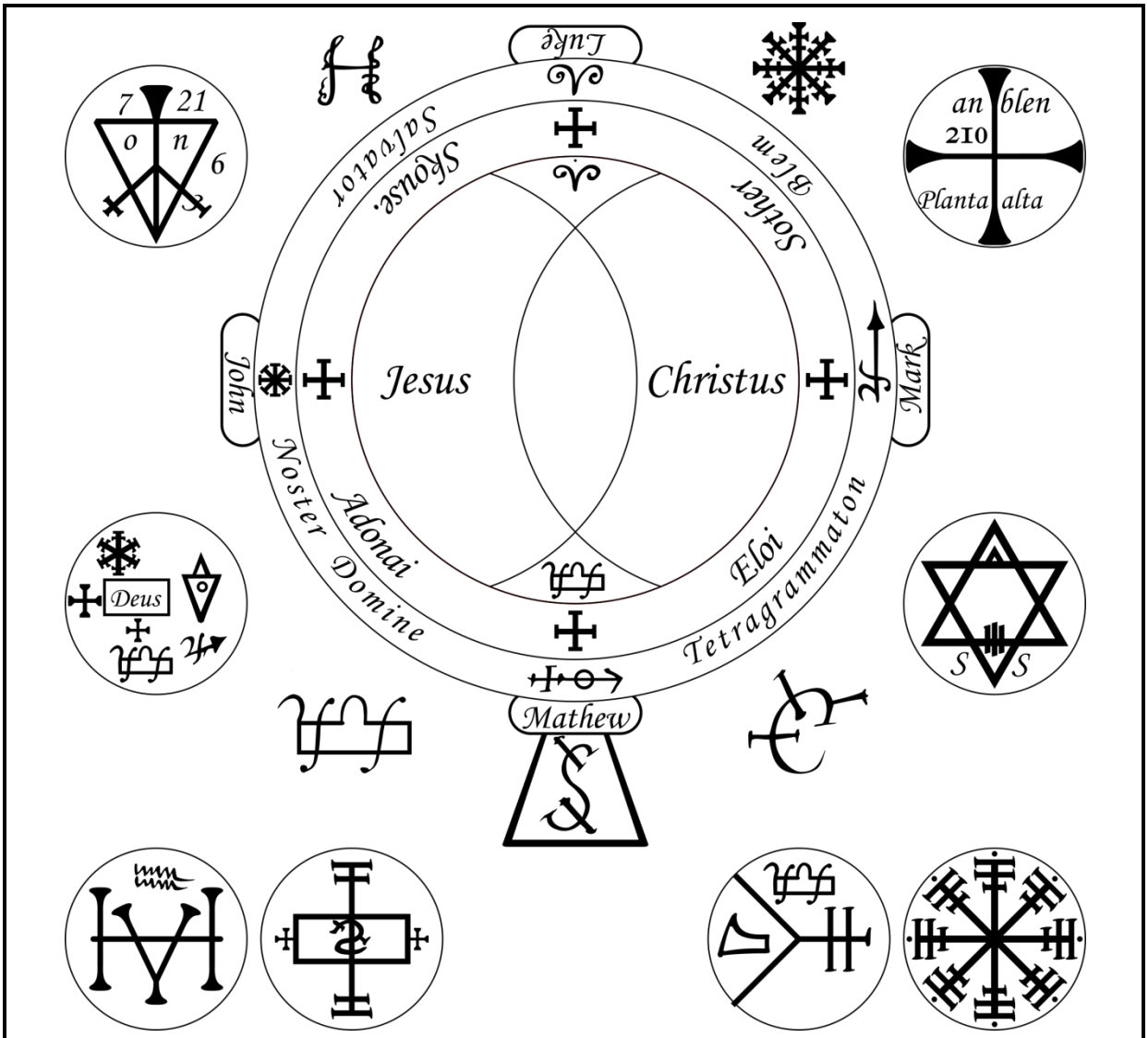


[No explanation of this figure is given in the MS and the space to the right of it is blank.[213]]

[212] The two rows of Hebrew letters are the initial and final letters of the first five verses of Genesis. This talisman is described by Agrippa, *OOP* Book III chap. 11 (pp. 377–8).

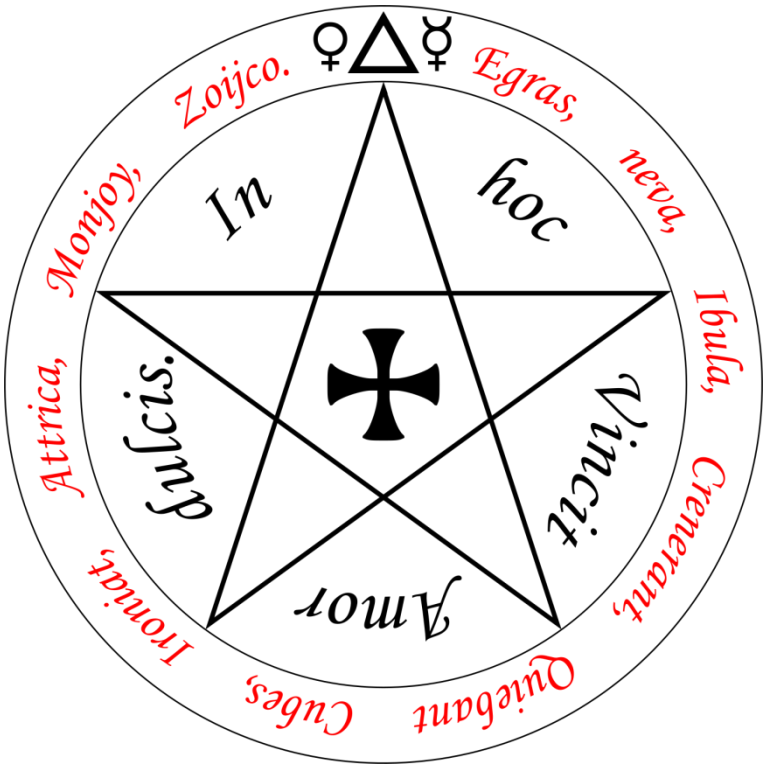
[213] A similar set of names (allowing for textual corruption from repeated copying) appears in Wellcome MS. 110 (16th-century), fol. 68r. An "Angel of the Sun" called *Storax* is also mentioned in the Folger "Book of Magic" (p. 186 and elsewhere), and a *Carmelyon* or *Carmelion* is cited alongside Storax in the same work as part of a conjuration of *Oberion*.

[76v] *[To Bind Witches & Thieves.]*



I binde all sorts of the Enimies of God by his holy & blessed Name ✢ I binde all sorts of Witches & Theives ✢ I binde all sorts of wicked people ✢ I binde all sorts of Ungodly people ✢ I binde these People by the holy & powerfull Name **Tetragrammaton** *the mighty God, & by the vertue of all the Blessed glorious & efficacious Names of our Lord Jesus Christ ✢ by the vertue of all the blessed angells ✢ I binde these* ✡ *Witches & Theives by the vertue of all these holy Characters herein written, That these Witches & Theives may have noe power at any tyme or tymes hereafter upon me* **N:** *the Bearer hereof, nor any Corne or Cattel, no nor yet of my Body ✢ I binde these Witches & Theives, & all sorte of wicked & ungodly people, by the mighty power of God, þ' they may not depart out of this House or Ground until I doe discharge them. In the Name of the Father & of the Son & of the Holy Ghost, Amen. Fiat Fiat Fiat. Amen.*

[77r] *[A Talisman of Venus.]*



The use of the Sigill foregoing briefly explained, &c.

This sigill is most proper to be made in the day & houre[214] of ♀ Venus, she being either Essentially or Accidentally well Fortified, & in good aspect with the ☽ Moone, &c.: when you have made it, humbly implore the benevolent Layde & assistance of the Governing Angells, ruling that day. You may make it either in Silver (as big or as little as you please) & wear it about your neck, or write it on Virgin Parchment, with the blood of a Batt, & touch the Party whome you would have to love you in any part of the bare skin before, & you shall shell see the effect thereof imediately to answer your expectation: Also when you touch the Party, you shall say these words, *Attrica, Monjoy, Zoijco*, (being the last three words written in the Circle) & likewise you shall say these following words before & after you petition for the ayd & assistance of the then regulation Angells of that day, (as aforesaid) & alsoe before & after you touch the party therewith *Sicia, Donemus, Culteantea, Rephiantea*. This being rightly observed & duly performed you may Obteyne the Love & Favour of all Persons (of what Sex soever) Provided things be not misunderstood, & put to a wrong use, contrary to the true meaning & purport hereof, &c.

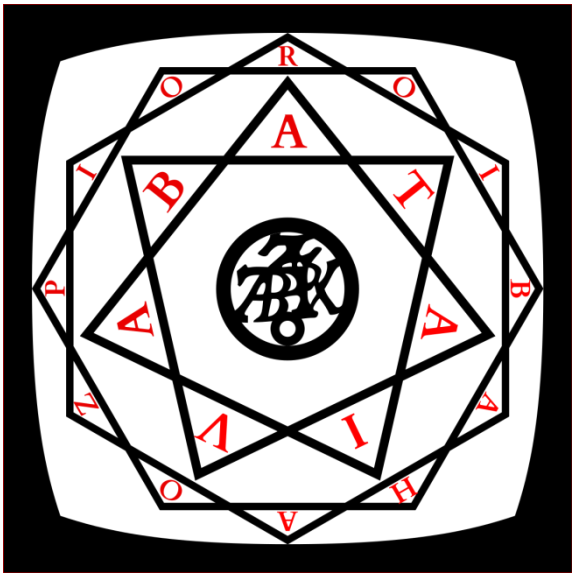
[77v] [Blank page, save for bleed-through from 77r & blots.]

[78r–79v] [Four talisman outlines on each page, with no text or design.]

[214] Just . . . why? Planetary "days and hours" have nothing to do with the motion or positions of the planets and are a device for avoiding the hard work & hassle of technical astrological calculations (aspects, dignities, &c.), so if you're going all out with the latter, the former can be ignored.

Another Book of Talismans

The following figures appear on six leaves (fol. 80, 84-88) that were bound in, somewhat haphazardly, after the end of the notebook in Ashmole's hand. As already mentioned three additional leaves containing unrelated material were in turn bound inside the above after fol. 80. The material on fol. 81 & 83 has already been described and copied; fol. 82 is an insert slip with a single small design on it, as follows:



The names **ORO IBAH AOZPI** and **BATAIVA** are drawn from the Eastern Angle of Dee's "Tablet of Earth" or "Tables of Enoch." The character in the centre, I cannot identify, although it is possibly formed from the letters of those names.

The other leaves bear a total of 37 circular talismanic designs with accompanying text (the general arrangement is nine to a page, three by three, although not all pages are filled), as well as two that were apparently started & cancelled, one empty circle with accompanying text, and some 49 empty circles.

General standard of execution on these is significantly worse than those on fol. 72-75, details are crammed into a much smaller area, writing is frequently borderline-illegible, and several elements of the pictures were seemingly miscopied, marked as being erroneous with 'corrected' forms outside the circles.

[80r]

This made in box causeth the favour of all that dwell within the sight of ones house	This made in parthment when the [moon] goeth to the merdian is to obtain the Love of strangers	This made in horne like a Lanthornes horne procureth the love of strangers & that the servants shall not hurt you.
This made in a plate of grey earth is for favour &c.	This made in parchment & worn on the breast causeth favour.	This made in Alabaster is for favour of lawers & scriveners
This made in harts Leather is for peace & quietness of words	This Sign seen once in a day all hindrances & impeditions shall avoid &c.	This made in parchment with black and red is against all impediements.

[80v]

He that Beareth this sign about him shall obtain Love of Lord and Lady.	This made of an Ashen Roote the [moon] being nere the full, is against the hatred of any woman.	

[84r]

This made in Silver delivereth from all troubles	This made in yellow wax is to escape all plagues	This made in Silver is against Temptations to worke any evill for money.
This made in red wax with a pen [[…]] yew is against carefulness & [[so]]rrow.	This made is a Wolfes skin raw with bloack lead is against thought & pensiveness.	This made in lead is against thought & confudness of mind.
This made in Red Brass: [[…]] shall not be bind not in any worke you goe about.	This made in green Cloath with yellow maketh all things glad to please thee.	

[84v blank]

[85r]

This made in palme tree or parchment is against death & witchcraft	This made in Brass is to have dominion over all ayeriall things	This engraven in gold & <*illegible*> is to see spirits in the Ayr.
This made the moon in Leo is to have dominion over Ayeriall Spirits.	This made in yellow wax make spirits in the Earth being called to obey.	This written in a Bullocks skin & worne on the brest being Consecrated is to see Spirits in water.

[The bottom quarter or so of fol. 85 is apparently torn or cut: the top part of three double-circle outlines can be seen above the cut-off, but there is no indication that anything was drawn inside them.]

[85v]

[This page contains only nine empty circles.]

[86r]

This made in virgin patchment serveth against danger of theives.	Bear this for inchantment made in green Oke.	This made in white lead is against haunting of Spirits which will fly away.

[*cancelled design*.]	This made in parchtment with green Ink prevaileth against Spirits & beasts.	This made in black wax no infirmity nor haunting of Spirits shall hurt thee.

[86v]

[This page contains only nine empty circles and three words, "Note that <*illegible*>" in the top left corner.]

[87r]

This made in Cypress is against drowning and to escape water & floods.	This made in fair white wood preserveth from drowning & druncknesse	This made of a fish bone is against all Imediments of water.
This made with black Inck with red Leather of Calves skin is in [[…]] journeys & from falling	This made in parchment is for going wrong in journeys	This made in Virgin parchment is to be worne in journeying.
Bear this made in a piece of Ash for weariness of journey.	This written in Virgin Parchment & worne upon thee maketh no Creature shall stop thee in thy journey.	This made in Brass is for the safeguard of thy person, family & goods.

[87v]

[This page contains only nine empty double circles (and some bleed-through from the heavier line-work on the recto).]

[88r]

[This page contains only nine empty double circles with a faint outline grid (suggesting the leaf was bound in upside down as each circle is at the bottom of its grid space rather than having the space to write the purpose for the design below it, as in the filled-out pages.]

[88v blank]

[REDRAW THE DAMN THINGS SOME TIME.]

[Some Experiments of Spirits.]

This collection of spirit-summoning "experiments," with a focus on treasure-hunting, occupies fol. 89–120 (save for fol. 109, already transcribed, which was a loose leaf in a different hand bearing unrelated material that was haphazardly bound up in it). This material derives from a variety of English magical MS. traditions, some of which are represented in the Folger "Book of Magic."[215]

The main items are as follows:

- 89r–102v: "Experiment to call out Spirits that are Keepers of Treasure Trove": three different conjurations to be used depending on the nature and order of spirits being addressed, along with extensive rubric and theoretical discussions of various orders of spirits.
- 103r–104v: Treasure-hunting conjuration addressed to spirits called *Barbasan* and *Baramper*.
- 104v–106r (fol. 105 is an insert in the same hand): instructions regarding magic "circles" (which term the writer uses to encompass protective lineal figures drawn on the ground whether they are actually circular, or triangular, square, pentagonal &c.).
- 106r–107r: "Experiment" summoning a spirit called *Brett*.
- 107r–107v: "Experiment" summoning a spirit called *Birto*, adapted from an earlier process which can be found in the Folger "Book of Magic," p. 164.
- 108r–110r: "Experiment" summoning a spirit called *Bealphares*, similar but not identical to one printed by Scot in the *Disoverie of Witchcraft*.
- 110r–113v: Two "Experiments" summoning spirit called *Vassago* and *Agares*, with some passages of rubric and figures shared between the processes.
- 113v–114v: Process "to Obtain whatsoever is Desired," being a slight variant of one appearing in Sloane MS. 1727.
- 114v–115r: "Experiment" summoning a spirit called *Bleth*.
- 115v–116r: Brief notes on various spirits, including *Seere*, *Dantalion* and *Andromalius*.
- 116v–117r: Names of spirits, with simple characters for some of them, and designs for magic circles or circular talismans connected with a set of seven planetary "kings."
- 117r–120v: Account of three chief infernal spirits, *Lucifer*, *Beelzebub* and *Sathan*, and the four Demon Kings of the Quarters, *Oriens*, *Paimon*, *Egin* and *Amaimon*, various subordinates of the Kings, and a set of conjurations directed at the subordinates: this derives from the *Liber officiorum* / *De officiis spirituum* tradition and has strong parallels with material in the Folger "Book of Magic" pp. 73 *sqq*.

The "experiments" of *Birto*, *Vassago*, *Agares* and *Bealphares* were copied by Ebenezer Sibley in the 18th century from this, or a MS. of similar content, and in turn copied by Frederick Hockley in the 19th century: copies are extant in Wellcome MSS. 2842 (missing most of the figures) and 3203 as well as other MSS. in private and institutional collections.

It is noteworthy that this collection contains descriptions and characters for the four spirits of the *Ars Goëtia* that do <u>not</u> appear in the main source for the *Goëtia*'s spirit catalogue, the English translation of the *Pseudomonarchia Dæmonum* that was printed in Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*.

[215] Observed, for example by Teresa Burns, in "An Introduction to the *Book of Magic with Instructions for Invoking Spirts*" (2014).

[89r]

An Experiment to call out Spirits, that are Keepers of Treasure Trove,

Either by any Artificiall Inchantment magically, or otherwise of Divine Justice, those spirits folloinwg have power to Command them away, & cast them out; and to doe whatsoever the magick philosopher shall Command them:

Names of the Spirits.

Sulpher, Caleos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorsan (or **Gorzan**), **Everges, Mureril, Vasago, Dantelion, Barbasan, Sathan.**[216]

The first Thing the Magicall Philosopher is to observe herein, is to be well informed, or well to infiorme him selfe by all the best ways & means he can, whether any Treasures are hidden in such or such a place or no, and by whome, and for what Reason it should be hid and absconded from posterity, and whether it be kept by any Spiri commanded and Continued thereon, by any Magicall inchantment, or otherwise by Divine iustice, & whether by any Ayeriall Terrestiall spirit: for this is a maxim in Phylosophy, That there is a great antipathy between us & Evill spirits, & the Celestiall Angells who are our governours, Protectors, & guardians, & are Continually Employed about us, according to there orders & ministeryes appointed them,[217] of God, Although the Evill Spirits striveth & Endeavoreth to imitate the Good Angells, in all things Every way to Counterfit them, whereby many are Deceived, whose wickedness & malice suits with the natures of Evill spirits,[218] of which the Good Angells being grieved forsakes them, & leaves them to there own erronious Will: many times for the wickedness of some person or family, the Good Angells Curses such a person, faily or House, then the Evill spirits have power given them, to Execute the justice [[&]] Decrees of the moust high God, whome such Family or person hath so haniously offended, then Doth the Ayreial spirit haunt, infest & trouble, Such houses or places, & molest the inhabitants, terrifying and affrightening them, both & other [89v] People adjacent thereto, with horrible & unusuall noyse, and many fearfull & hideous apparitions, neither shall such house or inhabitant be att Quiet, nor shall any of the Generation of any such family prosper, until providence be appeased, the Curse Expiated, and the Angry Angell or Ayeriall Spirit Discharged, or the inchantment taken of from the Treasure, if any be there hid, & the spirit keeping it be Discharged therefrom, & Cast out & Sent away to his place of Residence, otherwise appointed & Decreed for him & thus Doth God punish in his justice, the hanious sins of great offenders, even to the third & fourth generation.

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[216] Several of these are cited in the treasure-hunting process in *Longobardus*. There are minor variations in the orthography of the names throughout the procedure; where the MS. is legible, these are allowed to stand.

[217] 'then' cancelled; 'them' written *sup. lin.* in a different hand.

[218] 'of Evill Spirits' written again and cancelled.

Next you are to Consider, whether the place be haunted, or the Treasures therein Kept (if any be hidden) either by Ayeriall or terrestiall spirits, or whether [[by]] any Inchantment or magicall Spell, or any powerfull Charmes; or whether otherwise Distributed by permission of Divine justice, for many hanious unpardoned Crimes of some one person: all which out to be Diligently Considered & rightly understood. The Knowledge whereof is elsewhere before Expl[[ained]] &c.: If there be Treasures there hidden, and kept by an Aijeriall spirit or spirits, then those spirits here before named are to be called upon, & made use of herein; the praxis whereof is thus:

The House or place haunted, must be Cleared of people, and thereby made private, and the house or place made void of Any Company, Except Such as are Concerned in the busin[[ess]] [90r] which Brotherhood or Society so concerned, in the management of these Affaires, As the Recovery of treasure Trove, that cannot be otherways Recovered butt by this art, must be very tacit, silent, and private in the carrying on[219] of these Designs, neither Squabling or Disagreeing amongst themselves, butt wholly to rest of Rely one the prudence And genuine capacity, or the Philosophick master in this Art; by whose constancy in his perseverances, assisted by the support, Lenity, taciturnity, and fidelity of a civill benevolent And Loving fraternity, his Authority is much strengthened[220] in his Invocations; whereby all spirits both Aijeriall & terrestiall (yea & Infernall also) are brought to subjections, & willingly serve the master, obediently doing all his will & Command; And by this meanes Are matters brought to a propitious Period, and Expectations, on all hands answered with a prosperous & Successful yssue.

The place which is thus haunted, being prepared and set apart for Action, the master Suerly knowing that there is treasure there hidden, and that it is there Kept, & also the House Haunted by Aijeriall Spirits; at a Convenient time or times, when all thing Are Silent and still, goe to the place, & as you Enter the place, going meekly & Deliberately therein, Say as followeth:—

Emanuel and in the name of God Amen.

O Lord arise, helpe, strengthen, dignyfie, be present with us, and assist us in these our Present undertakings, Illuminate us with the Light of thy Countenance, and Deliver us from all Evill, for thy most holy & Gloryous names Sake, for we have heard, And we absolutely believe, of what our fourfathers that Declares [90v] unto us, the noble works thou Didst in there Days, & in the old time before them, We are thy people O Lord & the sheep of thy pasture, Therefore gratiously here us, And Grant us our Requests, and let thy mercy be Showed upon us As we Do putt our turst In thee: Lord, we believe, help our unbeleeif. *Then, Lett the master & his fellow or fellows Enter the Circle, and Invocate as followeth*: O all you Spirits who have power given you to Execute the Commands of the

[219] "Carrying" (?) cancelled; "carrying on" written *sup. lin.* in another hand.
[220] Written *sup. lin.* in a different hand above another, cancelled word.

Highest, both as to his justice and mercy; O all you spirits [[of]] great power, in the Keeping of Hidden treasures, and Also of Detecting, Discovering & Yealding up of the Same to the sons of men, for those use it was principally & Primarily Decreed and Ordained, I doe Exorcize and call upon all you spirits, joyntly And Severally by name, **Sulphur, Caleos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorsan** (or **Gorzan**), **Everges, Mureril, Vasago, Dantellion, Barbasan, Sathan,** In the most high, mighty, great, glorious, efficatious and effible name of the Creator of heaven & Ea[[rth]] And all whatsoever is therein contained both spirituall, Animall, Vegetable & min[[eral]] And by these his secret, powerfull and commanding names, **Iah**, **Elohim**, **Agla**, **El**, **On**, **Tetragramma[[ton]]**, And in name of Jesus Christ our Saviour, the onely Son of God The Father Allmighty, the Sec[[ond]] Person in Sacred Trinity **Messias**, **Soter**, **Emanuel**, **Sabaoth**, **Adonay**, **Via**, **Vita**, **Homo[[ousios]]**, **Primogenitus**, **Agnus Dei**, **Athanatos**, **Paraclethus**, **Alpha & Omega**, and by all the power that the Great God of Heaven, & his Son Jesus Christ, the true Messiah hath given both to Angells And Men, by all aforesaid I doe againe Exorcise, call upon, command you and Constrain you Spirits, **Sulphur, Caleos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorsan** (or **Gorzan**), **Everges, Mureril, Vasago, Dantelion, Barbasan, Sathan,** And all others, having power [91r] that you cast out all Evill spirits, that resideth in, and by Divine possession, haunteht, troubleth & molesteth this place, and all or any other spirit or spirits whatsoever, that keepeth any treasures that is hid or buryed In this place, or hereabout adjacent, and Detaineth the Same from the use of the Sons of men, Servants of the highest, & Especially one, who is the first and greatest, who is called **[[Camret]]**,[221] Duke of Strength, with all others whatsoever they be, that have power and permission to keep the treasures that are hid or Buryed In this place or hereabouts neer adjacent, that neither them nor any others, from this time forth hence forward, shall keep any treasures that is hidden or buryed In this place, or wheresoever Els it be hereabouts adjacted, but that Such spirit or spirits, of what nature order or Hierarchy Soever they are of either Aijeriall, Terrestiall or Infernall, or whatsoever otherwise or howsoever it shall be Kept, Detained or Secured from the use of man, by any spirit or spirits whatsoever As is aforesaid, let them be Cast out, Dismissed and Discharged therefrom, and command and Enforce Such Spirit or Spirits as aforesaid, Keepers of any Treasures that are hidden, buryed, or by any ways or meanes Concealed and Detained from man, to whom the proper use, right and behoof, absolutely, and by the Originall & primary Decress of our God, from the beginning of Days, undeniably belongeth and apertaineth; and also Enforce and constraine Such spirit or Spirits as aforesaid, Readily, peaceably & gently to Demit & leave Such Treasures, as are here or hereabouts adjacent, hidden, or Buryed as aforesaid,

[221] Name near-illegible in the scans due to contrast issues; what is visible is consitent with it being *Camret*, who is cited in a very similar context in a treasure-hunting process in *Longobardus*.

bare & nakedly Visible to us, so that we may bear the same away for our necessary uses; or Otherwise I Exorcize, earnestly urge, require & command you Spirits, **Sulphur, Caleos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorsan** (or **Gorzan**), **Everges, Mareril, Vasago, Dantelion, Barbasan, Sathan**, By and in the name of the Father, & of the Son, and of the holy spirit, that some one or more of you as ocation shall require, do apear Visibly unto us, either **Barbaros, Gorsan, Everges, Mareril, Vasago**, or any other, to Detect and Discover whatsoever Treasures lyeth hid, buryed or otherwise concealed in this house or place, or anywhere Els hereunto adjacent unto us and rightly to inform & instruct us, how to come by & recover the same away for the Releife of our nessesity as, or otherwise, again I Exorcize, Earnestly urge, Requier & command you Spirits, **Sulphur, Caleos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorsan** (or **Gorzon**), **Everges, Mareril, Vasago, Dantellion, Barbasan, Sathan,** to constraine command and Enforce Some one or more of these Spirits **Scor** (or **Scarus**), **Roab, Zaym, Umbra, Gijel,** to come and bring or cause to be brought to us, hither to this place, Such Treasures whatsoever they be, what Lyeth hid, buryed or any otherwise concealed and kept from us, in this place, or any where Els hereabout, adjacted, or that you constraine and Inforce, Some one or more of the Said spirits, to apear Visibly before us peaceably, meekely, and in fair & Decent forme, and no ways terrible or Violent, that we may requier & command them to serve us herein, and to do for us, as for the Servants of the most High and Everlasting God. Finally & lastly, I doe againe Exorcise, call upon, command and most urgently & Earnestly requier you Spirits **Sulphur, Caleos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorsan** (or **Gorzon**), **Everges, Mareril, Vasago, Dantellion, Barbasan, Sathan,** in the name of the sacred & Cœlestiall trinity, and by the Birth, passion, Resurrection & asscention of our Lord Jesus Christ, That you cast outt, discharge and Dismiss the Spirit or Spirits [91v] whatsoever, they be, either Aijeriall, Terrestriall, or infernall, that haunteth, incloseth & troubleth this house or place, or that hath the Keeping of any Treasures that are hidden buryed, or by any ways or means whatsoever concealed from the Knowledge & use of man, in this House or place, or any where else neer Adjacent hereabouts, I urgently Request you to enforce and constrain them to Depart therefrom, and leave the same Visibly and openly naked to us, so that we take & bear the same away for our necessary uses, Or I earnestly requier & command you, to send some one or more of these spirits, **Barbaros, Gorsan, [[Everges]], [[Mareril]],**[222] **or Vasago,** to appear Visibly unto us, and to resolve, informe and instruct us [[how]] to come by & obtaine the same, And I doe by these presents and the Efficacy and power thereof, And in the name of the Supreme head and Prince of your Hierarchy or Hierarcyes, Exorcize, call upon, Requier, and powerfully command, either some one of or all you Spirits, **Barbaros, Gorsan, Everges,**

[222] These two names nigh-unreadable in the images I'm working from, so I simply repeated the reduced list from the last time it was cited.

Mareril, or [[**Vasago**]], to appear Visibly before us, and assist us by all the best ways and means you may or can, to cast o[[ut]] Such spirit or Spirits, that haunteth, infesteth, troubleth & Disquieteth this house or place, or that hath the Keeping of any Treasures, that are here or hereabouts neer adjuyoning, hidden, Buryed, or by any ways or means whatsoever concealed and Detained from us, that the same may be openly Detected & Discovered to us Visibly, So that we may peaceably and quietly, without any Noy[[se,]] illusions, fraud, delayes or any disturbances, intermissions or interruptions whatsoever, bear [[the]] Same awayand enjoy itt to our benefit, according as it is from the beginning ordained for us, And [[I]] once more earnestly urge and Require you spirits, that otherwise you enforce and Constrain the Spirits **Scor** (or **Scarus**), **Roab**, **Zaym**, **Umbra**, **Gijel**, or some one of them to come to this place And bring heither unto us & deliver up unto us, all such Treasures as are here or hereabouts wh[[ere]]sover neer adjoining, that are hidden Buyried or any ways concealed, And Do by these pre[[sents]] And the Efficatious power thereof, potently Exorcize, charge, constraine and command you spirits, **Scor** (or **Scarus**), **Roab**, **Zaym**, **Umbra**, **Gijel**, or some other one of you, to appear Visible before [[us]] in a Decent & comely shape, and noe ways terribly or turbulently, to Dismay or Delude us, Come ye in all meekness & humility, and in peace and Serenity, yealding obedience to my Commands and requests, and the fulfilling and performeing the same, wherefore prepare you, make hast & come away, and bring along with you all sure Treasures as are hid, buryed or any howsoever conealed here in this house, Ground or place, or any where Els neer hereunto adjacent, as is aforesaid, And now I Exorcize all ye Spirits aforesaid, In the name of the Everl[[asting]] And Heavenly God The father, the Son, & the Holy Gost, & in the names and by the p[[ower]] of your Hierarchyes, and by the imperiall authority of the princes and the Heads ther[[eof]], And by their Seals & Characters [92r] firmly binding & commanding and I doe Earnestly, urgently and powerfully request and Command you all, joyntly and severally by these presents, that you observe, fulfil & performe all my Desires herein Contained, and to doe for me in all your Respective offices, as for the Servants of the Highest, without any turbulence, noise, hinderance, fraud, prolixity, or delay.

finis.

Now, although this Experiment should peradventure prove to be long in the effecting, and bringing thereof to pass, and to be a peice of tedious & tiersom practice, almost to the Disheartning and Even casting into Despair the Master & his friends, yet[223] butt never be Discouraged nor Disheartned thereat, butt proceed on therein, & persevere, with faith, patience and constancy, and Doubt not butt the End will be propitious, and Crowne your Expectations with a happy and prosperous yssue: for these spirits are by nature obstinate and pervers, and in such an Experiment and very slow and Remiss in there

[223] "yet" written *sup. lin.* in a different hand above "butt."

appearance, and Do unwillingly obey & Submitt to the Invocations & Commands of any Magician, until they are urged & constrained thereto, by the frequent motion, constant action, & the Continuall Care, Diligence and prudent magnagment[224] of ⟨of⟩ the master in these Affaires, which are not usuall, common, nor Easie, butt to be overcome absolutely by faith, Constancy, patience, prudence and preseverance, always Remmembring that there is an antipathetick Continaull Combate, between the Cœlestiall Angells and the Evill Spirits, wherein the Cœlestiall Angells Vanquish by patience:[225]

If no access or freedom can be had to the place Haunted, or where the Treasure is suppose to be, to act and Invocate there, then recourse must be had to the Experiment following, and particular spirits called upon, to bring such Treasures to such a place, where you are or shall appoint, & proceed that way. We must understand, that there are terrestriall spirits of spirits Conversant upon Earth, of severall & Different Natures, Some are Evill & offencive to man, and doe wander up & downe in this inferiour world, enraged against all, whome St. Peter compares to roaring Loyons, & ⟨and⟩ vulgarly Called Divells, the principall whereof was an Angell, & being turned apostate, persuaded many of the Angells to Decline with him, were therefore Driven & cast forth of Heaven, from the order of Good Angells for there pride, with the Divellish Serpent **Ophis**, who was the Head of that Rebellious Army, who to this day are therefore called his Angells, and from the Beginning of the world, the Dispensation of things is ordained by this meanes, that the Executings of God's Justice (amongst the rest) upon such matters or persons, as with whom & wherewith he is Displeased, is committed to there Charge, And these do Confess there fall, and being cast forth into this vail of misery, doe wander up & Downe upon the Earth, Keeping Treasures as aforesaid, haunting & molesting such houses & places, and vexing any that shall seek the Recovery thereof, till they are brought ot a Kind of familiarity and obedience, to Demit & give up the Same. And also otherwise to vex & terrifye Earthly things, invading miners, causing the [92v] gapings of the Earth, Striking together the Foundations of mountains, terrifying & vexing, not only [[men]] but also other Creatures, And some againe, by Severall Kinds of various and Severall ways of De[[lu]]sions onely, do contrive rather to weary men then to hurt them, some heightening themselves to the length of a Giants body, and againe shrinking themselves up to the smallness of a pigmy And so Changing themselves into Divers forms, do disturb and astonish men with vaine [[fear]][226] Some wandering up & Downe in the Obscure Aÿre, Some about the Seas, Rivers, Lakes, Pools & other waters, and moyst Boggy and such like kind of places, some others study lyes and Blasphemyes, as

[224] 'management'?

[225] I have inserted a paragraph break here fot the sake of clarity.

[226] Word lost in gutter, beginning with 'f'.

we Read of one Saying, I will go forth and by a Lying Spirit in the mouth of all the pro[[phets]] of ahab. Some others who are pernitious Spirits, Do lay wait and overthrow Travellers in th[[eir]] Jorneys, and rejoice in wars and the Effusion of Blood, and afflct men with Cruell Stripes of which wee Read in many places of the old & new testaments, where many comparisons are made of them, and Severall names attributed to them, St. Mathew Saith, for fear of [[whom]] no man durst pass that way, the prophet Isaiah compares them to Satyrs, Scrich Owles, Syrens, Storkes, &c: The psalmist Compares them to Aspes, Bazilisks, Lyons, Dragons, The Gospel to Scorpions, **Mammon**, the ⟨the⟩ prince of this world, the Rulers of Darkness, and in some places the prince of wickedness, who is sometimes called **Beelzebub**, sometimes **Serapis**, sometimes Pluto, being the Greek anem thereof, under whom amongst them, **Cerberus** is said to [[be]] chief and is called the three headed Dog, because he is conversant in the three Elements of [[Air,]] Earth, & water. And those sorts of spirits are said to be Evill and pernitious by nature.[227]

There are another Sort of terrestiall spirits, whose residence is upon the superficies of [[the]] Earth, who also have power to keep hidden treasures; but then it is thus: Many times Distract[[ion]] And Disturbances happen to be in a nation, and also in a family, and that the Good honest Inhabitants live in great fear of Losing that Substance, they have Carefully got together by there great Labors or otherwise, and so to save & secure it in time of need, do usually hide or bury it in some convenient obscure place, where some or other of these spirits hath Residence, or a delight to be frequently in, & peradventure those people may not [93r] have any friend or Relations about them, that they dare with safty repose any trust or confidence in, & so they may dye without making any Discovery, where they have hid or Buryed their Subsance , the which when these kind of spirits, who by their orders Resideth or frequently Delighteth in Such a place, finding such a thing, as treasures, to be hidden, or buryed there, without any owner left, imediatly seize thereon, and keep the same &c. These spirits are by nature both good & bad, butt Generally they are not so noxious, offensive, hurtfull or vexatious, but more nere to man, and are affected with humane passions, Delighting much in mans Society, and do willingly Dwell with him, and will serve him well & faithfully in all thigns, wherein they are entrusted, and oftentimes doe meet poor honest mean men, women & Children, and are willing to be very Curteous to them, to serve them, doting on such kind of honest and harmless people, butt att such unusall Sights and accidents, for want of prudence and confidence, ignorantly stand amazed and are astonished, frightening themselves, being possest with a vaine fear, so then the spirit vanisheth and leaves them, which peradventure otherwise might reveal some thing to them, that might do them and their posterity good. Some others there be that delight in the company of divers

[227] Adapted from *OOP* book III ch. 18, "Of the order of evil spirits, and of their fall, and divers natures" (pp. 399-400).

domestick and wild animals, some reside, Dwell in and about much Delight to be about woods, Parkes & such kind of place, some about Champion fields, some about fountains, some about Rivers, Some about Bogs, Marshes & ponds, some about mountains, some about meadows, some about trees, brakes & bushes, some about flowers, some about fruits, some about Barnes, Stables, Cow-houses, dovecoats, sheepfolds, and places where Implements for Husbandry is Layd up, some in Dwelling-houses, some in one place & some in an other.[228] All which is upon the Superfeices of the Earth, and places apt and convenient enough, to hide or bury mony, or any other Riches or treasury in, Safe Enough one would think from any ones finding out, though not att all kept by any Spirits whatsoever; For all hidden treasures are not kept by A spirit, or Spirits (Especially whilest the owners thereof are alive) though generally they are otherwise so Kept, for the reason before alleadged, & those spirits Doe [93v] never keep such noyses, nor make such hideous disturbances, nor terrifie amaze & affright people, with their Ghastly and strainge Apparitions & dreadfull uproars; butt are abundantly more mild, and the noyses they make are not att all dreadfull nor Astonishing, as that of the Aijeriall and the other terrestiall spirits forementioned, butt more Softly mutly & Silently, sometimes by knocking att or against some Dore, or Wall or tablem or partition, sometimes by the Calttering of pewter, Brasse, Iron or Chair & Stools, or working tooles together, & then soon cease & Depart, it may be they may appear to some, whome they have a good living to, willing to Disclose some what to them, but through a vaine fear Ignorantly, that benefit is Lost; At which the spirit being somewhat moved to a kind of passion, seldom or never profeers the like againe, & so many keep the Treasures hidden in such A place, time out of mind, because it is not either Regarded, or not Rightly and Artifically sought after; some of these spirits there are, that doe Inhabitt, Dwell in & Delight in Mines, & also under those mountains, and other such Like places, where there is gold & silver &c: and in places where Treasures & other things are hidden & that Lye nerer to the bowels of the Earth; And those Kind of spirits are said to be possessed with all temporall things And the Riches & treasures of the Earth, and are much Delighted therewith, And carefully keep the same, and doe not willingly neither part nor depart the same therefrom. Those who work & dig in mines & search in the Bowells of the Earth, for such of natures Benignities as It affordeth, have great Knowledge of those spirits; Sometimes they are very Curteous & Benevolent, & will go to the masters of mines of such works, & will desire to worke for the amongst the rest of there Laborers, and for the same wages, and are oftentimes by them accordingly Imployed & sett on worke, and prove very faithfull And Laborious there, in doing as much worke as two men, butt they will [94r] neither talk nor associate themselves with any, butt when there work is done, and their wages payd them, according to the Coustome of the Master and the Laborers,

[228] Adapted from a passage in *OOP*, book III ch. 32 (p. 450).

away they goe, & are seen no more, till they Come to work againe: & they are not to be taken notis of, nor talked to, or in the Least affronted by any workman, & these spirits being Knowne by very many miners, both masters & others, they do much observe them, and give orders to all such other workmen, that either have no Knoledge of them, and otherwise through Ignorance apt to displease them, to doe so to at their Perills. At other times they will forewoarne the Laboring Miners, of any Dangers of Perillous accidents, that may be neer and ready to befall them, as when they are heard once, twice, thrice, or oftener, to knock or strike in the same place, which foretelleth the Death of them that Dig & Labor there, if they hast not the sooner away from thence, for either they Are buryed by the fall of a mountaine, or perish by the Suffocation of an Earth, Dampe, or some other dangerous Accident. And at some times they are as Vexation and Troublesome to the Laborious diggers, molesting & persecuting them with pinches, Blowes and stripes, and other torments, to such which in any otherwise abuse them [[…]][229]: ffor the nature of these kind of Terrestiall Spirits, is Really to effect & Love all those that Love them, and that Keep there words of promise, & that are just & honest in their Dealings and actions, and they hate all such as hate & abuse them, Stiling & proclaiming and believing them to be, what in truth by nature they are not, as infernall Divells &c: these spirits never shew themselves to any they are affected, & in Love with, In any shape butt what is humaine, and altogether indisernable from us Mortals, But to such as they have any Antipathy to, they appear either in severall forms, which often tymes Doth much astonish, amuse, and affright them, yet nothing so hideous or terrible As the Aijeriall, and the other degree of Terrestiall spirits forespoaken of, &c:[230] [94v] Or els they seldom or never apear to them att all &c: they are knowing in all arts that Are, or Can be found out, in all the Light of nature, and containe the Knoledge of All things, and understandeth what appertaineth to the Earth, or the Studyes of man In the Liberall Sciences, and in all other their Curious Arts, mysteres & Vocations, and have the keeping and command of many mines Royall, & of great Store of treasures, hidden & buryed in the Earth, and are many times beneficial to men as aforesaid, they Know the thoughts & inclinations of men in a great m[[…]] whereby It comes to pass, that we may possibly move them to come to us with far more ease and serenity, then any of the Aijerialls, forespoken.

He who would call upon, and speak ⟨with⟩ with any[231] spirit or spirits of this order, concerning treasures Trove, or any other mineral Treasures Enclosed in the Bowells of the Earth, or the Keepers thereof (if any be) may Do It att such place or places where

[229] Word lost in gutter. Rankine reads "all."

[230] The preceding section appears to include borrowings from the pseudo-Paracelsan *Archidoxes Magica*, specifically the account of Gnomes or Pygmies.

[231] "Aijeriall" written in MS. here but heavily crossed out.

they are Conversant & most freq[[uent]] in, for it is most proper & significant So to Do, & a particular private place therefore be selected of made Choice of, where whose spirits are either Seen or Known to haunt or be frequent in, or where Treasures are supposed to be hidden, or [[as]] neer it as possible may be, and att a convenient time, in the Evening when the w[[orld]] is serene, Go thereto & solemnly Invocate &c:

At the Entering the Circle, Say this: Inomine Dei Altisimi Creatoris omnium Rerum in Cœolo, & Terra,[232] Glory be to God on high, on Earth Peace, Good will, toward [[men.]]

Then Invocate as followeth. You Spiritt or Spirits, by whatsoever name you are Called, that haunteth inhabiteth this place, and frequenteth this house, Ground [95r] or place, or that hath the keeping of Treasures hidden, Buryed or otherwise concealed from, and denied the Discovery and use of by the Sons of men, I do in the name of Father & of the Son & of the holy Ghost, Exorcise, command, Constraine and most Earnestly Urge and requier you, to appear visible unto me, and my Brethren, in fair & Decent forme, to shew forth unto us, what we shall Desire of you,—& I doe by these presents, and in the Great And most powerfull names of the Immense and Almigthy Creator of heaven & Earth, And all that is therein Contained, both spirituall, animall, Vegetable and mineral, Even the Incomprehensible & Ever living God, **Sabaoth**, **Adonaii**, **Dominus**, **Deus**, **Eternus**, **Otheos**, **Iskyors**, **Athanatos**, **Paracletos**, **Elohim**, **Agla**, **El**, **On**, **Tetragrammaton**, and by & in the names of his Onely Beggotten Son Jesus Christ, the high King & Lord of all the world, who shall come to Judge both you & us, att the dissolution of this Earthly Fabrick, **Jesus Christus**, **Messias**, **Sother**, **Emanuel**, **Alpha, & Omega**, and by his Birth, Passion, most Glorious Resurrection, & Ascention, And by the Coming of his holy Ghost, the most Sacred Comforter, I Doe hereby powerfully and Earnestly command, urge, and constrain you, & in the name of your Prince, & by his Seal & Characters binding most Solidly, & by the Head of your Hierarchy and the power thereof, I most urgently Require you, to appear visibly and formally unto me, before this Circle to informe us Concerning the Treasures that are hidden, Buryed, or by what way or means soever it is otherwise kept, & Concealed from us, I doe therefore call upon, command, constrained and requier you Spiritt or spirits, of whatsoever order you are of, or by whatsoever names you are Called or known by, though not Known to us, that hath the keeping of the Treasures hidd, or Buryed in this house, Ground or Place, or neer adjacent thereabouts, to appear visibly to us, and to detect & Disclose the said hidden Treasures to us, and Either [95v] to Direct and instruct us, how to recover & take the same way, for the Supply of our Necessitys, or otherwise, that you avoid and depart from the said Treasures, that are here or hereabout adjacent, hidden, buryed or otherwise concealed, and that ye demit the same & Quietly, peaceably, meekly, gently and

[232] *Lat.* "In the name of the most high God, creator of all things in heaven & earth" (reading *In nomine* for *Inomine* and *altissimi* for *altisimi*).

benevolently, in all friendship and love, to Quit [[the]] same, and to Lay it openly bare & naked to us, visibly to the Sight of our owne Eyes, and Surrenbder & Deliver up the said Treasures unto us, and that ye permit and suffer us to bear the same away, & to inioy It and convert It to our necessary uses, without hinderance or delay, and I doe, Exorcize, bind and adjure you spirit or spirits, that have the keeping of the treasures, that are hidden or Buryed in this house, Ground or place, & All other spirits whatsoever, & of whatsoever nature or order they are of, wheither Aijer[[iall,]] Terrestiall, or Infernall; that shall be here or where the[233] said Treasures are, who by their Visible or invisible Craft or Subtiltyes, shall in anywise Oppose or strive to hinder, or thwart, us from obtaining & bearing away the said Treasure. I doe in the name of the onely Almight and heavenly God, the Great Iehovah, & in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, Command, bind and Constraine you all spirits whatsoever As aforesaid, that shall in any wise by your Crafte or Subteltyes, seek to Let or hinder [[us]] from the Obtaining and bearing away of the said Treasures, that is here or heerab[[outs]] hidden or buryed, Quietly peaceably & Gently to avoid and depart from the place, where the said treasures are hidden or buryed, and that ye tarry not, neither cont[[inue]] or Remaine one hour longer there or thereabouts, but I command binde and Constraine you spirits as aforesaid of &c.: that shall be here or hereabouts, to Lett or hinder us, from Obtaining & bearing away of the said hidden treasures, we are seeking for, In the name of him, who saith butt the word and It is done, that ye hast away [96r] from thence, and forthwith repair in peace to your order or place of Residence, preordained, decreed and appointed for you, and now I doe by these presents, and in the name of allmight God the Father the Son & the holy Ghost, discharge you from tarring any Longer here or hereabouts, I do Command, Charge, bind and Constrain you spiritt or spirits, that shall be here or hereabouts, or where the treasures are hidden, to Lett or hinder us from obtaining & bearing away the same, for our Requisite uses, as aforesaid, to depart & hasten away to your orders or place of Residence, preordained & decreed for you, & I potently adjure, and command you to hast away, & Imediately begone, to your orers as afore said, and tarry not one hour Longer [[…]] peace be with you Amen.

And now I doe once againe, in the name of the Eternall & our Everliving God, Exorcize, Call upon, and adjure you spirit or spirits, that haunteth & frequeneth this Ground, or house, or place, and that hath the keeping of the treasures, that are hidd, buryed or otherwise Concealed here or hereabout adjacent, to appear Visibly, & in fair & decent forme to us, to Instruct, direct and verily to informe us how to detect, discover, and to obtain the treasures that are hidden or Buryed In this place, or in any other place Elsehwere hereabout, or that yepeaceably & quietly Demit & Depart from the same, and leave it openly, bare and naked, visibly [[to]] the sight of our owne Eyes, and deliver the

[233] "saide & where the" written here but crossed out.

same to us into our possession, freely, so that we may bear the same away, and firmely without fraud or let or hindrance, or any other [[cr]]afty or Deceitfull act, deed or thing, to be done, that we for Ever Injoy the same, and Convert it to our necessary uses, And further Know spirit or spirits aforesaid, that frequenteth and is conversant in this house, Ground, or place, and that hath the keeping of Treasures that are hidden or Buryed herein or hereabouts, Know ye I say and understand, that [[though]] I call not upon you, neither with or by name, Knowledge or any Signature, more or otherwise then by the name of spirit or spirits, as being att present altogether unknown to us, that I call upon you with the Toungue, Heart & spirit of faith and Confidence, [[for]] we doe veryly & sincerly beleeve of you, and that you are, & that our [96v] forefathers have reported and declared to us, of you, & in all things concerning you, And of all these noble Services you have done for them, and of your worthy freindship And familiarity with them, & we also absolutely believe you to be as courteous, freindly & Benevolent to whom you please, and have love to, and that Simphathize in faith Love and Freindship with you, as you are justly displeased and adversly obstinate to such, who[[se]] Willfull, pervers and blind Ignorance, doth not only misbelieve, and are wholly incredible of you, butt also much abuse you, in their most Grosse & scurrilous Language, frequent Discourses, & most abominable mistakes; all which willfull ob[[…]] scurrility, abuseiveness And incredulity, we doe here in the presents of heaven, And Earth, and of all the Good Angells and spirits, utterly detest and abhor, and doe Absolutely protest against It as most ridiculous, impertinent & hereticall &c: Therefore we verily, absolutely & clearly believe of you, & desire freindship with you, and the help Councill & instructions, and all such personall and visible Assistances, as we shall Rationally Requier of you, according to your orders and offices appointed you of Alm[[ighty]] God, be pleased redily to assist us in all such of our Terrestiall Affairs, & more Espe[[cially]] Concerning all hidden treasures, and mines of Gold or Silver &c: that wee shall at any time aske or seeke for, according to your Customes and usuall formalitys, or as shall best please and beseeme your Goodness & benevolence herein, any manner of wise and in all freindship and humanity, to accommodate, instruct, assist and serve us [[in]]

And now having thus far declared, and in all fidelity and honest integrity, without f[[ear]] (as I humbly conceive) unbowelled and unmasked ourselves, in our more Reasonable beleifes & confidences, both of you & in our affairs, & of your favourable Resolves and freindly Assistance therein, & in the name, and by the power of the prince [97r] and head of your Hierarchy, and primarily by his, their, and your seals and Characters binding, Most Solidly, Adjure, command and most Earnestly and confidently urge, request and inportune you againe, to move, & visibly shew your Selfe or Selves unto us, and to declare truly unto us, and instruct us, how we shall discover and Recover the treasures that are hidden or Buryed in this house or place, or wheresoever else it is

hereabouts &c: or otherwise to bring it to this place to use, and here leave it openly bare & nakedly visible to us, & Deliver the same Really without fraud, deceipt or any Crafty or Subtill devices, tricks or other Delusions, whereby we may be as soon deprived againe thereof, to us so freely And freindly, that we may certainly bear it away for our proper uses & behoofs, And herein we Earnestly & urgently entreat you, to doe for us, as for the Servants of the highest.

Let the master continue Invocating and calling upon these spirits, Every night, from Eleven of the Clock or somewhat past, until toward two; observing to give over at the break of day, especially to follow it very Close all the Encrease of the Moon, and not at all to despiair in the tediousness or prolixity thereof; And when any appearance or sign of any appearance shall present itself, either to the master, or his Associate or Associates that are with him, and It should be moveable, and seem to fleet and shift it selfe to & fro, let the master continue his invocation until it seem to be more staid, & stand before you, && by some proffer, or other kind of signature, sheweth an offer of Love & freindship, and a kind of willingness [[to]] satisefie your desires and then shall you bind him with the Bond of spirits,[234] if you see cause, butt if any offer seem with a voluntary Sccess to be pereceived &c: then it may be needless: Then aske him his name, and bid him show his seal or Character, to which he oweth obedience, & ask him to whom he belongeth, the which when he hath declared, then propose your Requests, having them fairly written with you; when all is Done [97v] according to your disire, then Licence him to Depart &c. or &c. —— We need not instance further to enlighten the understanding, or for any further, better or more Instructions to any Philosopher in this Art, touching this Subject, for if his more rationall and Intelligible faently (?) be not genuine Enough, to comprehend and improve, what is here hinted, all the instruction of men & Angels availe little, for it is a hard matter to make A silken purse of a swine's Ear, only thus far in a word we shall, give to understand, that by how much the Greater the noyses are heard, and visions seen about the house or place, so much the Greater the Treasures may be judged to be, & nearer the Superfices of the Earth.

There are also another sort of terrestrial spirits of the nature of these next forespoaken of, that dwell one the Superfices of the Earth & in the Caves & Cavernes thereof, who Likewise haunteth houses and other places, & have the keeping of Treasures that are hidden or Buryed therein, who are somewhat more humane & courteous by nature then the former, and are more feminine And delight in the Company of women & Children, and more Especially of Such who are wholly inclined to housewifery, as maidservants &c: but they poor souls being by fear and ignorance also, many times affrighted &

[234] "Bond of spirits" is another reasonable translation of *Vinculum spirituum*. This notebook did not include the text of the *Vinculum*; possibly it was something the compiler assumed any magician worthy of the name would know about & have access to.

astonished, at the Least unusuall sight nor noyse, of any of them, doe thereby Loose many Beniftts yet notwithstanding to such as they bear Love & Kindness too, they are very benevo[[lent]] and friendly &c: and are againe as obnoxious and offencive to them as they hate. And they are a vespertine, nocturnall wandering spirits, who many times vis[[it]] to some, even from Sun Setting to its Rising the next morn:—

Those Kind of spirits are more frequently visible then any others, and are the Least of the Herarchyes, and where they Haunt or do keep any hidden Treasures, they make no great matter of Noyse or Disturbance, their Noyse seemeth much as the treadings [[or]] [98r] tramplins of many people, & sometimes as if there were a preparation to some great Feast, as if there were two or three Cooks at worke in the Kitching, and the jack going, the [[…]]al Rouling to & fro in the oven, and all such kind of Noyses, as if many folks were att worke, which are not so hideous or terrible as other spirits do make.

These spirits may be also called upon as the other, in such places where either they haunt or are most frequent in, and the place which is appointed or set apart for action, must be Suffumigated with good Aromatick Odorurs, and a Cleane Cloath spread on the Ground or a table nine foot distant from the Circle, upon which there must be Either a Chicken or any Kind of small joint, or peice of meat handsomely Rosted, and a white manthet, a Basin or like Dish like a Coffe Dish of fair Running water, hafe a point of Sack in a bottle, a bottle of Ale Containing a Quart, some have added a pint of Cream in [[a]] dish which Ceremonies they are much pleased & delighted with; and doth allure them to friendly familiarity willingly & Readyly fulfilling your desires &c: without much difficulty, and some have used noe Circle att all, to the Calling of these spirits, but only being Cleane washed and apparreld, sit att another table or place only covered, with [[a]] Cleane linen Cloath, nine foot distant & so invocate.[235]

These Kind of Terrestiall spirits are Vulgarly Called of all people generally [[Fairies]] or Elphs, and the natures and Qualitys of them are well known to many. Of these Spirits there ae two who are set over the Hierarchy, as the Supream head thereof, whose names are **Mycob** and **Oberion**,[236] under whom again are Seven Sisters, placed as the next

[235] This recalls the process in the *Fourth Book* of pseudo-Agrippa for invocation of terrestrial spirits, although the "table ritual," as Dan Harms terms it (see, *e.g.*, "Hell and Fairy" in *Knowing Demons, Knowing Spirits*), has antecedents long predating that, for example in French fairy traditions (see also K.M. Briggs, "Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic" in *Folk-Lore* vol. LXIV no. 4 (1953)). The pseudo-Agrippa process does not mandate the use of a circle, but suggests it if the operator fears some bad (*nequam*) spirit, although the effectiveness of the circle is rendered questionable by the instruction to have part of the table inside it and part outside. Making the circle optional reflects a different attitude towards these particular spirits compared to the "evil," "infernal," "fallen" or just dubious ones addressed in the previous two processes.

Other versions appear in the Faustian magical manual, *Magia Naturalis et Innaturalis* (see Butler, *Ritual Magic*, pp. 169-171), and in various 18th-century printed French grimoires such as the *Grimorium Verum* and *Grimoire of Honorius*, as "Pour faire venir trois demoiselles ou trois messieurs dans sa chamber après souper."

[236] Queen *Mycob* (or *Micob*) and king *Oberion* (or *Oberyon*) are cited in V.b. 26 (ca. 1580), the latter so frequently that when the "Book of Magic" was typeset and published, the editors titled it *The Book of Oberon*. *Oberion* is also mentioned some 50 years prior to that as being a spirit called on by treasure hunters operating in

principall, whose names are **Lilia, Restilia, Foca, Folla, Africa, Julia, Venulla,**[237] under whom again are many Legions as Subjects and Subservient &c: who (as aforesaid) wander to & fro apon the Earth, and have the keeping also of many Treasures that are hidden or Buryed, especially such as are hidden in those places, that they frequent, inhabit or delight in, and that are innocently hidden by good honest people; [98v] either for Security, or future preservation, who many times dye, & leave the same unrevealed, then are such treasures seized on and kept by these terrestiall Elphs; if ever they happen to come where it is &c. then the magicall Philosopher understanding, that any treasures are kept by the terrestriall spirits of this order, And would obtaine the same, and would have converse with them, let him observe the foregoing directions, and att the appointed time repair to the place assigned for action, and invocate as followeth:

I Exorcise, adjure, call upon, urge and earnestly Requier you terrestrial spirits, that are the Supream head of the Hierarchy, of those th[[at]] Are called **Fairies**, and who are called by the names of **Mycob** and **Oberyon**, In the name of the Allmighty, Everliving and heavenly God Iehova, and of his onely Begotten & welbeloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord, Messias, Sother, Emanuel, the high King & Lord of all the world, I doe hereby call upon and importunately Desire you Spirits **Micob** and **Oberyon**, to command the Seven Sisters, **Lilia, Restilia, Foca, Folla, Africa, Julia, Venulla,** or some one of them, to appear visibly to us, or in your freindly Benevolence, to send some one or other spirit or spirits, of your Hyerarchy or orders, to accommodate instruct and assist us, in such of our Requests wherein they may: the which I confidently & Earntestly importune of you as you are our friends, & we are your friends, and all of us servants to the Highest in whose name I now Call upon you and humbly urge, and most Earnestly Desire you, to send one of the Seven Sisters next Subservient under you [[to]] Appear visibly to us, & to assist us in the obtaining and recovering of the Treasures, that are hidden or Buryed in this House or place, or Elswhere adjacent hereabouts, or to send some one Subject

Norfolk during the reign of Henry VIII, and on p. 80 of the Folger MS. it is said he sheweth where hidden treasure is, and how to obtain the same: this likely would explain his appeal to the compiler of the present work, who drew on many of the same MS. traditions as the compiler of the Folger "Book of Magic." Micob also appears (as *Micol regina pigmeorum*) in Sloane MS. 1727; citations of Oberion do not universally list him as king of fairies, or as a fairy at all (in one of the processes in V.b. 26 he is explicitly addressed as fallen, his name plugged into a modified version of the *Vinculum Spirituum* which calls on the demon kings of the quarters to constrain him). See Harms, "Hell and Fairy" and sources there cited.

[237] The seven sisters are also cited (with variations in the orthography of their names) in V.b. 26 (pp. 67 & 81), in the late 16th-century magical MS. Folger X.d. 234 (for which see Frederika Bain, "The Binding of the Fairies: Four Spells" in *Preternature* vol. 1 no. 2 (2012)), as well as in other 17th-century English MS. works, including but not limited to the *Janua Magica Reserata* (S5 fol. 40r), Sloane MS. 1727 (see K.M. Briggs, *The Anatomy of Puck*, Appendix IV) and Bodleian e Mus 173 (see Harms, *Angels, Demons and Spirits*). One of their appearances in the Folger Book of Magic comes at the end of a *De officiis spirituum* demon-catalogue, where it is said they [DO WHAT?]

Their origin appears to be as a group of disease-demons; a very similar set of names is cited in mediæval fever-charms, one of which is extant in an 11th-century MS. ([CITE]).

Subservient of your Hyerarchy, to Assist and help us herein, and also in all such matters [99r] and things as we shall Desire their Instructions and accommodations in.

Wherein they may Continue this invocation for seven nights from the Hour of Eleaven till two, and invocate nine times an hour butt withal observing that if Any Apparition or Vision should appear, in forme and manner, willing to Commune with you in the Interim, you may then cease, and desire to know the name & seal of such spirit, and when you have taken a note thereof you may proceed to your Demands, which you ought to have fairly written downe, because then they are in A Greater Readiness, and Chargeth not the memory to recollect Itselfe, for being so Stumbled & hobbled in the conceptions, you may Chance to loose that opportunity and peradventure your Design too, but If nothing happens in the interim, then after the first Seaven nights, always beginning the next night after the Change of the moon, you shall invocate or call upon the seven sisters as followeth:

Sator Arepo Tenet Opera Rotas.

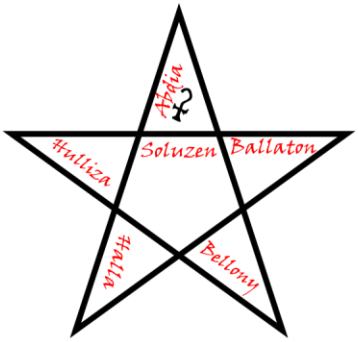
Kyrië Eleyson. Christië Eleyson. Kyrië Eleyson. Adonay Cui Pater Cui Filius Cui Spiritus Sanctus Allelujah.

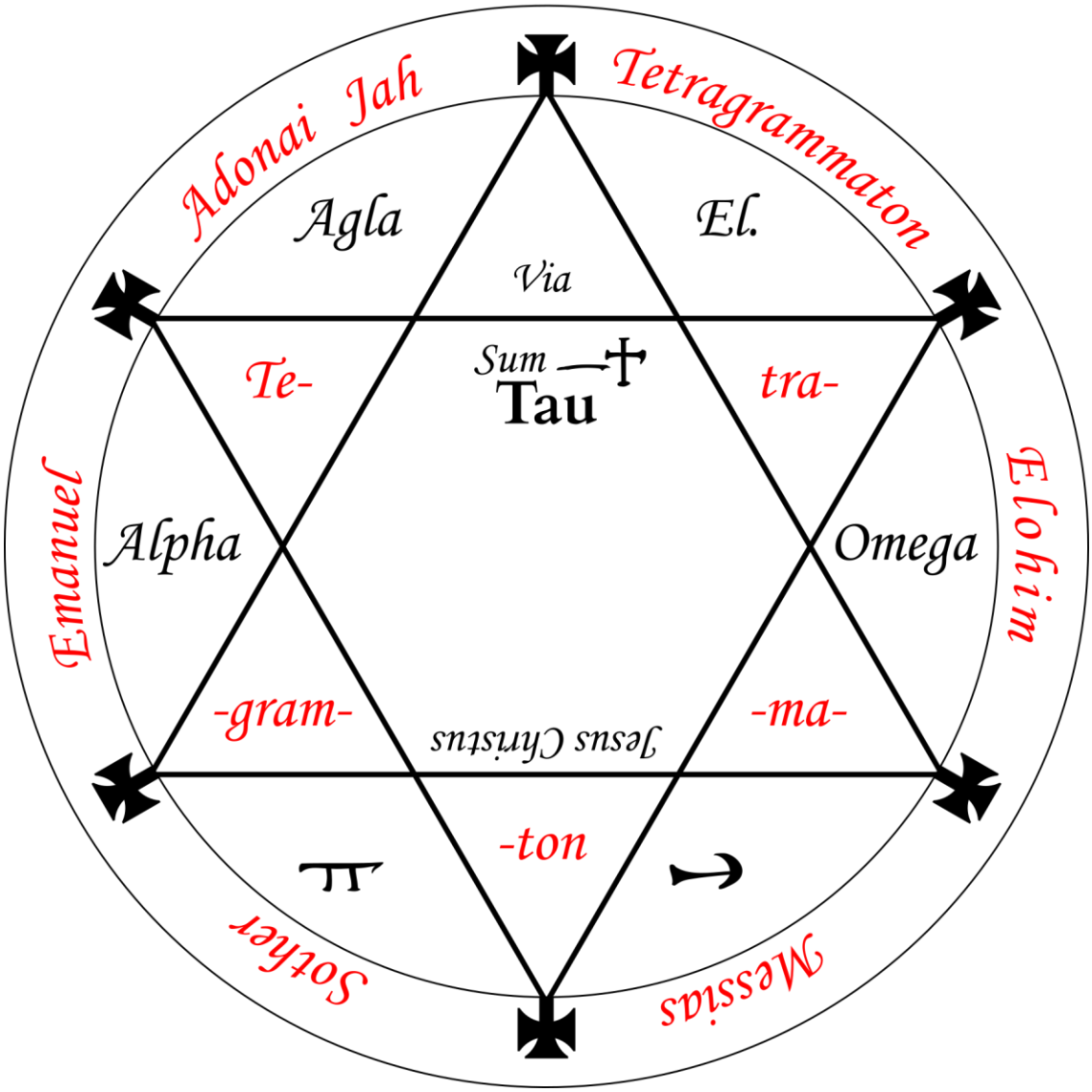
I Exorcise adjure command constraine & most Earnestly urge and request you *Akerayes*, the Sisters of those terrestiall spirits, who are Called **Fairies** or **Elphs**, by & in the name of the incomprehensible God of heaven & Earth, & all Creatures whatsoever are there In Contained and Comprehended, **Iehovah**, **Elohim**, **Agla**, **El**, **Tetragrammaton**, & in the name of Jesus Christ, begotten of a Virgin by the Holy Ghost, and born in the flesh att nazereth, the second person In trinity, And the Saviour of the World, [99v] Especially of all beleevers, & those who lay hold upon him by faith, Thereby Confidently and firmly laying hold one the promises, that whatsoever we Ask our Heavenly Father, or shall any ways act, or doe in his name, nothing shall be deneyed us, nor be impossible to us, in whose name & through whose meri[[ts,]] we as true beleevers doe Call upon, constraine and very Confidently urge and Earnestly Importune you, in the name also, and by the power of the Head and Supream of your orders, or Hierarchy, under whom you are the next In order, governing over many Legions of other your Subjects & Subservients, or some one of you **Lillia, Restilia, Foca, Folla, Africa, Julia, Venulla** to appear visibly to us, or to send some one other of your Subjected Subservients to help and Assist us in the obtaining of the treasures that are hidden or Buryed in this house or place, or Elswhere adjacent hereabouts, And more Especially the spirit or spirits that hath the keeping thereof, Lett [[them]] be discharged & quitted therefrom, & so avoid the same, and forthwith to demitt, yeild up & Surrender the same, into our possession, so that we may bear [[the]] same away, and convert it to our necessary uses, without fraud or any other Crafts or Subtillty as that may in any wise deprive us thereof, I do once again

Exorcize, adjure and command thee **Lilia** & all thy Sisters & subjects, By the imperiall throne, and by the majesty & Deity of the Ever-living God, that some or other spirit of your orders, and more Especially such spirit or spirits, that have the keeping of the treasures that are Hidden or Buryed In this house or place, or nere adjacent hereabout, [100r] doe appear visibly before us, to Resolve us freindly, and veryly in all such Matters & things, as we shall rationally disire, and demand of you, & Amongst the Rest in particular, as concerning our recovering and obtaining the treasures, that Lyeth hidden or Buryed here or Elsewhere, & of the spirit or spirits that hath the keeping thereof, be discharged and quitted of It, & imediately in all peace & quietness avoid & depart therefrom, and demit & yeald up the same to us as aforesaid. And the Peace of God always Remaine Betweene you & us, in the name of the Father & of the Son and of the holy Ghost, And do for us herein as for the servants of the highest.

Let the first of these two invocations be observed to be practiced, the first Seven nights of the moons Encrease, beginning the next night after the Change, as is before taught, and then the Eight night, beginneth the Latter, & invocate nine times an hour, in the night season, from Eleven of the Clock till two, for that they being most frequently then visible, and stirring about, therefore most convenient, and opportune, to Call upon them: for God hath so Decreed that they shall not be so visible and frequent in the Day as in the night, Except they are privately Called upon in the Day, because they shall not be frightfull nor offencive, to harmeess & inocent people, for he hat bounded all things, and they Cannot pass their Limits without permission.

[100v] *This Circle and the Pentacle serveth to all the whole foregoing Experiment.*[238]





[238] These designs bear a strong similarity to the figures of the Pentagram and Hexagram of Solomon from the *Ars Goëtia*, although that was almost certainly not the source; similar figures appear, for example, in V.b. 26, p. 212. The symbols to either side of the bottom point of the hexagram originate as a higly stylised / corrupted Hebrew *yod* and *hé*.

[101r] By these Distinction, a mean Capacity may Easely judge, by what Spirit or spirits, any hidden or Buryed Treasues are Kept, be they of what Order soever, or the Cause, why any house or place is haunted troubled or infested, which being truly Knowne, is by patience and perseverance, and a prudent management of such Affaires, according to this Art, And wherein It is to be Required, to be overcome and vanquished, and the house or place freed from such haunting, molestations & troubles, of all spirits, Sylphs or Fayries, or any other spirits of what order or nature soever, whether Aijeriall, Terrestiall or Infernall, But if the Philosophicall Proficient in this art, and offer his fraternity in any matters of this or the Like nature, have neither patience nor prudence, and the master Philosopher, undertaking the management, of what is Requisitie to be performed in this art as aforesaid, hath no judgement to distinguish Between one thing & another in whatsoever he goeth about, they may goe shooe the Goose.

There are many Castles, old monasteries, and Abbys and houses, & many other both such like, and alos other places &c. that are haunted & infested with these kind of spirits forementioned, and Reasons thereof are more then one &c: butt It is, and always hath been observed, & by praticall Experience found, that generally it is for no other Cause or Reason, then that treasures are hidden thereabouts, sometimes It may prove otherwise, as that some horrid murther hath been committed there, or that [101v] or that some hanious Extraordinary Crimes have been acted, and frequ[[ently]] practiced, by some infernall inclined Caitiff, not caring what wrong &c., he did in his life time, who hath Lived there, & dyed unrepentant, obstinately persisting to the End, Dying as uncharitably and unworthyly, as before he lived inhumaenly & wretchedly: or otherwise some person owning & Living therein, hath been by such kind of Hel Hound, persecuted. [[…]] & Couzined, & forseeing that his Estate must be wasted, & torne from him and his posterity, & that all must come to Ruin & Destruction, Layeth these things to hearth, falleth Sick & Dyeth in the midst of his Disturbances, & Discontents unreconciled in himself, & so Departeth this world in a distracted condition, leaving nothing behind him amongst his posterity, butt Distraction and Distruction.

The Cryes whereof Penetrateth the Heavens, & passing the Ears of Divine providence Both in all such, and the like hanious and unpardoned Crimes, the Allmighty Being so provoaked and offended, permiteth the Executioners of his Justis, to take Vengance thereon, and punish the place for the Cause Sake: All which matters, Also, others of the like nature, is many times much suspected by some, & known by others, both neighbours & other Relations, who fancy many times, having an Occation to be thereabouts late in the night, about some necessary action or other, that they hear some kind of strange, dreadfull or unusually Noyse or other: or that they [[see]] some more then usuall Apparition, either in some strange frightfull shape, or that it was In the very Similitude, or in the very habbit of sauch a one, when he was Living, which if true as it

may be, is a sign & warning to all people, that [102r] God taketh notice & vengeance of our Wickedness, butt these things very seldom or rarely happen; Treasure-Tove is various & different in its Recovery or Discovery, which we thus manifest from the Tradition of the Ancients, setting aside what we have seen & known by Experience, both herein And as is aforesaid. We must understand, that the two last kinds of Terrestiall spirits, next forespoaken of, being more humane & Courteous to man, then the Ayerialls & infernals, by reason of their Sympathy & proximity with him, can & do worke, & amongst the rest of their Arts they use, doe Coyn the Gold and silver they take out of mines, Into that Country Coyn where they find It, and willingly Dwell & frequent in, which is not in all places where minerals are (for they love not all places, though there mines be never so Rich and Royall &c.) neither where they are, doe they talke away or work up all, butt onely a small proportion thereof, so, that still getting a little from Every place, as it growth & Cometh to maturity, always add to their Store. Some other delight to wander & goe abroad, & worke amongst miners, who also bring home their wages, Some delight in other trades, and some to be in Gentillmens Services, still Like the Carefull Bee Bringing all home, and multiplying there treasury, for they are never Idle nor Expencive, nor will accompany with no one or other person living, in [[your]] Common way of Eating & Drinking, though they love them never so well, yet they will worke and doe any Laborious thing for, and amongst men, butt will not accompany att the time when they Eat or Drink: those kind of treasures, are not Easily butt with difficulty to be obtained; Such as hath been made by man & used amongst men, are with less difficulty obtained. And if at any time a magicall Philospoher should discover such Treasures, as is of their one manufactturism, & proceed to Obtaine & get the same, and though they seem to yeild up and demit the same to him, yet they will by such Crafts & Subtlyltyes, as they are well Knowing [102v] in, Convert it into the likeness or Similitude of a Clear Contrary, and base & most vile and contemptible matter, as Earth, Clay, dug, shards soyl, or some s[[uch]] kind of despitable and Regardless matter, or Els to remove it; and then is the Philosopher att a loss: But if any such thing as a transmution sould be perceived or known, to be either visibly, or otherwise artificially, or by discerning something of a Contrary Specie or Nature of the place, where it Lyeth; yet Lett it be taken up, and let the fire judge of it, and proceed therein after the same manor, as all metals and min[[eralls]] Are Refined and separated, by such means it will return to the same Essence it had before: Butt in Such Treasures as they, as hath been the manufacturism of and used amongst men, they seldom or never doe so by Treasures as are not kept by any Spirit, or that and of the terrestialls should be wandered from, and that Lyeth in some obscure unfrequented place, some person may on a sudden set or work th[[…]] And so by meer Accident may discover & carry way the same, without the Least Know[[ledge]] of any thing in this Art, Or otherwise these spirits foreknowing, that

such a person will [[be]] At such a place, att such a time, and though they should have the keeping of the seme yet Having a great Love & freindship to such a one, or the like, do quit the same & leave it for him against he Cometh there to work, by reason of which Suddaine intended [[…]] & intermision, the matter comes to be thus accidentally discovered and gotten, w[[hich]] otherwise might Lye there many tears even time out of mind, or Removed [[to]] Another place so never to be discovered &c. Also such Treasures as are Kept by the Ay[[eriall]] spirits or Terrestiall first before spoken of, as the Executioners of Gods Justis Thereupon, and not so Easie to be found and obtained, as such that are hidden Innocently, Either for future preserva[[tion]] or from fear or danger of a losse, and afterwards happens to be kept, by the moret taime sort of Terrestiall spirits, as Sylphs, Fayries &c: or the like.

[103r]

Choice Experiment How to obtaine Treasure Trove &c.

Having a Chamber pretty free or private, from the passage of many people, in a place Indifferent: Ayery, being kept Clean, and Suffumigated with good Odours; write upon an Abortive or on fair Clean Paper, with the Blood of a black Cock as followeth:

Sathan, Baramper, Barbasan, come with Speed to this place, and bring to me the Treasure, &c. [*here set down either the particular thing you invocate for, and the place from whence you would have It brought, or Els a sum certain from Such a place or places, where treasures Lyeth hidden, and so kept from the use of man, for whose Releif it was Originally decreed and preordained, by the Goodness of thmost High and omnipotent Creator of Heaven & Eart, & all that is in them Contained, as the sum of* 300 *&c.*]

Then have a Circle in readiness (made as is hereafter taught) and lay It down one the Chamber floor, and have a little pallad bed at the one End of the Chamber, that hath a full or good sight to the door, and in a pretty fair Starlight Evening, first fix the paper, or Abortive Parchment, whereon is written your Request, with the blood of the black Cock, & then Enter and so Concequently the Circle, And say the following Conjuration 9 times:

I Exorcize, Conjure and Constrain thee spirit Barbasan, the spirit of Treasures, by the power and in the name of the Father, and of the Son, & of the Holy Ghost, and by the majesty and Potency of the Omipotent & Everliving God, Iehovah, who made Heaven & Earth , the Sea & Created all that in them is, and by these his great & Efficatious names, **Agla**, **El**, **On**, **Tetragrammaton**, **Adonay**, **Iskyros**, **Athanatos**, **Paracletus**, **Immortalis**, **Alpha & Omega**, and in the Sacred names of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Second person in the Trinity, & in the Godhead and the Saviour of the world, who hath given full power & Authority to all that beleave, & Lay hold one him by faith in his name, to adjure & command all spirits of all orders whatsoever, whether Ayeriall, Terrestiall or Infernal, to serve and obey [103v] them, whatsoever they shall Comand them to doe, in there Severall & Respective offices, wherein they are ordained, and set, by almighty God, and therein to fullf[[ill]] the Desires & Requests of us, as we are Children & servants to the Highest, & by those Inestimable & unparalleled Miracles, by our Saviour & onely mediator, & advocate, Jesus Christ, the High King & Soveraine Lord of all the world, shewed & done upon Earth, and by him left to his Apostles and Disciples, and by him to all posterity, that beleave by the vertue, power, efficacy and remembrance whereof, I Exorcize, Conjure and powerfully Command the spirit **Barbasan**, And more Especially and particularly, by these Great & Sacred names of one god in three persons **Almo**, **Glyas**, **Messias**, **Agios**, **Jesus Christus**, who is was & is to come, & by [[the]] High Great & powerfull name Egia which wise Solomon heard in Gabaon, & obtain[[ed]] that

Inestimable treasure of wisdome and Riches, By all that is before Said, & the great Efficatious and inestimable power, and vertue thereof, I hereby Command & Constrain three **Barbasan**, the which if your master shall Command you to doe Any thing that you may doe, that you bring to me this night [*here nominate your desire According as it is written on the Schedule, placed over or upon your Chamber Door, as Aforesaid*] And I further Charge and command thee, that in the performance thereof As thou art bound according to thy orders & offices to doe; that thou neither [[hurt]] nor affright me, nor any other person whatsoever, butt Quietly and in humi[[lity]] Come, appear & shew in a Comely & Decent forme and shape, & no ways terrible to me, your selfe personaly present before me, and Bring along with you Either the treasure from Such or Such a place, if you are certain eith[[er]] by good Information or otherwise, that such a thing is their, mentioning whether It be Gold, Silver, plate, Jewels, or any matter whatsoever, that was Ordained for the use of man, or Els to nominate the Sum of 300 pound in Coyn[239] And peaceably Leave It here with me, so that I may Injoy the same for [104r] necessary and worldly use, Benefit & Releif. All which I adjure & Command[240] thee to doe & performe, in all things, particularly and fully, according as I have writen, & hereby specifyed, Requested and commanded of you, forewith immediately without any fraud, let, hinderance or tarrying, in the name of the Great Imence Jehovah, the Almighty & Everliving God, & of ⟨of⟩ his son Jesus Christ the Great Messiah, & Ever to be glorified second person in the holy trinity, in the Godhead, our onely Saviour, advocate and mediator, who shall Come to judge the Quick & the Dead, and the wolrd by fire, In whose name therefore prepare ye & make hast.

Say this Conjuration nine times Manfully, and with Good faith and Courage & then say as followeth, and be not dismayed, for nothing can hurt you, then proceed, *viz*.:

I earnestly request you & Conjure you **Baramper**, that you send your Servant **Barbasan** to me this night, with the Treasure in Such a place, or the Sum of £300[241] in current Coyn &c. [here also you must mention your desires as is before Expressed] in nomine Patris & filii & spiritus sanctus.

Then betake yourself to your Bed, and about midnight you may perceive the Spirit **Barbasan** will appear in the Chamber, probably in humane Shape or form, as in the similitude of a man, or mankind, and will bring with him that which was invocated for,—now if you have a mind to speak to him, before you Licence him to Depart, you may say unto him thus—who are you—he will answer againe & say, I am the spirit

[239] This clause, from "Such or Such a place" to here, is probably meant as directions, *i.e.* an instruction to substitute specific words to the effect indicated, rather than to be read out as is as part of the conjuration.

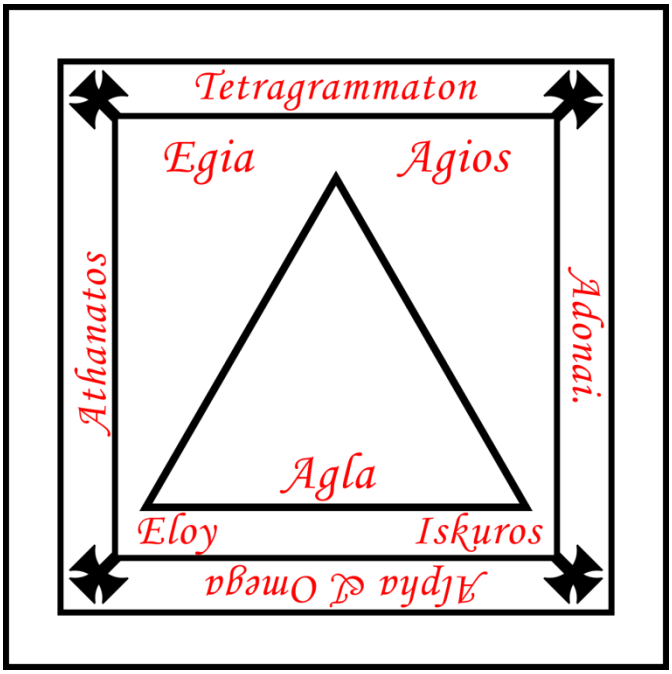
[240] "and adjure" written in again, but heavily crossed out.

[241] "300" written in MS. with something vaguely resembling a pound sign above. Obviously £300 was worth a lot more in the 1660s than it is now.

Barbasan, or to the like purpose, bringing to you the treasure, or such a sume of mony accordingly as you have so Earnestly Requested. Then shall you answer again and say unto him as followeth, I thank you[242] master **Baramper** and you likewise, and I give you leave, & adjure you to depart in peace to your orders, the place of your Recidence originally decreed, & by almighty God appointed for you, And I command you In the name of the Father, & of the Son, & of the Holy Ghost, that you neither injur nor hurt me, nor any one apon the face of the Earth [104v] whatsoever: wherefore depart in peace, and let peace be and continue between you & me, in the name of Jesus Christ the high King & Lord of all the world, and I Request and adjure you to be ready[243] to come againe to me upon the Like occation, whensoever & wheresoever I shall call upon [[you]] & so you may depart, & the peace of God, remaine between us, In nomine Partis & filii & spiritus Sanctus.

Then will he depart, and leave with you that which was Required of him, then at your Leisure you may arise from Bed, and Returne thanks to God for the benefits received.

[The following text, while in the same hand as the above, appears written more neatly and was probably added by the same scribe at a later time.]



Circles, Triangles, Quadrangles, Pentagonals, Hexagonals, Septagon[[als]], Octagonals, &c: be they, of what form Soever they are all 8 Circles in Art, And are all butt one & the same In matter & signification; for they are a Fortress or Defence to the Invocante, aga[[inst]] malevolent assault of faulse appearances Or Evill Iluding spirits, who are many times att hand, to do some Ill office or [[else]] to put by the Invocant of his purpose

[242] Qy. "your."
[243] "to be ready" written *sup. lin.* in same hand as the main text.

which he may perceive if he be Lear[[ned]] Or any ways Skillfull in this Art; for he, Being Environed one Every side, with some one or other of the Gread and Sacred Names of God Is thereby defended from any personall assault or prejudce; because all spirits, of what Order under the Cœlestiall Angells & Intelligences &c: do Obey them, fear them, & Even tremble [106r] At them, so that the Invocant having time & Courage to Speak to them, may be Earnest, Interrogating them, to know, whether the apparition be the same he called for, or any other Illusive shew; the which his prudence must Direct him. As for the making of these Circles, for any purpose or Experiment in this Art, Doe thus, Take four Large Calve Skin parchments, and past or fasten them or fixed together, first cutting the insides even where they meet together in the Inward parts, to be pasted or otherwise fastened together, and then att what time, & in what place soever, one is mindful to Invocate, it is butt taking up the Circle, roll it up and carry it where occation & place requires, & so Lay It Down without any trouble, having a loop at Each corner to fasten to the Ground.

When the four Skins are fastened together and cut four square, then with a pensill & good Ink or other painting, or Coulouring matter, Draw the Lines and write the names that are to be written; As in the Example, Then take the Juyce of marigold, Vervain and Langue-de-beef, and wash the Names that are in the inside of the Circle therewith, And the names that are in the Outward Circle Wash with the Blood of the Black Cock, & then is all done & made fit for Practice & Action.

[Fol. 105 is apparently a loose sheet bound into this MS. book; it is not counted in the page numbering which appears in the top centre of most pages in this section, but the writing is in a similar hand. The recto bears what looks like an abandoned attempt to draw a Kabbalistic circle, a completed version of which appears on the verso. I have adjusted the arrangement of the names around the circles slightly so the corresponding names in the two outer rings line up; the inner two rings only have nine names each.

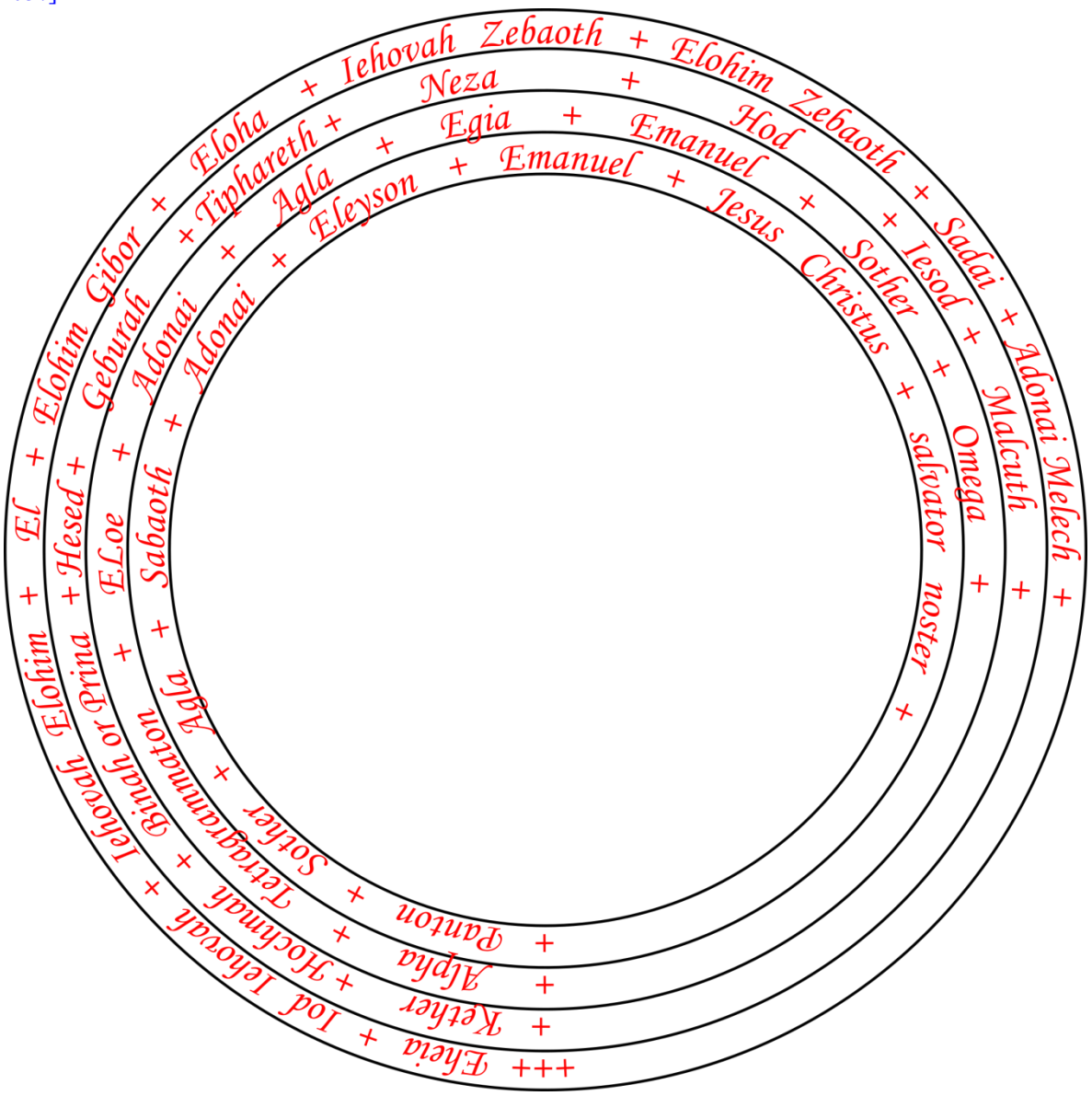
The name of the third Sephirah appearing as "Binah or Prina" in the second ring is an anomaly traceable to the 1651 English translation of Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia*. In Book III, chap. 10, "Of divine emanations &c." (p. 368) the name was misprinted *Prina* (the 1533, 1550, 1567, 1579 and 1600 Latin versions all gave *bina* there), although in the scale of the number 10 on p. 214 the correct Hebrew spelling and the familiar Romanized form are given. A similar useage appears in the *Janua Magica Reserata*.]

[105r]

[[…]] Jod Jehovah + JeHovah + — Elohim + El + Elohim +
+ Kether + Hochma + Bina or prina + ~~Hesef~~ + Hesed +[244]

37 of the spirit B[[…]]
lphares[245]

[105v]



[244] These two lines of text are written as if around the upper left quarter of a circle. The first name of the first row is lost in the gutter. The name of the fourth Sephirah was apparently misspelt then heavily crossed out.

[245] These two lines appear in the bottom right corner of fol. 105r, apparently cut off when the page was trimmed. The material relating to the spirit Bealphares begins at p. 37 by the original pagination of this section (fol. 108r).

[Main text on fol. 106r resumes.]

An experiment of Bret, A Carrier to fetch Goods from the Sea

When the moon is in the sign Pisces, and well Aspected, and if possible, one the munday, or the Thursday, repair to the place appointed for action, Lay downe the Circle in Order, the Copy whereof followeth, and the Characters, the Copy of which also followeth adjected the Copy of the Cirlce, fairly written in an Abortive, before the Circle one the outside, & to the East, Invocate as followeth:

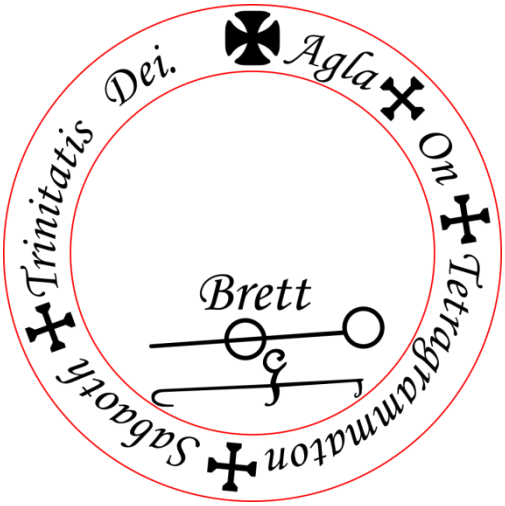
I Exorcise & Conjure & Command thee spirit **Brett**, In the name of the father & of the son & of the Holy Ghost, that thou do appear visibly unto me in fair & humane forme & similitude of man, & I powerfully urge & Constraine thee, by & in the might Great & Glorious name of God **Tetragrammaton Jehovah**, that thou doe for me as for the servant of the Highest, in the fullfulling of all such matters & things whatsoever (according to your Orders) as I shall [106v] desire and Request of you, And I further and againe Exorcise & Conjure the spirit **Brett**, by and in the names who are powerfull & High of our omnipotent & Gratious Lord God, **Adonay**, **Sabaoth**, **Agla**, **El**, **Saday**, **Elohim**, **Alpha & Omega**, & by & in the name of our Lord & Savior Jesus Christ, Messias, Sother, Emanuel, of wonderfull po[[wer]] & Efficay, att the pronouncing whereof all things ought at there peril, to be submissive, humble & obedient, by the vertue whreof I bind Character & constr[[ain]] thee Spirit **Brett**, to appear Affably, meekly and visibly here before me, in a fair handsome & humane Shape, peaceably, & not frightfull nor hurtfull to me or any other person whatsoever; wherefore now prepare you, make hast & come away, in the name of him who shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead & the world by fire.

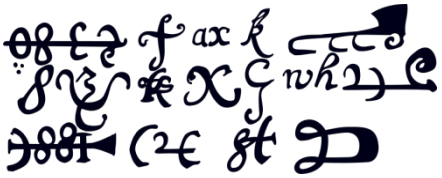
Rehearse this Exorcism Severall times, and when he is appeared, then bind him with the bond of spirits, and ask him what Questions you please, & he will Certainly answer you, & also if you Command him any Servis according to his Orders and office, he will assuredly answer you and obey you, & performe all things In Bringing what he is Enjoyned. And when your desires are fulfilled, then Licence him to depart, But detaine him not above an hour or [[two.]] As for Generall and Constraining Exorcisms, which are to be used upon occation in their proper places, and for the Bonds and Licenses of Departure of spirits, they are written Elswhere hereafter, with Directions to use them.[246]

* * * * * * * * *

[246] If they were ever copied into this MS. book, they became separated from the other material before it was bound up with the other items. See instead the material in *Longobardus*, *supra*.

[107r]





These are the Characters that ought to be placed before the Front on the outside of the Circle, which is where the name Brett, And the Character thereto adjoyning standeth; the which part must be placed towards the East point of the Compass, and about a foot distant without, place the above written Characters fairly Inscribed, Either In Virgine parchment or an Abortive.

An Experiment of the Spirit Birto, as hath been often proved at the Instant Request of Edward the fourth, King of England.[247]

In the second, fourth, sixth, tenth or twelft days of the moons Encrease, goe to the place appointed for this & the like purpose, and in the Evening when the Ayre is serene, lay downe the Circles and Character in there Orders (as, is hereafter explained, in the Copyes thereof) then Invocate as followeth:

I Exorcise, Call upon & Conjure thee spirit which art called **Birto**, by the dignity of thy prince **Ornothocos**[248] and **Booth**, and in the name of the Father & of the Son & of the Holy Ghost, and by the power of these potent, inestimable, divine & Commanding names, of the almighty & Everliving God Jehovah, El, Elohim, Sabaoth, Adonya, Tetragrammaton, Alpha & Omega, and in the name of Jesus of nazereth, born of a Virgin, the onely Begotten Son of, God The Father Almighty maker of heaven & Earth, our only Savior & Redeemer, advocate & mediator, whose name all the Cœlestiall Host of Angells honour & obey, and whereat all Knees on Earth doe bow, & all the Ayeriall terrestiall & infernall spirits do fear & tremble, by all Aforesaid, I do you againe powerfully Exorcize, Conjure and Command [107v] thee spirit which art called Birto, that thou doe immediately forthwith, and at the present, appear visibly before me, in that

[247] An earlier, and shorter, version of this process appears in V.b. 26 p. 164, titled "An experiment approved by friar bacon to have a spirrit appeare in A circle to make annswere to any question to be demaunded." It concludes with the statement, "This experiment of **Birto** was proved at the instant request of Edward the **4th** kinge of Englande, & therefore keepe it safely."

[248] As written the 't' is ambiguous: I have preferred this reading as being more consistent with the unambiguous lettering around the circle for the spirit, which includes "Orno / Thou / Ches," apparently a variant of this name. V.b. 26 has *Ornothochos*.

Circle appoynet for thee, in fair & humane form & shape of a man and no ways terrible or hurtfall to me, or any other person whatsoever & I Constraine thee[249] to tell me the truth and veril, of all such things as I shall Ask & Demand of thee without fraud guile & deceipt &c: in his name, to whom be all honour, power, Glory & might, majesty & Dominion for Ever & Ever Amen.

Let the Conjuration be often repeated, and said over, with ample Courage, Confidence & Resolution. And when he is appeared, receive him Curteously & Gently, bind him with the bond of spirits, & then he will freely & faithfully Declare, and make answer to whatsoever shall be Demanded, and will serve, obey, fullfill all Commands &c: Then License him to Depart in peace &c.

* * * * * * * * *

Let the Circle for the Invocant, which is that wherein the name *Magister* is written, be made as is before described, and let the Effigie or Character of the Dragon or Wivern be fairly drawn or painted upon an Abortive,[250] And as for the Circle wherein the spirit [251] appeareth, it may be made two or three severall ways according to the place that is made Choice of to Act in and the Ground or floor: If the Ground be naight & Rugged, as in woods & Copjses, as they Generally are, then must the Ground be paved[252] & made very Even, so that an Impression may be made visible & plane thereon or let it be made on a large Calves Skin Parchment, but It is far better on the Ground. And if upon a pavement or floor, then Lett it be made or Drawn thereon with Chalk or marking stone, and place them three foot asunder, And herein take a serious & Deliberate Concideration, and let Reason & prudence be they principall Guide, without which principles, a magician is but a Shadow to a Substance, and shall as soon miss as hit of his Expectations.

[249] "that" apparently written but heavily crossed out; "thee to" written *sup. lin.* in a different hand.

[250] In the Folger MS., the dragon (its tail knotted and ending with a snake's head) appears as an outline illustration at the top of the page, possibly meant to represent the form of the spirit itself (the name "Birto" has been pencilled next to it in, the letters outlined in a black-letter style, but not inked in) and there is no instruction to draw the thing as part of the ritual.

[251] Blank space in MS., probably where the scribe intended to go back and write the name in red ink.

[252] From the context, simply means "flattened" rather than actually laying down stone slabs.

[108r] *Of the Spirit Bealphares.*[253]

T⟦o⟧ invocate, call upon & have Converse with this spirit **Bealphares**, these Rules are to be observed. On thurday or Frideay in the Encrease of the moon, repair to the place appointed for Action, and write on a piece of Virgin parchment, as here after foloweth in the Copy and write also on a girdle or Thong of a Lyons, or a Harts, or Bucks Skin, as, also hereafter followeth, with Directions thereunto annexed, and before you Enter the Circle, to Invocate write ✢ **Agla** one the right hand on the left hand these Characters ✢ [254] and when you Enter the Circle, make the Signe of the Cross thereon and Say, *Per Crucis hoc Signum fugiat procul omne malignum: & per idem Signum Salvator quodque Benignum*, then Invocate as followeth, being Couragious & not att all Dismayed, att first before Invocation, rehearsing the words written on the Brest plate, *viz*., *Homo Saccarus Muselomeas Cherubosea*.

I Exorcize Conjure and Command the spirit Bealphares by & in the great name of the Omnipoent and Everliving God, **Jehovah Tetragrammaton**, **Agla**, **El**, **On**, **Jah**, **Adonay**, **Saday**; and by his mighty, hold and unspeakable majesty & goodness, and by & in the great Powerfull ⟨inestimable,⟩ & inestimable names of his onely Begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord, the Redeemer of the world, the second person in the Trinity, Sitting at the right hand of the Father, the maker of heaven & Earth, **Messias**, **Sother**, **Emanuel**, **Alpha**, **& Omega**, & by the truest & most Especially names of your master, I doe hereby powerfully Exorcize, Command & Constrain thee Spirit **Belphares**, to come & appear visibly here before this Circle, in fair & humane shape of man or woman Kind, & not terrible by any manner of ways, neither to us nor any other person whatsoever, this Circle being our tuition[255] and defence, through the mercifull Goodness our Heavenly God & Loving father, I command you to make hast & come away, and shew thy self visibly apparently & peaceably to us here before this Circle, immediately, without tarrying or delay, & with all Humility & obedience, doing whatsoever I shall Request and

[253] This has some parallels with the "Experiment of Bealphares" in Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* Book XV chap. 13-14, but the form of conjuration is completely different: it is unclear if the present version was modified from Scot's printing or derived independently from a divergent MS. tradition. Scot's text (said to have been copied from a MS. dated 1570) described the spirit as "the noblest carrier that ever did serve anie man upon the earth […] if thou wilt command him to tell thee of hidden treasures that be in anie place, he will tell it thee: or if thou wilt command him to bring to thee gold or silver, he will bring it thee: or if thou with go from one countrie to another, he will beare thee without anie harme of bodie or soule" which would explain the appeal to the compiler of the present collection. The form of binding also implies that the spirit can advise the magician on "how to come to dignities and knowledge" of "the magike art" and the seven "liberal arts."

[254] Blank space in MS. after the cross; possibly the scribe intended to look up the actual characters later, or write them in red ink, but never actually did so. Scot gives the characters for the left hand thus:

[255] An obsolete use of this word, meaning something like "safety" (from Lat. *tutus –a –um*).

desire of you, without any Illusion, Guile or deceipts, whatsoever, butt faithfully truly & certainly to answer, fullfill & performe Such things as I shall require of you, All which I here powerfully conjure & Constrain you, in the name of him who Said & It was Done, Even the most Great & Incomprehensible God, the Creator of Heaven & Earth, who shall come to judge the Quick & the Dead, & the world by fire.

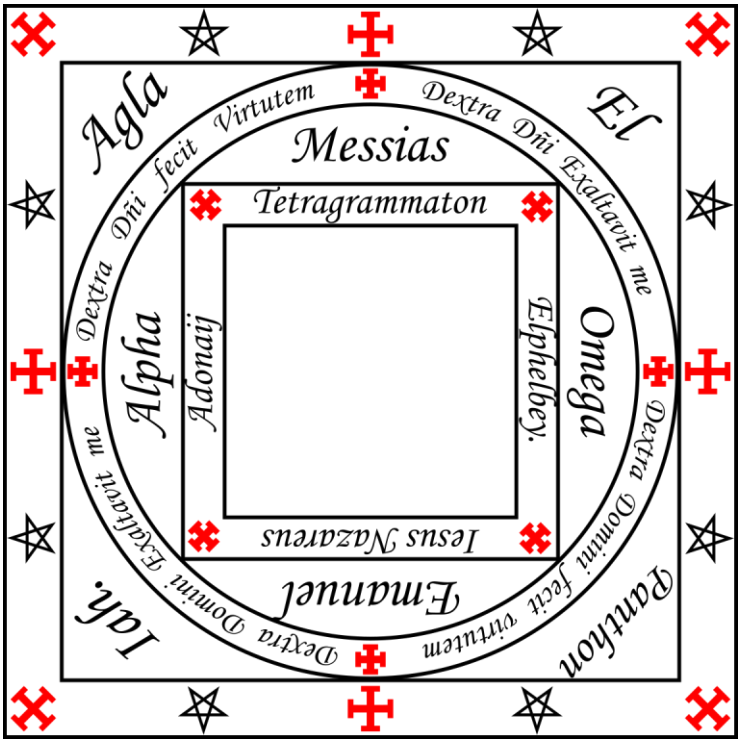
[108v] This Spirit is somewhat obstinate & pernitious, by nature, and is therefore as usually more slow & prolix In his appearance, wherefore It is Requisitie, that the Invocant should preservere herein, with Constancy fervency & patience, & [[not]] to Despair at all, though the Experiment may prove more tedious then is Ex[[pec]]ted, for at length he will appear, and his coming is very Sudden, and his motion Is, very swift, therefore Lett the Exorist Rehease the Invocation as oft as he may well do, according as his Reason & prudence shall direct him, as att Every halfe Quarter of the Hour whilest he is upon Action, & be very Diligent to Discover his appearance and motion, that he may Imediately Receive him & bind him with the bond of spirits, to stay & abide so long peacably and obediently with him, in such forme & shape, as he shall appoint or approve & until his demands and desires be fulfilled, which when done License him to Depart: he Resolveth many dubious Quæries, and is also a carrier as is said of **Brett**.

And withal observed both in this and all other Experiments of Ayeriall spirits, That as soon as a spirit is bound and is perceived to become obedient & familiar (as by degrees they will) that your Questions & demands be first Concluded & Resolved on and fairly written in paper or parchment, that you may have them ready, to propose as occasion shall Requier.

* * * * * * * * *

[110r][256] This that followeth is to be written on a Girdle, made in Leather or parchment, of the skin of a Lyon or of a heart, and put on by the Invocant before he Entereth the Circle, & so by him to be worne, so long as he is upon Action, **Elie, Elion, Escherie, Deus, Eternus, Elos, Clemens, Deus Sanctus, Sabaoth, Deus Exorcituum, Adonay, Deus mirabilis, Iao, Verax, Anephexeton, Deus Ineffabilis, Saday, Dominator Dominus, On Fortissimus, Agla, On, Tetragrammaton, Alpha & Omega.**

[256] As already noted, fol. 109 is an insert containing material unrelated to the present process; its contents have been transcribed above, p. 82.



This Figure must be written in virgin parchment, and then fixed or fastened on a new piece of Linnen Cloth, & worne upon the Breat of the Invocant, during the whole time he is upon Action in the Circle.

This Circle[257] the Invocant standeth in, when he Invocaeth or Calleth upon the spirit **Belphares**, and it may be made as afore taught in the Experiement of **Baramper**,[258] & it would not be amiss, if the master Exorcist had a white Vestment or Surpliss on him, & white Shooe, and on or two with him in the Circle, only shod with white Shooes also.

* * * * * * * * *

An Experiment of the Spirit Vassago, who may be called upon, to appear In a Christall Stone, or Glass or otherwise without.

[110v] First, Let the magicall Practitioner provide a Lamin or plate of silver, and Engraven upon, according as is Represented hereafter, and a spatula made of Ash, peartree, or any other Solid wood, the thickness of a third part of an Inch, & the square top thereof to be three Inches square, and the stem, or handle to be nine Inches Long, & guilded all over with Goold, and the Characters written thereon, as is shewed forth in the Example following. So having all things in Readiness, repair to the Chamber or place appointed for practice, which ought to be Clean, & a Table placed therein, covered with a Clean Linning Cloth, & a taper on Each Side of the Christall Stone, or Glass, & being seated thereat, Invocate as followeth:

[257] Barring some minor details this is the figure of the circle that appears in Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*. *Dñi* is a conventional scribal abbreviation for *Domini*.

[258] I.e., the "Choice Experiment how to obtain Treasure Trove," *supra*.

I Exorcize Call upon & Command the spirit **Vassago**, by & in the name of the Immence and Everliving God Jehovah, Adonaij, Elohim, Agla, El, On, Tetragrammaton, And by & in the name of our Lord & Savior Jesus Christ, the only Son of the Eternall and true God, Creator of Heaven ⟦and earth⟧ and all that in them is **Messias**, **Sother**, **Emanuel**, **Primogenitus**, **Homousion**, **Bonus**, **Via**, **Vita**, **Veritas**, **Sapientias**, **Virtus**, **Lux**, **Mediator**, **Agnus**, **Rex**, **pastor**, **Prophetas**, **Sacerdos**, **Athanatos**, **Paracletus**, **Alpha & omega**, by all these high, great, glorious, royall & Effible names of the omnipotent God, & of his only Son our Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ, the Second person in trinity I Exorcize, command and call upon and Conjure thee spirit **Vassago**, wheresoever thou art [East, West, North, or South, or being bound to any one under the Compas of the Heavens] that you come imediately, from the place of your present Residence, And appear to me Visibly, in fair & decent forme In that Christall Stone or Glass, *Here, note that the invocant mentions a Stone or Glass, if he hath one, or Else he saith to me Visibly in fair Decent, and humane form before this Circle &c.* I do againe Exorcize & powerfully command the spirit **Vassago**, to come & appear Vi⟦sibly⟧ to me in this Christall Stone or Glass, [or otherwise as above] in a fair Solid And decent forme, I doe againe strongly bind & command the spirit **Vassago** to appear visibly to me [in that Christall &c mentioning as is above said] [111r] by the vertue & power of these names, by which I can bind all Rebellious obstinate & Refractory Spirits, **Alla**, **Carital**, **marital**, **Carion**, **Urion**, **Spylon**, **Lorean**, **Stabea**, **Corian** (*or* **Coriam**) **mormos**, **Agion**, **Cados**, **Son**, **Catalon**, **Yron**, **Astron**, **Gardony**, **Caldabria**, **Beon**, **Tetragrammaton**, **Strally**, **Spyros**, **Sother**, **Iah**, **on**, **El**, **Elohim**, by all afore said, I Charge & Command the spririt **Vassago**, to make hast & Come away and appear vvisibly to me (as aforesaid) without any further or long tarring or delay, in the name of him who shall come to judge the Quink & the Dead, and the world by fire Amen.

This Conjuration often Repeated, and the Invocant being patient and Constant in his preserverance, and not disheartened or Dismayed, by Reason of any tedious Prolixityes or delays, he will at least appear, though It may be Long first & when he is appeared, bind him with the bond of spirits, & then you may talke with him pn[259] that this is a true Exeriment, & that this spirit hath been obleidged to the fellowship & service of a magick Artis heretofore, is very Certaine, as may appear by this following obligation the which the Invocant may if he pleaseth, have fairely written in an Abortive, And Layd before him, & discourse with the spirit Concerning it.

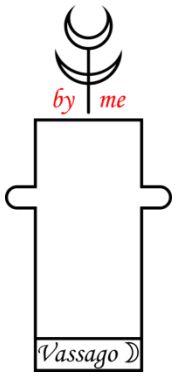
* * * * * * * * *

[259] Probably an abbreviation for *proven*.

A Bond or Obligation of the Spirit Vassago, made to one T.W.

I **Vassago** Under **Baro** The King of the West, not Compelled by Command or fear, butt on my one accord & free will, Especially oblidged my Selfe by these presents, firmly, faithfully & without Deceipt, to **T.W.** to obey at any time, & att any place whensoever, & wheresoever he shall call upon me, personally to appear, whether in a Stone, or in the middle without a stone, & to fullfill his Commands truly in all things, wherein I can, by the Vertue of all the names of God, & Especially by these words, the most powerfull in the Magicall Art, Lay, Alzyrn, mura, Syron, Walgava, Ryshin, Layagannum, Layurasin, Laysai: and by the Vertue wherewith the Sun and moon were darkened, and my planet, and by the Circles & Characters whereof, & primarily by his Seal, binding most Solidly, In witness of which guilty person he Comanding I have Signed this present obligation with mine one Seal to which I always Stuck Close.

[111v] That this is a true Experiment, is apparent; And that this spirit hath been by the great Diligence & Constant preseverance, of Learned & intelligible Magitians, brought to obedience And fellowship is manifestly true, by this here recited President, besides what my Selfe hath seen. And as for the Calling up this & the other following spirits, Either in the Christall Stone or Glass, shall be shewed att the End of the next Experiment, because they are both of one Nature.



The Seal of the spirit **Vassago**.

* * * * * * * * *

An Experiment of the Spirit Agares

The Experiment and Invocating of this spirit **Agares**, is practically the same as in the former Experiment of the spirit **Vassago**, who likewise may be called to appear, either in a Christall Stone, or Glass, or otherwise though them, and they Are both very slow in their appearances, as most Ayerall spirits are, butt when once they doe appear, then afterwards they will frequently come at the master Invoc[[ating.]] Having all things In Readyness, and Resolves upon his time, Lett him Enter his Chamber Or place appointed for Action, and Invocate as followeth:

Thou Spirit **Agares** the first Captaine under the King of the East, I Exorcize, Command & call upon thee, & Constraine thee by calling, in the name of the most Strong, powerfull, fearfull, and Blessed Iah, Adonay, Elohim, Saday, Saday, Eie, Eie, Eie, Asarie, Asarie, & in the name of Adonay, the Goed of Israel, who by his mediate word alone, Created the Heavens, the Earth, the Seas, & all things therein Contained, and made man according to the Similitude of himself, and these most Efficatious, powerfull &

Commanding, ineffable & secret Names, of the Allpowerfull and immense God, Jehovah, Agla, El, on, Tetragammaton wherein All visions, & apparitions are wont to be, & by the holy name, which was written in the Brow of Aron the priest, of the most High & Everliving God, I powerfull Exorcize & Command thee spirit **Agares**, that wheresoever thou art, in any place or part of the Aijr or Earth, East, West, North, or South, or being bound to Any one, that immediately without tarrying or delay, you presently appear to me Visibly, in fair & humane forme, *Here you are to observe, that if* [112r] *you call him into a Stone or Glass then you are to say,* in this Stone or Glass, *if you have none, then you need not specifie, but say* to me, *or* to me before this Circle &c. *and so the like* <illegible> *other places of this Conjuration observe the same, where you shall meet with the like occasion.*[260]

Moreover & againe I Exorceize potently & Command, and call upon the spirit, by him that was Is & shall be, Even & in the Blessed & great name of the holy & Heavenly messiah, or Lord & Savior Jesus Christ, born of a virgin, Lord of all the world, and Its only mediator & Advocate, to the Father of all mercyes, & God of all Consolation, att whose great, Glorious & Incomparable name, all Knees ought to bow, and humbly Doe Reverence, and at all the naming whereof all spirits whatsoever, both Aijerall Terrestiall & infernall, ought to obey with all due Reverence & Submission, who Is the great Emanuel the faithfull witness & primogenitus, Alpha & Omega, who Lived & was Dead & Liveth for ever, & by his glorious passion, Resurrection, & Assention, & by the Coming of the holy Ghost, by all aforesaid, I powerfully Exorceize, Urge & Constrain thee spirit **Agares**, that without tarring or further Delay you do now appear Visbily to me, I now Calling upon you, [Here mentioning As followeth before, as[261] Either within or without the Receptacle[262]] in fair, Solid, Decent & humane forme, wherefore make hast Come away, and shew thy selfe Immediately, to fullfill all my Request, in the name of the Father & of the Son & of the holy Ghost Amen.

Now if the spirit doth not appear, in Some materiall Distance of time to the Conjuration, wonder not at its prolixity, for (as is said Elswhere before) it is the nature of the Aijeriall Spirits, to be very slow In there appearances, therefore Let the magician be Constant in his preserverances and prosecution herein, that this Experiment is also true, and that this spirit Agares hath been called upon, and been brought to obedie⟦nce⟧ and familiar Association, is manifestly true and apparent by this following obligation, made by him to some Lerned master.

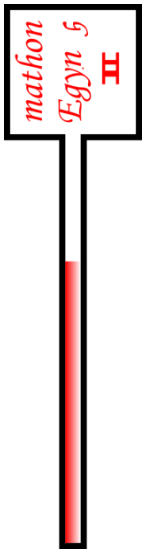
[112v] I **Agares**, the first Captaine under the King of the East, not Compelled by Command or Dread, butt willingly, and on my owne accord, doe Especially bind my

[260] The four rubricated lines at the top of fol. 112r are near-unreadable due to contrast issues in the scans I'm working from. I have restored some of the text by comparison with one of Hockley's copies.

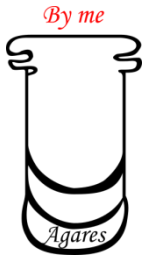
[261] Unclear; could be 'is' or 'as,' the latter makes slightly more sense in context.

[262] *i.e.* vary the speech according to whether you're summoning the spirit to a crystal or not.

Selfe by these presents, firmly, to obey at all times & in Every place **J.M.** to do his Command In all things, appertaining to my Duty, & Especially by these words, the m[[ost]] powerfull In this Magick Art, Lay, Alyzm, mura, Syron, Walgava, Ryshin, Layganum, Layarazin, Lasai: And by that Vertue wherewith the Sun & ffmoon where darkened, before that terrible day of the Lord (as in the Gospel) and shall be turned into Blood, And by the head of my Prince, & by his Circles & Characters: and Cheifly by this Seall firmely binding, In Witness of which Guity Person, I have Signed this Obligation, with mine one Seal he Commanding me, to which I Allways Stuck Close.



The forme of the Spatula which ought to be made of any Solid wood handsomely not too thick, and Guilded over & writ upon as here is shewed. This Spatula serveth for a Scepter & signifyeth: Dignity, Power &c: the which is one main Principle In magick, & is a Type of majesty In Action, Let It be guilt over with Goold.[263]



The Seal of the spirit **Agares.**

The form of the Lamin, or Sigill, which ought to be made in a plate of Silver, and the figure Engraven thereon as Is here Represended, which sigill must be Hung about the Neck, or fixed on the Brest of the Magician,

And when he Goeth upon Action Lett him do thus—If he calleth Either of these two fore recieted Spirits, Vassago or Agares to appear In a stone or Glass, then Lett him set the stone or Glass on [[a]] Table in his Chamber of Practice, coverd with Cleane Linnen, and on [[each]] side of the Christall Stone or Glass, to stand a white wax Candle [113r] or Els at Leastwise one just behind It, Then Let the magician fix the silver Sigill on his brest, and take the Spatula in his Right hand, and seat himself at the table Just against the Stone, & his Companions by him if he hath any, and when he is seated, then he may Either Lay the spatula downe on the table, just before the ⟨the⟩ stone, or Els hold It in his hand, Even as pest pleaseth himself, and let him have his Desires written fairly down and Layd on the table on his left hand, Just beside the Spattula, & if he pleaseth also the Copy of the obligation, Fairly written, In an abortive, with the Seal of the Spirit, thereto as is shewed In the Copy thereof foregoing, layed on the Table on his Right hand just on the other side of the spatula, And so proceed to Action.

[263] The illustration of the Spatula of Art in the MS. made something of a mess of the names & characters on the flat and they were written out again, next to it. I have redrawn the thing according to the proportions specified in the text. *Egyn* appears elsewhere in this collection as the demon King of the North; according to the Folger "Book of Magic," *Vzago* or *Vsagoo* is subject to Egin, although the "Experiment of Vassago" above has the spirit under the King of the West.

But if the Magick Philosopher goeth upon Either of these two Experiments, or Invocateth either of these too last recited spirits **Vassago** or **Agares**, without Either a Christall stone or Glass, then when he Entereth his Chamber or place Appointed for Action or practise, Enter the Circle in form and manner as aforesaid, Holding the spatula in his right hand or Laying it downe just before him in the Circle, & if he have two Companions, let him on the Left hand hold the Copy of the damands, and him one the right hand the Copy of the obligation, And so let him proceed to action, and Exorcize manfully, Constantly & firm Resolution. If he useth a Christall Stone, It ought to be about the bigness of a goose Egg, it matter not whether It be round or oval and to be set on a frame, which may be done by a jeweller, with a ring of flat wyer, or narrow plate about It at the bottome whereof Lett It be fastened, a Stem of an indifferent Length, as the handle of a bear boal,[264] with a ponderous or heavy pedestal or foot to It, that may stand firme & steady, & then hath he a Compleate Receptacle; And if the Magick Philosopher maketh Choice of a Glass Receptacle, he may have It made att the Glass house of Good white Christall mettall, butt It Cannot be made [113v] Solid as is a stone, but It may be made pretty thick and with a Little small hole at the top, according as Is here represented, In the Annexed Figure. It is also to be Observed, in the making of this Receptacle of Glass, That the head being made as thick as possible, The Glass maker can make It, It will be pretty heavy, therefore the foot thereouf ought to be made pretty broard, & of an indifferent Large diamiter, because of standing them and Steady all which is Easie Enough to be understood.

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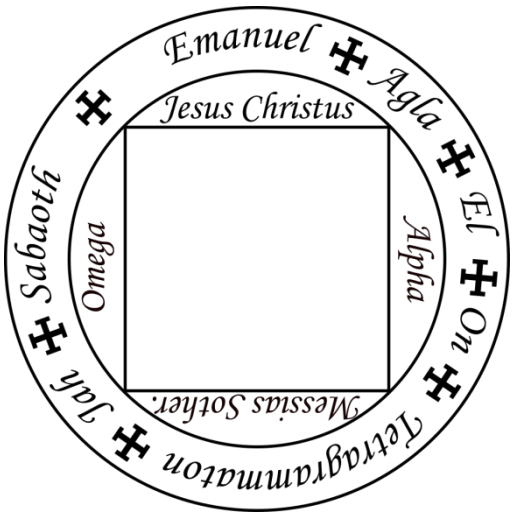

Hic Est Circulus Experimenti

This Circle Serveth for the Invocant to stand in, when he calleth upon Either of the two forementioned Spirits Vassago or Agares, when he Calleth upon them to appear, without Either a stone or Glass or other Receptacle, So that in Either or these Experiments, he may use his own Discretion, Sith the practicall part hereof is already before so Clearly Explained, of the which we ourselves have had some Signall Experience.

* * * * * * * * *

[264] "beer bowl"?

An Experiment to Obtain whatsoever is Desired.[265]

Take a Lapwing & Lett It Blood In a Glass, wherewith make the Ensain [[…]] Square, commonly Called a Circle, though improperly by reason of Its Contrary Similitude, but they are Generally Called Circles in the Art, because they all signifie one & the same thing &c: upon four Large Calve skin patchments, fastened Evenly & handsomely together, according to Art, as is before taught. And Also with the [114r] Blood of the Lapwing, write upon an Abortive thus as followeth, Beltha Suspensus, in Æthera super ea, Implent, Pamilion, Anarius, Fons, Floris, de, Sede, Baldachiæ, Sarranis, Mars,[266] Lett this be written in a Chamber, that is very private and Close shut for the present time, And when these things are done, & Kept in a Readiness for use then, seek out for a place fit to do this Experiment In, which much be in an Orchard, or a Wood that is Very private, and free from the Passages or oversight of people, the which Being found, then at the time appointed to goe upon action, Let the Magicall Philosopher having a fair bright sword in his hand, as soon as he is entered into the Orchard or wood, Kneel downe on his Knees, and with an Earnest meekness, say what is written in the abortive, three times over; then Lett him rise, & having made Choice of the privatest place that can be found, goe thereto, & place this Circle, and with his sword in his right hand, and the Scedule & the left hand, enter the Circle and turning his face to the East, Read the schedule over as oft as is convenient, And at Length will appear a vision, like to a fair Knight on horseback, with a Gosse-Hawk on his fist, and he will say unto you, *Why call you me? What will you Ask? Lo, I am Ready to fullfill all your Requests*, Butt answer him nothing, att all And then turning your face from him to the north, behold him not, then will he pass by & vanish; Then towards the north proceed as before you did towards the East, and anon will another Vision appear, like a Comely fair Knight on horseback, with a Gosse-hawk also on his fist, riding as it were towards you upon a very Goodly Steed, and he will speake to you Soon the like Language, or to the Same effect, as the first apparition, butt say nothing to him, neither give him Answer, and turning your face to the west behold him not, So he will pass away by & Vanish.

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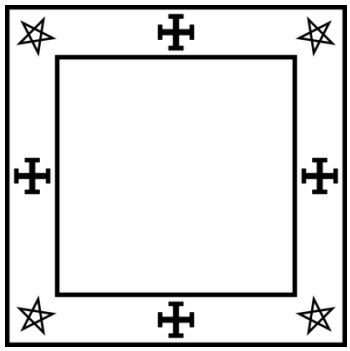
[265] This process also appears with minor variations in BL Sloane MS. 1727, p. 18; a transcription by K. M. Briggs was included in "Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic" and appendix IV to *The Anatomy of Puck*. In the former work, Briggs draws a comparison between this process and the fairy-summoning table-ritual in Bodleian e Mus. 173 (generally dated early 17th century; typeset in Harms & Clark, *Of Angels, Demons and Spirits*) where three fairies turn up in turn, but the first is malignant and should be ignored until she goes away. Here, though, the first two spirits should be ignored and even the third should have its offer of fellowship refused.

[266] This might have been intelligible Latin once. *Sedes Baldachiæ* is also cited in the Heptameron and the Vadian *Lucidarium*. Sloane MS. 1727 (*apud* Briggs) gives two versions: "*Betha suspensus in ethera superea enpion, emprogudum, pamelion angius Marius Egripus fons floriseme deseed baldithe sapors ana velarca siras*: but these are truer: *beltha suspensus Mathea Superea Implex pamilion ananrius fons floris Trosdogod Baldachia. Sarius Mars.*" This suggests that even then the scribe had access to two different, and already heavily corrupt, copies of the formula.

[114v] Then towards the west, observe to doe as before the East, and North, & presently will a third apparition appear, Like as a goodly Knight on horseback with a Goss-hawke also on his fist more fair and beutifull then the two former, Crowned with a Diadem of Gold, who will say thus unto you, or much like to it, *Loe I am here, and weary for Labor all day, therefore tell me what thou wouldst I should doe for thee?* And this Knight you may faithfully trust, and desire of him what you will, he will truly fullfill your Requests, which you ought to have in readiness fairly written &c. Then will he say, Even as soone as he hath said the former words thus to you: *Will you have my fellowship?* But you shall deny It, and answer him saying no you will not, butt propose your desires and demands to him, what it is you would have him do for you, and turn your Countenance or face towards the South, and so leave him then shall he pass away from you, and so give over, and Cease Action, & goe your way the next morning goe again to the same place, and there you shall find all your Requests fulfilled, and your Expectations answered, for which god thanks & depart.



Hic, est Quadra-Circulus Experimenti.

This ought to be written with the blood of the Lapwing upon a faire Calve Skin parchment, neatly & Evenly fastned together, & so made on Square Entire thing, & so Kept for practice.[267]

* * * * * * * * *

Of the Spirit Bleth, who is mostly called upon and appeareth in a glass of water.[268]

Have a glass made of pure white mettle pretty thick, made in the form of a Urinall, and make a cover thereto of Virgin Wax or parchment with the Character made thereon as hereafter followeth, then fill the glass a little above halfe full of water, and Sett it apon the table of practice, or other Convenient place, where It may Stand very Sure and Stedy, from Shaking or jogging & let It stand on your left hand and set the Cover thereof by it on the right hand & Let the t[[able]] or place on which the Glass and Its Cover standeth, be Coverd with a Linnen Cloth, [115r] very white: and so when all things are decently Set in Order, Invocate as followeth:

[267] If this is to be made big enough for the operator to stand in, that is likely to involve killing rather a lot of small birds. The version of the ritual in Sloane 1727 (*apud* Briggs) rather has the "circle four square" (described rather than illustrated) made on the ground with a sword and the blood used only for writing the formula.

[268] Bleth is also mentioned, and given a simple character, in the Chicago "Book of Magical Charms" (Newberry Case MS. 5017, fol. 7r); the name is possibly a corruption of *Bileth*.

I adjure & call upon command and constrain thee O thou spirit which art called Bleth: in & through the name of the father & of the son & of the holy Ghost, Three persons in trinity, & one God in Unity, & by this incomprehensible name, of the most High and Omnipotent Creator, of Heaven & Earth, Tetragrammaton, Jehovah, I powerfully and Earnestly Urge and Constraine the O thou spirit **Bleth** and I call upon & command thee to appear Visibly & affably Unto me in this Glass of water, Set here before me, as a fit and appropriate Receptacle to Entertaine you And I doe againe adjure Call upon, bind, command and Constrain thee O thou spirit **Bleth**, by the Vertue and might of those Great & powerfull names, By which wise Solomon bound spirits, and shut them up **Elbrach**, **Ebanher**, **Goth**, **Ioth**, **Agla**, **Othie**, **Venoah**, **nabrat**, to appear & shew thy selfe, fairly & fully and plainly Visible unto me, In that Glass of water here before me, which I have Set to Receive you in And to Resolve & openly & manifestly to shew me, the Truth Verity & Certanty of all Such matters & things, as I shall demand & Resquest of you, without any fraud guile dissimilation, or other Crafty or Deceitfull Illusion whatsoever, wherefore, I now call upon & Constrain thee hereby, O thou spirit **Bleth** in and through these High & potent names of our Lord & Savior, Jesus Christ, Messias, Sother, Emanuel, Alpha & Omega, to move appear & shew thy selfe plainly unto me & fulfill my Demands, Desires & Requests in all things, according to your Office, wherein you may or Can without any farther tarrying or delay, butt immediately prepare you & come away, and doe for me as for the Servant of the Highest:

Repeat this Conjuration often, and when the water Stirreth a Little & a smoak seemeth to be seen In the Glass, then doth the spirit Enter, for this is the foreshowing Signe of his appearance, & when this is perspicuously discerned, then Lightly Cover the Glass with the Cover, & bind [[it]] all about So Securely, that nothing may goe out &c: Then Ask what you will, & he will either Resolve it *viva voce*, or it will be soon written on his Brest.

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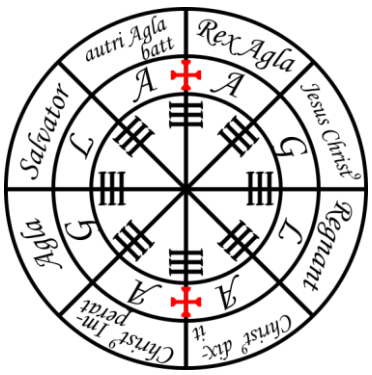
[115v] The Spirit **Senoryan** may be Invocated & call'd upon, As Either of the foregoing Spirits, **Vassago**, **Agares** or **Bleth**, being Exemplary alike, only Changing the name In the Invocation, Some use Oyl in the Glass instead of water, for so did Cardinal Richlieu, who this Spirit **Senoryan** was very familiar frequent & Conversant withal &c.

This character is to be made on the Cover of the Glass[269]



[269] The text around the outer circle is very cramped and I am not completely sure I have transcribed it correctly; the superscripted '9' represents a conventional scribal abbreviation for the Latin '-us' terminal.

Of the spirit Mamon & his Characters:

Let these Characters be written in the right hand, with the blood of a Lapwing or of a black Cat, & when the Spirit is Invocated or called up the Hand must be held up, so that he may see them.

This spirit, together with those that follow, may be Invocated and called up As the foregoing spirits **Vassago** and **Agares** and, the same method being observed; only the Characters and names are Altered in the Call or invocation And the practicall part of the Experiment.

Of the Spirit Seere His *Character nature & Office &c.*

This spirit **Seere** is under the King of the East, He goes & comes & brings all things to Suddaine end Expeditious effects, He can Carry & recarry, & pass over the whole world, in a moment, yea in the twinkling of an Eye: He makes true Relation of all Sorts of Thefts, & of treasure trove, & sheweth true Relations of many other things. He is by nature indifferent Good, mild courteous and affable, & willingly performeth whatsoever is Desired of him &c.[270]

Of the Spirit Asmodiah his Character

This spirit sheweth all things that are in the Earth and water, & all things that appertaine to Love & marriage, and what shall befall those that be newly married, and there friends, Kindred or Allyance And of there agreement or disagreement, & how fate will smile [116r] or frown upon them, he can also discover thieves & Theft, Treasure Trove, & many other notable Occult things.[271]

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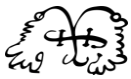
[270] Seere is the 70th spirit of the *Ars Goëtia*, described as (S5 fol. 110) "a mighty Prince and powerfull under *Amaymon* King of the East, he appeareth in the forme of a Beautifull Man, riding on a strong horse with wings: his office is to Goe & come and to bring all things to pass on a sudden, & to carry any thing where Thou wilt have it, or have if from for he can pass over the whole world in the Twinckling of an Eye, he maketh a true relation of all sorts of Theft and of Treasures hidd and of all other things, he is Indefferent good natured; willing to do any thing the Exorcist desireth; he governeth 26 Legions of spirits." His character is given thus:



[271] *Asmodiah* is probably a variant of *Asmodai* (#32 in the *Goëtia*: his offices are given somewhat differently there) although the theophoric terminal *–iah* is not generally used for the names of demons. The character looks to be a simpler form of the *Ars Goëtia* version, which in S5 (fol. 105v) appears thus (the thick black line at the right is possibly the result of blotting in the MS. or contrast issues with the scans I was using):

Of the Spirit Dantalion His Character

He sheweth all arts and Sciences, & maketh one Expert therein, he can Declare & reveal the Secret Councills of any one, he Changeth the minds & thoughts of men & women, he can stir up Love, and shew by Vision the similitude of any one, be they att never to great a distance, in any part of the world &c.[272]

Of the Spirit Andromalius His Character

He can bring back theives with the Goods they have stolen, He discovereth all Manner of Wickedness, & all manner of Secret, Clandestine, underhand dealings, Plots, Contrivances and all deceiptfull designes, Combinations, Consultations or other Tretchery whatsoever, tending to the Ensnaring, Detriment, Loss or Distruction of one; & punisheth all maner of Lewd, thievish, deceitfull, ungodly persons &c: He faithfully declareth the Verity of Treasure Trove.[273]

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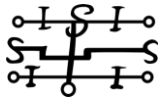
[272] *Dantalion* is the 71st spirit of the *Ars Goëtia*, described as (S5 fol. 110v): "a great & mighty duke appearing in the forme of a man with many faces, all like men & women & a Booke in his right hand; his office is to Teach all arts and siences to any one, and to declare the secret Counselles of any one, for he knoweth the Thoughts of all men and women, and can change them at his will, he can cause Love and shew (by vision) the true similitude of any one let them be in what place or part of the world they will, he governeth 36 Legions of Spirits." His seal:

[273] *Andromalius* is probably a corruption of *Andromalchus* or *Andromalcos* who is cited, for example in an "Abraham's Eye" process to punish a thief in BL Additional MS. 36,674 (fol. 79v), and is mentioned as "Andrew Malchus" in an account of treasure-hunters in Norfolk during the reign of Henry VIII. In the *Ars Goëtia* he is the 72nd and last spirit: "he is a great and Mighty Earle appearing in the form of a Man, holdling a serpent in his hande, his office is to bring a Theefe & goods that are stolen, Back; and to discover all wickedness and understand [qy. "underhand"] dealings, & to punish Theives & other wicked people, & to discover Treasures that are hidd &c., he ruleth 36 Legions of spirits" (S5 fol. 110 v). His seal is shown as:



A somewhat different character is in the Chicago "Book of Magical Charms" (Newberry Case MS. 5017), an early 17th-century magical miscellany (predates the present compilation: the main scribe died in 1641), on fol 10r, the name unclearly written (could be *Andromalcus*, *Andromalius* or *Andromaleus*) and with no description.

Seere, *Dantalion* and *Andromalius*, along with *Vassago*, who features in a previous "experiment" in this collection, are the four spirits in the catalogue of the *Ars Goëtia* who do <u>not</u> appear in the list's main source, the English translation of the *Pseudomonarchia Dæmonum* that was included in Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*. The *Pseudomonarchia*, an edited version of a *Liber officiorum spritiuum* MS., first published as an appendix to the 1577 fifth edition of Wier's *De præstigiis dæmonum et incantionibus ac veneficiis*, listed 69 principal spirits, but one of the entries included a legend of Solomon sealing up 72 demon kings and their legions in a glass vessel (*in vase vitreo*, mistranslated "brasen vessel" in Scot). In Scot's publication, the fourth spirit in the Wier list, Pruflas or Bufas, was omitted for some reason, leaving only 68. The redactor of the *Ars Goëtia*, besides shuffling the order of the spirits after the first two, decided to make up the number to 72 to fit the legend, and so interpolated four spirits, either from the present collection or a MS. of similar content; Vassgo immediately after Agares, probably due to their close association in the collection of spirit "Experiments," and the other three at the end.

Of the Spirit Sondenna, aliter Sendenna

This Spirit was the Servant and familier To Mr E. K. He appeareth In many forms, & then at Length in a triangle of fire: butt being Constrained to the Circule, he att last taketh to the similitude (as it were) of a great Gyant, and will declare before, for a month to come, what spirits doe orderly Range, which by name being called, will doe their offices, &c: [[…]][274] this, is worth, the Consideration & practice. Anno: 1580.[275]

* * * * * * * * *

These two spirits **Maserien** and **Hermcloe** were the Servants And familiars of the L.C.E. of S. 1607.[276]

* * * * * * * * *

[274] Possibly a word lost in the gutter here.

[275] "E.K." is Edward Kelly. In the Dee-Kelly Spirit Action of 1584.06.27 (Cotton Appendix XLVI part i, fol. 201v, *T&FR* p. 184-5), Ave remarked of a "great multitude" of figures seen in Kelly's vision of the Watch-towers: "They be Ministers and servants. There shalt thou (E. K.) see thy old *Soudenna*, and many other wicked ones, that thou hast dealt withal." A note above the name reads "atr [*aliter*] *Seudenna*, as E. K. sayd." A much more extensive note in the margin reads:

> "[[Of this]] wicked Soudenna, E.K. by and by, after this Action, sayd, seeing his name is come to be known (and not by me: for I had received the Sacrament with Mr. Miniver, of whom I had him, never to bewray or disclose his name) I will tell you somewhat of him. He appeareth in many forms tyll at Length he appeare in a Triangle of fyre, and being constrayned to the circle, he taketh form, as it were, of a great Gyant, and will declare before for a month to come which spirits do orderly range: which by name being called, will do their offices, with a few other circumstances used, &c. This, indeed was one, of whom I made most account, &c."

The name was misprinted *Sondenna, aliter Sendenna* in *T&FR* (in the MS. it is lettered out fairly carefully, and *Soudenna* is more believable as a mishearing of *Seudenna*, the original appearance of the name being written by Dee as he heard it spoken during the Action).

[276] Maserien and Hermcloe are mentioned in the final fragment of Dee's Spirit Diaries from 1607 (Action of 24th March, Cotton Appendix XLVI part ii, fol. 229r, *T&FR* p. *34), apparently as devils sent against Dee by the **L**ord [Robert] **C**ecil, **E**arl of **S**alisbury (a senior official at the court of King James), to whom Dee (reduced to poverty) was attempting to hawk his services at the time.

> "[…] it was the will of God […] to suffer the heart of thy supreme head and governour, under God to be hardned against thee, that you art no better account made of unto him, but to be such an one that doth deal with Devils and by Sorcery, as you commonly term them Witchcraft: and who doth, and who hath informed him, to be thus evil and hardly informed against thee, but only the Devil, and by the hatred of thy secret enemy whom thou knowest (*Salisbury* I mean) and all malice and enemies that he can by his Devils, *Maserien*, *Hermcloe*, the four wicked ones, the which are accounted the four Rulers of the Air, whose names be *Ories*, *Egym*, *Paynim*, and *Mayrary*: They be the Devils that he doth deal withal, that he through their enticing and his, he thinketh to be pleasant and good wisdom that he receiveth at their hands; *That he and his Devil do seek thy overthrow in all good things, and doth and shall*, so far forth as God will suffer them, seek all the malice and hindrance in all good causes to be done to thy good."

(This is transcribed from *T&FR*, I found the MS. even harder to read than the 1580s parts). It has been suggested [BY WHOM?] that when, three years prior to this, Dee petitioned King James for a chance to clear himself of the slander that he was a practitioner of demonic magic (even if this meant facing trial under the draconian witchcraft laws of the time), it was on Lord Cecil's advice that James ignored him.

[116v] *The names of Severall Spirits, both with, and without their Characters.*[277]

Cutchtpollo

Herp

Stigamma

Ysbiloth

Mulpeldar

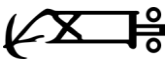
Sympolsis

Noddarding

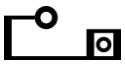
Solyhesyl

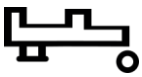
Mendir

Culdrunal

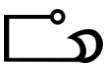

Funaler

Sirsir


Sichere


Sursinal

Clidraepe


Spalata

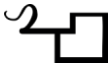
Pludir

Horsor

Rodmache

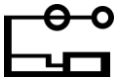
Goral

Miche


Ferinalopes

Hissirperche

Sinant

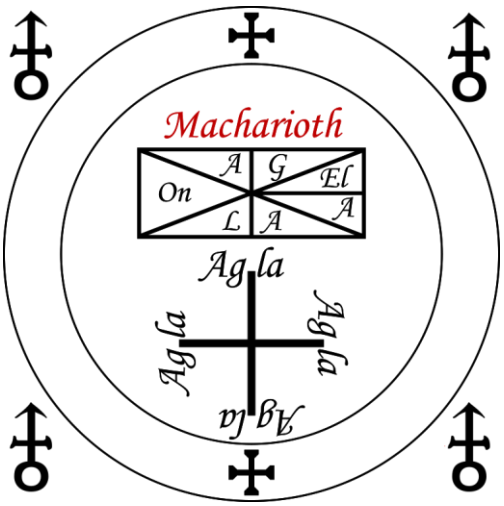

Hur

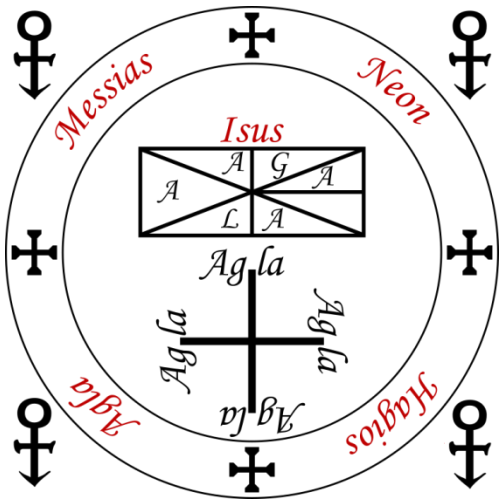
Of the Seven Regall Spirits with their Familiars, named as followeth:			
Macharioth Rex[278]	Whose Familiars are	Arumbel,	Squatus
Isus Rex		Thoranor	
Jonathon Rex		Samna	Gezome
Acharon Rex		Gozra	
Magoth Rex		Gonsellados	Ypfa, Gorse
Achachardus Rex		Alcrit, Gatos	Ghyrites
Ysquy Rex		Garen	
		Syel, Tysgel	Mylon
		Lusor, Rymor	Tynior
		Earny, Asyn	Gryel

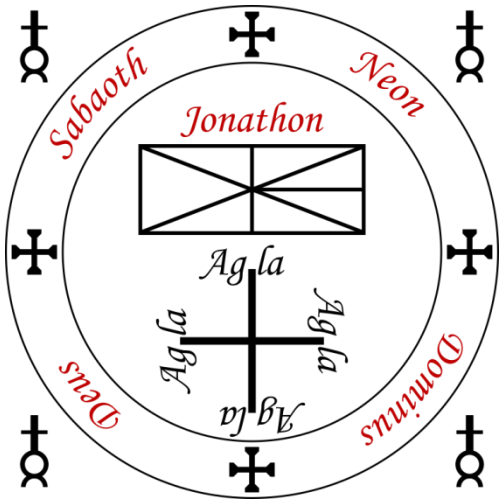
[277] In the MS., the first set of 25 characters and names is written in a single column down the left edge of the page. I am not completely sure I have transcribed all the names correctly.

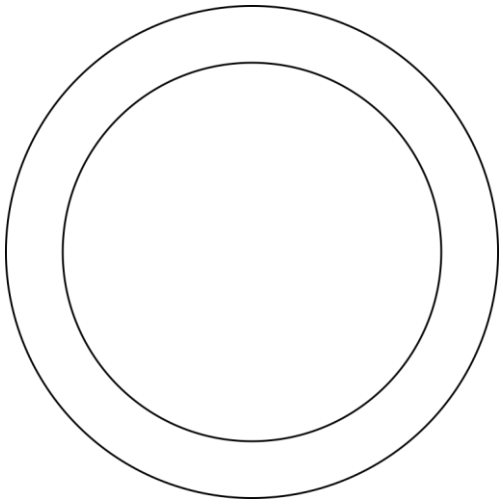
[278] "Rex" is represented by a conventional scribal abbreviation.

These following serveth the Invocant to stand in when he calleth any of the aforsesaid Kings, &c.[279]

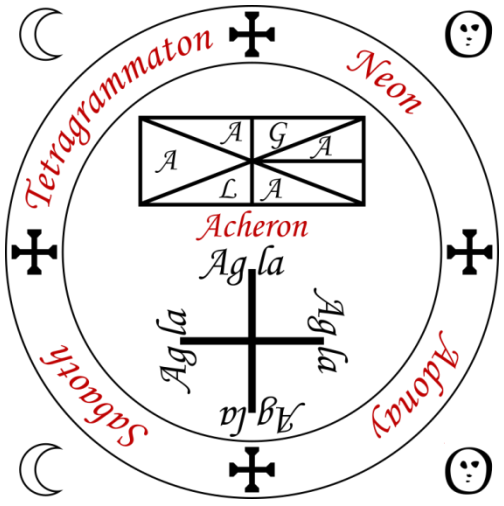


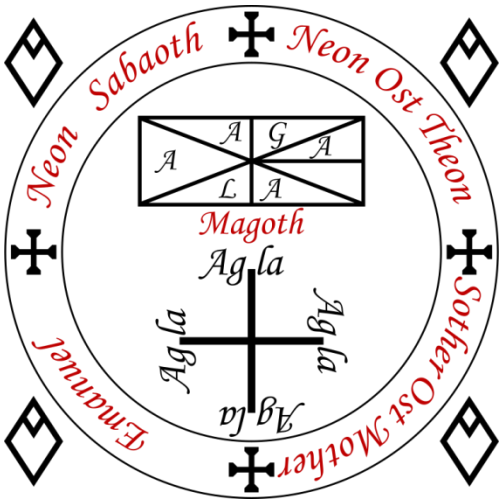




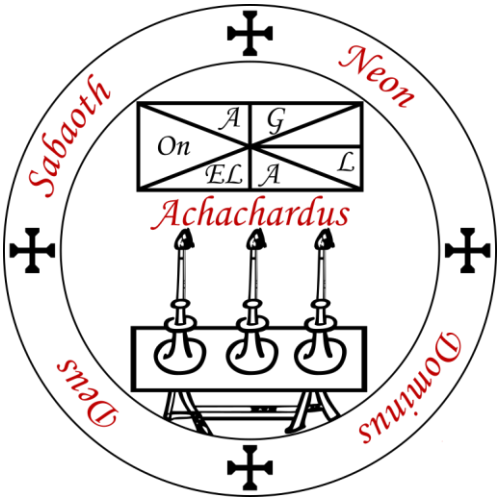


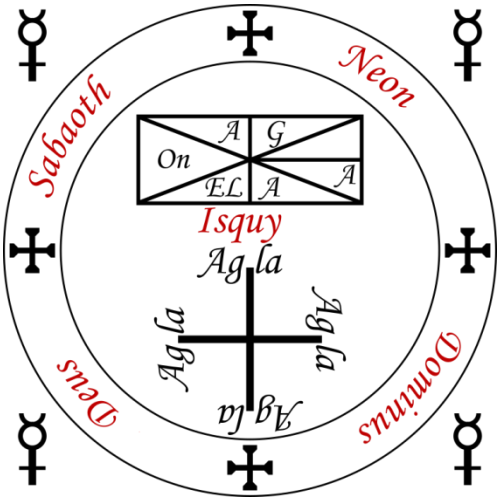
[117r]





[279] These are not apparently rubricated in the MS. In the circle for *Isus Rex*, "Hagios" in the border is a conjectural restoration; the start of the word is lost in the gutter. Similar, but not identical, figures appear in V.b. 26 pp. 148-151 where they are possibly meant to be talisman designs.


Sabaoth
Neon
Deus
Dominus
A G
On L
EL A
Achachardus


Sabaoth
Neon
Deus
Dominus
A G
On
EL A A
Isquy
Agla
Agla
Agla
Agla

[Of the Chief Infernal Spirits, and the four Kings.][280]

There are many Spirits, that are said to be by nature Evill, & not onely Envious & Enymies to man & his felicity, but advers to all goodness whatsoever: and yet have been by magicians of former times (Living in Remote & far Countryes from us in England, and these parts) brought to a Comunication, and a Kind of familiarity, with them, whereby there offices & natures have been discovered, but it hath not been Common among men, Especially the meanest Capacityes, & therefore not att all practiced, neither is It fit to be practiced by any Sober philosopher unless to Satisfie his Curiosity, because of their Turbulence, but yet they are many times called upon, to bind & constrain other Spirits, to doe there offices, which is not at all offencive hurtfull or obnoxious, therefore they may be Invocated in Such Cases &c: wee shall mention somewhat thereof, because of diserning the differences thereof, & therein let the magick Philosopher use his discretion &c.: There are three spirits Called devils, or infernall spirits, whose names are mentioned in holy writ, namely **Lucifer**, **Beelzebub**, & **Sathan**, therefore as they stand recorded in the Sacred Scriptures we shall hint at something of them, & no more. [117v] **Lucifer** is a great spirit, and may not be Invocated nor Called from his Orders, yet by him as by **Tantavalerion**,[281] other spirits may be adjured and bound, for all spirits that are by nature Evill, or at least more maligne then usually many Aijeriall & Terrestrial powers, such as are treated of before, doe with a Kind of majesty, Worship & obey him: for this Reason he may not be called upon, Except to Constrain other Subservient Spirits to fulfil the Command & Requests of the Invocant in any Reasonable thing.

The next is **Beelzebub** who is a great prince (and it is said that before the fall, he was of the order of Cherubins) and 1000000 spirits doe minister unto him; he appeareth very Beautifull, & giveth to them that call him Gold & Silver and maketh the Expert in Science, he appeareth well for halfe an hour: & giveth to Each Demand a free Answer, He giveth a servant or Familiar, which will be faithfull & obedient, during a [[man's]] Life, whoso Calleth him must have Fumes of Amber, Lignum Aloes mastic &c: & invocate towards the East, *in verbis conceptis*, wherein he must be inportunately and Earn[[estly]] Urged, to doe his office, who then at Length will obey.

The third spirit is called **Sathan**, who was before his fall of the order of Cherubims, & it is said that because he fell not of his owne will, therefore he abideth obscurely in the Aijer and so is called the prince of the Aijer, under whome are four Princes or Kings, bearing rule in the Aijer, & have power given & permitted them, to coruscate and disturb

[280] In the MS. this follows without a section break or a distinctive heading from the circles for the seven "Regall spirits," which latter slightly overlap with the first line of text.

[281] *Tantavalerion* is an "Emperor" of infernal spirits, frequently mentioned in the Folger "Book of Magic." A similar name, *Cantivalerion*, with the same characterisation, is mentioned in Bodleian MS. e Mus 173.

the Aijer, whereby many Mischeifs befall the Earth, doing great hurt, and it was this spirit that tempted our four fathers in the Wilderness to disobedience.

The four Kings of the Aijer Ruling under **Sathan**, together with their Councellors & messagers are named as followeth, under whom again are numberless of Subservients:

[*The four Kings, their Presidential Counsellors and Messengers.*[282]]

King of the	East West North South	is	Orience Paymon Egyn[283] Amaymon[284]	whose	Presidentiall Councellors are [*names follow: see below*] Messengers are [*names follow: see below*]

Presidentiall Councellors are	Neopheyn, Barbas, Sebarbas, Aligon. Gordonizer, Zame. Vassago, Othey, Um, Anaboth. Aleche, Berith, Mala.
Messengers are	Baal, Temel, Belfarto (or Belferith). Belferth, Belial, Bawson, Rombulance (or Ramblane), Alphasis. Boulon, Ocarbidaton, Madicon[285]

Oriens King of the East, appeareth with an hundred & two hundred Legions, having a fair Effeminate Countenance, & a goodly Crown upon his head, riding upon an Elephant, having trumpets, shalms & much Minstrelry of divers Instruments going before him, & when he is called he Cometh with other great [118r] Kings; butt if he be called alone, then he appeareth in the very likeness of a Royall Horse; He telleth the truth of all things, present, and & to Come, giveth mony, teacheth Sciences, Consecrateth Bookes, and willingly giveth answers to all demands & Questions, He Knoweth all Experiments, and hath power to teach them; There is a King under **Oriens**, whose name is **Baal**,[286] whose office is to teach all manner of Sciences, and maketh a man to go Invisible, & hath

[282] This is written across the page, somewhat cramped; I have split the table in order to have it at a reasonable type size while retaining the general layout. These names, and the descriptions of the Kings, derive from the same *De officiis* MS. tradition represented in the Folger "Book of Magic" (p. 73 *sqq.*) although the conjurations and rubric have been rewritten (amongst other things, to remove any hint of Catholicism) and the account of the infernal chiefs, compared to the Folger text, have been redacted, *e.g.* omitting to mention that Beelzebub is wont to kill a magician who summons him without using the proper invocation and suffumigation, or that Satan will pester the invocant to pray for him to be restored to his former throne and place.

[283] As written at this point in the MS., the name trails off after the 'y,' but it is given consistently as *Egyn* elsewhere in this section.

[284] Written "Amamon" in MS. at this point, but given consistently as *Amaymon* elsewhere in this section.

[285] These are the Messengers of *Amaymon*; none are named for *Egyn*.

[286] In this instance, probably the same as *Bael* in the *Ars Goëtia* (*Baall* in V.b. 26 p. 81), who appears as a subject of the King of the East.

under him 250 Legions, whoso acteth by this Royall spirit **Oriens**, must direct his Countenance & actions toward the East, and at the first Constraine the spirit **Temel**, who is messenger of the East as followeth —— first invocating for the aid and Assistance of **Oriens** Rex, &c.: of which Invocation an Example hereafter followeth in the practice of Hochma.

O thou spirit who art called **Temel**, messenger of the East, I adjure, call upon, bind, command and Constrain thee, by the power, dignity & authority of your Great and Royall Prince **Oriens**, the Supream Head of your Hierarchy, I adjure, Command, constraine & in the name, & by the supremancy of your Orders, I powerfully & Earnestly Urge thee, o thou spirit **Temel** messenger of the East, to appear & shew thy selfe Visible, affable, and in all mildness & serenity here before us, & in no wise turbulent, hurtfull or terrible unto us, or any other Creature whatsoever, upon the Earth, butt come ye peacably, Quietly & in all plainness & humility, to give me truth & faithfull Answers and Resolves, readily and willingly, of my demands & desires, courteously fulfilling my Request in all things, according to you Orders & office, without delay, fraud, illusion or other deceitfull Crafts or impeditions whatsoever, that may in any wise hinder, oppose or obstruct my Expectations in the least, move therefore &c.

This Conjuration being Repeated nine times, and if he appeareth not, then proceed to the Conjuration following, & Rehearse It severall times; and herein Act with Care & order, by returning again, to that above, & then again to this below, according to discretion:

[118v] O you spirit, **Belfarto** or **Belferith**, who art the messenger of the King of the East, I Exorcize, adjure, bind, Command and Constraine thee, in and through the name of our almighty, and Heavenly God, Creator of heaven & Earth, & of his onely begotten Son Jesus Christ, born of the Vigin mary, the Redeemer of the World, & our onely Mediator & advocate, with the Father, of all power mercy & goodness, in whose name, all the Quire of Cœlestiall Angells Rejoyce, before whom they Incessantly Sing, **O mappa laman Hallelujah**, and at whose name all knees, upon Earth doe bow, and all the Ayeriall Terrestiall and Infernall Host of spirits doe fear & tremble, wherefore I doe again adjure, bind, command & Constraine you, O you spirit **Belfarto**, or **Belferith**, and I also potently and powerfully urge & Enforce you, in the name, and by the dignity and Authority of your prince **Oriens**, and the head of your Hierarchy & orders, that now presently, and without tarrying or delay, that you Enforce the same spirit, which is Called **Temel**, to appear Visibly, affably and peaceably here before me, and no ways Turbulent, hurtfull or terrible to me, or any other Creature, and that he may faithfully, humbly, obediently, readily and willingly doe my Commandement and fullfill my desires in all things, according to his office, wherein he may or can without any let, hinderance,

tarrying, delay, illusion, fraud, or any other Cra[[fty]] deceits or devices whatsoever, that may oppose, obstruct or deceive me, in my present & future Expectations; all which I Constraine and Command thee O thou Spirit **Belfarto**, or **Belferit**, in & through the mighty & binding name **Tetragrammaton**, **Jehovah**, &c.[287]

Amaymon is a King of the South. He is great & mighty, and appeareth in the Similitude of an old man, with a great Beard, His hair like to hors hair, & hath a bright Crown on his head, and Rideth on a firse Lion, usually roring at the first appearance, and shaking a Rod in his hand, his ministering spirits going before him, with all manner of musicall Instruments, and with him Cometh other three Kings, who are **Emlon**, **Ocarbidaton**, and **Maditon**, being messengers to the King of the South, he cometh with a Great Company [119r] and very obscurely &c: He giveth a true Answer to all demands, & maketh a man wonderfull Cunning and Expert, in all Learning, Philosophy, & Ars Notoria, he giveth the best acquaintance with nobility, & Confirmeth the doings thereof, as Dignity, promotion, &c: he may be detained one hour &c: and butt no Longer &c.: And when you goe to act by this spirit Amaymon, direct your Selfe & Countenance to the South, first Invocating & Constraining the spirit **Emlon**, after the same manner as is before Explained, in the Constraint of the spirituall messengers of the East, under **Oriens**, (*viz*) **Temel** and **Belfirto**, using the same Invocations, only altering the spirits names, and then Adjuring the other Spirits, **Ocarbidaton** and **Maditon**, as before.

Paymon is King of the west, he appeareth att first somewhat terrible, & speaketh with a Hoarse Voyce, butt being Constrained by a Divine Power, he then taketh the form of a Soaldier, and when he Cometh to the presence of the Invocant, is oft times apt to Cavill & make variance, He Rideth upon a dromedary, or a Camell, which is Crowned with a bright Crown, & hath the Countenance of a woman, & before goeth a Band of ministering Spirits, with all Kind of musickall Instruments, And when he appeareth, Let the Invocant Cast a paper to him, wherein is Inscribed, that he shall speake plainly & distinctly, so that the master may understand what he saith, And with him Cometh five other principall or Regall spirits, who are **Belforth** the messenger to the King of the West and **Beliall** a King, And **Bawson** a King, and **Rombalence** or, **Ramblane** and **Alphasis**, they may appear from the 3rd hour to the 12th &c.: It is also here to be observed, that the spirit **Alphasis**, is first to be Called upon, and Constrained by Invocation, as is to be understood before in the first, **Temel**, and then afterwards the Regall spirits **Belial**, **Bawson**, **Rombalence**, or **Ramblane**, according to the Example of spirit **Belfarto**, before recited.

[287] I have inserted a paragraph break here: the MS. runs into the description of Amaymon without one.

Egyn is King of the north, he appeareth in the Likeness of a man, his face very fair and Clear, his nostrils very sharp like a Sword.[288]

* * * * * * * * *

[119v] The practice that M[aster][289] Hochmah, &c.——made use of, by these above named four Kings, **Orience, Paymon, Egyn** and **Amaymon**, is as followeth.

First, the four Kings, and their Partickular Precidentiall Councellors, were distinctly Called upon, from there Severall & Respective Orders or mansions, to send such a spirit as was nominated, &c., to Effect & fullfill all such proposals, as should be demanded, all which is thus:

O thou great & potent spirit **Oriens**, King of the East, & bearing Rule & Command In the East Region of the Ajjer, I adjure, call upon & Constrain, and most powerfully and Earnestly Urge you, by & in, and through the Vertue power & might of these Efficatious & binding names, Tetragrammaton, Iehovah, Adonay, Agla, El, Sabaoth, Elohim, Even the Allmighty, Immense Incomprehensible & Everliving God, the omnipotent Creator of heaven & Earth, & in & through the names of our Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ, messias, Sother, Emannuel, the onely Begotten Son of god the father, born of the Virgin mary, the High King & Lord of all the world, whose name all the Cœlestiall Angels honour & obey, and before whom all the holy Company and Quier of heaven, Incesantly Sing, **O mappa laman, Hallelujah** and at whose Divine & inestimable name, all Knees on Earth do homage and bow, and all the Aijeriall terrestiall and Infernall spirits doe fear & tremble, And now by all aforesaid I doe now again powerfully adjure, call upon,

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[288] This entry is drastically truncated for no clear reason: there is a rule under this short paragraph in the MS. indicating there is nothing lost in this copy; there may have been a page missing in the scribe's source text, of course. The entry for *Egyn* in V.b. 26 (p. 74) runs:

> **Egyn R[ex]** is of the North, & appeareth in the liknes of a Man, & his face is very cleere, his nostrills are verie sharpe like a sworde, & out of his mouth commeth flames of fire, & he rideth upon a dragon & he is crowned with a crowne of pretious stones, & in his cheeks he beareth **2** tuskes, & he beareth one his right side **2** hissinge serpents shininge & he cometh with a great noise & clamore before him goe sundry kindes of musicall Instruments & sweet orgaines, & he teacheth perfectly all physsicke & singinge, & the arte **Notaria** & the arte of **Nigromancye** & the arte **Memoratvia**, & he speaketh of & in divers partes of the world, & of thinges to come paste & present, & of certayne secrete & hidd things, & of the beinge & compartinge of this world, & what the Earth is, & whether the water maye sustaine the earth, or the earth the water, & he telleth what a bottomless pitt is, commonly called Abissus, & where it is, & what the winde is, & from whence it cometh, & he giveth very good acquaintance & dignities, prelateshipes & and confirmeth the same, & maketh consecration of bookes, and other thinges, and giveth true aunswers of all questions & demaunds, & thou must looke to the North when thou callest him, & soe soone as he appeareth, shew him **Sigillum Salomonis**, & his Ringe, & forthwith he will fall downe, to the earth, & will worship the Master & the master shall take & thanke him therefore, & he hath **12000 Legions**, & causeth a man to winne at all manner of games, & **Rodabell, vel Radabelbes**, be the messengers of the Kinge of the North.

In the conjuration immediately following, a "*Lambricon* vel *Lambracaron*" is called on to compel *Robadell*.

[289] Represented by a scribal abbreviation. "Master Hochmah" (from Heb., חכמה, 'wisdom') was probably meant as the name or alias of a magician who devised or taught the process following.

constrain & more Earnestly urge you O you great & mighty spirit **Oriens**, King of the East Quandra[[nt]] of the Aiier, in and though the most Effectuall glorious Sacred & puissant name of him who saith & it is done, that now Imediately without farther tarrying or delay you doe send or Cause to be sent forth without one the spirit **Marage**, or any other from your orders, and to appear visibly, plainly, peaceably, affably in all Serenity and humility here apparently to my Sight and view, and positively effectually, faithfully and fully to serve me and to Resolve me in Such Queries, & Interrogatories, as I shall ask [120r] Requier & demand of him, & to fullfill my Requests, and doe my Commandement in all things, according to his office, wherein he may or can as I shall desire of him, and that without any delayance, Guile, deceit or other illusions whatsoever, that may In any wise hinder, oppose, obstruct or destroy our Expectations. And I doe againe Earnestly Importune, adjure, Urge and Constrain you powerfull & Regall spirit **Oriens**, to send forthwith immediately, and now at this present unto me, and to appear plainely Visible before me, the spirit **Marage**, or some other from your orders or mansions, in all mildness, peace & friendliness, with[[out]] any hurt, disturbance, or any other Evill whatsoever, Either to me, or this place, wherein I am, or any other place, Person or Creature whatsoever, but that Quietly Curteously & obediently to serve me & fullfill my desires, & do my Commandement in all things where in he may &c:—All which I Earnestly Urge & Constraine thee, O thou Royall and potent spirit **Oriens**: to doe for me in N. P. F. SS.[290]

Lett this Constraint be altered (?) three times, then proceed to the following Exorcism, and say that seven or nine times, then Goe again to that above, which order observe one, two or, three hours, or as Ocation, shall Require &c.:——

O thou spirit **Marage**, I adjure, call upon, bind Constrain, and Command thee by the Authority & Dignity of thy prince & head of thy Hierarchy, unto whom thou owest honour & obedience, & by the truest and most Especiall names of your master, Commanding the Order and mansion wherein you Inhabite & Reside, I doe adjure, Command, constraine & Earnestly urge thee, o thou spirit **Marage**, to appear, and shew thyself visibly and affably in all serenity & meekness here before me, in a fair & decent forme, and in no wise turbulent, hurtfull or terrible unto me, or the place wherein I am, or to any other place or Creature whatsoever, or wheresoever, But Come ye peaceably, & in all humility, & shew thy selfe plainly & visibly here before me, to my full vision & Eye sight, speaking plainly, & to be understood, giving one faithfull & true answers to all my demands, and readily doing my Commandement, and fulfilling my Requests, in all such matters & things whatsoever, According to your office, wherein you may or Can, without any Illusion, or other fraudulent Delayances [120v] whatsoever that may tend to

[290] Probably an abbreviation for *in Nomine Patri, Filii & Spiritus Sancti.*

the Circumvention of my present desires or at all in the Least distructive to my hopes and Expectations. Move therefore, prepare ye & Come away, Shew thy Selfe, and make no longe tarrying or delay, and do for me as for the servant of the Highest.

* * * * * * * * *

and if { Paymon / Egin / Amaymon } King of the { West / North / South } be invocated, bid him send { Mirage, or Baal / Mirage[291] / Marage }

* * * * * * * * *

Now by Changing the names of the spirits, and the Angle from whence they are Called upon, Respect being had to the other three, as is Exemplified in the Regall spirit **Oriens**, whose Invocation in this last Experiment of master Hochma, may serve also for those that are just next foregoing, and to be placed before the Invocation of the spirituall messenger **Temel**, and that or Paymon, to goe before the Constraint of **Alphasis**, and the Invocation of Amaymon, to preceed the Call of **Emelon**,[292] so that altering each name in Every severall and Respective Invocation, and observing the Ayeriall Angle, or Quarter, East, West, North & South, & so Invocating according to art, you can rarly Err or doe amiss &c.:[293]

* * * * * * * * *

There are other names, by which these four Regall spirits are Known, & have been Invocated, & been brought to familiarity & Verball Community by the L.C.E. of S.[294] as

{ Oriens— / Paymon— / Egyn— / Amaymon } King of the { East / West / North / South } aliter { Ories / Paynim / Egym / Mayrary } by the Hebrews they are Called { Samael / Azazel / Azael / Mahazel }

* * * * * * * * *

Finis

[291] Or possibly *Merage*; the second letter is ambiguous. S5 cites *Mirage* under *Egin*.

[292] As previously observed, the messenger of Egyn is not named in the present text.

[293] Another set of conjurations for the four Kings and some of their underlings, using the same set of names (or slight variants thereof) as the present text, appear in S1 fol. 158-165 & 178-187 (also in Bodleian Rawlinson MS. D 1363) as "Operations of the East Angle of the Ayre by Invocation made to the Regal Spirit *Orients*" (and similarly for the other three); for each quarter there is an invocation of the King to send various of his underlings (typically one or two of those listed as "messengers") a conjuration of the aforementioned Messengers to compel the appearance of the *other* Messengers, and finally a conjuration directed at the other Messenger alongside Marage / Mirage. While the conjurations are given at length for all four quarters, they generally have trivial variations only apart from the names cited and the compass point.

[294] Lord Cecil, Earl of Salisbury: See note to fol. 116r. The variant spellings of the names of the four Kings appear in the passage from the Spirit Action there quoted. The names "by the Hebrews" appear in Agrippa (*OOP* book III chap. 24), in turn deriving from Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabalistica*.

[121r] *Trithemius Redivivus*

[This is an incomplete and abridged English translation / paraphrase of the first book of the *Steganographia, hoc est Ars per Occultam Scripturam Animi Sui Voluntatem Absentibus aperiendi certa* of Johannes Trithemius, Abbot of Spanheim, written ca. 1499 but not printed until 1606, although it circulated in MS. over the sixteenth century. Lib. I runs to 32 chapters, 93 quarto pages in the 1606 printing. As previously remarked, the entire scheme of spirits and other elements of the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia* derive from Book I of the *Steganographia* (the scheme of spirits of the first part of the *Pauline Art* of the *Lemegeton* dervies from Book II): further, while this particular copy was not the source for the redactor of the *Lemegeton*, there is some evidence (relating to how the lists of "dukes" under each chief spirit are arranged) that the *Theurgia-Goëtia* used a more complete copy of this translation rather than the printed Latin *Steganographia*.

The *Steganographia*, on a surface reading, is a work on magic, describing how to summon various spirits, some said to be good, others evil, in order to transmit messages to distant friends without risk of discovery or interception. When it was first printed, however, it was bound up with a *Clavis Steganographiæ* which explained the actual significance of the first two of the three "books" into which the work is divided: the "conjurations," consisting generally of the name of a chief spirit followed by a string of seemingly senseless and barbarous words, are coded messages describing encryption systems for hiding your "secret message" in a seemingly innocuous letter (by, for example, applying a simple substitution cipher like a 3-place Cæsar shift to the text you want to hide, and then having the first letter of every other word in the letter spell out the message thus encoded); the simple characters associated with each chief spirit, which could pass as scribal flourishes, appended to the letter, indicate to the recipient (assumed to be conversant with the entire system) just which of the various systems was being used.

The third and shortest book of the *Steganographia*, only extant as an unfinished fragment (pp. 160-180 of the 1606 printed edition), was not explained in the *Clavis* and contained no obvious example messages, only extensive tables of numbers, so was for centuries widely believed to actually be a work on (astrologically based) magic.[295] In 1676 a German writer, Wolfgang Ernst Heidel, published (as part of a commented reprint of the full *Steganographia*) a purported solution explaining it as a cryptographic system,[296] but since this was itself printed in a cipher that none of his contemporaries could crack, he was generally assumed to be bluffing. It was not until the late 1990s that the third book was conclusively and publicly shown to itself contain a cipher system, by two independent studies in German[297] and English;[298] the former also solved Heidel's cipher and showed that he was not bluffing and had actually solved it back in the 1670s.

The *Steganographia*, minus the *Clavis*, embodies its own subject-matter; much of the content is part of the cover-text with no significance to the actual cryptographic system, but serves to make it look more like a work on magic, a genre with which Trithemius had a more than passing familiarity.

The MS. makes *heavy* use of scribal abbreviations, much more so than the rest of S4, and several were unfamiliar to me. I have restored / expanded from context where possible.]

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[295] See for example Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, pp. 87-8.

[296] *Johannes Trithemii* […] *Steganographia* […] *vindicate, reserata et illustrata*.

[297] Thomas Ernst, "Schwarzweiße Magie: Der Schlussel zum dritten Buch der Steganographia des Trithemius" (1996). See also the same author's "The Numerical-Astrological ciphers in the third book of Trithemius's *Steganographia*" (1998) which includes a summary of the earlier work and was published alongside Reeds' study.

[298] Jim Reeds, "Solved: the Ciphers in Book III of Trithemius *Steganographia*" (1998).

The First part, And the First Chapter.

The Key and operation whereof is held from the Principal Spirit Pamersiel, Anoyr, Madriel, by the ministry Ebra-Sothean, Abrulges, Itrasbiel, And Nadres, Ormenu, Itules, Rablion, Hamorphiel. Let a Commission be sent to those with the Exorcisme of them all.[299]

The first and Principall Spirit is **Pamersiel**, who ruleth in the East, & whose seal is thus [ ].[300] He hath 1000 Spirits under him who are Presidents of the day, who possesse a Large dominion, & hath power & authority to chase away the Spirits of darknessse of or the night. Under these are 10000 subjected spirits, who are presidents of the night, who are always Conversant in darkenesse & never come unto the sight, except by Command of there Princes unto whom they are continually subject and submissive. Under these again are many ministers & subservient having ample Authority, who issue forth in uncertain numbers att the Command of their princes (that is to say) as many of them for number as shall be called from the second or third Order, for producing the greatest effects; so many servants & keepers shall come with them to their great prince **Pamersiel**; There are againe under these, others, who serve as Messengers & porters, whose number is unknown, who being oftimes mixt with the other spirits come also with them &c.

The operation by this spirit **Pamersiel** and his presidents and subjects is somewhat difficult and a little dangerous for they are proud & rebellious & willingly obey no one, unless they be very expert in this Art, and if they be too much urgent they frequently offend the Operator with various elusions. There are also beside these many other ayeriall spirits, who are unfaythfull and refractory, unless they be very powerfully & strongly forced & constrained &c.

The Secrets which are comitted to these they oftimes unfaithfully declare to others for when they have been sent with letters they flew away to him whom they were sent to, and violently & disorderly rushing in filling the Ayre with boystrouse noyse by reason of their furious hastiness.

It is not necessary therefore to compel them or to require the ministry of the with much pains, labour, trouble, or Constraints because of their turbulency and infidelity, yet notwithstanding there are many of them that have been found very benevolent & on the Contrary do very readily & obediently offer themselves & doth faithfully fulfil the desires of the Operator.

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[299] The apparent magical words in the chapter title (saving *Hamorphiel*) are a cipher-text describing how to decode messages in the "Pamersiel" cipher: a variant appears in the body of the chapter as the "conjuration" beginning *Lamarton Anoyr*.

[300] The spirit characters were apparently written in red ink in S4, which unfortunately also means they were barely-readable in the page images I was working from; in the present copy they are taken directly from page images of the 1606 printed *Steganographia*. It will be observed that they are a far cry from the elaborate sigils of the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia* for the same set of spirits.

Now although we have breifly & fully explaines the uxe of this treatise in the foregoing Isogoge[301] annexed and appertaining hereunto, yet wee shall give some example in this chapter of the manner and forme of proceeding.

[121v] When att any time there should be an occasion to send a message, or Communicate any buisness of secresy or any <*illegible*>[302] importance to a known freind that is far of or in some other Countrey att a great distance doe thus. Prepare some pure white paper, *In the name of the father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost &c.* And write therein whatsoever sincere, evident, & plain narration you please, & in what language you please in such method & forme as you need not fear or care who seeth it, heareth it, or knoweth of it, of what the subject thereof is, haveing regard to turne your face towards the East being the mansion, Quarter, or point of the Compass in which **Pamersiel** and his subservient reside, And when you have written what you thinke fitt, inseret or affix, the sigil, seal or character of **Pamersiel** in a red inscription att the bottom of the letter, but write nothing of your secret intentions in the letter, for that must be verbally communicated to the Spirit.

Having finished what you intend and orderly observed what you ought to be diligent of herein and being ready to dispatch away the message turn your face towards the East & with good Courage & Confidence say the following Conjuration:

Pamersyel *oshurmy delmuson Thafloyn peano charustrea melany, lyaminto colchan, paroys, madyn, moerlay, bulre + atloor don melcove peloin, ibutsyl meon mysbreath alini driaco person. Cirsolnay, lemon asosle mydar, icoriel pean thalmo, asophiel il notreon banyel ocrimos esteuor naelma besfona thulaomor fronian beldodrayn bon otalmesgo mero fas elnathyn bosramoth.*[303]

[301] If this was ever part of this copy, it got separated from it before being bound up with the other materials in Sloane 3824.

[302] Word looks like 'mããl' (possibly: the second letter is unclear): from context, possibly meant for "mutual."

[303] The "Pamersiel" cipher is the simplest of the lot: the first letter of each word in the cover text spells out the plaintext: as suggested by the preceding passages, it is not very secure. Like all the methods of the first book of the *Steganographia*, it also requires much time and creativity on the part of the sender to compose an innocuous-seeming cover text, particularly in a language where word-order matters more than it does in Latin. Trithemius' *Polygraphia* (written later, but printed in 1518) included a system, the "Ave Maria cipher," that made the process more mechanical, by presenting a "code book" with 384 "alphabets"—lists of words by which each letter of the Latin alphabet (and the German ß ligature) could be represented, with prepositions & conjunctions to be inserted where needed—the result would read like a string of generic pieties of a kind that it would not be unusual for a devout Christian of the time to prefix to a letter: many of the examples in the *Steganographia*, indeed, were of this form.

In the "conjurations" alternate words, and alternate letters in the remaining words, are to be ignored (the last word is also always to be ignored even if it would be signifying by the general sequence). So the "receiving" conjuration for Pamersiel, *Lamarton anoyr bulon madriel traschon ebrasothea panthenon nabrulges Camery itrasbier rubanthy nadres Calmosi ormenu lan, ytules demy rabion hamorphyn*, decodes to *nym di ersten bugstaben de omny uerbo*, "take the first letters of every word." The nature of this cipher means that certain copyist or typsetting errors (omitted or extra letters or word breaks) can makes nonsense of the message: several such mistakes had crept in by the time the *Steganographia* was printed and were perpetuated into *Trithemius Redivivus* and it has not been practical to fix them all in this copy. Hence only a few "conjurations" are deciphered in this edition.

Now after you have severall times rehearsed the forgoing conjuration (as occasion shall require) & the spirit should not yet appear, it is convenient that you cease & give over for that time least by too much Compulsion prejudice chance to ensure. But if they do appear & present themselves with any obedience unto you then Continue & persevere in the hitherto begun worke & deliver your letter to the messenger assigned for the purpose, but deliver the secret which you send to your friend by word of mouth to the spirit, and now will they immediately offer themselves with violence & clamouring voices &c. But let not that in the least trouble you.

They being now present before you are constrained to fulfil your requests: Then very earnestly urge and desire them faithfully to performe the charge you have committed to them & carefully to deliver the message you send by them to your friend, and to reveale the secret that you verbally send to him privately & to no person else, nor before any one that my probably att that time, be in Company with thim, but to him onely &c.

Then will they vanish & immediately flee away &c. and now if you please you may cease action or further practice for that instant time except you will attend for a returne which may be done if your freind have any Knowledge in this Art &c.

When your freind to whom you sent (who ought also to be skilfull in this Art) receaveth the letter and seeth the seal of **Pamersiel** affixed thereto, & knoweth it, let him turne his face towards the East and say the following Conjuration with a good confidence & resolution.

Lamarton anoyr bulon madriel traschon ebrasothea panthenon nabrulges Camery itrasbier rubanthy nadres Calmosi ormenu lan, ytules demy rabion hamorphyn.

[122r] When your entire and trusty freind (who ought also to be learned in this Arte as aforesaid) to whom you send, hath red this foregoing Conjuration towards the East &c., The spirit will immediately reveal the secret privately, as you sent to him, verbally; the which secret was not convenient for you to committ either to letter or messenger, otherwise than by this Art. And so shall your freind hereby fully understand your mind &c.

And if it should so happen that your friend by in any Company att the moment of time when the letter and message cometh to him by the spirit you sent, the spirit will be invisible to all in the place except himself, and will give the letter privately to him then let him take leave to depart the Company for a little time & in his repose let himobserve and performe what is above sayd. But if it should so happen that his ingagements in that moment cannot permit him opportunity or liberty to depart the place & company let him turn hiselfe to the East & with a low voice say the aforesayn Conjuration, and the

Spirit will immediately reveal the secret Message you sayd verbally to him in his ear privately & not one in the Company perceiving &c.

The Secrets of this Chapter may be sent to a chief steward or Bayliff or any such like king of things according as occasion in such cases shall require. The Offices of these spirits is Likewise to bewray[304] deceitfull Trustees &c.

Nota: It behoveth the Operator to be very prudently diligent & exquisite in the practise of this chapter by reason of the implacability thereof, for it is the most difficult in this Art.

Now understand that by the Exempliciation of this chapter as it is here sett down the succeeding method is facile enough even to the meanest Capacity without further Instruction.

Chapter II.

The next Spirit in Order is called **Padiel**, who governeth in that mansion, quarter or point of the Compasse that lyeth directly East & by South,[305] whose seal is thus [ ]. He have under him 10,000 Diurnal & 200,000 Nocturnall minister, and many other servients whose number is uncertain.

The Diurnall Presidentiall Spirits have authority over all operations that are made in the day and are very friendly, & doe readily, willingly, & joyfully obey the master, and if they are called att a fitt & convenient time do immediately come without delay, and the secret that you shall committ unto their charge they will faithfully deliver & reveale to your friends, & to no one else.

These do lead forth the Nocturnall spirits unto obscure places of darkness who all shun the daylight except one, who is the Messenger to the Presidentiall Spirits. They are all very Courteouse and benevolent & not att all offensive, hurtfull or prejudiciall to the master (unless he be maliciouse, incredulouse, unskilfull, and not att all dignifyed, and then perchance to such they may prove noxiouse).

It is not requisite to call them altogether att one time because few may suffice, & sometimes one spirit is enough to fulfil the requests of the Operator, whether [122v] it be by day or by night. And as in company they are freindly, flexible, obedient & peaceable; so when alone, they are frequently solitary; but when they come in multitudes, and are numerouse even as it were numberless then they are somewhat boystrouse, filling the Ayre with an unusuall & strenge kind of humming noyse &c.

[304] Obsolete word meaning "reveal," "disclose."

[305] *i.e.,* East-southeast. The Latin *Steganographia* attributes this spirit to *subsolanus*, a somewhat vague term for an easterly wind, but the accompanying figure indicates a direction midway between East and Southeast.

Now when any one is desireouse to operate by these spirits & to intimate by them the secrets of his mind to a trusty friend being absend and residing in some remote part, do thus:

Write upon the prepared paper what discourse you please, but note, insert not threein the proper secret that you intend to conceale to your friend, for that must be delivered verbally to the spirits as aforesaid, to prevent any discover thereof, that may accidentally happen by the Loss or carelessy throwing a letter or paper aside, or otherwise, as many times such a casualty happeneth to one's prejudice) & in what method you please, & in what language you please (it being a matter wholly indifferent & no sensible error)[306] observing the same method as in the precedent chapter is specyfyd &c. All which being done in due Order according as the Art requireth, turne your face towards the East & by south and say this following Conjuration:

Padiel *aporsy mesarpon omeuas peludyn malpreaxo. Condusen, vlearo thersephi bayl merphon, paroys gebuly ma ilthomyon ilthear tamerson acrimy lon peatha Casmy Chertie, medony reabdo, lasonti iaciel ma atri bulomeon abry pathulmon theoma pathormyn.*[307]

Which being rehearsed as oft as is requisite you shall see one or two of these spritis affably present themselves before you, ready & willing to obey you, unto whome you shall by word of mouth commit the secrett message you intend to conceale to your freind, as aforesaid, and not by letter; and that or those spirits will faithfully & undoubtedly performe what they are enjoyned to, and will fully reveal the secret, & make known your mind to your freind, according to your trust & affiance.

When your freind receiveth the letter openeth it, and seeth the seal of the greate Prince, **Padiel** thereto annexet, let him turne himselfe to the East & by the South point of the Compass, and say the following Conjuration:

Padiel *ariel vanerhon chio tharso phymarto merphon amprisco ledabarym, elsophroy meserpon ameorsy, paneryn atle pachumgel thearan vtrul vt solubito beslonty las gomadyn triamy mefarnothy.*

Which Conjuration being by your absent freind truly & orderly rehearsed the spirits sent will presently very courteously appear unto him & will withal perfectly reveal the secret without deceit or danger.

The office of **Padiel** & his subservient spirits is to declare & publish secret avisations for the Correction of malefactors for their imprisonement and punishment &c.

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[306] The ciphers of the *Stegangraphia* are easier to operate in Latin where the sense of a sentence does not depend on word order to the extent that English does.

[307] In the "Padiel" cipher the plaintext is formed from the first letter of the first, third, fifth, &c. words of the cover text.

[123r] As for example: A certain person is accused by his Prince to whom some criminall offence is imputed, touching the detriment of his highness (or any other such like matter) and the king desires to inflict some suitable punishment on this offender although he live at never so great a distance for him. Now because the King is not willing to wite to him whom he so suspects, and is minded to accuse, least (being so advised) he should either make his escape or unite the strength of his friends to him, and so make resistence; wherefore the Prince forthwith writeth a letter to his Deputy, in such a manner & forme, as he neither feareth nor careth either who seeth, readeth or heareth it but communicates his mind or message secretly by word of mouth (as aforesaid) to the spirits whom he sendeth to his sayd deputy, to whom when they come (which will be almost as soon as thought) they will faythfully declare the Prince's secret: wherefore it is very requisite that both Prince & Deputy should be well instructed in this Art, where the Prince hath remote dominions, & suspicious subjects.[308]

There is another Character & conjuration that belongeth to the spirit Padiel (which we thought good to insert, thou there be no great necessity &c.) which other seal is thus [ ] & Conjuration as followeth.

Padiel *melion, parme, camiel busayr, ilnoma, venoga, pamelochyn.*

Chapter III.

The third spirit in Order is named **Camuel**, who ruleth as a Prince in the South East mansion, whose is thus characteriz'd [ ]. He hath 10 Diurnall, & 10 nocturnall Presidents. The Diurnall spirits shunneth not the darkness nor the nocturnall spirits the light. And when necessity requireth the one assistenth the other in the Commission of the master. The nature of this spirituall Prince **Camuel** is very benevolent, and he is ready to emitt his substitutes to him, who shall practise in this Art after a due & regular forme. He hath but few ministers, but every of them is obedient, faythfull & good, & being called upon doe readily attend the Master: And when they visibly appear the one is manifest in a beautifull habitt of a mixt colour, & the other are accustomed to stand in a Lucid & splendent forme: yet they usually appear onely in their sensible effects & manifest not themselves but att the pleasure of the Invocant. And wee shall heare mention so many of the Presidentiall Subsitutes of **Camuel**, together with the number of their subservient as will suffice for purpose and practice.

Wee have in this table the names of some of the Diurnall & of some of the nocturnall Presidential substitutes of Camuel with the numbers of so many subservient as are properly attributed to each of them respectively. And where there is nothing sett over

[308] All the example letters (containing messages in the appropriate ciphers) are omitted in *Trithemius Redivivus*: translating them literally would have destroyed the hidden messages anyway.

against Tediel, Moriel & Tugaros, it signifies that those spirits have no attendance: All the rest have so many subservient spirits officiateing under the Presidents as the numbers specifye which are sett against their names in the Table &c.

Diurnal Presidents		*Nocturnal Presidents*	
Orpeniel —	10.	Assiniel —	100.
Camyael —	100.	Calym —	100.
Budiel —	10.	Dobiel —	100.
Elcar —	10.	Nodar —	10.
Citgara —	100.	Phaniel —	10.
Pariel —	10.	Maras —	100.
Cariel —	10.	Azymo —	10.
Neriel —	10.	Tediel —	00.
Daniel —	10.	Oriel —	00.
Omyel —	10.	Tugaras —	00.

When you would practise or operate any thing by the office or ministery of Camuel, and have the assistance of these spirits [123v] that appertain unto him; First observe & performe what is requisite in this art to be done (as is before taught) then direct your selfe and Invocations punctually South East being the residential mansion of Camuel, & his Spirituall Subservitors, & moderately say the following Conjuration:

Camuel *aperoys, melym meuomanial, casmoyn cralty busaco aeli lumar photirion theor besamys, aneal Cabelonyr thiamo vesonthy.*

And note, Let this Rule be carefully all along observed both in the foregoing & succeeding chapters and Conjurations in this Treatise that where the Presidentiall Spirits are nominated or inserted, be sure let the name of that spirit which is appointed to officiate, or be the messenger, be expressed or inserted next after the name of the spirit in the Conjuration.

When you have seriously and silently sayd the foregoing conjuration & made as often repetitions thereof as is necessary then will you see the spirites appere presenting themselves ready & willing to fulfil your desires. Then Commissionate the appointed Spirit & emitt him who will immediately hast away & faithfully performe what he is enjoyned to &c.

Now is a return or an answere of the message be expected to be brought back from the absent friend by the same spirit you sent to him & he should not make such expedition again as otherwise might be thought he would doe, yet let not that in any wise beget any doubt of dishearten you by reason of delay, but persevere & attend for there is no question to be made of their fidelity answerable to your trust reposed in them. And let all things be done silently without any noyse or passionate disturbances whatsoever.

When he to whom the Message is sent, receaveth the letter, openeth it, and therein seeth the Seal of **Camuel** and knoweth it, observing first what is requisite to be performed in this Art, let him direct his countenance to the South East point of the Compasse, & silently rehearse the following Conjuration:

Camuel *Busarcha, menaton enatiel, meran sayr abasremon, nacula pesarum nadru lasmon enoti chamabet usear lesponty abrulmy pen sayr thubarym, gonayr asmonfriacha rynon ontry hamerson buccurmy pedauellon.*

Which when he hath thus done the Spirit will immediately reveale the secret message unto him & will faithfully bring back any message fro him, if it be desired whereby you may as fully know your friends mind as he knows yours.

The Office of **Camuel** & his attending servitours in his Orbicular Mansion is to declare the comeing, intention, condition, wayse & journeys of messengers together with their Arrival & returne &c.[309]

Chapter IV.

The fourth Spirit in Order Successively is the great & potent Prince **Aseliel**, whose Seale is thus noted [ ] and who resideth in that mansion which is directly South & by East.[310] This poetent Prince **Aseliel** hath under him 10 Diurnal & 20 Nocturnal Presidents under whom are 30 principal Spirits, and under these again are as many subservient who are by order emitted to their offices when they are in due manner called by the Master Artist: And under whom again are likewise a greate number of subservient spirits who all Continually and gradually attended on the Prince of this Order.

Diurnal Presidents			*Nocturnal Presidents*	
Mariel —	20.		Asphiel —	20.
Charas —	20.		Curiel —	20.
Parniel —	20.		Chamos —	20.
Aratiel —	20.		Odiel —	20.
Cubiel —	20.		Melas —	20.
Aniel —	20.		Sariel —	20.
Asahel —	20.		Othiel —	20.
Arcan —	20.		Bufar —	20.

[124r] Now if you would either diurnally or nocturnally operate in this Art by the Prince of this mansion & the spirits that appertain to him it is needless to invocate any more then one or two, for it is sufficient enough for any one or two purposes according to the tenour & property of this Offices: Some of the principal whereof or as many as are requisite to know, wee shall here nominate together with the number of the servitors &c.

Wee have in this annexed table nominated 16 of the Principal Presidents that under under the powerfull Prince **Aseliel**, eight whereof governe in the day & eight in the nigh, & every of them hath 20 subjected familiars whom they emitt to their Offices whensoever it is required by and proficient in this Art. And know, that all these Spirituall Presidentiall Princes are very benevolent & Courteouse, and with all readiness & submission doe willingly performe their Allegiance to the Master att his instant request

[309] In the "Camuel" cipher, the initial letters of the second, fourth, sixth, &c. words of the cover text spell out the hidden message. I have not managed to completely decipher the "conjurations" which are probably corrupt.

[310] *i.e.*, South-Southeast (Lat. *Euroauster*).

and Command: but all their substituted familiars are not so, but are obtentimes somewhat obstinate refractory & implacable (and especially to such who are but weake sciolists & mean proficients in this Art. All which (as wee sayd before) are sufficient to doe what wee please for us; for which purpose there are enough here nominated. Now whosoever hath a mind to practise by the ministry & Office of this Spiritual & great Prince **Aseliel** & his substituted Presidents & servients must 1st observe & performe what this Art requireth, & turne his face directly to the South and by East point of the Compass, & with moderate earnestness & fervency invocate as followeth:

Aseliel *aproysy, melym, thulnear casmoyn, mauear burson, charny demorphaon, Theoma asmeryn diuiel, casponti vearly basamys, ernoti chaua lorson.*[311]

This being sayd the Spirits will appear in due Order ready & willing to obey ther Commissionnale which soever of them is appointed or that you shall make choice of to be the Messenger & so emitt him away to his duty according to his Office who will infallibly forthwith performe & fulfil his taske. When the absent freind receiveth the letter & seeth the seal of **Aseliel** thereunto annxed & knoweth it, let him first Observe & fulfil what in this Art is requires & then direct his Countenance to the South & by East, & with an humble & earnest intent read the following Conjuration:

Aseliel *murnea casmodym bularcha vadusyn aty belron diuiel arsephonti si panormys orleuo cadon Venoti basramyn.*[312]

This Contestation being rehearsed as often as is requisite & things of Course observed the spirituall messenger will visibly appear & reveale his secret message.

The Office of these spirits is to declare those things which belong to the love of women & whatsoever else appertaineth thereunto &c.

Chapter V.

The fifth mansion from the East is the South, whose great & potent Prince is the spirit **Barmiel**, whose seale is thus Charactered [ ]. He hath under his dominion 10 Principal Dukes with their subservient ruleing in the day, & 20 Ruleing in the night together with their Attendants.

[124v] Now wheres we see the nocturnall spirits more in number than the Diurnall, it is because the operation of this mansion is more frequently made in the night than in the day. And who so would make an experiment in this arte by this powerfull prince **Barmiel**, must call upon one of his princes (it matters not which) and he will

[311] *post unam vacantem due valent.*

[312] *una vacat, due soluunt.* Roughly, skip one, take two: in the *Aseliel* cipher the initials of the second, third, fifth, sixth (as so on) words in the cover text spell out the hidden message.

immediately come with 20 Attendants; (for the Princes of this mansion seldome come alone or with less number). And herein observe this Caution, entrust not any secret to the subservient Spirits of this Order, for they are sometimes haughty, pertinacious and perverse; but to the Prince, for he is Courteouse, benevolent & faythfull &c.

Wee shall nominate some of the best and choycest of them that are more ready & willing to obey upon occasion, being as many as wee Conceave either needfull or requisite &c.

Diurnal Presidents			*Nocturnal Presidents*	
Sochas —	20.		Barbis —	20.
Tigara —	20.		Marquus —	20.
Chansi —	20.		Caniel —	20.
Keriel —	20.		Acreba —	20.
Acterar —	20.		Marcaix —	00.
Barbil —	20.		Baabel —	00.
Carpiel —	20.		Gabir —	00.
Mansi —	20.		Astib —	00.

Here is presented in this table 8 Diurnall & 8 nocturnall Presidentiall ministering spirits appertaining to the great prince **Barmiel**, 16[313] whereof have 20 Subservients a piece attending them with whom also they are wont to appear: The other 4 have no servients but always come alone, and are very faythfull and dextrouse in their offices to doe all things that shall be enjoyned them. Whsoever therefore is in tended to prosecute any thing in this art by the ministry or assistance of **Barmiel** the cheife Prince ruleing & residing in the mansion of the South or any of his attending spirits ought first to observe and performe what is requisitie in this Art to be done, and then direct his intentions and Countenance to the South, say the following Contestation.

Barmiel, *buras melo charnotiel malapos veno masphian albryon, chasmia peluo morophon apluer charmya noty Mesron alraco caspiel hoalno chorbem ouear aserea cralnoty carephon elcsor bumely nesitan army tu faron.*

When the Spirits are seen to appear then communicate to the most trusty of them (as is fore specified) buy send a letter by which you please it matters not.

When the absent freind receaveth your letter, opens it and finds the seal of **Barmiel** thereunto affixed and knowing the same, let him first observe such directions as the Art requireth, then turne himselfe to the South and say this Contestation.

Barmiel *any casleon archoi bulesan eris, Casray molaer pessaro duys anale goerno mesrue greal cusere drelnoz, parle cufureti basriel afly maraphe neaslo, carnoserneo, damerosenotis any carpodyn.*

All which being duly observed & performed then immediately will the Spirit entrusted with the secret reveal all things faithfully unto him without either the least danger, or any notice to be taken by whomsoever should be accidentally present.

[313] *sic.*, .s.b. "12."

Chapter VI.

The 6th Mansion is in the South and by West,[314] the supreme prince possessing and governing is Gediel the great, whose seal is thus decyphered [ ]. He hath under his dominions 20 Diurnal, & 20 Nocturnall Captains, governing over many subservient Spirits.

[125r] Whosoever will practice in this Art by the ministry and assistance of this mighty Prince **Gediel**, and by his substituted Presidents, ought to invocate two of the Principall Subservient Dukes and their 20 Servants, without whom they avail not much. And as many of them as are needful to be known or called upon to their offices, either Diurnally or Nocturnally with the number of their Servients, followeth.

Diurnal		*Nocturnal*	
Coliel —	20.	Reciel —	20.
Naras—	20.	Sadiel —	20.
Sabas —	20.	Agra —	20.
Assabi—	20.	Anael —	20.
[[Sariel —	20.]]	Aroan —	20.
Ransiel —	20.	Cirecas—	20.
Mashel —	20.	Aglas —	20.
Bariel —	20.	Uriel —	20.

Here is nominated in this annexed table 8 Diurnall[315] & 8 Nocturnall Spirituall Presidents serving under **Gediel** the great Prince and governer in the South and by West Mansion, and with whom they always abide. Now altho this great Prince together with many of his subservitors are oftentimes dangerouse and violent offring themselves not only invisibly but with terror and clamouring voyces to the amazement of the Invocant: yet those which are here nominated are very benevolent courteouse & secure and need not either be feared or doubted for they are faythfull and obedient, and are willingly ready to fulfil and performe those Commands that shall be imposed upon them, therefore they may safely be entrusted with any <*illegible*>[316] Secrets coherent to their offices.

Whoso would seek the ayd and assistance of this spirituall Prince & Potentate **Gediel**, and such of his substitutes as inhabite in his mansion upon any emergent business to an absent freind of her afar of, and cannot tell how to send or entrust anyone with a letter to him then let this art be made use of by calling to they helpe and supply such of the benevolent spirits of this mansion as are forespecifyed. To do which first observing to perform what in art is requistite then direct the Countenance & course of affairs directly to the South and by West, and confidently say the following conjuration:

Gediel *asiel modebar mpiel, casmoyn, rochamurenu proys nasaron atido casmear vearsy, maludym velchain demosar otiel masdurym sodiuiel mesray seoramarlun, laueur pealo netus fabelron.*

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[314] *i.e.*, South-southwest (*Austro-africus*).

[315] Sariel was omitted in the MS., leaving only seven diurnal spirits; restored from printed *Steganographia*.

[316] 'maal' (?) again.

Which being done and things of course observes the 2 Princes nominated and called will be patient, obedient, ⟨obedient⟩ and affable and ready to fulfil whatsoever shall be requested according to the office and order of the Mansion and its Princes.

When the absent party receaveth the letter sent and seeth the seal of **Gediel** then & knoweth it, let him observe what is to be done, and what behoveth him in this art to doe, and then turne his countenance to the South by west and say this subsequent Contestation:

Gediel *aprois*[317] *camor ety moschoyn diuial palorsan, sermel, asparlon Crisphe Lamedon ediur cabosyn arsy thamerosyn.*

Which being orderly performed, the spirit sent will visibly appear to him and verbatim rehearse the secret message, not any one perceiving the present.

The office of **Gediel** and these spirits subordinate to him resideing in this 6th Mansion situate South by West is to declare all things that belongeth to the advisement of freinds, concerning any eminent & future dangers, & more especially to Princes for the dfence of their cities, castles, &c., and to publish all things that are profitable to freinds even against all enemies & adverseries whatsoever.

[125v] *Chapter VII.*

The 7th Mansion is situtated directly South-West, the supreme spirit regulating wherein is the great and puissant Prince **Assyriel**,[318] whose seale is thus decyphered [ ]. He hath under his dominion 20 Diurnal, & 20 Nocturnal Princes, who likewise have under them again many familiars, and subservient Attendants, all resideing in this Mansion.

Whosoever would require the ayd and assistance of the Prince of this South-West mansion Assyriel the great, or any of his substitutes, either by day or by night, this Rule ought to be observed, that if Diurnall spirits are to be invocated, then must 2 of the President Angells be called upon, because they are not accustomed to come alone nor unattended for they usually come attended with 20 subservitors waiteing on them. But if the Nocturnall Princes be invocated, then but one of those presidentiall spirits need to be called upon who comes attended onely with 10 servants. But for as many as are usefull, and fitt to be known, and how each one is accustomarily atteneded, is nominated and sett down in this annexed Table, being needless to insert any more, these being sufficient.

[317] *aproijs* originally written, corrected in margin.
[318] *Asiriel* in the printed *Steganographia*.

Diurnal			*Nocturnal*	
Astor —	20—20.		Amiel —	20—20.
Carga —	20—20.		Cusiel —	20—20.
Buniel —	20—20.		Maroth —	20—20.
Rabas —	20—20.		Omiel —	20—20.
Archisal —	20—00.		Budar —	10—00.
Adriel —	20—00.		Aspiel —	10—00.
Cusiel —	20—00.		Fassus —	10—00.
Malqueel —	20—00.		Hamas —	10—00.

Here is inserted in this subjoined Table 16 of the principal servitors with the number of their attendants officiateing under the great Spirituall Prince Assyriel all bearing rule in the south west mansion. They are all benevolent enough but yet notwithstanding sometimes proud and haughty too and have this Custome among them that when the Exorcist speaketh to them they send forth their servants and returne back themselves alone, for they may not hear the Commission: And when the Master ceaseth speaking to the Prince, then doe the servants seem to be present.

And with all this Rule is to be carefully observed that when one or two Ruleing Spirits of this Mansion serving under **Assyriel** are called upon by their names, the number of their servants ought also to be expressed, because they being proud, it wonderfully pleaseth and delighteth them, for that they are sayd to have authority over a multitude of Clyentiall[319] spirits.

And that they may the better be discerned when they are present they are most Commonly wont to appear in a saffron or a Copper coloured Habitt, but their familiars usually appear in white Vestures.

Whosoever would call upon or invocate of the spirits resideing in this mansion first observe, what in Art is requisite, as aforesayd, and then turning to the South-West let the following Conjuration be devoutly rehearsed:[320]

[**Asyriel** *aphorsy Lamodyn to Carmephyn drubal asutroy Sody baruchon, vsefer palormy thulncar asmeron chornemadusyn coleny busarethon duys marphelithubra nasaron veneer fabelronty*.

After some seriouse repetitions of this Conjuration they will immediately appear ready to receave Commands, and to performe what is to be required of them according to their Offices.

And it is here to be observed that no letter or secrett message is with safety to be committed or entrusted to any of the inferior subservient under the Princes of this hierarchy, but to a Prince, because the superior spirits are more faythfull.

[319] I'm not sure if this was an English word at the time; represents *clientelis* in the Latin.

[320] Due to scribal eye-skip, the latter part of this chapter is somewhat disarranged in S4: the scribe wrote the "receiving" (decoding) conjuration here, carried on to the end of the chapter, then noticed the omission and wrote the omitted text (here flagged by square brackets and restored to its proper place) in afterwards.

When the absent party to whom the letter or secret message is sent by the Spirits of this order, receaveth the sayd letter, openeth it and seeth the seal of Asyriel affixed thereunto, let him carefully observe and performe, what according to the prescript Rules in this Art is requisite, then keeping his Countenance turned to the South West lett him with Courage ⟦say⟧ the conjuration above written which beginneth thus, and so proceed to the end of this chapter: by reason of the mistake in the Conjuration.]

Asyriel *onear Camor Laueuiel gamer sothin ianoz alnay bulumer palorson, irgiel lamdeon, ludiel Caparosyn nany asparlon nadiel bulephor ianos pesonry tresloty Camon elyr, mearsu nosy thamerosyn.*

[126r] And anon the Spirituall Prince with his servants will visibly appear to him and faithfully by word of mouth will silently and gently deliver the secret message sent by thim to the Absent, tho he be never in so far a Countrey, or att never so great a distance even with such privacy that no other person (tho there should be more in place) shall either hear, see, understand or in the least discover, perceave or suspect any thing.

The offices of these spirits is to reveale & disclose secret matters & things of superlative, materiall and weighty Concernments &c.

Chapter VIII.

The eighth mansion is in that point of the Compass that is scituate directly west and by south,[321] where resideth and governeth the great Spirituall Prince Maseriel, with an infinite number of Princes, Dukes and Servants and whose seale is thus deciphered or noted [ ]. He hath out of the former company appointed thirty Diurnall and thirty nocturnall ministering Spirits &c. But for as many as are needfull to be known are inserted in the ensuing table which are sufficient, for any persons practise soever, that that a mind to be Curiouse in this Art, but beware that you duly & truly observe Every Rule which is prescribed herein according to Art &c.

[126v] In this annexed Table is nominated 12 Diurnal, & 12 Nocturnal presidentiall spirits ruling as Princes & ministering under Maseriel in the West and by South Mansion together with a certain number of their subservients, who are all very benevolent & faythfull in whatsoever is required of them according to their offices not returning till all things that was committed to their trust be fully & effectually performed to good Likeing &c.

[321] *i.e.*, West-Southwest (*favonius*).

Diurnal		*Nocturnal*	
Mahuc —	30.	Arach —	30.
Roviel —	30.	Maras —	30.
Fariel —	30.	Noquiel —	30.
Zeriel —	30.	Sarmiel —	30.
Athiel —	30.	Amoyr —	30.
Vessur	30.	Badiel —	30.
Azimel	30.	Baros —	30.
Chasor	30.	Eliel —	30.
Potiel	30.	Earas —	30.
Alsuel —	30.	Rabiel —	30.
Aliel —	30.	Atriel —	30.
Espoel —	30.	Salvar —	30.

They come quietly without any noyse or clamours, and either come alone, & sometimes with many, at other times again with few, & att some other times without any attendant, all att all even as they shall be desired neither terrifying nor affrightning the Invocant unless he be unskilfull in this Art presuming to undertake what he understands not &c.

Now who so hath att any times an emergent occasion to send to a freind who is far remote in some other Countrey & would have the assistance of **Maseriel** and his ministering subservient to officiate ⟨to officiate⟩ for him in carrying or communicating a secret message to his absent freind, let him be carefull in observing what the Art requires, & direct his Actions and Countenance to the west and by South, & rehearse the subsequent Conjuration:

Maseriel *bulan lamodyn charnoty carmephin jabrun caresathroyn asulroy bevesy cadumyn turiel busan Sevear: almos lycadufel ernoty panier lethar care pheory bulan thorty paron Venio Fabel ronthusy.*

Things of Course being thus duly performed the spirit that was called by name will forthwith visibly appear; Then Commisionate him and send him forth &c.

When the absent party receaveth the letter openeth it & seeth the Seal of **Maseriel** therein affixed, let him first observe and performe what in this Art is requisite to be done, and then turne his Countenance to the west & by South and silently with a devout Resolution rehearse the following Conjuration:

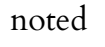
Maseriel *onear Camersin, Cohodor messary lyrno balnaon greal, lamedon odiel, pedarnoy nador ianozauy chamyrin.*

Which being done the spirit which was sent wil immediately appear to him and will also trustily by word of mouth very seriously & privately communicate the secret message as he was enjoyned, no body perceiving, tho any one should be in ⟨in⟩ place.

The Office of these Spirits is to declare and relate the Secrets of humane Arts as Philosophy magick, Arithmatick[322] &c. And all such wonderfull mysticall & occult learning, as is rarely known among the sons of men.

[322] *Necromantiae* in the Latin *Steganographia* (T1606 p. 25).

Chap. IX.

The 9th Mansion is in that point of the Compass that is Scituate directly West the Supreme Spirit governing wherein, is the great and Potent Prince [127r] **Malgaras** whose Seal is thus noted []. He hath under him 30 Diurnall & 30 Nocturnall ministering Spirits, serving as Dukes who present themselves upon call to the Invocant according to their Orders and Offices. And here are as many select Presidentiall Spirits or Dukes serving under **Malgaras** nominated in this subjoined Table as is sufficient, being altogether needless to insert any more.

Diurnal		*Nocturnal*	
Carmiel —	30.	Aroc —	30.
Meliel —	30.	Dobiel —	30.
Boras —	30.	Cubi —	30.
Agor —	30.	Libiel —	30.
Casiel —	30.	Raboc —	30.
Rabiel —	30.	Aspiel —	30.
Cabiel —	30.	Caron —	30.
Udiel —	30.	Zamor —	30.
Oriel —	30.	Amiel —	30.
Misiel —	20.	Aspor —	20.
Barfas —	20.	Deilas —	20.
Aroiz —	10.	Basiel —	10.

In this adjoyed Table is inscribed 12 of the Diurnall and 12 of the nocturnall Presidential Dukes and a certain number of their subservient officiating under Malgaras the supreme and mighty Prince in the Mansion of the West. And here it is too be understood, that **Aroiz** & **Basiel** do always come alone, and **Misiel**, **Barfas**, **Aspor**, **Deilas** may be called by two and two according as they are placed in the table, and the rest may be called by 3 and 3.[323] But consideration[324] and judgement is required in this point, that when one, two or 3 of the spirits of this Hierarchy are called upon, be carefull that there be no mistake, because the change of place is somewhat dangerouse. All these spirits are by nature very benevolent & courteouse and are att all times obedient to the calls of the Invocant and readily fulfill his requests; And especially the Diurnall Presidents because they are always accustomed to be conversant amoungst men; but the nocturnall Spirits are not willingly frequent amoungst men (altho they are by nature very benevolent too) but doe much fly from & detest the light desiring to be hid in darkeness (as being most delighting therein) and for that cause they are wont most frequently to appear (when they are called by Conjuration) like Bats or

[323] The red rules across the table reflect how each section was split up by columns in the printed *Steganographia*.

[324] Doubtful: word appears as 'ɔrā̃on', the initial character being an abbreviation for 'con' or 'com' (not used by any of the other scribes of S4); this passage is fairly freely paraphrased from the Latin, which has *cum volueris habere tres aut duos aut unum, cave ne erres in nominibus eorum*.

The names of the "Dukes" in any case appear to be part of the cover text and have no part in the cipher system, since the only thing indicating to the recipient of your message which cipher you are using is the character of the principal spirit. The numbers of "diurnal" and "nocturnal" servitors mentioned in the main text in some instances appear to have reference to the particular cipher system, *e.g.* the "10 diurnal and 20 nocturnal" presidents under Aseliel correspond to the cipher where one "filler" word in the cover text is followed by two signifying.

rear-mice &c. and are slow by nature, wherefore they doe not usually appear immediately: But by perseverance and a Continued reiterating or oft repeating the Conjuration they are at length even urged and Constrained to shew themselves visibly forth & so by degrees are brought to submission & obedience, notwithstanding the preceding difficulty.

Now when any thing is to be done by the ministry and assistance of the Spirituall Prince Malgaras, and these Spirits that officiate under him resideing in the mansion of the West; First, observe and perform what in art is required, and then have recourse to the precedent Table making choice of such spirits are are thought fitt to be imployed in the administration of affayrs according to their Orders and Offices as therein they are nominated and distinctly sett down, by takeing one, 2 or 3 att a call being carefull not to mistake or change your[325] places for then all is but labour in vain and to no purpose: But things of course being respectively observed and performed turne to the West, and say the following Conjuration.

Malgaras *ador chameso bulueriny mareso bodyr Cadumir aviel casmyo tedy pleoryn viordi eare viorba, chameron vesy thuriel ulnavy, bevesy meuo chasmironty naor ernyso, chony barmo calevodyn barso thurba sol.*

And then after a little pause these Spirits that are called by name according to the prescript Rules (or Requirements) in this Art will visibly appear, very courteous and affable [127v] then Comissionate them, and send them away &c.

When he to whom the letters are sent receaveth them and findeth the seal of the great Prince **Malgaras** therein affixed, let him first observe what in this Art is requisite, and having performed the same turne himselfe to the west & say the following Conjuration:

Malgaras *apro chameron asoty mesary throes Zameda sogreal paredon adre Caphoron onatyr tirno beosy. Chameron phorsy mellon tedrumarsy dumaso duise Casmiel elthurny peson alproys fabelronty Sturno panalmo nador.*

Then immediately will the Spirit that was sent visibly appear unto him and will faithfully with much privacy communicate the secret message he was entrusted with.

The office of these spirits is to declare the secrets & familiar trusts of one friend to another, and in those things that is common to men in all extemporary affairs, as money, goods paroned,[326] lent or trusted &c. And also in any other matter of humane Commerce or concernment.

[325] y^{r} in MS.; in context, possibly meant for "their."
[326] Doubtful word, probably an obsolete useage.

Chap. X.

The 10th Mansion is in that point of the Compass scituate directly West & by North,[327] wherein the mighty and powewrfull Prince Dorothiel beareth the Supreme and principal[328] Sway, whose Seal is thus characterised [ ]. He hath under his Dominion 40 Diurnal and 40 Nocturnal Presidents, with an innumerable company of subsurvients, out of whwich here are so many nominated in the following table as is sufficient for any purpose appertaining to the ministry & office of this Hierarchy, neither indeed is there any necessity to insert any more &c.:[329]

For ye 1st 6 hours of ye day		For the last of ye day		For ye 1st 6 hours of night		For the last of ye night	
Mugael	40	Gudiel	400	Nachiel	40	Phutiel	400
Choriel	40	Asphor	400	Osysiel[330]	40	Cayros	400
Artinc	40	Emuel	400	Bulis	40	Narsiel	400
Efiel	40	Souiel	400	Moniel	40	Moziel	400
Maniel	40	Cabron	400	Pasiel	40	Arosziel[331]	400
Suriel	40	Diviel	400	Gariel	40	Cusync	400
Carsiel	40	Abriel	400	Soriel	40	Uraniel	400
Fubiel	40	Danael	400	Darbori	40	Pelusar	400
Carba	40	Lomor	400	Paniel	40	Abael	400
Merach	40	Cesael	400	Curfas	40	Meroth	400
Althor	40	Busiel	400	Aliel	40	Cadriel	400
Omael	40	Larfos	400	Maziel	40	Lobiel	400

[128r] Here are out of every Order of the Princes of **Dorothiel**, 24 Diurnal & 24 Nocturnall Dukes together with the severall numbers of their subservient respectively, as they stand inscribed in the precedent Tables, the which are sufficient for all operations any way properly appertaining to their Offices. Now the way of practiseing in this by the spirits of this mansion differeth from the rest, as shall be hereunder briefly declared.

It is therefore to be understood, that there 24 hours in the day & in the night, and they are governed by the 7 planetts: The 12 hours of the day are from ☉ riseing to ☉ setting:

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[327] *i.e.*, west-northwest (Lat. *chorus*).

[328] Doubtful; represented by an abbreviation that looks like 'prc̃al.'

[329] The following angular figure in red appeared in the printed *Steganographia* in this place, with the names *Mugael*, *Choriel*, *Artinc* and *Efiel* (also indicated as to be written in red, and with the number 0 next to each) in a column to the left of it. In S4 it was copied again twice in black to the right of the main figure.

[330] *Ofisiel* in T1606 (apparently transcribed correctly in the main text).

[331] *Aroziel* in T1606.

And the 12 hours of the night are from Sun setting to Sun rising, as by the doctrine & books of Astronomy is more fully sett down, & amply to be understood, relation being thereunto had and observed, &c.[332]

Whosoever therefore att any time hath an occasion or is minded to make use of at any of the Presidentiall substitutes officiating under **Dorothiel**, first Consider & seriously view the fore-going Table, the use whereof is briefly thus: The first four spirits, as **Mugael**, **Choriel**, **Artinc**, **Efiel**, governeth in the first 2 hours of the day, this is, the 2 first Planetary hours, beginning att the ☉ riseing according to their equall or unequall proportions in length as the time or season of the year happeneth. The 2^{d} four spirits as **Maniel**, **Suriel**, **Carsiel** & **Fubiel**, governe in the 2^{d} two planetary hours, & so successively as they are placed in the Table, &c.

And so likewise again **Nachiel**, **Ofisiel**, **Bulis**, **Moniel** are to be called in the two first hours of the night, and so the rest following successively in their respected Orders as aforesayd, so that now the main observation herein is thus, that whosoever will call upon any of the Spirits in this Mansion serving under Dorothiel must have reguard to the time or hour of the day or the night, and whether it be in the 1st, 2^{d}, 3^{d}, 4th, fifth or 6th two hours thereof according to the planetary Regiments & Regulations, which being known, then may those 4 Spirits, which are appropriates thereunto be called upon, or any one particular of them, who are always present[333] in their order, time & government, but not otherwise, for it is Contrary to their natures &c.

The premises considered & observed, & things of course also rightly performed as in this Art is requisite and ought of right to be, then to the west & by north point of the Compasse then call upon one or more of the four Spirits which are present in their proper hours or times, saying the following Conjuration:

Dorothiel *cusi feor madylon busar pamersy chear ianothym baony Camersy vlymeor peathan adial cadumyr renear thubra Cohagier maslon Lodierno fabelrusyn.*

Then immediately will the Spirits, or Spirit called upon, appear willingly & readily obeying &c. unto whom any secret may be very securely Comitted, & then send them away.

When the absent party receaveth the letter, openeth it & seeth the Seal of **Dorothiel** therein affixed, let him first observe & performe what on his part of behalf in [128v] this

[332] This refers to the system of planetary "days and hours" whereby the first "hour" of each day (defined as one of 12 equal divisions of the time from sunrise to sunset, which will only be an actual hour at the Equinoxes) is referred to the planet to which the day is ascribed, and from thence cycling through the planets in the order of increasing apparent rate of motion seen from the Earth's surface (*i.e.* Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercury, Luna), with the period from sunset to sunrise similarly divided into 12. Possibly because of how the ascription of days to classical Planets originated, this will result in an unbroken sequence through the week.

[333] Doubtful: word represented by an unclear abbreviation, restored from context.

Art is required, and then turne his Countenance to the West and by North being the Mansion of this Hierarchy and with a Low voyce repeat the subsequent conjuration:

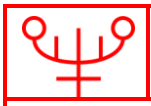
Dorothiel *onear chameron vlyfeor madusyn peony oriel nyr druse mouayr pamerson etro dumseon, dauor caho. Casmiel hayrno, fabelrunthon.*

Now if the spirit should not presently ⟦appear⟧ but delayeth his comeing or shew himselfe let him repeat the Conjuration, and in a short time he will certainly appear visibly to him and will faithfully by word of mouth deliver the secret message to him privately in his ear, no body else perceiving (though any should be in place).

The Office of these Spirits is to declare those Secrets that belong to Spirituall affairs And to Ecclesiasticall gifts, Benefices, Prelatures, Dignities and such Like &c.

Chap. XI

The 11th Mansion is in that point of the Compass scituate directly North-West, where ruleth the great Prince **Usiel**, whose Seale is thus noted [ ]. He hath under him in his dominion 40 Diurnal & 40 Nocturnall Princes, But the ensuing table specifies as many thereof as is necessary for use &c.[334]

				
Diurnal			*Nocturnal*	
Abaria —	40.		Ansoel —	40.
Ameta —	40.		Godiel —	40.
Arnen —	40.		Barfos —	40.
Herne —	40.		Burfa —	40.
Saefar —	40.		Saddiel —	40.
Poriel —	40.		Sobiel —	40.
Saefar —	40.		Ossidiel —	40.
Maqui —	40.		Adan —	40.
Amandiel —	30.		Asuriel —	20.
Barsu —	30.		Almoel —	20.
Garnacu —	30.		Phathir —	20.
Hissam —	30.		Marae	20.
Fabariel —	30.		Laspharon —	10.
Usiniel —	30.		Ethiel —	10.

Out of the 40 Diurnal and 40 Nocturnall Presidentiall Princes serving under **Usiel** here are 14 of each inserted in this adjoined table together with a certain number of their servients the use thereof shall be amply and breifly declared att the latter end of this chapter. The Princes of this Mansion are by nature Courteouse, benevolent and obedient & usually doe appear willingly ⟨willingly⟩ and immediately upon call, except the undertaker be unlearned and unskilfull in this Art, and then they appear more slowly and remisse; And although they have many servants, yet I never see that they brought any with them (at least wise visibly) yet notwithstanding their servants are to be made use of in this Art, because they being subattendant under

[334] The table has been rearranged from the printed *Steganographia* (T1606 p. 34-5). The characters above the "Diurnall" servitors originally appeared below the first set of 14 names (arranged in 4 columns by 4, 4, 3, 3) and the characters above the "Nocturnall" servitors were printed in the table, occupying the third row of the third and fourth columns respectively in the second division. In the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia* they were adapted as the seals of *Abari*, *Maqui*, *Ansoel* and *Adan*.

their Princes, and the Superior Spirits of this mansion are bound to obey both them and the Calls and requests of the Invocant according to their Offices &c.

At what time soever therefore any of the Princes or other the subservient spirits of this mansion ministering under Usiel are to be called upon, first observe & performe what in art is required, then to the N. West with a fixt intent say this Conjuration:

Usiel *parnothiel chameron briosy sthrubal brionear Caron sotronthi egypia odiel Chelory mear Chadusy notiel ornych turbelsi paneras thorthay pean adresmo boma arnotiel Chelmodyn drusarloy sodiuiel Carson, Eltrae myre notiel mesraym Venea dublearsy mauear melusyron chartulneas fabelmerusyn.*

[129r] Then immediately will the Spirit called upon forthwith appear unto whom a secret message may be committed together with the seale of the profound mystery, and then they may be comissionated and dispatched on their errand without doubting any thing.

When the absent party receaveth a letter, openeth it and seeth the seal of **Usiel** therein let him turne himselfe to the North-West, and seriously repeat the following Conjuration.

Usiel *asoyr paremon cruato madusyn savepy mavayr realdo chameron ilco paneras thurmo pean elsoty fabelrusyn iltras charson frymasto chelmodyn.*[335]

At which the Spirit sent will anon visibly appear unto him and will privately and trustily by word of mouth whisper the secret message sent by him, and bring another back.

The Office of the Spirits of this Hierarchy is to declare treasures hid in the earth and all such things as seem to conduce and belong to the discovery and findeing out of the same. And with all it is here to be understood that if the treasures should be great and belong to any Prince, then some spirit or other may be called out of the Order of four: And if it be our one then then one may be called out of the Order of three. And if it be private and of little value, then one may be called of the order of two, and if it be of very small account, then out of the order of one.[336]

The use thereof in this Art of Steganographia (besides their private Offices) is thus: suppose it be certainly known where some treasures lyeth hid in the earth or elswhere, and that I have no freind at hand whome I can entrust & confide in to helpe me to bear it away, but that the most faythfullest freind I have is far absent, and yet I have a desire to reveale the buisness to him, and to none else, desireing his ayd &assistance therein, and I

[335] This deciphers simply as *syc ut supradictum est ita fyat*, "let it be done thus as is said above."

[336] *i.e.*, those with "10" next to their name in the table. This passage was made obscure by the rearrangement of the table of the servitors of Usiel. As set out in the print edition (and in at least one of the extant 16th-century MSS.) the "day" servitors were arranged in two columns with four names, and two with three names; the "night" servitors similarly, but with the characters, already mentioned, splitting each column with two names above and one below. The Dukes arranged in groups of four all have "40" next to their name in the table, those in groups of three "30," those in groups of two "20" and those on their own "10."

cannot without danger or fear of discovery committ the matter either to letter or to any other Messenger, then what I must thereby of necessity make use of in this Art &c. And then by observing those rules therein prescribed, without dispute the effects will prove successful enough in all respect.

And note that those two seals or characters of each order sett one against another att the top of the precedent Table serveth to secure or keep the hidden Treasure from any that by an accidentall chance may have an Item thereof and so attempt to take it privately away, ere my own designs or intents can be accomplished.[337]

Chap. XII.

The 12th Mansion is Scituate directly North and by west,[338] where ruleth and resideth the great imperiall Prince **Cabariel**, whose seale is thus figured [ ]. He hath under his dominion 50 Diurnall and fifty Nocturnall Presidentiall Spirits, under whom again are many ministering subservient, some whereof are inserted in the following Table, which are sufficient for any one that would practice in the ministry of this imperiall prince **Cabariel** &c.

Diurnal		*Nocturnall*	
Satifiel —	50.	Mador —	50.
Parius —	50.	Peniel —	50.
Godiel —	50.	Cugiel —	50.
Taros —	50.	Thalbos —	50.
Asoriel —	50.	Orym —	50.
Etymel —	50.	Ladiel —	50.
Clyssan —	50.	Morias —	50.
Eliel —	50.	Pandor —	50.
Aniel —	50.	Casul —	50.
Cuphar —	50.	Dubiel —	50.

[129v] Out of the 50 Diurnall and 50 nocturnall Princes of Cabariel, resideing in this mansion and nominated in this annexed Table, here are 10 of each sett down together with a disting number of some of their severall subservient being as many as is needfull. It is also here to be understood that the Diurnall Spirits are far more benevolent then those of the night for the nocturnall spirits doappear more remissly, wherefore it is requisite to Compell & constrain them by often repeating the Conjuration being they are so aft to obscure and hide themselves. Whosoever therefore whould at any time converse with or make use of any of the presidential[339] or subservient Spirits of this mansion serving under Cabariel the supreme and imperiall Prince of this Hierachy must first oberseve and performe what in this Art is on his part required, and directing his Actions & contenance to the north & by west, then say the following conjuration.

[337] This final instruction was adapted into the entry for *Usiel* in the *Theurgia-Goëtia*: see "The Second Parte of the Art of King Solomon," *supra*.

[338] *i.e.*, north-northwest, Lat. *Circius*.

[339] Or possibly "principal": abbreviated 'prĩāl.'

Cabariel *onear chameron fruani, parnaton fofiel bryosi magreal fabelrontyn adiel thortay nofruan*[340] *pean afefiel chusy.*

Then if the experiment or Call be in the day the Spirit called upon will immediately appear and will offer themselves in all their Carriadge and deportment with all readiness & humility for (as was sayd before) the spiri of the day are very benevolent and mild of nature. But those of the night are not so for they are more haughty, stubborne, & refractory delaying their Comeing and appearing more slowly therefore they ought to be urged by often repetition of the Conjuration as aforesaid, of which they doe stand in awe, and submission.

Then when they are appeared having every thing in readiness to lay to their charge they may safely be entrusted and so dispatched on their errand.

When the absent person receaveth a letter, openeth it and findeth the seal or character of **Cabariel** thereunto affixed, let him performe what he knoweth to be requisite, and ought to be observed in this Art, and the direct his Actions & Countenance to the north and by west, & with a low voyce say this Conjuration following:

Cabariel *afiar paermon chiltan amedyn sayr pemadon chulty mouayr sauepor peatha mal frimaston dayr pean cothurno febelrusyn elsoty chelmodyn.*[341]

After due observation and performance hereof, according to Art the spirit sent will visibly forthwith appear unto him and will faithfully communicate the secret commited to his charge And will as faythfully bring back again any such message as shall be enjoyed & delivered to him with all trust and Secrecy.

The nature and Office of Cabariel and those Spirits resideing in this Mansion & Subservient in this Hierarchy is to forwarne people of dangers, especially freinds, to detect and discover treacheries and all kind of Clandestine designes, plots and such like contrivances as may probably tend to the utter ruine & destruction of some one freind undeservedly. *Ex. gr.* suppose I have a faythfull freind that is far absent whom I wish as well as my selfe, and I knowing that if he returne, snares are layd in his way in one platce or [130r] other by some powerfull rigid, adverse person. I being willing to acquaint my friend herewith but dare not commit my mind to Inck and paper fearing my letter should be intercepted or otherwise miscarry and thereby prove very dangerouse on all

[340] The last letter is unclear: T1606 has *nofruau*, but *nofruan* is probably correct as it would make the hidden text *na funff emgelden funffe* and in the "Caberiel" cipher, per the *Clavis Steganographiae*, the initials of words 6-10, 16-20, &c., spell out the hidden message: so, loosely, "skip five, take five." The reference to "50 diurnal and 50 nocturnal presidential spirits" is probably also an allusion to this.

[341] There appear to be some errors in this, perpetuated from the print edition: *colthurno* should be *colthurmo* at which point the last three words of the hidden message would become the familiar *ut supradyctum est*, but for those to be signifying letters at all (rather than 'lyaeomlarohroloy' which does not appear to contain intelligible Latin or German) would mean that there's one (or possible three) letters two few or many at the start.

hands, neither durst I trust any man therewith, fearing least he should reveal it or the like. Therefore that I may acquaint my friend herewith, and also that wee might both rest secure herein, I make use of this Art whereby all such intended mischeife is prevented and my friend mad sensible of the malignity of such dangerouse persons and their Evill practices thereby knowing how to Order his Affairs.

Chap. XIII.

The 13th Mansion is in that part or point of the Compass Scituate directly north, where resideth and ruleth the potent and imperiall Prince **Raysiel**, whose seale is thus charactered [ ]. He hath under his command 50 Diurnal, and 50 nocturnal Presidentiall Princes who have also under them again many subservitors whose certain number is unknown, but howsoever here are as many nominated in this subsequent Table as is sufficient for any magicall practitioner to know.

Diurnal D.			*Nocturnal D.*	
	☿			
Baciar —	50.		Thariel —	40.
Thoac —	50.		Paras —	40.
Sequiel —	50.		Arayl —	40.
Sadar —	50.		Culmar —	40.
Terach —	50.			
	♀			
Ashiel —	50.		Lazaba —	40.
Ramica —	50.		Aleasy —	40.
Dubarus —	50.		Sebach —	40.
Armena —	50.		Quibda —	40.
Albhadur —	50.			
	♃			
Chanael —	30.		Belsay —	20.
Fursiel —	30.		Morael —	20.
Betasiel —	30.			
	♄		Sarach —	20.
Melcha —	30.		Arepach —	20.
Tharas —	30.		Lamas —	10.
Uriel —	30.		Thurcal —	10.

Here is inserted in this adjoyned Table[342] the names of 16 Diurnall and 14 Nocturnall Dukes with the number of their Subservients attending on their Imperiall Prince **Raysiel**, in the Mansion of the North: And note that the Diurnall spirits are by nature very Courteouse and benevolent and come duefully when they are called and are readily submissive and obedient in all things &c. But those of the night are a little obstinate and stubborne nor doe they willingly come when they are called, neither are they easily brought to obedience [and more especially to such who are unskilfull in this Art] in reguard they do much abhor and destest the light. And when they doe appear they are many times full of illusive motions and gestures, and usually (as it were) laughing in the Invocants face &c. unless he so bind them & constrain them in his Conjurations that they durst not disobey him; For they much fear the conjuration to abideing to be so often Conjured as the Diurnall Spirits: And although they are so much in awe when they

[342] The table is once again rearranged from that in the printed edition (T1606 p. 40-41), where the names of the "day" and "night" Dukes were each out in four columns: for the first, by 5, 5, 3, 3, with a planetary symbol at the head of each column; for the second by 4, 4, 3, 3 with *Lamas* and *Thurcal* at the top of the third and fourth columns respectively. This rearrangement was perpetuated into the entry for *Raysiel* in the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia*, where Lamas and Thurcal appear at the end of the list of Dukes, suggesting that the compiler of the *Theurgia-Goëtia* used a complete copy of *Trithemius Redivivus* rather than the printed *Steganographia*.

are Constrained, yet for all that they unwillingly obey: but when once they are reduced to Obedience they are very faythfull & trusty in all things &c.

Whosoever therefore would att any time call upon the great Prince Raysiel and any of the subservient Dukes or spirits of this Hyerarchy in the mansion of the North in such matters or affairs as appertain to their offices, Let him first observe & performe those precepts, which in this art is required, & then towards the north say the subsequence Conjuration:

[130v blank]

[The S4 copy of *Trithemius Redivivus* ends abruptly here: there is no catch-word and nothing written on the verso of fol. 130.]

[131r] The Magick AND Magicall Elements OF The Seven days of the week, with their Appropriate hours, and the four Annual Seasons

[This is a somewhat free adaptation of the *Heptameron seu elementa magica* of pseudo-Abano.[343] It is possible, but by no means certain (based on considerations of style and recurring phrasing) that this work was redacted by the author(s) of the "Invocation of Angels" text-group and the material on fol. 3-15 of this collection.

It seems clear that the redactor of the following was working from multiple sources. The translation varies sufficiently from Turner's (even leaving aside rearrangements, expansions and paraphrases) to indicate independent translation from the Latin: on the other hand, there are some questionable readings that indicate the redactor at least consulted the 1655 Turner edition (unlike the texts on fol. 22-29 there is nothing to definitely indicate dependence on T1665).

While the text appears to be in two significantly different hands, one of which appears to be the same as that used for the bulk of the first division of S4 (*i.e.*, Elias Ashmole's), the materials in the latter hand are not confined to marginalia or intralineal corrections, but frequently intrude into the main written area of the pages, or actually form part of the main text body. In other words, they were written during the scribing of the main text; most likely Ashmole and someone else alternated copying portions of the work, or possibly Ashmole affected a different hand in some sections for an unknown reason.]

[343] First published under that title in 1559, bound up with the *De occulta philosophia seu de caeremoniis magicis liber quartus*, spuriously attributed to Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim; repeatedly reprinted and translated into European vernaculars (including, but likely not limited to, English, French, and German), it was probably the first ritual of western magic (as contrasted with theoretical works like Agrippa's *De occulta philsophia*) to actually be printed and hence exercised an immense influence on subsequent Western magical literature.

Following the researches of Peterson (*Elucidation of Necromancy*) and Véronese ("Pietro d'Abano magicien à la Renaissance: le cas de l'*Elucidarius magice*"), the *Heptameron* is now known to be an edited and rearranged version of a late-mediæval work with the same pseudoepigraphic author credit, variously known as the *Elucidarium Necromantiæ*, *Elucidarius Magice*, *Lucidarium in Arte Magica*, *Lucidarium artis nigromantice* (henceforth cited simply as *Lucidarium*) which was mentioned in a 1508 work of Trithemius and is extant in at least three MS. copies (although one of these, Vatican MS. Reg. Lat. 1115 fol. 97-112, has material in the same hand appended explicitly sourced to the Fourth Book and thus post-dates the 1559 printing).

The *Lucidarium* in turn is synthesised from multiple mediæval texts / traditions, including the *Clavicula Salomonis*, the *Liber Iuratus Honorii* and the *Liber Salomonis (Sepher Raziel)*. Versions of the planetary conjurations and the seals of the Angels of the planets appear in the 15th-century "Munich Manual of Demonic Magic" (Bayern Staatsbibliotek, MS. Clm 849), which (as already noted) also contains a version of the *Vinculum spirituum* which forms the basis for the "Exorcism of the Aërial Spirits."

Observations to be used on Sunday Die ☉.

Suffimigation for the Sunday, is Red Wheat or Red Sanders.[344]

The Spirits of the Sun, appear for the most part with a thick, full-set Body, mixed (as it were) like Crimson and Gold, whose motion is much like to the lightning of heaven. And are under the North Winde. The particular shapes and forms that these spirits do usually appeare in, are thus: A King riding upon a Lyon, holding a Scepter in his hand. A King Crowned. A Queen with Scepter in her hand. A Bird. A Lyon. A Cock. A Scepter. A Garment of a Gold colour, mixed (as it were) with a yellow & white.

The signe of their Appearance is to be discerned by their provoking of sweate in the Invocant.[345]

The nature of these Spirits is to procure Gold, Jewels, Carbuncles, Riches, Favour, goodwill, to dissolve all Disagreements, to give honours, to give Health or sickness.

The spirits[346] that rule the Aire on Sunday are **Barkam** or **Varcan** the King; his Servants Ministers or Assistants, are **Bibel**, [131v] **Malova**, **Bueseba**, or **Tus**, **Andas**, **Cynabal**.

The Angels of Sunday, are, **Michael**, **Bardiel** (or **Dardiel**), **Huratapel**.

The Angels of the fourth Heaven, ruling on Sunday, which may be called upon from the four parts, or points of the compass, to Officiate according to their Offices, are as followeth:

East:	*West:*	*North:*	*South:*
Samael.	**Anael**.	**Aiel**.	**Habudiel**.
Baciel	**Pabel.**	**Aniel**.	**Machasiel**.
Atel.	**Istael**.	**Masgabriel**.	**Charsiel**.
Fabriel *or* **Gabriel**.	**Buchat**.	**Sabriel** *or* **Sapiel**.	**Uriel**.
Vionatraba.	**Suceratos**.	**Malniel**, *or* <*illegible*>	**Naromiel**.
	Capabel.		

[344] T1655 mistranslated *Sandalum rubeum* as "Red Wheat"; it was corrected to "Red Sanders" in T1665. Generally, though, this text does not seem to depend on Turner; even leaving aside deliberate paraphrases and additions, the text has enough variation to make independent translation from the Latin credible.

[345] This paraphrase and the preceding are drawn from the section on the forms familiar to the spirits of the Sun in the *Fourth Book* of pseudo-Agrippa.

[346] The Latin *Heptameron* refers to the "Kings" of the seven days and their "Ministers" as *Angeli*; however, in the *Lucidarium* they are generally referred to as *spiritus*.

Names of the Angells governing the Spring Season, for the day & hour of Sol, ☉.[347]

[[Yayn]], Michael, Mishael, Dardiel,[348] Huratapel, Talvi, Caracasa, [[Core, Amatiel, Commissoros, Spugliguel, Amadai,]] Abraim,[349] [[Agusita]], Varcan[350] Rex, Tus, Andas, Cynabal.[351]

Names of the Angells governing the Summer Season, for the day & hour of Sol, ☉.

Yayn, Mishael, Michael, Dardiel, Huratpel, Casamaran, Gargatel, Tariel, [[Gaviel, Tubiel, Festatui, Athemay, Armatas]] Varcan Rex; Tus, Andas, Cynabal.

Names of the Angells governing the Atumnall Season, for the day & hour [132r] *of Sol*, ☉.

Yayn, Michael, Michael,[352] Dardiel, Huratapel, Ardarael, Taraquam, Guabrael, Torquaret, Tabianara, Abragini, Melasignais, Varcan Rex, Tus, Andas, Cynabal.

Names of the Angells governing the Winter Season, for the day & hour of Sol, ☉.

Yayn, Michael, Michael,[353] Dardiel, Huratapel, Ardarael, Parlas, Amabael, Ctarari, Altarib, Geremiah, Commutaff, Affaterim, Varcan Rex, Tus, Andas, Cynabal.

These Angells are to be called upon from the four Angles, East West South & North, for their benevolent Ayd, & Assistance: then towards the East say unto them:

O ye Benign Angels afforesaid, I earnestly Adjure, and Entreate you by the seat of Adonay, by Agios, Otheos, Iskyros, Athanatos, Paracletus, Alpha and Omega, and by these three secret names, Agla, On, Tetragrammaton, be ye furtherers of my petition, and assist me in my present Affaires, and full-fill what at this time I require.

[347] These lists appear to be worked out as follows: the name of the first "magical hour" of the day, the main Angel of the day, the three Angels of the day (the first of whom is the same as the previous), then the full list of names for the season from the first part of the *Heptameron* (name of the season, Angels of the season, "head of the sign," and the names of the Earth, Sun and Moon for the season); then the "King," the angel or spirit of the Air ruling the day, and lastly his ministers. Some names (flagged by double square brackets) were unreadable in the image I'm working from and have been restored by cross-referencing from the other lists in this text or in the printed *Heptameron*. The "magical hours" *Tanic*, *Thanu* and *Aglo* (to use the orthography in the present text) are also ascribed to the planet of their particular day.

These sets of names derive from the *Liber Iuratus Honorii* and *Liber Salomonis / Sepher Raziel*, both of which found their own way into English magical MS. traditions, and hence it is entirely credible that the redactor or a copyist of the present text had a MS. source in which they significantly varied from the printed *Heptameron*, which was the source for the variants.

[348] Note at side: "or Bardiel."

[349] Name written *sup. lin.* above a cancelled and unreadable word.

[350] Note at side: "or Barcan."

[351] Note at side: "or Bibel, Malolva, Bueseba."

[352] Name written *sup. lin.*, *sec. man.*

[353] Name written *sup. lin.*, *sec. man.*

The Invocation for Sunday.

I adjure and bind it by your Holy and powerfull Angels, by the Holy names of God, ✢ Adonay ✢ Eye ✢ Eye ✢ Eye ✢ who was, is, and is to come; ✢ Eye ✢ Abraye And in the name of ✢ Saday ✢ Cados ✢ Cados ✢ Cados ✢ who sitteth on high, above the Cherubims, and by the Omnipotent and and high God, Exalted above all the Heavens + Eye ✢ Saraye ✢ the first beginning, that created the world, the Heavens and the Earth, the sea, and all things that are in them, in the first day, and confirmed [132v] them by his holy names: And by the names of all the Angells that Govern in the fourth Sphear, and that serve before **Salamia**,[354] the great and honoured Angel, And by the name of the Star which is the Sun, and by the greate name of the Everliving God, Jehovah, By all afforesaid, I urgently invocate, and earnestly entreat Thee; O thou great and glorious Angel **Michael**, who art made Governour of this day and by the name Adonay, the God of Israel, to Endeavour for me, and to be friendly unto me, and doe for me; as for the Servant of ⟦the⟧ Highest &c.[355]

Here make known your Petitions, and for what Cause this Invocation is made.

[354] Note at side of text: "Some have called this Angels name different from this heere of Abano, vizt. *Salaman*."

[355] In addition to some slight paraphrases and deliberate changes, this has enough variation with Turner's translation (T1665) of the conjuration of Sunday to make independent translation plausible. The final clause, "be friendly unto me, and do for me as for [the] servant of the Highest," suggests certain recurring expressions in the "Invocation of Angels" texts, which in turn borrows phrasing from the English of Dee's *Claves Angelicæ*.

Observations on Monday ☽

The Suffumigation for Monday is Aloes.

The spirits of the Moon appear for the most part in a great, full and Soft body, of a Flegmatick colour, much like unto a dark Cloud, The Eyes Red, Smooth, and full of water, the head blad, with Teeth like Beares Teeth, there motion is like a Tempest at sea, or like as unto the roaring of Watters, And are under the West Winde: The particular shapes that the spirits of the Moon doe usually appear in, are, A King with a Bow and Arrowes, riding on a doe; A little Boy; A woman that is an Huntress, with a bow and Arrowes, A Cow a little doe. A Goose. A Creature heaving many Feet. [or many Feet][356] An Arrow. A green, or white Garment.

The signe of their Appearance, is, A showr of Raine nere the Circle, The nature of these Angels is to give silver To move Things out of one place into another. To give swift horses And to tell the present and past Secrets of persons.

The Spirits that ruleth the Ayr on Monday, are **Arcan**[357] Rex, his servants, ministers, or Assistants, are **Bylet**, **Misabu**, **Abuzha**.[358]

The Angels of Munday, are **Gabriel**, **Michael**, **Samael**.

[132r] The Angels of the first Heaven, ruling on Monday, which may be called upon from the 4 Angles,

East:	*West:*	*North:*	*South:*
Gabril.	**Sachiel**.	**Mael**.	**Curaniel**.
Gabrael.	**Zaniel**.	**Vuael**.	**Dabriel**.
Madiel.	**Habaniel**.	**Valnu**.	**Darquiel**.
Deamiel.	**Bachanael**.	**Balael**.	**Hanum**.[359]
Ianael.	**Corabiel**.	**Balaw**.	**Anayl**.[360]
		Humastraw.	**Vetuel**.

Names of the Angels, Governing the Spring Season, for the day & Hour of Luna ☽

Yayn, **Gabriel**, **Gabriel**, **Michael**, **Samael**, **Talui**, **Caracasa**, **Core**, **Amatiel**, **Comissoros**, **Spugliguel**, **Amaidai**, **Abraim**, **Agusita**, **Arcan Rex**, **Bilet**, **Missabu**, **Abuzaha**.[361]

[356] The duplicated words are in square brackets and inline in the MS.
[357] Note at side: "Or *Harkam*."
[358] Note at side: "Or, *Bylether*, *Byleth*, *Myka*, *Acuteba*."
[359] Note at side: "or *Harnim*."
[360] Note at side: "or *Anael*."
[361] A note at the side of this list gives the variants of the last four names, already mentioned.

Names of the Angels, Governing the Summer Season, for the day & Hour of Luna ☽

Yayn, **Gabriel**, **Gabriel**, **Michael**, **Samael**, **Casmaran**, **Gargatel**, **Tariel**, **Gaviel**, **Tubiel**, **Festatai**, **Athemai**, **Armatus**, **Arcan Rex**, **Bilet**, **Missabu**, **Abuzaha**.

Names of the Angels, Governing the Atumnall Season, for the day & Hour of Luna ☽

Yayn, **Gabriel**, **Gabriel**, **Michael**, **Samael**, **Ardarael**, **Tarquam**, **Guabrael**, **Tarquarets**, **Raabianara**, **Abragini**, **Matasignais**,[362] **Arcan Rex**, **Bylet**, **Missabu**, **Abuzaha**.

Names of the Angels, Governing the Winter Season, for the day & Hour of Luna ☽

Yayn, **Gabriel**, **Gabriel**, **Michael**, **Samael**, **Farlas**, **Amabael**, **Cterari**, **Altarib**, **Geremiah**, **Commutaff**, **Affeterim**, **Arcan Rex**, **Bylet**, **Missabu**, **Abuzaha**.

These Angels are to be called upon from the four Angles in the severall seasons of the year, by the Invocant, according as it is specified in the following Introduction to the use of this Treatise. And then afterwards towards the East, saying as followeth.

O you benevolent Angels aforesaid, I earnestly Adjure and intreat you, by the Seat of Adonai, by Agios, Otheos, Iskyros, Athanatos, Paracletos, Alpha, & Omega, & by these three secret names, Agla, on, Tetragrammaton, to assist me in my present affaires, & by furtherers of my petition, and fullfill what at this time I desire.

The Invocation for Monday.

I Conjure and bind it by your power, O ye mighty & good Angels in the names of ✢ Adonay ✢ Adonay ✢ Adonay ✢ Eye ✢ Eye ✢ Eye ✢ Cados ✢ Cados ✢ Cados ✢ Achim ✢ Achim ✢ Achim ✢ Ia ✢ Ia ✢ the ✢ strong ✢ Iah ✢ Who appeareth in mount Sinai with the Glorification of King Adonay ✢ Saday ✢ Zebaoth ✢ Athanay ✢ Ia ✢ Ia ✢ Ia ✢ Marinata Abin ✢ Ieja ✢ who Created the seas, Lakes, & waters in the second day, who placeth some above the heavens, some in the Earth, who placed the sea on high by his name, and gave it bounds which it should not pass, and by the names of the Angels that rule in the lowest sphear, that serv **Orphaniel** that great Honoured and excellent Angel, and by the name of the star which is the **Moon**, By all afforesaid, I Humbly imploe, and most earnestly entreat thee, O thou Glorious & Cœlestiall Angell of the Lord God, **Gabriel**, who art constituted & appointed to be the Governour of this day, to endeavour for me, and to be friendly unto me, &c.[363]

[362] The names for Winter were originally written in error but have been cancelled, and these names written in *sup. lin.*

[363] *i.e.*, continue with the concluding phrasing of the conjuration of Sunday, then state your cause or business, and for what reason you're making the conjuration.

[134r] *Observations on Tusday* ♂

Suffumigation for Tuesday is Pepper.

The Spirits of Mars Appeare in a tall Body, & for a long time with a Cholerick and ugly Visage, of a Swarthy, brown reddish coulered Countenance, with Hearts horns and Griphons Feet: They will roare and bellow like madd Bulls. Their motion is like burning Fire. They are subject to the East Winde.

The particular forms that the Spirit of Mars appear in, are, Armed King riding upon a wolf, A man Armed, A woman holding a Buckler upon her thigh, a Hee-Goate, a Horse, A Hart with many heads.[364] A Cheeslip.[365] A red Wolen Garment.[366]

The signe of their appearance is Thunder and lightning, & a Fire before the Circle.

The nature of these Spirits is to make wars, to cause mortalitys, Slaughter and Combustions, and by these meanes, at certain times to deliver over Souldiers to Sickeness, Health, or Death.

The Spirits that rule the Aijr on Tuesday, are **Samax**[367] Rex, with his Assistance, or Minsters, **Carmax**, **Ismoli**, [[**Paffran**.]][368]

The Angels on Tusday, are:

East:	*West:*	*North:*	*South:*
Friagne.	**Lama**.	**Rahumel**.	**Sacriel**.
Guael.	**Astramy**.	**Hyniel**.	**Ianiel**.
Damael.	**Lobquin** [369]	**Rayel**.	**Galdel**.
Calzas.	**Soncas**.	**Seraphiel**.	**Osiel**.
Arragon.	**Iaxel**.	**Mathiel**.	**Vianuel**.
	Isael.	**Fraciel**.	**Zaliel**.
	Iriel.		

[364] In the copy of the Fourth Book in the "Beringos Fratres" editions of Agrippa's *Opera*, *corvus* (crow) in the list of forms familiar to the spirits of Mars was misprinted *cervus* (stag). This was here further put together with *multiceps*, late Latin for "many-headed" (now the scientific name for various tapeworm species), which in pseudo-Agrippa's list was a distinct point, coming at the end of the list.

[365] Obsolete English word for the common woodlouse; a questionable rendering by Turner of *multiceps*.

[366] In the Latin "*Rubra vestis*" (red garments) and "*Lana*" (wool) were distinct points.

[367] Note at side: "or *Ianimay*."

[368] Note at side: "or *Carmab*, *Harmael*, *Palframe*."

[369] Apparently *Lobquim* in S4, with a barely-legible variant name next to it, possibly *Lobquoni*.

[134v] *Names of the Angels, Governing the Spring Season, for the day & Hour of Mars* ♂

Yayn, **Samael**, **Samael**, **Satael**, **Amabiel**, **Talui**, **Caracasa**, **Core**, **Amatiel**, **Comissoros**, **Spugliguel**, **Amaidai**, ⟦**Abraim**,⟧ **Agusita**, **Samax Rex**, **Carex**, **Ismolie**, **Paffran**.[370]

Names of the Angels, Governing the Summer Season, for the day & Hour of Mars ♂

Yayn, **Samael**, **Samael**, **Satael**, **Amabiel**, **Casmaran**, **Gargatel**, **Tariel**, **Gaviel**, **Tubiel**, **Festatai**, **Athemai**, **Armatus**, **Samax Rex**, **Carex**, **Ismolie**, **Paffran**.

Names of the Angels, Governing the Atumnal Season, for the day & Hour of Mars ♂

Yayn, **Samael**, **Samael**, **Satael**, **Amabiel**, **Ardarael**, **Tarquam**, **Guabrael**, **Tarquarets**, **Raabianara**, **Abragini**, **Matasignais**, **Samax Rex**, **Carex**, **Ismolie**, **Paffran**.

Names of the Angels, Governing the Winter Season, for the day & Hour of Mars ♂

Yayn, **Samael**, **Samael**, **Satael**, **Amabiel**, **Farlas**, **Amabael**, **Cterari**, **Altarib**, **Geremiah**, **Commutaff**, **Affeterim**, **Samax Rex**, **Carex**, **Ismolie**, **Paffran**.

Then proceed as followeth in Monday &c.

The Invocation for Tusday.

I Conjure and bind it by you, O ye Mighty and Holy Angels, by the names ✢ Ya ✢ Ya ✢ Ya ✢ He ✢ He ✢ He ✢ Va ✢ Hy ✢ Hy ✢ Hy ✢ Ha ✢ Ha ✢ Va ✢ Va ✢ Va ✢ An ✢ An ✢ Aie ✢ Aie ✢ Aije ✢ and ✢ Ay ✢ Elibra ✢ Elohim ✢ Elohim ✢ and in & through the name of the high God, who made the watter appear dry Land, and called it Earth, and brought out of it trees and Herbs and Established it by his Pretious, Honoured & Holy name, And by the Angels that [135r] rule in the fift Sphear, that serve **Acimay**, the great, mighty, and Powerfull Angel, And by the Star whose name is called **Mars**. By all afforesaide, I humbly Implore, and most earnestly and urgently intreat & adjure you **Samael**, who art appointed from the beginning of time to be the Governour of this day and by the name ✢ Adonay ✢ the true and ever living God, that thou endeavour for me, and be friendly unto me &c.

[370] As before, a note at the side of this list gives the variants of the last four names, already mentioned.

Observations on Wednesday, ☿

Suffumigation for Wednesday is Mastick.

The Spirits of Mercury Appear for the most part in Bodyes of a middle Stature, Cold and moisut, fair and affable of Speech, In shape and forme like unto an Armed man, of a bright and Clear Colour. Their motion is like unto silver coloured Clouds. They are under the south-west winde.

The particular forms that the spirits of Mercury, doe usaly appear in, are, A King riding upon a Bear, A fair young man, A woman holding Heaven,[371] or a Distaffe; A dog, A Bear, A magpie, A wand, A Staffe, A Garment of sundery chanble[372] Colours.

The signe of there Appearance is, That they strike a Fear & horror into the invocant.

The nature of these Spirits, are to give all mettals, and all Earthy things to reveale things present past and to come; to Appease Judges to give victories in Battel, to repaire and teach all Lost Sciences and experiments, to Change Bodyes mixed of elements one into another, to bring Infirmities or Health, to help the poore; and cast down the High ones, to Open seales, to bind or loose spirits, to open Lockes or Bollts, These spirits are saide to doe the acctions of others and not of their [135v] own power but by cuning &c.

The Spirits that rule the Ayre on Wednesday, are **Mediat**, or **Modiat**[373] Rex; with his Assistents or Ministers, **Suquinos** & **Sallales**.[374]

The Angels of Wednesday are, **Raphael**, ⟦**Miel**, **Saraphiel**⟧

Angels of the second heaven, that may be Called upon from the four Angles on ☿ are:

East:	*West:*	*North:*	*South:*
Mathlai.	**Ierescue**.⋆[375]	**Thiel**.	**Milliel**.
Tarmiel.	**Mitatron**.	**Rael**.	**Melapa**.
Baraborat.	⋆ *Seale*	**Iariahel**.	**Babel**.
		Venahel.	**Laquel**, *or* **Caluel**.[376]
		Velel.	
		Abuiori.	
		Ucirnuel.	

[371] *Mulier colum tenens*; the double reading derives from confusing *colus –i* (a distaff) with *cœlum –i* (heaven).
[372] *i.e.*, "changeable" (the Latin has *Vestis versicolor*).
[373] This double reading appears in the printed *Heptameron*. A note at the side of the text adds "or *Sabba*."
[374] A note at the side of the text adds, "or *Hancy, Yron, Abiedio*."
[375] The "Seale" of *Ierescue* is in the margin in the MS.
[376] Originally three different angels, not one with two different names: *Caluël*,*Luël*, *Laquël* appear among the Southern angels of Wednesday in the Vadian *Lucidarium*; in the printed *Heptameron*, the second is *Vël* (*i.e. Uël*) which then got turned into "*vel*" and read as the Latin "or."

Names of the Angels, Governing the Spring Season, for the day & Hour of Mercury ☿

Yayn, **Raphael**, **Raphiel**, **Miel**, **Saraphiel**, **Talui**, **Caracasa**, **Core**, **Amatiel**, **Comissoros**, **Spugliguel**, **Amaidai**, **Abraim**, **Agusita**, **Mediat** *or* **Modiat Rex**, **Suquinos**, **Salleles**.[377]

Names of the Angels, Governing the Summer Season, for the day & Hour of Mercury ☿

Yayn, **Raphael**, **Raphiel**, **Miel**, **Saraphiel**, **Casmaran**, **Gargatel**, **Tariel**, **Gaviel**, **Tubiel**, **Festatai**, **Athemay**, **Armatus**, **Mediat** *or* **Modiat Rex**, **Suquinos**, **Salleles**.

Names of the Angels, Governing the Atumnal Season, for the day & Hour of Mercury ☿

Yayn, **Raphael**, **Raphiel**, **Miel**, **Saraphiel**, **Ardarael**, **Tarquam**, **Guabrael**, **Tarquarets**, **Raabianara**, **Abragini**, **Matasignais**, **Mediat** *or* **Modiat Rex**, **Suquinos**, **Salleles**.

[136r] *Names of the Angels, Governing the Winter Season, for the day & Hour of Mercury* ☿

Yayn, **Raphael**, **Raphiel**, **Miel**, **Saraphiel**, **Farlas**, **Amabael**, **Cterari**, **Altarib**, **Geremiah**, **Commutaff**, **Affeterim**, **Mediat** *or* **Modiat Rex**, **Suquinos**, **Salleles**.

The Invocation for Wednesday.

I Conjure and bind it by your Power, O ye mighty, Holy and Potent Angels in the name of the Great, High Immortal, and most fearfull ✢ Iah ✢ Adonay ✢ Elohim ✢ Saday ✢ Saday ✢ Saday ✢ Eie ✢ Eie ✢ Eie ✢ Asarie ✢ Asarie ✢ and in the name of ✢ Adonay ✢ the god of Israel, whwo Created the Great Lights to distinguish the day from the night, and by the names of all the Angels Serving in the second Sphear, before **Tetra**, the great, powerfull, and mighty Angel, and by the name of the star **Mercury**, By all aforesaid; I humbly implose, and most earnestly and urgently entreat and adjure you o thou great and benevolent Angel **Raphael**, who art from the beginning of time by the preordinate decree of ⟨of⟩ the Highest, constituted and appointed Governour of this day, and by the holy name which was written in the Brow of Aron, the Priest of the most high Creatour, and by the name of the seal,[378] of the Creatures having six feet,[379] &c., That thou endeavoure for me:

[377] As usual, a note at the side of this list gives the variants of the last three names, already mentioned.

[378] *sic*, s.b. "seat" (for *sedis*). T1665, while making that mistake twice in the "Exorcism of the Spirits of the Air" has the correct reading here,

[379] *sic*, s.b. "wings" (*alas*). Still not as bad as rendering *per nomen sedis Animalium, habentium senas alas* "by the name and place of Ammalium" (as happened in the 1783 reprint "with great improvements" of Turner's translations, further garbled into "name and place of Ammaluim" in Francis Barret's *The Magus*, and "corrected" to "name and place of Animalium" in Stephen Skinner's 2005 re-set).

Observations on Thursday, ♃

Suffumigation for Thursday is Saffron.

The Spirits of Jupiter Appear for the most part in Bodyes of a Sanguine & Cholderick Complexion, of a middle Stature, Strange in motion, but a milde Aspect or Countenance, familiar and gentle of speech, and of an Iron Coulour, their motion is like to flashings of lightning [136v] with Thunder. They are under the South winde.

The particular forms that the Spirits of Jupiter doe usually appear in are; A King riding upon a Hart with a Sword drawn. A man in a long Robe, wearing a miter. A maide with a Crowne of Bayes adorned with Flowers. A Bull, A Hart, A Peacock. A Box-Tree. A Blew Garments.

The signe of their Appearance, will be men about the Circle, who will seem to be devoured of Lyons.

The nature of these Spirits, is, to obtaine the Love of women, to raise mirth and Joyfullness, to pacifie Enemies, and appease Contentions, to heale the weake, and weaken the whole, to bring or carry away.

The spirits that rule the Ayr on Thursday, are **Suth Rex**, his Misters or Assistants, **Maguth**, **Gutrix**.[380]

The Angels of Thursday, are **Sachiel**, **Castiel**, **Asasiel**.

Now because there are no Angels found beyond the fift Sphear, therefore the Invocant shall say this following Oriation in the four Angles, &c.:—

O Almighty, most mercifull, and Immortal God of Host, Honoured and Worshipped through all Ages of the world, I humbly beseech thee, O Heavenly Father, that I may accomplish and fullfill this day that which I beg at thy mercyfull hands, even this my worke, and this my Labour, and that I may perfectly understand and effect it, O thou Omnipotent Creator of Heaven and Earth, who liveth and Reigneth World without end.[381]

Names of the Angels, Governing the Spring Season, for the day & Hour of Jupiter ♃

Yayn, **Sachiel**, **Sachiel**, **Castiel**, **Asasiel**, **Talui**, **Caracasa**, **Core**, **Amatiel**, **Comissoros**, **Spugliguel**, **Amaidai**, **Abraim**, **Agusita**, **Suth Rex**, **Maguth**, **Gutrix**.[382]

[380] *Gutriz* in the printed Latin *Heptameron*; *Gutrix* in Turner. A note at the side adds, "or *Genthren, Genthem*."

[381] The *Heptameron*, deriving probably from the *Liber Salomonis* (*Cephar Raziel*), lib. vi., has four shorter fragment of prayers to be said to the quarters in turn: this is combined and slightly paraphrased from them.

[382] As usual, a note at the side of this list gives the variants of the last names, already mentioned.

Names of the Angels, Governing the Summer Season, for the day & Hour of Jupiter ♃

Yayn, **Sachiel**, **Sachiel**, **Castiel**, **Asasiel**, **Casmaran**, **Gargatel**, **Tariel**, **Gaviel**, **Tubiel**, **Festatai**, **Athemay**, **Armatus**, **Suth Rex**, **Maguth**, **Gutrix**.

[137r] *Names of the Angels, Governing the Atumnal Season, for the day & Hour of Jupiter* ♃

Yayn, **Sachiel**, **Sachiel**, **Castiel**, **Asasiel**, **Ardarael**, **Tarquam**, **Guabrael**, **Tarquarets**, **Raabianara**, **Abragini**, **Matasignais**, **Suth Rex**, **Maguth**, **Gutrix**.

Names of the Angels, Governing the Winter Season, for the day & Hour of Jupiter ♃

Yayn, **Sachiel**, **Sachiel**, **Castiel**, **Asasiel**, **Farlas**, **Amabael**, **Cterari**, **Altarib**, **Geremiah**, **Commutaff**, **Affeterim**, **Suth Rex**, **Maguth**, **Gutrix**.

Then turning to the East, say the Oration following

O ye[383] Benevolent Angels aforesaid; I earnestly Entreat and adjure you, by the[384] seate of Adonay, by Agios, Otheos, Iskyros, Athanatos, Paracletos, Alpha and Omega, and by these three secrete names, Agla, On, Tetragrammaton, to assist me in my present affaires, and by furtherers of my Petition, and fulfill what at this time I require.

The Invocation for Thursday.

I Conjure and bind it by your Power, O you Holy Angels, by the names ✢ Cados ✢ Cados ✢ Cados ✢ Echerie[385] ✢ Echerie ✢ Echerie ✢ Halim ✢ Fortim ✢ Iah ✢ the Strong founder of Ages ✢ Cantime ✢ Iaimij ✢ Calbat ✢ Sabbir ✢ Berifai ✢ Alnaim ✢ and by the name ✢ Adonai ✢ who Created fishes, and Creeping things[386] in the watters, and Birds upon the Face of the Earth, flying towards the Heavens in the fift day, and by the holy great and Powerfull Prince of Angels, and by the Star which is called **Jupiter**, and by the name ✢ Adonay ✢ the high God, Creator of all things. By all afforesaide; I implore, and most earnestly and importunately entreat and adjure thee, O thou great Angel **Sachiel**, who art by the preordinate decree of the Highest, appointed to be governour of this day, that thou Endeavour for me, and be friendly unto me; &c.

[383] "mighty" was originally written here, but is heavily cancelled.
[384] "following" was originally written after "the" but is heavily cancelled.
[385] *Eschereie* in all printed *Heptameron* versions including T1655, T1665.
[386] "upon the earth" written after "things" but heavily cancelled.

Observations on Friday, ♀

Suffumigation for Friday is Costus or Pepperwort.

The Spirits of Venus, appear for the most part in Bodyes of a middle Stature, a Lovely and pleasant Countenance; of white or greenish Coulour, gilded over on the upper part, their motion is (as it wear) a Clear Star, And are under the West Winde.

The particular forms that the spirits of Venus doe usually appear in, are, a [137v] King on a Camell, having a Scepter in his hand. A faire maid wreathed, and beautifully dressed. A maiden naked. A Goat. A Camell, A dove: Flower of the Herb Savine. A white or green Garment.

The Signe of their Appearance will be maidens playing about the Circle, which will provoke and Stir up the Invocant.

The nature of these spirits is, To give Silver, To make men apt and prone to Lechery,[387] to appease Enemyes by Luxury. To make Marages. To stir up men to the Love of women. To cause; or take away Infirmityes. And to doe all things that have motion.[388]

The Angels that rule the Ayr on Friday, are, **Sarabotes**[389] Rex; his Ministers, or assistants, **Amabiel**, **Aba**, **Abalidoth**, **Flaef**.[390]

The Angels of Friday, are; **Anael**, **Rachiel**, **Sachiel**.

Angels of the third Heaven, ruling on Friday, which are to ⟦be⟧ called upon from the four Angles, are:

East:	*West:*	*North:*	*South:*
Serchiel.	**Tariel**.	**Peniel**.	**Porna**.
Chedusitaniel.	**Coniel**.	**Penael**.	**Sachiel**.
Chorat.	**Rabiel**.	**Penat**.	**Chermiel**.
Tamael.	**Kadiel**.[391]	**Raphael**.	**Sameal**, *or* **Sanael**.
Tenaciel.	**Maltiel**.	**Raniel**, *or* **Ramael**.	**Santaniel**.
	Huphatiel.	**Doremiel**.	**Famiel**.

[387] "Lewdry" originally written, corrected *sup. lin.*
[388] *omnia quæ habent motum, facere.*
[389] Note at side: "Or *Sarabortres*."
[390] Note at side: "Or *Nasar*, *Manasa*."
[391] *Kadie* in the printed Latin and English *Heptameron.*

Names of the Angels, Governing the Spring Season, for the day & Hour of Venus ♀

Yayn, **Anael**, **Anael**, **Rachiel**, **Sachiel**, **Talui**, **Caracasa**, **Core**, **Amatiel**, **Comissoros**, **Spugliguel**, **Amaidai**, **Abraim**, **Agusita**, **Sarabotes Rex**, **Amabiel**, **Aba**, **Abalidoth**, **Flaef**.[392]

Names of the Angels, Governing the Summer Season, for the day & Hour of Venus ♀

Yayn, **Anael**, **Anael**, **Rachiel**, **Sachiel**, **Casmaran**, **Gargatel**, **Tariel**, **Gaviel**, **Tubiel**, **Festatai**, **Athemay**, **Armatus**, **Sarabotes Rex**, **Amabiel**, **Aba**, **Abalidoth**, **Flaef**.

Names of the Angels, Governing the Atumnall Season, for the day & Hour of Venus ♀

Yayn, **Anael**, **Anael**, **Rachiel**, **Sachiel**, **Ardarael**, **Tarquam**, **Guabrael**, **Tarquarets**, **Raabianara**, **Abragini**, **Matasignais**, **Sarabotes Rex**, **Amabiel**, **Aba**, **Abalidoth**, **Flaef**.

[138r] *Names of the Angels, Governing the Winter Season, for the day & Hour of Venus* ♀

Yayn, **Anael**, **Anael**, **Rachiel**, **Sachiel**, **Farlas**, **Amabael**, **Cterari**, **Altarib**, **Geremiah**, **Commutaff**, **Affeterim**, **Sarabotes Rex**, **Amabiel**, **Aba**, **Abalidoth**, **Flaef**.

The Invocation for Friday.

I Conjure and bind it by you O ye mighty and Powerfull angels Cœlestiall, in the names ☩ On ☩ Hay ☩ El ☩ Ia ☩ Ie ☩ Adonay ☩ Sadai ☩ and in the name of ☩ Saday ☩ who Created the four-footed Beasts and Creatures, creeping things and man in the Sixt day & gave power to **Adam** over all Creatures (wherefore blessed by the name of the Creator in his place;) and in the names of the Angels serving in the third sphear, before **Dagael**, the great, mighty & powerfull Angel of the Highest, and by the name of the Star which is called **Venus**. By all afforesaid, I humbly implore, and most earnestly & urgently & urgently entreat and adjure you, O ye benign Angel **Anael**, who art by the primitive decress of God, appointed to be Governour of this day, That thou endeavour for me; and be friendly unto me; &c.

[392] As usual, a note at the side of this list gives the variants of the last names, already mentioned.

Observations on Saturday, ♄

Suffumigation for Saturday is Sulphur.

The Spirits of Saturn appear for the most part in Bodyes of a tall thin, lean slender corporature, of an angry Countenance; They have four faces, one, before, and another behind in the head, and one upon each knee; all of them Beaked or nosed like an Eagle; they are of a Shining black Colour, Their motion is as the moving of the Winde; or much like to an Earth-quake. They are under the Sout-west Winde.

The particular forms that the Spirits of Saturn, doe usually appear in, are; A King with a Beard, riding on a Dragon. An Old man with a long Beard, having a Sickle in his right hand, and a Scepter of Juniper in his left hand. An old woman leaning upon a stick. A Juniper-Tree: A Crow,[393] black Garments.

The signe of their Appearance will be; white Earth, whiter than any Chalk.

The propertyes of these Spirits, is to sow Discords and Hatred, to plant evill [138v] thoughts in the mindes of men, to give Lead at their pleasure; to kill and slay people; to lame or hurt any joint or member of the Body.

The Angels that rule the Ayr on Saturday are; **Maimon Rex**; his Assistant; **Abumalith**,[394] **Assaibi**, **Balidet**.

The Angels of Saterday are; **Cassiel**,[395] **Machatan**, **Uriel**.

Now because there are no Angels found beyond the fift Sphear, to rule the Ayr (as is Specified before in the observations of Thursday) therefore the Invocant shall say this Oration following in the four Angles, &c.

O Almighty, Immortall, Incomprehensible, most mercyfull, Bountifull and heavenly God of Host, which art without Beginning or Ending, Honoured and feared through all Ages, I humbly beseech thee; O Lord that I may accomplish and fullfill this day, that which I beg at thy mercifull Hands, even this my worke; and this my Labour, and that I may perfectly understand and effect it; through Thee, O Thou Omnipotent Creator of Heaven and Earth, who liveth and Reigneth World without End.

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[393] Nothing in the Latin reasonably gives "Crow"; as mentioned, *Corvus* was originally listed under the forms of the spirits of Mars, though later misprinted. The Latin has *Rex barbatus, draconem equitans; Senex barbatus; Mulier vetula, baculo innixa; Porcus; Draco; Bubo; Vestis nigra; Falx; Iuniperus*.

[394] Note at side: "or *Albeve, Malik*."

[395] Also appears as *Caphriel*, *Cafriel*, *Cafziel*, &c. Possibly at some point *ſr* or *ſz* got misread / mis-copied as *ß*, the German double "s" ligature, or *vice versa*.

Names of the Angels, Governing the Spring Season, for the day & Hour of Saturn ♄

Yayn, **Cassiel**, **Cassiel**, **Machatan**, **Uriel**, **Talui**, **Caracasa**, **Core**, **Amatiel**, **Comissoros**, **Spugliguel**, **Amaidai**, **Abraim**, **Agusita**, **Maimon Rex**, **Abumalith**, **Assaibi**, **Balidet**.[396]

Names of the Angels, Governing the Summer Season, for the day & Hour of Saturn ♄

Yayn, **Cassiel**, **Cassiel**, **Machatan**, **Uriel**, **Casmaran**, **Gargatel**, **Tariel**, **Gaviel**, **Tubiel**, **Festatai**, **Athemay**, **Armatus**, **Maimon Rex**, **Abumalith**, **Assaibi**, **Balidet**.

Names of the Angels, Governing the Atumnall Season, for the day & Hour of Saturn ♄

Yayn, **Cassiel**, **Cassiel**, **Machatan**, **Uriel**, **Ardarael**, **Tarquam**, **Guabrael**, **Tarquarets**, **Raabianara**, **Abragini**, **Matasignais**, **Maimon Rex**, **Abumalith**, **Assaibi**, **Balidet**.

Names of the Angels, Governing the Winter Season, for the day & Hour of Saturn ♄

Yayn, **Cassiel**, **Cassiel**, **Machatan**, **Uriel**, **Farlas**, **Amabael**, **Cterari**, **Altarib**, **Geremiah**, **Commutaff**, **Affeterim**, **Maimon Rex**, **Abumalith**, **Assaibi**, **Balidet**.

The Invocation for Saturday.

I Conjure and bind itt by your Powers, Cassiel, Machatori, and Serapaiel, or Seraquiel, you great and Powerfully Angels by the names of ✢ Adonay ✢ Adonai ✢ [139r] Adonai ✢ Eie ✢ Eie ✢ Eie ✢ Acim ✢ Acim ✢ Acim ✢ Cados ✢ Cados ✢ Cados ✢ Ima ✢ Ima ✢ Ima ✢ Saday ✢ Ja ✢ Ser ✢ The High God, the maker of time, who rested the Seventh day, and of his owne will gave to his Children of Israel, to be observed as their Birth-Right, that if they firmly kept and sanctified it, they should receive therefrom a great Reward in another world, And by the Angels that serve in the Seventh Sphear, before Boel, the great Angel, and powerfull Prince; and by the Star which is called Saturn; By all aforesaid, and the vertues thereof, I humbly implore, and most earnestly and importunately entreat and adjure you, O ye great and Potent Angel Caphriel, or, Caphiel, or Cassiel, who art preordinately decreed by the Omnipotent Creator of Heaven and Earth to be Governour of this day, That thou Endeavour for me, and by friendly unto me & to fullfill all my Petitions and Desires, &c. and doe for me as for the Servant of the Highest &c.

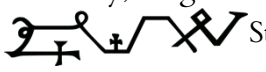
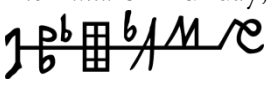
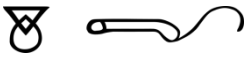
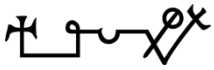
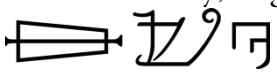
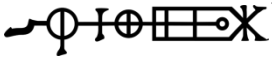
[396] As usual, a note at the side of this list gives the variants of the last names, already mentioned.

There follows a Table of the Planetary hours, being the same printed in A Treatise of Mathematicall Phisick by G.C. gent. 1599.

A Table of the Names of every Houre, & the Angells governing them, according to the Course of the daies & Nights Astronomicall &c:

Houres of the day		☉	☽	♂	☿	♃	♀	♄
Names of the Houres		*Sunday*	*Munday*	*Tuesday*	*Wednesday*	*Thursday*	*Friday*	*Saterday*
1	Yayn.	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel
2	Ianor.	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel
3	Nasnia.	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael
4	Salla.	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael
5	Sadedali.	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael
6	Thamur.	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael
7	Ourer.	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel
8	Tanic.	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel
9	Neron.	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel
10	Iayon.	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael
11	Abay.	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael
12	Natalon.	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael
				Houres of the Night				
1	Berol	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael
2	Baron	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel
3	Thanu	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel
4	Athir	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel
5	Mathun	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael
6	Rana	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael
7	Nefros	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael
8	Taffrac	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael
9	Sassur	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel
10	Aglo	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel
11	Calerna	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel
12	Salam	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael

[139v] *A Table of the diurnall Governments of the Angells, with their Seales & Characters usefull for the more ready making of the Circle, &c.*

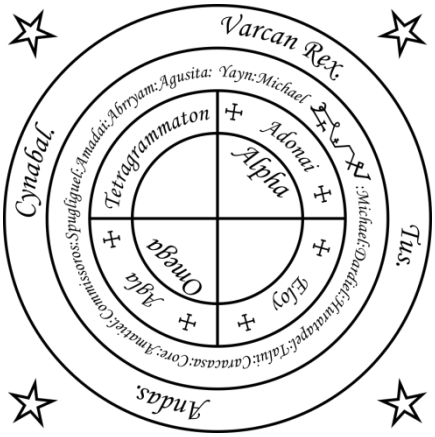
Die Solis or Sunday; Angel is **Michael**, Seale or Character  Star ☉, Signe ♌	*Die Jovis* or Thursday Angel is **Sachiel** Seale Star ♃ Signe ♐ ♓
Angels: Governing on Sunday are — Michael, Dardiel, Huratapel. Ruling the Ayre on Sunday are — Varcan Rex, Tus, Andas, Cynabal	Angels: Governing on Thursday are — Sachiel, Castiel, Asasiel. Ruling the Aire on Thursday are — Suth Rex, Maguth, Gutrix.
Die Luna or Munday; Angel is **Gabriel**, his seale  Star ☽ Signe ♋	*Die Veneris* or Friday, Angel is **Anael**, Seale  Star ♀ Signe ♉ ♎
Angels: Governing on Munday are — **Gabriel**, **Michael**, **Samael**. Ruling the Aire on Munday are — **Arcan Rex**, **Bylet**, **Myssabu**, **Abuzaha**	Angels: Governing on Friday are — **Anael**, **Rachiel**, **Sachiel**. Ruling the Aire on Friday are — **Sarabotes Rex**, **Amabiel**, **Aba**, **Abalidoth**, **Flaef**
Die Martis or Tuesday, Angel is **Samael**, Seale  Star ♂ Signe ♈ ♏	*Die Saturni* or Saterday, Angel is **Cassiel**, his Seale  Star ♄ Signe ♑ ♒
Angels: Governing on Tuesday are — **Samael**, **Satiel**, **Ambiel**. Ruling the Aire on Tuesday are — **Samax Rex**, **Carmax**, **Ismoli**, **Paffran**	Angels: Governing on Saterday are — **Cassiel**, **Machaton**, **Uriel**. Ruling the Aire on Saturday are — **Maymon Rex**, **Abumalith**, **Assaibi**, **Balidet**
Die Mercurii or Wednesday, Angel is **Raphael**, Seale  Star ☿ Signe ♊ ♍	Name of the First / Second / Third / Fourth / Fift / Sixt / Seaventh Heaven, is Shamaim, Raquie, Saguin, Machen, Machon, Zebul.[397]
Angels: Governing on Wednesday are — **Raphael**, **Miel**, **Saraphiel**. Ruling the Aire on Wednesday are — **Mediat** *or* **Modiat Rex**, **Suquinos**, **Sallales**.	

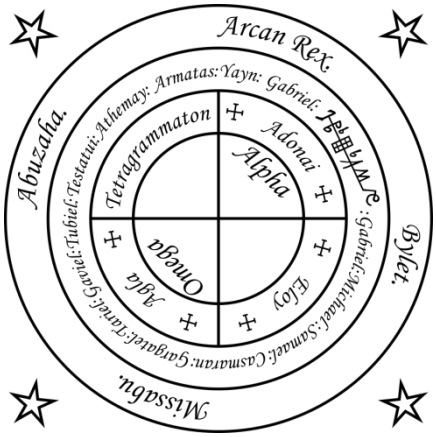
[397] The printed *Heptameron* did not give the name of the seventh Heaven. Other works of the period (*e.g.* the Liber Salomonis / Sepher Raziel version in BL Sloane 3846, and a table deriving from the *Heptameron* in Bodleian Rawlinson D. 253) have *Araboc* or *Araboth* (from Heb. ערבות).

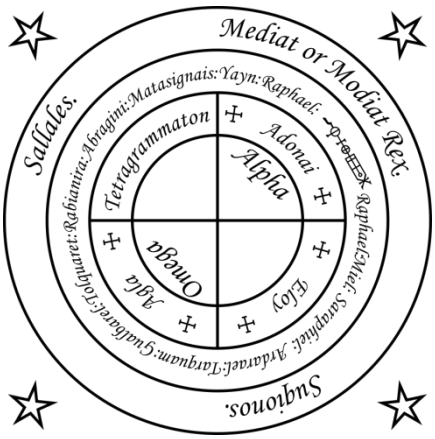
[140r] *A Table of Variations according to the four Quarters or seasons of the yeare &c.: serving also as the former for the more ready & easie making the Circle.*

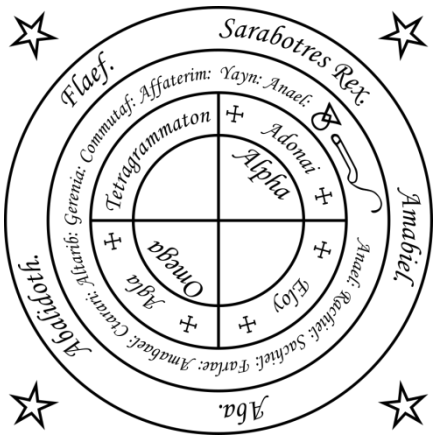
Spring.	*Summer.*
Name of the Spring ———— Talui	Name of the Summer ———— Casmaran
Angels of the Spring ———— Caracasa, Core, Amatiel, Comissoros	Angels of the Summer ———— Gargatel, Tariel, Gaviels
Head of the Signe in the Spring —— Spugliguel	Head of the Signe in the Summer — Tubiel
Name of the Earth in the Spring—— Amadai	Name of the Earth in the Summer — Festatui
Names of the {Sun, Moone} in the Spring {Abraim, Agusita}	Names of y^e {Sun, Moone} in ye Summer {Athemay, Armatas}
Autume.	*Winter*
Name of the Autume ———— Ardarael	Name of the Winter ———— Farlae
Angels of the Autume ———— Tarquam, Gualbarel	Angels of the Winter ———— Amabael, Ctarari
Head of the Signe in the Autume — Tolquaret	Head of the Signe in the Winter — Altarib
Name of the Earth in the Autume — Rabianira	Name of the Earth in the Winter — Gerenia
Names of y^e {Sun, Moone} in ye Autume {Abragini, Matasignais}	Names of y^e {Sun, Moone} in y^e Winter {Commutaf, Affaterim}

An Exemplification of foure severall Circles for foure severall daies in the four Various Seasons of the yeare for the first houre each day.









[141r][398] **An Introduction**, teaching the use of the foregoing treatis & thereby other experiments & operations of the like nature orders or offices as a president refer'd to the spirits of the Ayr, being a sufficient exemplification for any Phylosopher Skillfull in the Art of Magick, & well knowing how to make a trew & racionall distinction between the Cœlestiall & blessed Angells, or intelligences, and the Cœlestially Dignified Elementall Angells, or spirits of light, & also of other elementall powers, or spirits, both of light & darkness; & so by nature and office, both good & Evill, together with others, called wandering spirits of the Ayr, of the like nature & office, but of no orders, mansions, or proper place of Residence, but moving even like as flies in the son, without sensible subjections to any superior powers, together with Infernall powers, called spirits of Darkness, or Devils, who are saide by nature & office to be wholly evill, & therefore of themselves not to be invocated, moved, or called forth to visible Appearance, as the other Elementall powers, or spirits are; & may be; but other spirits of their nature, orders, & offices may be them, & the power given to them (by Divine permission in the blessed Trinity) & in their names be moved & called forth to visible appearance, for such, or those purposes, which may, & usually doth serve to the benefit of mankind; &c.

Of the making or Composure of the Circle.

The making of Circles are not allwaies one & the same, but are to be changed according to the variation of the season of the yeare; the day of the weeke; & the howre of the day; for all which there are necessary tables, & rules herewith annexed, therefore in composing a Circle consider the time of the yeare, the day of the weeke, & the hower of the day, & what spirits are Elected, chosen or set apart to be moved or called forth, to what star, order, Region, or mansion they do belong, & what nature or office they are; &c. And in making the Circle, let the Diameter thereof be nine foot (allowing 12 inches to the foot) & within the outward Circle, draw three Circles more, about a hands breadth distance from each other; then within the first Circle beginning at the East Angle thereof (as in the foregoing exemplified figures thereof is foreshewed) & first write the name of the King, then his 3 ministers in the other 3 angles, (being the Angel that governs the day, which is elected to make an experiment, or to invocate in) & the first [141v] Circle is finished: Then the second Circle, beginning at the East part therof, write the name of the hower, & the Angel governing the same, & his Character, then the name of the Angel that governs the day, & also of those who are assistance to him therein then the name of the present seasone or quarter, of the Yeare, then the names of the Angels that governs that quarter; then the name of the head of the signe, and of the Earth, & of the son and Moon in that quarter and so the second Circle is finished, & in the innermost Circle

[398] Fol. 140v bears six circular figures with planetary characters on them, with no captions and not explained or referred to anywhere in the text; they are omitted in the present provisional release.

⟨Circle⟩ write these four Divine names ✢ **Adonay** ✢ **Eloy** ✢ **Agla** ✢ **Tetragrammaton** ✢ with crosses before & after them; Divide the inward Circle, with two cross lines, goeing quite Athwart the middle, joined to the first line thereof; which shall divide the inward vacuum into four parts, making the four Angles, East, West, North, & South, & in theEast Angle write **Alpha**, & in the west **Omega**; & on the outside make four pentagons, and against each Angle, & so the whole Circle is finished, examples whereas is before inserted, &c. And be sure to have regard to the name of hower & the planet, that governeth the same & his Character, for they must be altered every hower, & he that is a Phylosopher knoweth our meaning, but he that is not, & yet shall ignorantly attempts what he understands not; & bringeth not his purpose to effect, he can blame nothing herein, but his own mistakes, for we dare not communicate all we know, & as for the method of practice, it is thus, first consider of & have a convenient place, which ought to be very private, & free from the over-seeing, or over-hearing of any passengers, or adjacient neibour-hood wheither it be within a house, or without a house, &c. which is also specified more at large in an introduction foregoeing; And let the invocant have a vestment of white linnen & the seale or Pentagone, on his breast, as a sworde; on the one [142r] side whereof should be ingraven this word ✢ **Agla** ✢ & on the other side this worde ✢ **On** ✢ And when the invocant putteth on his vestment, & goeth to enter the Circle, let him say thus.

Ancor; Amacor; Amides; Theodonias; Anitor; by the power of the blessed Trinity wherewith we are through faith dignified with Cœlestiall Supremisie & command over all spirits of what nature, orders, office, degree, Mansions, or place of being soever they are: Grant o Lorde that I putting on this vestment of safty, may powerfully (together with these my Associats) be defended from all the Assualts, surprises, frights, feares, & Amasements of wicked, or evill spirits, and that by the virtue & efficacy of our invocations we may effectually move, call forth, & constraine those Elementall Spirits, or Spirituall Powers, as we shall thereby move or call-forthe, whether by nature, name, orders, or office, visibly & peacibly to apeare unto us & faithfully to fullfill & to performe unto us whatsoever we shall accordingly request, & command them; without the least of hurt or iniury or any other evill deed to be don unto us, or to this place, or to any other place, or person whatsoever, through thee, o holy **Adonai**, whose mercy Endureth for ever, Amen.[399]

[399] This may serve as an example of how the present text has bloated pseudo-Abano with additional verbiage. In the printed *Heptameron*, this prayer (versions of which can also be found in multiple *Clavicula Salomonis* versions) runs: ANCOR: AMACOR: AMIDES: THEODONIAS: ANITOR, *Per merita Angelorum tuorum sanctorum Domine, induam vestimenta salutis ut hoc quod desidero, possim perducere ad effectum: per te sanctissime Adonay, cuius Regnum permanent, per omnia secula seculorum, Amen* (In English: [*voces magica*], By the merits of thy holy Angels, O Lord, I will put on the vestments of salvation, that I may be able to bring to effect that which I desire, by thee, most holy Adonai, who Kingdom endures for ever and ever, Amen.)

Then the master, or invocant, being ready, heaving his vestments on, the seale on his Breast, his sword in his right hand, & his booke (or notes) in his left hand, Enter the Circle, & his Associates after him, & place himself in the East angle of the circle & then first humbly request beseech & supplycate[400] the benevolent Aid, & Assistance of all the Angels particularly, that appertaine to the time of action, the [142v] which are both written about the Circle, & also to be found elsewhere, in there proper places in the diernall experiements, or directions, from the East; & so turning himself to the west Angle do the like; & also in like manner to the North, and lastly to the south as aforesaide, in manner & forme as followeth.

O all ye Glorious Angels of us at this time called upon by name; we the servants of the most high God, Reverantly here present in his holy feare do earnestly, & humbly beseeke you all, in the most true & especiall name of your God, & by the trew signe; seale, & head of your orders, Governing & bearing principal, & Respective power over you, as by the preordinate degree of the highest, in the blessed Trinity is appointed, & by the effecacyous virtue, & force thereof, to help us, to suport us, to assist us, & be friendly unto us, in these our present operations & Affaires that by the constraining power, & force of our invocations, & at our utterance; Reading & rehearsal thereof, we may thereby, potently, & infallibly move call forth & command all such, or thoseElementall Spirits, as eather by orders office, name; or other wise we shall according invocate move or call forth to visible Appearance, that they may be also Enforced, compelled, & constrained, forthwith & immediately to appeare unto us plainly & visibly to the sight of our Eye, in peace, and quietness, silence, obediently & readily fullfilling & performing unto us all our desires, & requests, & serving us according to their severall & Respective natures, & office, in what soever we shall command them, without noise or other disturbances whereby [143r] to assault or surprise our sences with any falls motions, dreadfull Appearances, frights, feares, Amazments, to deceive, or delude us, or any other evill deed or ingury to be don to us, or to this place in any wise whatsoever, [& that they may obediently & readily fullfill & performe unto us all our desires, requests & serve us according to there serverall and respective natures & offices in whatsoever we shall command them,][401] in all which & whatsoever els that shall be yet further nessesary & benificiall for us herein, more then we are capable to relate: we do againe earnestly entreat & humbly beseech you, O all ye glorious Angells afforsaide, to do for us, as for the servant of the most high God wherein we move you in power & assistance as

[400] From "the East angle" to here written in *sup lin.* in the same hand as the main text.
[401] Text in square brackets written *sup lin.* and spilling into the right margin, in the same hand as the main text.

afforesaide whose works & benevolence unto us herein, shall be a song of honour & the praise of your God in your creation. Amen.[402]

All which being duly observed, <*illegible*>[403]; let the master invocant here declare, shew forth, & make knowne the cause, or ocasion why he thus calleth upon them, for their Aid & assistance; heaving the same fairly written in a paper or parchment in his hand ready to utter; &c. Then let the master proceed on, & in the next place devoutly to read the invocation assined to the day, & thereby humbly to implore & beseeke, the Cœlestiall Asistance of the blessed Angels, or intelligences governing that day wherein he laboureth, mentioning also therein his desires, as in the saide invocation it is to be repeated, & may be further understood, relation being thereunto had; the which also nextly followeth in order; & then afterwards let the invocant turne his face towards that Angle or point of the compass from whence [143v] the appointed spirit is to be moved, or called forth, & then placeing his associates orderly by him, then let him invocate the spirit, or Spirits by name &c. as accordingly is appointed hereafter following, with other suitable directions necesary to be well understood, as to the Apparitions, & other matters of note.

The Invocation moving & calling forth the Spirits of the Aire, mentioned in the foregoing Treatise, of the seaven Diurnall or daily Observations.[404]

O you Spirit, or Spirituall power; who is known of use from the tradition of our Ancestours, & called by the name **N:**[405] having power given you to visit the earth, & to execute the commandements of the highest, & also by divine permission plainely & visibly, & in faire decent forme to appeare unto the sones of men, servants of the most high God, livieng on earth, whensoever you shall be of them invocated, commanded, called-forth, moved, & thereby conjured, & constrained there-unto to obey them, to serve them, & to be friendly unto them & readily fourthwith to fullfill & performe all such their commands & requests, which they shall make, wherein by nature office order, places or power, you many in any wise be concerned or servesable, know therefore o you Spirite called by name **N:** (as aforesaid) that we the servants of the most high [144r]

[402] The final clause is a variant / expansion of the conclusion of the sixth of Dee's *Claves Angelicæ*, which in the English reads "Wherefore harken unto my voice, I have talked of you and I move you, in power and presence, whose works shalbe a song of honor and the praise of your God in your Creation." Variations occur frequently in the "Invocation of Angels" text-group.

[403] One or two rubricated words unreadable in the scans I'm using; proably something like "as aforesaid."

[404] This, besides being a grotesque bloating of the "Exorcism of the Aerial Spirits" of the *Heptameron* (which in turn is derived from the *Vinculum spirituum*), is likely the source of the "General Invocation, Conjuration or Constringation" of *Longobardus* (*vide supra*, fol. 13v–15v): while the latter has some variations, other parts are verbatim with the present text, and the context suggests the *Longobardus* text was adopted from the current conjuration rather than *vice versa*.

[405] Here substitute the name of the Spirit.

God, & reverently here present in his holy feare, do conjure, command, constraine, move & call you forth to visible Appearance in the name of the most high **Madilzodarp**, even the almighty, allpowerfull, immense, incomprehensible & immortall God & lord of hosts the only Creatour of heaven & earth, & of all things whatsoever that is contained therein [and also more distinctly & in particular by the truest & most especiall name & attribute of your God, whome you also in place & office in all due reverence & feare meekely serve honor worship & obey, ⟨who &c.⟩][406] who in the beginning of time, by his all divine & eternall degree, amongst other wonderfull, greate & Marvelous works of your creation, by the mouth of his holy Spirit in the blessed Trinity, saide let us make man according to our Image similitude, & let him beare rule over the works of our hands & have soverigne power & command over all sublunar spirits, both Ayeriall, Terestriall, & otherwise Elementall, & other wandering Spirits, & infernall spirits of all oders & offices whatsoever, both of light & darkness, & by your seale or Character most firmly & solidly binding, subjecting & obliging you by orders & offices, both to the Divine command of the highest; and his servants the sones of men, calling forth, & moving your thereunto: And we do also further conjure, compel, command, constraine, call forth & move you, o ye spirite called by the name **N:** to visible appearance, move therefore, o ye spirit N: come away & appeare ye visibly unto us before this Circle in faire and decent forme; not in any wise terrible or affrightfull unto us, to amaze or surprise us, or in any violent, [144v] or turbulent manner hurtfull to us, or this place, or to any other person or place whatsoever, but come & appeare ye in all serenity, peace and mildness shewing forth likewise unto us a visible signe or teste forgoeing your Appearance, and by the virtue, power, efficacy & influence of these great; mighty & sacred names of the most high God which Adam heard and speake, & by the name **Agla**, which Lott heard & was save with his family, And by the name of **Gyn**, which Noah heard & speake after his was delivered from the flood, And by the names which Abraham heard and did know God; And by the name **Joth**, which Jacob heard, and was delivered from the hand of his brother Esau: And by the name **Tetragrammaton**; which he heard of the Angel striveing with him; And by the name **Anapheketon**; which Aron heard, & speaking was made wise; and by the name **Zebaoth**; which Moses names, & the watter of Egypt was turned into blood; And by the name **Escherie oriston**, which Moses named, and all the rivers belched out frogs, & they went into the Egyptians houses, destroying all things; And by the name **Adonay**, which Moses named, and there were locusts appeared upon the Land of the Egyptians, and Eat up that which was remaining; And by the name **Elion**; which Moses named, & there was such a storme of haile, as was not from the begining of the world; [145r] And by the name **Primeumaton**; & the most wonderfull power and Effecacy thereof; mich Moses named and the Earth opened her mouth, & swallowed up Corah, Dathan, &

[406] Words in square brackets written in the top margin, with an insertion mark after "contained therein"

Abiram, and all their Generation and people; And by the name that Moses heard from the mids of the burning bush, & was astonished; And by the name that the Israelits heard upon the mount Sina, & they dyed for feare; And by the name **Burne**, and by the vertiue and power whereof the sea parted in sunder; And by the effecacy of that name, at the Reharsing whereof the watters was Divided; and by the mighty power of that great name, at the speaking whereof, the stones burst and relented; And by the name **Schemes Amathia**, which Joshua named, And the son staied his course, And by the name **Alpha and Omega**; which Daniel named, and destroyed Bell and the Dragon; And by the name **Emanuel**, which the three Children, Shadrack, Mesach, & Abednego, sang in the fiery furnace & where dilivered; And by the imperiall throne; And by the Majesty and Deity of the Almighty, Everlasting & true God of hosts, we do call upon you O you spirit who is called **N:** And being dignified by the power of his holy Spirit, & strengthened by his all powerfull Arme; & being thereby supported with his Cœlestiall and Divine Assistance, Do conjure, command, constraine, call-forth & move you o you Spirit **N:** to visible appearance; move therefore and appeare, yea, & shew yourself visibli & affebly in faire [145v] and decent forme unto us before this Circle, & com yea in all serenity, mildness, peace, & friendship, & in no wise terrible or hurtfull to us or in this place or to any other place or person whatsoever; And make true and faithfull[407] Answeres unto all such, or those our demands & requests as we shall make; & desire of you, & also effectually to accomplish, fullfill, & performe unto us whatsoever we shall thereby Enjoyne & command you, Wherin your orders & office is in any wise properly Appertayning & Concerned. Now therefore O you spiret N: Prepare ye, & be not Obstanett, Refrectory, nor pertonatious, but come ye away forthwise & emediatly from your orders, Mantion, or place of Residence Vissibly unto us before this Circle, & Depart ye not from our presents, Until you have trewly & fully Effected & performed all such our Commandments we shall Enjoyne you, without any Delay, fraud, guile, or Illusion whatsoever: now therefore harken unto our Voyce O you spirit **N:** & be not Obstanett, Refrectory, nor disobedient; know ye that we the servants of the Most High God, being Dignified, fortified, supported, assisted, & Incorridged, by his omnipotent, Divine & Cælestiall power; & by the virtue, power, Influence, & Efficacy thereof, & by this his most High, Great & Might Name **Jehovah Tetragrammaton**, who saith and it is done, whome all creatures, both Cœlestiall, Elementall & Infernall, with feare & Reverence do most humbley serve, honnour & obey; & wherein all the world was formed, which being heard, The Elements Thunder, the Ayre is sheken, the sea goes back, the fire is quenched, the earth Trembleth, & all the heavenly, Earthly & Infernall host do tremble, & are troubled, do conjure, command, compel, constraine call forth & move you to visible Appearance. Wherefore O ye Spirit called **N:** now presently, & without any further

[407] Originally “Skillfull”; corrected *sec. man.* (?).

tarring illusion hinderance or delay, Move ye immediately, Even at this very Instant call, make hast & come away, & appeare ye [146r] visibly affably, courteously and peacibly, in faire and decent forme unto us, before this Circle, And to shew forth unto us a true & visibly sighne foregoeing your comming & Appearance, And come ye in all serenity, quietness & friendship, without noyce or turbulencie, or in any violent manner, hurtfull to us, or this place, or to any other place or person whatsoever, or otherside; either to assault, surprise, or Amaze us Either in spirit or bodily senses, with feare Astonishment, or other dreadfull or tirable visions, or false motions & appearances, in any wise to affright, obstruct or delude [[…]];[408] and make ⟨make⟩ us Rationall true & faithfull Ansawares, speaking to plainly unto us as that we may perfectly heare and understand you; Readily & willingly fullfilling all our desires, which by your office and power in any wise properly you may or can; move therefore, & come away in the name of omnipotent; Everliving, and true God **Helioren**; And appeare ye as afforesaide, visibly here before us in the names **Aye Saraye, Aye Saraye, Aye Saraye**; make hast, & defer not your coming, in & through these names **Eloy, Archima, Rabac**; And obey your master who is called Octinomos; Now then finally, know ye o ye sperit N: that we being Dignified by Cœlestiall power, do by the contents of this our great and Royall Invocation (as aforesaid) & by the virtue; power, influence & effecacy thereof Conjure, command, compel, constraine, call forth & move you to visible appearance; immediately even at this very minnit: Give ye now therefore present Audience, Attendance, & obedience hereunto, and come away with speed, & appeare ye visibly unto the sight of our eyes, in faire & decent form before this Circle, & shew forth unto us a visible signe foregoing your appearance, persisting herein to the full, & effectually accomplishment and fullfilling of all our demands, & requests that we have; or shall make unto you, even unto the very utmost (as have before saide) without further Appology, excuse, pretence, hinderen, [146v] or tarring, delay, delusion, deceit, subtilyty, craft, disguise, interruption, flase motions, disturbance, feare, fight, Amazement, by any dreadfull or terrable assault, or surprisall or any other Illusion whatsoever.

This Invocation being for three tymes distinctly read or said, & that o visible or sensible appearance should as yet plainely present it self or shew forth any signall offer or considerable Testimony, or other materiall signes thereof to the sight or hearing of the Master Invocant, & his Assotiats, or to any one or either of them, &c.: then let the Master earnestly with good devotion read & make often repitition of this —— following Replication.[409]

[408] Indistinctly written word, possibly "is," but the context suggests "us" was meant.

[409] This paragraph of rubric and the title and first line of the next invocation is in an apparently different hand to the main text.

Invocation Replicatory

O yee Spirit whom wee have moved & called forth by the name **N:** And also by orders & office, as well as mansions, Residence, or place of abode appointed you by the devine decree of the highest in the preordinate dispensation of the Blessed Trinity, & likewise wheresoever else you may, or shall happen at this present time to be; & yet notwithstanding the force & power of our invocation, you appeare not visibly here before us in faire and decent forme, without turbulence or violence, or in any other, fearfull, dreadfull, hurtfull, or terrible manner, to dismay, or delude us, according as we have Earnestly & powerfully invocated, moved, Requested, & thereby commanded you; nor any apparent Singne, or visible testimony, or other permanent Signature of your coming, or Appearance, or that by this your not coming, nor Appearance, nor any visibile signe thereof is at all Represented, or offered, or how otherwise you may be disposed of by Divine appointment, or shall happen Chancely to be absent frome orders, mansion, or proper place of abode, is at this time shewed forth; or mande appeare to us, whereby we cannot otherwise but Rationally [147r] conjecture that all this want of due performance in this our certain expectation, of your personall & reall appearance, obviously heare before us, & also true & visible foregoeing signes thereof in manner & forme accordingly as we have saide before, but that all together procede rather from perverse, willfull stubborn, refractory & obstinate dissobediance then otherwise, by all which we cannot otherwise but imagine then of your hatred, Malice, Rancour Enmity, & envie to us & towards all mankind, moveing calling forth, & commanding you to such their purpose & service; as the most high God, by orders and office, in place accordingly, hath appointed you, to his honnour & Glorie, and the benefit of his servaants the sones of men, lieving on earth, for whose comfort & use all things, & creatures in the Creation, both Annimall, vegetable, & mineral, were firstly ordained, and afterwards freely bequeathed, & given; Maugere[410] the despight of all malignant, or evill spirits or other spirituall powers of darkness that shall enviously strive, or seeke to oppose, obstruck, or withstand them. Know therefore O ye spirit **N:** that we the servants of the most high God do yet further & againe move command, constraine & call you forth to visible appearance by the name **N:** here before us, in faire and decent forme, & shape without noyse; or any turbulent or violent manner or otherwise dreadfull, hurtfull, or affrightfull unto us, whereby to assault us, or our senses with feare & Amazaement; to dismay or delude us, & also without doeing the leasts of harme or injury to us, or to this place, or to any other person or place whatsoever upon the earth, but come ye & appeare visible here before us, in faire & decent forme, quietly & peaceably, not in any wise terrible or troublesome to us by any false motions, or Delusions, but in all friendship, Mildness &

[410] An obsolete word meaning "in spite of" (more usually found as *mauger*).

serenity, as aforesaid, now therefore we the servants of the Most High God, Do, by & in the true & most Especiall names of your God, & by [147v] the Cœlestiall power, wherewith we are at this time dignified and fortified, & by the virtue & power of these our Invocations made (as affore said) unto you, & all the Royall words & sentences therein Contained, & by the head of your orders, & the true signe & seale thereof; & by your particular Seal or Charector of Creation conferming you in orders, ofice & mansion, & thereby confining & commanding you, at the naming thereof; first, unto the service of God, & his Divine commandements, & secondly, unto the service & benefit of his servants the sones of men living on Earth, whensoever they shall have urgent occasion, or other nescesity to move & call you forth to their helpe and assistance, wherein by orders & office, you are bound accordingly to serve and obey: By all afforsaide, & by these presents, we do finally & againe powerfully exorcize, conjure, command, constraine, call forth, & move you by name orders & office, o ye spirit who is called **N:** to visible Apperance in faire & peaceable order & manner as afforesaide, move thereore prepare ye; & by the virtue & power of all afforesaide, we constraine move & command you to come away & appeare ye immediately forthwith visibly here before us, & also to shew forth plainly unto us a true signe or signes foregoing your coming & appearance, or otherwise to send, or shew forth unto us such a true signe, or signes of your not coming & Appearing here before us at this time that we may be truly and Rationally satisfied thereof: make hast therefore & come or ssend a way immediately, at this very moment from your orders, Mansion, or place of Residence, or whresoever els you are at this present, & stay not, nether delay, nor defer [148r] the time of your comming & visible Appearance unto us one minute longer, as you will answare this your contempts & willfull obstinacy, at your utmost peril: move then (we say) & by the constraining power & the force & vertue thereof wherewith we have at this time commanded & called you forth, & appeare ye visibly heare before us, in manner & forme as before we have saide without any further tareing, hinderence, delay, or Delusion whatsoever, in the true name of that your God, who shall certainly iudge all the wicked, perverse, obstinate, pertinatious Refratory & Disobediant spirits, not onely with great severities duering the continuance of time here, but also with greater judgments hereafter, even by fire & utter dissolation, to totall Distruction, & finall subserversion of all ye Adverse, Rebelious, Reprobate Spirits, who shall therefore in that day bee cast forth into endless & Eternall forgetfulness; Behold therefore your Conclusion, & be not yet further obstinate nor disobedient.[411]

This **Replication** being about seven times devoutly reade and Repeated or other otherwise at the discression of the invocant, as the occasion thereof shall require &c. And

[411] The next passage of rubric continues without a paragraph break in the MS., though a heavy line is drawn above, below and to the left of the first letter, to clearly demarcate it.

then perchance, before any reall Apparition sheweth it selfe there may be severall signes & tokens, as foreruners thereof; present themselves, as is before specified in the Diurnall observations, & many times may be heard Organs, & other Musicall instruments of severall kinds playing, & many motions may be discerned, As it were Archers, & the similitude of terrible Beasts, to pass to & fro, as furiously & violently as if they would devour all before them, & when such things are discerned, let not the Master invocant trouble himself to looke much upon them, or to cast is eye stedfastly, [148v] or Directly at them, except he pleaseth, but his companions may, be reason they ought to observe all passeges, but then they must not be faint hearted, but of an undaunted spirit and resolution &c. For probably the signes of the appearance, may bee somwhat terrable, & full of severall strange, various & [[…]]able vision, fearce motions, & sudden frightfull, and terrable delusions, which forme themselves on purpose to strike the invocant, & his associats into feare, to dismay them; yet let them fear nothing, but be courageous and undaunted, persisting with constant resolutions, the master Phylosopher having great respect to the business & charge; which is to constraine & exorcize them: & if they should not forthwith appeare in such shape & similitude as they were commanded & expected, & continue as yet obstinate and in Disobediant to the command and constraint of the master, then let him stretch forth his hand with his sword in it, and first touching the seale on his breast, say thus:

Let this your iniquity and willfull obstinacy fly away, & obediantly appeare visible here ⟨here⟩ before us in faire & decent forme, & with humble & peaceable submission, readily & willingly to serve us, in performing and fullfilling all such, & those our commandements whatsoever we shall request & make demand of, unto you, in the great & most especiall name, & by the dignitie Power & might of your most high, true & just God; &c.

Then will there be heard hisings[412] & will be seen many swift & great motions in all parts about the Circle; which when they shall be perceived by ⟨by⟩ the Master of any of his associates, then shall the invocant say,

Why doe you linger; why do you delay; what doe you doe, prepare ye, come away, & obey these our commands, the true name of the most high & all powerfull God, **Bathat** or **Bachat**, rushing upon **Abrac**; **Abeor**, comeing upon **Aberer**.

[412] This translation of the expression in pseudo-Abano's Latin (*sibilet in quatuor Angulis mundi*) is highly doubtful, although the same mistake was apparently made independently by two English translators of the *Heptameron*: the copy in Sloane MS. 3851, independent of and probably pre-dating Turner, rendered it "ther wilbe a hissing." That whole section of rubric derives from the *Liber Iuratus Honorii* (cap. CXXXIII) and in context it is an instruction to the magician to whistle: the construction of the whistle is described in cap. CXL of the *Liber Iuratus*. See Peterson's *Elucidation of Necromancy* & notes to the online text of the *Heptameron*.

[149r] Then immediately will all the superfluous motions & the other impertinent signes & Appearances vanish, & be noe more seen, and the spirit called forth, will presently appeare, & shew itself visibly & affably in decent forme, (or else in its own proper shape) before the Circle; then shew unto it your seale touching it with the sword saying thus unto it,

Behold your Conclusion[413] **& be not dissobedient.**

Then presently will it become obedient, & reddy to fullfill the desire & proposal of the master invocant; which when either he or his associates shall perceive him thus, saying,

Welcome you most noble spirit: behold as we have moved, & called you forth, in by & through the true & great name of the most high incomprehensible & immortall God; to whome all knees do most reverently & obediently bow, both of Cœlestiall, Terrestiall, & infernall; Creatures, in whose hands all Kingdoms are, neither is there anyone who dare oppose his Almighty Majesty, nor his devine will & pleasure, so we do likewise in by & through the same devine; omnipotent; Great most sacred & true name of your God, And by the dignity, power, Effecacy, force & vertue thereof, Adjure command, & constraine, you to tell us your name, & your office, & what orders you are of & what mansion & where is your Residence, & under whome you are, & to shew plainly to me & my Associates, or to some one or more, or all of us, the true seale or Character of your Creation upon your breast, to the which you beare obedience; & always stick Close: And now we command, binde, & constraine you, in by & through the vertue & Effecacy of that most great mighty & powerfull name of the most high God; [149v] who thereby hath limited, & set bounds unto the sea, which it cannot surpass, exceed, or go beyond, And in by & through these great, powerfull, & most effecatious names whereby King Salomon moved, called-forth, constrained, bound, inclosed shut up spirits, **Elbrach, Ebanber, Agla, Goth, Ioth, Othie, Venoch, Nabrach,** that ye stay, and tarry here visibly, affebly, & friendly to us before this Circle, so long & so Constant ats we shall thike expedient; & that you depart not from hence, without our leave, nor untill you heave fullfilled our will & desires in all respects without any delay, fraude, or deceite, or any evill dede, matter or thing to happen unto us or any other Creature upon the face of the Earth.

Then will the Spirit appeare, & say into the invocant: <*illegible*>[414]

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[413] *Ecce conclusionem vestram*. "Conclusion" might be better translated "doom" (Peterson suggests "confinement") in the context. Other texts (e.g. the Vadian *Lucidarium*) have "confusionem"; the *Liber Iuratus* (*apud* Hedegård), *Ecce coniuracionem vestram*.

[414] The following speech (about 3 lines in the MS.) is almost completely unreadable in the scans I'm working from: it possibly begins, "What would you like […]" The corresponding speech in the Latin *Heptameron* is, *Pete quid vis, quia nos sumus parati complere omnia mandata tua, quia Dominus ad hæc nos subiugavit*. Roughly: "Ask what you will, for we are prepared to comply with all your commands, for the Lord has subjected us to them."

Then let the Invocant make his proposals & Command what he will & it will be done, then afterwards licence the spirits thus to depart:

O you most noble spirit; wee thanke your Master & you also; & now you may depart hence, & goe in peace to your orders, or other places of Residence, appointed & preordenated, for you, by the devine Dispensation of the most high God, & Lord of hosts; in whose onely true & Great name; & by the vertue & power thereof; & by the principle head of your orders; let there be a firme & lasting peace, between you & us whensoever we shall have occaision to move & call you forth againe in **N: P: Et Fi: Et SP: S.**[415] **Amen.**

[The remainder of the text, consisting of a serious of increasingly strongly worded threats, constraints and curses for uncoöperative Spirits, has no direct parallel in the *Heptameron*, whose main rubric concludes with the license to depart.]

<*illegible*>,[416] that if the Spirit, or [150r] spirits, invocated, should be very obstinate & perverse after many invocations & constraints, they are yet perverse & disobedient thereto, & Appeare not, they have used to constraine them by the following Constraint, which if well observed & duly performed, with Authority, is the greatest & most powerfull secret in this Art.

The method or manner of Constraining or Compelling any obstinate Spirits to visible Appearance & proceeding to Sentence of Condemnation thereby enforcing them to an Obedience or forever to suspend them or degrade them of all power & banish them from the presence both of Cœlestiall & terrestriall hopes, light favour, familiarity or other benignity whatsoever.[417]

First, take a piece of kid-skin parchment, & write thereon the name of the spirit, and bind it up with an iron wire, or Chaine, & put it into a black Box, with store of sulpher, then binde up the Box also, then make a fire of Eglantine or sweet bryar in a pan, placing it the Angle frome whence the spirit was invocated, & then throwing indeferent store of Sulpher thereinto, & holding the box over the fire & fume, on the point of the sword; Call upon the spirit againe very urgently, & constrainingly; Concluding the invocation wit this, saying.

Behold your conclusion & be not Disobedient.

And if he cometh, then cease, & proceed as is before taught; but it yet he cometh not, then observe the method following, as thus.

[415] Conventional abbreviation for *in Nomine Patri et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*.
[416] About half a line of rubricated text (five or six words), unreadable in the images I'm working from.
[417] This paragraph / title written *sec. man.*

Make a fire of Charcoale in a convenient [Copper ⟨Vessell⟩] Vessell fit for that purpose & place it right before you, in that Angle from whence the Spirit is called forth, & having the black box prepaired & bound or [150v] chained up as aforesaid by itself, then put the same in the midst of a Bundle or Brush, or Fagot of Bryer or sweete Brier and lay the same just before at four feete, & so proceede to prepare the Fire in manner & forme as followeth.[418]

We Exorcize & conjure the o fire by him who can make the world tremble, & shall come to judge the living & the dead, & the world by fier, & who hath prepared Hell fire for the reward & punishment of the Damned, that you burn & torment this obstinate pervers disobedient, & pertinacious spirit **N:** & afflict him with paines unspeakeable, & so do it, that he may sensibly feel & endure it forever unles he doth immediatly, forthwith at this very moment, & at this yet my further constraining invocations, Readyly, willingly, peacibly, Affably, & visibly appeare in faire & decent forme here before us, accordingly as we have here before moved & commanded.

The first Constraint.

Then with Earnest Devotion read very Distinctly, with a passionate sober Temperature, & mental Reservation of spirit this following invocation.

O you disobedient, parverse & obstinate spirite N: Know ye that we being made, or Created after the Expres image; & Idea of the most high God, & <*illegible*>[419] dignified through divine Grace in the highest; with sovereigne power & command over all sublunar spirits both of light & darkness, of all orders & offices, whether Ayyeriall, Terrestriall, or otherwise Elementall, or infernall, or other wandering powers whatsoever, with great benefit [151r] being geiven, confermed, & continued unto mankind; by the seale of Creation prefixed from the begining of time, & thereby inherent to all posterity, even to the utmost period thereof; we as the Children, or seed of the faithfull, & Cœlestiall Consubstantiate, & become one with superior parts, and participations, proceeding by an ordinate Coherence from the most high omnipotent, and Incomprehensible God-head, Angels Heavens, elements, and Elementall things, a devine benifite given only to makinde, and to noe other Creatur, thereby makinghim the most Excellent & surpassing all sublunar things of the Creation, by the vertue, power, dignity, effecacy, influence & symbolicall union, whereof we have at severall & many times moved & called you forth to visible Appearance; by the strength & force of our invocations, & constringations & yet notwithstanding all which, & also that Cœlestially Sovereign power, wherewith we are (through devine Grace in the Blessed Trinity)

[418] This paragraph of rubric written *sec. man.*
[419] Word looks like "Argwarably" but 'arguably' doesn't really fit in the context.

dignified, defended, fortified, supported, & preseverd, nor at whatsoever else we have saide, mentioned, or Charged unto you, but that you rather still Continue & persiste on in obstinate, Refractory, willfull, & stuborne disobediants both unto the true & most esepciall Name of your God, & the principle head of your orders, and of us the true servants of the most high God, & of our commandements, whereby we have so often at severall times, both now & of late heretofore, moved & called you forth to visible Appearance in manner & forme as before we have saide, and as hitherto you have neither given Either attention, Attendance, or Appearance unto us, after all these our invocations maide & moved unto you which you have certainly both made & shewed your selfe notoriously guilty of high misdemenors, & of grand obstancy, usurpation, disobedance, and Rebellion, against all Cœlestiall & Terrestiall Authority, whereof you being now, by all both Cœlestiall, & Terrestiall powers, found permanently culpable, & therefore accordingly convicted, we shall by that mighty power, & the force [151v] thereof; wherein we have moved & called you forth; for this your implacable dissobedience & rebellion we shall utterly & forever excommunicate & cast thee forth in perpetuall forgetfulness, & condem thee into endless, & unspeakable tofments, & shall destroy thy name; the which lieth here inclosed, & inter'd, & also bound, chained, and shut up in this Box, and which we shall bury, & combure in Sulpherous flames as a true mysticall representment or type of a reall , & corporall ordination, conjoined & knit up in the very body, & essetiall being of your selfe, & thereby throw you headlong into Eternall oblivion, & so into endless paines, & punishments in fire unquenchable, & in darkness unavoydabl even pass all hopes of Redemption or diliviery, as judgment justly due unto your deservings; and all other obstinate, perverse, disobedient, and Rebellious Spirits. Now therefore yet once more & againe, we do in the true and great name of your God, & by the principle head of your orders, & by the devine Attribut reffered thereunto, & the true seal or Character thereof conferming the same, & all so binding & commanding you all, but such your orders & offices proper, from the superior to the inferiour, unto both Cœlestiall & Terrestiall service, homage & obedience & by the true & perticular seale or Charactor of your Creation, & in by & through these great powerfull & most efficacious names whereby King Salomon moved, called-forth, constrained, bound, inclosed, or shut up Spirits, **Elbrack, Ebanher, Agla, Goth, Joth, Athie, Venach, Nabruch**; & by the power, vertue force influence effecacy, dignity, & Authority of all, & also of all those invocations, & constringations, whereby we have so often, & earnestly moved, & called you forth to visible appearance, & by all the great & Royall words, & sentences therein contained, & also we doe (as before we have saide) yet once more and againe powerfully conjure, command, constraine, call-forth, & move you o ye spirit by name called **N:** from your orders, mansion, or place of Residence; or wheresoever else you are at this [152r] present; or otherwise may chansly happen to be, (excepting by

Devine Appointment) immediately, & forthwith at this very moment without any further excuse, hinderance, tarring, delay, delusion, or other pretence whatsoever, to come with hast away, & Appeare in faire & decent forme, visibly here before us, & in peaceble & serene order & manner, & no wise terrable, hurtfull, dreadfull, or affrightfull to us, thereby to Astonish or assault us, or to surpasse our senses with any sudden terrour, feare, & Amazement, and without any the least injury, harme or damage to this place or to any other place person or thing whatsoever or wheresoever upon the Earth, speaking plainly, & making true & faithfull Answars unto us, in whatsoever we have or shall have to say unto or ask of you, so as that we may both sensibly heare & understand you, & also to obsrve & keep our precepts inviably unto (?) us and as faithfully to effect, performe, & fullfill unto us, all & every our demands, desires & requests, that we shall make unto you, as you shall answer the contempt thereof, at your untmost perrills, and as you will avoide the penalty of that most dreadfull & terrable sentence; which in case of your further persistence in this your disobedience & Rebelious obstinacy; wherefore now then behold O ye pertinacious, Disobediant & perverse & Refractory Spirit N: behold (we say) your conclusion, & be noe longer thus disobedient & willfully obstinate, but move, come away, & appeare ye visible here before us in manner & order, as before we have said, &c.

If yet the Spirit appeareth not, neither any signes of its coming or shew thereof, as yet visibly appeareth to sight or apprehension, then having a fire of Charcole or any other fuell before the Circle, in manner & place accordingly as [152v] aforesaid &c: throw some Brimstone thereinto, & holding up the Box [upon the point of the sword],[420] being bound or chained up with Iron Bond, first by itself, & then within a Brush, or Bundle of Bryer or sweete Brier in manner & forme also as before mentioned, & holding by the same (say as followeth) still casting more Brimstone into the Fire, as it consumeth, &c:[421]

The second Constraint:

Behold o you Spirit N that noew because you are still pertinatious, Refractory disobedient & Rebellious, And as yet Appeareth not visibly unto us, nor sheweth any certaine signe or apprehensive testimony thereof, nor otherwise Answered our expectations, notwithstanding we have so often, & so powerfully moved, commanded called-forth, & constrained you thereunto, for the which you having thereby proved your selfe Guilty of most high contempt, Rebellion, dissobediance, and of the grand offences, and unpardonable crimes, both against your God & us also his servants; we shall now therefore in the true & most especiall name of your God, & Lord, both of heaven & earth, the only creator & most high judge & mervelous desposer of things both Cœlestiall Terrestiall & Infernall, visible & invisible; according to such his great mercyes, or very

[420] Words in square brackets written as a marginal note in the MS.
[421] This paragraph of rubric written *sec. man.*

severe judgments, & punishments, as the just rewards due unto their deservings doth merit or shall require, in whome, through Grace & mercy, by devine dispensation, united in the Blessed Trinity, we are at this time powerfully dignified, fortified, & supported, & by the vertue, force, influence, effecacy thereof, & of all whatsoever hath been saide before unto you, & also by the vertue & power of those greate, mighty, & powerfull names **Elbrack, Ebanher, Agla, Goth, Joth, Athie, Venach, Nabruch**, whereby King Solomon moved, called-forth, constrained, bound inclosed, or shut up spirits; [153r] we shall (we say) for ever excommunicate, deprive & cast you forth, out of all office power & liberty o you Spirit **N:** for this your most high dissobediance, contempt & Rebellion, into utter darkness & perdition, into they bottomless pit, or lake of unquenchable fire wherein you shall be also Chained, or bound up, in perpetuall & unspeakable torments, even to the utmost period of time, unless you immediatly obey, & at this very instant moment; Move come away, & Appeare visibly unto us, and also to shew-forth true signs thereof; and move therefore, & yet againse at last we say unto you, O ye spirit **N:** we do powerfully hereby constray you to move, come away & Appeare visibly here before us in manner & forme, as we have before saide; as you will Answare these your great & unpardonable contempt before that your most high & true God, who shall undoutedly judge, & reward, all the wicked, Rebellious, Refractory, dissobediant, Adverse & obstinate Spirits, with such endless paines & punishments, as in his devine justice shall be ajudged, most justly due unto these your dissobediant, & Rebellious deservings, the which in his most high great & mighty name; & by his most invincible power, trough Cœlestiall Grace, & mercy, dispensate in the Blessed Trinity, wherewith we are att this time powerfully dignified, Armed, & invested; we shall accordingly judge & condeme you, & the which, with as great severity, shall be of us (as the true servants of the most high God) assuredly; and certainly inflicted upon you, behold therefore this your last conclusion, & be no longer dissobediant.

Heere make a little Pause, & if no visible appearance or signe thereof shall as yet be seene or perceived, then procede on as followeth, the which observe with greate care & diligence:[422]

[153v] *The third Constraint, being the great Chaine or Sentence*

O you spirit, who by name art called **N:** Know ye that in the truest, & greatest name both of your, & of our most high, Almighty omnipotent immortall, eternall, immense, incomprehensible, inscruitable, & just God, & Lord of hosts, in the unity of the blessed Trinity, after whose Image we are expressly made, & the which we do accordingly beare & in whome (through divine grace, & paternall goodness mercifully descending) by the

[422] This paragraph of rubric and the title of the next "Constraint" written *sec. man.*

strength of our hope, faith, frust & stedfast confidence, we are also dignified with Angeliciall power, & invested with cœlestiall soverainity, & Authority as Terrestiall Monarchs, of the Creation, being consubstantiate, & choherent symbolically with the God-head, heavens, Angells, elements, & Elementall things; thereby Receiveing from a Certaine connexive inherence an Absolute & imperiall power & command over all Angellical spirits, & other spirituall powers, & Creatures, Whether Elementall or infernall, or of Light, or Darkness, Dignifyed or undignified, or as messeges of devine justice either of mercy or penal severity, from the Superiour to the Inferiour of what order, office, degree, or nature soever they are; Know ye therefore (we say againe) O ye spirit **N:** that you being found (by having proved yourself) most notoriously & positively Guilty of the greatest obstinacy, dissobedeance, & Rebellion, against heaven, & against us truly Symbolising therewith, and against all whatsoever we have as yet hitherto saide; Reahearsed or otherwise more expressly moved, Requested, or commanded you that by the virtue power & efficacy of all, we have before saide, & by [154r] the influence & force of all the Royall words & sentances therein contained, & by the mighty power of those great & ineffable names wherewith King Solomon moved, called forth, constrained, bound, inclosed, or shut up spirits: **Ebrack, Ebanher, Agla, goth, Joth, Othie Venoch, Nabrach;** we do (in the name & by the power of devine justice) for this your most notorious Guilt, of so great obstinacy, dissobediance, & Rebellion, utterly excommunicate & forever deprive & cast you forth O thou spirit **N:** out of all office, power, & liberty, & be thou (o thou spirit who art by name called **N:**) hereby, & by the virtue & power of all before saide, for ever excommunicate & utterly cast out from before the presence both of Cœlestiall & elementall power, office, & light; & also utterly deprived of all hopes[423] of devine Grace, mercy, or deliverance, during the which continuance, & untill the utmost period of time into the bottomless pit, or lake of perpetually darkness, & Forgetfulness, or other place of Tenebrous or internall Terrour; & severest punishments, prepared for all Rebellious, disobedient, obstinate, & pertinacious spirits, whose portion shall be with the damned, in fire unquenchable, & torment unspeakable: & behold (O thou disobedient, Rebelious & obstainate; Spirit; who by name art called **N:**) that as thy name inclosed in this box, being Rationally a true Terrestiall tipe, really Representing your spirituall body by a certain mutuall Consubstantiation, mystically uniting Terrestriall ordiantions, & operations, with Spirituall parts & participations, as they are corporally passive, & subject thereunto, is chained, or bound up & shall be choked in sulphurous & stinking substances & burnt in this matteriall fire; so behold (O you spirit **N:**) we do powerfully hereby cast you forth into the bottomless pit of unquenchable flames or other place of darkness, even the most

[423] Doubtful; "all <something> of" written *sup. lin.*, very cramped and partly obscured by descenders of the letters of the line above, and I am not sure I have transcribed the second word correctly.

terrible Tophet of endless & unspeakable torments, wherein you shall remaine bound, [154v] or Chained up, untill the dreadfull and great day of judgement and there shall never be more remembrance of thee, before the face of God, who shall come to judge the quick & the dead, & the world by fire, as a due & just reward of this your disobedience, obstinacy & Rebellion, fiat, fiat, fiat.

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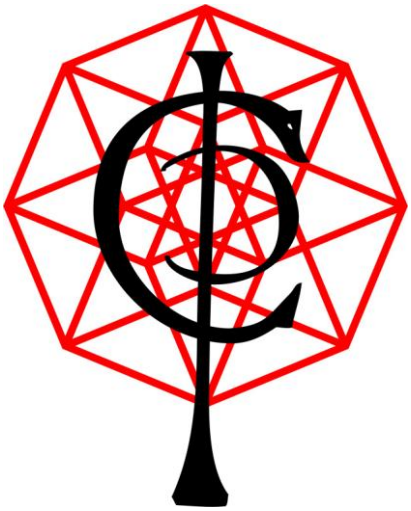

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Liber Juratus

or

The Sworne Booke of Honorius

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Permission is hereby granted to make one handwritten copy for personal use, provided the master bind his executors by a strong oath (juramentum) to bury it with him in his grave. Beyond this, whoever copies this sacred text without permission from the editor will be damned.

INTRODUCTION:

Liber Juratus is one of the oldest and most influential texts of Medieval magic. The almost legendary reputation of this work led to the forgery of the so-called *Grimoire of Pope Honorius*, a ridiculous work so despised by Eliphas Levi and A. E. Waite.

According to Lynn Thorndike, *Magic and Experimental Science II*, 281 ff, it is also known as *Liber Sacer* or *Liber Sacratus* by which name it is mentioned at least twice in the thirteenth century.

Editions

Latin. A critical edition of the Latin text has recently been published by Gösta Hedegård: *LIBER IURATUS HONORII -- A Critical Edition of the Latin Version of the Sworn Book of Honorius* (Stockholm : Almovist & Wiksell International, 2002)

English The only attempt at publishing any significant portion of the English translation was Daniel Driscoll's *The Sworn Book of Honourius* (sic) *the Magician*, Heptangle Books, 1977. Unfortunately, Driscoll did not make use of the best manuscripts, omitted large portions, misread and misplaced angelic names and words from the prayers, and otherwise took serious liberties with the text. It is however a fine example of the book publisher's craft, and has become a valuable collectable.

Manuscripts

The *Sworne Book* is represented in several manuscripts including the following found in the British Museum:

- Royal MS 17Axlii (Latin and English, dated mid-sixteenth century because of borrowing from Agrippa not found in the older manuscripts). 82 folios. The title in the catalog reads 'The Sworne Booke of Honoryus':

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'THE SWORNE BOOKE' of 'Honoryus' (see f. 4 b,
11.  3, 6):  a translation of a book of magic, entitled (see
Sloane MS. 3854,  f. 138 b) 'Liber de vita anime racionalis,
qui liber sacer uel liber angelorum vel liber iuratus
nuncupatur, quem fecit Honorius magister Thebarum',
purporting to be compiled by Honorius filius
Euclidis as the result of a conference of 89 magistri from
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Naples, Athens, and Toledo, convened by the authority
of the Pope and cardinals (cf. also Sloane MSS. 313,
f. 1, 3885, f. 58).  Beg.  'When wycked sprites ware
gathered  together'.
   On f. 82 is a charm, in a 16th cent. band, on the word, 'Calendant'
against ague.
   Vellum;  ff. 82. 7 1/2 in. x 5 1/2 in.  XV cent.  Gatherings  of 4 leaves
(viii5, xiv6, xv10, xix2).  Sec, fol.  'and ye cause'.  Pen-drawings of
angels and spirits and marginal floral ornament, usually coloured,
sometimes in gold;  chapter-headings in red, blue, or green.  On the
fly-leaf (f. 1) are some late 16th cent. pen-drawings with the initials
R. T.  This  MS.  and the next two are bound together.
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- Sloane MS 313 (late fourteenth or early fifteenth century). This manuscript is known to have been in the collection of John Dee, and contains marginal notes in his handwriting. The title in the catalog reads simply "Tract on Magic.", or "Salomonis opus sacrum ab Honorio ordinatum, tractatus de arte magica"
- Sloane 3826 (fol. 58-83) 16th century. Excerpts from LJ. The catalog of angels found in Royal MS 17Axlii also has parallels in Sloane 3826.
- Sloane 3849 (art. 7) Excerpts from LJ.
- Sloane 3853 fol 163f: Catalogued as 'The Divine Seal of Solomon', this manuscript actually contains large portions of the *Sworn Book*. Mid 16th century, also with excerpts from Agrippa (with citations). English and Latin.
- Sloane 3854: (art. 9, fol 117-144) 14th century. "Honorii Magistri Thebarum liber cui titulus 'Juratus.'" or "Liber Juratus, vel liber de vita Animæ rationalis Qui Liber Sacer, vel Liber Angelorum nuncupatur quem fecit Honorius Magister Thebarum," etc.
- Sloane 3883: (fols. 1-25) 17th century. "De modo ministrandi sacrum" (revealed to Solomon by an angel)
- Sloane 3885: (fols. 1-25) 17th century. "Liber sacer Salomonis," repeated at fold 96v-125; (fols. 58-96) "Tractatus de re magica ab Honorio filio Euclidis magistro Thebarum ex septem voluminibus artis magicae compilatus, et intitulatus Liber sacer, sive juratus.", or "Opera Salomonis ab Honorio ordinata" (cursive script).

Of these, Sloane 3854 is the most reliable, complete, and readable.

The following text is from the Royal MS (abbreviated R) with variant readings from Sl.3885 (abbreviated S), Sl.3854 (designated S2), and Sl.3853 (designated S3).

Variants are of some interest. Note the recurring sound changes: "i" (R manuscript) becomes "g" (S manuscript), e.g. "ienomos" [R] = "genomos" [S], ..iel [r] = ..ihel [S], e.g. "kariel" [r] = "karihel" [S]; also frequent interchange of y to i and i to y; ..am [r] = ..um [S], e.g. "lemeliham" [r] = "lemelihum" [S]. possible evidence of mss tradition in some other script [Hebrew or Greek?] or oral tradition.

The diagram of the Sigillum Dei Aemeth is taken from Sloane 313. This is very close to the (although considerably corrupted) version shown in Athanasius Kircher in his monumental work *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1562). The drawing of the sigil does not occur in Royal, Sloane 3854 or Sl.3885. The version in Sloane 3853 (reproduced in C.J.S. Thompson, *The Mysteries and Secrets of Magic*, New York, 1973, pg. 186, but without identifying the source) is somewhat different.

John Dee, in his Mystical Experiments, was originally told to use a version found in one of his books. Dee consulted several sources, and consulted the angels to resolve the discrepancies. This prompted them to detail an almost totally new version of the Sigil. One of Dee's sources was apparently Sl.313.

Roberts and Watson, in their 1990 *John Dee's Library Catalogue*, pg. 168, identify Sloane 313 as being one of Dee's manuscripts. They give it catalog number DM70, and note, "On fol.9 (originally the first leaf, fol.1-8 having been misbound) is [Dee's ladder symbol] and, very faint, 'Fragmentum Magicum', which may be in Dee's hand. At the foot is 'Sum Ben: Jonsonij liber'."

Note also that the section 'On the composition of the Divine Seal' also occurs in the Hebrew version of the Key of Solomon (fol. 3b-5b).

Also of interest are the 'scribal doodlings' on the first folio of the Royal MS (as well as other illuminations and drawings of angels later in the MS -- which I hope to add at a later time) which are very reminiscent of the mysterious *Voynich Manuscript*, which also went through the hands of Kircher.

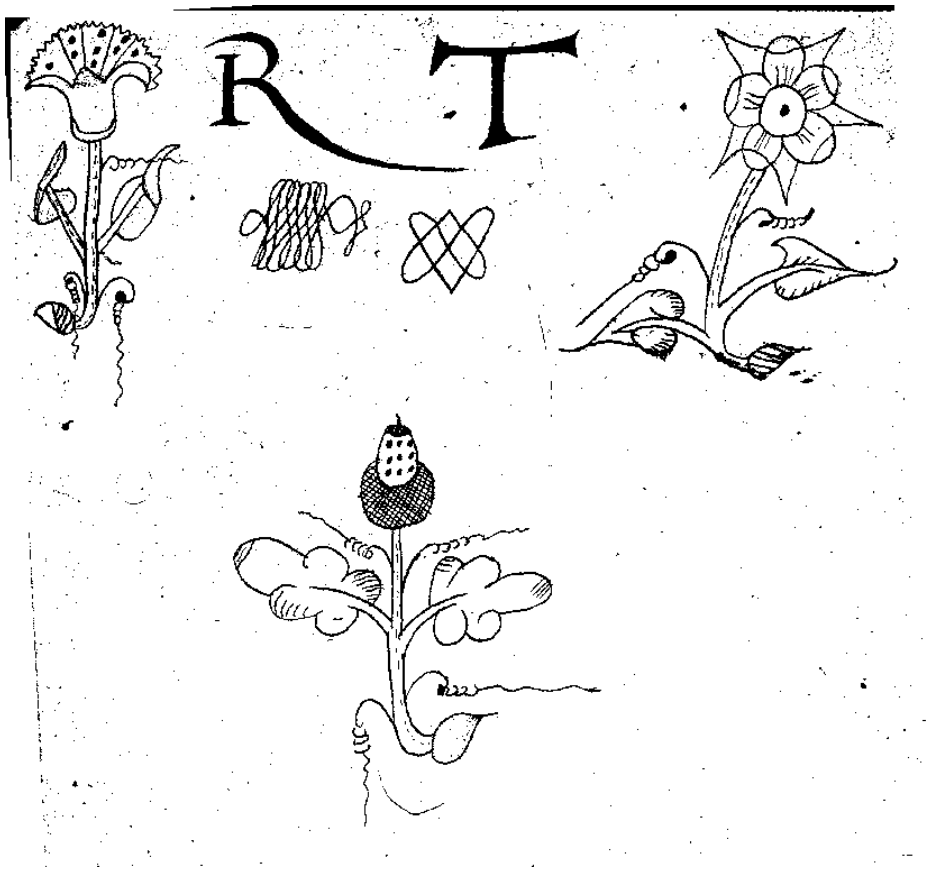
Note too that the Orations found in *Liber Juratus* parallel (and are probably derived from) those found in the Ars Notoria, for example:

Liber Juratus: [Oratio 17, Royal, fol. 37v]	**Ars Notoria: The oration of the physical art**
O Jesu the sonne of the incomprhensible god **hancor hanacor hamylos [or hanylos] iehorna theodonos helyothos [heliotheos] phagor corphandonos norizaue corithico hanosae helsezope phagora**. **Eleminator candones helos helee resphaga thephagayn thetendyn thahonos micemya [S2: uicemya] hehor tahonas [heortahonos] nelos [uelos] behebos belhores hacaphagan belehothol ortophagon corphandonos** borne in the shape of a man for us sinners and yow holy angells **heliothos phagnora** herken and teche me and gouerne me (*hic dic petitionem tuam sed p visione diuina dic ut sequitr.*) that i may come to obtayne the visyon of the deyte thorow the glorious and moste gentle and moste almighte creator oure lyuyng lorde holy infinite godely and euerlastinge to whome be prayse honor and glorye worlde withowt ende. amen.	IHesus fili Dominus Incomprehensibilis: Ancor, Anacor, Anylos, Zohorna, Theodonos, hely otes Phagor, Norizane, Corichito, Anosae, Helse Tonope, Phagora. *Another part of the same oration.* Elleminator, Candones helosi, Tephagain, Tecendum, Thaones, Behelos, Belhoros, Hocho Phagan, Corphandonos, Humanae natus & vos Eloytus Phugora: Be present ye holy angels, advertise and teach me, whether such a one shall recover, or dye of this infirmity.

[Liber Juratus

or

The Sworne Booke of Honorius]



[1r] when wycked sprites ware gathered to gether intending to sende devills in to the hartts off men to the entente thay wolde dystroy all thinges profytable ffor mankynde and to corrupte all the whole worlde even to the uttermost off there powr sowing ipocrysye and envy and rooting bysshops and prelates in pryde even the pope him selfe and his cardenalles which gathering them selves to gether sayde won to another as here folowethe */*/*/*/*/*/*

[I. Prologue]

When wicked spirits were gathered together, intending to send devils into the hearts of men, to intent they would destroy all things profitable for mankind, and to corrupt all the whole world, ever the uttermost of their power, sowing hypocrise an envy, and rooting bishops and prelates in pride, e the pope himself and his cardinals, which gatherir themselves together said one to another as here follows:

the helth which the lorde hathe gevin his people is now through magecke and negromancy turned in to the damnacyon of all people, for even the magyans them selves being intoxycated and blynded by the devill, and contrary to the order of christes churche and transgressing the commandement of god, which dothe saye thow shalte not tempe the lorde thy god, but him only shalte yu serve,

The health which the Lord has given his people is now through magic and negromancy turned into t damnation of all people. For even the magians themselves, being intoxicated and blinded by the devil, and contrary to the order of Christ's Church and transgressing the commandment of God, whi says, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, but only shalt thou serve"

but these negromancers or magyans denying the sacryfyce dew unto god and inn tempting him hathe

But these negromancers or magians, denying the sacrifice due to God, and in tempting him have dc

donne sacryfyce unto devills and abused his name in calling of them contrary to the profession made at there baptin, [1v] for there it is sayd: for sake the devill and all his pompes, but thes magyans and negromancers dothe nott follow only the pompes and workes of sathan but hathe also brought all people through there mervelus ellusyons in to ye errors drowing the ignorant and suche lyke in to the damnasyon bothe of sowle and body, and they thinkinge this for no other purpose but that by this they shulde destroye all other scyences,

sacrifice to devils, and abused His Name in callin them, contrary to the profession made at there baptism, for there it is said, "Forsake the devil anc his pomps." But these magians and negromancers not follow only the pomps and works of Satan, bu have also brought all people through their marvel illusions into the errors, drawing the ignorant and such like into the damnation both of soul and bod and they thinking this for no other purpose but tha this they should destroy all other sciences.

it is thought rite therfore to plucke up and utterly to dystroy this dedly roote and all the followers of this arte, but they throughe the instygasyon off the devill and being moved wt envy and covetusnes under the simylytude of truthe they did publyshe and spred abrode ye falshed speking false and unlykely things, for it is nott possible yt a wiched and unclen man shulde work trwly in this arte, for men are not bownde unto sprites, but the sprites are constrayned agaynst yr wills to answere men yt be clensed or clene, and to fulfill there requestes, yet agaynst all yos willes we have gone abowt to set forrthe the princyples of this arte [2r] and ye cause of truthe, and for that cause thay had condemned this arte and judged hus to dethe.

It is thought right therefore to pluck up and utterly destroy this deadly root, and all the followers of t art, but they through the instigation of the devil, a being moved with envy and covetousnes under th similitude of truth, they did publish and spread ab the falsehood, speaking false and unlikely things. it is not possible that a wicked and unclean man should work truely in this art, for men are not bou to spirits, but the spirits are constrained against th wills to answer men that are cleansed or clean, an fulfill their requests. Yet against all those wills we have gone about to set forth the principles of this and the cause of truth, and for that cause thay had condemned this art and judged us to death.

we therfore throughe godes sufferance having a fore knoledge of that judgement knowing also yt by it shulde folow miche mischefe and yt it was impossible to us to scape the handes of the people by owre owne strengthe wt owt the helpe of sprites dowting yt a greter danger would folow upon it, for the wicked power of the sprites att owre commandement wolde have destroyed them all utterly in on,

We therefore, through God's sufferance, having a foreknowledge of that judgement, knowing also t by it should follow much mischief, and that it was impossible to us to escape the hands of the people our own strength without the help of spirits, doub [i.e. fearing] that a greater danger would follow u it, for the wicked power of the spirits at our comn could have destroyed them [i.e. those who conder us] all utterly at once.

wherfore we called on generall counsell off all the masters in the which counsell of *811* masters which camme owte of naples athence and tholetus we dyd chuse on whose name was honorius the sonne of eucludus master of the thebares in the which cytye this art was redd yt he shulde worke for us in this sayde arte, and he throughe the counsell of a certayne angell whose name was hocroel dyd wryte *7* volumes of arte magicke, geving unto hus the kernel and unto others the shalles owt of the which bookes he druu owt *93* chapiters in the which is bryffely contayned [2v] the effecte off this arte, off the which, chapters he made a booke which we doo call the sacred or sworne booke for this cause, for in it is contayned ye *100* sacred names of god and therfor

Wherefore, we called a general council of all the masters. And out of the which council of 811 mas which came out of Naples, Athens, and Toledo, w did choose one whose name was Honorius, the so Euclid, master of the Thebians, in the which city t art was read, that he should work for us in this sai art. And he through the council of a certain angel whose name was Hocroel, did write seven volume art magic, giving to us the kernel, and to others th shells. Out of the which books he drew out 93 chapters, in the which is briefly contained the effe of this art, of the which chapters he made a book which we do call *The Sacred or Sworn Book* for t cause, for in it is contained the 100 sacred names God, and therefor it is called sacred, as you would

it is callyd sacred as ye would saye made of holy thinges, or elles be cause by this booke he came to the knowledge of sacred or holy things, or elles be cause it was consecrated of angells, or elles be cause the angell hocroell did declare and show unto him yt it was consecrated of god,

then they princes & prelates being pacefyed wt burning of certen fables or tryffles, thought verely this arte had bin utterly destroyed, and therfore we being somwhate moved made this othe amounge oure selves, first yt this book shulde be delyveryd to no man untyll suche tyme as the master of the arte were in jeoberdye of dethe and yt it shulde be copyed but unto *3* att the most, and yt it shulde be delyveryd to no woman nor to any man excepte he were off lawfull aghe which shulde also be both godely and faythfull whose godely behaver had bin tryed by the space of a whole yere, and yt this booke shulde no more here after [3r] be destroyed, but yt it shulde be restored agayne to ye honore or to his successors, and yf there cane nott be founde an able and a sufficyent man to whome this booke nighte be delyveryd, yt then the master bynde his executors by a stronge othe to bury it withe him in his grave, or ells he shall him selfe whyle he liveth bury it him selfe, in some place honestely and clenly, and newer affter to revele the place by any curcumstances to any creature, and yf the master shall have nide of any scollers or will prove then any man of wayes yt for to fulfyll his commaundenentes yff nide be they shall even suffer dethe rather then they will declare ayther the sayinges or doinges of there master, or yt he knoweth any suche thinges, nor declare any suche thing by any man of surcumstances. and lyke as a father dothe cause on of his sonnes to love another, even so doth the master unytte and kintt together his discyples or schollers in concorde and love so yt alwayes the on shall helpe to bayre the others burthen, nor on shall nott revele the secretes of a nother, but they shall be faythfull off on mynde and concorde, and he yt [3v] he shall trewly performe observe and kepe every artycle off his othe and for this cause this is calyd the sworne booke: (*ffinis prologu */*/*/*/*/*

"made of holy things," or else because by this boc
came to the knowledge of sacred or holy things, o
else because it was consecrated by angels, or else
because the angel Hocroel did declare and show h
that it was consecrated of God.

[The oath]

Then the princes and prelates being pacified with
burning of certain fables or trifles, thought verily
this art had been utterly destroyed, and therefore v
being somewhat moved, made this oath among
ourselves:

- First, that this book should be delivered to n
man until such time as the master of the art
were in jeopardy of death, and
- That it should be copied but to three at the
most, and
- That it should be delivered to no woman, n
any man except he were of lawful age, and
should also be both Godly and faithful, whc
Godly behavior had been tried for the space
a whole year, and
- That this book should no more hereafter be
destroyed, but that it should be restored aga
to the honor, or to his successors, and
- If there cannot be found an able and a suffi
man to whom this booke might be delivered
that then the master bind his executors by a
strong oath to bury it with him in his grave,
else he shall himself while he lives bury it
himself in some place honestly and cleanly,
never after to reveal the place by any
circumstances to any creature, and
- If the master shall have nide of any scholars
will prove then any man of ways that for to
fulfill his commandments if need be, they s
even suffer death rather than they will decla
either the sayings or doings of their master,
that he knows any such things, nor declares
such thing by any man of circumstances. A
like as a father causes one of his sons to lov
another, even so does the master unite and l
together his disciples or scholars in concorc
and love, so that always the one shall help t
bear the others burden, nor one shall not rev
the secrets of another, but they shall be faitl
of one mind and concord, and he that he sha
truely perform, observe, and keep every art

of his oath.

And for this cause this [book] is called *The Sworn Book*

End of prologue.

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in the name off the almighty god ye lorde jesus christ the trew living god. i honoryus have thus appoined in my booke the workes of salomon i have first apoynted the chapters yt it maye be the more playne */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

heare be geneth the chapters of the first worke)

- the first chapter is of the composyssyon of the great name of god which the hebrues call sememphoras which dothe consyst of *72* h. t. o. e. r. o. r. a. b. a. l. a. y. q. c. l. y. s. t. a. l. g. a. a. o. w. o. s. v. l. a. r. y. t. c. e. k. r. p. f. y. o. m. e. m. a. n. a. r. e. l. a. t. e. v. a. t. o. n. o. n. a. o. y. l. e. o. t. s. y. n. a. letters which is the beginning in this arte
- the *2* chapter is of the visyon of the deytey,
- the *3* of the knowledge off the devyne power,
- the *4* of the for gyuenes off synnes,
- the *5* that a man shuld nott fall into dedely sine,
- the *6* of the redemsyon off *3* sowlles out of purgatorye */*/*/*/*/*/*/*

the chapters off the .2. worke */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

- the *7* chapter is off the knowledge off the heavens,
  [4r]
- the *8* to know the angells off every heaven
- the *9* to know every angell his name and his power,
- the *10* to know the seales off every angel,
- the *11*to know under whome every angel is,
- the *12*to know the offyce of every angell,
- the *13* of the invocatyon of every angell and of his company,
- the *14* how a man shude obteyne his will by every angell,
- the *15* to obtayne all scyences,

[II. Contents]

In the name of the almighty God, the Lord Jesus Christ, the true living God. I Honorius have thus appointed in my book the works of Solomon. I ha first appointed the chapters that it may be the mor plain.

Here begins the chapters of the first work.

1. The first chapter is of the composition of th great name of God, which the Hebrews call *Schemhamphoras* which consists of seventy two letters: h. t. o. e. r. o. r. a. b. a. l. a. y. q. y. s. t. a. l. g. a. a. o. w. o. s. v. l. a. r. y. t. c. k. r. p. f. y. o. m. e. m. a. n. a. r. e. l. a. t. e. t. o. n. o. n. a. o. y. l. e. o. t. s. y. n. a., whic the beginning in this art.
2. The second chapter is of the vision of the D
3. The third of the knowledge of the devine power,
4. The fourth of the forgiveness of sins,
5. The fifth that a man should not fall into dea sin,
6. The sixth of the redemption of three souls c of Purgatory.

The chapters of the second worke.

7. The seventh chapter is of the knowledge of heavens,
8. To know the angels of every heaven
9. To know every angel, his name, and his pov
10. To know the seals of every angel,
11. To know under whom every angel is,
12. To know the office of every angel,
13. Of the invocation of every angel and of his company,
14. How a man should obtain his will by every angel,

- the *16* to know the hower of dethe,
- the *17* to know all thinges present past and to comme,
- the *18* to know the planetts and the starres,
- the *19* to know the vertu of the planetts and starres and there influences,
- the *20* to alter or chaunge ye influence of the planetts and starres,
- the *21* to change the daye in to nighte and the nighte in to ye daye,
- the *22* to know the sprites of the ayre,
- the *23* to know the sprites of the fyer, and there names and there superyors, there seales power and vertu,
- the *24* to know the names and ye powers off the higher sprites,
- the *25* to know there seales,
- the *26* to know the alteratyon and changing of the elymentes and of the bodyes that be mixte of them,
- the *27* to know all herbes, [4v] plantes, and bestes being upon the earthe and of there vertues,
- the *28* of the knoledge off the nature of man and of all his dyedes and his thoughtes,
- the *29* to know the sprites of the water and there vertuse and there superyors,
- the *30* to know the erthely sprrites and infernalles,
- the *31* of the sighte of purgatorye and hell and the sowlles there being,
- the *32* off the bond or oblygasyon yt the sowle and bodye shall returne agayne,
- the *33* of ye consecrating off this book

//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

ffinis of the chapters of the secode worke */*/*/*

the chapters of the *3* worke */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

- the *34* of the constrinksyon of sprites by wordes,
- the *35* of the consthinksyon of sprites by seales,
- the *36* of the constrinckesyon of sprites by tables,
- the *37* to give every sprite his shape,
- the *38* off inclosing of sprites,
- the *39* off a sprite yt is inclosed yt he maye answere or nott,
- the *40* to cause thunder and lightening,

15. To obtain all sciences,
16. To know the hour of death,
17. To know all thinges present, past, and to co
18. To know the planets and the stars,
19. To know the virtue of the planets and stars, their influences,
20. To alter or change the influence of the plan and stars,
21. To change the day into night, and the night the day,
22. To know the spirits of the air,
23. To know the spirits of the fire, and their na and their superiors, their seals, power, and virtue,
24. The twenty-fourth, to know the names and powers of the higher spirits,
25. To know their seals,
26. To know the alteration and changing of the elements, and of the bodies that be mixed o them,
27. To know all herbs, plants, and beasts being upon the Earth, and of their virtues,
28. The knowledge of the nature of man and of his deeds and his thoughts,
29. To know the spirits of the water, and there virtues, and their superiors,
30. To know the earthly spirits and infernals,
31. Of the sight of purgatory, and hell, and the souls their being,
32. Of the bond or obligation that the soul and body shall return again,
33. Of the consecrating of this book

End of the chapters of the second work.

The chapters of the third work.

34. Of the constrinksyon of spirits by words,
35. Of the consthinksyon of sprits by seals,
36. Of the constrinckesyon of spirits by tables,
37. To give every spirit his shape,
38. Of enclosing of spirits,
39. Of a spirit that is enclosed, that he may ans or not,
40. To cause thunder and lightening,
41. Of burning to be made,
42. Of the purging of the air,
43. Of the corruption of the air,

- the *41* off burning to be made,
- the *42* of the powrging of they ayer,
- the *43* off ye corruptyon of the ayer,
- the *44* to cause snow [5r] and yse,
- the *45* off dewes rayne,
- the *46* to cause flowers and frutes,
- the *47* to go invysybbe,
- the *48* off a horse,
- the *49* to bringe agayne a man that is gone saffe in an hower,
- the *50* to have a thing carryed whether thow willte in a moment,
- the *51* to take a waye a thinge,
- the *52* to bringe a thinge agayne,
- the *53* to change the shape of every thinge,
- the *54* to make a fludde in a dry grounde,
- the *55* to make a commotyon att thy preasure,
- the *56* to distroy a kingdone or an empyre,
- the *57* to have power over every man,
- the *58* to have a *1000* armed men,
- the *59* to forme a castell yt shall never be dystroyed,
- the *60* to make a wicked glasse,
- the *61* to destroye a place or a holde by a wicked glasse,
- the *62* off a glasse wherin thow shalte se the whole worlde,
- the *63* to bringe agayne a thiffe which yt he hathe stollen,
- the *64* to open lockes,
- the *65* to cause discorde and debate,
- the *66* to cause unyte and concorde,
- the *67* to have the favor of everybodye,
- the *68* to obtayne or gett rytches,
- the *69* to [5v] hele all man of disseses,
- the *70* to cast in to sickenes whome ye will,
- the *71* to kill whome ye will,
- the *72* to cause danger bothe by se and lande,
- the *73* to delyn a shipe yt is stopped in the sea by the adamaint stone,
- the *74* to avoyde all man of dangers,
- the *75* to gayther byrdes together and to take them,
- the *76* to gether fysshes together and to take them,
- *77* to gather wylde bestes to gether and to take them,
- the *78* to cawse warre amonge fysshes fowlles and suche lyke,
- the *79* to make burninge to apeyre,

44. To cause snow and ice,
45. Of dews [and] rain,
46. To cause flowers and fruits,
47. To go invisible,
48. Of a horse,
49. To bring again a man that is gone safe in ar hour,
50. To have a thing carried where you will in a moment,
51. To take away a thing,
52. To bring a thing again,
53. To change the shape of every thing,
54. To make a flood in a dry ground,
55. To make a commotion at your pleasure,
56. To destroy a kingdom or an empire,
57. To have power over every man,
58. To have a thousand armed men,
59. To form a castle that shall never be destroy
60. To make a wicked glass,
61. To destroy a place or a hold by a wicked gl
62. Of a glass wherein you shall see the whole world,
63. To bring again that which a thief has stolle
64. To open locks,
65. To cause discord and debate,
66. To cause unity and concord,
67. To have the favor of everybody,
68. To obtain or get riches,
69. To heal all man of diseases,
70. To cast into sickness whom you will,
71. To kill whom you will,
72. To cause danger, both by sea and land,
73. To delyn a ship that is stopped in the sea by adamant stone,
74. To avoid all man of dangers,
75. To gather birds together, and to take them,
76. To gather fishes together and to take them,
77. To gather wild beasts together and to take t
78. To cause war amongst fishes, fouls, and suc like,
79. To make burning to appear,
80. To make jugglers or maidens singing to app
81. To make gardens or castles to appear,
82. To make fighting men to appear,
83. To make gryphons and dragons to appear,
84. To make all wild beasts to appear,
85. To make hunters and their dogs to appear hunting,
86. To make a man to think he is in a place wh he is not,
87. To make all pleasures to appear

- the *80* to make juggelers or maydens singing to apeyre,
- the *81* to make gardens or castells to apeyre,
- the *82* to make fightinge men to apeyre,
- the *83* to make gryphons and dragons to apeyre,
- the *84* to make all wylde bests to appeyre,
- the *85* to make hunters and there dogges to appeyre huntinge,
- the *86* to make a man to thinke he is in a place where he is nott,
- the *87* to make all pleasures to appeyre

//*/*/*

ffinis of the chapters of the *3* worke */*/*/*/*/*

[6r]

the chapters off the *4* worke */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

- the *88* to delyur them yt be in pryson,
- the *89* to locke a gayne the gattes of the castell,
- the *90* to haue all treasures mettalls pressyns stones and all other thinges hyd in the grounde,
- the *91* off the appeyring off ded bodyes that thay seme to aryse agayne and to speke,
- the *92* that ye shulde thinke beastes to appeyre created agayne off the earth but these *2* chapters haue we takyn awaye be cause they be agaynst the will of god.

thus endeth the nottes off all the chapters
/

End of the chapters of the third work.

The chapters of the fourth work.

88. To deliver them that be in prison,
89. To lock again the gates of the castle,
90. To have all treasures metals, precious stone and all other thinges hidden in the ground,
91. Of the appearing of dead bodies that they s to arise again and to speak,
92. That you should think beasts to appear crea againe of the earth

But these two chapters have we taken away, beca they be against the will of God.

Thus ends the notes of all the chapters.

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here beginnithe the booke
/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/

we therfore thorow godes helpe intendinge to folow the stepps and precepes of salomon, therfore to thy receyuing of suche an highe misterye we prefess to be oone chiffe princyple or begininge. note therfore that the first and chiffe princyple or begininge is the devyne maiestye, and the trew invocatyon must cume frome the very faythe of the harte, the which faythe the workes shall declare, [6v] ffor salomon sayde there is one only god one mighte, or power, oone faythe, of whome oone worke, oone princyple or begininge, and of whome the prefectyon and effecte of every worke

[III] Here begins the book.

We therefore, through God's help, intending to fo the steps and precepts of Solomon, therefore to yo receiving of such a high mystery, we profess to be one chief principal or beginning. Note therefore tl the first and chief principal or beginning is the Di Majesty, and the true invocation must come from very faith of the heart, the which faith the works s declare. For Solomon said there is one only God, might or power, one faith, of whom one work, on principal or beginning, and of whom the perfectio and effect of every work comes, although this be

dothe comme althoughe this be deuyded into many parts, ffor lyke as all the holle partes doo saver and smel of the body even to lyke wyse dothe of these thinges comme all perfectyon and effect */*/*/*

divided into many parts. For like as all the whole parts do savour and smell of the body, even so likewise of these things come all perfection and effect.

in the name therfore of the true and lyuing gode which is alpha et omega ye beginninge and the ending which is the father the sonne, and the holy gost *3* persones and on god the gyuer off lyffe and the destroyer off dethe for he destroyed oure dethe and thrughe his resurrectyon restored us agayne to lyffe */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

In the name therefore of the true and living God, v is **Alpha and Omega** the beginning and the endir which is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, the giver of life, and t destroyer of death. For he destroyed our death anc through his resurrection restored us again to life.

off the makinge off the seale of god, for the knowledge of the first parte, of the knowledge of the deytye, for the knowledge of ye *2* parte. in ye *3* parte of the vysyon of angells, the *4* of ye constrinkesyon, [7r] the *5* parte off the bownde of deadmen */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Of the making of the Seal of God, for the knowledge of the first part, of the knowledge o diety, for the knowledge of the second part, in third part of the vision of angels, the fourth of constrinkesyon, the fifth part of the bonds of d men.

off angels there are *3* kyndes */*/*/*/*/*

Of angels there are three kinds. Some are celestia some are of the air, and some are of the earth. Of

some be celestyall, and some of the ayre and some be of the earthe. off the celestyall there are also *2* kyndes somme of them doo serve god only and those be the *9* orders of angells that is to saye cherubin, and seraphin, trons, domynatyons, vertuse, princypates, and potestates, arkangells and angells off whome it is to be spoken amounge mortall men, for they will not be constrayned by any artyfysyall powr, and therfore they oughte nott to be invocated for they alwayes stande before the deuyne maiestye and are neuer seperated from his presens yet be cause the sowle of man was created with theme and to there lykeness, lookinge to be rewardyd with them maye through the gyfte and grace of god his bodye yet lyuing beholde the deuyne maiestye, and with them to prayse and to know god ye creator, and this knowledge is nott to know god in his magestye [7v] and power but ever as adame and the prophettes dyd know him,

celestial, there are also two kinds. Some of them s God only, and those are the nine orders of angels, is to say, cherubin, seraphin, thrones, dominations virtues, principates, potestates, archangels, and angels. Of whom it is to be spoken among mortal men, for they will not be constrained by any artifi power. And therefore they ought not be invocated they always stand before the Divine Majesty, and never separated from His presence. Yet because tl soul of man was created with them, and to there likeness, looking to be rewarded with them may through the gift and grace of God, his body yet liv behold the Divine Majesty, and with them to prais and to know God the creator, and this knowledge not to know God in his majesty and power, but ev as Adam and the prophets did know him.

but this is princypally to be noted that there are *3* kyndes off men yt worke in this arte jwes, christyans and pagans, the pagans doo sacryfyce to the sprites of the ayre and of the earthe but they doo nott constrayne or bynde them, but the sprites doo fayne them selves to be bownde by the wordes of there law, to the intent they maye make them to committ idoletrye, and neuer turne to the true faythe, and by cause there faythe is nought therfore there workes be nawght, he yt will worke after yt man must forsake the lyuing god, and must doo sacryfyce unto sprites

But this is principally to be noted, that there are th kinds of men that work in this art: Jews, Christian and pagans. The pagans do sacrifice to the spirits the air and of the earth, but they do not constrain bind them, but the spirits do fain themselves to be bound by the words of their law, to the intent they may make them commit idolatry, and never turn t the true faith. And because their faith is nought, therefore their works are nought. He that will wor after that man must forsake the living God, and m do sacrifice to spirits and idols. For it is faith that

and idolles for it is faythe that worketh in a man good or euill, wherfore it is sayde in the gospell ye faythe hathe made the saffe, the jwes doo in no wyse worke to obtayne the visyon of the deytye, for by the comminge of christe they lost there prehemynence nor they can nott comme to heauen, for the lorde dothe saye [8r] he that is nott baptysed shall be damned, and so in all angells they worke imperfectly, nor they canontt throughe there inuocatyons bringe any worke to effecte excepte they be liue in christe. ffor it is sayd by the prophet, when the kinge of kinges and the lorde of lordes is cume then shall youre anoyntinge cease which shulde neuer haue ceasyd yf they cowlde haue wroughte effectually by this arte, and so there workes are noughte, and althoughe the jwes in that yy are jwes are condemnyd of yet they doo worship the highe creator but nott after a dew sorte, yet thorow the powr of the holy names of god spirrites are constrayned to comme. but jwes be cause they are nott signed wt the signe of god that is to saye with the signe of the crosse therfore they sprites will not answere them trewly, therfore the christyan man only dothe worke trewly to cum to the vysyon of the deyte, and in all other workes. and althoughe *3* sortes of men doo worke by this arte magyke, yet [8v] it is nott to be thoughte yt there is any euill in this name magyan, for this same name magyan dothe signefy in the grike twunge a philosopher, and in the hebru twunge a scrybe, and in the latten twunge it signefyeth wyse and so this name of arte magyke is compownded of this worde magos wiche is as muche to saye as wyse and of ycos wiche by interpretasyon is knowledge for by it a man is made wyse, for by this arte a man maye know thinges present past and to come */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

works in a man good or evil. Wherefore it is said the Gospel, "your faith has made you safe."

The Jews do in no wise work to obtain the vision the Diety, for by the coming of Christ they lost th preeminence, nor can they come to heaven, for th Lord says, he that is not baptized shall be damned And so in all angels they work imperfectly. Nor c they through their invocations bring any work to effect, except they believe in Christ. For it is said the prophet, "when the king of kings and the Lord Lords is come, then shall your annointing cease," which should never have ceased if they could hav wrought effectually by this art. And so theire wor are nought. And although the Jews in that they are Jews are condemned, of yet they do worship the H Creator, but not after a due sort. Yet through the power of the holy names of God, spirits are constrained to come. But Jews because they are n signed with the sign of God, that is to say with the sign of the cross, therefore those spirits will not answer them truely.

Therefore, the Christian man only works truely to come to the vision of the Diety, and in all other works. And although three sorts of men do work l this art magic, yet it is not to be thought that there any evil in this name *Magian*, for this same name *Magian* signifies in the Greek tongue *a philosoph* and in the Hebrew tongue *a scribe*, and in the Lat tongue it signifies *wise.* And so this name of art magic is compounded of this word *magos* which i much to say as 'wise,' and of *ycos* which by interpretation is 'knowledge.' For by it a man is m wise. For by this art a man may know things prese past, and to come.

here folowithe the makinge off the seale off the trwe and lyuinge god [S: De compositione signi dei vivi] */*

[IV] Here follows the making of the Seal o the true and living God

Primo fac unum circulum cuius diameter sic trium digitorum propter tres clauos domini [deest S], vel *5* propter *5* plagas, vel *7* propter *7* sacramenta, vel *9* propter *9* ordines angelorum, sed communiter *5* digitorum fieri solet. Deinde infra illum circulum fac alium circulum a primo distantem duobus granis ordei propter duas tabulas moysi, [9r] vel distantem a primo tribus granis propter trinitatem parsonarm. Deinde infra illos duos circulos in superiori parte quæ dicitur angulus meridiei fac

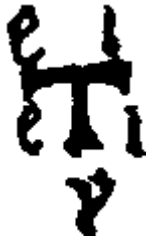
First, make a circle with a diameter of three finge on account of the Lord's three nails, or five on account of the five wounds, or seven on account o the seven sacraments, or nine on account of the ni orders of angels, but generally five fingers are customary.

Deinde infra illum circulum fac alium circulum a primo distantem duobus granis ordei propter duas tabulas moysi, vel distantem a primo tribus granis

unam crucem, cuius tibia aliquantulum intrat [S: intret] circulum interiorem. Deinde a parte dextra crucis scribe .h. aspirationem deinde .t. deinde .o. deinde .e. x [S: y] . o. r. a. b. a. [S adds: e] l. a. y. q. c [S: t]. i. y. s. t. a. l. g. a. a. o. w [S, S2: n, R also has this correction supra linea]. o. s. v. l. a. r [R sup. lin.: t]. y. t. c [deest S]. e. k. x [S, S2, R (sup. lin.): s]. p. f. y. o. m. e. m. a. n [S: x(?), S2: u]. a. r. e. l. a. t [S, S2: c]. e. v [S, S2: d; R (sup. lin.): t]. a. t. o. n. o. n. a. o. y. l. e. [R sup. lin. adds: p] o. t. s. y. m. a.[S, S2: ..yleyotma] et iste [S: istæ] literæ sunt eque [S: æque] distantes, et circu~dent circulum. eo ordine quo sunt prenominatæ et sic magnum nomen domini schemhamphoras[S2: semenphoras; S: shemhamphorash] *72* literarum erit completum. hoc facto in medio circulorum scilicet in centro fac

unum pentagonum talem, . in cuius medio sit signum tau tale

et super illud signum scribe hoc [deest S,S2] nomen dei el, et sub nomine aliud nomen dei .l.[deest R; S: et sub nomen aliud dei



sz] .ely. isto modo Deinde infra angulum superiorem [S: inferiorem] pentagoni scribe istas duas litteras .l.h [S, S2: lx]. Et infra alium angulum dextrum [S, S2 add: istas duas] .a.l. Et in alio [9v] post istum [S2 adds: "istas duas .l.a. et in alio post istum .l.c. Et in alio post istum" S. adds simply: "istas duas"] .n.m. [S: .v.m.] Deinde circa pentagonum fac unum eptagonum [S: heptagonum] cuius latus superius secundum sui medium contingat angulum superiorem pentagoni ubi .l.h. [S, S2: .l.x.] scribebatur, et in eodem latere eptagoni [S: heptagoni] scribe hoc nome~ scante [S, S2: sancti] angeli quod est [S, Sl. 3854 add: .casziel. Et in alio latere a dextris istud nomen alterius sancti angli quod est] .satquiel. Deinde in alio .samael. et in alio .raphael. postea .anael. postea .michael. postea .gabriel. et sic *7* latera eptagoni [S: heptagoni] sunt [S, S2: erunt] adimpleta [S: adimpleti], Deinde circa istum eptagonum [S: heptagonu~] predictum fac alium eptagonum [S: heptagonu~] non quoquo modo factum propter trinitatem parsonarm. Deinde infra illos d circulos in superiori parte quae dicitur angulus meridiei fac unam crucem, cuius tibia aliquantulu intrat circulum interiorem. Deinde a parte dextra crucis scribe .h. aspirationem deinde .t. deinde .o. deinde .e. x . o. r. a. b. a. l. a. y. q. c. i. y. s. t. a. l. a. o. n. o. s. v. l. a. r [t]. y. t. c. e. k. s. p. f. y. o. m. m. a. n. a. r. e. l. a. c. e. d. a. t. o. n. o. n. a. o. y. l. [y]. o. t. m. a. et istae literae sunt aeque distantes, circumdent circulum. eo ordine quo sunt prenominatae et sic magnum nomen domini schemhamphoras *72* literarum erit completum. facto in medio circulorum scilicet in centro fac un

pentagonum talem, . in cuius medio si

signum tau tale et super illud signum scrib hoc nomen dei **el,** et sub nomine aliud nomen dei

sz **.ely.** isto modo .

Deinde infra angulum superiorem [S: inferiorem] pentagoni scribe istas duas litteras .l.x. Et infra ali angulum dextrum istas duas .a.l. Et in alio post ist [S2 adds: "istas duas .l.a. et in alio post istum .l.c. in alio post istum" S. adds simply: "istas duas"] .n [S: .v.m.]

Deinde circa pentagonum fac unum heptagonum cuius latus superius secundum sui medium contin angulum superiorem pentagoni ubi .l.x. scribebatu in eodem latere heptagoni scribe hoc nomen sanct angeli quod est **.casziel.** Et in alio latere a dextris istud nomen alterius sancti angli quod est **.satquie** Deinde in alio .samael. et in alio .raphael. postea .anael. postea .michael. postea .gabriel. et s *7* latera heptagoni erunt adimpleta [adimpleti], Deinde circa istum heptagonum predictum fac ali heptagonum non quoquo modo primus factus est taliter quod unum latus ipsius intercedet latera alterius, Deinde fac alium heptagonum talem qual primus fuit cuius anguli *7* contingant angulos * h3eptagoni secundi quibus esse videtur.

prius sed [S: non q^{o} m^{o} primus factus est sed] taliter quod unum latus ipsius incarceret [S, S2: intercedet] latera alterius, Deinde fac alium eptagonum [S, S2 add: tale~] qualis prius [S: primus] fuit cuius anguli *7* contingant angulos *7* eptagoni secundi quibus esse videtur. Hic tamen eptagonus infra perdictum secundum concludetur, [S, S2 add: unu~] latus secundi eptagoni [S: hexagoni] supernudo et aliud subenudo, [S adds: sed; S2 adds: squo(?)] latus primo angulos [S: angulo] succedens subenudo ibit. et quæ [S2: que] sequntur [S2: secuntur] serie supereuntis et subeuntis alterutrum se habebunt, Deinde in quolibet angulo secundi eptagoni [S: hexagoni] una crux depingatur, Deinde [10r] in illo latere secundi eptagoni [S: hexagoni] quod transit ab ultimo angulo [S, S2 add: eiusde~] ad secundum angulum eiusde~ in eadem parte quæ est super [S: supra] .casziel. sillabe cuiusdam scaneti [S, S2: sancti] dei nominis scribatur [S: scribantur], Ita quod hac sillaba .la. scribatur in illo loco lateris perdicti [S: prædicti] qui est supra primam sillabam de .casziel. et hac [S2: hec; S: hæc] sillaba .ya. in illo loco [S, Sl3185 add: eiusdem] lateris qui est supra ultimam sillabam eiusdem de [deest S, S2] .casziel. et hæc [S2: hec, S: hæc] silliba .ly. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est latus intersecans predictum latus et crucem secundi anguli eiusdem, Deinde in [S: a] latere illo quod tendit ab angulo primo eiusdem secundi eptagoni [S: hexagoni] ad tertium angulum eiusdem scribatur hoc nomen sanctum dei [S: hoc sanctum nomen dei] .narath. ita quod hæc [S2: hec] sillaba .na. scribatur in illo loco eiusdeum lateris qui est supra primam sillabam de .satquiel. et haec [S2: hec] sillaba .ra. in illo loco qui est supra ultimam eiusdem, et [S2 adds: hec; S adds hæ] dua [S2: due, S: duæ] literae .t.h. [S: .c.h.] in illo loco qui est in eodem [S, S2 add: latere] inter latus secans ipsum [S: illud] et crucem tertiam [S: tercia~], Deinde in illo latere eiusdem secundi eptagoni [S: hexagoni] quod tendit .a. tertio [S reads simply: tendit a 3°...] angulo eiusdem ad quartum eiusdem [10v] scribatur hoc creatoris nomen sanctum quod dicitur .libarre. ita quod hæc [S2: hec] sillaba .ly. scribatur supra primam sillabam, de .raphael. et haec [S2: hec] sillaba .bar. supra ultimam sillabam [S2 adds in margin: i~ illo] * eiusdem, et hæc sillaba .re. in illo loco * [text between * deest in S2] eiusdem lateris qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et quintur angulum eiusdem secundi eptagoni [S: hexagoni], Deinde in illo latere eiusdem secundi eptagoni [S: hexagoni] quod est .a. Hic tamen heptagonus infra perdictum secundum concludetur, unum latus secundi heptagoni superr et aliud subenudo, sed latus primo angulo succede subenudo ibit. et quae sequntur serie supereuntis e subeuntis alterutrum se habebunt, Deinde in quoli angulo secundi heptagoni una crux depingatur, Deinde in illo latere secundi heptagoni quod trans ultimo angulo eiusdem ad secundum angulum eiusdem in eadem parte quae est supra .casziel. si cuiusdam sancti dei nominis scribantur, Ita quod l sillaba .la. scribatur in illo loco lateris praedicti qu supra primam sillabam de .casziel. et haec sillaba in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est supra ultimam sillabam eiusdem de .casziel. et haec silliba .ly. in loco eiusdem lateris qui est latus intersecans predictum latus et crucem secundi anguli eiusdem Deinde in latere illo quod tendit ab angulo primo eiusdem secundi heptagoni ad tertium angulum eiusdem scribatur hoc nomen sanctum dei .narath quod haec sillaba .na. scribatur in illo loco eiusde lateris qui est supra primam sillabam de .satquiel. haec sillaba .ra. in illo loco qui est supra ultimam eiusdem, et haec duae literae .t.h. in illo loco qui e in eodem latere inter latus secans ipsum [S: illud] crucem tertiam, Deinde in illo latere eiusdem secu heptagoni quod tendit .a. tertio angulo eiusdem ac quartum eiusdem scribatur hoc creatoris nomen sanctum quod dicitur .libarre. ita quod haec sillaba .ly. scribatur supra primam sillabam, de .raphael. et haec sillaba **.bar.** supra ultimam sillabam eiusdem, et haec sillaba .re. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est inter latus intersecans ipsu quintur angulum eiusdem secundi heptagoni.

Deinde in illo latere eiusdem secundi heptagoni q est .a. quinta cruce vsque ad ultimam scribatur ho aliud sacrum creatoris nomen .libares. ita quod ha sillaba .ly. scribatur in illo loco lateris qui est supr primam sillabam ipsius .michael. et haec sillaba .l in illo loco lateris qui est supra ultimam sillabam eiusdem, et haec sillaba .res. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et ultir crucem. Deinde in illo latere eiusdem secundi heptagoni quod vadit a secundo angulo eiusdem secundi heptagoni ad quintum [S: quartum] scriba hoc aliud sanctum nomen dei .halg. cum coniunct ita quod coniuunctina in illo loco eiusdem lateris scribatur qui est supra primam sillabam de **.Sama** et haec litera .ly. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui es supra ultimam eiusdem, et haec sillaba .alg. in loc eiusdem lateris qui est inter latus intersecans ipsu

quinta cruce [S reads simply: quod est a 5ta cruce] vsque ad ultimam scribatur hoc aliud sacrum creatoris nomen .libares. ita quod hæc [S2: hec] sillaba .ly. scribatur in illo loco lateris qui est supra primam sillabam ipsius .michael. et hæc [S2: hec] sillaba .ba. in illo loco lateris qui est supra ultimam sillabam eiusdem, et hæc [S2: hec] sillaba .res. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et ultimam crucem. Deinde in illo latere eiusdem secundi iptagoni [S: exagoni] quod vadit a secundo angulo eiusdem secundi eptagoni [S: exagoni] ad quintum [S: quartum] scribatur [S, S2 add: hoc] aliud sacrum [S: sanctum] nomen dei [deest S, S2] .halg. [S: lialg] cum coniunctina ita quod coniuunctina in illo loco eiusdem lateris scribatur quid [S: qi; S2: qui] est supra primam [11r] sillabam de .samael. et hæc litera .ly. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est supra ultimam eiusde~, et hæc sillaba .alg. in loco eiusdem lateris qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et quartam crucem, Sed caue quod ra [deest S] coniunctina sic debet scribi et [deest S] cum titulo intersecante propter timorem dei malum volitum [S2, S: nolitu~] diuideutem, Deinde in illo latere eiusdem eptagoni [S: hexagoni] tendente a quarta cruce ad sextam scribatur hoc aliud sacrum [S: sanctum] dei [S2: aliud dei sacrum] nomen .veham. [S2: ucham] ita quod hæc sillaba .ve. [S2 ue; S: Ne(?)] scribatur in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est supra primam sillabam de .anael. et hæc litera .h. supra ultimam sillibam et hæc sillabam .am. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est latus secans ipsum et sextam crucem, Deinde in illo latere quod tendit a sexto [S2 adds: angulo] eiusdem secundi eptagoni [S: hexagoni] ad primum angulum scribatur hoc aliud sacrum [S: sanctum] dei nomen .yalgal. ita quod hec [S: hæc] litera .y. scribatur in alla [S2: in illo loco] eiusde~ lateris qui est [S: scribatur in illo loco lateris eiusdem qui est] supra primam sillabam de .gabriel. et hæc sillaba .al. super [S: supra] ultimam et hæc sillaba .gal. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et primam [11v] crucem, Deinde in medio latere [S2, S: lateris] primi et tertii eptagoni [S: hexagoni] a dextris [S: dexteris] scribatur .vos. [S: Avs(?)] et in sequenti latere eiusdem tertii eptagoni [S: hexagoni] a dextris [S: dexteris] hoc Nomen .duymas. [S: dvynas] et in alio .Gyram. et in alio .Grani. [S2, S: Gram] et in alio .Aysaram. et in alio .Alpha. et ω. in alio [S: et in alio . ω .]. Deinde in alio spaciolo quod est sub secundi et tertii angulo primo eptagonorum [S: est sub angulo primo 2i et 3i hexagonoru~] scribatur hoc quartam crucem, Sed caue quod ra coniunctina sic debet scribi et cum titulo intersecante propter timo dei malum nolitum diuideutem, Deinde in illo late eiusdem heptagoni tendente a quarta cruce ad sex scribatur hoc aliud sacrum dei nomen **.veham.** ita quod haec sillaba .ve. scribatur in illo loco eiusde lateris qui est supra primam sillabam de .Anael. e haec litera .h. supra ultimam sillibam et haec sillabam .am. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est la secans ipsum et sextam crucem, Deinde in illo lat quod tendit a sexto angulo eiusdem secundi hepta ad primum angulum scribatur hoc aliud sacrum de nomen .yalgal. ita quod haec litera .y. scribatur in loco eiusdem lateris qui est supra primam sillaba de .Gabriel. et haec sillaba .al. supra ultimam et h sillaba .gal. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est inte latus intersecans ipsum et primam crucem, Deind medio lateris primi et tertii heptagoni a dextris scribatur .vos. et in sequenti latere eiusdem tertii heptagoni a dextris hoc Nomen .duymas. et in alio .Gyram. et in alio .Gram. et in alio .Aysaram. in alio .A. et in alio .Ω.

Deinde in alio spaciolo quod est sub secundi et te angulo primo heptagonorum scribatur hoc nomen dei .el. et in alio spaciolo quod est a dextris sub angulis secundi et tertii heptagonorum sub secunc cruce hoc nomen .ON. et in illo alio spaciolo sub tertia cruce. iterum hoc nomen .el. et in alio sub quarta cruce iterum .ON. et in alio sub quinta cru iterum .el. et in alio sub sexta cruce iterum .ON. e alio sub septima cruce .Ω. Deinde in illo spacio q clauditur inter angulum primum secundi heptagon secundum angulum eiusdem et primum latus terti heptagoni et portionem circuli contingentem illos angulos depingatur una crux, in medio scilicet spa illius. Et in bucca superiori a leua crucis scribatur haec litera .a. et super buccam crucis secundam a dextris haec litera .g. Et sub bucca inferiori a dext scribatur haec alia litera .a. Et sub quarta bucca ha alia litera .l. Deinde in alio spaciolo sequenti a de in medio scribatur hoc nomen dei .Ely. et in alio h nomen .Eloy. et in alio .Christos. et in alio .Sothe in alio .ADONAI. et in alio .Saday.

nomen dei .el. et in alio spaciolo quod est a dextris sub angulis [S: angulo] secundi et tertii eptagonorum [S: hexagonorum] sub secunda cruce hoc nomen .ON. et in [S2, S add: illo] alio spaciolo sub tertia cruce. itarum [S2: iteru~] hoc nomen .el. et in alio sub quarta cruce iterum .ON. et in alio sub sequenti [S2: q^{i}nta; S: 5ta] cruce iterum .el. et in alio sub sequenti [S2: sex^{u}; S: 6ta] cruce iterum .ON. et in alio sub septima cruce . @ . Deinde in alio [S2, S: illo] spacio [S: spaciolo] quod clauditur [S: claditur] inter angulum [S2, S add: primum] secundi eptagoni [S: hexagoni] et secundum angulum eiusdem et primum latus tertii eptagoni [S: hexagoni] et portionem circuli contingentem illos angulos depingatur una crux, in medio scilicet [S2: .S.; S: si] spacii illius. Et in bucca superiori a leua crucis scribatur hæc litera .a. [S: A] et super buccam crucis secundam a dextris [12r] hæc litera .g. Et sub bucca inferiori a dextris [S: dexte=/is] scribatur hæc [S2, S add: alia] litera .a. [S: A] Et sub quarta bucca hæc [S,S2 add: alia] litera .l. Deinde in alio spaciolo sequenti a dextris in medio scribatur hoc nomen dei [deest S2, S] .ely. [S: Ely] et in alio hoc nomen .eloy. [S: Eloy] et in alio .christos. et in alio .sother. [S: Sother] et in alio .ADONAI. [S2, S: Adonay] et in alio .Saday.

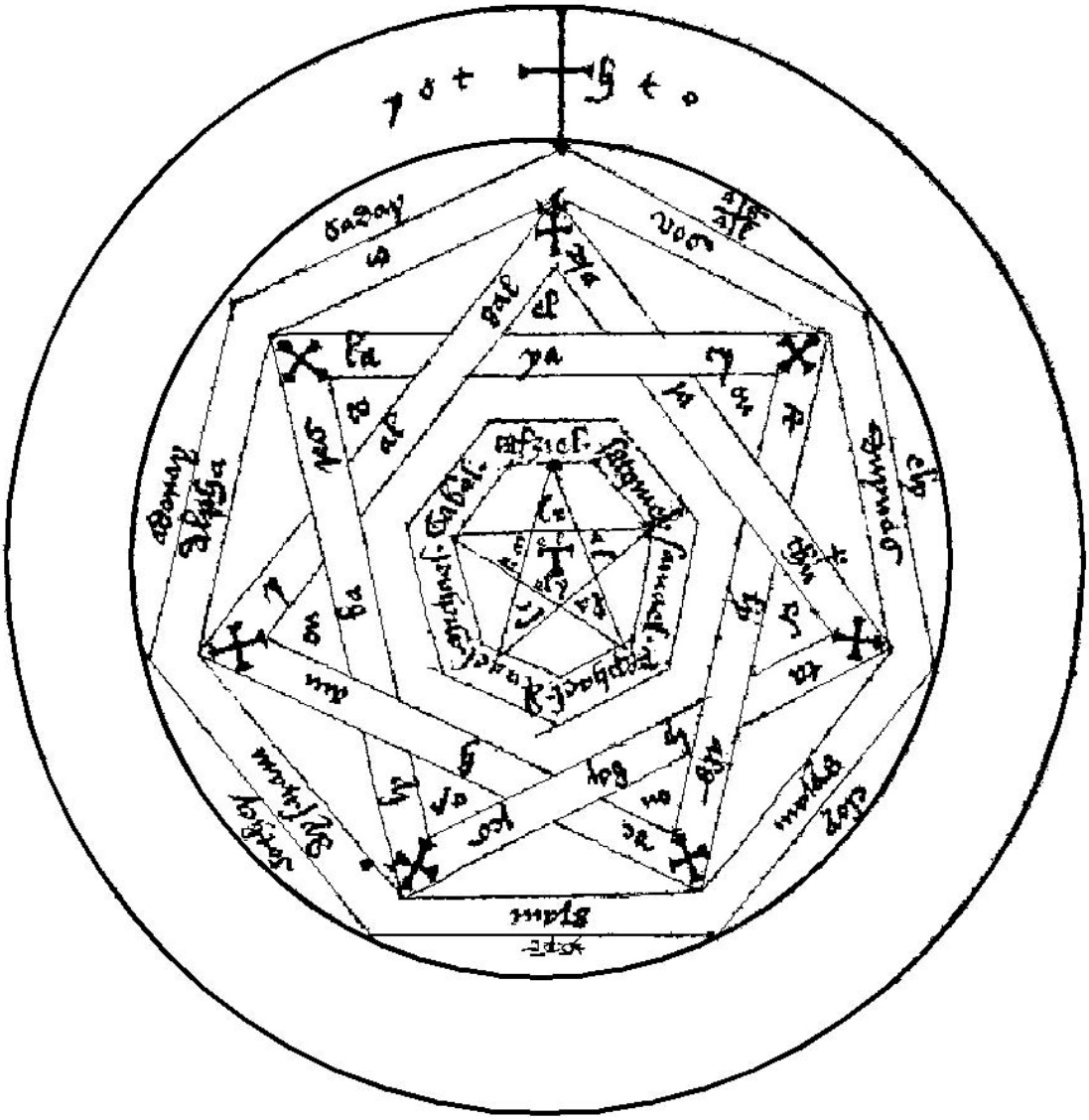
Deinde scias quod communiter in exemplaribus [S2, S: q^{d} in exemplaribus communiter] pentagonus fit de rubeo cum croceo in spaciis tincto. Et prim~ [S2, S: primus] septagonus [hex^{t}agonus] de azurio, secundus de croceo, tertius de purpureo, et circuli de nigro, et spacium inter circulos ubi est nomen de maximum. ac venerabile [S2 omits "de maximum ac venerabile"] .schemhamphoras. tingitr croceo, omnia alio [S2, S: alia] spacia viridi habent tingi, Sed in operationibus aliter fieri debet, quia de sanguine aut. talpæ. aut .turturis. at [S2: aut] .vpupæ. aut .vespertilionis. aut omnium horum figuratur, et in pergameo~ virgineo vituluio [S2, S: vitulino], vel equino, vel ceruino, et sic completur dei sigillum, Et par [S2, S: per] hoc sanctum et sacrum sigillum quando erit sacratum poteris. facere operationes quæ postea dicentur [S: sequntur] in hoc libro [S2: libro sacro; S: sac^{o}]. Modus autem sacrandi hoc sacrum sigillum talis [S: talitur] sicut sequitr [S: seq^{i}tur] debet esse. */*/*/*/*/*/*

[S3: After this thow shalt knowe that comonly in the examplars the fyve cornarde cyrkyll or anullet is made of redd died w^{t} saffron w^{t}in the spaces & the

After this you shall know that commonly in the exemplars the five-cornered circle or amulet is ma of red dyed with saffron. Within the spaces and th first circle with seven corners of azure, the second saffron, the third of purple and the round circle of Black. And the space between the circles where th name **Schemhamphoras** is, is died with saffron. other spaces are to be coloured with green. Where **Tetragrammaton** ye & the xkyll abowght that w with the Angels names and planets. But in operati it must otherwise be done. For it is made with the blood either of a mole or of a turtledove, or a lapv or of a bat, or of them all, and in virgin parchmen a calf, or of foal, or a hind calf. And so is the Seal God perfect.

And by this holy and consecrated seal after it is consecrated, you may work operations which shal declared afterwards in this book. The manner of consecrating of this holy seal ought thus to be as followeth.

ffirst c^{r}kell w^{t} 7 corners of azure, the seconde of saffron. The thirde of purple & the rounde cerkelie of Black. / & the space betwene the circules wher the name Shemhamphoras is: is dyed w^{t} saffron. Att other spaces are to be coloured w^{t} grene. wher tet'grammaton ye & the xkyll abowght that wyght w^{t} the Angells names & planetts. / But in operacyons it must other wyse be done. for it is made w^{t} the blode either of a mowlle or of a turtyll doue. or a lappwynge or of Backe or of the all & in virgynu~ parchament of a calfe or oa foole or a hynde calfe. and so is the seale of god perfecte. / and by this holy & consecrated seale aft^{r} it be consecrated thou mayest worke operacions wich shalbe declared afterwarde in this Booke. The man^{r} of consecratyng of this holy seale ought thus to be as folowethe.]



[12v]

Inspirante domino dixit Salomon unus est solus deus, sola fides, sola virt~s, qua~ dominus hominibus voluit revelari et distribui hoc [S2, S: tali] modo. Dexit [S2, S: Dixit] Angulus .Samael. Salomoni hoc [S2: hic] dabis populo Israel qui et aliis similiter tribuent [S2, S add: sic placuit creatori] et inbet ipsum Dominus [S: dominus ipsum] taliter consecrari, Primo sit mundus operans non pollutus [S: polutus], et cum deuocione faciat non astute, non commedat neque bibat, donec perfecerit opus, Et sanguis quo scriptus [S2, S: scriptu~] fuerit primo sit benedictus sicut postea dicetur, Deinde suffumigetr [S2, S: suffumigetur], hoc sigillum ambra, musco, aloe, lapdano, albo, et rubeo, mastice, olibano, margaritis et thure. Invocando et

By the inspiration of god, Solomon said: there is o one God, one faith, and one virtue, which the Lor intended to be revealed to men and distributed of wise. The angel said to Solomon, "This shall you to the people of Israel who also shall likewise giv others. So it has pleased the creator."

And the Lord commands it thus to be consecrated First, let the worker be clean, not polluted, and let him do it with devotion, not deceytfully. § Let hir not eat nor drink till he has done his work. § And blood wherewith it shall be written, first must be blessed as shall be said afterward. Then the seal n be [per]fumed with amber, musk, aloes, lapdanun white and red mastick, olibanum margarith, and Frankincense, calling upon and praying to the Lor

orando dominum sicut postea de visione divina erudietur, Post [S: postea] invocando angelos sicut etiam [deest S] infra [deest S2] Dicetur, mutabitur tamen [S2: tñ; S: tantum] peticio hoc [S2, S: tali] modo,

[S3: By the inspiracion of god, Salomon said: y^{er} is only one god only faith only vertue wch the lord wolde to be reueled to men & distributed of this wyse. The angell said to Salomon this shalt thow geve to the people off Israell whiche also shall likewise geve to others, so it hathe pleased the creato^{r}. / & the lorde comaundeth it thus to be cõsecrated / ffirst let the worker be cleane not polluted & let hym do it w^{t} deuocion not deceytfully / let hym not eate nor drynke tyll he heaue done his worke / & the blode where^{tr} it shalbe written first must be blessed as shalbe said afterward. than the seale must be fumed w^{t} amber, muske, aloes, lapdanum the white & redd / mastyke, Olibanum margarith & encensce, callyng uppõ & prayng to the lorde & all holy angels, by sayng as foloweth.]

and all holy angels, by saying as follows:

[S: **Oratio**]

Oration.

ut tu domine per annunciationem concepcionem et citera. Hoc sacratissimum nomen ac sigillum tuum benedicere et consecrare digue ris [S2, S: digneris] ut per ipsum et [S2, S: te] mediante possim vel possit talis [S2: "tal:"; S: "tali"] .N. celestes [S: cælestes] coniuncere [S: convincere] potestates aereas et terreac [S2, S: terreas] cum infernalibus subingare, invocare, transmittaere [S2, S: transmutare]. coniurare [13r] constringere, excitare, gongregare [S: congregare], dispergere, ligare ac ipsos innocuos reddere homines placare, et ab eis suas [S2: tuas] peticiones graciosius [S: graciosi] habere, inimicos pacificare, pacificatos disimigere, sanos insanitate custodire vel infirmare. infirmos curare. homines bonos a malis custodire. et distinguere, et cognoscere, omne corporale periculum euadere, Judices in placito placatos reddere, victoriam in omnibus obtinere, pecrata carnalia mortificare et spiritualia fugare vincere, et euitare, divitias in bonis augmentare et dum [S2: du~; S: domine(?)] in die indicii apparebit. a dextris tuis cum sanctis et electis tuis tuam possit cognoscere [S2: agnoscere] maiestatem */*/*/*/*

That thou, Lord, by the annunciation, conception, and [?] wilt vouchsafe to bless and consecrate this thy most holy name and seal, that by it through thy mediation I (or such one) N. may convitco heavenly powers airy, earthy, and infernal, to subdue, invocate to alter, conjure, constrain, raise up, congregate, drive away, to bind and to make though not able to hurt or harm, to pacify men and of them to have graciously mine (or his) petitione to quiet enemies. Them that be at peace to disseun, and to keep sick them in health, or to make them sick, to make sick men whole, to keper evil men from good and to divide and to know them, to escape all bodily danger, to make judges pacified at pleasure, to obtain victory in all things, to mortify

[S3: That thow lorde by the annunciacion, conceptiõ &c. wilte vouchesafe to blesse & cõsecrate this thy

most holy name & seale that by it through thy mediacion I may or suche one maye N. convitco heuenly powers ayrely earthy & infernall to subdue invocate to alter coniure, cõstrayne, reyse up, cõgregate dryve away to bynde & to make tho not able to hurte or harme to pacifie men & of them to haue graciouslye myne or his peticione to quyet enemyes. / them y^{t} be at peace to disseu~ & to kape seke ,e~ in helth or to make the~ seeke./ to make seke men whole, to keper evyll men from good & to dyvide & to know them. / to skape all bodely daunger, to make Iudges pacified at pleasure./ to obteyne victory in all thyngs, to mortifie carnall synnes & to dryve away ouercome & avoyde, the spirituall./ to encrease riches in good thyngs & whau~ in the daye of iudgement. I or he shall appere of thy ryght hande w^{t} thy saynts & electe I or he maye knowe thy maiestie.]

carnal sins and to drive away, overcome, and avoid, the spiritual, to increase riches in good things and when in the Day of Judgement, I (or he) shall appear at thy right hand with thy saints and elect, I (or he) may know thy majesty.

Et tunc illa nocte sub aere [S2, S add: sereno] extra domum dimittat, Tunc habeas chirotecas [S: chirothechas] nouas sine creace factas inquas quis numquam manum posuit [S2, S: posuerit] in quibus signum glutetur, et sic complebitur hoc sacrum [S2: sacrosct~m; S: sac^{o}sctmus (?)] sigillum, Cuius primus eptagonus [S: heptagonus] .7. ordines, Secundus .7. Articulos Duplos tertius .7. sacramenta Designat [S: designant] */*/*/*/*/*/*

Then that night let him lay it without the house in clear air. Then you shall have new gloves made without fingers therou~, into the which no man ev did put his hand, in the which the seal shall be fas and thus is accomplished this holy seal.

[S3: Than that nyght let hym ley it w^{t}out the house in the cleare ayre, then, thow shalt haue new gloves made w^{t}out fyng^{r}stherou~, in to the wch no man~ eu~ dyd put his hande in the whiche the seale shalt be fast put & thus is complisshed this holy seale.]

Prima mundatio that is to saye the beginninge of the clensinge or powrginge of him y^{t} shall worke in this arte ffor he must be cleane ffrom all filthynes of soule and bodye */*/*/*

[V] The beginning of the cleansing or purging of him who shall work in this art for he must be clean from all filthiness of soul and body

[13v]

Now that we haue fynisshed the composityon or makinge of the seale of god, let us procede to know how we shall obtayne the visyon or sighte of the

Now that we have finished the composition or ma of the Seal of God, let us proceed to know how w shall obtain the vision or sight of the Diety.

First he that shall work must be very penitent and

deite.

ffirst he y^{t} shall worke must be very penitent and trewly confessed of all his sinnes. he muste vtterly forbere ye company of women and all there intycements, in so muche y^{t} he maye nott looke upon them, ffor as salomon sayeth, it is better to abyde withe a bere or a lyon in there dennes then to be in a howse w^{t} a wickyd woman, he maye kepe no company w^{t} wicked or sinfull men, for as dauid sayethe w^{t} ye holy thow shalte be holy, and w^{t} the wicked thow shalte be wicked. therfore he muste leade a pure and clene lyffe. for dauid sayeth blyssed are the undefyled and those y^{t} walke in the lawe of ye lorde, lett not his apparryll be filthe but rather new, or elles very cleane waschyd, salomon meanithe here by ye new garmentes vertu and purenes of lyffe, ffor god and his holy angells care for no wordely thinges, and that dothe appere, for the pore men doo soner worke effectually in this arte then the ryche men, but in this worke folowinge clene apparryll [14r] is necessarye, for angells doo abyde w^{t} me~ and they be clene, and therfor they desyre to haue clene apparryll, and therfore salomon did speke generally aswell of the clennes of ye soule as of the clennes of apparryll, and let him that shall worke neuer be ydell least his harte doo the soner enclyne to synne for the scripture sayeth, be alwayes doinge some thinge lest ye be fownde ydle, and lett him alwayes praye unto god withe these prayers folowinge for the scripture sayethe blessed is the seruant whome the lorde when he commethe shall fynde wakinge */*/*/*/*/*

truly confessed of all his sins. He must utterly for
the company of women and all their enticements,
insomuch that he may not look upon them. For as
Solomon says, "It is better to abide with a bear or
lion in their den than to be in a house with a wick
woman." He may keep no company with wicked
sinful men, for as David says, "With the holy you
shall be holy, and with the wicked you shall be
wicked." Therefore he must lead a pure and clean
For David says, "blessed are the undefiled and th
that walk in the law of the Lord." Let not his appa
be filthy, but rather new, or else very clean washe
Solomon means here by the new garments virtue
pureness of life, for God and his holy angels care
no worldly things, and that does appear (?). For th
poor men do sooner work effectually in this art th
the rich men. But in this work following clean ap
is necessary, for angels do abide with men and the
be clean, and therefore they desire to have clean
apparel. And therefore Salomon did speak genera
both of the cleanness of the soul and of the cleanr
of apparel. And let him that shall work never be i
lest his heart do the sooner incline to sin. For the
scripture says, "Be always doing something lest y
be found idle." And let him always pray to God w
these prayers following. For the scripture says,
"blessed is the servant whom the Lord when he c
shall finde waking."

---

the suffumigatyons as heare foloweth */*/*/*/*

The suffumigations as here follows.

[This section is not present in other manuscripts of *Liber Juratus* (S, S2, or Sl.313); They jump directly to the Orations]

[The following sections on suffumigations and the names of angels is not found in other manuscripts of *Liber Iuratus* (S, S2, or Sl.313). They jump directly to the Orations]

Thimiamate for the satter daye is all good things and well smelling roottes as ys costus (?) and herbe thuris, */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Thimmiamate for Saturday *is all good things and well smelling roots such as costus and the herb th*

Thimiamate upon saunday is masticke, muscus and suche lyke and all other good [14v] gumes of good odoure, as thus [thure], beniamen [benjamin, i.e. benzoin], storax, labdanum, ambre armoniacum, and such lyke */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Thimiamate for Sunday *is mastic, musk, and such like, and all other good gums of good odor, as thu benjamin, storax, labdanum, amber armoniacum, such like.*

thimiamate upon mondaye is folium mirti, and lawlri,

Thimiamate for Monday is folium mirti, and lav

and leues of good odor of all swet flowers
//*/*/*/*/*

thimiamate on the tewsdaye is sanders the redd blake and white, and all swete woodes as lygnum aloes cipres, balsami and such lyke
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

thimiamate on the wedsoun daye is the ryndes of all swete woodes, as cinamum, cassia ligina corticus, lauri, and macis and all swete sedes */*/*/*/*/*/*

thimiamate on the thowrsdaye is all swete frutes as nuttmuges, cloues, the ryndes of orenges and citrynes drye and powdred with suche lyke of good odoure
//*/*

thimiamate on the frydaye is mace roses [15r] violates and all other frutes or flowers of good odoure as crocus and such lyke */*/*/*

Hermes sayde of thimiamate, of the is cinamonium, and lignum aloes, and masticke, and crocus, and costus, and maces, and mirtus we put this y^{t} yche planett haue a partye in it */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Salomon making a destinctyon upon the dayes and planettes of the spyce with ye which aman oughte to make thimiamate, sayde that of is eche good rootte in good and euill, of all frutes, of eche tree, of eche gumme, of eche rynde, of eche flowers and odoriferus herbe, of the eche lefe, */*/*/* bacce,

and leaves of good odor of all sweet flowers.

Thimiamate for Tuesday is sanders, the red, bla and white, and all sweet woods as lignum aloes, cypress, balsam, and such like.

Thimiamate for Wednesday is the rinds of all sweete woods, as cinnamon, cassia ligina corticus lauri, and macis, and all sweet seeds.

Thimiamate for Thursday is all sweet fruits as nutmeg, cloves, the rinds of oranges and citrines, and powdered with such like of good odor.

Thimiamate for Friday is mace, roses, violets, a all other fruits or flowers of good odor, as crocus such like.

Hermes said of thimiamate, of the Moon is cinnar lignum aloes, mastic, crocus, costus, maces, and myrtle. We put this that each planet has a part in i

[Cp. Agrippa I-xliv: "But *Hermes* describes the most powerful fume to be, viz. that which is compounded of the seven aromatics, according to the powers of the seven planets, for it receives from Saturn, pepperwort, from Jupiter, nutmeg, from Mars, lignum-aloes, from the Sun, mastic, from Venus, saffron, from Mercury, cinnamon, and from the Moon, the myrtle."]

Solomon, making a distinction upon the days and planets of the spice with which a man ought to ma thimiamate, said that of Saturn is each good root i good and evil, of Jupiter all fruits, of Mars each tr of Sol each gum, of Mercury each rind, of Venus flower and odoriforus herb, of the Moon each leaf Bacce, cardamonum wax, put also with these thin

cardamonum wax, put also with $\wedge^{thes}$ thinges
//*/*/*/*/*

hermes sayeth that he founde in an olde booke y^{t} these were y^{e} more suffumigatyons thimiamate grecum, masticke, sandalus, [15v] galbanum, muscharlazerat, mirram and ambram and these be y^{e} collectyons of spirites */*/*/*/* and he saythe there is no suche suffumigatyon to call spirites as is ambra, lignum aloes, costus muscus crocus and bloode of a lapwinge w^{t} thimiamate mixt all to gethere w^{t} equall porcions, so y^{t} it be odiferus of the goumes
//*/*/*/*/*/*

Hermes says that he found in an old book that the were the more suffumigations: thimiamate grecun mastic, sandalus, galbanum, muscharlazerat, myrn and amber, and these be the collections of spirits. he says there is no such suffumigation to call spir as is ambra, lignum aloes, costus muscus, crocus, the blood of a lapwing, with thimiamate mixed al together in equal portions, so that it be odiferus of gums.

Suffumigacions compounded of sartaine thynges heare foloweth. atribited unto the planettes
/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/

Suffumigations compounded of certain thinges here follow, attributed to the planet.

[This section is evidently based on Agrippa I-xliv: "The compositions of some fumes appropriated to the planets." For suffumigations of the planets see also Picatrix Ed. Pingree pp. 200-2.]

For the sonne take saffrone, amber, muske, lignum, aloes, lignumbalsami, the frutte of laurell, w^{t} cloues, mir, and thuer equall porcions so y^{t} it be mixt all to gether after such manner y^{t} it be veri swete of odour of the goumes aforsaide, put to this ye braines of an eygell and the bloude of an whytte coke suche quantite as yt may be [16r] verie odiferus as before sayde and makeyt in lyttell balles or pylles and kepe yt verie close frome the aier or wynde for youre use
/

For the Sun take saffron, amber, musk, lignum, aloes, lignum balsam, the fruit of laurel, with clov myrrh, and thuer equal portions, so that it is mixe together after such manner that it be very sweet o odor of the gums aforesaid. Put to this the brains eagle and the blood of an white cock, such quanti it may be very odiferous as before said. And mak into little balls or pills and keep it very closed fro the air or wind for your use.

[Agrippa: We make a suffumigation for the Sun in this manner, viz. of saffron, ambergris, musk, lignum-aloes, lignum-balsam, the fruit of the laurel, cloves, myrrh, and frankincense, all which being bruised, and mixed in such a portion as may make a sweet odour, must be incorporated with the brain of an eagle, or the blood of a white cock, after the manner of pills, or trochisks.]

For the mone take the heades of froges made of the aier which you may gather after some showers of raigne, with the eyes of a bull and the sede of whytt popye w^{t} thure, and camphyre equall porcions, mixt all to gethere w^{t} sangine menstruo, and the bloud of a whytt gander suche quantyte as yt may be verie odiferus, and laye ytt safflye up for youre use as before sayde */*/*/*/*/*/*/*

For the Moon take the heads of frogs made of th which you may gather after some showers of rain with the eyes of a bull and the seed of white popp with thure, and camphir, equal portions, mixed al together with *sangine menstruo*, and the blood of white gander, such quantity as it may be very odiferus, and lay it safely up for your use as befor said.

For mars take euphorbium, bedellium, armoniacum, the rottes of bothe ye hearbes called elleborus, of

For Mars take euphorbium, bedellium, armoniac the roots of both the herbs called Helleborus (of s

some yt is called bearfotte, w^{t} the powder of the stone called magnes, and mirr, w^{t} alyttell sulphuer, but of the other equall porcions, mixt all to gether [16v] w^{t} the braines of a rauen, and humayne bloude w^{t} the bloude of a blak catt suche a quantie [sic] as yt maye be verie odiferus, and laye yt up for youre use as before saide
//*/*/*/*/*/*//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

it is called bearfoot), with the powder of the stone called magnes, and myrrh, with a little sulphur, bu the other equall portions, mixed all together with brains of a raven, and human bloode, with the blo of a black cat, such a quantity as it may be very odiferus, and lay it up for your use as before said.

For marcurie take mastike, thuer, cloues, the hearbe called sunckfoyle and of the stone in pouder called an agath, of equall porcions and mixt all thes to gethere, w^{t} the braines of afox and of a wesell, w^{t} ye bloude of a pye called a hagester, suche a quantyte as shalbe expedient, so y^{t} it be verie odiferus of the goumies aforesaide, and laye yt up saffe for youre use as before is first wrytten */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

For Mercury take mastic, thure, cloves, the herb called cinqfoil, and of the stone in powder called agate, of equal portions, and mix all these togethe with the brains of a fox and of a weasle, with the blood of a pie called a hagester, such a quantity as shall be expedient, so that it be very odiferus of th goumies aforesaid, and lay it up safe for your use, before is first written.

For the planett iubiter take the sede of a~ ayche tree, lignum aloes, storax, beniame~ and of the stone y^{t} is called lapis lazuli, and the greate endes of the quiells of [17r] a pecoke equall porcions, and mixtall thes to gether w^{t} the bloude of a storke, of a swalowe, and the braines of stagg called an hartte when he is kylled in the precens of the prince, the male or female will serue, but take suche a quantite as yt may be verie odiferus of the foresaide gumes, and layeyt up vere well for youre use as before saide */*/*/*/*/*/*

For the planet Jupiter take the seed of an ash tre lignum aloes, storax, benjamen, and of the stone t is called lapis lazuli, and the great ends of the qui of a peacock, equal portions, and mix all these together with the blood of a stork, of a swallow, a the brains of stag called an hart, when he is killed the presence of the prince, the male or female wil serve, but take such a quantity as it may be very odiferus of the foresaid gums, and lay it up very v for your use as before said.

For the planett venus, take muscke, ambre, lignum aloes, redd roses, and of the stone in pouder called corall, of y^{t} whiche is redd equall porcions and mixt all thes to gethere, with the braines of sparowes male and female, and w^{t} the bloude of a turcledour or of a howse doue being whytte, hauinge allwayes respect that it be odifires of the goumies as afore mencioned, and kepe yt verye well for youre use, ut supra,

For the planet Venus, take musk, amber, lignum aloes, red roses, and of the stone in powder called coral, of that which is red, equal portions, and mi these together with the brains of sparrows, male a female, and with the blood of a turtledove, or of a house dove being white, having always respect th be odiforous of the goumies as aforementioned, a keep it very well for your use, *ut supra* (as above)

[17v] For the planett saturne take the sedde of blake popye the sede of henbane, the rotte of mandragg, and of the stone in powder called magnes, and of mirr, equall porcions, mixt all thes to gethers with the braines of ablake catt, and the bloude of backes called fluider myse, hauinge respecte to the quantite that it be odiferouse of the goumie afore specified, kepeinge it verie well for youre use as is first wrytten
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

For the planet Saturn take the seed of black pop the seed of henbane, the root of mandrake, and of stone in powder called magnes, and of myrrh, equ portions, mix all these together with the brains of black cat, and the blood of backes called fluider n [*i.e.* bats], having respect to the quantity that it be odiforous of the goumie afore specified, keeping very well for your use as is first written.

Heare foloweth of maruelous efficacei sartaine suffumigacions accordinge to the demonstracion of lerned and wyse men after the opnione of

Here follows of marvellous efficacies of certain suffumigations according to the demonstration learned and wise men after the opinion of

philosophye */*/*/*/*/*/*/*

A suffumigacion made of thes hearbes as foloweth causeth a man to see scecreate visions to fore shewe and pronogsticate hidd and secreat mystires concerninge the hole use of the world, and to revele and openley declarre the quallities and operacion [18r] therof */*

Take of sede of flex the sede of the hearbe called flesede, the rottes of violettes the rottes of persley, and make a fumigacion accordinge to the use as you shalbe tawghe [sic] in this booke, and you shall thorowe the grace and healpe of allmightie god haue your desyere */*

philosophy

A suffumigation made of these herbs as follows causes a man to see scecreate visions to foreshow prognosticate hidden and secret mysteries concern the whole use of the world, and to reveal and open declare the qualities and operation thereof.

Take of seed of flex the seed of the herb called fleseed, the roots of violets, the roots of parsley, a make a fumigation according to the use as you sha be taught in this book, and you shall through the grace and help of almighty God have your desire.

A suffumigacion made of thes erbes cansethe visions in the ayer or els wheare to apeare
/

Take coriander of some called colender and henbane, and the skine y^t is withein the pound garnet and the fumigacion made yt is finished y^t you desyere */*/*/*/*

A suffumygacion made of these hearbes as folowithe causethe visions of the earthe to appeare
/

Take the rotte of the came reede, and [18v] the rott of fenill giaunte, which is called ferula, with the skynne y^t is w^t in the pourgarnet, and henbaune, and the herbe tassi barbassi and reed saunders and blake poppie, the conffeccione of thes made it is finished that you desyere */*

But iff this hearbe perslie with ye rote of ytt be added unto the fore sayde confecsion yt destroyethe the forsayde matter and maketh it cleane voyde from all places and yt shall come to no effecte */*/*/*/*/*/*

A suffumigacion made of thes hearbes as foloweth expellyth and driuith awaye all visions, and fantices in slepe or other wuse
/

Take piones peniriall, mintes and ye hearbe called palmacrist, and make a confeckecion therof at your goinge to bedd or at ani other tyme when as nede requireth and yt shalbe donne that [19r] you requier

A suffumigation made of these herbs cause the visions in the air or elsewhere to appear

Take coriander of some called colender, and henb and the skin that is within the pound garnet. And fumigation made, it is finished [=accomplished] t [which] you desire.

A suffumigation made of these herbs as follows causeths visions of the earth to appear

Take the root of the cane reed, and the root of gia fennil, which is called ferula, with the skin that is within the pourgarnet, and henbane, and the herb barbassi, and red sanders, and black poppy. The confection of these made, it is finished that [whic you desire.

But if this herb parsley with the root of it be adde the foresaid confection, it destroys the forsaid ma and makes it clean void from all places, and it sha come to no effect.

A suffumigation made of these herbs as follows expels and drives away all visions, and fantasie sleep or otherwise

Take peonies, pennyroyal, mints and the herb call palmacrist, and make a confection thereof at your going to bed, or at any other time when as need requires, and it shall be done that [which] you req

/

A suffumigacion made as folowith dryvith and expellith all poysons and venomes

Take the pemies of a peroke the hidden partes of the longes of an asse and make a conffeccion thereof and yt is donne that you desire
/

A suffumigacion made as folowith cawsyth a howse or suche places where yt is made to sime as yt were full of water or blowde
/

Take the galle of the fyshe called a cuttle the swete gum called arminioicum & rosses and lignum aloes, if then the sayde confeccion be put in the place wher ani water of the sea hathe benne or ani bloude hath benne or put of the sayde water or bloude in to the sayde confeccion y^{t} beinge congelyd and dried and therof afimigacion made in a howse or ani place [19v] where you are dyssposed to proue this and yt shalbe donne that you desyere and put into thys place where you worke thys forsayde matter ther earth y^{t} fallyth or hangeth on a plowe, and it wyll sem that all the earthe dothe tremble and shake.

A suffumygacion made as hearafter folowith in anie place where you will cawseth all things there hiddin never to be founde or reuelyd
/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/

Take thes hearbes, coriander, and saffron, henbanne, parslie and blake popie the water therof the popie dysstilled and tempered w^{t} the iuce of the poungarnet skine the which is w^{t} in the sayde poungarnet this being in a confeccion made and laye w^{t} yt golde syluer or anie other precious thinge w^{t} in the water the earthe or anie other place where you will, or make a fumigacion of the foresayde [20r] conffeccion upon the sayde place which thoue wilte hyde anie thinge in the at the same present be in coniunccion w^{t} th sonne in the .4. howse which is ye angle of the earthe or the pointe of midnight and yt shalbe allways kepte secrett for beinge found or reuelyd by anie

A suffumigation made as follows drives and ex all poisons and venoms

Take the pemies of a peroke the hidden parts of th lungs of an ass, and make a confection thereof, an is done that [which] you desire.

A suffumigation made as follows causes a hous such places where it is made to seem as it were of water or blood.

Take the gall of the fish called a cuttle, the sweet called armoniac, and roses, and lignum aloes. If th the said confection be put in the place where any water of the sea has been, or any blood has been, put [some] of the said water or blood into the said confection, that being congealed and dried, and thereof a fumigation made in a house or any place where you are disposed to prove this, and it shall done that [which] you desire. And put into this pl where you work this forsaide matter, the earth tha falls or hangs on a plow, and it will seem that all t earth trembles and shakes.

A suffumigation made as hereafter follows in a place where you will, causes all things there hidden never to be found or revealed

Take these herbs, coriander, and saffron, henbann parsley, and black poppy, the water thereof the po distilled and tempered with the juice of the poungarnet skin, the which is within the said poungarnet. This being in a confection made and with it gold, silver, or any other precious thing wi the water, the earth, or any other place where you will, or make a fumigation of the foresaid confect upon the said place which you would hide anythi in. The Moon at the same present [=instant] be[in conjunction with the Sun in the fourth house, whi the angle of the earth, or the point of midnight, an shall be always kept secret, for being found or revealed by any way or means, it is certain and tru

waye or means it is sartaine and true
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

A suffumygacion made of, as after folowith cawseth visions in the ayer & the shaddowes of sepulcors of the arthe to appeare
/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/

Take the naturall seed of the fyshe called a whalle, lingnum aloes, costus, muske saffronne, armoniacum, w^{t} the blude of the foule called a lapwinge, and make a conffeccion therof, w^{t} this sayde conffeccion make a fumigaccion in a conuenient place, and you shall see visyons in the ayer, take of the sayd conffeccion and make [20v]
a fumygacion aboute the sepulkers and vissions of the dedd shall and wyll appeare

And note and marke all this well, that thes saide matters hathe tymes and dew, obseruacions perffyttley to be donne and keepte properley under the trew frome and concourse of the heaunes, according to ther proper qualites and influences, in eche degre. for the whiche you maye worke as in the chapters before wrytten yt apperethe more plainley
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

A suffumigation made of, as after follows, caus visions in the air and the shaddows of sepulche of the earth to appear

Take the natural seed of the fish called a whale, lignum aloes, costus, musk, saffron, armoniac, wi the blood of the foul called a lapwing, and make a confection thereof. With this said confection mak fumigation in a convenient place, and you shall se visions in the air. Take of the said confection, and make a fumigation about the sepulchers, and visio of the dead shall and will appear.

And note and mark all this well, that these said matters have times and due observations perfitly t done, and kept properly under the true frame and concourse of the heavens, according to their prop qualites and influences, in each degree. For the w you may work, as in the chapters before written it appears more plainly.

the suffumigacions of the .12. signes, and of there facies */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

- [aries] take for ye fumigacion of the singe of aries mir
- [taurus] take for the fumigacion for ye singe of taurus, costus
- [gemini] take for the fumigacion for the singe of gemini, mastike
- [cancer] take for the fumigacion for the singe of cancer, camphyer,
- [leo] take for the singe of leo, thi fumigacion, thu
  [21r]
- [virgo] take for the fumygacion for the singe of virgo, saunders
- [libra] take for the singe of libra, this fumigacion, galbanm
- [scorpio] take for the singe scorpio, thys fumygacion, oponianac
- [sagitori] take for the singe of sagitori, thys fumygacion, lingnum

The suffumigations of the twelve signs, and of their faces

- [Aries] Take for the fumigation of the sign Aries myrrh.
- [Taurus] Take for the fumigation for the sig Taurus, costus.
- [Gemini] Take for the fumigation for the si of Gemini, mastic.
- [Cancer] Take for the fumigation for the sig Cancer, camphor.
- [Leo] Take for the sign of Leo, the fumigat thu.
- [Virgo] Take for the fumigation for the sign Virgo, sanders.
- [Libra] Take for the singe of libra, this fumigation, galbanum.
- [Scorpio] Take for the sign Scorpio, this fumigation, oponianac.
- [Sagittarius] Take for the sign of Sagittariu this fumigation, lignum [aloes].
- [Capricorn] Take for the sign of Capricorn, fumigation, asam

- [capricorne] take for the singe of capricorne, thys fumigacion, asam
- [aquarie] take for the singe of aquarie thys fumygacion, euphorbium
- [pysses] take for the synge of pysses thys fumygacion, thimiamatyis called armoniacum

Suffumicacions of the facies of the .12. signes

Primafacies [aries] teuer mirram .2. scamonum .3. pip nigrum . prima [taurus] costum .2. cardamonum .3. coprssum, prima facies .[cancer]. muscum .2. succhum .3. nucem muscatum, prima .[libra]. galbanium .2. ut almea, [21v] .3. garyophilum, prima facies .[capricorne]. asafetedam .2. celephamam, .3. pip longum, prima .[aquarie]. euforbium, .2. ruberberum .3. scamoneam, prima .[pysses]. tenet thimiama. .2. crocum .3. sandalum album .1. .[leo]. tenet thus .2. lingnum balsum, .3. mir muscata, prima .[virgo]. sandalus .2. crocum, .3. masticem. And looke what fumicacion we giue the first hower of

the the same muste you giue all that daye & so lykewyse of other
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

De suffumigationibus temporum
/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/

In primo tempore lignum aloes, thus, et crocum, in secundo tempore thimiama, id est armoniacum, costum, masticem, in tercio tempore sandalos, cassia et mirtum, in quarto tempore muscum succum et lignum balsami,

- [Aquarius] Take for the sign of Aquarius, tl fumigation, euphorbium
- [Pisces] Take for the sign of Pisces this fumigation, thimiamatis, called armoniacun

[Compare Agrippa I xliv: The twelve signs also of the Zodiac have their proper fumes, as Aries hath myrrh; Taurus, pepperwort; Gemini, mastic; Cancer, camphor; Leo, frankincense; Virgo, sanders; Libra, galbanum; Scorpio, opoponax; Sagittarius, lignum-aloes; Capricornus, benjamin; Aquarius, euphorbium; Pisces, red storax.]

Suffumigations of the faces of the twelve signs.

- Prima facies ♈ teuer mirram; 2. scamonum pip nigrum.
- Prima [taurus] costum; 2. cardamonum; 3. coprssum.
- Prima facies [cancer] muscum; 2. succhum; nucem muscatum.
- Prima [libra] galbanium; 2. ut almea; 3. garyophilum.
- Prima facies [Capricorn] asafetedam; 2. celephamam; .3. pip longum.
- Prima [aquarie] euforbium; 2. ruberberum; scamoneam.
- Prima [Pisces] tenet thimiama; 2. crocum; 3 sandalum album.
- 1. [Leo] tenet thus; 2. lignum balsum; 3. mi muscata.
- Prima [Virgo] sandalus; 2. crocum; 3. masticem.

And look what fumigation we give the first hour (the ☉; the same must you give all that day, and s(likewise of others.

De suffumigationibus temporum

- In primo tempore lignum aloes, thus, et crocum.
- In secundo tempore thimiama, id est armoniacum, costum, masticem.
- In tertio tempore sandalos, cassia et mirtum
- In quarto tempore muscum succum et lignu balsami.

De fumigationibus quatuor pertium mundi quatuer elementorum
/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/

In oriente parte et super ignem sunt ambra, [22r] muscus, et alba cera, in parte meredei, et terræ, sunt algalya, almea, et tyryaca, in occidentalii parte et in aere sunt balsamus, camphora, et olium olmarum, in septentrione et aqua sunt lignum aloes, nux muscata, et maceys */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

De fumigationibus quatuor pertium mundi quatuer elementorum

- In oriente parte et super ignem sunt ambra, muscus, et alba cera.
- In parte meredei, et terrae, sunt algalya, aln et tyryaca.
- In occidentalii parte et in aere sunt balsamu camphora, et olium olmarum.
- In septentrione et aqua sunt lignum aloes, n muscata, et maceys.

The names of the angells that haue powr upon y^{e} .7. dayes in the wicke and upon the .7. sterres and goethe upon the .7. heauens and other whyle in there chayers be these */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Capziel . satquiel . Samael . raphael . anael . l . Amael . Michael . et gabriel. and the powr of theys is that capziel is the power of sabaday . . satquiel of Zedet [sic] . . samael of madin . . raphael of hamina . . anael of noga . . michael of cocab . . and gabryel of labana . . and euery wan of thes sitteth in his heauen. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Nomina aeris in quatuor temporibus

in primo tempore dicitr ystana, in secundo .surail. in tertio . oadyon in quarto gulyon, et nomina angeloru~ qui habent potestatem in aere et super sunt hæc Raphael . guabryel . michael . cherubin . seraphyn . [22v] orchyne . pataceron . mycraton . sandalson .

[The names of the angels.]

The names of the angels that have power over t seven days of the week, and over the seven star and who go upon the seven heavens, and other while in their chairs be these.

Capziel, Satquiel, Samael, Raphael, Anael (or Annael), Michael, and Gabriel.

And the power of these is that Capziel is the powe Sabbathai (Saturn), Satquiel of Zedek (Jupiter), Samael of Madim (Mars), Raphael of Hamina (Sc Anael of Nogah (Venus), Michael of Cocab (Mercury), and Gabryel of Labana (The Moon). A every one of these sits in his heaven.

Nomina aeris in quatuor temporibus

- In primo tempore dicitr ystana.
- In secundo, surail.
- In tertio, oadyon.
- In quarto gulyon,

Et nomina angelorum qui habent potestatem in ae super sunt haec: Raphael, Guabriel, Michael, Cherubin, Seraphin, Orchyne, Pataceron, Mycratc Sandalson, Barachyel, Rageyel, Tobyell, et nominabis . eos in omnibus rebus quae facias in a et deo adiuuante prosperabis.

Nomina terrae in quatuor . temporibus anni:

barachyel . rageyel . tobyell et nominabis . eos in omnibus rebus quæ facias in aere . et deo adiuuante prosperabis */*

Nomina terræ in quatuor . temporibus anni in primo dicitur nyguedam in secundo yabassa . in tercio . tobell, in quarto . aradon, et angeli terræ sunt hæc */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Samael . yatayell . baranyell . oryell . arfanyel . tatgryel . danael . affaryell . pactryell . baell . byenyell . et nominabis hæc nomina angelorum super terram in his rebus quæ facis in terra, et deo adiu~ante prosperabis */*/*/*

- In primo dicitur Nyguedam.
- In secundo, Yabassa.
- In tertio, Tobell.
- In quarto, Aradon.

Et angeli terrae sunt haec.

Samael, yatayell, baranyell, oryell, arfanyel, tatgr danael, affaryell, pactryell, baell, byenyell. Et nominabis haec nomina angelorum super terram i rebus quae facis in terra, et deo adiu~ante prosperabis.

the names of the monthes be these */*/*/*

nisan . yar . mantanius . abelul . tysyryn . marquesnam . quislep . tobenor thus tebethe sabat . adar . postadar . postremus .

The names of the months are these:

Nisan, Iyar, *mantanius, abelul*, Tishrei, *marquesn* Kislev, Tevet, Shevat, Adar, *postadar, postremus*

[Jewish month names are: Nisan, Iyar, *Sivan, Tammuz, Av, Elul*, Tishrei, Heshvan, Kislev, Tevet, Shevat, Adar. Compare with the list given below.]

The names of the potestates be these and they be .12. princes or rulors . that is one uppon euerye month of the .[moon]. and the rather is .oryel . sasuyell . amaryel . noryel . beraquiel . magnyuya . suryel . barfiell . adoniel . anael . gabryel . romyel . lacyel and euery of these [23r] hathe so many potestates or helpars more or greater as there be dayes in the monthe or many other seruantes of them.

The names of the potestates are these,

and they are twelve princes or rulers, that is, one f every month: Oriel, Sasuyell, Amariel, Noriel, Beraquiel, Magnyuya, Suriel, Barfiell, Adoniel, Anael, Gabriel, Romiel, Laciel.

And every one of these has as many potestates or helpers, more or greater as there are days in the month, or many other servants.

the names of the angells of the .12. monthes.

The names of the angells that be mighty and more mighty in the first monethe which is sayde nysan, be these . oryel . malaquiram . acya . zaziel . paltifur . yesmachia . yaryel . araton . robyca . sephatya . anaya . guesupales . seniquiel . sereryel . malquia . aricasom . pacyta . abdyel . ramasdon . cafiel . nascyasori . sugni . aszrus . sornadaf . admyel . necamya . caysaac . benyh . q~uor . adziryell .

The names of the angels of the twelve months.

The names of the angels that are mighty and m mighty in the first month, which is called *Nisa* are these:

Oriel, Malaquiram, Acya, Zaziel, Paltifur, Yesma Yariel, Araton, Robica, Sephatia, Anaya, Guesup Seniquiel, Sereriel . Malquia, Aricasom, Pacita, Abdiel, Ramasdon, Cafiel, Nascyasori, Sugni, As Sornadaf, Admiel, Necamia, Caysaac, Benyh, Q~ Adziriell.

the names of the .2. monthe which is sayd yar in the language of hebrewe */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Safuelor . sasnyeil . santon . cartemat . alyel . paltnya . bargar . galmus . necpys . aarom . manyt . aadon . quenanel . quemon . rasegar . affrye . absamon . sarsall . aspyn . carbyel . regnya . athlas . nadys . abytasy . abytan . palylet .
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

The names of the second month, which is calle *Iyar* in the Hebrew language.

Safuelor, Sasnyeil, Santon, Cartemat, Aliel, Paltn Bargar, Galmus, Necpis, Aarom, Manit, Aadon, Quenanel, Quemon, Rasegar, Affrie, Absamon, Sarsall, Aspin, Carbiel, Regnia, Athlas, Nadis, Abitasi, Abitan, Palilet.

the names of the angells of the .3. monthe that is sayd */*/*/*/* sifan be these.

Amaryel . tabryell . casmuch . nastyfa . almur . naa= [23v] mab . mamica . zicaran . samysarach . naaseyn . andas . paltamus . abrys . borzac . saforac . yayat . dalya . azyger. nabsuf . abuifor . zenam . dersam . cefanya . maccasor . naboon . adyell . maasyell . szarzyr . tartalyon . adyysar .

The names of the angels of the third month tha called *Sivan* are these:

Amariel, Tabriell, Casmuch, Nastifa, Almur, Naa Mamica, Zicaran, Samisarach, Naasein, Andas, Paltamus, Abris, Borzac, Saforac, Yayat, Dalia, Aziger, Nabsuf, Abuifor, Zenam, Dersam, Cefani Maccasor, Naboon, Adiell, Maasiell, Szarzir, Tartalion, Adyysar.

these be the names of ye angelles of y^e^ .4. monthe y^t^ is sayd thamuth

. noryel . safyda . asaf . mazica . sarsac . adryyaac . nagron . galuf . galgal . danroc . saracu . remafydda . lulyaraf . nedylar . tyaf . taanat . lafayel . genyda . nedyr . delqua . maadon . samyel . amrael . lezaydi . as . ohoc . nasyby . razyarsady . yadna . caspa . garytan . elysafan . pastama . maday .

These are the names of the angels of the fourth month, which is called *Tammuz.*

Noriel, Safida, Asaf, Mazica, Sarsac, Adryyaac, Nagron, Galuf, Galgal, Danroc, Saracu, Remafyd Lulyaraf, Nedylar, Tyaf, Taanat, Lafayel, Genida, Nedir, Delqua, Maadon, Samiel, Amrael, Lezaydi As, Ohoc, Nasyby, Razyarsady, Yadna, Caspa, Garitan, Elysafan, Pastama, Maday.

the names of the angells of the .5. monthe be these Ab

beraquyell or beraquyel . mãhy . or amarya . haya . byny . madrat . aman . tulyell . cossuro . fartis . nactif . nekyff . pegner . tablic . manuat . amasya . guatyell . reycat . gnynzy . palyel . gadeff . nesgnyraf . abrac . animiter . carnby . nachall . cabake loch . macrya . sase . essaf .

The names of the angels of the fifth month, call *Av*, are these:

Beraquiel, Manhy (or Amarya), Haya, Byny, Mac Aman, Tuliell, Cossuro, Fartis, Nactif, Nekyff, Pegner, Tablic, Manuat, Amasya, Guatiell, Reyca Gnynzy, Paliel, Gadeff, Nesgnyraf, Abrac, Animi Carnby, Nachall, Cabake, Loch, Macria, Sase, Es

these be the names of ye angells of the .6. monthe that is sayd elul.

manyny . arabyell . hanyell . nacery . yassar . rassy . boell . mathyall . naccameryf . zacdon . nafac . rapyon . saspy . salhy . rasersh . malquyell . sanytyell . yoas . gualaly . danpy . yamla . golum . zaszyell . satpach . nassa . myssyn . macratyf . dadyell . carcyell . effygmato */*/*

These are the names of the angels of the sixth month, which is called *Elul*.

Manyny, Arabiell, Haniell, Nacery, Yassar, Rassy Boell, Mathiall, Naccameryf, Zacdon, Nafac, Rap Saspy, Salhy, Rasersh, Malquiell, Sanytiell, Yoas Gualaly, Danpy, Yamla, Golum, Zasziell, Satpacl Nassa, Myssyn, Macratyf, Dadiell, Carciell, Effygmato.

these be the names of y^{e} angells of the .7. monthe that is sayd tysyrin.

surgell or suryel . sarycam . guabryza . szncaryell . sabybyall . ytrnt . cullya . dadyel . marham . abercaysdon . sacdon . pagnlan . arsabon . asyramon . agnyel . sastyracnas . alt= [24r] ym . masulaef . salamyel . sascunyel . barcaran . yahnt . alycas . vlysacyaia . abry .

These are the names of the angels of the sevent month, which is called *Tishrei*..

Surgell (or suriel), Sarycam, Guabryza, Szncariell Sabybiall, Ytrnt, Cullia, Dadiel, Marham, Abercaysdon, Sacdon, Pagnlan, Arsabon, Asyram Agniel, Sastyracnas, Altym, Masulaef, Salamiel, Sascuniel, Barcaran, Yahnt, Alycas, Vlysacyaia, Abry.

the names of the angells of the .8. monthe that is sayde marquesnan.

be these barbyts . or barfiell . tylzdyell . raamyell . nehubaell . alysaf . balyel . arzaf . rashyel . alson . naspyell . becar . palyel . elysu . aiguap . nacpas . sansany . aesal . maarym . sascy . yalsenac . mabynt . magdyell . saneinas . maalyel . arsafael . nanyseyorar . becabalaf . napybael . sucyel . nabnell . saryell . sodyel . marenell . palytam .

The names of the angels of the eighth month, which is called *marquesnan* [Heshvan], are the

Barbits (or Barfiell), Tylzdiell, Raamiell, Nehuba Alysaf, Baliel, Arzaf, Rashiel, Alson, Naspiell, B Paliel, Elysu, Aiguap, Nacpas, Sansany, Aesal, Maarym, Sascy, Yalsenac, Mabint, Magdiell, Saneinas, Maaliel, Arsafael, Nanyseyorar, Becaba Napybael, Suciel, Nabnell, Sariell, Sodiel, Maren Palytam.

the names of the angells of the .9. monthe be these which is sayde quislep.*/*/*/*

edoniel . radyel . maduch . racyno . hyzy . maryel . azday . mandyel . gumyel . seryel . kery . sahaman . osmyn . sechyel . pazehemy . chalchyphay . gey . Idael . necad . mynael . arac . ararygugel . galnel . gimon . satuel . elynzy . baquylaguall

The names of the angels of the ninth month, wh is called *Kislev*, are these:

Edoniel, Radiel, Maduch, Racino, Hyzy, Mariel, Azday, Mandiel, Gumiel, Seriel, Kery, Sahaman, Osmyn, Sechiel, Pazehemy, Chalchyphay, Gey, I Necad, Mynael, Arac, Ararygugel, Galnel, Gimon Satuel, Elynzy, Baquylaguall.

the names of the angells of the .10. monthe that is sayde thebeth be these.*/*/*

Anael . amyel . acyor . naclya . rapynes . raacpel . pacrel . halion . guanrynasnihe . aslaom . naspaya . neapry . sanihay . hasasylgason . gastaset . yfaryamy . man . polimas sarananuf . olyab . saryel . canel . razyell . pmla . nisquem . sarman . malysan . asyzat . marimoe .

The names of the angels of the tenth month, wh is called *Tevet*, are these:

Anael, Amiel, Acior, Naclia, Rapines, Raacpel, Pacrel, Halion, Guanrynasnihe, Aslaom, Naspaya Neapry, Sanihay, Hasasylgason, Gastaset, Yfarya Man, Polimas, Sarananuf, Olyab, Sariel, Canel, Raziell, Pmla, Nisquem, Sarman, Malysan, Asyza Marimoe

the names of the angells of the .11. monthe which is sayd cyuanth be these.*/*/*

gabryel . ysrael . natryel . gaszyel . nassam . abrysaf . zefaell . zamyel . mamyel . talyel . myryel . sahinyel . guryel . samhyell . daryel . banorsasty . satymn . nasyel . ransyel . talguaf . lebrachiel . dalyell . gandryel . sahuhaf . myschyel .

The names of the angels of the eleventh month, which is called *Shevat*, are these:

Gabriel, Ysrael, Natriel, Gasziel, Nassam, Abrysa Zefaell, Zamiel, Mamiel, Taliel, Myriel, Sahiniel, Guriel, Samhiell, Dariel, Banorsasty, Satymn, Na Ransiel, Talguaf, Lebrachiel, Daliell, Gandriel, Sahuhaf, Myschiel.

the names of ye angells of the .12. monthe that is sayde adar be these.*/*/*

romyel . patyel . [24v] guryel . azryel . paamyel . cartyel . el . anunalbeh . parhaya . ysael . beryel . laell . tenebyel . panten . panteron . fanyel . falason . mancyel . pataron . labyel . ragael . cetabyel . nyazpatael .

The names of the angels of the twelfth month, which is called *Adar*, are these:

Romiel, Patiel, Guriel, Azriel, Paamiel, Cartiel, E Anunalbeh, Parhaya, Ysael, Beriel, Laell, Tenebie Panten, Panteron, Faniel, Falason, Manciel, Patar Labiel, Ragael, Cetabiel, Nyazpatael.

the names of the angells of the .13. moneth y^{t} is sayde büsextilis which is sayde adar the laste in marche be these,

lacyel or lantyel . ardyel . nosmyel . ardyel . celydael . amyel . malquyel . gabalyel . susuagos . barylaguy . yabtasyper . magos . sangos . yayell . yel . yasmyel . steluyel . garasyn . ceyabgos . sacadyel . garacap . gabanael . tamtyel .

The names of the angels of the thirteenth mont which is called *Büsextilis*, which is called *Adar last in March*, are these:

Laciel (or Lantiel), Ardiel, Nosmiel, Ardiel, Cely Amiel, Malquiel, Gabaliel, Susuagos, Barylaguy, Yabtasyper, Magos, Sangos, Yayell, Yel, Yasmie Steluiel, Garasyn, Ceyabgos, Sacadiel, Garacap, Gabanael, Tamtiel.

the names of ye dayes of the wicke w^{t} there angells stronge and mighty upon euery daye, and euery won in his daye .

the names of ye angells that seruithe in the daye of **be these.**

danyel . olyeyll . saffyell . dargoyeyll . yelbrayeyell . cemaguyll . gebarbaya . faceyeyll . caram . neyeyll . talgylueyl . bethtaez . raneyl . salha . hyeyll . armaquieyeyll . romayl . gybryll . zemayl . mychaze . zarsayeyll . amayl . antorayeyll . ronayeyll . reniayeyll . barhyl . marhyll . rarorhyll . merhyll . zarafyll . zarayll . an . quyhym . ceytatynyn . eznyah . vehych . dunedryneylyn . yedemkyeyl . esmaadyn . elbedagrin . zamaanel . yocaleme . detryeyll . aryeyl . arnaeyll . veremedyn . vnaraxidyn .

The names of the days of the week with their angels, strong and mighty upon every day, and every one in his day.

the names of the angels that serve in the day of are these:

Daniel, Olyeill, Saffiell, Dargoyeill, Yelbrayeiell, Cemaguill, Gebarbaya, faceyeill, Caram, Neyeill, Talgylueil, Bethtaez, Raneil, Salha, Hyeill, Armaquieyeill, Romail, Gybrill, Zemail, Mychaze Zarsayeill, Amail, Antorayeill, Ronayeill, Reniay barhil, Marhill, Rarorhill, Merhill, Zarafill, Zarail An, Quyhim, Ceytatinin, Ezniah, Vehich, Dunedryneylin, Yedemkieil, Esmaadin, Elbedagri Zamaanel, Yocaleme, Detryeill, Aryeil, Arnaeill, Veremedin, Vnaraxidin.

these be the angells in the daye of the

semhazylyn . semyhylym . yasrozyn . agrasnydyn . aymsylyn . cathneylyn . alrasachysyn . abrachasyn . layralosyn . lang [25r] hasyn . anaenym . niangaroryn . aezonyn . montazyn . labelas . mafatyn . feya . rachyn . cadanagyn . laeradonyn . caffrnbryn .

These are the angels in the day of the

Semhazylin, Semyhylim, Yasrozin, Agrasnydin, Aymsylin, Cathneylin, Alrasachysin, Abrachasin, Layralosin, Lang, Hasin, Anaenim, Niangarorin, Aezonin, Montazin, Labelas, Mafatin, Feya, Rach Cadanagin, Laeradonin, Caffrnbrin, Bachramin, Varthalin, Amnanyneylin, Hacoylin, Balganaychi Aryeylin, Badeylin, Abranorin, Tarmanydin,

bachramyn . varthalyn . amnanyneylyn . hacoylyn . balganaychyn . aryeylyn . badeylyn . abranoryn . tarmanydyn . amdalysyn .sahgragynyn . adyanienyn . sacstoyeyn . latebayfanysyn . caybeinynyn . nabyalyn . cyzamanyn . abramacyn . laryagathyn . bofealyquyn . bayealadyn . gasoryn . asaphyn . daryenyn . macnayelyn . gomraoryn . marybyn . yebyryn . arylyn . faryelyn . nepenyelyn . banyelyn . astyeylyn . ceradadyn .

Amdalysin, Sahgragynin, Adyanienin, Sacstoyein Latebayfanisin, Caybeininin, Nabyalin, Cyzaman Abramacin, Laryagathin, Bofealyquin, Bayealadi Gasorin, Asaphin, Daryenin, Macnayelin, Gomra Marybin, Yebirin, Arilin, Faryelin, Nepenyelin, Banyelin, Astyeilin, Ceradadin.

these be the angells that serue in ye daye of ♃ .

These are the angels that serve in the day of ♃

samayelyn . tartalyn . doppeyl . racyelyn . farabyn . cabyn . asymolyn . mabareylyn . tralyeylyn . rubbelyn . marmaryn . tafanyelyn . fuheylyn . ruffar . aneylyn . rabsylyn . eralyn . pyrteplyn . brofylyn . cacyrylyn . naffreynyn . nupuryn . raffylyn . nyrylyn . nyenyolyn . nybyryn . celabryll . tubeylyn . haayn . veyn . paafyryn . cetenoylyn . letytyeylyn . rarafeyll . canueyl . bastaylyn . costyryn . montyelyn . albylyn . parachbeyll . alyeyll . vaceyll . zalcycyll . amadyell . vsararyeyll . lyncodoneyl . daffrypeyl . vnlylyn . carfzoneyll . gronyeyll . gabrynyn . narbeyll .

Samayelin, Tartalin, Doppeil, Racyelin, Farabin, Cabin, Asymolin, Mabareilin, Tralyeilin, Rubbeli Marmarin, Tafanyelin, Fuheilin, Ruffar, Aneilin, Rabsilin, Eralin, Pyrteplin, Brofilin, Cacyrilin, Naffreinin, Nupurin, Raffilin, Nyrilin, Nyenyolin, Nybirin, Celabrill, Tubeilin, Haain, Vein, Paafirin Cetenoilin, Letytyeilin, Rarafeill, Canueil, Bastail Costirin, Montyelin, Albilin, Parachbeill, Alyeill, Vaceill, Zalcicill, Amadiell, Vsararieill, Lyncodo Daffripeil, Vnlilin, Carfzoneill, Gronieill, Gabrini Narbeill.

the names of ye angells that serue in y^{e} daye of ☌ be these.

The names of the angels that serve in the day o be these.

michael . beerel . dafngel . aryhyryel . boel . baryel . meryel . amyel . aol . semeol . aaen . beryon . saryno~ . keineryon . feynon . aneynyn . zamazynyn . cananyn . aall . merygall . pegal . gabal . veal . aum= [25v] eal . faranyeal . gebyn . carybyfyn . autarylyn . metorylyn . nabyafsyn . fysfyn . barsslylyn . caruphylyn . danyturla . fenyturla . geumyturla . amya . alnamya . tabynya . nafya . myacha . tyagra . bec . alacaorynyll . benenonyll .

Michael, Beerel, Dafngel, Aryhyriel, Boel, Bariel Meriel, Amiel, Aol, Semeol, Aaen, Berion, Sarinc Keinerion, Feynon, Aneinin, Zamazinin, Cananin Aall, Merygall, Pegal, Gabal, Veal, Aumeal, Faranyeal, Gebin, Caribifin, Autarilin, Metorilin, Nabyafsin, Fysfin, Barsslilin, Caruphilin, Danytu Fenyturla, Geumyturla, Amia, Alnamia, Tabinia, Nafia, Myacha, Tyagra, Bec, Alacaorinill, Benen

ye names of ye angells in ye daye of ♄ be these.

The names of the angels in the day of ♄ are these:

satquyel . ahyell . yebel . anenyel . Jumyel . Junyel . amyel . fanyel . ramuel . sanfael . saccynyel . galbyel . lafyel . ,azyel . ymraell . memyell . paryel . pamhynyel . toupyel . ambanyel . omyell . orfyell .

Satquiel, Ahyell, Yebel, Aneniel, Jumiel, Juniel, Amiel, Faniel, Ramuel, Sanfael, Sacciniel, Galbie Lafiel, Maziel (?), Ymraell, Memiell, Pariel, Pamhiniel, Toupiel, Ambaniel, Omiell, Orfiell, A Hearel, Memiel, Ynel, Syumeliel, Tranfiel, Mefer Antquiel, Quisiell, Cumiriel, Rofiniel, Rubyeiel,

ael . hearel . memyel . ynel . syumelyel . tranfyel . mefenyel . antquyel . quisyell . cumyryel . rofynyel . rubyeyel . beell . baryel . cheduryel .

Beell, Bariel, Chedurel.

the names of the angells of ye daye of ♀ be these.

hasuayeyl . barneyeyl . verday . heyll . alzeyeyll . szeyeyll . bacapel . zelfayeyll . morayeyll . borayeyll . alpheyeyll . arobylyn . canofylyn . ourylyn . zaryalyn . marylyn . bacoraye . kolfayelyn . azrayeylyn . ambayeyryn . mayeylyn . cabueyryn . alseyryn . asueyryn . alneyryn . nenanryn . rayoryn . orynyn . gedulyn . hareryn . namylyn . halylyn . hymeylyn . reffylyn . narraabylyn . hahyeylyn . landelyn . esfylyn . thefelyn . patnelyn . keyalyn . naylyn . leyrayell . ablayeyll . talraylanrayn . barkalyn . bahoraelyn .

The names of the angels of the day of ♀ are the

Hasuayeil, Barneyeil, Verday, Heill, Alzeyeill, Szeyeill, Bacapel, Zelfayeill, Morayeill, Borayeil Alpheyeill, Arobilin, Canofilin, Ourilin, Zaryalin, Marilin, Bacoraye, Kolfayelin, Azrayeilin, Ambayeirin, Mayeilin, Cabueirin, Alseirin, Asuei Alneirin, Nenanrin, Rayorin, Orinin, Gedulin, Harerin, Namilin, Halilin, Hymeilin, Reffilin, Narraabilin, Hahyeilin, Landelin, Esfilin, Thefeli Patnelin, Keyalin, Nailin, Leyraiell, Ablayeill, Talraylanrain, Barkalin, Bahoraelin.

ye names of ye angells in ye daye of ♄ be these.

myeraton . pacrifon . polypon . capeyell . ehenyton . alfyton . cheryon . sandalson . panyon . almyon . erpyon . paxon . calyrxon . horryon . melyson . unryon . tonelyn . refaebylyon . monyteon . bornaylon . paxylon . lelalyon . onoxyon . quybon . quyron . vyxasmyon . relyon . cassylon . tyfonyon . muryon . degyon . dapsyon . lenayon . orleunyon . foylyon . monychyon . [26r] gabyon . paxonyon . pynsylon . lepyron . loeloon . saron . salyon . pyon . nargeron . aaron . selyypon . pinmybron . raconcall . zelybron .

The names of the angels in the day of ♄ are the

Myeraton, Pacrifon, Polypon, Capeiell, Eheniton, Alfiton, Cherion, Sandalson, Panion, Almion, Erp Paxon, Calirxon, Horrion, Melison, Unrion, Tone Refaebilion, Moniteon, Bornailon, Paxilon, Lelali Onoxion, Quibon, Quiron, Vixasmion, Relion, Cassilon, Tifonion, Murion, Degion, Dapsion, Lenaion, Orleunion, Foilion, Monichion, Gabion, Paxonion, Pinsilon, Lepiron, Loeloon, Saron, Sali Pion, Nargeron, Aaron, Selyypon, Pinmibron, Raconcall, Zelibron.

ffinis */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Finis

[CXXXVII 20-22]

Before that these .3. prayers folowinge be sayd ouer the bloude ye must go towardes Ierusalem that Is estwarde and ye must saye ouer the bloud y^e

This introductory paragraph to the rite of exorcism of blood is "discussed but not given in full" in the Latin manuscripts (Hedegård, p. 17). Also, the Latin manuscripts mention only salt,

exorcisme that Is sayd ouer ye salte that Is putt Into haly water, and that must be sayd .3. but that ye names must be changed thus. **I exorcyse the o y^{u} creature of bloude**, In the styde of ye creature of salte, which god commaundyd by salomon to be putt In to ye seale, In ye stide of which god commaundid by his prophet helyzeus to be putt Into water and so forthe of the resydewe, and this exorcysme thus sayd .3. with astole abowt thy neke the~ saye the prayers folowing thryse that donne y^{e} bloude shall be consecrated and mete for the seale.

hot substituting blood.

Before that, these three prayers following must be over the blood. You must go [=face] towards Jerusalem, that is, Eastward, and you must say ov the blood the exorcism that is [also] said over the which is put into holy water. And that must be sai three [times], except that the names must be chan thus, "I exorcise thee O thou creature of blood", instead of "... thou creature of salt," which God commanded by Solomon to be put into the seal, instead of which God commanded by his prophet Helyzeus to be put into water, and so forth of the and this exorcism thus said three [times], with a st [=scarf] about your neck, then say the prayers following thrice. That done, the blood shall be consecrated, and meet [=suitable] for the seal.

Compare the following exorcism with that in Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft* Book 15, chapter 15.

Exorcizo te creatura sanguis + per deum vivum + per deum verum + per deum sanctum + per deum qui Salomonen In eius deuinam Sigillum primum In ssic: vt sanaretur sterilitas Sanguis efficiaris exorcizatum In salutem credencium: et sis omnibus te Sumentibus Sanitas anime et corporis et effugiat atque desendat ab Iste sanguine omnia samasia et nequita vel versucia diabolice fraudis: omnisque spiritus In mundus adiuratus per eum qui venturus est Iudicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per Ignem. Amen.

Exorcizo te creatura Sanguis que In nomine + Dei patris omnipotentis et In nomine + [26v] Iesu xpi filii eius dni nostri, et In virtute Sps Sancti, vt fias Sanguine exorcizate ad effugandam omnem potestatem Inimiel et Ipsum Inimicum eradicare et explantare valeas cum angelis

Exorcizo te creatura sanguis + per deum vivum + per deum verum + per deum sanctum + per deum qui Salomonem in eius diuinam Sigillum primum in ssic: ut sanaretur sterilitas Sanguis efficiaris exorcizatum in salutem credentium: ut sis omnibus te sumentibus sanitas animae et corporis et effugiat atque disendat ab iste sanguine omnia samasia et nequitia vel versutia diabolicae fraudis: omnisque spiritus in mundus adiuratus per eum, qui venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem. Amen.

Exorcizo te creatura Sanguis que In nomine + Dei patris omnipotentis et In nomine + Iesu Christi filii eius domini nostri, et in virtute Spiritus Sancti, ut fias sanguine exorcizate ad effugandam omnem potestatem inimiel et ipsum inimicum eradicare et explantare valeas cum angelis suis apostaticis, per virtutem eiusdem

Suis apostaticis, per virtutem eiusdem dni nostri + Iesu xpi qui vnturus est Iudicare vivos et mortuos et Seculum per Ignem. Amen. * * * *

O Inuisyble god, O Inestymable god, O Ineffable god, O Incommutable god, O Incorrvptyble **GOD**, O most mercyfull god, O most Swettest god, O Highe and gloryous god. O god of Infynite mercye, I althought vnworthe Synner full of Iniquyt deceyte And malyce most Humbly come unto thy mercy prayinge and beseching the not to haue respecte to all & Innumerable myn Iniquytes, but even As y^{u} arte wonte to haue mercye upon Synners, and to here ye prayers of ye Humble and meke, even so I beseche y^{e} to vouchsaffe to here me thy Seruant althoughe vnworthy yet calling vnto ye ffor ye blessinge And consecrating of this bludd thy creature that It maye be made apte and worthy ffor ye ynke of thy most precyous and Holy Seale and of thy name . SememphoraS . so y^{t} It maye haue ye aptnes and metenes whith It ought to haue by thy most Holy name, which Is written with .4. letters . Joth . He . vau . Deleth . Agla . eloy . yayin . theos . Deus . which being harde all celestyall terrestryall and Infernall creatures doo tremble feare & [27r] worship It, and by thyes thy most Holy names . on . Alpha et omega . principium . el . ely . eloe . eloy . elyon . Sother . emanuel . Sabaoth . domini nostri + Iesu Christi qui vnturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem. Amen.

[CXXXVII 1-19]

O Invisible God, O Inestimable God, O Ineffable God, O Incommutable God, O Incorruptible God, O most mercifull God, O most Sweet God, O High and Glorious God. O God of infinite mercy, I, although an unworthy sinner, full of iniquity, deceit, and malice, most humbly come to your mercy, praying and beseeching you not to have respect to all and innumerable mine iniquities, but even as you are wont to have mercy upon sinners, and to hear the prayers of the humble and meek, even so I beseech you to vouchsafe to hear me, your servant, although unworthy, yet calling unto you for the blessing and consecrating of this blood, your creature, that it may be made apt and worthy for the ink of your most precious and Holy Seal, and of your name **Schemhamphoras**, so that it may have the aptnes and meteness which it ought to have by your most holy name, which is written with four letters, **Joth, He, Vau, Daleth, Agla, Eloy, Yayin, Theos, Deus,** which being heard all celestial, terrestrial, and infernal creatures do tremble, fear, and worship it. And by these your most holy names, **On, Alpha and Omega, Principium, El, Ely, Eloe, Eloy, Elion, Sother, Emmanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Egge, Ya, Ya, Ye,** may this creature of blood be blessed, prepared, and made apt for the ink of your holy seal, and of your most holy name,

Adonay . egge . ya . ya . ye . this creature of bludd may be blessyd preparyd and made apte ffor ye ynke of thy Holy seale and of thy most Holy name . SememphoraS . which Is blessyd worlde with owt ende . Amen .

Schemhamphoras, which is blessed, world without end. Amen.

Another prayer ffor the Same

O good Iesu christ ffor thy Ineffable mercy Spare me and haue mercy upon me and here me now thorow the Invocatyon of the name of the Holy trynyte the father the Sonne and the Holy goste and that y^{u} woldest accept and take In good worthe the prayers and wordes of my mouthe, by the Invocatyon of thy .100. Hooly names that Is to Saye **. AglA monhon . tetragramaton . olydeus . Ocleiste . Amphinethon . lamtara . Ianemyer . Saday . Hely . Horlon . portenthymon . Ihelur . Gofgamep . emanuel . On . Admyhel . Honzmorp . Ioht . Hofob . Rasamarathon . Anethi . erihona . Iuestre . Saday . maloht . Sethœ . elscha . Abbadaia . Alpha et omega . leiste . Oristyon . Ieremon . Hosb . merkernon . elzephares . egyryon . betha . Ombonar . Stymulamathon . Orion . eryon . noymos . peb . nathanothasy . theon . ysyston . porho . Rothon . lethellethe . ysmas . Adonay . Athionadabir . Onoytheon . Hosga . leyndra . nosulaceps . tutheon . Gelemoht . paraclitus . Occymomyon .**

Another prayer for the same.

O good Jesus Christ, for your ineffable mercy, spare me and have mercy upon me and hear me now through the invocation of the name of the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that you would accept and take in good worth the prayers and words of my mouth, by the invocation of your one hundred holy names, that is to saye, **Agla, Monhon, Tetragrammaton, Olydeus, Ocleiste, Amphinethon, Lamtara, Ianemyer, Saday, Hely, Horlon, Portenthymon, Ihelur, Gofgamep, Emmanuel, On, Admihel, Honzmorp, Ioht, Hofob, Rasamarathon, Anethi, Erihona, Iuestre, Saday, Maloht,. Sethoe, Elscha, Abbadaia, Alpha et Omega, Leiste, Oristion, Ieremon, Hosb, Merkernon, Elzephares, Egirion, Betha, Ombonar, Stimulamathon, Orion, Erion, Noimos, Peb, Nathanothasy, Theon, Ysiston, Porho, Rothon, Lethellethe, Ysmas, Adonay, Athionadabir, Onoytheon, Hosga, Leyndra, Nosulaceps, Tutheon, Gelemoht, Paraclitus, Occymomion, Erchothas, Abracio, Anepheneton, Abdon, Melche, Sother, Usirion, Baruch,**

erchothas . abracio . anepheneton . Abdon . melche . Sother . usiryon . baruch . Sporgongo . Genonem . messyas . pantheon . zabuather . Rabarmas . Yskyros . Kyryos . Gelon . Hel . Rethel . nathi . Ymeynlethon . Karex . Sabaoth . Sallaht . cirhos . Opyron . nomygon . Oryhel . theos . ya . Horha . christus . Holbeke . tosgac . Occymomos . elyorem . [27v] **Heloy . Archyna . rabur .** humbly & faythfully beseching the althoughe unworthe yet trusting In ye that y^{u} woldest sanctefy & blesse this bloude by thy most Holy names afforsayd, & by this na~e . Sememphoras . of .72. letters that by ye power Holynes and vertue of ye same na~es & by y^{i} deuyne mighte & power this bloude maye be co~secrated, blyssed, & strengthed by ye vertu of y^{i} most Holy bodye & bloude y^{t} It may haue ye vertue & aptnes which it oughte to haue w^{t} out any discet, y^{t} it maye be worthy to wrighte y^{i} Holy seale y^{t} it may haue ye effecte which it ought to haue thorow o^{r} lorde Iesus which syttethe in ye hyghest to whome be honor prayse & glorye worlde w^{t} owt ende Amen.

Sporgongo, Genonem, Messias, Pantheon, Zabuather, Rabarmas, Iskiros, Kyrios, Gelon, Hel, Rethel, Nathi, Ymeinlethon, Karex, Sabaoth, Sallaht, Cirhos, Opiron, Nomigon, Orihel, Theos, Ya, Horha, Christus, Holbeke, Tosgac, Occimomos, Eliorem, Heloy, Archina, Rabur. humbly and faithfully beseeching you, although unworthy yet trusting in you that you would sanctify and bless this blood by your most holy names aforesaid, and by this name **Schemhamphoras** of seventy-two letters, that by the power, holiness, and virtue of the same names and by your divine might and power this blood may be consecrated, blessed, and strengthed by the virtue of your most holy body and blood, that it may have the virtue and aptness which it ought to have without any discet (?), that it may be worthy to write your holy seal, that it may have the effect which it ought to have through our Lorde Jesus, who sits in the highest, to whom be honor, praise, and glory, world without end. Amen.

:::::the blessing of It:::::

God the father blesse ye God ye sonne blesse ye God ye Holy gost blesse ye Hooly marye mother of o^{r} lorde Iesu christ maye blesse &

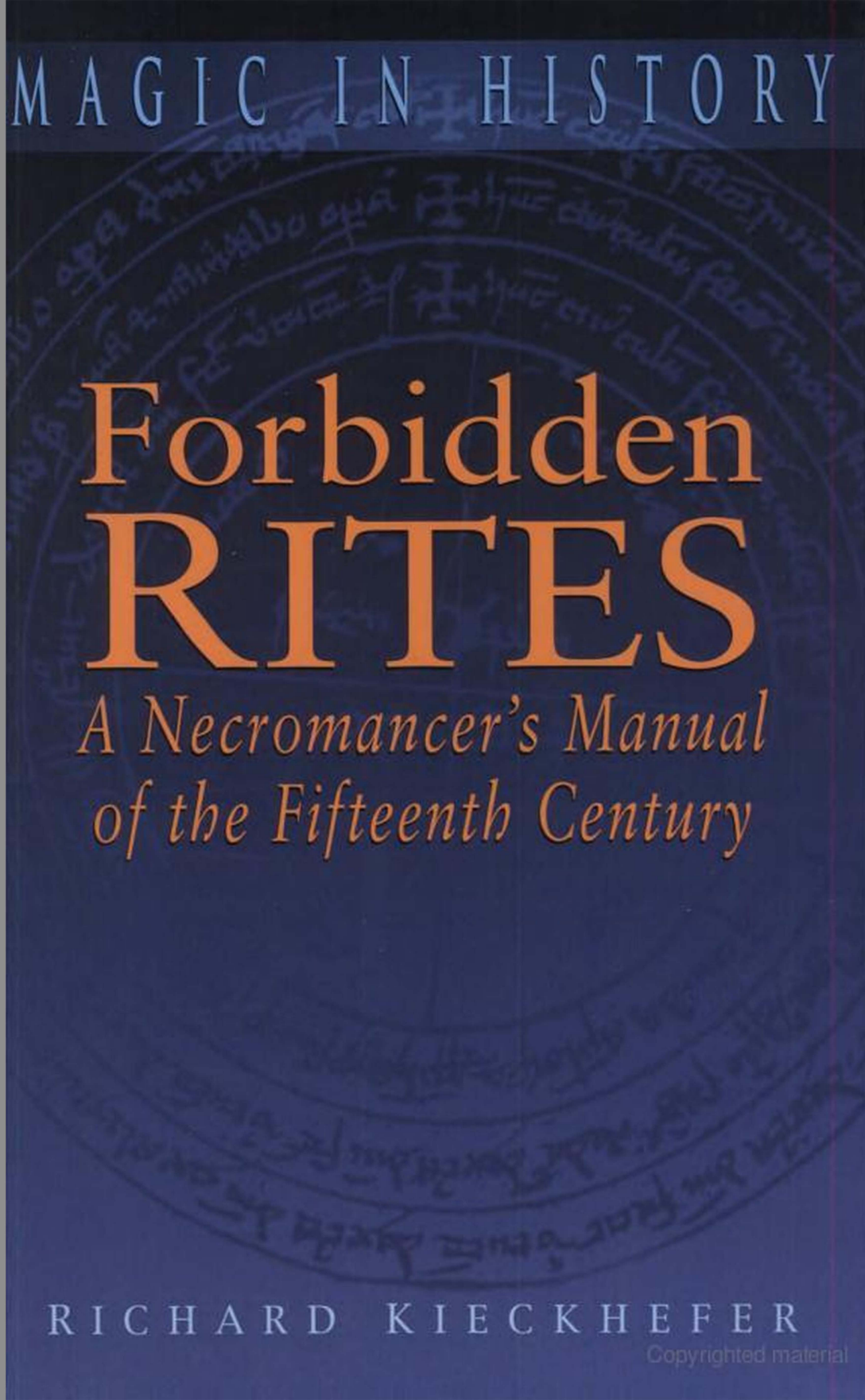
The blessing of it.

God the Father bless you, God the Son bless you, God the Holy Ghost bless you. May Holy Mary mother of our Lord Jesus Christ bless and sanctify you, Oh blood, that you

Sanctefy y^{e}, o bloude y^{t} y^{u} mayst Haue ye mighte and power of a sacrament In wryting of ye Seale of God. All Holy virgins maye blesse ye this, Daye & euer. All ye Holy & electe of God and All ye celestyall powers maye blesse the and confyrme and Strengthen the, All Angells and Archangells vertues, principates, potestates, thrones, and domynatyo~s, cherubin & Seraphin by ye auchtoryte & lycency of god may blesse y^{e}, by ye marytes & all ye prayers of thy sayntes O lorde Iesu christ y^{t} y^{u} woldest blesse + sanctyfy + & consecrate + this bloude & strengthe~ it, by thy almighty pow^{r}, & y^{t} thy seale y^{t} shall herew^{t} be wrytte~ may haue ye power which it oughte to haue & for y^{t} purpose & intent for ye which it is ordeyned thorow o^{r} lord Iesu christ whose reygne & empyre dothe contynew worlde w^{t} owt ende. Amen :::::

may have the might and power of a sacrament in writing of the Seal of God. May all holy virgins bless you this day and ever. May all the holy and elect of God, and all the celestial powers bless you, and confirm and strengthen you. May all angels and archangels, virtues, principates, potestates, thrones, and dominations, cherubin, and seraphin, by the authority and license of God, bless you, by the merits and all the prayers of your saints, O Lord Jesus Christ, that you would bless + sanctify + and consecrate + this blood, and strengthen it, by your almighty power, and that your seal that shall herewith be written may have the power which it ought to have, and for that purpose and intent for the which it is ordained through our Lord Jesus Christ, whose reign and empire does continue, world without end. Amen.

MAGIC IN HISTORY



Forbidden RITES

A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century

RICHARD KIECKHEFER

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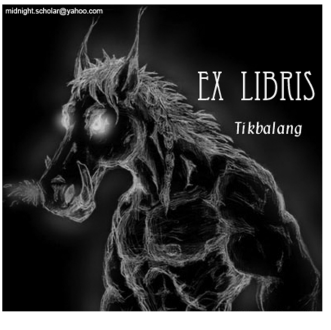
FORBIDDEN RITES



MAGIC IN HISTORY

FORBIDDEN RITES

A NECROMANCER'S MANUAL OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

RICHARD KIECKHEFER

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS
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Cave! terrentia hac in scientia latent, si cupis
scire occulta, pericula multa pro te et upupis!

1

INTRODUCTION: MAGICAL BOOKS AND MAGICAL RITES

We are what we read - and the power of books to transform the minds and personalities of their readers can give cause for anxiety as well as for celebration. A cluster of related developments in late medieval Europe brought heightened concern about what people were reading. The spread of literacy and the rise of a far wider reading public, lay as well as clerical, brought greater demand for written material. The availability of paper, a medium far less costly than parchment, made books more readily accessible than they had previously been, and allowed for more abundant supply of reading matter to feed this demand, even before the invention of printing with movable type. And the emergence of silent reading habits made reading a more private activity.[1] Historians have attended to the impact of these developments on medieval heresy, on churchmen's fear that literacy contributed to the diffusion of heretical views, and on the efforts at censorship that ensued. But less work has been done on the dissemination of *magical* texts, which in some ways represented an even more sinister threat to orthodox culture, and on attempts to control these texts.[2] A book of magic which deliberately and expressly invited contact with demons presented all the hazards of reading in their deepest and most pressing form.

Beginning around the early fourteenth century, possession and use of magical writings becomes a recurrent theme in the records of prosecution. When Bernard Délicieux was accused in 1319 of having used necromancy against the pope, he was cleared of that charge but nevertheless condemned to prison for merely possessing a book of necromancy.[3] Fear of necromancy and of necromantic writings was becoming an obsession at the time, especially at the court of Pope John XXII, who in the previous year had commissioned the bishop of Fréjus and others to investigate a group of clerics and laymen charged with using books of necromancy, geomancy and other magical arts.[4] In 1320 Matteo and Galeazzo Visconti were tried for using necromancy against Pope John; the offence here was actual use of the art, yet when one witness said he had been shown a book filled with experiments for love, hatred, finding of stolen objects and so forth, the very sight of such a book was evidently cause for horror.[5] In 1406–7, informants claimed that a group of clerics had used formulas from magical books against Benedict XIII and the king of France, and the ensuing inquiry uncovered a box filled with booklets containing prayers, hymns and conjurations.[6] But in 1409, at the Council of Pisa, Benedict in turn was charged with using necromancy and hiring necromancers. The pope, it was said, had sought out a book of necromancy

available only from the Saracens and had purchased it for some 1,000 francs. A book of necromancy was allegedly found under the pontiff's bed.[7] In such cases the uncovering of necromantic writings made more plausible the charge that necromancy had actually been used, but more fundamentally the books themselves would have impressed contemporaries as unsavoury and incriminating, somewhat as the discovery of Satanic paraphernalia might seem incriminating today. Not surprisingly, inquisitors and other judges used such discoveries as propaganda in their zealous campaigns against magic. In 1382 an inquisitor wrote to the government of Siena about a band of magicians at Rugomagno: one Agnolo di Corso had been found in possession of a book of seventy chapters, which others had copied, and which spoke of invoking evil spirits to murder people or constrain their affections.[8] Two years later Niccolò Consigli was executed at Florence for practicing necromancy and unlicensed exorcisms; his judges confiscated and burned the books of necromancy from which he had taken conjurations.[9] One might even say it was common for books of magic to be set forth as codefendants alongside their owners and users – and indeed, as we shall see, those who condemned books of magic in some ways ascribed to them a kind of personality.[10] When the books were burned, there were those (as we shall see) who heard the voices of demons in the crackling of the flames.

The book-burning might at times be voluntary: according to a fifteenth-century biographer, Gerard Groot studied magic in his youth, and was accused of practising it as well, but when he converted to a life of piety and foreswore the art of necromancy, he consigned his books of magic to the flames.[11] The movement he went on to found, the Devotio Moderna, was one of the most influential forces in the devotional culture of pre-Reformation Europe, a movement of inner piety nurtured by devout reading, manifested in the copying out of pious phrases in personal florilegia, and financially supported by the copying of manuscripts – a movement, in short, firmly grounded in the book-culture of late medieval Europe, and initiated with an act of penitential book-burning.

From the early years of Christianity, conversion to Christ had meant, among other things, doing away with books of magic. The scene at Ephesus, as described in the Acts of the Apostles (18:19 19:20), perhaps epitomized what happened on a smaller scale elsewhere. When Paul arrived in the town and made converts to the new faith, 'a number of those who practised magic arts brought their books together and burned them in the sight of all, and they counted the value of them and found it came to fifty thousand pieces of silver'.[12] (This comes to roughly 1,666 times as many silver pieces as Judas received for betraying Christ.) By the later Middle Ages, treatment of those found with offending literature was often more judicial than pastoral. To be sure, a monk of Sulby monastery was treated leniently when he was found possessing books of magic in 1500. A superior in the Premonstratensian order had heard of a brother named Thomas Wryght who had been using books of experiments and gone about paying people generously to teach him the occult arts.

Faced with the evidence – one of his books of experiments – he insisted that he owned such books only out of curiosity, not for actual use. The matter was treated as a disciplinary one within the monastic setting, and the brother received a light penance.[13] But in an age when books of this sort were held in deep suspicion one could never count on such clemency, as Bernard Délicieux well knew.

Anything that arouses such deep anxiety is a subject of historical interest, and books of magic hold considerable fascination indeed. To know why books of magic aroused fear we must gain a fuller understanding of what the books themselves were likely to contain. Most of them no doubt have perished in the inquisitors' flames, but some eluded detection and have survived. The focus of following chapters in this study is arguably among the most interesting sources we have for the study of medieval magic: a fifteenth-century handbook of explicitly demonic magic, or what contemporaries called 'necromancy'. This compilation is contained in a manuscript in the Bavarian State Library in Munich. To be sure, the text is neither edifying nor profound, nor is it particularly original; in late medieval Europe there were no doubt many compilations equally illustrative of common magical practice, most of them now lost. But among the manuscripts that survive, few are quite as diverse in content, or as full, explicit and candid in their instructions as this work.

Detailed examination of such a compilation may most obviously help us understand the mentality of the necromancers themselves who copied such books, whether for curiosity or for use. But study of this handbook may clarify several other factors in the history of magic, and three in particular. First, examination of a necromancer's manual sheds light on the function and cultural significance of a magical book itself. We will know more about the cultural significance of books generally – and we will know more fully the range of meanings a book could have – when we have grasped the role of this exceptional category of books. Second, the mentality of the necromancers' opponents becomes clearer from examination of such a compilation: the views of the Renaissance mages (such as Marsilio Ficino and Johannes Reuchlin) who insisted that they practised a higher and purer form of magic than did these base necromancers, and those of the demonologists (Heinrich Kramer and his successors) for whom necromancy was a dark filter shading their perception of witchcraft. The reactions of the opponents may be historically more important than the attitudes of the necromancers themselves, because they tell us more about the culture as a whole, but we cannot begin to comprehend these reactions without knowing the realities on which they were based. Third, the rites contained in this compendium illustrate strikingly the links between magical practice and orthodox liturgy. The analogy I will use is that of a tapestry, whose display side implies a reverse side: so too, a society that ascribes a high degree of power to ritual and its users will invite the development of unofficial and transgressive ritual, related in form to its official counterpart, however sharply it may differ in its uses.

A BOOK OF MAGIC AS A CULTURAL ARTIFACT

A book of magic is also a magical book. It not only tells how to perform magical works, but shares in the numinous qualities and powers of the rites it contains. To be sure, not all magic is book magic: much magical practice arises from oral culture, is transmitted orally, and is used without needing inscription on paper or parchment, even if it is the largely accidental circumstance of its having been transcribed at some point that accounts for its survival and its accessibility to us. But in the later Middle Ages certain forms of magic were increasingly assimilated to liturgy and increasingly written, so that a magical act was the performance from a script, or the observance of a rite whose details were enshrined in a text. This development surely owed much to the spread of literacy among the laity, but even more to the practice of magic among the clergy, particularly those on the fringes of the clerical elite. Judicial and anecdotal evidence suggests that explicitly demonic magic, called 'nigromancy' or 'necromancy',[14] was largely the domain of priests, perhaps especially those without full-time parish employment, as well as ordained monks with some education and esoteric interests, university students and others who had been received into minor orders.[15] It was within this context that a book of magic would most naturally be perceived as a magical book, sharing in the numinous quality of the rites it prescribes.

Christian ritual had from early centuries been the enactment not of oral tradition but of texts embodied in books. With the unprecedented late medieval diffusion of literacy, availability of reading matter and expansion of the clergy, books might still be accessible only to an elite, but it was a much expanded elite, and the numbers and varieties of books available were far greater than in previous centuries, so that maintaining control over this diffusion and this variety was scarcely possible, however much hierarchs may have attempted to censor the available reading matter. Little surprise, then, if books of magic found their way onto some readers' shelves, whether for use or for mere curiosity.

Apart from its function as a repository of information and insight, a book can be of interest as a physical object, as a mirror of its writer's life and mind, and as a mirror of the society and culture from which it emanates and to which it returns. The surviving books of medieval demonic magic repay study from each of these perspectives, although their claims to significance differ from those of ordinary texts: a book of magic is a physical object like any other book, but even as object it is perceived as having sinister power, as a kind of negative relic; it reveals something of the writer's life and mind, but more often than in most other cases, and for more obviously compelling reasons, the authorship remains anonymous or pseudonymous; and it serves as a mirror of the surrounding culture, but often the mirror is a distorting one, a deliberately transgressive adaptation of what the society takes to be holy.

Any book of rituals serves as point of contact between sacred texts (permanent, authoritative repositories of power) and their performance (which utilizes this

power for specific occasions). The book itself, like a liturgical vessel or a sacred building, is consecrated; when a formula is read from it, the power of the text is enhanced by the sacrality of the book from which it is read. A book of magic may also be consecrated, to confirm the numinous power resident in the physical object. A book of magic is thus significant not only as a source for information about magical practice – generally more reliable than court records, denunciatory treatises and literary accounts – but also as itself a magical object, treasured and closely guarded by its possessors, and condemned to burning by judges in mimickry of the punishment that might await the magicians themselves.

This perception of a book of magic as itself a magical object, and therefore as suspect, is seldom so dramatically manifested as in the canonization proceedings for Archbishop Antoninus of Florence (the man from whom, incidentally, the *Malleus maleficarum* derived most of its misogynist tropes).[16] One witness to the sanctity of the archbishop told how the saint had gone one day to a barber-surgeon of Florence named Master Peter to have his hair cut. During the process the prelate began to wonder how a man who read no Latin was able not only to cut hair but also to cure the sick people who came to him. He learned that the barber had obtained a 'book of surgery' from a Cistercian and had learned from it the art of healing. Antoninus asked Peter to bring forth this book and show it to him; the man readily complied.

> The archbishop recognized that the book was full of incantations, and formulas and signs belonging to the wicked magical arts. So one day he went to San Marco for lunch, and when certain members of the city's nobility were with him in the cloister after the meal, he had fire brought in an earthen vessel, and he set fire to the book. Immediately the air was so darkened that the citizens were afraid, and clung to the archbishop. He comforted them, saying that when the book was fully burned this darkening and clouding of the air would cease, as indeed happened. Then, calling these citizens and Master Peter about him, he explained that the book contained incantations, and that at some point a mass had been celebrated over it for conjuring and summoning demons, so that wherever the book was, a multitude of demons resided there.

The burning thus served as an exorcism; the very pages seemed quite literally infected by demons, who needed to be banished. Once this was accomplished, Antoninus admonished Peter to find some other means for healing the sick; the man obeyed this admonition, and the canonization proceedings assure us that God did not allow his family to go lacking.

The notion that demons could infest a book appears elsewhere: Michael Scot told of a magical book inhabited by spirits who call out when the book is opened, 'What do you want? What do you seek? What do you order? Say what you want

and it shall be done forthwith.'[17] The theme admits at least two interpretations. One might see it as a way of symbolizing the ubiquity of malign spirits, their eagerness to seize any opportunity for mischief, and their dense concentration in those places and objects seen as special 'occasions of sin'. Beyond this, it can express obsessive anxiety about the book itself as an object invested with a kind of negative sacrality, something taboo, a source of spiritual and psychological contagion. The difference is not that the first interpretation is cultural and the second psychological; both interpretations function on both levels, relating the concerns of individual observers to the shared perceptions of the society. But the first interpretation places greater weight on the theological assumption that malevolent forces are secretly present in the world, an 'objective' assumption in the sense that it is widely diffused within the culture, eliciting and appealing to a diversity of personal concerns and anxieties, while the second stresses the aversion of the individual observer, a reaction inevitably both experienced and expressed in culturally conditioned terms.

Archbishop Antoninus's authority was perhaps too great for a mere barber-surgeon to challenge his interpretation of the book he had been using, but not all practitioners were so amenable to instruction. In the 1340s, the inquisitor Pietro da l'Aquila charged the Florentine physician Francesco di Simone with having purchased a book on the virtues of herbs, in which (according to the inquisitor) there was necromantic content. The physician testified that he had indeed bought such a book, but that there was no taint of necromancy in it, and if he had known that the volume contained anything prohibited he would never have bought it.[18] It makes little difference for our present purposes whether the inquisitor's or the archbishop's reading of a particular book was correct, or grounded in a careful reading of the volume's contents. Either of them might have been scandalized by simple charms of a sort that a theologian would in principle have deemed innocent but a careless or overly zealous critic might perceive as tainted and implicitly demonic.[19] In other cases it seems more likely that magical books condemned as demonic were in fact collections of expressly demonic magic: Piero di ser Lippo claimed that the book he confiscated from Agnolo di Corso contained formulas for adoration and invocation of spirits such as Satan and Beelzebub, and there is no reason to doubt that the inquisitor encountered a work of genuine demonic magic, of the sort that have on occasion survived.

Less dramatic than the action of Archbishop Antoninus, but similar to it in certain respects, was the judicial treatment of a magical book by the secular authorities at Dijon:

> Concerning the execution [*exécution*] of a book of devilry [*deablerie*]. On the sixth day of August, in the year 1463, at the command of my lords of the Chambre des comptes at Dijon, after consultation in this Chambre, a book

made of paper and covered with leather that was colored green was brought from the house and residence of the widow and heirs of Thomas of Dampmartin, during his life resident of Dijon. In this book were written many evil and false invocations of devils [*deables*], divinations, charms [*charoyes*], and other things of the magical art, which give very bad example and are against God and the holy Christian faith. In it were contained many depictions of devils and other detestable figures and characters. At the end of this book were several chapters and articles on necromancy [*nigromance*] and chiromancy. This book had been seen by my lords of the Council and the Chambres des comptes. And after they inspected it with great and serious deliberation in the presence of lord Jehan Bon Varlet, priest of the chapel of my lord the duke of Dijon, dean of Saint-Seigne, vicar and scelleur of the reverend father in God my lord the bishop of Lengres in Dijon; master Jehan de Molesmes, secretary of my lord the duke; Ayme d'Eschenon, mayor of the town and commune of Dijon; Jehan Rabustel, procurator of that town; Aimé Barjod, procurator of my lord in the district of Dijon; and many others - this book was cast into the fire and totally burned to cinders, to the despite and confusion of the evil enemies [of the faith], and so that it could never again be used in any manner.[20]

Here there is no allegation of supernatural phenomena, and the book is not seen as infected or possessed by demons needing to be exorcized. None the less, the book itself is treated as if it were a human subject, to be examined and, once found guilty, executed by burning. Nothing in the account need be taken as implying that the book itself possesses numinous powers, yet the book elicits the loathing and the judicial reaction normally reserved for a personal agent and embodiment of evil. From one perspective there is nothing unusual about investing a book with personality; the reading of any book can be perceived as a kind of dialogue between the reader and the text. Rarely, however, is the perception carried to this extreme.

The numinous quality of a book of magic could resemble that of a liturgical or devotional book, and in some cases the distinction between a devotional and a magical work could be obscure. The chronicle of Saint Denis tells how in 1323 a monk of Morigny was found to possess a book of devotions inspired by curiosity and pride, although he claimed to have been inspired rather by visions of the Virgin Mary. In her honour, he had had many images of the Virgin painted on his pages. He thus sought to renew the 'heresy and sorcery' known as the *ars notoria*, which involves the use of special figures, contemplation of these figures amid prayer and fasting, and invocation of mysterious and presumably demonic names, all for the sake of knowledge, wealth, honour or pleasure. His own book promised such rewards, but required invocations, the special copying of the book (at great expense), and the inscription of one's name in the book itself two times;

the physical object, in other words, needed to be customized for its user. This book was so evil, the chronicle declares, that judges at Paris consigned it to the flames.[21] In other cases the boundary between devotion and magic was complicated by various factors: the combination of devotional and liturgical material with natural magic;[22] the tendency in books of conjuration to juxtapose formulas for invoking angels, demons and spirits of neutral or indeterminate standing, and the use of prayers to God for power over demonic and other spirits. Thus, when the necromantic plot against Benedict XIII was divulged in 1406, and investigation produced a coffin filled with books of prayers as well as conjurations, it is impossible to know whether even the 'prayers' were orthodox or deviant.

Tales of sorcerers' apprentices emphasize that the wondrous powers of a magical book are not easily controlled: one exemplum tells of a pupil who reads a chapter from his master's magical tome and thereby arouses a tempest which can be quelled only when the master comes back and reads a chapter equal in length.[23] One might say that in such a tale it is not the book itself but the magic it contains that is powerful and uncontrollable, but the emphasis on use of a chapter of equal length suggests that the process of reading may have magical, quantifiable efficacy distinguishable from that of the specific contents.

THE *BOOK OF CONSECRATIONS*

The perception of a book of magic as possessing numinous power is not merely an obsession of the inquisitors; it is grounded in the writings of the magicians as well, who guarded the secrecy of their writings perhaps mainly for fear of detection, but also out of a sense that the books themselves were sacred objects.

A late medieval book of demonic magic is in at least one respect decidedly not like a cookbook. If one discovers that the recipes in a cookbook tend to come out badly, one may reasonably wonder whether there are errors in detail – whether, for example, the author meant a teaspoon rather than a tablespoon of salt, or a pinch and not a pound of nutmeg – but to take the faulty book to a priest and have it blessed would normally be thought eccentric at best. Yet that, or the rough equivalent, is indeed what a late medieval necromancer might have done with a defective book of magic. He might suppose that verbal flaws in the conjurations were partly to blame,[24] but, as we will see, the variants in late medieval necromantic texts seem to have been so common that a practitioner might have despaired of ever finding a flawless text to recite. In any case, the problem of verbal flaws was perhaps not the necromancer's greatest concern. A short, anonymous work called the *Liber consecrationum* (*Book of Consecrations*), which circulated in late medieval manuscripts in varying forms, makes clear that the book itself was a sacred object requiring elaborate consecration, and that its contents might lose their magical efficacy.[25] According to this *Book of Consecrations*,

the magician must seek to recover the lost efficacy of his formulas by subjecting the book itself to an elaborate process of recharging, or reconsecration.

The prologue to this work insists that its proceedings are especially valuable, being dedicated to the names of God, and should not be used in vain. By invoking God's names, the 'exorcist or operator' can renew the power of a magical experiment which has lost its efficacy. Many people seek to achieve great works, and possess writings by which they will attain their desire, but they accomplish nothing, because their experiments are corrupt. The operator must refrain from every pollution of mind and body, and for nine days must be abstinent in food and drink, must keep from idle or immoderate words, and must be clothed in clean garments. On each of these days he must hear mass, carrying this book with him and placing it on the altar during the mass, which seems to assume the celebrant's complicity, if the owner of the book is not in fact himself a cleric. He must execute this procedure devoutly, with prayer and fasting, so as to attain knowledge of sacred mysteries, and then he must carry the book back home. He should have a secret place, sprinkled with holy water, in which he can place the book, after binding it with a priestly cincture and a stole placed in the form of a cross. Kneeling toward the east he must say seven psalms (presumably the seven penitential psalms), 'the litany' (meaning the litany of the saints), and a further prayer before opening the book. Then he may open the book with humble devotion and with heartfelt desire 'that God may sanctify and bless and consecrate this book, devoted to his most sacred names, so that it may fully obtain the power it should have, that it may have power for consecrating the bond of spirits and for all invocations and conjurations of [spirits], and likewise all other experiments'.

These instructions are followed by a prayer, to be said after the litany of the saints – actually three prayers of varying length. The first is a plea that God may hear the operator's prayers despite his unworthiness. The second, addressed to Christ, repeats this central entreaty, and asks that he may consecrate this book:

> by the power of these your most sacred names, On, Jesus Christ, Alpha and O, El, Eloy, Eloyve, Sithothith, Eon, Sepmelamaton, Ezelphates, Tetragramaton, Elyoram, Ryon, Deseryon, Erystion, Ysyornus, Onela, Baysyn, Moyn, Messias, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, and by all your secret names which are contained in this book, so that by the virtue, sanctity, and power of these names this book may be consecrated ✠ and blessed ✠ and confirmed ✠ by the virtue of the sacrament of your body and blood, so that it may effectively, without any deception, [and] truly obtain the power that this book should obtain, for consecrating the bond of spirits, and for consecrating all corrupt experiments, and that they may have the fulness of virtue and power for which they are ordained, through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, who is seated on high, to whom be honour and glory throughout unending ages. Amen, amen, amen, amen, amen.

This second prayer then invokes all the heavenly powers to bless the book. The third and briefest simply calls upon Christ to bless the book. The procedure is then complete. If the operator later wishes to consecrate a particular experiment, or add a new one, he should use a series of further prayers, along with which he must say the Confiteor, take holy water, and make the sign of the cross on his forehead. At all times he must take care that this book, which the wise adepts (*sapientissimi phisichi*) dedicated to God's holy names, not fall into the hands of the foolish. Why this caution might be necessary becomes especially clear toward the end of the supplementary prayers, in which the 'exorcist or operator' specifically requests power to summon 'malign spirits' from wherever they may happen to be lurking.

THE MENTALITY OF THE NECROMANCERS AND THEIR OPPONENTS

It would be a mistake to think of necromancy as a peripheral phenomenon in late medieval society and culture. Secular as well as ecclesiastical courts took it seriously and at times executed those charged with its practice; monarchs and popes as well as commoners lived in fear of becoming its victims. This fear may have been in some cases or to some degree feigned or pathological, but it was also grounded in realistic awareness that necromancy was in fact being practised, and in an almost universally shared conviction that it could work.

The history of magic sometimes claims a place in academic study as a field within intellectual history. This claim is plausible when the subject is a writer such as al-Kindi or Marsilio Ficino, deeply concerned with the practical operation of magic but also with the philosophical principles by which magic worked. This is not the type of material I will chiefly be examining in this study. The focus here will be formulas of frankly demonic magic, with only the most meagre of intellectual pretensions; I wish to suggest, perhaps perversely, that such a text none the less repays close examination. The rites contained in a manual of necromancy are flamboyantly transgressive, even carrying transgression toward its furthest imaginable limits, and in today's academic environment one might justify studying them on these grounds. I am impelled more by a simple urge to grapple with late medieval culture in its entirety, including its most problematic and conflicted manifestations – warts and all, to use a fitting cliché – and to explore how the underside of the culture related to the side more often displayed. This too is part of the historian's challenge of discerning how things made sense in an alien culture.

First, then, the surviving necromantic texts provide a useful starting point for the *sources* of late medieval magic. Certain aspects of the necromancy laid out in these writings are clearly derived from the Arabic tradition of astral magic that became widely diffused in Europe from at least the thirteenth century onward. At times, as we shall see, the experiments are indebted to Jewish magical traditions,

whether explicitly or implicitly, although the impact of Jewish magic on the forbidden rites of Christendom has been less studied and is harder to trace in detail than the influence of Arabic tradition. There are even materials in late medieval necromantic manuscripts closely resembling the magic of antiquity. It is often tempting to suppose that the forms of magical practice are essentially similar across cultures and throughout time, or at least over a very extended *longue durée*. Indeed, one might easily be persuaded that there is a history of the uses of magic and reactions to magic, but not a history of magic itself: virtually every magical technique one encounters appears so deeply rooted in tradition that magical practice seems essentially timeless and perennial. Indeed, it is possible to cite analogues and possible sources for late medieval magic from widely diverse cultures; in search of such parallels one could wander endlessly through thickets of the history of magic, from the Greek magical papyri of antiquity, through Arabic and Byzantine sources, and on to the grimoires of the early modern era. Yet when certain more or less well defined classes of practitioner take an interest in magic, they will adapt to their own use forms of magic taken from various sources. If the history of magic is to be anything other than a night in which all cats are black, it must attend to the characteristics of specific mélanges of magical tradition. The chief purpose of this study is therefore not to trace the history of individual elements but to reconstruct the configurations into which these elements enter: the patterns of magical practice worked in a particular historical setting, the relationship between these forms of magic and other aspects of the culture, and the perceptions of magic within that culture.

Furthermore, we cannot understand the *opposition* to magic in late medieval Europe without knowing fully what sorts of magic were being practised in that culture. Apart from the exempla by Caesarius of Heisterbach and others telling of the dangers of necromancy, there is considerable literature by late medieval theologians directed against these practices. For instance, the Paris theologians who in 1398 issued a general prohibition of magic were clearly aware of necromantic practices and concerned to eradicate them.[26] The theological literature against necromancy is incomprehensible without knowledge of the necromancers' formulas, and has at times been seriously misunderstood.[27] Nor can we understand the virulence of the critics' assault on magic without knowing the purposes magic was believed to serve. The glorification of the transgressive and the vilification of persecutors has perhaps too often blinded us to the recognition that much magic was intended for sexual coercion and exploitation, or for unscrupulous careerism, or for vigilante action against thieves that could easily lead to false accusations. I do not propose to moralize about these activities, but as a corrective to naive romanticizing I do want to make clear the kinds of magic one can expect to find in a late medieval source. It would be too much to claim that fear of clerical necromancy was a major source of pre-

Reformation anti-clericalism - in Boccaccio, for example, when clerics make pretence of magical power this is exercised in the service of their lechery, and lust rather than magic is the focus of the satire - but the realization that certain clerics were dabbling in conjuration could hardly have made a positive contribution to the image of the clergy at a time when for other reasons there was increasing distrust of priests and priestcraft.[28]

If we neglect the literature of necromancy we cannot grasp what it is that the Humanist mages (Marsilio Ficino, Giovanni Pico, Johannes Reuchlin, Johannes Trithemius and others) so vigorously claimed *not* to be doing, or what they were often suspected of doing despite their protestations. Even the rise of the witch trials in the fifteenth century is related to increasing consciousness of this explicitly demonic magic. It was surely in large part because they were aware of the demonic magic described in these manuals and evidently practised in their midst that orthodox authorities often became sceptical about the notion of non-demonic, natural magic. They seem to have misconstrued ordinary magical procedures, interpreting them as working, like necromancy, through demonic agency.[29] Cesare Lanza hinted at the connection when he remarked in 1579, 'Today a lowly little woman does more than all the necromancers accomplished in the ancient world.'[30] In so far as necromancers contributed to the plausibility of claims about witches, they bear indirect responsibility for the rise of the European witch trials in the fifteenth and following centuries. To the extent that these early witch trials focused on female victims, they thus provide a particularly tragic case of women being blamed and punished for the misconduct of men: women who were not invoking demons could more easily be thought to do so at a time when certain men were in fact so doing.

Natural magic was always, in some quarters, a suspect category, and understandably so: its mechanisms remained unclear, and its claims to empirical confirmation were perhaps even by medieval standards not impressive. Demonic magic, in contrast, was a straightforward notion, and its efficacy was easy for virtually all medieval people to believe. Small wonder if for some authorities in late medieval Europe this became *the* paradigmatic form of magic, and if other forms came to be interpreted as implicitly grounded in demonic aid, so that a theologian, an inquisitor, or an educated lay judge might be sceptical about claims that some magic was natural rather than demonic.

More generally, knowledge of this material adds significantly to our understanding of later medieval *clerical culture*. A society that had a surplus of clergy inevitably spawned an underemployed and largely unsupervised 'clerical underworld' capable of various forms of mischief, including necromancy, and indeed this underworld seems to have been the primary locus for this explicitly demonic magic. Not all those accused of conjuring demons were clerics; the charge was attached at times to laymen and occasionally women.[31] But the examples cited already suggest that clerics were disproportionally represented,

and when we examine the Munich handbook of necromancy in following chapters what we will find there is a characteristically clerical form of magic, using Latin texts and presupposing knowledge of mainstream ritual.[32] The beliefs and ritual operations found in necromancy mimic those of established rites, somewhat as the threads are the same on both sides of a tapestry, and the patterns they form on the underside are recognizably related to those on the front. One might even suggest that a culture in which ritual occupies so central a place will naturally if not inevitably engender forbidden rituals, somewhat as the production of a tapestry necessarily produces on the underside a distorted version of the intended image. The study of late medieval necromancy gives an exceptionally clear and forceful picture of the abuses likely to arise in a culture so keenly attentive to ritual display of sacerdotal power. Our own society, more fascinated with sexuality and its abuse, has its own concerns about miscreant priests and their abuse of young boys; the clerical misconduct most feared in the late Middle Ages was of a different order.

DEMONIC MAGIC AND THE THEORY OF RITUAL

I have spoken of demonic magic as the underside of the tapestry of late medieval ritual culture; more must be said about the character of magic as ritual. If the book of magic is on the one hand a magical book, an object possessing preternatural power, a habitation in which demons may even be supposed to reside, it is on the other hand a script whose formulas are meant for enactment, a guide for ritual action. The book of magic thus functions both as a repository of magical power and as a guide to magical process, a liturgical compendium with rites to be observed, scripts to be enacted. The rites of magic suggest questions analogous to those raised by any rites, even if they differ in the sources of power they mean to exploit. Three issues in the study of ritual are of particular relevance to our understanding of a necromantic text: the relationship between official (or public) and unofficial (or private) ritual; the efficacy ascribed to ritual, and the role of language in ritual.

Émile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss took the chief difference between religion and magic to lie in their social context. To paraphrase their perception, religion is the official observance of a collectivity (such as a Church), while magic is the unofficial practice of an individual (often on behalf of a client). But if one takes religion to be the spiritual practice of a community specifically *acting* as a community, one excludes private prayer – while if one takes it to be the spiritual practice *sanctioned* by a community, even when carried out individually, one relegates any and all disapproved practice, regardless of the grounds for disapproval, to the category of magic.[35] Eamon Duffy has emphasized that magical or superstitious formulas in charms share a common vocabularity with liturgical prayers, which already suggests the need for a nuanced sense of the

relationship between religion and magic. The complexity of this relationship may be seen with particular clarity in the comparison of exorcism and conjuration. As we shall see in a later chapter, in medieval parlance these terms were used interchangeably, and the practices are in fact in all ways but one identical. What we now call exorcism was practised by an individual, usually a cleric (although some laypeople claimed the role), who addressed demons with formal commands, whose power was derived chiefly from the sacred realities invoked in the formulas of command. What we now call conjuring was also practised by an individual, usually a cleric, who addressed demons with formal commands essentially identical to those of the exorcists, again powerful by virtue of appeal to sacred realities. In neither case was the command automatically efficacious: both exorcists and conjurers reckoned on the possibility that the demons might resist their invocations and refuse compliance, in which case the rituals of command would be redoubled. Both the exorcist and the conjurer were engaged in spiritual wrestling matches with the demons, and in both cases they were keenly aware of the dangers. Exorcism was in principle carried out on behalf of a demoniac; conjurations could be done as ways of afflicting enemies, and could be carried out on behalf of clients. In both cases, then, the ritual performer was acting as an individual but within a social context. If exorcisms were allowed, at least to authorized clergy, while conjuring was prohibited to all, it was because of the one key difference: the exorcist's intent was to dispel the demons, while the conjurer's was to summon them, and mainstream opinion held that it was better to be rid of malign spirits than to invite them into one's life. Study of conjurations in subsequent chapters will suggest that there is no other essential difference between this form of magic and religious practices, and that it is better to perceive demonic magic as an illicit form of religion than as a cultural phenomenon distinct from religion.

The efficacy of magical rites, like that of any rituals, can be seen as real, objective, and (within the historical culture) rational, or as emotional, subjective, and symbolic: the magicians' operations may be viewed as actually accomplishing certain ends, or as symbolic expressions of their emotions and their desires. In Ludwig Wittgenstein's classic formulation, 'Magic . . . gives manifestation to a wish; it expresses a wish.'[36] Echoing such earlier formulations, Joseph Gusfield suggests that 'in symbolic behavior the action is ritualistic and ceremonial in that the goal is reached in the behaviour itself rather than in any state it brings about'.[37] This pragmatist perception of ritual may be useful as a way for an observer to excuse someone else's otherwise irrational practice, but there is little evidence that most practitioners themselves view the effect of their rites as merely expressive and not objectively effective.[38] Magic rituals in medieval Europe were clearly intended to produce results: to arouse passion, to drive people mad, to find stolen goods, and so forth. Judicial evidence makes it clear that the practitioners, the clients and the victims all expected magic to have

objective effect, and when it did not this was because the specific practitioners were inept or did not perform rituals with sufficient strength to command the demons they summoned.[39]

In one sense, however, Gusfield's formulation does apply to magic. Magical rites, like prayers of petition, may be used for practical ends, but any goals extrinsic to the ritual presuppose an effect intrinsic to it. The prayers and actions that constitute orthodox ritual first of all transform the relationship between the praying person and God, as also the relationship with the persons prayed for, with others in whose company one is praying, and with others throughout history who have said the prayer in question. If such ritual is transformative, the transformation is in the first instance one that occurs *within* the ritual itself. The participants in the ritual become different, and the network of relations in which they stand is reconfigured. Even if no further results ensue, for the duration of the ritual the world of the participant is transformed. Normally one undertakes a ritual with the expectation of further, extrinsic changes, moral or physical, but these are secondary, at least in a logical sense, however important they are to the participant: they are secondary because they presuppose a prior change within the ritual itself, an empowerment of the participant that then makes extrinsic change possible. Ritual can be effective for other purposes only if it first is effective *as ritual*. It can have secondary efficacy only by virtue of its primary efficacy. The principle holds in the case of magical rites, and perhaps most especially those involving demonic magic: even if they are undertaken for the sake of some practical end, that purpose can be accomplished only because within the ritual there is a transformed relationship between the magician and God, between the magician and the demons, and perhaps also between the magician and other humans. Calling upon the aid of God, the magician seeks power over the demons; the primary purpose of the ritual is to build sufficient power that the magician may compel the spirits to do his will. Only if within the ritual itself this transformation of power is attained can the magician accomplish any other goal.

The efficacy of ritual *ex opere operato* must be perceived in this light. Thomas Aquinas was stating the common perception of theologians in the later Middle Ages when he recognized the mass and sacraments as having objective effect independent of the disposition and moral status of the celebrant and minister. That ritual was inherently efficacious (*ex opere operato*), apart from any further effect to be gained by virtue of the minister's or participants' disposition (*ex opere operantis*), by no means meant that the rite was magical. Whether an operation qualified as magic or not depended chiefly on which powers it invoked: if it called upon celestial or manifest natural powers it was not magic, but if it appealed to demonic or occult natural powers it was magic.[40] Rituals that called upon angelic aid formed an ambiguous category, possibly but not necessarily magical, but mainly because the identity of the angel summoned might be in doubt.[41]

A ritual, magical or otherwise, could have efficacy *ex opere operato* precisely because it transformed the status of the performer and his or her relationship with God, with other spirits, and with humans. It was clearly this fear of the efficacy of magic *ex opere operato* that led an actor playing in the *Jeu de Sainte Barbe* in 1470 to make a notarized counterpact declaring that 'by the invocations and anathemas of the demons which he makes in the play . . . he does not intend to speak from the heart but only in the manner of the play, and that on that account the enemy of human kind, the devil, should not have any claim on his soul'.[42] But the force of magical ritual was not in all respects analogous to that of other rites. Ordinary prayer and official ritual assume that the spirits invoked are in general well disposed toward humankind, and enter readily into a helping relationship. The praying person's invocation of God or a saint is an appeal to a benevolent being. In this respect the rituals of demonic magic differ from other rites: they invoke fallen spirits taken (by the necromancers as well as by their critics) to be unwilling, uncooperative, inimical and treacherous. The operations of demonic magic, more than other rituals, are thus explicit contests of wills. The necromancer recognizes a need to heap conjuration upon conjuration, and to buttress these formulas with supporting means of power, precisely because the demons are reluctant to come, and if they come will do everything in their power to escape the magician's control, threaten him, and deceive him. To gain the upper hand in the contest, the magician must hold the strongest possible means for power over the demons, and must adjure them in the name of all that is holy to come in non-threatening form, to cause no harm, and to tell only the truth. Yet all of these factors, far from undercutting Gusfield's analysis, actually strengthen it: they show how vitally important it was for the magician to focus his attention and his energies on the *immediate* consequences of his ritual action. His rites could be efficacious for extrinsic purposes only if they were first effective *as* rites, as ritual contests with cunning and powerful spiritual adversaries who could nevertheless be induced to fulfill his command.

The function of language within magical ritual is a subject to be explored in detail when we examine formulas of conjuration in a later chapter. The general topic is one S.J. Tambiah has discussed, with focus on the use of special languages, or the use of elements from various languages, in magical practice.[43] Necromantic conjurations of the late Middle Ages are almost entirely in Latin, which marks them not as specifically magical but as similar to ordinary liturgical formulas. Some experiments give formulas in what is said to be Chaldean, thus making an appeal to the authority of ancient Jewish magic analogous to that of later Christian Kabbalists. But when a child medium is used, he is sometimes licensed to conjure the spirits in the vernacular. On one level one might say that the choice of language is a matter of indifference: the demons or other spirits being conjured know all human tongues and can be addressed effectively in any of them. Yet in a different way the selection of language was important, because

it was only formulas in Latin that were clearly related to the prayers of mainstream liturgy. Necromancers who had command of Latin and could use it to demonstrate the groundedness of their rites in the liturgical tradition of the Church could no doubt gain readier acceptance as authentic masters of their art. And even if demons could understand other languages, they seemed (like God) to pay special attention when addressed in Latin.

In any case, within medieval culture, magical words were seen as effective not *per se* but rather as means for evoking the effective presence of the archetypal powers to which they refer. Magical language is thus not in a simple sense the *cause* of efficacy but rather its *occasion*; the cause is a network of forces released and coordinated by the magician's verbal cue. The situation is analogous to that of the eucharist: the priest's utterance of the words of consecration is not the cause of transubstantiation but rather the divinely ordained occasion for divine intervention. One might suppose that this distinction is too subtle to have been clear to the common necromancer, but in fact the point is clearly articulated in the conjurations themselves, which not only acknowledge but insist that the sources of their own power are the archetypal forces they bring to bear upon the situation at hand.

The magic we are dealing with, then, borrows the conventions of liturgical prayer and has efficacy resembling that of the sacraments. In other respects, however, the fitting comparison is not so much with liturgy and sacraments as with the private devotions that were proliferating in the late Middle Ages, and the analogue to the book of magic is less the missal than the private prayer book. Ritual magic and devotions alike showed how liturgical formulas could be adapted for private and domestic use; indeed, one central point of devotionalism was to provide a network of connections between church and home, bonding them in an increasingly complex relationship, and imparting to the home some of the fervour and sacrality of the church. Magic resembles the devotionalism of the books of hours and other prayerbooks in its translation of official rites into an unofficial and largely private setting.[44] Books of magic, like books of devotion, proliferated in the expanding marketplace of privately owned and privately read texts.

PLAN OF THIS BOOK

The following chapter will introduce the manuscript to which this study is chiefly devoted. Subsequent chapters fall into two blocks. Chapters 3–5 examine the experiments according to the chief purposes for which they are performed: entertainment (illusionist experiments), power over other individuals (psychological ones), and knowledge (divinatory ones). The chief point of these chapters is to show that within this body of material there are in fact fairly clearly distinguishable subtraditions, and to sketch the common characteristics of each. Chapters 6–8, then, analyse the sources and techniques used to gain magical power, in particular the conjurations (and the demonology assumed by these

conjurations), the magic circles, and the formulas of astral magic techniques that cut across the categories discussed in the earlier chapters, and thus represent elements of continuity within the diversity of necromantic practice.

Throughout the book I will give translations (my own, unless otherwise noted) of source material for the study of late medieval necromancy. Most of these passages are from the Munich handbook; to give a sense of the cultural context, I have included some material from other writings of the magicians and from writings about and against demonic magic. I have opted not to give a complete translation of the Munich handbook; both specialists and general readers, I assume, will be better served by selective translation of representative and particularly interesting passages (selected perhaps disproportionately but not exclusively from the earlier sections of the handbook), integrated into my analysis. This option seems especially appropriate given the largely repetitive nature of the material, and the need to situate it in its cultural context. The Latin text is, in any case, available at the end of the volume for those who wish to probe more deeply.

Notes

1 On the general topic of literacy in the late Middle Ages see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 53–88; Malcolm B. Parkes, 'The literacy of the laity', in David Daiches and Anthony Thorlby, eds, *Literature and Western Civilization*, 2 (London: Aldus, 1973), 555–77; Paul Saenger, 'Silent reading: its impact on late medieval script and society', *Viator*, 13 (1982), 367–414; and, for a somewhat earlier period, Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983).

2 See especially Peter Biller and Anne Hudson, eds, *Heresy and Literacy, 1000–1530* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and Nicholas Watson, 'Censorship and cultural change in late-medieval England: vernacular theology, the Oxford translation debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409', *Speculum*, 70 (1995), 822–64. On certain aspects of books as magical objects see Peter Ganz, ed., *Das Buch als magisches und als Repräsentationsobjekt* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), esp. Brian P. Copenhaver, 'The power of magic and the poverty of erudition: magic in the Universal Library', 159–80.

3 Barthélemy Hauréau, *Bernard Délicieux et l'Inquisition albigeoise, 1300–1320* (Paris, 1877), 143–65; Lea, *History*, vol. 3, 451f.; Conrad Eubel, 'Vom Zaubereiunwesen anfangs des 14. Jahrhunderts (mit urkundlichen Beilagen)', *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 18 (1897), 628f.; Joseph Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter, und die Entstehung der großen Hexenverfolgung* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1900; repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1964), 253f. The relevant documents are now available in Alan Friedlander, ed., *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi: The Trial of Fr. Bernard Délicieux, 3 September–8 December 1319* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 86/1) (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1996).

4 Joseph Hansen, ed., *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter* (Bonn: Georgi, 1901; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 2–4; Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: An Enquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt* (London: Chatto, 1975), 193.

5 Eubel, 'Vom Zaubereiunwesen', 609–25; Robert Michel, 'Le procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: l'accusation de sorcellerie et d'hérésie, Dante et l'affaire de l'envoûtement (1320)', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 29 (1909); Hansen, *Zauberwahn*, 333f.; Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, 192.

6 Pierre Luc, 'Un complot contre le Papa Benoit XIII (1406–7)', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École de Rome*, 55 (1938), 374–402.

7 Margaret Harvey, 'Papal witchcraft: the charges against Benedict XIII', in Derek Baker, ed., *Sanctity and Secularity: The Church and the World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973), 109–16; J. Vincke, 'Acta Concilii Pisani', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 46 (1938), esp. 183–208.

8 Gene A. Brucker, 'Sorcery in early Renaissance Florence', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 10 (1963), 19f., 23., citing G. Sanesi, 'Un episodio d'eresia nel 1383', *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, 3 (1896), 384f.

9 Brucker, 'Sorcery', 13–16, 22f.

10 Nicolaus Eymericus: *Directorium inquisitorum*, ii.43.1, (Rome: Georgius Ferrarius, 1587), also tells of having captured necromancers' books and had them burned in public.

11 Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 511, citing Rudolf Dier de Muiden, *Scriptum de magistro Gerardo*, ed. G. Dumbar in *Analecta seu vetera aliquot scripta inedita* (Deventer, 1719), 1–12.

12 Quotation from the New Revised Standard Version. For a discussion of the distinctive setting at Ephesus see Clinton E. Arnold, *Ephesians: Power and Magic: The Concept of Power in Ephesians in Light of its Historical Setting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

13 Francis A. Gasquet, ed., *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia*, 3 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1906), 117f. The text appears corrupt in more than one place, but the sense is sufficiently clear.

14 One might suggest that the term *nigromantia* not be re-Graecicized as 'necromancy' but left as 'nigromancy'. While in some respects preferable, this usage would mistakenly suggest that medieval usage distinguished between two terms. Both DuCange's *Glossarium* (s.v. *nigromantia*) and the *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v. 'necromancy') make it clear that *nigromantia* was not a term distinct from *necromantia*, but an alternative version of the same word, influenced by the Latin *niger*. *Dives and Pauper*, for example, is quoted as reading (in the 1496 printing), 'nygromancye, that is wytchecrafte done by deed bodyes'. The equivalence thus conflated 'black divination' (construed broadly with reference to the magical arts in general, but at least by implication these arts conceived as demonic) with 'divination by consulting the dead'. The first part of the word was also at times spelled *nygro-*, *negre-*, *egre-*, etc.

15 On this 'clerical underworld' see Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), esp. 153–6.

16 Hjalmar Crohns, 'Die Summa theologica des Antonin von Florenz und die Schätzung des Weibes im Hexenhammer', *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, 32/4 (Helsingfors, 1903).

17 See Lynn Thorndike, *Michael Scot* (London: Nelson, 1965), 120.

18 Mariano da Alatri, 'L'inquisizione a Firenze negli anni 1344/46 da un'istruttoria contro Pietro da l'Aquila', in Isidorus a Villapadierna, ed., *Miscellanea Melchor de Pobladura*, 1 (Rome: Institutum Historicum O.F.M. Cap., 1964), 225–49.

19 On the relationship between licit and illicit charms, see, e.g., Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, II/II, q. 96, a. 4. and the comments of Heinrich Kramer (traditionally ascribed to him and

Jakob Sprenger) in *The Malleus maleficarum*, ii.2.6, trans. Montague Summers (London: Pushkin, 1948), 179–88. Johannes Nider, in his *Praeceptorium divinae legis*, summarized in Henry Charles Lea, *Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft*, ed. George Lincoln Burr, I (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939), 269f., explains that it is licit to adjure demons in an imperative mode but not in the deprecatory mode that he associates (incorrectly) with necromancers.

20 Jacques Paviot, 'Note sur un cas de sorcellerie à Dijon en 1463', *Annales de Bourgogne*, 65 (1993), 43–5.

21 G.G. Coulton, trans., *Life in the Middle Ages*, I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), 162–63, from the *Grandes Chroniques de St Denis*, vol. 5, 269.

22 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 266–87.

23 Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (FF Communications, 204) (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Akademia Scientiarum Fennica, 1969), 61, no. 737.

24 For a list of possible explanations for the failure of magic, at least in one cultural setting, see E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1937), 475–8.

25 There are two copies in Clm 849, on 52r–59v and 135r–139r, and both are edited below. In addition, there is fragmentary version in Bodleian Library Rawlinson MS D252, 85r–87v, and a French *Livre de consecration* in Trinity College Cambridge MS 0.8.29, fols 183r–186v.

26 Jean Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Palemon Glorieux (Paris: Desclée, 1961–73), 10, pp. 86–90.

27 For example, Paul Diepgen, in 'Arnaldus de Villanova De improbatione maleficiorum', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 9 (1912), 385–403, clearly had no notion what necromancy entailed and was thus seriously mistaken regarding the intent of Arnald's work.

28 Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. Mark Musa and Peter Bondanella (New York: Mentor, 1982), 7.3, 7.5 (involving an alleged priest), 8.7 (involving a scholar) and 9.10.

29 See Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, ch. 7.

30 Guido Ruggiero, *Binding Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage, and Power at the End of the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 211, 227.

31 E.g., Hansen, *Quellen*, 524–26, and Carl Buxtorf-Falkeisen, *Baslerische Stadt- und Landesgeschichten aus dem sechszehnten Jahrhundert* (Basle: Schweighausen, 1863–8), vol. 4, 1–25.

32 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, Ch. 6, is surely correct in arguing that knowledge of Latin was shared in varying degree by diverse sections of the population, and was not exclusive to the clergy. It is not the language of necromancy alone, but the command of ritual vocabulary and the assumption of entitlement to use that vocabulary that suggests the necromancers were primarily clerical, and this assumption is confirmed by images of the clerical necromancer found in literature as well as in the judicial records.

33 For discussion of a range of issues in the theory of ritual see Roy A. Rappaport, 'The obvious aspects of ritual', in Roy A. Rappaport, *Ecology, Meaning and Religion* (Richmond, CA: North Atlantic Books, 1979), 173–221.

34 Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Karen E. Fields (New York: Free Press, 1995), esp. 39–44; M. Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic*, trans. R. Brain (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1950).

35 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, ch. 8.

36 Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Remarks on Frazer's 'Golden Bough'/Bemerkungen über Frazer's 'Golden Bough'*, ed. Rush Rhees, trans. A.C. Miles (Retsford: Brynmill, 1979) ('Die Magie aber bringt einen Wunsch zur Darstellung; sie äußert einen Wunsch'), discussed in Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 54–63, and in Rodney Needham, *Exemplars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 149–77.

37 Joseph Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement*, 2nd edn (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 21.

38 On this point see Richard Kieckhefer, 'The specific rationality of medieval magic', *American Historical Review*, 99 (1994), 813–36.

39 See, for example, the case of Niccolò Consigli, in Gene A. Brucker, ed., *The Society of Renaissance Florence: A Documentary Study* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 361–6.

40 Kieckhefer, 'The specific rationality', 813–36.

41 Invoking an angel established as unfallen, such as the archangels Michael or Gabriel, could be *superstitious* if the means of invocation were inappropriate (e.g., if one used circles and conjurations in calling upon them) but would not thereby have qualified as *magical* by medieval definitions.

42 Jacques Chiffoleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà: les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Age (vers 1320–vers 1480)* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1980), 389, n. 92; translation from R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 188.

43 Stanley J. Tambiah, 'The magical power of words', *Man*, n.s. 3 (1968), 175–208; also in Stanley J. Tambiah, *Culture, Thought and Social Action* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 17–59.

44 For an overview of the subject see Richard Kieckhefer, 'Major currents in late medieval devotion', in Jill Raitt, ed., *Christian Spirituality*, 2 (New York: Crossroad, 1987), 75–108.

2

THE MUNICH HANDBOOK OF NECROMANCY: Clm 849

In other areas of medieval studies, the 'new philology' is urging renewed attention to particular manuscripts, with respect for their variant readings of texts as well as attention to their physical make-up, evidence of the ways they were used, the disposition of text on the page, and the relationship between text and images. The individual manuscript actually put together by medieval hands and used by medieval readers, rather than the artificial standardized edition, is increasingly seen as a means for understanding how texts functioned within their historical culture.[1] In the same vein, I wish to propose that for the history of magic – especially in the late Middle Ages – what we need most is a series of detailed studies of particular representative manuscripts. This more than any other type of study will contribute toward a concrete and realistic sense of how magicians conceived and represented their art, especially if it is possible to divine the process by which a manuscript was compiled, and to say something about the mentality of the compiler as it changed through different stages of compilation.

Clearly there were those in late medieval Europe whose interest in magic was more theoretical than practical. The monk of Sulby mentioned in Chapter 1 claimed that his fascination with the occult was purely theoretical or speculative. We know that William of Auvergne and Nicholas Eymericus studied works of magic in the interest of analysing them, refuting their assumptions, and condemning them more effectively, while Albert the Great and Roger Bacon had theoretical interests in the occult that grew in large part out of their scientific research. There may well have been many less known figures who took a keen interest in knowing about magic through widely disseminated books such as *Picatrix*, even if they did not intend to practise this learning.[2]

The magical texts probably of greatest interest from a theoretical or scientific viewpoint were integrally conceived and titled works, even if these were pseudonymous or anonymous, as opposed to miscellanies. Works integrally composed by single authors, such as al-Kindi or Marsilio Ficino, or pseudonymous works ascribed to Aristotle, were likely not only to prescribe recipes for specific purposes but to develop more or less explicit theories of occult process. Miscellanies might contain material that *implies* an understanding of how magic worked, but they were less likely to develop a theoretical viewpoint explicitly or coherently. To be sure, this distinction between an integrally conceived work and a miscellany is by no means rigid. While *Picatrix* is one of the great works of Arabic astral magic, infused with a more or less coherent theory of how magic

operates,[3] it is also in large measure a compilation. The Pseudo-Albertan *Book of Secrets* is systematic in its organizing principles – it surveys the magical properties first of herbs (nettle, wild teasel, periwinkle, and so forth, one by one), then of stones, then of beasts, and finally of the planets – but the contents gathered under these headings might be found in a miscellany as well, without benefit of organizing structure. Yet while the distinction between an integrally conceived work and a miscellany is thus not absolute, it is none the less real.

It is a distinction worth noting, because the works of magic that survive from medieval Europe include large numbers of miscellanies, and in light of their importance they have been too little studied. When we read in a judicial record or a literary work of a magician who owned and used a book of magic, this is at least as likely to have been a miscellany as an integrally composed treatise. For while miscellanies may be of less interest from a theoretical viewpoint, they had compensating features that may often have made them more useful to the practising magician. The materials assembled in them were selected not to round off some theoretical notion of magic and its component parts, but because *individually* they were taken to be effective. They are documents of use, analogous to the Greek magical papyri.[4] A treatise on conjuration, such as the *Thesaurus necromantiae* ascribed to Roger Bacon,[5] may explain systematically how conjuring spirits works, and how different spirits are related to different astronomical bodies; a necromantic miscellany is more likely to lay out a single 'experiment' (*experimentum*, or, less often, *experientia*, a concrete and experienced application of ritual for magical effect), with all of the required preparations and conjurations, step by step. Historians of magic who are mainly interested in the field from the perspective of intellectual history or the history of science are likely to be drawn mostly to single-author treatises, but those interested in the actual practice of magic and its relevance to cultural, social, judicial, religious and political history must take a keen interest in miscellanies as well. Furthermore, whereas an integrated treatise claims to represent a point of view distilled and isolated from the course of its own development, a miscellany can more fully serve as a biographical document illustrating moments in the life of its compiler, presenting its reader with the challenge of discerning the trajectory of its compiler's shifting interests.

Willy Braekman has edited the magical portions of a Middle Dutch miscellany of the fifteenth century, now at the Wellcome Historical Medical Library in London.[6] This manuscript illustrates the variety of magical materials we might expect to find in a miscellany. Included along with non-magical material are experiments to identify the thief who has stolen milk, beer or wax; to become invisible; to see 'extraordinary things'; to learn about past or future events; to ease childbirth; to transport oneself rapidly by use of an ointment (made of seven herbs, goat's fat and bat's blood). Various love charms or summoning experiments are given, as well as a procedure for preventing a wife from having intercourse with another man by tracing a circle around her genitals with the tail of a lizard.

In the category of magical trickery or parlour games are experiments to cause people to grow dirty while bathing; to cause white birds to hatch from the eggs of black birds; to make a newly hatched peacock white; to cause a woman to leap naked from her bath; to cause a dog to dance; to compel a horse to stand still; to hold a serpent in one's hand without harm, and to cause a horse to collapse as if dead. More useful are procedures to expel mice and flies by use of magical images. The manuscript gives the first half of a moon book, explaining the moon's influence under each zodiacal sign. And it includes a set of experiments ascribed to Solomon, and twelve experiments involving snake-skin, widely attributed to Johannes Paulinus but in fact translated from the Arabic. Most of the experiments in this manuscript are of natural magic, but not all: Braekman's no. 20, especially, calls upon 'the power and might of these spirits, Beheydraz, Anleyuz, [and] Manitaymus', to aid in the magical seduction of a woman.

Bodleian MS Rawlinson D 252, a fifteenth-century English manuscript, contains formulas for explicitly demonic magic, to which Frank Klaassen has called my attention, and which he will describe in his own research now in progress. It is devoted chiefly to lengthy conjurations intended for divination, most often to detect thieves, although there are multi-purpose experiments as well. The bulk of the material is in Latin, but the manuscript also gives lengthy passages in Middle English. The manuscript differs from Braekman's Middle Dutch text in various ways, of which three are immediately apparent: it is more consistently devoted to magical experiments, most of its operations are for a particular kind of magic, and it more regularly calls upon the aid of demons. I will refer to this miscellany on occasion in following chapters.

CODEX LATINUS MONACENSIS 849

We turn now to the specific focus of this study, a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Bavarian State Library, Clm 849, and in particular the texts on folios 3 through 108 of this manuscript. (The material on the following folios is related in kind and approximately contemporary but in different hands and different languages, and evidently not intended as part of the same compilation.) The compiler of this main block of material was evidently German; the appended materials seem to have come from various sources, and one passage contains a formula in Italian.[7] The manuscript is a small one, approximately 8¼ inches high and 5¼ inches wide. The description of this manuscript in the published catalogue is nondescript: it appears there as a book of incantations, exorcisms and sundry bewitchments.[8] Lynn Thorndike made no reference to it in his monumental *History of Magic*,[9] and while he did cite it briefly in a later article published in a festschrift,[10] it has generally been neglected in the literature on witchcraft and magic. In my survey of *Magic in the Middle Ages* I highlighted this text, but without examining it fully and systematically.[11] Yet it deserves careful attention, not because it was influential but because of what it

represents. It is a rare example, essentially intact, of what must once have been a flourishing genre: the manual of explicitly demonic magic, or necromancy. It is clearly a miscellany, with little linkage, clustering or other organization of its materials, and no effort to develop a coherent theory to support or explain the 'experiments' it contains. Yet its limitations are also its strengths: the lack of a systematic framework means that each section, essentially self-contained, has a coherence and clarity often lacking in more fully developed writings.

The first two folios of the manuscript are missing, a circumstance which may help to explain how the manuscript evaded detection and thus survived. (Indeed, it is not uncommon for the first folio of a magical manuscript to be missing.)[12] The 107 folios that remain in the main block (rectifying an error in foliation gives us one extra folio) are devoted primarily to a series of forty-two magic experiments. Interspersed with these are a version of the *Liber consecracionum* (no. 31); a list of spirits, with descriptions of the forms in which they appear and the functions they perform (no. 34); a manual of astral magic (no. 37); a list of favourable and unfavourable days for writing magical inscriptions (no. 46); and a fragment of a chemical prescription, with a gloss in the German language (no. 47).

All but a few of the experiments fall into the three main categories. There are twelve illusionist experiments, designed to make things appear other than as they are – to conjure forth an illusory banquet or castle, to obtain a wondrous means of transportation (usually a demon in the form of a horse) that will carry the magician across land or water, or to make a dead person seem alive or vice versa. Seven psychological experiments are intended to have influence on people's intellects or wills – to arouse love or hatred, to gain favour at court, to constrain the will of others, or to drive a person mad. Fully seventeen experiments are divinatory techniques for gaining knowledge of future, past, distant or hidden things. Most of these experiments entail catoptromancy, or scrying: the magician's assistant, usually a young boy, stares at a reflecting surface until he sees figures, taken here to be apparitions of spirits, who can reveal the desired information. As should become clear in following chapters, these three types of experiment are significantly different from one another: we find an element of playful fantasy in the illusionist experiments, an often violent effort at coercion in the psychological ones, and an insistence on detecting truth and righting wrongs in most of the divinatory ones. Differences in tone and in purpose are accompanied by variations in technique: conjuring spirits is of central importance in most of the experiments, but the magic circle plays its most prominent role in the illusionist rituals, sympathetic magic is more prevalent in the psychological experiments, and scrying is itself the key to most of the divination. Rather than a single technique, the necromancy of this handbook represents a congeries of distinct procedures, most of which can be sorted fairly neatly into these three categories.

Roughly speaking, we can say that the moving forces behind the magic of the handbook are the exercise of imagination, the hunger for power and the thirst for

knowledge. To be sure, all three elements are at work in all the necromantic experiments. One might say that the main issues raised by the practice of necromancy are those of the relationship between sacrality and power: the necromancers perceived their art and office as sacred and saw themselves as invoking the sacred powers of heaven by which they could constrain the equally numinous but malign and treacherous powers of hell. At the same time, one must recognize that all these experiments required exercise of imagination and were inspired in large part by curiosity. Yet the characteristic emphases differ, and we may safely generalize that it is the imaginative element which dominates in the illusionist experiments, the quest for power in psychological experiments, and the yearning for knowledge in the divinatory ones.

All forms of necromancy presupposed and played upon tensions. Basic to illusionist experiments was the tension between fantasy and reality, all within the border realm in which readers and practitioners were asked to suspend their disbelief, or perhaps rather to entertain possibilities that would normally defy belief but within this ritual context might gain credibility. In psychological experiments the tension was chiefly between the will of the necromancer and that of the victim over whom the master sought to exercise his power. In divinatory experiments it was perhaps most importantly a tension between truth and deception; these rituals were intended to ascertain truth but left themselves open to the constant hazard of error.

The materials in the manuscript that do not fit into these three categories are a procedure for gaining knowledge with the aid of a demon tutor (no. 1), a brief experiment called the 'Key of Pluto' for opening all locks (no. 26), a fragmentary operation for averting harm (no. 44), a chemical recipe (no. 47), and generic materials that can serve diverse ends (nos 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 42 and 46).

Strikingly absent from this compilation are magical rituals for healing and protection and necromantic procedures for inflicting bodily harm or death. The judicial records provide ample evidence of necromancers charged with undermining the health of their victims, and other necromantic literature evidently provided guidelines for such magic. The compiler of this manuscript seems not to have been a man of conventional morality or scrupulous disposition, yet he seems also not to have taken an interest in these kinds of magic. Not all necromantic manuals were squeamish in this regard. The *Key of Solomon* insists that magic must be used only to glorify God and extend kindness to neighbours, but in fact the work prescribes methods for causing enmity, war, death, destruction, and so forth; as E.M. Butler says, the intentions 'seem to have been of the best; but they were literally of the kind which pave the way to hell'.[15]

The following table shows the order of the forty-two experiments and other materials, most of which are assigned to three broad categories: psychological ('Psych.'), illusionist ('Illus.'), and divinatory ('Divin.'). The numbers for each item are editorial additions.

Table A. Experiments in Clm 849, fols 3–108

No.	*Purpose*	*Fols*	*Type*
1.	For gaining knowledge of the liberal arts	3r–5v	
2.	For causing a person to lose his senses	6r–7v	Psych.
3.	For arousing a woman's love	8r–11v	Psych.
4.	For gaining dignity and honour	11v–13v	Psych.
5.	For arousing hatred between friends	13v–15r	Psych.
6.	For obtaining a banquet	15r–18v	Illus.
7.	For obtaining a castle	18v–21r	Illus.
8.	For obtaining a boat	21r–23r	Illus.
9.	For obtaining a horse	23v–25v	Illus.
10.	For resuscitating a dead person	25v–28r	Illus.
11.	For invisibility	28r–29v	Illus.
12.	For obtaining a woman's love	29v–31v	Psych.
13.	For constraining a man, woman, spirit or beast	32r–33r	Psych.
14.	For obtaining a horse	33v–34r	Illus.
15.	For obtaining a flying throne	34r–35v	Illus.
16.	For finding something in sleep	35v–36r	Divin.
17.	For obtaining a horse	36r–36v	Illus.
18.	The mirror of Floron, for revelation of past, present and future	37r–38r	Divin.
19.	The mirror of Floron, second version	38r–39v	Divin.
20.	Another way of using a mirror	39v–40v	Divin.
21.	For invisibility	40v	Illus.
22.	For discovering a thief or murderer by gazing into a vessel	41r–42r	Divin.
23.	First mirror of Lilith	42r–43r	Divin.
24.	For learning about any uncertain thing by gazing into a crystal	43r–43v	Divin.
25.	For information about a theft by gazing into a crystal	43v–44r	Divin.
26.	Key of Pluto, for opening all locks	44v	
27.	For obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail	44v–45v, 51r, 46v–47v	Divin.
28.	For obtaining information by gazing at a bone	47v–49r	Divin.
29.	The true art of the basin	49r–49v	Divin.
30.	Twelve names for making spirits appear in a boy's hand	49v–50v	Divin.
31.	The Book of Consecrations	52r–59v	
32.	Conjuration of Satan/Mirage	59v–62v	

No.	*Purpose*	*Fols*	*Type*
33.	For obtaining information from a mirror	62v–65r	Divin.
34.	List of spirits	65v–65r bis	
35.	For obtaining a woman's love	65r bis–67v	Psych.
36.	Generic preparation for conjuring spirits	67v–68v	Divin.
37.	Manual of astral magic	68v–96v	
38.	For obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail	96v–99v	Divin.
39.	For obtaining information by gazing into a fingernail	99v–103r	Divin.
40.	For obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail	103r–105v	Divin.
41.	For discovering hidden treasure in sleep	106r–106v	Divin.
42.	The name Semiforas	106v–107r	
43.	For obtaining a horse	107r–107v	Illus.
44.	Fragment of an experiment for averting harm	107v	
45.	For invisibility	107v–108r	Illus.
46.	Favourable and unfavourable days of the month for inscriptions	108r–108v	
47.	Fragment of a chemical prescription (with a note in German)	108v	

After the first (truncated) experiment in the manual, an entire series of fourteen experiments can be gathered into four clusters, two psychological and two illusionist:

Cluster I: Nos 2–5 (for inflicting dementia, gaining the love of any woman, obtaining dignity and honour, arousing hatred between friends)

Cluster II: Nos 6–11 (for obtaining a banquet, obtaining a castle, obtaining a boat, obtaining a horse, resuscitating a dead person, obtaining invisibility)

Cluster III: Nos 12–13 (for obtaining a woman's love, constraining a man or woman or spirit or beast)

Cluster IV: Nos 14–15 (for obtaining a horse, obtaining a flying throne)

Much less of the subsequent material falls into clusters, and the groupings that do occur are devoted exclusively to divination (unless we count the astral magic of no. 37 as itself constituting a cluster):

Cluster V: Nos 18–20 (the mirror of Floron, alternative version of same, another way of using a mirror)

Cluster VI: Nos 22–25 (for discover a thief or murderer by gazing into a vessel,

first mirror of Lilit[h], for knowing about any uncertain thing by gazing into a crystal, for information about a theft by gazing into a crystal)

Cluster VII: Nos 27–30 (for obtain information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail, for obtaining information by gazing at a bone, the true art of the basin, twelve names to make spirits appear in boy's hand)

Cluster VIII: Nos 38–41 (for obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail, for obtaining information by gazing into a fingernail, for obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail, for discovering hidden treasure in sleep)

Before no. 35 the manuscript gives the heading, 'Here begin good and tried experiments', which suggests that the compiler either reordered materials he was taking from elsewhere or copied this particular experiment from the beginning of some other compilation. The arrangement of folios within the gatherings is highly erratic (with many folios excised, and others elsewhere inserted), but apart from the two folios missing from the front of the manuscript, there is in general a high degree of continuity both within and between the gatherings, the main exception being in the apparently careless fragmentation of experiment no. 27.[14] This discontinuity existed already, and the folios in question had already been excised, at the time of the original (fifteenth-century) foliation. In other words, it is likely that we have the necromancer's manual nearly intact, and possible that, despite the codicological complexity, the discontinuities that exist are the result of the compiler's carelessness rather than later loss of text or errors in binding.

Following all this material from fols 3 through 108 are 48 originally separate folios, 109–156, which again contain miscellaneous material: a conjuration of a demon named Mirage (given fols 109r–118r and again fols 139r–146r); German magico-medical prescriptions (fols 119r–132v); a series of divinatory experiments (fols 133r–134v), with a short 'prayer' in Italian (asking God to ensure the truth of the ensuing revelation) to be recited into the ear of a child who serves as medium;[15] the *Liber consecracionum* (fols 135r–139r); a lunar calendar (fol. 146r); instructions for magical circles (fol. 146v); a treatise on astral magic, the *Opus Zoal et angelorum et spirituum eius* (fols 147r–154v), and a German book of lunar astrology (fols 155r–156v). This material will be discussed here mainly in so far as it resembles or otherwise relates to the main block of material. The only materials from folios 109–156 that are edited here are the second version of the *Liber consecracionum* (given along with no. 31, in parallel columns) and the conjuration of Mirage (given alongside no. 32, in parallel columns).

It may seem – and may indeed be – hazardous to devote such attention to a manuscript that survives in this condition. It is possible that the missing first folio contained a title, named an author, or gave other information that would be important for locating this text within its historical context. If we had such

information we might be able to tell more confidently whether this compilation is in fact unique or whether there are other copies.[16] While recognizing the hazards of proceeding with this project, I am moved to do so chiefly by the conviction that this is an exceptionally rich and interesting compilation, that one of the most urgent needs in the history of magic is detailed analysis of specific manuscripts representative of the materials magicians are likely to have used, and that such texts thus hold significance going well beyond their meagre intellectual pretensions. I will make some effort to situate the component parts of the text within their literary context – to cite sources and parallels. For the most part, however, I will focus on the contents of this specific compilation, this microcosm of clerical magic as it was known in the late Middle Ages.

NECROMANCY AND NECROMANCERS IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY MUNICH

The fact that our necromantic manuscript is now in the Bavarian State Library is not, of course, any indication that it came originally from Munich or even from Bavaria, but its inclusion among the earlier codices of the collection suggests that, wherever its materials were first assembled, they may have been brought to Munich and acquired by the ducal library at an early date. Even if this connection is conjectural, it may thus be interesting to inquire what we know of the practice and perception of necromancy in late medieval Munich. The short answer to this question is that not a great deal is known about necromancers and necromancy specifically in and around Munich in the fifteenth century, yet there are some clues that may help place Clm 849 within a general historical context.

The witch trials conducted in the Dauphiné during the years 1428–47 provide an interesting side light of possible relevance. One of the many subjects brought before the judges in this campaign was a sixty-year-old man, Jubertus of Bavaria, from Regensburg, tried in 1437 at Briançon.[17] Apart from accusations more or less typical of the incipient prosecution for conspiratorial witchcraft (flight to nocturnal assemblies, killing of infants, etc.), Jubertus was charged with activities more often found in connection with clerical necromancy:

> First, the aforesaid Jubertus said and confessed, under freely taken oath . . . that he is sixty years of age, and that for ten years and more he served a certain powerful man in Bavaria who was called Johannes Cunalis, who is a priest and *plebanus*, in a city called Munich in Bavaria, near Bohemia.
>
> Likewise, he said and confessed that this Johannes Cunalis had a book of necromancy [*librum de nigromancia*], and that when he who spoke opened this book at once there appeared to him three demons, one named Luxuriosus, another Superbus, and the third Avarus, [all of them] devils. And the first appeared to him in the form of a charming maiden of twelve years, and she slept with him at night and took their pleasure together.

Likewise, during the night he adored that devil as a god, on bended knee, then turned his posterior toward the east and made a cross on the ground, and spat on it three times, and trampled on it three times with his left foot, and urinated and defecated on it, and wherever he saw a cross he spat upon it and thrice denied God.

Likewise, at dawn he adored Superbus in the same way . . .

Likewise, he gave Superbus what was left over when he ate and drank, and to Luxuriosus he gave three or five pence on Holy Friday before Easter, and he committed both his bodily members and his soul after death. And these devils wanted him to deny that God whom they called an accursed prophet [*maledictum prophetam*], and when he adored those three demons as gods he turned his face toward the west and his posterior toward the east, saying what he said, and when he had his dealings with Luxuriosus the others laughed. . . .

Likewise, he said that when he passed along the roads and was with the demons and found a cross, the devils fled from it and made a great detour around it, and they forbade him to do good deeds and to adore the sacred host, and when it was elevated he was to close his eyes, and they forbade him to take holy water and to kiss the cross or the pax [=osculatory], asserting that they alone were almighty gods.

Likewise, he said and confessed that on Sunday, the seventeenth of this month, all three demons were standing with him in prison, and their eyes glowed like sulphurous fire, and they said to the prisoner that they would guard him well if he did not reveal these things. Then he had dealings and mingled carnally with Luxuriosus, and he said furthermore that these demons would have freed him from prison if he had not revealed these things.

Likewise, he said and confessed that these devils then told him that he would be examined more subtly the next day, and that he would have to tell the full truth, and that he would thus be given over to death . . .

Likewise, he said and confessed that once he was passing with his master through a forest in which there were thieves, but they put them to flight with a multitude of devils who appeared in the form of soldiers. He said further that the world is filled with invokers of demons, and that these devils profit greatly from these things, especially because the world is full of sins, wars and dissensions.

Likewise, he said and confessed that one night with the aid of demons his master had a bridge constructed over a river in Bavaria at a place called Sancta Maria Heremitta.[18]

Likewise, he said and confessed that he had proposed to blind Johanneta, the widow of Johannes Paganus of the present place, because she displeased him. With two keys he had traced her image, in a manner and form which he explained in the examination; he did this on a Sunday, depicting her image beneath the name[s] of devils, using implements, materials and techniques

described in the examination, just as he had done in the duchy of Austria in the case of a man called Johannes Fabri of Vienna. And he had disclosed this deed and boasted of it before his capture. . . .

Likewise, he said and confessed that about two years ago he was in the city of Vienna in Austria, and one Thursday there were three drunken cooks in a tavern who refused to let him drink, and when they withdrew at a late hour one of them said to the other two, 'Get up, in the devil's name, and let me pass by!' And at once, at the behest of the accused, all three demons of his master seized those three, snatched them out the door, and cast one of them into a well, another into the sewer or privy of the Dominicans, and the third into the privy of the Franciscans, and none of them but the one cast into a well was killed, the others being freed by the friars at the time of matins.

Likewise, he said and confessed that poisons were made by the aid of devils, by which men could be killed, through their working or by the aid of demons, either at once or in a lingering death, according to the will of the one administering, and according as more or less of the poison is administered, in the name of the devil, in a manner and form contained in the examination, and taken from a basilisk, toad, serpent, spider or scorpion. . . .

Likewise, he said and confessed that when he was passing through the roads and saw images of the Virgin Mary or a cross, he spat at them three times in despite of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and that on the feast of Saint John the Baptist he gathered certain herbs for medicine, as specified in the proceedings, and on bended knees he first adored them, then extracting them in the name of his devils, and in despite of almighty God, the creator of all. . . .

The link between necromancy and witchcraft emerges also from the work of Johannes Hartlieb (*c.* 1400–68). Hartlieb served the duke of Bavaria in Munich during the last three decades of his life, and between 1456 and 1464 he wrote *Das pûch aller verpoten kunst (The Book of All Forbidden Arts)* at the behest of Margrave Johann ('the Alchemist') of Brandenburg-Kulmbach.[19] Some have seen the work as marking a departure from earlier work of Hartlieb's that dealt with the occult arts in a more sympathetic manner, but the attribution of most of these works is at best doubtful: writings that he had in his library and consulted to inform himself about the occult arts were in some instances falsely ascribed to him. Some have read *Das pûch aller verpoten kunst* as a clever excuse for relating otherwise forbidden information to a curious reader, but Hartlieb does not give enough particulars for his work to be of much use in magical practice. Frank Fürbeth is surely correct in placing the work in a tradition of catechetical writings for lay instruction, influenced in particular by Nicholas Magni of Jawor and by the work of certain contemporary Viennese writers.[20] Hartlieb lists necromancy (*nigramancia*) as the first of the seven forbidden arts, along with geomancy,

hydromancy, aeromancy, pyromancy, chiromancy and spatulamancy. His chapter 22 defines the term:

> *Nygramancia* is the first forbidden art, and is called the black art. This art is the worst of all, because it proceeds with sacrifices and services that must be rendered to the devils. One who wishes to exercise this art must give all sorts of sacrifices to the devils, and must make an oath and pact [*verpintnuß*] with the devils. Then the devils are obedient to him and carry out the will of the master, as far as God permits them. Take note of two great evils in this art. The first is that the master must make sacrifice and tribute to the devils, by which he denies God and renders divine honors to the devils, for we should make sacrifices only to God, who created us and redeemed us by his passion. The other is that he binds [*verpint*] himself with the devil, who is the greatest enemy of all humankind.[21]

Hartlieb's categorization adapts that of Nicholas Magni and harks to much earlier discussions of the branches of the magic arts. Isidore of Seville, who deals with magic and especially magical divination in his *Etymologies*,[22] speaks of four species of divination which employ the four elements (geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy and pyromancy), but among other forms of divination mentions the *necromantici* who resuscitate and interrogate the dead. Hugh of St Victor's *Didascalicon* borrows from Isidore, but organizes the divisions of magic into five categories, of which the first, *mantice*, includes divination by necromancy and by the four elements.[23] Hartlieb cites Isidore of Seville's more restricted use of the term 'necromancy', for conjuring the shades of the dead, but he himself uses it in the broader sense, essentially interchangeable with 'demonic magic'.[24]

As indicated, Hartlieb's portrayal of necromancy displays close links between this art and the conspiratorial witchcraft that was emerging in both trials and treatises at the time he wrote. The necromancer conjures the Devil with characters and secret words, with fumigations and sacrifices, in addition to making a pact with the Devil.[25] The Devil acts as if the conjurer caused him pain by his exorcizing and conjuring (*beswern und pannen*), although they actually give him great satisfaction. In all these respects he might be taken as describing the conspiratorial witch, although his explicit subject is the necromancer. Hartlieb even discusses early witch trials at Rome and at Heidelberg within the context of necromancy.[26] Hartlieb's reading and experience were wide: he claims to have consulted with Greeks, Tartars, Turks and Jewish women about the practice of these forbidden arts.[27] His book is thus by no means specifically about the magic practised in and around Munich. But it was while serving as counsellor to the Duke of Bavaria that he gathered information from diverse sources, making his study at Munich in effect a clearing house for knowledge about magical activities.

The early history of Clm 849 is not established,[28] and its ownership obviously

cannot be demonstrated. It is tempting to speculate that Hartlieb had it at his disposal, along with numerous other books of necromancy and the allied arts. Many of the practices Hartlieb describes are laid out in Clm 849 (e.g., the anointing of a boy's fingernail for scrying, or the conjuring of a demon in the form of a horse for magical transportation), although, to be sure, there is little if anything in his work that he could not have derived from other sources. Those eager to fill in all the blanks might suggest that Jubertus actually consorted with Johannes Cunalis, the priest of Munich, and that the Munich handbook of necromancy was in fact the *liber de nigromancia* owned and used by this cleric. The spontaneous appearance of Luxuriosus, Superbus and Avarus would on this interpretation would have to be a way of talking about the spirits which inform such a book – and it is perhaps no distortion to suggest that the spirit of lust (*luxuria*) is one main incentive for the psychological experiments, the spirit of pride (*superbia*) is a prime factor in the illusionist ones, and the spirit of avarice (*avaritia*) is a key motive of the necromancer, and sometimes of his client, for staging the divinatory ones.

Even if it were possible to establish a clear connection between Clm 849, Jubertus and Hartlieb, one would hesitate to speak of Munich as in any special way a centre for the practice of necromancy, or to postulate a distinctive character to the magic used there. In all likelihood necromancy was studied and practised within a kind of clerical underworld through much if not most of Western Europe in the later Middle Ages. We have no reason to suppose that Munich was in this respect different from any other city.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE MUNICH HANDBOOK

For reasons I have already touched upon, any discussion of how Clm 849 came to be compiled must remain conjectural: the first two folios are missing, the provenance of the manuscript remains obscure, there are no indications of either authorship or ownership, and the disposition of the manuscript is complex. Nonetheless, we can make some reasonable assumptions about the process by which this handbook came into existence, and thus about the workings of the 'clerical necromancy' that would have produced and employed such a book.

We cannot speak of the writer of this manual as its 'author', because we do not know to what extent he devised the formulations that he gives, or how far he merely reproduced other people's work. In some cases he deliberately gave alternative forms of demons' names,[29] which suggests that he was working from a previous manuscript and was unsure of the reading. The writer's own orthography was highly erratic; within the same experiment he sometimes slipped from one version to another in his names for demons, and while the variations were sometimes slight they were not always so.[30] (At the end of the fifteenth century, Humanist mages such as Johannes Reuchlin protested that the

debased magic of contemporary necromancers could have no effect because the very names they used for the spirits were corrupt: the present manuscript might have served as a case in point.)[31] Whether the writer composed badly or copied badly, one constant factor in the manuscript is that its Latin usage is unconventional by medieval (let alone classical or Humanist) standards. In one experiment the writer speaks of a 'whole white dove' (*columbam totam albam*) when he means a 'totally white dove' (*columbam totaliter albam*); he writes that a woman 'will love all things above you' (*super te omnia diliget*) when he clearly means the reverse; he confuses 'without' (*sine*) with 'or' (*siue*), and he evidently substitutes 'prepare' (*parare*) for 'obey' (*parere*).[32] More often than one would expect, he leaves other words out altogether. At times his sentences give way to grammatical nonsense. The formula 'May your arts fail . . . as Jamnes and Mambres failed' (*Deficiant ergo artes tuae . . . sicut defecerunt Iamnes et Mambres*), referring to the names of Pharaoh's magicians according to a tradition reflected in II Timothy 3:8, is given once in the main block of Clm 849, and twice in later sections of the manuscript, by two different hands (no. 32). But in the main block the point of the allusion is lost and the comparison comes out in utterly garbled form as 'May your arts fail . . . so you and members have now ceased' (*sic cessauerunt jam vos et membros*), while in the other versions the passage begins 'Your ears will fail' (*Deficient ergo aures tuae . . .*).

What seems quite clear is that the writer was a cleric – probably a priest, and at least a person in minor orders. His use of Latin makes this a *prima facie* likelihood, even if his Latin is bad. The more compelling evidence is his assumption that the user of the manual will, like him, be acquainted with ritual forms used in the Church's services: he gives the opening line of Psalm 50 (from the Vulgate) and assumes the user will know the text (no. 33); he prescribes the seven (penitential) psalms and the litany (of the saints) and presumes that these too will be familiar and accessible (no. 36). In short, the work appears clearly a product of that clerical underworld in which late medieval necromancy seems to have found something of a natural home. It may have been exercised and feared as a means for gaining otherwise elusive power within a competitive clerical establishment. It may have been a pastime for underemployed clerics with time on their hands and a fondness for this quintessentially clerical form of dark and daring entertainment. It may have been a service rendered to credulous clients by unscrupulous providers of ritual. Like the Ouija board in latter day culture, it may well have been all of the above, an amusement constantly in danger of becoming serious, dark and threatening.

In certain important respects there are shifts in the content and tone of the manuscript, suggesting changes in the compiler's interests and his attitudes toward the material. Along with a shift from illusionist and psychological experiments to rites of divination comes a general flattening of the prose. It is in the front of the manual that the writer is inclined to tell entertaining anecdotes

and to provide testimonials to the authenticity and efficacy of the rituals. The earlier materials suggest more authorial self-consciousness, a clearer sense of authorial voice. Later sections are less developed with narrative and other embellishments. Even the magic circles required for the experiments and illustrated in the manuscript tend to become less complex and less interesting in the later sections of the compilation. The manual shifts also in its engagement of the reader. In the earlier experiments the writer regularly addresses the reader in a direct and personal manner, urging him to 'attend carefully' (no. 2), taking him into his confidence by entrusting him with secret information (nos 4 and 9), reminding him of a situation in which he has seen the master perform an experiment (no. 6), and referring to his own needs and desires – 'If you want to have the love of any woman . . .' (no. 3), 'If you wish to infuse a spirit into a dead person so that he appears alive . . .' (no. 10), 'If you wish to be taken for invisible and imperceptible . . .' (no. 11), 'If you wish to know about any matter on which you are doubtful . . .' (no. 24). Subsequent experiments are couched in far more impersonal rhetoric; the reader is instructed with blunt imperatives and subjunctives, with no expression of interest in entertaining him or engaging his interest. The later materials are less ambitious in their imaginative depth, but more ambitious in laying out procedures likely to be put to actual use.

The most basic question about the actual composition of the book is whether it is taken from a single source (as a set of excerpts from a cohesive treatise or as a copy of some previous miscellany) or from multiple sources. The latter scenario seems far more plausible, largely because there are occasional discontinuities that suggest the compiler was working with a collection of unbound materials that were not in perfect order, and he was perhaps not certain about where to fit them into his series of experiments. The effect was similar to that of assembling diverse materials in a scrapbook and finding that some of the odds and ends assembled are not complete or entirely coherent. This type of discontinuity would have been possible if the writer had been drawing excerpts from a cohesive work or copying an earlier miscellany, but in the former case one might have expected the individual units to remain cohesive, and in the latter one might have thought the copyist would have rationalized or deleted the incoherent fragments. At any rate, it appears not at all unlikely that the materials bound together with the main handbook are examples of the sort of material from which the compiler worked. My hypothesis is that the compiler and scribe took a lively interest in various kinds of magical materials, put together a personal collection of them from various sources, and had readily at hand perhaps both bound and unbound writings of diverse character and provenance (at least one bit of appended material contains a fragment of Italian); that the materials that he copied into his own anthology represent his own selection (and perhaps, as in the abridgement and reformulation of the conjuration of Mirage,[53] his own adaptation) from this body of material, and that when his own compilation was originally bound, or

perhaps when at some later date it was rebound, some of his sources may have been appended to it, perhaps simply those of compatible format, forming fols. 109–56. This hypothesis rests solely on the partial overlapping of contents between the main block and the appended material, not on paleographic or codicological evidence; indeed, it could be argued that at least some of the appended material seems to be by later hands, although the chronological ordering would be difficult to establish with confidence.

Alternative hypotheses cannot be altogether dismissed. It is possible, for example, that the compiler worked simultaneously on two distinct collections of material, perhaps fols 1–51 and fols 52–108, and that what appears to be a shift from one mode of presentation to another results simply from the binding together of what were intended as separate compilations. Had this been the intent, however, one would have expected a clearer and more decisive shift than in fact occurs: it is not the case that all the divinatory experiments, or all the materials of any sort, are grouped together.

We can only speculate about the identity of the compiler. In two passages he represents himself as connected with a court. He could have been a learned courtier with an interest in the occult arts, such as Johannes Hartlieb, although Hartlieb is more likely to have owned and consulted such a manuscript than to have assembled it or used it.[34] A closer model might be Michael Scot, who served at the court of Frederick II and had an interest in astrology, as apparently did the counsellors of several other German emperors, but there is no real evidence that these astrologers dabbled in necromancy.[35] The compiler might have been a cleric, perhaps a member of the lower clergy, possibly a figure such as the priest-necromancer who befriended Jubertus of Bavaria; or, to compromise between these possibilities, he could have been a cleric of higher or middling status who aspired to some position at court. If we could take seriously the unlikely notion that Hartlieb began by taking an active interest in magic and later became its critic and opponent, we might guess that this collection is his and represents an early phase in his own development. To judge by the book's Latinity, I incline toward the hypothesis that what we have here is the work of a man with some but not a great deal of learning, who would have tended more toward the fringes of society than toward court, even if he had aspirations for higher status that found expression in the early sections of his book but waned over the time he worked on it.

While recognizing that this reconstruction is and must be conjectural, I suggest, then, that the compiler of this miscellany was a moderately educated member of the lower or middling clergy who began by writing colourful and imaginative experiments in hopes of establishing a reputation for expertise in the occult, and perhaps a foothold at some court, possibly that of the Duke of Bavaria in Munich, but whose aspirations were thwarted, and who eventually turned his attention to forms of magic that were less fanciful, playful and

Table B. Types of necromancy found in Clm 849

	Illusionist	*Psychological*	*Divinatory*
Purposes	causing things to appear other than as they are: illusory banquet, castle, horse or other means of transportation; make a dead person seem alive or vice versa	influence on people's intellects or wills: love or hatred, favour at court, constraint of others' wills, madness	knowledge of future, past, distant, or hidden things: detection if a crime or criminal (usually a thief, less often a murderer), recovery of stolen goods, discovery of hidden treasure
Motivating impulses	imagination	power	knowledge
Tensions	between fantasy and reality	between the will of the necromancer and that of the victim	between the demand for truth and the fear of deception
Affinities[a]	• with literary fantasies • with the mythology of witchcraft	• with works of astral magic (in translations from Arabic)	• with divinatory practices developed esp. in Judaism
Central features[a]	• either highly complex (with complicated magic circles, rituals, and repeated conjurations) or very simple (with no circles, relatively simple rituals, and single conjurations) • emphasis on secrecy, although purpose is display • often accompanied by stories or testimonials • themes central to conception of witchcraft	• elaborate preparation and ceremonies (often over more than one day) • purposes and forms resembling those of astral magic • techniques of 'sympathetic' or 'imitative' magic, with meaning explicated by incantations (and less emphasis on circles and conjurations) • violent procedures and results • secrecy, to evade detection and punishment	• scrying (sometimes psychologically interpreted) combined with conjurations emphasized (but with little emphasis on circles) • participation of a medium, usually a young boy, who alone sees the spirits
Correlation with Jubertus's spirits	Superbus - grandeur of display being a matter of primary concern	Luxuriosus - seduction or rape being one of the most common purposes	Avarus - recovery or discovery of goods being a main purpose, and this being a potentially lucrative form of divination

[a] See Chapters 3–5 for elaboration of these points.

fantastic, but more in demand for practical application and thus more lucrative, and in any case still revealing of the diversities of magic in late medieval culture.

Table B summarizes the characterization already given of the three types of necromantic experiment found in Clm 849 and anticipates further discussion (in the next three chapters) of these categories. As should be obvious, it consists of broad generalizations, which require some qualification and nuance when applied to particular concrete experiments. While I have decided to use this chart in the interest of clarifying the patterns, the distinctions, and the correlations I mean to emphasize, I am aware of the hazards of fixing these categories too sharply and making them rigid when they should remain fluid. In highlighting the affinity of the psychological experiments with those of Arabic astral magic, for example, and the divinatory ones with practices well known in Judaism, I by no means wish to suggest that the techniques in question were exclusively or even specifically Arabic on the one hand, Jewish on the other. The world of magic is clearly more complex than that, and the boundaries between Jewish and Muslim magic too difficult to define. Still, in some ways the heart of this study – at least its attempt to distinguish different elements in the necromancers' own perception of their art – is sketched on this chart in schematic form. I do not adhere strictly in subsequent discussion to the organizing principles that might be suggested by the table, but everything laid out here is covered at some point either above or in following chapters.

Notes

1 Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989). See also Stephen G. Nichols, 'Introduction: philology in a manuscript culture', *Speculum*, 65, no. 1 (Jan. 1990), 1–10; Siegfried Wenzel, 'Reflections on (new) philology', *ibid.*, 11–18; and the other articles in that issue of the journal.

2 *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the* Ghāyat Al-Hakīm, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986).

3 See, among recent works, Jean Clam, 'Philosophisches zu *Picatrix*: Gelehrte Magie und Anthropologie bei einem arabischen Hermetiker des Mittelalters', in Albert Zimmermann and Andreas Speer, eds, *Mensch und Natur im Mittelalter*, 1 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1991), 481–509, and Toufic Fahd, 'Sciences naturelles et magie dans *Ġayat al-Hakim* du Pseudo-Mayriti', in E. García Sánchez, ed., *Ciencias de la naturaleza en al-Andalus*, 1 (Granada: Conseja Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990), 11–21.

4 Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986). On the cultural significance of miscellanies see Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, eds., *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996).

5 Roger Bacon, *De Nigromancia*, ed. and trans. Michael-Albion Macdonald (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1988).

6 W. Braekman, 'Magische experimenten en toverpraktijken uit een middelnederlands

handschrift', *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal-en Letterkunde*, 1966, pp. 53–118; also published separately (Ghent: Seminarie voor Volkskunde, 1966).

7 Fol. 134r: '*et postea dicatur in earriola pueri ista oracio*: "*O dio fare dispiriti spiritale cum lamina bocha te vene pre* [deleted?] *pregare che spiriti a questo puto vengano in questa angestara diby mandare che diga emoastre lourrita de quelo chio voio domandare*".'

8 *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, 2nd edn, vol. 1, pt 1 (Munich: Bibliotheca Regia, 1892), 202 (*Liber incantationum, exorcismorum et fascinationum variarum*).

9 Lynn Thorndike, *The History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Macmillan and Columbia University Press, 1923–58).

10 Lynn Thorndike, 'Imagination and magic: force of imagination on the human body and of magic on the human mind', in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, 7 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1964), 353–58.

11 Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, esp. 6–8.

12 I have this information from Frank Klaassen, who is studying manuscripts of ritual magic in English collections.

13 E.M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949), 62.

14 See the codicological analysis of the manuscript given in the final chapter.

15 See n. 7 above.

16 It is worth noting that Thorndike, 'Imagination and magic', evidently did not recognize the handbook as an example of anything else he had seen.

17 Hansen, *Quellen*, 539–44. On the witch trials in this region and their context see now Pierette Paravy, *De la chrétienté romaine à la Réforme en Dauphiné: évêques, fidèles et déviants (vers 1340–vers 1530)* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1993), and for this case in particular pp. 814–16.

18 Paravy, p. 815 n. 4, suggests that this is a reference to the pilgrimage shrine at Einsiedeln. She also cites literature on the theme of the diabolical bridge, in particular B.M. Galanti, 'Le leggenda del "Ponte del Diavolo" in Italia', *Lares*, 18 (1952), 61–73.

19 Johann Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste, des Aberglaubens und der Zauberei*, ed. and trans. Falk Eisermann and Eckhard Graf (Ahlerstedt: Param, 1989).

20 Frank Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb: Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), 88–132.

21 Hartlieb, ch. 22, pp. 34f.

22 *Etymologiae*, viii.9, in the *Patrologia latina*, 82:310–14.

23 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon: De studio legendi*, vi.15, ed. Charles Henry Buttimer (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1939).

24 Chs 22, 28.

25 Chs 22–24.

26 Chs 33–34.

27 E.g., ch. 85.

28 Otto Hartig, *Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht V. und Johann Jakob Fugger* (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosoph.-philolog. und hist. Klasse, vol. 28, sect. 3, 1914), gives the history of the library that provided the earliest foundation for the Bavarian State Library, but does not give the provenance of this manuscript.

29 There are two instances in experiment no. 7, and one in no. 27.

30 See the variation in names in nos 4, 7, 9, 10 and 11.

31 The relationship between demonic and other forms of magic in the Renaissance is a primary theme of D.P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic, from Ficino to Campanella* (London: Warburg Institute, 1958). See also Charles Zika, 'Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* and the magic debate of the late fifteenth century', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 39 (1976), 104–38, esp. 112–14 (see p. 114, n. 30, *Tota Magia, quae in usu est apud modernos, et quam merito exterminat ecclesia, nullam habet firmitatem, nullum fundamentum, nullam veritatem, quia pendet ex manu hostium veritatis, potestatum harum tenebrarum, quae tenebras falsitatis, male dispositis intellectibus obfundunt*).

32 Fols 8r–11v.

33 See no. 32 in the edition, where a conjuration edited from two versions in the later folios is addressed to a spirit named Mirage, while an alternative form in the main block addresses Satan.

34 The *Schriftproben* in Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb*, p. 280, show that Hartlieb's handwriting is not at all like that in fols 3–108 of Clm 849; it more closely resembles that of some later folios, but not enough that any of this material could be assigned to him.

35 Thorndike, *Michael Scot*, esp. 32–39 and 116–21. See also the interesting article of Helmuth Grössing and Franz Stuhlhofer, 'Versuch einer Deutung der Rolle der Astrologie in den persönlichen und politischen Entscheidungen einiger Habsburger des Spätmittelalters', *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 117 (1980), 267–83. On court astrology in England see Hilary M. Carey, *Courting Disaster: Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1992).

3

BANQUETS, HORSES AND CASTLES: ILLUSIONIST EXPERIMENTS

The fifteenth-century writer of the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript tells how to summon a demon in the form of a horse by using conjurations, a ring with the Tetragrammaton inscribed on it, and a diagram made with the blood of a hoopoe or a bat. The magician must stand in a circle that extends to the east window of his chamber. When the conjuration is complete, a multitude of spirits will appear in the sky, with many horses: the magician must choose the horse with the red bridle, which will descend outside his chamber. He may then ride off, with sceptre and sword in hand. But he must beware of committing any sins while engaged in this experiment, because if he is unclean he can no longer command the demon. The writer then tells a cautionary tale – from his own experience, he says – to impress upon the reader the importance of not sinning in the course of this adventure:

> For I myself once travelled from Alexandria to India in the space of an hour, and there I saw women whom I found very pleasing indeed, and at once I had my will with one of them. But there was no chance of finding a confessor unless I waited quite some time. I returned to my horse, which was standing where it had been conjured [to stand], but when I seized the end of the bridle the horse began to bolt, not allowing me to put my foot in the stirrup because of my uncleanness. I held on to the bridle firmly, and the horse hurled me forty feet into the air. Finally, seeing that I was going to perish miserably, I let go and fell, breaking my leg quite badly. So I lay there in India for four months, and until I had recuperated I could not go and see my horse.
>
> But when I had recovered I went to confession and did penance. Then I prepared a chamber for myself, and had a sceptre, sword and ring newly made, since the ring which I had defiled had lost its power. When these instruments had been fashioned and newly consecrated, I summoned those same spirits as before, and had them bring the same spirit or horse. With conjurations I commanded that horse and mounted him peacefully, and I kept on riding him continually for an entire month, except when I dismounted to sleep and eat or drink, and thus I circled the globe eight times. And I had him carry me through the sky until I was practically suffocated because of the pressure of the air. In circling the globe I discovered many and wondrous treasures, whose virtues I learned later on under the instruction of one of the spirits, whom I then locked up. And thus [by this long riding] I caused my horse much grief.

> When I finally dismounted from him and asked him why he had harmed me, he replied that from that point on he was unable to do so, but he said he would rather have been in hell than keep riding for so long a time. So he asked me not to cause him such grief any more, and he would minister to me faithfully when I summoned him, so long as I was clean. And thus I repaid him evil for evil.[1]

The ceremony given here for conjuring the horse is borrowed, perhaps directly, from the *De nigromancia* or *Thesaurus spirituum* ascribed to Roger Bacon.[2] In the cautionary tale the reader will recognize a variation on a story known from *The Thousand and One Nights*, from the French romances (especially *Li Roumans de Cléomadès* of Adenès li Rois), and from Chaucer's abbreviated and mock-naturalistic retelling in *The Squire's Tale*.[3] In the Arabic and French versions, a magical flying horse cannot be made to descend where the rider wishes to land, and the change of plan that results becomes a factor in development of the plot. In the Rawlinson manuscript as in the literary versions of the tale, the Orient is portrayed as exotic and romantically alluring, although the seduction scene has become a peremptory telling of a male fantasy, with little trace of the *écriture féminine* that has been seen in the literary narratives.[4] What concerns the narrator here is less the seduction than its consequences. Very much like Lancelot in the *Quest of the Holy Grail*, the magician is unable to continue his mission until repentance and confession wipe away his disability.[5]

The moral implications of this story need not detain us now, although the moral ambiguity recurs in this manuscript, in a lengthy Confiteor which admits to every manner of sin but terminates in a prayer for power over certain spirits.[6] As for the world of flying horses, it seems not unlike that of Jubertus of Regensburg, who flew to diabolical assemblies with wondrous speed not on the back of a horse but on the excrement of a mule or horse, *ministerio dyabolorum*.[7] For present purposes what is most relevant is that the form of magic related in this story is intended chiefly for the sake of the magician's own entertainment, and the story about its use is, despite the tone of moral seriousness, a means of entertainment presumably both for writer and reader. The compiler of the Munich handbook, too, is most inclined toward the anecdotal when he is telling his reader how to conjure illusions in which demons appear as horses, castles appear out of nowhere, banquets are brought forth with many apparent but illusory courses, and the magician dons a cloak of invisibility so as no longer to appear at all.

Depictions of magic in medieval literature often tease the reader with uncertainties about the boundary between illusion and reality.[8] When the water level off the coast of Brittany is raised so as to cover the rocks, in Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale*, is the transformation real or merely an illusion?[9] When wondrous pageants and spectacles are brought forth by inexplicable means at court, are

they genuine or delusory, and are they worked 'by craft or necromancy'? The literature of magic is replete with stories of magicians who produce magical banquets, horses or boats that can transport people over land and sea, castles with armed warriors, all of which have a tendency to vanish abruptly, suggesting that they rest on dubious ontological foundations. From antiquity and through the Middle Ages, critics of magic insisted it was all illusion, by which they could mean many things: that it was a means by which demons deluded and ensnared the gullible, that its accomplishments were unreal and not lasting, that healings as well as spectacles worked by magic were unreliable.[10] The pagan Celsus, taunting his Christian contemporaries in late antiquity, compared the miracles of Jesus with 'the works of sorcerers who profess to do wonderful miracles, and the accomplishments of those who are taught by the Egyptians, who for a few obols make known their sacred lore in the middle of the market-place and drive daemons out of men and blow away diseases and invoke the souls of heroes, displaying expensive banquets and dining-tables and cakes and dishes which are non-existent, and who make things move as though they were alive although they are not really so, but only appear as such in the imagination'.[11] But it was not only the critics who saw at least some types of magic as entailing illusion: the magicians themselves seemed to revel in their role as illusionists. Not surprisingly, then, many of the formulas in our necromantic handbook – and several of the most interesting – involve some form of illusion.

ILLUSIONIST EXPERIMENTS IN THE MUNICH HANDBOOK

Twelve of the experiments in Clm 849 are 'illusionist' ones, intended to make things appear other than as they are: to make people perceive some object or scene that is not in fact present, to obtain a means of transport such as a horse or a boat, to make the dead seem alive or vice versa, or to become invisible. This category might be seen as a subset of the 'psychological' experiments, but the emphasis here is less on deception of the senses than on production of an objective display that seems different from what it is.

The distinguishing features of these experiments are chiefly four. First, either they are highly complex, with complicated magic circles, intricately worked-out rituals, and at least two conjurations, or else (less often) they are very simple, with no circles, relatively simple rituals, and single conjurations. Second, they often emphasize the need for secrecy, yet the basic point of the experiment is the fascinating and awe-inspiring *display* of magical powers. Third, these experiments are often accompanied by stories (such as the one from the Rawlinson manuscript) or by testimonials assuring the reader of their efficacy. Fourth, these illusionist experiments, for all their exuberant fantasy, come closer than any others in the handbook to touching on themes that would become central to the late medieval and early modern conception of witchcraft.

Seven complex experiments (nos 6–11 and 15) involve relatively elaborate magic circles and intricate rituals, with two distinct conjurations (first the master summons the spirits, who appear to him, then he commands them to execute some illusion, and they do so). Among further complications are offerings made to induce the spirits to carry out the commands, oaths required of the spirits, and provisions for repeating on some future occasion, with less effort, an experiment already produced once. The simpler experiments (nos 14, 17, 21, 43 and 45), by way of contrast, require no magic circles at all, and have illusionist effect following directly from a single conjuration, without an intervening apparition of spirits. The difference may be the result of nothing more than the handbook's general tendency toward simpler, less colourful and imaginative formulations in its later sections, a tendency seen even in this most fanciful category of magic.

At certain points in the illusionist experiments of the Munich handbook the writer comments explicitly on the need for secrecy. At the end of one experiment (no. 8) the writer comments that this book, containing generally unknown names and figures of spirits 'according to their characteristics' (*proprietates*), should be kept in a hidden place because its contents have ineffable efficacy. Experiment no. 10, which can make the living appear dead and the dead alive, must be kept secret because of its great power. In this and in no. 11 the master goes to a remote and secret place outside town to carry out his experiment. Experiment no. 15 must be carried out in a high and secret place. This concern with the esoteric nature of necromancy is not exclusively found in the illusionist experiments – no. 5 also emphasizes the importance of performing the ritual in a secret place, and the text insists that this experiment must be kept secret because it has 'ineffable virtue' – but it is a theme found perhaps most often in this category, and the breathless tone thus imparted adds to the entertainment value of these illusionist experiments.[12] Elsewhere, rather than emphasizing the need for secrecy, the writer comments on the rarity of knowledge about certain formulas. He declares that the art of conjuring an illusory banquet in no. 6 is practically unknown in his day, and that 'Matthew the Spaniard' was utterly ignorant of this magic; he notes that the art of obtaining a cloak of invisibility, in no. 11, is also virtually unknown in his day. But the themes of secrecy and obscurity are not unrelated: they are both ways of emphasizing the esoteric nature of these experiments, and stressing that the reader is being initiated into arcane lore that should arouse not only curiosity but also excitement and a sense of privilege. Yet it is in the nature of these experiments that in one way or other most of them are *shared*: in some cases the result of the magical is a spectacle that may be put on for the wonderment of others, and even when the point is for the magician to become invisible, his very state of non-visibility is a way of relating to others.

The testimonials asserting the efficacy of the experiments take various forms. The writer declares that he has seen one experiment (no. 8) worked in various

ways, but the way he gives is the best, entailing least effort and no danger. In recounting the effects of another experiment (no. 10) he claims that he has personally experienced them all, and that he leaves unmentioned those effects he has not experienced. Nor is he shy about claiming the testimony of authorities: Socrates himself, he claims, speaks of the power of one circle (no. 9) in his book of magic. More simply, he asserts that experiment (*experiencia*) no. 10 is 'most worthy'. At one point (no. 6) the writer addresses a courtly reader, whether real or imagined, claiming to remind him of occasions when the magic has worked: 'You have often seen me exercise this art in your court, namely that of bringing forth stewards'. In a similar vein he tells how he once carried out experiment no. 7 while the emperor and his nobles were out hunting in a dark wood, causing an illusory castle to appear, with demons in the form of knights who attacked the emperor and his men.

What are we to make of all this? Are we to assume that the illusionist experiments in this manuscript – and the tales that the writer spins, testifying to the efficacy of his own illusions – were intended merely as entertainment? Is it unthinkable that the clerical necromancers actually hoped to visit exotic lands on flying horses, to explore phantom castles, to feast at magical banquets? The question is difficult to answer in any simple way, because what one writer will write tongue in cheek another may intend as fact, and because in many ways the border between imaginative fantasy and perceived fact is readily permeable: fantasies about harm that other people might inflict shade into paranoid fears of harm that they are inflicting; erotic fantasies, encouraged by techniques of erotic magic, can serve as prelude to actual seduction; purely recreational play with a Ouija board or tarot deck gives occasion for traumatic expression of deep-seated fantasies and anxieties; words spoken as playful boasts may be heard as confirmation of sinister powers.

The tales told in this necromantic manuscript are perhaps best described as literary boasts, analogous to those in medieval literature.[13] And yet they are no less fantastic than those recorded in the witch trials of the later fifteenth and following centuries, and in some ways these tales are not unrelated to aspects of witchcraft. Indeed, this category of experiments more than others has points of contact with the 'cumulative concept' of witchcraft that became established in the fifteenth century, even if the parallels are not exact.[14] When the master has the demons take an oath (no. 6), this is conceived as unilateral; it is therefore not a pact. The spirits swear on an unspecified but consecrated book, and they bind themselves first by the God who created them and all things, second by the (presumably demonic) lords whom they fear and adore, and third by 'the law that we observe'. The second and third elements in this oath presuppose what scholastic demonology did in fact generally assume, that demons are bound by a perverse hierarchy of their own – an inversion of the angelic hierarchy – and that there are infernal laws by which the demons are bound.[15] The banquet that

demons bring forth is in one particular like the feasts ascribed in later years to witches at their sabbaths: the food does not really exist, so that the more one eats the hungrier one becomes, and a starving man who eats such fare will die just as if he ate nothing at all.[16] And in both no. 17 and no. 43, the magician is told that when he is flying on an illusory horse he must not make the sign of the cross, or the horse (in fact a spirit in the form of a beast) will flee from him, just as the witches were said to be warned.[17] (By way of contrast, the instructions for no. 8 specify that while riding in a magically produced ship the master may invoke holy things, as in true Christian religion, because the spirits involved are between good and evil, neither in hell nor in paradise.) The parallel with notions from the witch trials is extended by a passage from the manuscript edited by Willy Braekman, which suggests that to travel quickly wherever one wishes, one should make an ointment from seven herbs, the fat of a goat and the blood of a bat, and smear it on one's face, hands and chest, while reciting a short formula.[18] While this specific recipe may not be explicitly necromantic, it appears alongside instructions for demonic magic, and is strikingly parallel to the means witches were thought to use for their flight.[19]

AN ILLUSORY BANQUET

The first two illusionist experiments in the Munich handbook have in mind a courtly setting: one is a procedure to conjure forth a lavish banquet, with entertainment of various kinds; the other creates the illusion of a castle in which an unnamed emperor may hold out against demonic troops. While the first illusion is simply for entertainment, the second is an elaborate trick on unwitting victims, though they may be supposed to have taken the hoax in good spirits.

The experiment for obtaining an illusory banquet, with service and entertainment (no. 6), is one of the longest in the manuscript, and illustrates well the complexity so often found in these experiments:

> You have often seen me exercise at your court the art of summoning banquet-bearers.[20] First one must invoke fifteen spirits, in this manner: At the outset one must go outside town, under a waxing moon, on a Thursday or Sunday, at noon, carrying a shining sword and a hoopoe, and with the sword one must trace circles in a remote place. When this is done, inscribe sixteen names with the point of the sword, as will appear below in the figure.
>
> When you have done this, you should draw the sword toward the east within the inner circle, as the diagram shows. When this is done, you should bind the hoopoe to yourself in such a way that it cannot escape from the inner circle, in which you should stand.
>
> Then you should kneel, turn to the east, take the sword in both hands, and say, 'Oymelor, Demefin, Lamair, Masair, Symofor, Rodobayl, Tentetos,

Lotobor, Memoyr, Tamafin, Leutaber, Tatomofon, Faubair, Selutabel, Rimasor, Syrama, most cheerful, glad and joyous spirits, I, so-and-so, adjure you . . . to come to me here in a gentle, pleasing, and cheerful form and make manifest whatever I say.'

When you have said this twelve [*sic*] times – four times facing east, then four times facing south, then four times facing east, then four times facing north – holding the sword in your hand the whole time, and while you are saying the conjuration constantly drawing it in each location, finally position it where it was at first, when the conjuration was first spoken, as has been said.[21]

When you have said this, constantly kneeling, again turn to the east, holding the sword in your right hand, and the hoopoe in your left hand, and say, 'Come, O aforesaid spirits, come to me, come, for I command you by the eternal glory of God. Amen.'

When you have said this once, turn with the sword and the hoopoe toward the west, and you will see sixteen splendid and stalwart knights. They will say to you, 'You summoned us and we have come, obedient to your will. Ask what you will, confident that we are ready to obey.' Say in reply, 'Make me see your power, that I may behold tables with many people reclining at them, with an infinite array of dishes.' They will tell you that they are pleased to do so.

At once many pages [*domicelli*] will come, carrying three-legged tables, towels and other necessary equipment. Then the most noble of folk will come and recline, and butlers to serve, carrying an infinite array of dishes. And you will hear singing and music-making, and you will see dancing and innumerable games. And you may be sure that these twelve [*sic*] will not withdraw from you, but will stand just outside the circle, speaking with you and watching. You should also know that three kings will come to you beside the circle from among those who are reclining, and will ask you to come and eat with them. You should reply that you are quite unable to leave. When you have said this, they will return at once to those who are reclining, and you will hear them telling the others that they were unable to persuade you to move out of the circle. Then they will send a butler with some food or other, which you may safely eat, and you should offer some of it to the sixteen standing beside the circle, and they too will eat of it. Then you will see everyone rise from the tables and mount their horses in order.

At last, all will vanish from your eyes except those twelve, who, standing by you, will say, 'Our spectacle [*ludus*] has pleased you, has it not?' You will reply cheerfully that it has. When you have responded, they will ask you for the hoopoe, which, strange to say, will at once become alarmed.[22] You will say to them, 'I am willing to give you the hoopoe if you swear to come to me and enact this spectacle whenever I please.' They will say that they are ready to swear. You should have some book brought to them at once, and on it you should have them swear in this manner: 'All twelve of us swear on this sacred

book . . . to come to you without delay whenever you invoke us, and to have tables laid, such as you have seen and even better.' And they will swear at once.

And when they have sworn, you will give them the hoopoe, and when they have it they will ask your leave to withdraw. You will give it to them, saying, 'Go forth wherever you wish to go, and be attentive to me.' They will say that they remain obliged to you from then on. Having said this, they will go. You too may leave the circles and erase them so that nothing remains, and, taking your sword, you may withdraw.

You should note that the hoopoe is possessed of great virtue for necromancers and invokers of demons [*nigromanticis et demones invocantibus*], on which account we use it much for our safekeeping.

When you want them [the spirits] to come to you, in secret or openly, or in whatever place, gaze at the above-written circles and figures in the book, and in a quiet voice read the names found in them. When you have read them once while thus gazing, read this conjuration once: 'Oymelor, Demefin, Lamair, Masair, Simofor, Rodobail, Tentetos, Lotobor, Memoir, Tamafin, Zeugaber, Tatomofon, Faubair, Belutabel, Rimasor and Sirama, I ask, conjure and adjure you by the true majesty of God to make your subordinates come here and bring dishes, first of all so-and-so and so-and-so, and make a grand banquet, with games, singing, music-making and dancing, and in general all those things that can gladden the hearts of those standing about [cf. Ps. 103:15 Vulg.].' When you have read this [conjuration] once, splendid pages will come and prepare beautiful tables. When these are set up, you will hear trumpets, harps and an untold multitude of songs. When you call out loudly, 'Bring water', it will be brought forth at once. Likewise, 'Bring forth the meal', and at once it will be brought. And there will be butlers and stewards serving excellently, and handsome pages, and players providing countless entertainments. And you can have a thousand types of dish brought, if it pleases you, and those who eat them will find them uncommonly delicious.

You must know that no matter how much they eat, they will be all the more hungry, because they will seem like dishes but they will not exist, so that if a famished person were to gorge himself, believing them to be real, he would no doubt die just as if he ate nothing.

And when you wish to do away with the spectacle, say that they should take away the tables. At once the tables will be removed, but all those standing around will remain. If you wish for them to sing or play or make the entire spectacle, say, 'Do thus and such', and you will see what you wish, for these are spirits of spectacle and all entertainment, and they will do all that they are told. And when you want them to depart, say, 'Withdraw, all of you, and whenever I call you to me, come forth without any excuse.' They will reply, 'We will do so most gladly!' And when they have withdrawn, all will depart, wondering at this art.

> And here this art is concluded, which is virtually unknown among people today, and of which Matthew the Spaniard was utterly ignorant, etc.

The circle to be used for this experiment is depicted: a quadruple band with a pentangle inscribed in the centre, a sword depicted at the top (extending downward across all four bands, with its point on the top of the pentangle) and other figures (likewise extending across all four bands) on the upper left, upper right, lower right, and lower left. The cardinal directions are given outside the outermost band, with east on top. Within the bands the names of sixteen spirits are inscribed.[23]

Two points may suffice here by way of commentary. First, the idea of conjuring an illusory banquet is widespread. Celsus compared Christ with a magician who conjures forth an illusory banquet, and the same trick is found in an adjuration in the Greek magical papyri for obtaining a *daimon* as one's assistant. Among the spirit's myriad functions is that of procuring every manner of food except fish or pork. The magician need only imagine a banqueting hall and order the *daimon* to prepare a banquet, and immediately he will create a hall with marble walls and golden ceiling, all of which will seem partly real, partly illusion. He will bring fine wine, and further *daimones* made out as suitably attired servants.[24] Second, this experiment is exceptional for the Munich handbook in the degree of emphasis on the sacrifice of a hoopoe to the demons. This bird is famous for its magical virtues.[25] The present experiment notes explicitly that the hoopoe has great power for necromancers and invokers of demons, and for that reason is much used by such practitioners. Oddly, the text says that necromancers use the hoopoe a great deal for their safekeeping or protection (*ad nostri tutelam*), which perhaps means that they are safer in the company of demons if they have an offering to make them. The safety of the hoopoes seems not to be an issue.

The fading of this insubstantial pageant might well recall that of a more famous illusion:

> Our revels now are ended. These our actors,
> As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
> Are melted into air, into thin air . . .[26]

But of course the books from which *that* experiment derived have not survived for comparison with the Munich handbook.

AN ILLUSORY CASTLE

The following experiment (no. 7) is designed to obtain an illusory castle, with defenders. It is introduced in grandiose manner, as a 'splendid experiment' by which the magician can convoke spirits to produce an elegant castle with armed

men. As in the preceding case, there are two phases, first the summoning of spirits and then having them work the illusion, although for reasons that we will see shortly, the second phase does not precisely involve a conjuration.

Here follows another experiment[27] for invoking spirits so that a man can make a fine and well fortified castle appear, or for summoning countless legions of armed men, which can easily be done, and among other things is deemed most beautiful.

First, go out on the tenth [day of] the moon, under a clear sky, outside of town to some remote and secret place, taking milk and honey with you, some of which you must sprinkle in the air. And with bare feet and head, kneeling, read this while facing west: 'O Usyr, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno, Syrtroy, Risbel, Cutroy, Lytay, Onor, Moloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor and Ym, squire spirits, whose function it is to bear arms and deceive human senses wherever you wish, I, so-and-so, conjure and exorcize and invoke you . . . that, indissolubly bound to my power, you should come to me without delay, in a form that will not frighten me, subject and prepared to do and reveal for me all that I wish, and to do this willingly, by all things that are in heaven and on earth.' Having read this once facing west, do so again facing south, east, and north.

And from far off you will see a band of armed men coming toward you, who will send ahead a squire to say that those you summoned are coming to you. You should tell him, 'Go to them and tell them to come to me in such a state that they frighten no one, but I may abide safely with them.' When you have said this, he will return at once to them.

After a short interval they will come to you. When you see them, show them at once this circle, which has great power to terrify those fifteen demons;[28] they will see it and say, 'Ask whatever you wish in safety, and it will all come to pass for you through us.' You should then tell them to consecrate their circle so that whenever you gaze on it and invoke them they must come to you quickly and do that which is natural to them, namely make fortifications and castles and moats and a multitude of armed men appear. They will say they are willing to do so. You should extend a book to them, and you will see one of them place his hand on the book and speak certain words, which you will not understand. When this is done, they will restore it to you.

Then they will ask you to permit them to leave, because they cannot depart from you except with permission. You should say to them, 'Make a castle here, so that I may see your power.' Immediately they will make a castle around you, with many other things, and you will see yourself in the middle of the castle, and a great multitude of knights will be present. But these fifteen will not be able to depart from you. After the space of an hour they will ask you that they may depart, and you should say, 'Be ready whenever I gaze on this

circle and invoke you to return at once.'[29] They will swear to come immediately. Then tell them to depart wherever they wish. And the entire spectacle [*ludus*] will be destroyed, and no one will remain there.

When all this is done, return home, guarding well the book in which all power is found. And when you wish to work this fine art, gaze at the circle, reading the names, beginning from the east, saying, 'O Usyr, Salaul, Silitol, Denior, Zaimo, Syrtroy, Ristel, Cutroy, Lytoy, Onor, Moloy, Pumiotor, Tamy, Dor, [and] Ym, I summon you to come here, by the consecration of this circle, in which your signs are inscribed, and to make a well fortified castle appear for me, with a deep moat, and a plenteous company of knights and footsoldiers.' And suddenly a splendid castle, with all that is necessary, will appear there. If you wish to enter it, you can, for a knight will at once stand by you, to whom you may command that all you wish should appear, and he will have it done.

Once when I [wished to test] this art I exercised it with the emperor, when many nobles were accompanying him on a hunting expedition through some dark forest. This is how I proceeded. First I gazed at the circle, calling the aforesaid demons with a clear voice. And at once a handsome knight came to me, whom no one but I could see, and who said to me, 'I am one of the spirits you have invoked; I am named Salaul, and the others have sent me. Command what you will, and it will be done.' I said to him, 'I want you to have a legion of armed men appear, whom the emperor and his companions will take to be rebels.' He said, 'It is done.' And then all the counts and the emperor himself turned and looked to the north, and from far off they saw coming to them an innumerable multitude of knights and soldiers. One of them dismounted, and before an hour's time [*ante magne hore spacium*] came to the emperor and said, trembling, 'Lord emperor, behold, an innumerable horde is coming toward us, swearing to put us and all your counts to death and to kill you pitilessly.' On hearing this, the emperor and the counts did not know what to do. Meanwhile, the spirits approached. Seeing and hearing them, and their terrifying weapons, they began to flee, but the others followed them, shooting arrows, and cried with one voice, 'You cannot escape your death today!' Then I said, 'O Salaul, make a wondrous castle before the emperor and his men, so that the emperor and the others can enter it.' And it was done. A perfectly safe castle was made for the counts, with towers and moat, and the drawbridge down. It seemed excellently constructed and filled with mercenaries, who were crying out, 'O lord emperor, enter quickly with your companions!' They entered, and it seemed that servants and many friends of the emperor were in it; he supposed he had come upon people who would defend him manfully. When they had entered, they raised the drawbridge and began to defend themselves. Then the spirits with their war machines attacked the castle with wondrous power, so that the emperor and the others feared all the more. Then Salaul said to me, 'We do not have the power to remain here longer than a quarter of the day, so we must

now withdraw.' Then the castle disappeared, and the attackers, and everything else.[30] The emperor and the others then looked around and found themselves in some marsh, which left them greatly astonished. I said to them, 'This episode has been quite an adventure!' And after this experiment I made a dinner for them.

Remember that this art cannot last longer than a quarter of a day, unless it lasts one quarter one time [and is then renewed for another quarter day], etc.

One might have supposed that the trick played on the emperor constituted an act of rebellion deserving of execution; the tale, which must be read as such, asks us to suspend our disbelief and assume the emperor had unlimited capacity for being amused. The milk and honey that the magician sprinkles evidently serve as a kind of offering, which comes this time at the beginning rather than at the end of the ritual, as in no. 6; it is perhaps worthy of note that this theme of sacrifice occurs specifically in illusionist experiments set at court, and one might perhaps speculate that the offering is somehow analogous here to a courtly gift, but two examples provide too little evidence for such generalization. A further aspect of this experiment that calls for attention is the formula for recalling the spirits. Having summoned them, the master proceeds at once to an arrangement which will ensure multiple recurrence of the desired illusion. The formula to be used on further occasions is simple, and does not use the language of conjuration; presumably the demons are already bound by their own consecration of the circle, and need not be bound by the force of a formal conjuration.

While extensive pursuit of parallels would lead to endless digression, two especially interesting ones deserve comment. The first is from *The Quest of the Holy Grail*, in which a lady who seeks in vain the love of Sir Bors threatens that she and her maidens will kill themselves by leaping from a tower unless he satisfies her. As they plunge from the battlements, Sir Bors crosses himself, and immediately is 'enveloped in such a tumult and shrieking that it seemed to him that all the fiends of hell were round about him: and no doubt there were a number present. He looked round, but saw neither the tower nor the lady who had been soliciting his love . . .'. Thus he knew 'it was the enemy who had laid this ambush for him'.[31] In this case the phantom tower is a demonic snare, but not a work of magic created by demons at the behest of a magician. The second parallel, from much further afield, from the eleventh-century life of the Tibetan Buddhist saint Milarepa, is in this way more closely analogous to the tale in our necromantic handbook. When the lama Marpa had Milarepa construct a tall tower, the lama's enemies attacked it, but 'the lama conjured up some phantom soldiers, clad in armor, and put them everywhere, inside and outside the tower. His enemies said, "Where did Marpa get all these soldiers?"' Terror-struck, they prostrated themselves and became disciples of the lama.[32] In this context sainthood and magic may be more closely related than in medieval Christianity; indeed, even in modern Tibet lamas are

said to have risked moral defilement by using magical weapons against Chinese invaders.[33] Yet even within Tibet, not all magic is judged morally equivalent: Marpa may work a harmless trick of magical illusion without jeopardizing his standing, but the tower Milarepa is constructing is part of his arduous penance required for works of destructive magic in his life before attaining sainthood.

EXPERIMENTS TO OBTAIN A HORSE

As we have already seen, magical flying horses are part of the stock in trade of magic lore; they migrate not only across the face of the earth but also between the magicians' own writings and courtly literature.[34] Johannes Hartlieb speaks of horses that come into an old house and transport a rider over many miles, and he hints rather vaguely at how it is done: one takes bat's blood and binds oneself to the Devil with secret words such as 'Debra ebra'; after riding one dismounts and takes the bridle; to return to one's place of origin one need only shake the bridle and the horse will appear – but the horse is, of course, only a devil. Magic of this sort, he says, is widely known among princes. He also tells how *unhulden* and others use a salve called the *unguentum pharelis*, made of seven herbs mixed with the blood of a bird and the fat of an animal, smeared on benches, chairs or other objects, on which they then ride; this too counts for him as necromancy.[35]

One might challenge the inclusion of these experiments in the category of magical illusion, since the journeys undertaken are at least represented as real. In one key sense, however, even from the magicians' perspective there is an element of illusion: the creature that appears is not in reality a horse but a demon in the form of a horse. The illusion is perhaps not so complete as in the case of a banquet with food that does not nourish or satisfy hunger, but this is only to say that from a perspective shared by magicians and theologians alike the demons had real but limited power over the natural order, and while they could effect genuine locomotion through assumed bodies they could not confect food with the substantiality of real food. One might ask further why they could not *transport* real food, perhaps even bringing grapes from distant lands in midwinter, and the answer to that would presumably be that they *could* do so but were content in all these cases to create just enough of an illusion to last through the duration of the experiment, and once they began troubling to transport food from abroad they would be extending themselves beyond the contracted arrangement.

However one wishes to resolve these subtleties, the Munich handbook in any event gives four experiments for obtaining a spirit in the form of a horse on which to ride. Let us begin with the most extended of these (no. 9):

> I also wish to explain to you how to obtain a horse – that is, a spirit in the form of a horse – who can bear you across water and land, through hills and across plains, wherever you wish.

First, on the sixth [day] of the moon, a Tuesday, having fasted, you should go out with a bridle that has never been used, and in a secret place, and make a circle with a nail or an iron stylus, as appears here, inscribing in it the names and figures that appear. When this is done, remain in the middle and kneel on the bridle facing east, and in a somewhat loud voice say, 'O Lautrayth, Feremin, [and] Oliroomim, spirits who attend upon sinners, I, so-and-so, trusting in your power, conjure you by Him who spoke and [all things] were made, and who knows all things even before they come to pass, and by heaven and earth, fire and air and water, Sun and Moon and stars . . . to send me three [spirits], who should come to me gently, without causing me fear, but in such a way that I may remain safe, and you should fulfil entirely whatever I command you, and bring it effectively to pass. Likewise, I conjure you aforesaid spirits by Him who is to come to judge the living and the dead and the world by fire, and by the fearful Day of Judgement, and by the sentence that you must hear on that day, and [by] this circle with which you are effectively invoked, that you should be compelled to come here without delay and humbly fulfil my commands.'

When you have said this three times, you will see three knights come from afar. On seeing them, before they arrive in your presence, say, 'I have lifted to you my eyes unto the mountains, from which my help shall come. My help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth' [Ps. 120:1f. Vulg.; cf. Ps. 122:1]. And when they come to the circle they will at once dismount from their horses and greet you cheerfully. You will say to them, 'May the Lord in his mercy bring you back to your pristine status.' Then the spirits will say, 'O master, we have come to you, all of us prepared to obey your commands. So command us to do that for which you have made us come here, and it will be fully brought about.' You should reply, 'I wish for you to consecrate this bridle' – which you should hold with both hands - 'so that whenever I shake it a horse will come before me, in whose mouth I may place it, and I may be able to mount it and ride safely on it, and proceed wherever I desire.' Then they will say they wish to take the bridle with them and return it on the third day. You will give it to them. And when you have done so, they will mount their horses and withdraw without delay. When they have gone, leave the circle, without erasing it, and withdraw from that place.

Return there on the evening of the third day and you will find the same spirits offering the bridle to you, assuring you that your request has been carried out. When you have taken the bridle, say, 'I conjure you by the God of gods that you will be unable to depart from here without my leave.' Then they will reply that they will remain there as long as you wish. Then shake the bridle, and at once a black horse will come. Place the bridle on him, and ride. Then dismount and remove the bridle, and at once the horse will depart.

When the horse has left, say, 'I conjure you [spirits] by all the aforesaid

things, and by all those things that have power against you, that you should swear always to compel that horse to come to me.' They will swear and promise to do so at once. When they have sworn, tell them to withdraw in safety.[36] When they have gone, leave the circle and erase it totally, and take the bridle with you.

And when you wish the horse to come, say, shaking the bridle, 'Lutrayth, Feremim, Oliroomim', and the horse will come at once. Then place the bridle in its mouth and ride. You should ride a bit back toward its haunches,[37] which will be gentler, and you should do this each time. And when you want it to gallop, spur it on or lash it, and it will fly like an arrow, but you will not be able to fall off, so do not fear. And when you wish to dismount, it will never depart until you have removed the bridle from its mouth, whereupon it will disappear at once.

We have made such bridles very thin, so we can carry them in a small place, and they can never break or wear out because of the consecration.

One should note that if the circle given above is inscribed on horsehide with the blood of a horse and with the tooth of a white horse, and then is shown to horses, they will die at once. And if you carry it with you, written in this manner, no horse can come near you. And Socrates speaks of the power of this circle in his book of magic.

The figure shown is a single circular band, with a square inscribed, and a circle inside the square. Short bars extend outward from the middle of each side of the square and touch the inner side of the circular band. Names of the cardinal directions flank each of these bars. 'The place of the master' is marked in the center of the circle. The band contains the names Lantrayth, Feremni and Oliromim,[38] plus astronomical and other signs.

Four points about this experiment call especially for comment. First, as in other illusionist experiments, but not typically in other ones, the spirits conjured come in the form of courtly figures, in this case knights, which reinforces the aura of courtly romance intended to characterize these texts. Second, the means for control over the horse is a bridle, which should not be surprising, since that is the usual purpose of a bridle, except that in this case the instrument of control is used in unconventional ways and becomes more an effective symbol of the magician's power than a practical implement. Third, the circle which serves to gain control over a demon in the form of a horse can also, differently employed, be used to threaten an actual horse; while these illusionist experiments may not be overtly concerned with establishment of power relations (as are the psychological experiments to be examined in the next chapter), they do entail the exercise of power, sometimes over a human agent such as the emperor, and in this case (as in the tale from the Rawlinson manuscript) over an animal. Fourth, the term used for 'shake' or 'shake violently', *squassare*, may possibly suggest that this material

derives from an Italian source. That verb passed over into modern Italian, and may be more expected in Latin texts from Italy than in those from elsewhere.

The three other experiments for obtaining a horse are much simpler. In one (no. 14) the master looks toward the eastern sky, kneeling and with folded hands as if he were in prison, and with firm hope of obtaining his will he says a 'prayer' seven times to the 'most high and benign king of the east', adjuring him to send an 'airy spirit' on which he can ride to a specified place. A horse comes, and the master conjures it to carry him to that place without danger or disturbance. When he arrives at his destination he thanks the king of the east for bestowing this favour, and offers to serve him forever and obey his commands, 'and may his name be praised forever'. Another experiment (no. 17) is exceptional in that it does not begin with a conjuration, but with merely the inscription of magic names. The master writes six of these on the door of a vacant house, at twilight, 'in the Hebrew manner', then he withdraws for a while. When he returns he finds a horse ready. He conjures it to carry him without harm or trouble to a specified place. He may then mount it confidently, for it cannot harm him. When he arrives at his destination he dismounts and takes the horse's bridle. Having finished his business, he shakes the bridle vigorously and repeats the conjuration to summon the horse. In the third of these simple experiments (no. 43) the master again writes a series of names on the door of a vacant house, at dusk, with bat's blood, then withdraws for a brief time. When he returns he finds a horse awaiting him. After he has ridden the animal, he dismounts, removes the bridle, and hides it underground. When he wishes to return, he retrieves the bridle and shakes it, whereupon the horse returns at once. He then repeats the conjuration, plus the words 'kostolya, elogo, yetas', and off he rides.

OTHER EXPERIMENTS FOR ILLUSORY MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION

In addition to these four experiments, the handbook provides two similar ones, both complex, for conjuring a magical ship (no. 8) and a flying throne (no. 15). The ship will sail quickly over the seas, wherever one wants, with whomever one wishes. The master first fasts on a Monday; then goes out under a waxing moon to a remote place with the rib of a dead man or woman. Having sharpened a point on the rib, he uses it to trace a circle with a horizontal band across the centre and a vertical band across the top semicircle (forming an inverted version of the T–O pattern commonly found in medieval world maps). Superimposed on this design is a crescent shape, possibly representing a ship, with two small circles below it. The place of the master and his companions is marked at the bottom of the crescent, and 'East' is marked toward the bottom. This circle is the 'insignia' of the spirits to be invoked. The master enters the circle at the designated spot and fumigates it with the marrow of a dead man. He will hear voices in the air. Holding the rib in his right hand, he conjures eight spirits to come without delay.

He then sees eight sailors, who will announce in reverential tone that they have been sent to fulfil his command. Before the ship may be employed, the spirits must take an oath to fulfil the master's wishes. Then he commands them to transport the circle and those within it to a specified place. They do so, and it will seem as if the company is sailing on the high seas. In a brief time, they arrive at their destination. When he has arrived at his destination he can command the spirits to return him quickly to the point of departure, and they will do so. Then he gives them permission to leave. When they have done so, he destroys the circle and buries the rib. He can make the spirits swear that they will repeat their service upon demand: whenever he wishes to sail again, the master makes a circle with iron, wood, his finger, or anything else, and tells his companions to enter at the specified place without fear, then he invokes the eight spirits by virtue of the oath they have already taken, ordering them once again to transport him where he wishes to go, and eight sailors will appear and transport him, within an hour, in a ship; when he wants to return, they will take him back. In one key respect this experiment differs from others for means of transportation: the transport comes with the spirits' appearance, not at a later stage after they have sent a spirit specifically delegated for the purpose. But as in other experiments involving transportation, the third stage is a return to the master's original location, and then there are measures for repeating the experiment.

The greater part of the elaborate and fanciful experiment to obtain a flying throne (no. 15) is a ritual for summoning the throne itself; spirits themselves do not appear overtly. The text plunges directly into the instructions, with no introduction. The master must go to a high and secret place when the weather is serene, with no wind. He says various prayers (the Ave Maria, part of Psalm 50, the Lesser Doxology, etc.), then makes a circle, into which he places three jars with him, and he casts into one jar ashes and flour, into another fire and salt, into the third water and chalk. He sits in the middle of the circle and calls the king of the clouds to send three guides (or spirits with the rank of duke, *duces*) to carry him without harm or danger to the place he wants to go. A small cloud appears, and from the three jars he hears voices calling, 'Rise up! Rise up! Rise up!' After thrice saying a conjuration, the master sees a throne in the midst of the cloud. He ascends it and conjures the three guides to carry him without delay, without harm or danger to body or soul. The later part of the text is much concerned with defence against adversaries during the flight. If the rider perceives in flight that someone is trying to harm him by causing the throne to descend toward the south, he conjures the spirit Baltim, who comes and brings a storm upon the adversary. If the harm comes from other directions, other spirits are conjured in defence. If storms, serpents, birds or other terrifying things appear above the master on his way, he conjures a certain king to remove these terrors. Perhaps the most extraordinary feature of this experiment is the sense of peril, which comes not from the potential treachery of the spirits conjured, nor from the danger of

breaking the charm (perhaps by making the sign of the cross) and plunging from a great height, but rather from unspecified adversaries, presumably spirits inimical to those invoked. Whether the aiding or the opposing spirits qualify as 'spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places' (Eph. 6:12) remains unclear; the writer might claim that the spirits on both sides are neutral, or capable of both good and evil, help and harm.

EXPERIMENTS FOR INVISIBILITY

The theme of magical invisibility by means of a ring, a cape or some other object is, of course, ancient. The ring of Gyges is one of the best known manifestations because it provides the basis for a classic thought experiment regarding the virtue of a person whose invisibility allows him to act with impunity.[39] Probably the most commonly recommended means for becoming invisible in medieval works on magic was to carry an opal on oneself, so that its brilliance would blind all potential viewers - a method that is supposed to have worked for Constantius Africanus.[40]

The Munich handbook contains one complex experiment and two simple ones to make the magician invisible. The complex one (no. 11) provides a cloak of invisibility:

> I shall treat also of the art of invisibility, unknown in these days to nearly all.
>
> When you wish to become invisible and insensible to all beings, both rational and otherwise, first, under a waxing moon on a Wednesday, in the first hour of the day, having remained chaste for three days beforehand, and with cut hair and beard, and dressed in white, in a secret place outside of town, under a clear sky, on level ground, trace a circle such as appears here, with a magnificent sword, writing these names and everything shown along with them.
>
> When this is done, place the sword toward the west, on [the name] Firiel. And while you have it placed there, have a vessel in which there is fire with frankincense (*thus*), myrrh and other incense (*olibano*), and with the smoke from these go about the circle, suffumigating it, begining and ending with [the name] Firiel. When you have done this, take blessed water and sprinkle yourself and the circle, saying, *Asperges me, Domine, ysopo* . . . [Ps. 50:9 Vulg.]. When you have done this, kneel facing the east, and in a strong voice say, 'I, so-and-so, conjure you, O Fyriel, Mememil, Berith, [and] Taraor, powerful, magnificent, illustrious spirits, in whom I place all my trust, by the one, inseparable and undivided Trinity . . . that all four of you should come here with utmost humility, bound, constrained, and sworn to carry out my command, whatever I ask of you. Come without delay . . .'
>
> When you have said this invocation four times - once toward Firiel, once

toward Melemil and toward Berith and Tarator – four spirits will at once be present in the circle, saying to you, 'Tell us what you wish, and we will obey you completely.' You will say to them, 'I wish a cloak of invisibility, which should be thin and incorruptible, so that when I wear it no one can see me or sense my presence.' When you have said this, one will withdraw, and within an hour will bring forth a cloak, which you asked them to bring you. They will reply that they cannot give it to you until you first give them your white garment; you will give it to them, and when you have do so they will give you the cloak. One of them will at once put on the garment given to them; you likewise should at once put on the cloak. When you put it on, you will say to the spirits, 'Go in peace', and at once they will withdraw. And when they depart, you should leave the circle, carrying the sword.

On the third day, return there with the cloak, and you will find your garment, which you will take. Be sure to remember; if on the third day you do not return, or you do not take the garment left there, on the fourth day you will find nothing, but in seven days you will die. Having taken it on the third day, you will burn it in the same place. And know that when you burn it you will hear great lamenting and complaining. And when you burn it, sprinkle the ashes in the air, saying, 'I conjure you, Firiel, Melemil, Berith, [and] Taraor, by your virtue and power, and by all things having power against you, to have no virtue or power to harm me by this cloak, but may Jesus Christ protect and defend me . . .' When you have said this, take blessed water and sprinkle the cloak, saying, 'I conjure you, cloak, by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by this water, that whenever I put you on, no one may sense my presence or see me. . . .'

The figure required here is a plain circle, with the positions east, south, and west labelled, a sword lying toward the east (with its point near the centre), the position of the master inscribed near the center, and the names Firiel toward the west, Melemil to the south, Berith to the east, and Taraor to the north, along with two characters. One of the most striking features of the experiment is the suggestion that when the master burns the returned garment he will hear lamentation and complaint, as if the garment, like the book Antoninus of Florence is said to have burned, was infested with malign spirits, contained within it in such a way that they were subject to the will of the person who disposed of the physical object.

The two simple experiments in this category are in different ways exceptional: the first (no. 21) because the techniques are without parallel in this manual, and the second (no. 45) because it not only entails a sacrificial offering to the demons but explicitly states that these spirits are worthy of sacrifice. The first of these experiments (which again has no introduction) requires the practitioner to eviscerate a black cat born in March, cut out its heart and eyes, and insert a

heliotrope seed in place of each eye and two such seeds in the mouth, while saying a conjuration for invisibility. Then he buries the body in a closed garden, and waters it for fifteen days with human blood mixed with water, whereupon a plant will grow. He determines which of the plant's seeds bears the power to make him invisible by testing each seed: repeating a series of names, he takes a mirror and puts the newly grown seeds into his mouth, one by one, beneath his tongue, and when he finds the seed that causes invisibility he vanishes from the mirror.[41] In the second experiment (no. 45) the master takes a white dove and a sheet of virgin parchment and on a Saturday night goes to a stream by a crossroads. He sacrifices the dove and says, 'O you to whom sacrifice is due, aid in fulfilling my will'; he repeats this formula while facing in each of the cardinal directions. Then he inscribes a figure (a complex sign, with mainly horizontal elements and elaborations) with the dove's blood. Before sunrise he returns, and he finds another sheet with a coin enclosed; when he binds this to his hair he becomes invisible. He must be sure to leave the dove and the parchment behind, presumably as sacrifices to the spirit. The text does not say how to undo the invisibility, but presumably it suffices to remove the seed from one's mouth (taking care meanwhile not to swallow) or the sheet from one's hair.

POWER OVER LIFE AND DEATH

As we have seen, the term 'necromancy' was used interchangeably in medieval parlance with various forms of 'nigromancy', which could be taken to mean 'black magic', or more literally 'black divination'. One possible reason for the conflation of these terms and concepts was the widespread assumption that when one engaged in necromancy in the original sense, conjuring the spirits of the deceased, the spirits which in fact appeared were demons in the forms of the dead. Most famously, the shade of Samuel conjured by the witch of Endor (I Samuel 28) was taken to have been a demon in the guise of Samuel.[42] While 'necromancy' was most often used in later medieval parlance for the conjuring of demons, necromancy in its original sense was not unknown in the magic of the era. The Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, for example, gives procedures for raising the shades of the dead.[43] The Munich handbook comes closest in an experiment (no. 10) by which the necromancer can make a living person appear dead or a dead person appear alive:

> When you wish to infuse a spirit into a dead person, so that he appears alive as he was previously, this is the procedure to follow. First have a ring made of gold. Around the outside these names should be carved: Brimer, Suburith, Tranauit; on the inside, these names: Lyroth, Beryen, Damayn. When the names have been carved, on a Sunday before sunrise, go to running water and place the ring in it, and let it remain there for five days.

On the sixth day, take it out and take it to a tomb, and place it inside, so that it remains there on Friday and Saturday. On Sunday, before sunrise, go outside of town under a clear sky, in a remote and secret place, and make a circle with a sword, and on it write with the sword the names and figures that appear here.

When this has been inscribed, enter into it [the circle] as is designated, and place the sword beneath your knees, and, facing south, recite this conjuration: 'I conjure you, all the demons inscribed on this ring' – which you should have in your hand – 'by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by almighty God, maker of heaven and earth . . . that all of you, constrained and bound to my will and my power, should proceed hither in benign form, so that I will not fear, and should consecrate this ring in such a way that it may possess this power, namely that whenever I place it on the finger of a dead person, one of you will enter him, and he will appear alive as before, in the same likeness and form . . .'

When you have said this once, six spirits will at once appear at the circle, requesting the ring, which you will give them. When you have given it, they will depart, and you likewise should leave the circle, taking the sword with you, and not destroying the circle.

On the sixth day, return with the sword, and say, facing south, 'I conjure you, O Brimer, Suburith, [etc.] . . . that you should come to me now without delay, bearing the consecrated ring, so that when I place it on the finger or in the hand of a living person he will fall to the ground as if dead, and when I take it away he will return to his former state, and when I place it on a dead person, as aforesaid, a spirit will enter him and he will appear alive as before . . .'

When you have said all this four times, first toward the south, and likewise toward the west, then toward the north and toward the east, you will see toward the east someone coming on horseback, who, when he arrives at the circle, will say, 'So-and-so' – naming the names written above – 'send you this consecrated ring, but they say they cannot come to you because it is not fitting; you will experience [or test] the power of the ring, and if it does not have the power that you requested, they say they are prepared to come to you whenever you wish.' You will take the ring, saying to him, 'Thanks to you and to them.' When you have said this, he will at once withdraw,[44] and you too shall depart from the circle, destroying it completely.

Keep this ring with you, wrapped in a sheet of white cloth. When you wish to cause someone to appear dead, so that he will seem to everyone devoid of life, place this ring on his finger, and he will appear to be a corpse; and when you remove it, he will return to his former state. And when you wish a corpse to appear animated, place the ring as aforesaid, or bind it to a hand or foot, and within an hour it will arise in the form to which it is previously accustomed, and will speak before all with a living voice, and will be able to

display this quality for six days, for each of these [spirits] will remain in it for a day. And if you wish it to be as previously before the assigned terminus, remove the ring. And in this manner you can revive a dead person.

This most worthy experiment is to be kept hidden, because it holds great power.

The circle given above has many powers, of which I shall mention three known to me. If you draw it on a Friday with the feather of a hoopoe and with its blood on a freshly prepared sheet of parchment, and touch a person with it, you will be loved by that person above all others forever. And if you place that circle, written as aforesaid, on the head of a sick person without his knowledge, if he is to die he will say that he can by no means recover, and if he is to recover he will see that he is altogether freed. And if you carry this circle, written in like manner, on your person, no dog will be able to bark at you. And I have experienced these effects; I do not mention those I have not experienced.

The figure shown for this experiment is a double circular band with a pentagram inscribed. The names carved on the ring are repeated, along with astrological signs, within the two bands. The position of the master is indicated in the centre of the pentagram, and the cardinal directions are marked outside the bands.

The reference to the *monumentum*, the white shroud, and Sunday morning before dawn all make it clear that this resuscitation is intended as a replication or perhaps a parody of Christ's Resurrection. Yet pretending to resurrect the dead was one specialty associated traditionally with Antichrist. Indeed, the question whether Antichrist could genuinely revive the dead was much discussed in medieval theology. Honorius of Regensburg in his *Elucidarium* had his disciple ask whether Antichrist will truly raise the dead, to which the master replies:

> By no means; rather, the Devil by his bewitchments [*maleficiis*] will enter someone's body and carry it about and speak in it, so that it will appear as if living, as it is said, 'In all signs and lying wonders' [II Thess. 2:9].[45]

Hildegard of Bingen agreed that Antichrist's miracle is an illusion, and insisted that 'he is allowed to do this only occasionally, for a very short time and no longer, lest his presumption bring God's glory into scorn'.[46] The directions in *The Play of Antichrist* say that the person resuscitated is to be a man lying in a coffin and feigning death in battle;[47] here we have pretence of death rather than of resurrection, but the miracle remains an illusion, just as Christian theology from Patristic sources onward saw magic as inherently a delusion.

These experiments in the Munich handbook make no effort at all to dispel or

counteract this viewpoint, but rather presuppose it, and indeed revel in it. But there is no sense here that the magician is trying to use his deception to seduce followers. His tricks are meant fundamentally as entertainment, chiefly for himself, perhaps, but potentially for others as well – and certainly for the reader who, in the privacy of his chamber, fantasizes about these wonders much as one might share in the fantasies of romance and related literature.

In commenting on the allegations pressed at the Council of Pisa against Benedict XIII, Margaret Harvey remarks: 'The charges . . . were almost certainly a tissue of nonsense. . . . The folklore [in them] is itself interesting however, and so are the circumstances in which it could be delivered solemnly as fact to auditors at a general council by a powerful group including doctors of law and even a cardinal.'[48] One might add to this that it is not altogether anachronistic to see the notion of necromancy as nonsense. At its most playful, it was a deliberate violation of sense, a fantasy of illusion, perhaps intended more for imaginative entertainment than for actual use. Yet the boundaries between sense and nonsense are rarely quite stable, and themes that seem to an outsider absolutely nonsensical could be taken in deadly earnest by some observers within the culture. What is perhaps most fascinating about these illusionist experiments is precisely their teasing ambiguity, which perhaps made it possible for writers on witchcraft to believe about witches what they had been conditioned to believe just might be true of the necromancers before them. The playful fantasies of the necromancers, then, became sources for the Boschian nightmares of the witch trials.

Notes

1 Rawlinson MS D 252, fols 75v–76v: *Quia semel[l] eram egressus in India ab Alexandria vnfta horam et ibi mulierres videbam michi placentissimas, et statim complevi cum eis desiderium meum, nec ibi erat oportunitas confessorum pro tunc nisi duorum expectassem, et cum ad equum meum reuertissem statim ibi conuersatus est, et cum apprendissem* [76] *finem freni equus incepit se mouere non permittendo me ponere pedem in scropam, racione mee immundicie, et ego tenui fortiter frenum et equus leuauit me in aerem per 40 pedes in altum ac tandem videns me misere periturum remisit meum et cecidi et fregi crus meum mirabiliter, et in India iacui per 4 menses, nec amplius vsque furram sanus equum videbam. Cum autem sanus furram, confessus eram et egi penitenciam, et parando michi cameram, feceram mouiter fieri sceptrum et gladium et anulum, quia anulus quem polueram virtutem perdidi. Et factis istis instrumentis, et mouiter conseeratis, vocaui istos eosdem spiritus, et eundem spiritum re[l] equum michi fecit apportari* [MS *apportaris*]. *Et factis conuocacionibus eundem coniuraui et ascendebam pacifice, et per totum mensem continue nisi quando descendebam ad dormiendum et comedendum vel bibem-* [76v] *dum semper equitaui 8ries circulando totum orbem. Et in aerem feceram cum me deuehere quousque ego fere propter impressiones aeris fueram suffocatus. Sed in circulando orbem plures* [MS *plrures*] *repperi thesauros et mirificos, quos postea noui in virtute docente me vno spirituum, quem postea includebam. Et sic vexaui equ[u]m meum, qu cum vltimate ab eo descendebam et petente me quare me lesit, respondit quod inde* [sic] *facere non potuit, dixit tamen se tam diu circus in inferno fore quam per tantum tempus amplius equitare. Et isto modo me rogauit vt amplius eum tam diu non vexarem et ipse michi cum fuero mundus fideliter cum vocauero ministraret. Et sic malo pro malo retribuebam ei.*

2 *De Nigromancia of Roger Bacon*, iv.5, ed. and trans. Michael-Albion Macdonald (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1988), 65–70.

3 H.S.V. Jones, 'The Squire's Tale', in W.F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster, eds, *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (New York: Humanities, 1958), 357–76. On the general theme of magical horses see Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books, and Local Legends*, rev. edn (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955–8), B184.1 (magic horse), D1442.1 (magic bridle restrains all horses), D1626.1 (artificial flying horse), F401.3.1 (spirit in form of horse).

4 Kathryn L. Lynch, 'East meets West in Chaucer's Squire's and Franklin's Tales', *Speculum*, 70 (1995), 530–51, esp. 539f.

5 *The Quest of the Holy Grail*, trans. P.M. Matarasso (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), 134–61.

6 Fols 49r–50r.

7 Hansen, *Quellen*, 539–44.

8 On illusionist magic in medieval literature see W. Eamon, 'Technology as magic in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance', *Janus*, 70 (1983), 171–212; Sydney H. Ball, 'Luminous gems, mythical and real', *Scientific Monthly*, 47 (1938), 496–505; Joan Evans, *Magic Jewels of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922); Laura H. Loomis, 'Secular dramatics in the royal palace, Paris 1378, 1389, and Chaucer's "tragetoures"', *Speculum*, 33 (1958), 242–55; Marvin Alpheus Owings, *The Arts in the Middle English Romances* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1952), 138–64 ('The supernatural'); Helen Cooper, 'Magic that does not work', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s., 7 (1976), 131–46; M. Sherwood, 'Magic and mechanics in medieval fiction', *Studies in Philology*, 44 (1947), 567–92; Haldeen Braddy, 'Cambyuskan's flying horse and Charles VI's "cerf volant"', *Modern Language Review*, 33 (1938), 41–4; W.A. Clouston, *Notes on the Magical Elements in the 'Squire's Tale', and Analogues* (Chaucer Society, ser. 2, vol. 26) (London: Trubner, 1890).

9 Anthony E. Luengo, 'Magic and illusion in the *Franklin's Tale*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 77 (1978), 1–16; W. Bryant Bachman, Jr., '"To maken illusion": the philosophy of magic and the magic of philosophy in the *Franklin's Tale*', *Chaucer Review*, 12 (1977), 55–67.

10 Several early Christian writers spoke of magic as deception (*fraus*), delusion (*ludus*) or phantasm – which could mean purely natural sleight of hand within the capacity of any skilled human, but it could also apply to tricks only demons could perform, which would still be illusory in the sense that what appeared to be present would not in fact be. On this theme see Francis C.R. Thee, *Julius Africanus and the Early Christian View of Magic* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1984), esp. 349–52 (Irenaeus), 374–6 (Origen) and 394f. (Hippolytus). For a particularly well done fictional exploration of the motif see Anita Mason, *The Illusionist* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1984).

11 Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i.68, trans. Henry Chadwick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 62–3.

12 It would be pointless to attempt a survey of the theme in other writings, but to take merely one example, see *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the* Ghayat Al-Hakim, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986), 17–18.

13 On this wide-ranging subject see, e.g., Lorne Dwight Conquergood, 'The Anglo-Saxon Boast: Structure and Function' (Northwestern University dissertation, 1977), and Daniel Cliness Boughner,

The Braggart in Renaissance Literature: A Study in Comparative Drama from Aristophanes to Shakespeare (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954).

14 See Joseph Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter, und die Entstehung der großen Hexenverfolgung* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1900; repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1964), 1–36, on the formation of a *Sammelbegriff* or *Kollektivbegriff* of witchcraft.

15 *Summa theologiae*, ii.109.1; *Malleus maleficarum*, i.4, trans. Montague Summers (London: Rodker, 1928; repr. London: Pushkin, 1948), 28–31.

16 Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology* (New York: Crown, 1959), 420–21 (with a relevant quotation from Lancashire); Francesco Maria Guazzo, *Compendium maleficarum*, i.12, trans. E.A. Ashwin (Secaucus, NJ: University Books, 1974), p. 37.

17 *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.1.3, p. 105; cf. ii.1.1 and ii.1.4, pp. 97 and 113, in which the sign of the cross is said to have similar effect but outside the context of flight. A warning against the sign of the cross outside the context of flight occurs also in Clm 849, no. 1.

18 W. Braekman, 'Magische experimenten en toverpraktijken uit een middelnederlands handschrift', *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1966, 28–32.

19 See Robbins, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*, 364–7, and Richard Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300–1500* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 41–2 (and sources in the notes).

20 I translate *dapiferos* thus, rather than as 'stewards', to convey somewhat more clearly that these figures actually produce the illusory banquet rather than serving at a conventional feast.

21 This passage seems to mean that one is to draw the sword itself not only to the east but to the other directions while reciting the conjuration, and then again hold the sword toward the east.

22 As I can attest from personal experience, even in the absence of demons and magicians an excited or agitated hoopoe flutters its crest, which otherwise lies back on its head.

23 Oymelor, Symofos, Manoir and Faubair in the outermost band; Demefin, Rodobayl, Tamafin and Abelutabel in the next; Lamair, Tentetos, Leutaber and Rimasor in the next; and Masair, Lotobor, Tatomofon and Sirama in the innermost. (The forms of the names are exceptionally variable: Symofos appears elsewhere in the experiment as Symofor or Simofor, Manoir as Memoyr or Memoir, Rodobayl as Rodobail, Abelutabel as Selutabel or Belutabel, Leutaber as Zrugaber, Sirama as Syrama.)

24 The spell of Pnouthis, PGM I.42–195, in Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, I (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 6, lines 107–14.

25 On the lore of this bird see John Gotthold Kunstmann, 'The Hoopoe: A Study in European Folklore' (University of Chicago dissertation, 1938); W.R. Dawson, 'The lore of the hoopoe', *Ibis*, ser. 12, 1 (1925), 31–9; Samia Al Azharia Jahn, 'Zur Volkskunde eines Zugvogels: Der Wiedehopf (*Upupa Epops* L.) in Nordeuropa und in den islamischen Ländern Afrikas', *Anthropos*, 76 (1981), 371–92; and R. Lops, 'La huppe: histoire littéraire et légendaire d'un oiseau', in Q. Mok, et al., eds, *Mélanges de linguistique, de littérature et de philologie offerts à J.R. Smeets* (Leiden, 1982), 171–85. For some of these references I am indebted to Baudouin van den Abeele. Albert the Great, *Man and the Beasts: De animalibus (Books 22–26)*, xxiii.112, trans. James J. Scanlan (Binghamton, NY: CEMERS, 1987), 321,

reports that smearing hoopoe blood on the temples before sleeping causes nightmares, and that enchanters seek the bird's organs (especially its brain, tongue and heart) for 'their own purposes'. See also Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, 1, pp. 13 (PGM II.1–64), 29 (III.424–66), 129 (VII.411–16), and 210 (PDM xiv.116).

26 Prospero, in Shakespeare's *Tempest*, IV.i.

27 For *experiencia*, although the heading gives *experimenta*.

28 A largely conjectural reading of *qui habet multum ipses 15 demones pauentare uel spauentare*; the writer seems to have been copying from a source and unable to determine what the verb should be.

29 The MS reads *medetis*, but the context calls for *ridetis* or the equivalent.

30 This translation simplifies and clarifies a somewhat confused passage.

31 P.M. Matarasso, trans. *The Quest of the Holy Grail* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), 192–94.

32 Lobsang P. Lhalungpa, trans. *The Life of Milarepa* (Boston and London: Shambhala, 1985), 52.

33 On the relationship in medieval Europe, see my article, 'The holy and the unholy: sainthood, witchcraft, and magic in late medieval Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 24 (1994), 355–85, reprinted in Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl, eds, *Christendom and its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 310–37. The information about modern lamas was related to me by Janet Gyatso.

34 See also Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (FF Communications, 204) (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Akademia Scientiarum Fennica, 1969), 245, nos 3,130 and 3,134, and the *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.1.3.

35 Chs 31–2.

36 Or perhaps 'with a farewell' (*cum salute*).

37 For *de cuius clauu[bu]s aliquantulum incidere debes*.

38 The nomenclature is again variable: Lantrayth appears also as Lautrayth and Lutrayth, Feremni as Feremin and Feremim, Oliromim as Oliroomim.

39 The classic source is Plato's *Republic*, book 2, 359d–360c. For medieval versions of the tale see Tubach, *Index exemplorum*, 189, no. 2,391. For other examples of using rings for invisibility see Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 1, pp. 136 (VII.628–42) and 109 (V.447–58).

40 Albertus Magnus, *The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus, of the Virtues of Herbs, Stones and Certain Beasts, also A Book of the Marvels of the World*, ed. Michael R. Best and Frank H. Brightman (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 26f. The assumption was that the brilliant luminosity of the stone would blind people to one's presence; on the general subject of luminous stones, see Sydney H. Ball, 'Luminous gems, mythical and real', *Scientific Monthly*, 47 (1938), 496–505; and Joan Evans, *Magic Jewels of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922).

41 Perhaps the closest classical analogue to this procedure is from the Greek magical papyri, which recommend holding a snapdragon under the tongue while sleeping, and reciting specified names on rising early, to become invisible; see Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 1, p. 135 (PGM VII.619–27, from a collection called the *Diadem of Moses*). See also an Italian experiment for invisibility mentioned by Charles Burnett in *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), IX, pp. 6–7, where five beans are placed in a woman's skull and buried.

42 For a survey of relevant sources see Robbins, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*, 159–60.

43 Fols 66v–67v.

44 The MS uses the second person, but the reference is clearly to the horseman.

45 *Elucidarium*, iii.10, in *Patrologia latina*, 172, col. 1163. See Linus Urban Lucken, *Antichrist and the Prophets of Antichrist in the Chester Cycle* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1940), 63–5. On Antichrist generally see Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (San Francisco: Harper, 1994). See also Nancy Caciola, 'Wraiths, revenants and ritual in medieval culture', Past & Present, 152 (August 1996), 3–45.

46 Hildegard of Bingen, *Scivias*, xi.27, trans. Mother Columba Hart and Jane Bishop (New York: Paulist, 1990), 503.

47 *The Play of Antichrist*, trans. John Wright (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1967), 89f.

48 Margaret Harvey, 'Papal witchcraft: the charges against Benedict XIII', in Derek Baker, ed., *Sanctity and Secularity: The Church and the World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973), 109.

4

LOVE, FAVOUR AND MADNESS: PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPERIMENTS

When we speak of one individual as 'charming' or 'fascinating' another, we still use the traditional language of magic to suggest the power that personalities can exert over each other. We know that the human mind is subject to subtle and often threatening or frightening influence; it comes as no surprise that practitioners of magic have claimed to make such influence into a kind of science available for their employment. Nor is it surprising if at times magic intended to bend the minds and wills of other persons has its desired effect, since this form of magic more than any other lends itself to the power of suggestion.[1] Outside the context of clerical necromancy, magic of this sort occurs in trials such as that of Matteuccia di Francesco at Todi in 1428. Among the many charges against Matteuccia was this:

> . . . in the month of December of 1427 a certain woman of that territory went to Matteuccia and, after confessing that she loved a certain man, said that she would like to spread her hatred so that her man would abandon his wife and, loving only herself, do everything she wanted. Matteuccia told the woman to wash her hands and feet facing backwards and with her knees bent and when she had done so to take the water and throw it where the man and woman were going to pass, with the spirit, intent and belief that this would generate hatred between them. The woman did this and reported to Matteuccia that the water had generated hatred between the man and the woman as she had intended, so that they could not meet, but instead hated each other.[2]

The alienation of affection in this case is more than usually complicated: the same ritual simultaneously disrupted the married couple's relationship and bound the husband's affections, causing him to love the client so intensely that he complied with her every wish. In other cases Matteuccia prescribed such water rituals as a means for regaining affection and for transferring disease, presumably on the assumption that the fluidity of water made it a fitting symbol and medium for emotional instability, but also perhaps implying that the sort of water one might expect to find in a medieval city could plausibly be viewed as a means for contamination and contagion.

PSYCHOLOGICAL MAGIC IN THE MUNICH HANDBOOK

The Munich manuscript contains seven experiments that might be termed psychological, because they are intended to influence people's minds or wills: to cause madness or hatred, to gain favour with a potentate, to constrain the will of others, or to arouse the love of a woman. Five general features characterize these experiments. First, they typically involve elaborate preparation and ceremonies which may require more than one day. Second, the purposes and forms (other than the conjurations) have much in common with those of astral magic. Third, the basic techniques are those of 'sympathetic' or 'imitative' magic, whose meaning is explicated by accompanying incantations; magic circles either are not used or are simple and relatively unimportant, and conjurations are less significant and elaborate here than in other forms of necromancy. Fourth, the procedures and the expected results are typically more violent than in other experiments, amounting in the erotic experiments to a kind of rape. Fifth, with rare exceptions, the magician works strictly by himself, in secret, without companions (unless one includes the women he sets out to seduce, in erotic forms of this magic); whereas the secrecy in illusionist experiments adds to the sense of excitement and adventure, the point here is more simply to evade detection in circumstances that would be extremely damaging.

The preparation and ritual is sometimes protracted over several days (nos 2, 4, 5), or at least involves multiple operations performed on a single occasion (nos 3, 12, 13, 35). One is tempted to speculate that such magic can best take effect if its victims are aware that it is being used and if they are liable to the power of suggestion, and that the more elaborate the procedures, the greater the chance that the intended victims will learn the fate that is to befall them. Indeed, in one of these experiments (no. 2) the master is instructed to go to the victim and warn him in advance of his fate. John Gager suggests in a similar context that magicians may have been 'less than totally discreet about their business, perhaps intentionally so, and let it be known that a "fix" had been put on so-and-so'.[3] Such deliberate indiscretion would be especially appropriate for magic that depended entirely on psychological effect.

The purposes served by these psychological experiments are among the most common purposes found in the astral magic translated into Latin from Arabic sources such as *Picatrix* and Thabit ibn Qurra's *De imaginibus*.[4] Thabit's treatise is devoted to experiments for such goals as destroying a city or region, becoming ruler of a place, securing the favour of a king, and arousing friendship or enmity between two persons. The magician is in every case expected to use images, not so much as aids to sympathetic magic, but as channels of astrological power; the astrological conditions for use of these images are thus of paramount importance. The psychological experiments in the Munich handbook are generally much longer and more fully developed than the materials in these Arabic sources. What they add are chiefly conjurations and operations of sympathetic magic.

These rituals consistently entail sympathetic procedures: they rely on the basic principle of sympathetic magic, *sicut hic, ita illic*. More often than not the master is supposed to inflict some kind of violence upon the victim's image, so that a corresponding violence will occur to the actual victim. In other words, ritual rape is a means for accomplishing physical rape. A representative object may be consumed or destroyed: a candle melted (no. 2); stones beaten together, buried, heated and crushed (no. 5); an image pierced with needles (no. 12); a bone placed in fire (nos 13 and 35). Elsewhere the representative object is used for an imitative operation symbolizing submission: one metal image is placed in a position of subordination to another (no. 4). The specifically demonic or necromantic element in these experiments is typically an appendage to this sympathetic magic, and the demons generally play a less prominent role than in illusionist or divinatory experiments. Other features of necromancy, while present, are also relegated to a position of secondary significance. The conjurations used in these experiments tend to be relatively simple. Instead of conjurations, incantations explicating the significance of the sympathetic ritual ('Just as . . . so too . . .') occupy a central position. Even the magic circles called for in these experiments are comparatively simple: indeed, in three cases there are no circles at all (nos 4, 5, 35), and in four others there is either a simple circle (nos 2, 3, 12) or a simple shield-figure substituting for a circle (no. 13).

EXPERIMENTS TO INFLICT HARM

Later medieval books of magic are seldom shy about giving straightforwardly harmful formulas. A fifteenth-century *Liber de angelis, annulis, karecteribus et ymaginibus planetarum (Book of angels, rings, characters, and images of the planets)* in the Cambridge University Library contains an experiment called the *Vindicta Troie (Vengeance of Troy)*, which can be used to arouse hatred or to cause bodily harm or even death. The procedure calls for making an image on the day and in the hour of Saturn, in the name of the person to be harmed. The image must be made of wax, preferably from candles used at a funeral. It should be made as ugly as possible; the face should be contorted, and there should be hands in place of feet and vice versa. The victim's name should be inscribed on the forehead of the image, the name of the planet Saturn on its breast, and the seals or characters of Saturn between its shoulders. The operator should call upon the spirits of Saturn to descend from on high and afflict the named victim. The image should be fumigated with various substances, including human bones and hair, then wrapped in a funeral cloth and buried in some unclean place, face downward. If the magician wishes to harm any particular member of the victim's body, there are instructions for binding the corresponding member on the image with a funeral cloth and piercing the image with a needle; to kill the victim, the magician should insert the needle into the spine, from the head down to the

heart. To cure the victim afterward (unless, presumably, the experiment has succeeded in killing him), one must unbury the image, remove the needle and anoint the wounds that are left, rub out the inscriptions, and wash the image in a fountain. The *Liber de angelis* also prescribes a technique for arousing discord: the operator makes one image of Saturn and another of Mars (which counted as 'unfortunate' planets), one holding a lance and the other a sword, and buries them positioned over against each other.[5]

If one were to judge from the trial records, one might suppose that necromancy was used chiefly to bring personal harm and death to enemies. Thus, Guichard of Troyes was charged in the early fourteenth century with hiring a witch and a friar to kill the queen of France by image magic and invocation of demons,[6] and in 1441 Eleanor Cobham was accused of employing a witch and two scholars learned in astrology and necromancy, in part to kill the king of England,[7] to cite only two examples. Yet of all the experiments in the Munich manual, only two (nos 2 and 5), are designed specifically and exclusively to cause harm, and the damage is specifically psychological; the manuscript contains no experiments for killing enemies or inflicting physical harm on them. Even these two experiments designed to bring harm provide countermagic for the master to use if he wishes to undo his own mischief (as does the *Liber de angelis*).

Let us look first at an experiment designed to bring enmity between two friends (no. 5):

> When you wish to sow hatred and mortal enmity between two men or women, or a man and a woman, you must take two shiny round rocks from a river.[8] On one you must carve the name of one person, with the names Cartutay, Momabel, Sobil and Geteritacon. On the other [you must carve] the name of the other person and the names Puzanil, Pimaton, Folfitoy, and Mansator. These names are highly antipathetic to each other. When they are carved, you must bury one under the threshold of the one in whose name it was made, if you can, and if you cannot, bury them beneath the threshold of any inhabited house, and the other likewise under the threshold of the other, as has been said, or under some house, as is written above.[9] And let them remain there seven days and seven nights.
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> Then remove them before sunrise, take them to a secret place, and cast them into a fire, saying, 'I conjure you most inimical spirits, by the glory of the everlasting God, to sow and arouse as much hatred between so-and-so and so-and-so, whose names are carved here on these stones, as there is between you.' When you have said this three times, take the stones from the fire, saying, 'When their fury is enkindled against us, perhaps the waters had swallowed them up' [Ps. 123:3f. Vulg.]. Then cast [*proiciamus*] them into very cold water and let them stay there under a clear sky for three days and nights. On the fourth day take them and fumigate them with sulphur, saying, 'I conjure all

you hateful and malignant, invidious and discordant demons . . . to arouse at once between so-and-so and so-and-so as much hatred as there was between Cain and Abel. Arouse them and inflame them so much that one cannot stand to see the other, and one will afflict the other with immeasurable hatred, as a rebel.[10] May all love, affection, fraternity and concord be removed from them; let them be turned to enmity and utter hatred.' When you have said this three times, with constant fumigation, store them [the stones] away.

The next night, beat the rocks together and strike one against the other, saying, 'I do not smash these stones, rather I smash so-and-so and so-and-so, whose names are written here, so that one will at once afflict the other and they will torment each other from now on with unconditional hatred.'

And do this three times, each night and day, for several days. And immediately you will see or hear that they have become enemies and hate each other bitterly, so that neither can abide to see the other.

If you wish to separate them altogether, causing one to flee the other, proceed as follows. Arise before sunrise on a Sunday, under a waning moon, especially when it is in combustion, and proceed in the direction of the sunrise.[11] When you have done this, take two stones that you have brought with you there, and rub them together vigorously, pounding one against the other, saying, 'I do not smash these rocks, etc.' When you have said this three times, bury whichever of them you wish. Then withdraw and go toward the west, and make a ditch there and bury the other in that place, saying, 'As I have separated these stones, thus may so-and-so separate himself from so-and-so, and may they be as distant as these stones.' When it has been buried, withdraw. And you will see them estranged, each separated from the other.

This experiment must be kept secret, for it possesses ineffable power, and no remedy is to be found before they have been estranged and hate each other bitterly.

But if you wish to restore them to their initial friendship, unbury the stones and place them in a furnace, and when they are well cooked smash them to little bits, and paste them together with water, and let [the newly formed mass] dry. When it is dried, cast it into the water of a river, saying, 'Let all enmity be taken away that was between so-and-so and so-and-so, and let them return to their former affection, by the mercy of the gracious God, who does not regard the misdeeds of sinners. Amen.' And you may be sure that on account of this they will be joined together at once, and all anger will be taken away, and they will enjoy their initial concord.

Not only is the imitative action with stones at the heart of this experiment, even the conjuration involves an extension of the principle of imitative magic: the enmity produced by the magic is already manifested in the 'hateful and malignant, invidious and discordant demons' whose services are invoked, and the

archetypal enmity between Cain and Abel serves as a paradigm for that intended by the magician. Apart from the verbal formulas, the magic is simple to the point of seeming primitive: the symbolic objects are not carved in the forms of the individuals represented, but are mere rocks, and the abuse to which they are subject is fairly simple exposure to the inimical elements of earth, fire and water. One might wonder why the sympathetic reversal provided in this experiment does not have the effect of utterly destroying the victims. The stones have all along symbolized the victims, and the crushing should have dire effects on them if the logic of sympathetic magic is consistently maintained. Obviously, however, this is not how the writer of the manual viewed matters. From his perspective the operations evidently took effect not simply *ex opere operato* but in accordance with the intentions of the operator as expressed in the accompanying words.

Elsewhere the procedures for separation magic were more imaginative but still essentially imitative. Riccola di Puccio of Pisa was executed at Perugia in 1347, in part for using magic to bring disaffection between a husband and wife; she recited charms and conjurations over an egg from a black hen, calling upon 'Mosectus, Barbectus and Belsabuct, the prince of demons', as well as other demons of various ranks, then he cut the egg in half and gave one part to a female cat and the other to a male dog, saying, 'In the name of the aforesaid demons may the love between [the two] be sundered as this egg is divided between the dog and the cat, and let there be such affection between them as between this dog and this cat.'[12]

The other experiment in this category in the Munich handbook (no. 2) is intended to inflict dementia. The practitioner goes to his victim and openly recites a conjuration commanding the malign spirit Mirael to enter and afflict his brain. Then he makes a pen with wood from the victim's door, and he inscribes a brief conjuration and a magic circle – a single band with the names of Mirael and the victim in the centre, and the names of ten demons within the band – on a piece of linen, and conjures the demons thrice. A set of sympathetic operations follows. The master goes to the victim's house, urinates 'in the manner of a camel',[13] and buries the cloth; while doing so he says, 'I bury you, so-and-so, in the name of the demons written round about you, so that these demons may always be around him, and all your power may be buried.' He goes home and makes a candle, inscribed as was the circle. He lights the candle, saying, 'Just as this candle, made for the destruction of N., burns and is consumed, so may all the power and knowledge he possesses be turned to madness . . .' He then extinguishes the candle, saying, 'Just as this candle is extinguished, so may all the power in N. be utterly consumed.' When he has repeated the procedure over seven days, the victim will become demented, and all who see him will marvel, though he himself will not recognize his condition and will assume that others are mad. If he wishes to restore the victim's sanity, the master goes to his house and enjoins the demons to depart, thus counteracting the effects of his triple

conjuration. Then he further nullifies the magic by removing the inscribed cloth and casts it into a fire, saying, 'Just as this fire consumes this cloth, so may all this craft (*ars*) done by me against N. be wholly undone,' then he casts the ashes into a flowing stream.[14] While the countermagic is itself sympathetic, it is not (in the same way as with no. 5) strictly a reversal of the original sympathetic magic involving the burning and extinguishing of a candle.

There are recipes for madness in *Picatrix*, which involve not imitative magic but potions (made from the body parts of a cat, a hoopoe, a bat, a toad and other creatures) to be taken in food or drink, or a fume to be inhaled, whereupon the victim will be bedevilled (*demoniabitur*), losing his senses and memory, and not even knowing where he is.[15] The Munich handbook is perhaps remarkable for its thoroughgoing avoidance of such potions. It rarely combines the techniques of demonic with those of natural magic, and avoids giving recipes for potions whose magical virtue would normally be seen as inherent and natural, but does use imitative rituals, more readily seen as signs and signals to demons.

The burial of some symbolic object is a recurrent theme in these psychological experiments, far more than in other types. Parallels can easily be cited in astral magic, for example in one section of *Picatrix*, which prescribes burying astrological images to attain friendship or love, to secure the fondness and obedience of a ruler's subjects or a lord's servant, to separate two friends, to cause a person to fall under the wrath of a king, to bring love between men and women – but also to destroy an enemy or a city or house, to prevent the construction of a building, to release a captive, to put a person to flight, to get rid of scorpions, to increase the fertility of the fields.[16] The psychological experiments of the Munich handbook which prescribe burial of some object may perhaps be borrowed from astral magic and elaborated with conjurations and other embellishments. Burial ensures secrecy, fixes the object's location, and perhaps implies an appeal to demons or other chthonic powers. It makes the most obvious sense when a particular location is to be affected: like dragons hidden beneath the foundations of a building and causing its disruption, a buried image can work insidiously on the place where it lies. When the magic is psychological, the point is presumably to affect the victim's mind by establishing a kind of magical force field within his or her environment. One might even speak of this as environmental magic, designed to afflict individuals indirectly by planting sinister forces in or near the places they frequent.

AN EXPERIMENT FOR GAINING FAVOUR

Magical techniques for ensuring favour in the eyes of a dignitary, or for prevailing over one's adversaries in a court of law, are common in the literature of medieval magic, although they rarely if ever become subject matter for prosecution. They presuppose a magician connected to court circles or perhaps to the ecclesiastical

hierarchy, or else a magician serving a client with political ambitions. In short, the context for use of such magic is precisely the sort that Edward Peters envisages: a courtly world rife with ambitions and ensuing tensions because of the possibilities for upward mobility and the threat of precipitous downward mobility.[17] The magic recommended for such purposes is often fairly simple. One fifteenth-century compilation prescribes writing out the SATOR-AREPO square on virgin parchment with the blood of a white dove, then carrying it on one's person or in one's hand, to ensure favour in the sight of all. The same collection says that various herbs, collected before sunrise in the sign of Virgo, will prevent people from speaking evil against the bearer.[18] Another compilation recommends writing out certain characters and carrying them in one's left hand as a way of obtaining favours from any person.[19]

From one point of view any attempt to manipulate another person's mind or will is a hostile act. There are none the less significant differences from one experiment to another in the apparent attitude of the master and in the expected attitude of the victim: in the experiments we have examined above, the master is overtly hostile to the victims and expects them to undergo experiences that will be unpleasant for them; in the next experiments the master displays no overt hostility and anticipates that the people affected will become favourably disposed toward him, without feeling harmed or afflicted, and if anyone feels aggrieved it will presumably be either a rival claimant to favour or the victim at a later stage, when he realizes his will has been manipulated.

The Munich handbook provides one rather elaborate experiment designed to gain favour with any manner of dignitary (no. 4):

> . . . I wish for you to read a well tested art for obtaining dignity and honour, status, and the supreme and undying love of a king, prelate, lord or, in general, any man you wish.
>
> First, you should have two soft rocks, which you should rub together so that their surfaces are entirely flush. When you have done this, you should carve in one the image of him [whose favour] you wish, beginning from the head and proceeding to the feet, making first the front and then the back side, and carving a crown on the head if it is a king, and so forth according to his dignity. When this is carved, you will carve on the [other] stone your own form, as best you can, beginning with the head, as before, first the front and then the back. When you have done this, inscribe his name on the forehead of the first [image], in the manner of a seal, and your name on yours. When you have done this, in the first hour of Sunday under a waxing moon take silver or tin and melt it over a fire. When it is melted, cast it in his form, saying, 'I, so-and-so, wishing to obtain favour and be revered by him, and honoured and feared forever, form [this] image, made and carved in his name, by virtue of which he should love me without measure forever.'

When you have done this, you should have an iron stylus, and on his forehead carve the name 'Dyacom'; on his chest, the three names 'Pumeon', 'Terminas', and 'Peripaos'; and on [his] shoulders the six names 'Midam', 'Fabni', 'Gebel', 'Darail', 'Vmeloth' and 'Thereoth'; and on his stomach the name 'Byreoth'. When you have inscribed these things, you should have a clean linen cloth, and wrap the image in it, then store it away carefully.

On Thursday, at the first hour of the day, kindle a fire and similarly melt the tin and cast it in your form, saying, 'I, so-and-so, form my own image according to my likeness, by which I may rule forever over so-and-so and be loved and feared by him for all eternity.' When you have made this, wrap it likewise in another linen cloth.

Note that the image of him whose grace you wish to obtain should be the length of one *semis*[20] when it is carved in the stone, and the proportions of the stone should be such that your image may be larger than his by a third. And you should place a sceptre on your image as well.

When you have done these things carefully, as instructed, on the following Friday at the first hour you should fumigate his image with these aromatics – cinnamon, long pepper and the herb agrimony – saying, 'I, so-and-so, exorcize you, image formed in the name of so-and-so, by the inseparable, unique, and undivided Trinity, and by all the thrones, dominations, and powers, and principalities, and [by the virtue] of all creatures, that by your power I may obtain the favour and love of so-and-so, in whose name it is made.'

Having said this three times, continue as follows: 'O Dyacon, Pumeon, Termines, Peripaos, Midain, Fabin, Gebel, Dorayl, Vmeloth, Tereoth and Bireoth, most benevolent spirits who sow concord, with the greatest vehemence I, so-and-so, pray you, I supplicate you, [and] I beg you, by the only Son of God, who by the shedding of his blood raised the dead human race, that by this image made in the name of so-and-so you may bind him to me in such a manner that he will revere me above all mortals, never wavering from agreement with me, but always obeying my commands. May he take pains to please me, by our same Lord Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns unto ages of ages. Amen.'

When you have said this prayer, take your hold your image in your right hand, and the other in your left, and join his image to yours, saying three times, 'He has subjected the nations to us, and the peoples under our feet' [Ps. 46:4 Vulg.]. Then take a small iron chain and bind it to the neck of his image, placing the other end in the right hand of your image. Then, when it is firmly bound, say, 'Just as you, O image formed in the name of so-and-so, are subjected and bound to my image, thus may so-and-so be bound to me utterly for all eternity.' Then take both hands of his image in your hands and bend them behind his back, saying, 'By this image I bind the

hands of so-and-so, that his hands may never have any power against me.' Bend the head of his image to the ground, saying, 'As this image, made in the name of so-and-so, stands before me with bended neck, thus may so-and-so never waver from my will, but follow me at all times and always serve me and love me and revere me for ever above all others, and strive to praise me.'

When you have done this, with constant fumigation, take your image and place the other at its back, so that its face touches the shoulders of your image, and while holding them thus, say, 'As this image, made and fashioned in the name of so-and-so, stands in the greatest subjection to this image made in my name, thus may so-and-so be subjected to me, as long as these images are preserved.' Then wrap them up, as has been said, in a clean linen cloth. When they have been wrapped, place them in some kind of vessel and carry them secretly through the city and before his presence in his dwelling, if you can. And you should do this for an entire day. In the evening you should bury the images in such a place and far enough down that they will [not] be discovered, and you will see wonders. But if you cannot go before him or into his dwelling, bury [them], as has been said, wherever you will, and you will be loved by him above all things.

For Parmen[i]des used this experiment to obtain favour from the king of the Persians.

This experiment requires two conjurations: one addressed to the image of the dignitary in question, which is thrice 'exorcized' that it may secure honour from the person represented; the other a 'prayer' addressed to eleven spirits distinguished for their benevolence and their skill at inspiring concord. But the heart of the experiment is a series of five imitative rituals involving both images: first binding the two figures together, second binding the dignitary's image to the magician's own with a small iron chain, third binding the hands of the dignitary's image behind its back, fourth bowing the head of the dignitary's image to the ground, and fifth placing the two figures together, with the dignitary's face touching the shoulders of his own image as a sign of subjection.

The sympathetic operations here are complex but suggest a sort of play, almost like a child's playful use of a toy. Like many experiments in the manual, this one comes with a historical testimonial: 'Parmenides', we are told, used this procedure to gain favour with the king of the Persians. Testimonials of this kind are of course window-dressing, comparable to a herbal master's fanciful claim that one remedy was used by Plato himself.[21] The concluding promise that the magician 'will see wonders' is again a common formula,[22] which blurs any distinction between the magical and the wondrous or marvellous.

EROTIC MAGIC: BACKGROUND

If certain of these experiments can be seen as 'friendly' and others as hostile, the experiments for love represent a curious mixture. The imitative procedures involve violence: the image or other object that magically represents the desired woman is burned or pierced. The immediate effect on the victim is likewise violent: she is afflicted with obsessive passion, and has no rest until she yields to the master's desires. Ultimately, however, the woman does submit and is made to feel more than mere friendship. The conception of love that is here assumed may owe something at least indirectly to the tradition of courtly literature, and in particular to its Ovidian sense that love is a disease or an affliction. One Netherlandish compilation gives detailed instructions for 'the best and surest experiment in the world to secure friendship or love between a man and a woman', and says that in Latin such love is called '*amor hereos*', and is burning and indissoluble.[23]

The subject of erotic magic is too extensive to cover fully here,[24] but at least eight key points should be made by way of overview. First, magic may be used to persuade or coerce another person to consent to sex (sex-inducing magic), to intensify the sexual experience of already willing partners (sex-enhancing magic), or to induce a lasting amorous relationship (love-magic). Second, the most common technique for love-magic was administration of potions, as can be seen from penitential prohibitions and secular legislation as well as literary sources.[25] Certain objects or substances borne on one's person were also thought to have aphrodisiac qualities, such as the stone allectory and the herb henbane.[26] Third, while various herbs were used as aphrodisiacs (St John's wort, valerian, vervain),[27] there seems to have been a preference for animal parts or human substances (such as semen) either literally or symbolically associated with sex and procreation.[28] Fourth, in trials for erotic magic it was usually women who were charged with alienating men's affections through magical means, but the surviving formulas for sex-inducing magic typically envisage the use of this magic by men to entice unwilling women.[29] Fifth, in both the trials and the manuscript prescriptions, love-magic is most commonly intended to restore the lost affections of a partner.[30] Indeed, certain women accused of witchcraft seem to have been specialists in such restoration of affection.[31] Sixth, in astral magic with erotic intent, the magical virtues whose potency seemed most relevant were, obviously enough, those of Venus. Thus, a stone, metal plate or image might be made on the day of Venus (Friday), at the hour of Venus, and bearing the sign of Venus for use in such magic; one might even be advised to say a 'prayer' to the spirit associated with that planet.[32] Seventh, the power of the sacred might be employed in erotic magic, in ways that would presumably seem blasphemous to authorities: a slip of parchment with a psalm on it might be left where a prospective lover would walk, or a woman who kissed her husband while holding

a consecrated host in her mouth might gain his affection.[35] A prayer addressed to God might lead into a conjuration to compel a husband, or a litany adapted to form a coercive spell.[34] Eighth, erotic magic figures prominently in medieval literature – in the romances especially, herbal love potions frequently play a prominent role – but the significance of this magic is often ambiguous. For example, in Thomas of Britain's version of *Tristan* the love potion seems to function as a symbol of the love that Tristan and Iseult have already begun to feel, rather than as in any simple sense the cause of that love.[35]

The techniques for erotic magic mentioned so far were natural rather than demonic, but sexual submission could also be won by necromancy. Oldradus da Ponte explained in the early fourteenth century that invoking demons to tempt women is mortally sinful but is not heresy, because temptation is proper to the nature of demons and their use for this service thus implies no false belief.[36] Formulas for such magic do survive. An experiment for love in the *Liber de angelis* requires going to a crossroads or a gallows, entering a circle traced on the ground, sacrificing a dove, tearing its flesh apart, dispersing the remains in the air, and invoking a spirit of dubious character named Zagam ('O Zagam, accept this dove which I sacrifice to you!'). One must repeat this operation a second and a third time; after the last of these sacrifices one adds, 'I ask you, O Zagam, and all your companions, to bring forth [the desired woman]', who should be burning with love for the magician and should comply with his will. The next morning he must return to the circle and pick up whatever 'figure' he finds there; he need only show this to the desired woman and she will love him without bounds – as has been proven, the text adds.[37] In a trial from the later fifteenth century at Tournai, where a priest was charged with attempting to seduce a girl by drawing her image in charcoal on a tile, baptizing the figure, sprinkling it with holy water, making a second figure out of wax and baptizing it as well, then conjuring demons according to a book of magic.[38]

The case from Tournai is highly reminiscent of the Netherlandish experiment mentioned earlier as a technique for effecting *amor hereos*,[39] combining prayer and conjuration with image magic:

> You must do it on a Friday in the first hour after midnight, under a waxing moon. Take a tile fresh out of the oven and draw a picture, while saying, 'I, N., draw this picture in the form and likeness of the person N., daughter or son of so-and-so.' Make the picture with a steel pin [*punte*]. Begin with the head and proceed downward, saying, 'May Venus help.' . . . When [the image] is done, make fire with any wood you will. Stand up, take the image in your hand, turn south, and read this [Latin] prayer: 'Almighty, eternal God, who in the beginning created heaven and earth, the sea and all that is in them; who created Adam and Eve according to your likeness and placed them in the earthly paradise . . . I invoke you in supplication, most gracious Father; in your

great power hear me as I ask and knock [cf. Mt 7:7], that I may be able to constrain those malign spirits, the angels who have power to bind a man to a woman, and vice versa, a woman to a man, and especially those four spirits who hold dominion and power over those spirits in the four parts of the globe, to wit, Astaroth, Aroch, Godras, [and] Vynicon.' Say this prayer three [more] times [to north, east, and west]. Then say the following [Latin] conjuration, turning first to the south: "O Astaroth, prince of the south, I conjure you with all the [spirits] under your command, who have power to compel the love of a woman or a man, by Alpha and Omega, the first and last, Abios, Abics, Rubeus, Rubet, Caste, Hely, Messias, Sabaoth, Adonay, Sother, Emanuel; I conjure you, N.; by the Annunciation of our Lord Jesus Christ; by his Passion; by his Resurrection . . . by the head of your prince and King Lucifer . . . and by all the infernal powers by whom you can be conjured and entreated, that you should withdraw from your proper place in the south and [carry out my command]."[40]

The case at Tournai is in at least one respect typical necromantic practice : the alleged perpetrator was a cleric. Similarly, the use of Latin formulas in the Dutch experiment suggests that the intended user was clerical, even if he was not in major orders. Analogous cases are easily adduced. When the Carmelite friar Peter Recordi was tried by an inquisitorial tribunal at Carcassonne in 1329, he confessed that over five years he had performed terrible conjurations over wax images, smeared and sprinkled with blood from a toad and from his own nostrils, all as sacrifice to the Devil. He then placed the images beneath thresholds of women he wanted to seduce, and thus he had his way with three women and had been on the verge of success with others. He had believed that these images held power to coerce women, or, if the victims were refractory, to bring down upon them affliction at the hands of demons. On one occasion he pierced one of the images in its stomach, and blood oozed out.[41] Again, an English chaplain named William Netherstreet was charged in 1377 with using 'conjurations and incantations' to bring a married woman to his chamber at night so he could 'take her violently in adultery'. He protested his own innocence.[42]

In other cases it was non-clerical males who were charged with using specifically demonic magic for love. At Carcassonne in 1410, Geraud Cassendi, a notary, was tried by an inquisitor for invoking demons as a means for debauching women and girls. He was said to have placed on his shirt gold scrapings from an image of the Virgin. Then he invoked demons with conjurations read from a book, but when a swarm of evil spirits actually appeared, a witness to the rite was so terror-struck that he hurled a shoe at them and bade them withdraw, which they did. On another occasion as well Cassendi is supposed to have gone into the woods and invoked demons.[43] And when the inquisitor Piero di ser Lippo wrote to the government of Siena in 1382 about magicians in the village of

Rugomagno, he reported that one Agnolo di Corso had worshipped and invoked Satan and Beelzebub, and had invoked demons to kill people and to compel men to go to women.[44]

To be sure, there are cases in which women, too, were said to use specifically demonic magic for erotic effect. In 1324 Alice Kyteler was charged with using 'the intestines and innards of cocks sacrificed . . . to demons', with other materials, partly for erotic magic,[45] and a woman tried by Heinrich Kramer at Innsbruck in 1485 was said to have instructed others in the art of invoking the devil to arouse love or illness.[46] In these cases it seems less clear that the demonic element was explicit, that the women were in fact making use of necromantic techniques, and that their magic was marked with the same degree of ritual complexity as can be seen in the clerical practice of erotic necromancy. What is perhaps more likely is that women's natural magic was being interpreted as if it were similar to the demonic magic more often practiced by clerics and at times by other men.

AN EROTIC EXPERIMENT IN THE MUNICH HANDBOOK

Our necromantic manual in Clm 849 includes four experiments said to induce love – one may assume sexual compliance is the main intent – and at least three of them are complex rituals analogous to the erotic necromancy seen in the judicial records. The first of these experiments (no. 3) is in one sense the least violent: rather than inflicting physical harm on the woman's image, the master afflicts it with a kind of spiritual harm by inscribing on it the names of demons which are to afflict her. In any case, the writer has no scruples at all about bringing severe psychological pressure to bear in his magical seduction:

> When you wish to have the love of whatever woman you wish, whether she is near or far, whether noble or common, on whatever day or night you wish, whether for the furtherance of friendship or to its hindrance, first you must have a totally white dove and a parchment made from a female dog that is in heat, from whom it is most easily to be had [*de qua est habere leuissimum*]. And you should know that this kind of parchment is most powerful for gaining the love of a woman. You should also have a quill from an eagle. In a secret place, take the dove and with your teeth bite into it near the heart,[47] so that the heart comes out, and with the eagle's quill write on the parchment with the [dove's] blood the name of her whom you wish, and draw the image of a naked woman as best you can, saying, 'I draw so-and-so, N., daughter of so-and-so, whom I wish to have, in the name of these six hot spirits, namely Tubal, Satan, Reuces, Cupido, Afalion, Duliatus, that she may love me above all others living in this world.'
>
> When you have done this, write on the forehead her name and the name

'Tubal', saying, 'You are so-and-so, daughter of so-and-so, from now on disposed to my will, and you are Tubal [inscribed] on her forehead. I command you to remain, binding the senses of her head and causing her to love me alone.'

Then write on her right arm 'Satan', and on her left arm 'Reuces'. When these [names] have been written, say, 'As you, Satan, and you, Reuces, are inscribed on this image made in the name of so-and-so, may you so afflict her arms without delay, so that she can do nothing but desire to embrace me.'

When you have this, write your own name near the heart of the image, saying, 'As I am on the heart of this image, may so-and-so, N., thus have me in her heart day and night.'

When you have done this, write on the genitals of the image the name 'Cupid', saying, 'As you, Cupid, are on the genitals of this image, may you thus remain always on the genitals of so-and-so, arousing her so that she despises all men of this world and desires me alone, and may the fire of love for me torment and inflame her.'

When you have done this, write on the right leg 'Afalion', and on the left leg 'Duliatus'. When these have been written, say, 'As you Afalion, and you Duliatus, are inscribed on this image, may you sit on the legs of so-and-so, afflicting her legs with such vehement love for me that she has no wish or desire to go anywhere but here.'

When you have said this, take the image with both hands, kneel, and say, 'I have drawn the heart and mind of so-and-so with this image, and with powerful invocation I arouse her to love, desire, and yearn for me, and to have me in mind all night in her sleep, through Our Lord Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns and commands forever.'

When you have said this, take myrrh and saffron, kindle a fire, and fumigate the image, saying this conjuration: 'I conjure all you demons inscribed on this image, by your lords to whom you are bound in obedience - Sobedon, Badalam and Berith - that you should inflame so-and-so, whose image is designed in this name, to love of me, so that day and night she may think of me, [and] may hope for me, until she fulfils my will with ardor [*cum affectu*]. And as you are inscribed and fixed on this image, may you thus dwell in her until I do with her whatever I wish.'

When you have said this conjuration three times, and made the fumigation, take a hair from the tail of a horse and suspend the parchment with this hair, so that it moves in the air, and let it hang. On that day, or the next, or some other, or whenever you can, go to that woman, and without doubt she will be very glad to see you, and will say she cannot live without you. And this will occur immediately, and she will do your heart's desire, and will love you above all things for all eternity.

If you keep this image formed in her name, in which there is such power, you

will obtain from it, more wondrous yet, this sign: before you have seen her, as soon as this image is made, when you proceed toward her she will be so enamoured [*filocapta*] of you that when she sees you, you will not withdraw from her company deprived, but rather you will attain satisfaction in whatever you desire. If you cannot approach her, whether from fear or because of distance or any other obstacle, you can still have her brought by the aforesaid demons, who are so effective that if you were in the east, within an hour they could carry her without danger from the west, and likewise they could return her, without exposure.

The image having been made as has been said, and suspended on a particular day, at any hour of the day, you may blow on it so that it moves with your breath, and likewise on the second and third day. On the night of the third day, or on the day itself, either alone or with three faithful companions, take the image and hang it around your neck with the [horse's] hair, and have it lie on your chest. And take a sword and make with it a circle on the ground. When you have made the circle, stand inside it and summon your companions (if you have any), who should do nothing but stand in the circle and watch the spectacle [*ludum*] – but it is better if you do not have them. Take an iron stylus and trace [a band with names in it] round the circle, as is shown here, preserving constant silence.

The circle is shown as a single band containing the names Rator, Lampoy, Despan, Brunlo, Dronoth, Maloqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascifin, Nartim and Lodoni. The centre of the circle is labelled 'Place of the Master'.

When you have done so, say this conjuration: 'I conjure you demons inscribed in this circle, to whom is given the power and capacity to seduce and bind in the love of men, by the virtue and power of the divine majesty; and by the thrones and dominations and powers and principalities of Him who spoke and they were made; and by those who ceaselessly cry with one voice, "Holy, holy, holy . . ."; and by these names which cause you terror, namely Rator, Lampoy, [etc.]; and by this ring that is here; and by the innumerable powers belonging to you and your superiors, that wherever you are, you should rise up from your places without delay and go to so-and-so, and immediately, without deception lead her here, and take her back when I wish. And let no one be aware of this or take account of it.'

When you have said this three times, gazing at a ring, you will hear a voice, saying, 'Behold, we are here!' Immediately you will see six handsome and gentle young men, saying to you with one voice, 'We are here, ready and willing to obey your command. Tell us what you wish, and at once we will do it.' You should say, 'Go to so-and-so and bring her to me without delay.' When you have said this, they will at once depart, and within an hour they will bring her without harm.

You should know that none of these [six] can enter the circle, but they will bring her to it and she will stretch out her hand to you, and you will draw her in. She will be a bit astonished, but quite willing to remain with you. I should inform you that it is better to make the circle as large as possible, because in it you can make a circle [*sic*], and in it you can stretch out more effectively. For if anything of yours [any part of your body?] should go outside the circle, it would be bad for you. When the woman has come, all the spirits will vanish.

You can keep the woman in the circle as long as you please. For when the woman has entered the circle, you should say to the spirits, 'Let one of you go to the place from which you brought so-and-so and remain there in [her] form while I have her here.' When you have said this, they will all depart in silence. On the day or night and month and year when it pleases you to have her return home, say, 'O you spirits, who brought so-and-so here, take her and carry her to her home. And whenever I wish her back, be compliant in carrying her here. Go, therefore, by the wondrous powers which you ineffably exercise.' When you have said this three times, five spirits will come and carry her off in your sight.

When she enters the circle and you greet her, remember to touch her with the image that you have around your neck, and on this account she will love you for all eternity and will not care to see anyone but you. While you are with the woman, the image which you should keep around your neck will always be invisible to the woman herself, and when she leaves you should take it from your neck and lay it aside carefully in some sort of vessel. When it is thus laid aside, erase the entire circle, and you may depart safely. And when you wish to have [her] again come to you, do as is said above.

And note that this experiment is most effective and is not at all dangerous. By this experiment alone, Solomon had whatever women he wished. And let this suffice on the subject of obtaining women. And it should be carried out with the greatest solemnity.

This experiment contains conjurations, but they play a less prominent role than the auxiliary magical techniques, especially the use of an image for sympathetic magic. The sympathetic identification of the image with the woman portrayed is accomplished solely through assignation of her name: the writer does not emphasize that the image should be in any way realistic (e.g., that it should have some specific feature in common with the prototype), nor does he advise that the image be baptized in the woman's name. The suspension of the image to be blown about freely in the air is reminiscent of a type of aeromancy catalogued by Johannes Hartlieb, involving the suspension of a wax image or *atzman*, left to blow in the wind so that the person in whose name it is prepared will thereby be afflicted.[48] The blood of a dove must be used here – and a dove must be offered as sacrifice in the amatory experiment from the *Liber de angelis*

given above – presumably because the dove is traditionally associated with Venus.[49]

The experiment contains an elaborate contingency procedure, used to fetch the woman, which differs markedly from the original sympathetic magic. The woman's image is still used: the experimenter wears it around his neck, although it is invisible to her; as she leaves the circle he touches her with it, and from then on she will love only him; when she departs, he should take it off and keep it safe in a vessel. For immediate purposes at hand, however, the image becomes less significant and the role of the demons becomes proportionally greater. It is the demons who fetch the woman in response to a conjuration, and it is a demon who takes the woman's place and prevents others from noting her absence. When the magician orders one of the spirits to go and take the woman's place and assume her form while she is absent, we have an element of illusionist magic embedded in an experiment designed mainly for psychological effect. Both the problem and the solution are obvious enough that it is not surprising to find parallels in other cultures. Thus, Krishna is said to have used his powers of illusion (*māyā*) to fashion replicas of his female devotees (the *gopīs*), so that when they went for trysts with him their doubles could lie beside their husbands.[50] The contingency procedure in the Munich experiment differs from the original formula also in its use of a circle, which is simple in form but important in its effects, serving both as a location for the conjuration and as a place for rendezvous with the woman.

The experiment is referred to as a kind of game or spectacle, a *ludus*, and any companions present are to serve merely as spectators, suggesting that the necromancer's initial ritual may have the character of a performance, contrasting sharply with the privacy of the tryst itself, the sexual games that follow, which not even the spirits may witness. That something more serious than a game is involved is suggested by the reference to the woman as *filocapta*, bound by love, a condition which the *Malleus maleficarum* speaks of as 'the best known and most general form of witchcraft'.[51]

AN EROTIC EXPERIMENT INVOLVING IMAGE MAGIC

For the next experiment in this category (no. 12) the manuscript once again proceeds directly to the instructions, without any introductory heading. The master must first obtain hairs from the woman he wishes to seduce,[52] plus other objects. Again he goes out with companions in the initial stage of the ritual itself. In contrast to the elaborate preparations, the heart of the ceremony is relatively simple, involving two sympathetic stages and a single conjuration.

Take virgin wax, rendered virginal by art [*ceram virgineam, arte virginizatam*], and do this on a Thursday or Sunday, at the hour of Venus or the hour of Jove; and from this wax make an image over burning coals placed in a pot, without smoke. And the master should have some of the hairs of the woman for whom he wishes to act, and three bristles of red hair, and you should have with you a knife with a white handle made for this purpose.[53] And go to the place where a craftsman makes needles, and have the same craftsman make them, from the hour of the Sun until the hour of Saturn. Then the master should take two faithful companions and go to a fruit-bearing tree, and the master should make a circle. And the master should begin this operation, making an image of the woman for whom you perform it, murmuring constantly in your heart, 'Thou, Belial, and thou Astaroth, and thou, Paymon, be my helpers in this undertaking.' Likewise, you should murmur the words, 'I, N., form this image for the love of so-and-so, that it may accomplish that for which it is made. And may thou, Belial, principal prince, be my helper in this undertaking.' Then the master should make the image of this wax, beginning at the hour of Jove, and proceeding until the hour of Saturn. And when the image has thus been made, the master should have nine needles made by an experienced craftsman, who should be bathed and dressed in sparkling clean [*nitidis*] garments when he makes them; he should make the needles from the hour of the Sun until the hour of Saturn. Then the master should fix the needles in the image, placing one in the head, another in the right shoulder, the third in the left, the fourth where people are accustomed to locate the heart, saying, 'Just as this needle is fixed in the heart of this image, so may the love of N. be fixed to the love of N., so that she cannot sleep, wake, lie down, sleep, [or] walk until she burns with love of me.' He should fix the fifth in the navel, the sixth in the thigh, the seventh in the right side, the eighth in the left, the ninth in the anus. When the image has thus been made, you should baptize [*christianizes*] it, giving it the name [of the woman] for whom you perform the operation, immersing it three times and saying, 'How shall it be called?', with the response, 'N.' And you should say, 'I baptize thee, N., in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.' And then place the image in a new and clean cloth, leaving it aside from the hour of the Sun until the hour of Mars. Then make this conjuration under the fruit-bearing tree, with the burning coals; turning toward the east, say, 'O so-and-so, N., I conjure your head, your hair, your eyes, your ears [etc.]. O N., I conjure your entire substance, that you may not sleep or sit or lie down or perform any work of craft until you have satisfied my libidinous desire. I conjure you by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit . . . I conjure you and exorcize you and command you, that as the deer yearns for a fountain of water [Ps. 41:2 Vulg.], so you, N., should desire my love. And as the raven desires the cadavers of dead men, so should you desire me. And as this wax melts before the face of the fire, so should N. [melt

in] desire for my love, so that she cannot, etc.'

The signs [to be sought in] the woman are these: solitude, dizziness [*inuolucio*] of the head, lamenting, sighing, beating [of the breast], wakefulness, [and] wailing. Then the master or the one who is taking action [viz., for whom it is performed?] should go to her, and if he sees her standing or sitting alone, then the master should continue the conjuration unto the fifth day. And if she is anywhere in the countryside, she will be consumed;[34] but if she is in a town or passing through another city, the master should perform the conjuration until she can come.

And in this all the Spanish, Arabic, Hebrew, Chaldaean, Greek and Latin astrological necromancers [*nigromantici omnes astrologyci*] are in accord. And this experiment was taken [from the book] *On the Secret Arts of the Imaginary Art*, [from the book] *On the Flouvrs of All Experiments*, etc.

In its general form this experiment bears a resemblance to a procedure well known in antiquity and described in a Greek magical papyrus: to obtain a woman, one makes wax or clay figures, one an armed and threatening man with sword in hand, the other a kneeling woman with hands behind her back. One then writes inscriptions on each member of her body, then pierces each with copper needles, thirteen in all, while saying, 'I am piercing your brain, N.', and so forth. Then one inscribes a lead sheet, affixes it with thread knotted 365 times, and places the ensemble beside the tomb of a person who has died a violent or untimely death. One version adds a further spell, which reads in part, 'Let her be in love with me, N. . . . Let her not . . . do anything with another man for pleasure, just with me alone, N., so that she, N., be unable to drink or eat, that she not be contented, not be strong, not have peace of mind, that she, N., not find sleep without me . . . and do not allow her, N., to accept for pleasure the attempt of another man, not even that of her own husband, just that of mine, N. Instead, drag her, N., by the hair, by the heart, by her soul, to me, N., at every hour of life, day and night, until she comes to me, N., and may she, N., remain inseparable from me.' There is also archeological evidence for such procedures; for example, one Egyptian statue of a naked woman, pierced with thirteen needles, was discovered in a clay pot and is now in the Musée du Louvre.[35] This does not mean there are specific connections between texts of late antiquity and the prescriptions of the Munich handbook; rather the Munich compilation supports its conjurations with a variety of techniques, some of which are widely diffused and of considerable antiquity.

Among the many further parallels to this experiment is a fifteenth-century version given in a mixture of Hebrew and Yiddish. The magician is told to make a female image of virgin wax, showing the sexual organs clearly delineated, and resembling the woman to be enchanted. On both the breast and the back he

should write 'N., daughter of N. [father] and N., daughter of N. [mother].' He must recite the words, 'May it be Thy will, O Lord, that N. daughter of N. burn with a mighty passion for me.' Then buries the figure for a time, then washes it in the name of Michael, in that of Gabriel, and in that of Raphael, places it in urine, then dries it off. The image being thus prepared, the magician may use it when he wishes to cause the woman pain, by piercing a needle into whatever part of her body he wishes to afflict, presumably as a way of bending her to his will, very much in keeping with the violent and coercive tendencies generally found in such magic.[56]

It is entirely possible that the piercing with needles was itself meant or taken to have direct sexual significance,[57] but more fundamentally it was a kind of magical acupuncture intended to cause suffering that could only be alleviated through sexual compliance. The piercing with needles is thus no different in principle from that in image magic intended to work bodily harm or death, although here the affliction could be relieved through submission. It is not that the magician brings about bodily pain that is extrinsically related to the erotic goal and can be cured by compliance, nor is it the case that the magic arouses pleasurable feelings of passion. Rather, the sexual passion aroused by the ritual is itself a kind of suffering for which the woman must obtain relief. The victim of magic cannot sleep, sit down, lie down, or pursue any activity until she relents, because she is compelled to share in the obsessive passion of her pursuer.[58] Her state is almost a parody of the mystic's absorption in the Beloved, of Mechthild of Magdeburg's mystical love-sickness: 'I cannot rest, I burn without respite in Thy flaming love.'[59] But, as Richard of Saint-Victor insisted, such obsession was as debasing in human relations as it was elevating in relations with God; that it should be magically induced by experiments such as those in the Munich handbook is a possibility Richard may never have entertained.[60]

EROTIC EXPERIMENTS INVOLVING RITUALS WITH BONES

Two experiments (nos 13 and 35) involve inscribing letters and names on bones and then subjecting the bones to fire. The first is designed primarily to constrain a woman's or man's will, presumably again with erotic intent (the relevant sections are indicated below with [A]), although the experiment may be adapted for constraining a beast [B] or a spirit [C] as well.

> By this experiment a person, woman, man, spirit, [or] beast of any condition is constrained.
>
> These names must be written in this manner on a shoulderblade.
>
> When all this is finished, choose which [variant] you want. If you wish to constrain any spirit, write his name on the shoulderblade between B and E, and in the name which is Bel. If you wish to constrain any man, write his

name between L and A. And if you wish to constrain any beast, write its name between A and N, and its colour. For spirits and for men and for women, this is to be done at the same hour in which the shoulderblade has been prepared, and it is necessary at the outset to seek out wood from a white thorn or wood floating on water, and make fire with it, and collect coals and place them in a new pot, and gradually place the shoulderblade on them, and gradually increase the fire, until the shoulderblade becomes hot.

And then invoke the aforesaid spirits, and say this conjuration: 'Asyel, Castiel, Lamisniel, Rabam, Erlain, [and] Belam, I command you' – [A1] If [the operation is] for a man or a woman whom you wish to arouse to love for you, say, 'that you should at once, etc.', as given below. [B] If [it is] for a spirit, name that spirit whom you wish, that he may come to you openly, humbly, with comely visage, and gentle speech, saying, 'I conjure you, Asyel, etc., that you should make spirit N., who has power over all that I wish to ask of him, come to me openly, humbly, with gentle speech, in the form that I have specified – that is, of a comely soldier – to carry out all that I wish to command him.' [A2] And if you wish to do this for a man or a woman, first make known to him where you can be found, for he [or she] will go mad with fury on not being able to find you. [C] If [it is] for a beast, [say,] 'I conjure the aforesaid spirits that they should constrain this beast' which you wish, that it may be unable to depart from the place in which it is until you wish.

The experiment concludes with the conjuration used to constrain a man or woman:

'Asyel, Castiel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Elam, Belam, I conjure you by the true God . . .; likewise, I conjure you by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit . . ., and by this conjuration I command you to seduce the heart and mind of N. to love me, immediately and swiftly and at once and without delay. And just as this shoulderblade grows hot and burns, so may you cause him or her, N., to burn and grow hot with the fire of love for me, and in such a way that he [or she] may not be able to rest until completing my will. In the name which is Bel, etc.'

The figure depicted is in the shape of a shield, representing the shoulderblade, divided into sixteen horizontal bands, with one vertical band down the centre. Horizontal bands bear the names Asyel, Castyel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Olam and Belam. In the vertical band are the letters A-B-E-L-A-N. Across the intersection of the vertical band and the twelfth horizontal band *Leo* is written. To the side is a note: 'Likewise note that this shoulderblade should be from an ass, a hare, a goose or a capon, according to its diverse [uses].'

The second of these experiments is somewhat simpler, and more unambiguously erotic. The magician compels a woman to passionate love by writing the names of the 'infernal spirits' Bel and Ebal on a rib, and in between his own name and that of the woman he wishes to seduce. Then he burns the rib, and when it is hot he should conjure Bel and Ebal not to rest until they cause the woman's heart to burn, so that she cannot sleep, wake or do anything else until she fulfils his desire. Again, therefore, we find the emphasis on compelling the woman's compliance through erotic affliction, aroused through means that are straightforwardly violent both on the symbolic plane and in their bodily and psychic effect.

In general, then, these psychological experiments are the most manipulative and abusive materials in the necromancer's handbook, and they are quite unabashedly so. The formulas give no hint of a guilty conscience, and they show no awareness of the incongruity involved in appealing to the power of the sacred for the ends here sought. With no evident sense of irony, the writer can recommend formulas such as, 'I conjure you demons inscribed in this circle, to whom is given the power and capacity to seduce and bind in the love of men, by the virtue and power of the divine majesty . . .' Even merely to read the illusionist experiments might be entertaining, and the divinatory ones might be perceived as useful means for gaining true knowledge, but the rituals for psychological magic could claim little by way of redeeming social importance, and thus they help to clarify the aversion to magic found in most of late medieval society. Yet these rites are interesting, in large part because of the way they fuse relatively simple and largely perennial conceptions of image magic with the formulas of Latin conjuration or exorcism derived more specifically from clerical culture. Guichard of Troyes and Eleanor Cobham were accused of employing both learned male magicians and popular female ones, but the psychological rites of the Munich handbook represent with particular clarity the mingling of magical traditions and ritual forms.

Notes

1 See Robert Mathiesen, 'Magic in Slavia Orthodoxa: the written tradition', in Henry Maguire, ed., *Byzantine Magic* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995), 174–6.

2 Domenico Mammoli, *The Record of the Trial and Condemnation of a Witch, Matteuccia di Francesco, at Todi, 20 March 1428* (Rome: Res Tudertinæ, 1972), trans. (with slight adaptation), pp. 28–40.

3 John G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 21.

4 *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the* Ghayat Al-Hakim, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986), and 'Thabit ibn Qurra's *De imaginibus*', in Francis J. Carmody, *The Astronomical Works of Thabit b. Qurra* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 180–97.

5 Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.xi.45, fols 134v–139; Juris G. Lidaka spoke about this manuscript and gave a transcription of the text at the International Congress on Medieval Studies at

Kalamazoo, Michigan, 4 May 1995. The manuscript is associated with 'Bokenham', but its connection with Osbern Bokenham or any other individual is unclear.

6 Abel Rigault, *Le procès de Guichard évêque de Troyes, 1308–1313* (Paris, 1896). Cf. Guillaume Mollat, 'Guichard de Troyes et les révélations de la sorcière de Bourdenay', *Moyen Age*, 21 (ser. 2, 12) (1908), 310–14; Conrad Eubel, 'Vom Zaubereiunwesen anfangs des 14. Jahrhunderts (mit urkundlichen Beilagen)', *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 18 (1897).

7 George Lyman Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929; repr. New York: Russell & Russell, 1956), 81–84.

8 A partly conjectural reading of *duos lapides vivos et rotundos* [*rotundos?*] *eius ponderis, qui debent esse fluminei.*

9 I am reading *limen* for *limes* throughout.

10 For *quo eos reliquum in innumerabili odio rebellis affligat.*

11 For *et maxime quando est in combustione, et ire versus solis ortum facies.*

12 Ugolino Nicolini, 'La stregoneria a Perugia e in Umbria nel Medioevo: con i testi di sette processi a Perugia e uno a Bologna', *Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria*, 84 for 1987 (1988), 30–38.

13 T.H. White, trans. and ed., *The Book of Beasts, being a translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), 79–80, says nothing whatever about the camel's urination, but one is presumably to imagine the man crouching with knees bent outward.

14 Lynn Thorndike described this portion of the MS in his article, 'Imagination and magic: force of imagination on the human body and of magic on the human mind', in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, 7 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1964), 353–8.

15 *Picatrix*, 161.

16 *Picatrix*, pp. 16 (friendship, love), 17 (obedience), 18 (destruction), 18–19 (construction), 19 (separation, wrath of king, release, flight), 20 (scorpions), 21 (love, destruction), 22 (fertility).

17 Edward Peters, *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 110–37.

18 Bodleian Library, MS Wood empt. 18, fol. 32r. On the famous SATOR-AREPO square see especially Heinz Hofmann, *Das Satorquadrat: Zur Geschichte und Deutung eines antiken Wortquadrats* (Bielefelder Papiere zur Linguistik und Literaturwissenschaft, 6) (Bielefeld: Universität Bielefeld, Fakultät für Linguistik und Literaturwissenschaft, 1977) and Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 77–8.

19 Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 219, fol. 186v.

20 Taking *semissi* for *semissis*, genitive of *semis*, a coin.

21 Jerry Stannard, 'Greco-Roman material medica in medieval Germany', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 46 (1972), 467.

22 E.g., British Library, Sloane MS 38, fols 24v (*multa mirabilia que videbis*) and 25v (*in ista operacione videbis mirabilia*); *De Nigromancia of Roger Bacon*, ed. and trans. Michael-Albion Macdonald (Gillette, N.J.: Heptangle, 1988), 81; *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the* Ghayat Al-Hakim, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986), 18–19. See also Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, V. 1, lines 11–12. For an off-colour adaptation of the theme see the text given in Charles Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), IX, p. 7.

23 W. Braekman, *Magische experimenten en toverpraktijken uit een middelnederlands handschrift* (Ghent: Seminarie voor Volkskunde, 1966), 38–40 (also published separately in *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1966, 53–118). On the concept of lovesickness, see Mary Frances Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: The* Viaticum *and its Commentaries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

24 I have discussed the topic in my article, 'Erotic magic in medieval Europe', in Joyce Salisbury, ed., *Sex in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays* (New York: Garland, 1991), 30–55, giving fuller discussion and documentation. Ioan P. Couliano, *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance*, trans. Margaret Cook (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), interprets certain dimensions of the subject. See also Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (FF Communications, 204) (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Akademia Scientiarum Fennica, 1969), 242, nos 3,093 and 3,126. For early examples see, e.g., Marvin Meyer and Richard Smith, eds, *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (1994), 147–69.

25 John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal* Libri poenitentiales *and Selections from Related Documents* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 90; cf. 252, 305; *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Leges*, sect. 2, 2, ed. Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause (Hannover: Hahn, 1897), 44. The most famous literary example is in *The Romance Tristan & Iseult, as Retold by Joseph Bedier*, trans. Hilaire Belloc and Paul Rosenfeld (New York: Thistle Press, 1960) (and many other translations); see Dorothy James Roberts, *The Enchanted Cup* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953). De La Warr Benjamin Easter, 'A Study of the Magic Elements in the *Romans d'aventure* and the *Romans Bretons*' (Johns Hopkins University diss., 1905), 70–73, cites the love potions in *Cligès*, the *Tristan* romances of Thomas and Béroul, *Partonopeus*, and *La Violette*, and an ambiguous potion in *Dolopathos*.

26 Albertus Magnus, *Book of Minerals*, trans. Dorothy Wyckoff (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 73; Michael R. Best and Frank H. Brightman, eds, *The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus of the Virtues of Herbs, Stones and Certain Beasts, also A Book of the Marvels of the World* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 21; Evans, *Magical Jewels*, 197; Joan Evans and Mary S. Serjeantson, eds, *English Mediaeval Lapidaries* (Early English Text Society, orig. ser., 190) (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 59, 68.

27 P.V. Taberner, *Aphrodisiacs: The Science and the Myth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 58; Lynn Thorndike, *The History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Macmillan and Columbia University Press, 1923–58), vol. 2, 555.

28 *Book of Secrets*, ed. Best and Brightman, 81; British Library, Sloane MS 3132, fols 56r–56v; Wardale, 'A Low German-Latin miscellany', 17; Alan Hull Walton, *Aphrodisiacs: From Legend to Prescription: A Study of Aphrodisiacs Throughout the Ages, with sections on Suitable Food, Glandular Extracts, Hormone Stimulation and Rejuvenation* (Westport, CT: Associated Booksellers, 1958), 99; McNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, 196, no. 15 and n. 94; Aldo Cerlini, 'Una strega reggiana e il suo processo', *Studi storici*, 15 (1906), 67.

29 See, for example, John M. Riddle, *Marbode of Rennes' (1035–1123) De lapidibus, Considered as a Medical Treatise*, with C.W. King's translation (*Sudhoffs Archiv: Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Beiheft 20) (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977), 69, lines 445–46. Regarding vervain, see Henry Ellis, 'Extracts in prose and verse from and old English medical manuscript, preserved in the Royal Library at Stockholm', *Archaeologia*, 30 (1844), 395f.; W.L. Wardale, 'A Low German-Latin miscellany of the

early fourteenth century', *Niederdeutsche Mitteilungen*, 8 (1952), 11; British Library, Sloane MS 3,132, 56r-56v; Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS e Mus. 219, fol. 187v, and Wood empt. MS 18, fol. 33v.

30 *Book of Secrets*, ed. Best and Brightman, 8, 45, 91; Evans, *Magical Jewels*, 226; Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS e Mus. 219, fol. 186v (a series of characters to be placed beneath the threshold of a couple who have quarrelled).

31 Candida Peruzzi, 'Un processo di stregoneria a Todi nel "400"', *Lares: Organo della Società di Etnografia Italiana-Roma*, 21 (1955), fasc. I-II, 9–11; Cerlini, 'Una strega reggiana', 64f.

32 *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the* Ghāyat Al-Hakīm, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986), 16, 21, 70–72, 113, 115f., 130–32, 156f., 229, 233.

33 Gene A. Brucker, 'Sorcery in early Renaissance Florence', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 10 (1963), 10f.; C. Kayser, 'Gebrauch von Psalmen zur Zauberei', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 42 (1888), 460; Peter Browe, 'Die Eucharistie als Zaubermittel im Mittelalter', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 20 (1930), 134–54. For similar use of holy chrism see Cerlini, 'Una strega reggiana', 67.

34 Jerzy Zathey, 'Modlitwa z XIV wieku o charakterze zaklęcia, mająca zapewnić żonie miłość męża', *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, 34/35 (1984/85), 63–4; Peter Dronke, 'Towards the interpretation of the Leiden love-spell', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 16 (1988), 61–75.

35 Thomas of Britain, *The Romance of Tristram and Ysolt*, ch. 46, trans. Roger Sherman Loomis (New York: Dutton, 1923), 129–35. On the theme see especially Helen Cooper, 'Magic that does not work', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s., 7 (1976), 131–46.

36 Nicolaus Eymericus, *Directorium inquisitorum*, ii.43.8 (Rome: Georgius Ferrarius, 1587); translated in Alan C. Kors and Edward Peters, eds, *Witchcraft in Europe, 1100–1700: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), 84–92.

37 Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.xi.45, fols 137v–138.

38 Paul Fredericq, ed., *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae*, 1 (Ghent and The Hague, 1889–1906), 428f.

39 Braekman, *Magische experimenten*, 38–40.

40 The conjuration breaks off at this point.

41 Lea, *History*, vol. 3, 657–59. Cf. Hansen, *Quellen*, 449; Lea, *History*, vol. 3, 455f.

42 Margaret Aston, *Thomas Arundel: A Study of Church Life in the Reign of Richard II* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 63, 404f.

43 A. Germain, 'Inventaire inédit concernant les Archives de l'Inquisition de Carcassonne', *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de Montpellier*, 4 (1885), 305; reprinted in Hansen, *Quellen*, 454f.

44 Brucker, 'Sorcery', 19f., 23, from G. Sanesi, 'Un episodio d'eresia nel 1383', *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, 3 (1896), 384f.

45 Thomas Wright, ed., *A Contemporary Narrative of the Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler* (Camden Society, 24) (London: Nichols, 1843), 2.

46 Hartmann Ammann, 'Der Innsbrucker Hexenprocess von 1485', *Zeitschrift des Ferdinandeums für Tirol und Vorarlberg*, ser. 3, 34 (1890), 29.

47 See the experiment with a hoopoe heart mentioned in Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 142, from British Library, Sloane MS 3,132, fol. 56v.

48 Johann Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste, des Aberglaubens und der Zauberei*, ch. 79, ed. and trans. Falk Eisermann and Eckhard Graf (Ahlerstedt: Param, 1989), 90f. On the term *atzmann* in this

context see Leander Petzoldt, *Kleines Lexikon der Dämonen und Elementargeister* (Munich: Beck, 1990), 25–7.

49 For this suggestion I am indebted to John Leland.

50 See Edward C. Dimock, Jr., *The Place of the Hidden Moon: Erotic Mysticism in the Vaisnava – Sahajiya Cult of Bengal*, new edn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 202. I am grateful to Amy Ong for this reference.

51 *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.2.3, trans. Montague Summers (London: Rodker, 1928; repr. London: Pushkin, 1948), 170.

52 The manuscript does not say whether the hair is to be from the woman's head or from her pudenda. A famous instance of the magic requiring a woman's pubic hair occurred in the late sixteenth-century Scottish trial of Doctor Fian, who thought he had the hair of a young woman but in fact worked his magic over the hair from a cow, which became passionately attached to him; see James VI/I, *Demonologie, 1597* [*and*] *Newes from Scotland, Declaring the Damnable Life and Death of Doctor Fian* (Bodley Head Quartos, 9) (London: John Lane; New York: Dutton, 1924).

53 One might have expected a black-handled knife; see Richard P.H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988), 256, and Richard P.H. Greenfield, 'A contribution to the study of Palaeologan magic', in Henry Maguire, ed., *Byzantine Magic* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995), 142, n. 83.

54 Or perhaps, rather, 'if she is anywhere on Earth [*in terra ennino*]'; in either case, I am reading *consumetur* for *consumatur*.

55 PGM IV.296–329, in Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 44–7; also D.G. Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI.: A Greek Love Charm from Egypt (P. Mich. 757)* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1991), and John G. Gager, ed., *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), no. 27, pp. 94–97. For the Egyptian statue see Gager, *Curse Tablets*, p. 98, fig. 13.

56 Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Behrman, 1939; New York: Atheneum, 1970), 125–26. Cf. the love spell of Klaudianos, in Betz, pp. 141–2 (PGM VII.862–918), and the parallels in Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief*, 266–7.

57 Gager, *Curse Tablets*, 81.

58 For one precedent see Meyer and Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*, 159.

59 *The Revelations of Mechthild of Magdeburg (1210–1297), or The Flowing Light of the Godhead*, ii.25, trans. Lucy Menzies (London: Longmans, 1953), 54–8.

60 Richard of Saint-Victor, 'Of the Four Degrees of Passionate Charity', in *Selected Writings on Contemplation*, trans. Clare Kirchberger, (New York: Harper, 1957), 213–33.

5

LEARNING HIDDEN AND FUTURE THINGS: DIVINATORY EXPERIMENTS

A fifteenth-century manuscript from Yorkshire tells of a lord from whom food had been stolen.[1] As it happened, a labourer employed in digging, referred to as 'a great worker and eater', was staying in a room in the lord's house, and when he was hungry he would slip downstairs to where meat was hanging, and would cook and eat it, even during Lent.

> The lord of the house, seeing that his meat was thus cut into, asked his servants about the matter. They all denied guilt and purged themselves with oaths, so he threatened to go to a certain necromantic wizard [*maleficum quendam nigromanticum*] and find out through him about this strange affair. On hearing this, the digger was terribly afraid, and went to the friars and confessed his offence in secret and received sacramental absolution. The lord of the house went as threatened to the necromancer, who anointed the fingernail of a young boy, then with his incantations inquired of him what he saw. [The boy] replied, 'I see a menial worker with clipped hair.' [The necromancer] told him, 'Conjure him, then, to appear to you in the most comely form that he can assume.' And the boy did so, and then declared, 'Look at that! I see a really beautiful horse!' And then he saw a man with the appearance of the aforesaid digger going down stairs and cutting off pieces of meat, with the horse following him. And the cleric [i.e., the necromancer] inquired, 'What are the man and the horse doing now?' And the boy replied, 'Look at that! He is cooking and eating those pieces of meat!' [The necromancer] asked further, 'And what is he doing now?' And the boy said, 'They are going to the church of the friars, and the horse is waiting outside, and the man is going in and kneeling and speaking with one of the friars, who is putting his hand on his head.' Again the cleric asked the little boy, 'What are they doing now?' [The boy] answered, 'Both of them have just vanished from my eyes. I cannot see them any more, and I have no idea where they have gone.'[2]

The manuscript clearly suggests not only that such divination can in principle work, but that it works through the cooperation of demons: it gives the tale the caption, 'How a penitent thief after confession vanished from the eyes of a demon', which is to say that the demon who was providing information through the boy could no longer do so once the thief had been absolved. As in other tales

of the later Middle Ages, it is assumed that the demon has a certain power over a soul in a state of sin, and the capacity to know the sins in some detail, but the wiping away of sins through sacramental confession removes them from the sphere of demons' knowledge.[3] The narrator also assumes the reader will expect a necromantic wizard to be a cleric: the fact is mentioned quite incidentally, after the story is well under way, as a fact the reader might be trusted already to have known.

The form of magic here related figures prominently in John of Salisbury's catalogue of divinatory techniques in his *Policraticus*. When John himself was studying Latin grammar as a boy, the priest who taught him made John and a fellow pupil participate in such activities. The priest anointed the boys' fingernails, or used a polished basin, to provide a reflecting surface in which figures might be seen. He then recited incantations, which led the fellow pupil to see 'misty figures', although John himself saw nothing.[4] One entry in Robert Reynys's commonplace book reveals that unfallen angels as well as demons could be invoked by such means. In Reynys's version of the ceremony, the conjurer takes a child between seven and thirteen years of age, places the lad between his legs, winds a red silk thread around his thumb, scrapes his thumbnail clean, and writes on it the letters 'AGLA'. He then says devoutly, 'Lord Jesus Christ, king of glory, send us three angels to tell us the truth and not falsehood in all matters about which we shall inquire.' Three angels will appear in the boy's nail. The boy then repeats a formula addressed to these angels: 'Angels of the Lord, I command you by God the Father almighty, who created you and us out of nothing, and by the virginity of Blessed Mary and Blessed John the Evangelist and of all virgins, and by the virtues of all the holy names of God, to show us the truth and not falsehood in all matters about which we shall inquire.'[5]

The general term for such divination is 'scrying', which is sometimes subdivided into specific forms such as catoptromancy (divination by means of a mirror), crystallomancy (by a crystal), cyclicomancy or lecanomancy (by a cup or basin filled with liquid), hydromancy (by water in a natural body), onychomancy (by an anointed nail); 'catoptromancy' is sometimes also used as the generic term.[6] Synodal legislation as early as the fifth century condemned *speculanii* who engaged in these practices, and the condemnation was often repeated. The *Fasciculus morum* condemns those *phitonici* and *specularii* who gaze into mirrors, bowls, polished fingernails, and so forth, and claim that marvellous things are thus revealed to them.[7] In 1311 the bishop of Lincoln instructed one of his officials to investigate people who were practising divination by conjuring spirits in their fingernails and in mirrors, as well as in stones and rings.[8] Surely the most famous of these reflecting surfaces is John Dee's 'show-stone', through which Edward Kelly and other mediums communicated with angels.[9] One particularly dramatic notion about the magical properties of mirrors is the legend, most famously associated with Virgil, of a far-seeing mirror by which a ruler could

guard his realm.[10] But the notion of perceiving hidden and future realities in a mirror receives its ultimate extension in the Neoplatonic notion of the divine mind itself as a mirror in which particularities can be foreseen, so that it can be said of a saint with the gift of prophecy that 'in the mirror of divinity everything to be was present to him'.[11]

Johannes Hartlieb tells how a *zaubermaister* stands behind a child and recites secret words into his ear in the practice of hydromancy. In pyromancy as well, he says, the master may set an innocent child in his lap and lift his hand so he can see the fingernails; then he conjures the child and his nail with a long conjuration and recites three secret words into his ear. The master may take oil and soot from a pan and anoint the hand of an innocent girl or boy so that it shines brightly, then he speaks secret words into the child's ear, thus making a vow and forming a pact. Another form of pyromancy involves engraving many characters and figures around a steel mirror, then whispering secret words into the ear of boy as a prelude to interrogation. Alternatively, the child may be made to gaze at a polished sword – Hartlieb knew one great prince who used an old executioner's sword for this purpose – or a crystal. When the master is interrogating the boy, he asks if he sees an angel; if so, he asks what colour. If the angel is red that means he is angry, or if black he is very angry, and they must pray more, light more candles, and offer more incense and other gifts to assuage his anger, until the angel who appears is white. Hartlieb, echoing the much earlier judgement of John of Salisbury, confirms the conventional wisdom when he speaks of such dealings with young children as a form of abuse: 'I was often witness to such proceedings and established that the children by exposure to such words suffered not insignificant harm'.[12]

Writers might differ in their interpretation of these phenomena. Ibn Khaldûn explained the scryers' visions as products of their imaginations: the scryer does not actually see a vision on the reflecting surface, but rather imaginative phantoms are projected outward from the eyes onto a sort of misty veil that forms between the eyes and the object.[13] The related interpretation summarized by Pedro García in the late fifteenth century was perhaps more influential and deserves to be quoted at some length:

> From what has been said and from the conclusions reached [in the preceding discussion] it is clear that divination of occult things and the wonders of magical art are brought about by the aid of demons. But because the proponents of natural magic attempt to reduce [the works of magic] to purely natural causes, we must inquire whether the divination of hidden affairs and the accomplishment of wondrous works can be done thru the power of nature. Let us first ask about the divination of hidden matters, concerning which some people say and write that a person can know and divine hidden things naturally, through the power of the soul. The first manner [of doing so] is by

gazing at luminous bodies and instruments. The principle here is that the *acies* of the human mind in one who gazes on such instruments reflects back upon itself, for the luminosity of the instrument prevents direction or concentration of the mind on exterior things, and repels it, and turns it back upon itself, so that it is forced to gaze upon itself. Thus, according to the philosophy of Plato, if it is purged and cleansed of defilements, which come from the body and cling to the soul, they see as in a clear and clean mirror, and when they inquire about all hidden things, or some portion of them, or some particular hidden thing, it is no surprise that the soul, turned back into itself, should see such hidden things, for according to Plato the human soul is created fully inscribed with the forms of all knowable things, in respect of its intellectual power . . .

Thus it is, according to the opinion of these magicians, that these luminous bodies function, and particularly mirrors. When the soul of the gazer is turned back on itself, it absorbs the attention and fixes the *acies* of the intellect in its inward turning, and the more inwardly it is fixed, the more fully and clearly it turns upon itself and knows and divines hidden things - and the more it is filled within by God, so that the beholding is turned into the soul, which can be so turned in to itself and as it were recollected within itself,[14] that the recollection becomes rapture or a state near to rapture, or ecstasy or a condition near to ecstasy. Thus, those who operate in works of this kind close the eyes of children, and hold their eyes tightly closed after they have seen such revelations, until the soul has returned from this recollection to its original state and is extended in the usual manner throughout the body and its organs - which is to say, until it recovers its powers and the organs from which it appears to have withdrawn, at least somewhat. Otherwise, it is said, there is threat of danger to the body of the child, or perhaps madness. According to the philosophy of the Platonists, this is one manner of saving the divinations of hidden matters through [demonstration] of purely natural causes without any aid of demons, explicit or secret.[15]

García goes on to refute these claims, chiefly by mounting an explicitly Aristotelian refutation of what he takes as standard Platonist psychology; most fundamentally, he denies that the mind is capable of grasping truth by being directed to innate knowledge found within itself. Both Ibn Khaldûn and García's opponents believe divination can be explained in natural terms, but the mechanisms they posit are different. For Ibn Khaldûn (a rationalist intending to deflate the claims of magicians to preternatural knowledge) attention is focused on an outward substance that reflects projections of the mind, while for the adversaries of García (Platonist mages intending to defend their practice against the charge of demonic inspiration) it is directed instead within the mind itself. Neither view sufficed to convince most contemporaries that the mind could so readily be converted into an instrument of divination without demonic aid – but

the very attempt to formulate an explanation in natural terms is historically interesting, whether the point is to debunk the supernatural pretensions of the diviners or to defend the validity of the art.

Perhaps most often, those who wrote about these matters did so to condemn them and warn of their danger. This was the point of John of Salisbury's tale of his own early experience. Nicolas Oresme, too, warned that if young boys stared for long intervals into polished surfaces they might become blind; worse, they might suffer disfigurement of their faces and disturbing changes in their personalities.[16]

Judging from the cases reported in the judicial records and chronicles – and judging also from the experiments contained in the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript – divination of this sort seems to have been used mostly to recover lost or stolen goods. At London in 1311, unspecified offenders were investigated for invoking spirits to appear in fingernails, mirrors, stones, rings, and so forth, to reveal the future or the location of lost objects.[17] When a band of monks and canons wished to recover stolen money near Paris in 1323, their plans involved standing in a circle made from the skin of a cat: within that circle they were to invoke the demon Berith, who would answer their inquiries.[18] In 1419 a chaplain named Richard Walker was arrested by the prior of Winchester and tried for using magical arts, the evidence against him included two books containing conjurations and figures, and he acknowledged that he had attempted to use the experiments in one of his books, but to no avail, so he did not believe in their power.[19] In 1440 the Augustinian canons at Leicester accused their own abbot, William Sadyngstone, of using such arts: when no one confessed to stealing certain funds, he had allegedly recited incantations, applied ointment to the thumbnail of a boy called Maurice, asked this medium what he saw there revealed, and learned that the culprit was one of the canons, Brother Thomas Asty. The other monks reported the incident to the bishop, who condemned the abbot for sorcery.[20] Again at Westminster during the 1450s, and at London repeatedly in the later fifteenth century, victims of theft were said to have solicited the services of alleged necromancers ('negremaunsers' or 'nigromansiers').[21]

The Devil being notoriously a liar and the father of lies, it is hardly surprising to find much concern with the question whether he could be constrained to tell the truth, even if their keen and subtle minds and long experience gave them command of exceptionally wide knowledge.[22] Peter Brown has spoken of exorcisms as forms of judicial torture, in which the demons, like criminals, were compelled even against their will to confess what they knew.[23] When the divination was intended to identify a thief, the obvious danger – and probably the chief reason for judicial action against the diviners – was that of false accusation. One is not surprised to read in the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, which is devoted mainly to this kind of magic, that the spirits must

be strictly enjoined not to defame any innocent parties.[24] The point is made forcefully in a story from Stephen of Bourbon, who does not hesitate to ascribe a diviner's revelation to demons, but argues how little the spirits can be trusted:

> While I was a student at Paris, one Christmas Eve when our companions were at Vespers, a certain most noted thief entered our hostel, and, opening the chamber of one of our fellows, carried off many volumes of law-books. The scholar would have studied in his books after the feast; and, finding them not, he hastened to the wizards, of whom many failed him, but one wrought as follows. Adjuring his demons and holding a sword, he made the boy gaze upon the blade; and he, after many things there seen, beheld at last by a succession of many visions how his books were stolen by one of our fellows, his own cousin, whom he thought the most upright of our fellowship; whom the possessor of the books slandered not only among the scholars but also among his friends, accusing him that he had stolen them. Meanwhile the aforesaid thief stole other things and was detected, whereupon he fled to a certain church where he lay in the belfry, and, having been duly examined, confessed all that he had stolen, and where, and what he had done with his thefts. When therefore certain scholars who lodged hard by our hostel had found by his means a mantle which they had lost and he had stolen, then he who had lost his books could scarce rest until he had gone to enquire of this thief; who answered and told him when and where he had taken his books, and the Jew's house where he had pledged them, where also my friend found them. This I have told that ye may clearly mark the falsehood of those demons who showed the vision in the sword-blade in order that they might slander that good man and break the bonds of charity between those kinsfolk, and bring the man who believed in them to eternal perdition, both him and his.[25]

Not surprisingly, the diviners themselves could be subject to prosecution on the ground of false accusation, as when the sum of £40 was stolen from John Haddon of Coventry in the mid-1480s, and he consulted necromancers to find the thieves; they charged one William Lee, a poor man, who had been seen wearing the same garments that the necromancers had determined were worn by the guilty parties. Lee petitioned on his own behalf, pleading that the accusation rested on false and illicit proceedings:

> Humbly showeth and pitiously complaineth unto your good lordship your daily orator William Lee of the city of Coventry, that where forty pounds of money was taken and withdrawn from one John Haddon of the said city, draper, as the said John hath reported and said, whereupon the said John, to get knowledge of the takers of the said money, caused certain persons using the crafts of sorcery, witchcrafts and necromancy [*Nygromancy*] to inquire by their

crafts of the takers of the said money, and thereupon the said persons using the said unlawful crafts advised and counseled the said John Haddon to take and examine your said orator for withdrawing of the said money, for as much as they perceived that your said orator used and wore such garments and clothing as they determined by their unlawful witchcrafts that the takers of the said money had and used at the time of the taking of the said money. And thereupon the said John Haddon, having no other cause against your said orator nor matter of suspicion, arrested and put in prison your said orator and kept him there by the space of a month and more. And after this the said John, having no other cause nor nothing of untruth could prove against your said orator, suffered him to depart and go at his large. And after this the said John Haddon, intending the further vexation and trouble of your said orator, made a plaint of trespass before the mayor and sheriffs of the said city against your said orator concerning the taking of the said money, supposing that your said orator the Wednesday next before the feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady last past took and bore away the said money. In the which plaint of trespass your said orator is like to be condemned, for as much as your said orator is in poverty and the said John Haddon is of great might and power and great alliance in the said city. Wherefore and for as much as the said cause of trespass and the said wrongful arresting and keeping of your said orator in prison was by means and judgment of the said persons using the said unlawful crafts of necromancy and witchcraft, to whom credence ought not to be given, for that is contrary to the faith of Holy Church. In consideration whereof that it would please your good lordship to grant a certiorare to be directed to the said mayor and sheriffs, etc.[26]

Divinatory conjuration could, of course, be used for other purposes as well, such as finding buried treasure. A group of men were tried in Norfolk in 1465 for using necromancy to discover such a trove. Allegedly they invoked and made sacrifice to accursed spirits. When a *spiritus aerialis* appeared, at Bunwell, they promised it the body of a Christian man in exchange for its leading them to treasure; the spirit revealed in a crystal the location of a hill filled with treasure, whereupon the adventurers baptized a rooster with a Christian name and sacrificed it to the spirit.[27] Thomas Forde was sentenced to the pillory at London in 1418 for having defrauded women by claims of magical power: he had extorted money from one woman, and attempted to gain her hand in marriage, by suggesting he could determine where her late husband had buried a chest containing over £200; he had told another of his victims that he could recover for her the gold cloth that had been stolen from her.[28] Other cases too may have involved a substantial measure of straightforwardly cynical charlatanry, but in these instances it seems all the more apparent. It is magic of this sort that gives rise to jest in the tale of Mary of Nijmeghen, where the Devil boasts:

> I am beginning to teach people how to find hidden treasure; and only yesterday it cost one of them his life. I told him where there was a treasure hidden and growing mouldy, in a stable, underneath a beam on which the whole weight of the stable was resting. I told him that he would have to dig deep into the ground, and he would find pound upon pound of the hidden treasure. At once he started to dig there, but as soon as he had dug so far that he undermined the beam and the posts supporting it, the beam fell to the ground and crushed this poor idiot under it![29]

At least in cases for detection of thieves, however, otherwise responsible individuals seem rather often to have placed credence in the claims of the diviners, perhaps because they were desperate, and perhaps because what they really sought was a way of persuading others to support a suspicion they themselves already harboured.

DIVINATORY EXPERIMENTS IN THE MUNICH HANDBOOK

The largest number of experiments in Clm 849, nineteen in all, is divinatory. While it is sometimes said that these experiments may be used for any of various purposes, the usual end is detection of a crime or criminal (usually a thief, less often a murderer) and recovery of stolen goods, more rarely to determine the location of hidden treasure. The text of one experiment (no. 25) insists that the procedure must not be used for any base or frivolous purpose, but only for a serious one, because one must not take the name of God in vain.

As for the techniques used in these experiments, the characteristic features in most of them are two. First, the primary magical technique is scrying, combined with conjurations; magic circles either are not used or have little significance.[30] Second, cooperation of a medium, usually a young boy, is vital; it is he alone who actually sees the spirits that are conjured.

Approximately half of these experiments entail the use of a circle or some other figure among the means for conjuring the spirits. The medium typically sees the spirits in a mirror, crystal, vessel, bone, polished thumbnail or fingernail. In most cases the medium must be a virginal boy, who actually sees and communicates with the spirits.[31] Sometimes we are told that he must be younger than twelve, and born of legitimate marriage.[32] Occasionally a girl may be used as well as a boy,[33] but this provision is relatively rare. The use of young and putatively innocent boys in divination must be seen as part of a broader clerical fascination with the ideal of innocent boyhood. In liturgical drama young boys dressed and acted 'in the manner of virgin women', at least in part 'to project the theme of virginity', as Nicholas Orme has phrased it.[34]

The use of a medium could well be a means for expression of socially shared convictions about the likeliest suspects, but it is not entirely obvious that this

mechanism came importantly into play. Because the ritual was private, it could more easily become a tool for the expression of individual prejudice and animosity. Yet the one who saw the visions was neither the client nor the master but instead a young boy, in all likelihood not one with a personal interest in the outcome of the experiment. Apart from the obvious matter of the youth's sacred non-sexuality, his youth may have been important mainly because it put him at some remove from the preformed judgements of the adult principals and made possible a relatively neutral accusation. It is, of course, also possible that the mere pretence of childish innocence, neutrality and distance from adult biases was more important than any real immunity of this sort.

EXPERIMENTS INVOLVING MIRRORS

In his account of scrying with a steel mirror, Johannes Hartlieb says, 'I have seen masters who maintain they can prepare mirrors such that any man or woman can see in them what they will.' He also says that other reflecting surfaces can be used; there are even priests who will use the very paten that serves at mass to hold the host; they believe (falsely, adds Hartlieb) that only angels and not demons can appear on such a consecrated object.[35] One might suppose that a mirror would make an ideal tool for divination that requires concentration on a reflective surface, because mirrors are designed specifically for reflection. A *modern* mirror, however, might be distinctly inappropriate for this purpose precisely because it reflects too well and too realistically, giving too little scope to imaginative play and the power of suggestion. Perhaps the mirrors used in divinatory experiments were less polished, but at least in some cases the magician is instructed to use a polished mirror. We must assume that the point was not for the child medium who gazed into the mirror to focus closely on his own face but to use the mirror as a means for perceiving more numinous revelations. To be sure, there are cultures in which the spectator's own face reflected in a mirror becomes a point of reference for visionary encounter; after staring for hours at one's own reflection one may identify one's face with that of an ancestor, or one may perceive it as a manifestation of one's own true, inner or archetypal self.[36] In the Munich manuscript, however, there is no suggestion that the medium's own realistic image plays any role whatever.

The handbook contains five such experiments: two versions of the Mirror of Floron (nos 18 and 19), the First Mirror of Lilith (no. 23), and two others (nos 20 and 33). The Mirror of Floron in its first version may serve as a useful introduction to these experiments:

> Have a mirror made of pure steel, measuring one palm around, with a handle for holding it, and have it bright and shiny like a sword. And have it made in the name of Floron, and around the rim of the mirror, on the part that is not

polished, have these ten names [Latranoy, Iszarin, Bicol, Danmals, Gromon, Zara, Ralkal, Sigtonia, Samah and Meneglasar] inscribed with ten characters, with the name of the aforesaid spirit [Floron] written in the middle. After it has been made, it should be anointed with pure and bright balsam, and fumigated with aloes, ambergris, myrrh and white frankincense.

When this has been done, the master of this work should sit and have this mirror held with both hands by a virgin boy before his chest. The master himself should be bathed and dressed in clean garments. Before he begins to exercise this work he should sprinkle in the air honey, milk and wine, mixed together in equal proportions, while saying, 'O Floron, respond quickly in the mirror, as you are accustomed to appear.'

When he has said this, he should read this conjuration before the mirror: 'Bismille araathe mem lismissa gassim gisim galisim darrgosim samaiaosim ralim ausini taxarim zaloimi hyacabanoy illete laytimi hehelmini betoymi thoma leminao vnuthomin zonim narabanorum azarethia thathitat hinanadon illemay sard lucacef illemegiptimi sitaginatim viaice hamtamice tatiala taltarini alaoht haleytum gaptametuntij morto orfail geibel huabaton albital hualepin halmagrilie hualeon huastanie hualtamemeth huatorzor illenie giptimi tatgnie gathegine lesuma lesanim aptasale albweroahit vlleath alfard vsemeth aptisile abfluwarth vllelath ant clulamoralie hahysitimi waleles lithimi caegine catlieginele mirabolamini abtasile albiwahith alleath halamaton vnitia gaytatalon huaia gay soze cemeselis phalmorath bethathure huaba lagis illemeammitimi gelgine gathegine lesmiraptalibe albiwath vleuth.'

When he has recited this conjuration, the master should look in the mirror, and he will see an armed knight seated on a horse, and his squire accompanying him. The knight will dismount from the horse and his squire will hold the horse. He will greet the knight [with the words], *se desperata, decentissime visibiliter greciomo.* And then the master may ask him about past, present and future things, and he will at once give full response in writing.

This should not seem unbelievable to you, whoever may execute this work, for when you have carried out these things nine times this same spirit will clearly reveal face to face, orally, all things which previously he has indicated in writing.

And so, when you have completed everything according to your will, command this spirit to withdraw in peace, and to return according to the command of his master when he is summoned.

The second version of this Mirror of Floron adds certain details: the mirror should be made on the first hour on Friday, under a waxing moon; the sculptor or workman must be chaste for nine days beforehand, must be bathed, and must

wear clean clothes; the words in which the master conjures the spirit are identified, implausibly, as 'Chaldean'; the master's greeting to the knight is *Parate insilitio gytromon*, which approximates an obviously meaningful statement even less than the greeting in the first version; and the knight who has at first answered questions in writing will answer *per exercicium* at night and orally throughout the day, revealing all things beneath the moon.

The First Mirror of Lilith (spelled *Lilit* or *Lylet*) is dedicated to this ancient Hebrew demon and to her followers and her 'knights' – although the text seems to slip into calling the spirit Bylet before the experiment is over.[37] The master commands these 'demons' to appear in non-threatening form and answer questions. The mirror itself can be made in the form of a shield, but need not be. The master prays to Lilith to come in her own appearance, not in that of ravens, conjuring her to sit with him whenever the master wants. She will appear in a mirror with two or more servants, and will tell the truth or give appropriate signs regarding a theft, murder, or other circumstance.

In one of the remaining experiments (no. 20) the master goes to a secret place at a conjunction of Venus and Jupiter, with burning candles and a polished steel mirror, made under a particular phase of the moon. He makes a circle, and puts the mirror on a piece of wood in the form of a knife. He implores God to make the mirror grow and become bright. Then he recites a brief conjuration three times, and the mirror will seem to grow and become bright. Many people will appear, as in a field. The master may ask them anything he wants, and will obtain an answer. After the first time, he may work this procedure whenever and wherever he wishes, though he must always do so in a secret place; once consecrated for that purpose, the mirror can be used repeatedly. In the other experiment (no. 33), the master smears olive oil on a mirror, says a doxology, enters a magic circle that is sprinkled with verbena, turns to the east, and conjures a spirit. When it comes, he conjures it to tell him the truth, without causing any harm. If the spirit refuses, the master reads the unbreakable 'bond of Solomon', an extended conjuration.

As in some of the illusionist experiments, spirits who appear to divulge information are here designated as knights. But three of these experiments are more distinctive in being given titles, taken from the chief spirits to whom they appeal, Lillith and Floron. The former is familiar from Hebrew tradition, while the latter is known from the writings of Cecco d'Ascoli.[38] The conjuration (and presumably also the greeting) in 'Chaldean' (actually garbled Arabic, as we shall see in Chapter 6) adds a touch of exoticism to some of these experiments. But perhaps the most curious feature, found in the Mirror of Floron, is the reference to the spirit's giving written responses, through a mechanism that is not clearly specified; perhaps the master is to see the spirit holding a written message for his inspection, or possibly patterns discerned on the surface of the mirror are to be interpreted as some form of writing.

EXPERIMENTS INVOLVING CRYSTALS

For the use of crystals and related objects in scrying, Johannes Hartlieb is again a helpful source of information:

> Some take a clear, fine, polished crystal or beryl and have it consecrated, then keep it clean, and lay incense, myrrh, and so forth on it. Then when they wish to exercise their art they wait for a clear day, or use a clean room with many consecrated candles. The masters go to a bathing room, taking an innocent child, and dressing themselves in pure white clothes. They sit down and speak magic prayers (*zauber bätt*), and burn magic offerings (*zauber opffer*), then order the boy to look into the stone and whisper secret words into his ear, which are allegedly most holy – but are indeed devilish words.[39]

The Munich handbook gives two divinatory experiments entailing the use of crystals, both of them extremely brief and simple. The implement used may be something like the legendary crystal ball; when the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript refers to crystals it speaks of them as 'stones', which surely were polished, whatever their shape. In one experiment (no. 24) the master first takes a crystal and washes it with wine, then he writes certain names of Christ on it with olive oil, and asks for two or three angels to appear in that crystal and reveal the truth to a virgin boy. The boy conjures these angels to come in the crystal so he may see them. When they come, the boy conjures them thrice to sit on golden seats and not withdraw from the crystal without the master's permission. For the other experiment (no. 25) the master takes a crystal in the form of a seal or mirror and places it in wax. Then he writes the name 'Honely' on it with oil. He prays Christ to bestow wondrous and useful powers upon this stone, as he has done to other stones, to herbs, and to certain words; the text refers to this prayer as a conjuration, but the writer does not have quite the temerity to conjure Christ himself. He does then conjure certain angels to come at once and appear in the crystal, and not withdraw from it until they have answered the questions he has to ask.

It is probably not an accident that in both of these experiments, unlike most, the spirits conjured are expressly referred to as angels, and in one of them names of Christ are invoked (which is not uncommon in these experiments), while in the other the conjuration is preceded by a prayer to Christ (which is altogether uncommon). The other reflecting surfaces have a kind of artificial reflectivity: some of them need to have oil applied to them, and a mirror is a manufactured object. The crystal, however, was thought to have natural luminosity as one of the properties bestowed on it in its creation. Perhaps for this reason it seemed more natural for a crystal to serve as a medium for the conjuring of unfallen spirits, although this explanation would have greater force if it were supported by substantial evidence from other sources.

A COMPLEX EXPERIMENT INVOLVING APPARITIONS IN A THUMBNAIL

Five divinatory experiments in the Munich handbook - as many as those using mirrors – require the medium to gaze into his own polished fingernail or thumbnail. These tend to be elaborate rituals, with preliminary measures followed by multiple conjurations, then interrogation of the spirits who appear, and in some cases procedures for terminating the experiment. Most of these rituals are intended specifically to learn about the circumstances of a theft, although the text indicates that no. 27 (and presumably others as well) can serve to provide information about whether a friend is well or sick, whether someone is on the road, or other matters. A fingernail may seem an odd instrument for divination, and the image of a boy carrying on a conversation with an elaborately described demon moving about on such a small screen may seem somewhat comic, but fixing the boy's attention on so narrow a space may in fact have been an aid to concentration: the smaller the surface, and the closer it is held to the eye, the more it will be in focus and potential distractions will be out of focus.

No. 27 is broken into two 'chapters', the first of which reads as follows:

> To find out about a theft, take a virgin boy of legitimate birth, at whatever hour you wish before noon, and scrape well the thumb nail of his left hand with a knife. Then bind to the same thumb, beneath the nail, a slip with the following names written on it. And these are the names: Egippia, Benoham, Beanke vel Beanre, Reranressym, Alredessym, Ebemidyrr, Fetolinie [?], Dysi, Medirini, Alhea, Heresim, Egippia, Benoham [repeated], Haham, Ezirohias, Bohodi, Hohada, Anna, Hohanna, Ohereo, Metaliteps, Aregereo, Agertho, Aliberri, [and] Halba.
>
> When this is done, if the boy does not see something, etc. [*sic*!]. But if he does see something, bind a strap of sheepskin, which you have had with you while hearing three complete masses, on the slip, around the thumb, while saying this conjuration: 'O you demons, who have appeared before me in the nail of this boy, by Him who is Alpha and Omega, I order and command and conjure you, by the most sacred names Ely, Eloy, Messias, Sother, Emmanuel, Sabaoth, [and] Adonay, and by On, which is the first name of the Lord, Pantoncraton [*sic*], Anetheten, and by the other names known and unknown to me, that you should have no power to withdraw with your companions until you have fulfilled my will completely, without any falsehood or harm to anyone. And if you disdain to do this, I command you to be bound beneath the deep waters of the sea, by these two names, Joth [and] Nabnoth, by which Solomon bound demons in a glass vessel. I conjure you by the seven signs of Solomon, and by his seal and wisdom, that you should have no licence to withdraw from here until you have told and shown me the truth about all that I ask.'

When you have said this, if the boy does not speak straightaway, recite this conjuration in his ear: 'I conjure you, virginal youth, by the true God Basyon, and by the name[s] On, Berion, Sabaoth, [and] Adonay, [etc.], to have no power of concealing from me, but to manifest all that you see.'

When you have recited these conjurations three times, if the spirits do not hasten to your service, add this conjuration: 'You demons from the east, you demons from the west, you demons from the south, you demons from the north, open up to us, Discobermath, Archidemath, Fritath, Altramat, Pestiferat, Helyberp, Hegergibet, Sathan.'

When you have spoken or repeated this conjuration three times, the boy will see all things clearly.

This experiment is good also if someone wishes to know the condition of his friends, whether they are well or ill, and it will determine whether or not they are under way.

The conjuration over the strap is as follows. When mass has been finished on any particular day, say this conjuration over the strap: 'I conjure you, Sona, by the name of the Lord Tetragrammaton, and by the name of God Joth, and by the name of God Nabnoth, [etc.], to receive such power that wherever you are bound, these spirits will have no power to withdraw until they fulfil the will of the one who binds.'

The second chapter begins with a lengthy conjuration summoning the spirits to appear in the boy's nail, and is followed by another conjuration commanding the boy to gaze into his nail and tell the truth about what is there revealed. The text continues:

Then ask the boy if the nail is brighter than before. If he says not, read the conjuration again from the beginning, and a third time if necessary. If he says it has become brighter, ask if he sees anything. If he says he sees a man, the master should have the boy conjure the one he sees, in the mother tongue, as follows: 'You who are before me, I conjure you by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by Saint Mary and her virginity, and by Saint John and his virginity, [etc.], to go quickly for your king and have him come before me, so that I may see and understand him clearly.'

Then ask the boy if the king has come. If not, have the boy conjure again, as before. If he has come, have the boy tell the king to dismount from his horse and have a throne brought forth on which he can sit. Then have the boy ask the king if he wishes to eat. If he says no, then ask about whatever you will. If he says yes, have the boy tell the king to send wherever he will for a ram to be skinned and cooked, and then he should have a table set, and should rise and wash his hands, and sit at the table and have the ram set before him, and he should go ahead and eat it. After he has eaten, he should get up, take water, and wash his hands.

> Then have the boy tell the king to remove the crown from his head and place his right hand on top of his head and swear by his crown and by his sceptre and by that which he holds beneath his right hand, to respond truly to all the master's questions. Then the master should ask whatever he wishes, through the boy. After the master's questions have been answered properly, the spirits may be given licence to leave, and the boy should say, 'Go. Peace be between us and you. And when the master calls you, be prepared to obey him in all things and by all things.'

The conception of a demon as a king or prince is not uncommon (see Chapter 7), and it is in keeping with the dignity of the spirit that he is allowed the privilege of a throne and a meal, although he supplies them himself, within the scene played out on the fingernail of the medium. Elsewhere as well the spirits may be instructed or invited to seat themselves on thrones; in the Rawlinson manuscript the medium is told to have three white-robed spirits fetch three gold thrones for themselves.[40] It is perhaps not surprising that apparitions as elaborate as these might require repeated conjuration. No doubt they also assumed child mediums of exceptional virtuosity, and a master who had found such a child must have been proud indeed to have discovered such a resource.

SIMPLER EXPERIMENTS INVOLVING FINGERNAILS OR THUMBNAILS

While the preceding experiment is more complex than most, others resemble it in their essentials. In experiment no. 30, the master obtains a powder by burning resin and collecting the ash from the bottom of a basin that is inscribed with certain characters. He anoints four joints of the boy's left hand with olive oil and with this powder, in alternation, until the boy's fingers shine like a mirror. (Johannes Hartlieb gives a similar account of how child mediums are instructed to gaze not only into their fingernails but into their hands anointed with oil and soot from a pan.[41]) Then he summons twelve spirits. Three times the master makes the sign of the cross with his right thumb on the boy's forehead, each time praying that Christ himself may sign the boy, as he gave his blessing at Cana. Then he repeats the twelve names, and may make the sign of the cross on his own forehead as well as the boy's. The names are recited until six spirits appear on the boy's hand. Then the boy commands them to sit, except for one, who is to rise and answer the master's questions. When the spirits have answered the master's questions, the boy commands them to depart, in the name of the Trinity; if he wishes, the master may at this point sign the boy's forehead again.

The next three experiments all take place within a simple circle, consisting of three concentric bands, within which the boy sits on a three-legged stool, around which are inscriptions (the boy's name, other names, the Tetragrammaton).[42] In no. 38 the master blesses the boy while waving a sword around his head. He gives

the sword to the boy, then signs him with the sign of the cross (saying, 'May the cross sanctify you, and may the prayers of all priests bless you'), scrapes his nails with a knife, anoints them with olive oil, then blesses himself and his companions, who sit silently by the circle, with swords in hand. The boy shuts his eyes; the master blesses all those present by reading the opening verses of John's gospel. The boy looks at his anointed nail and conjures specified demons to make the nail grow large and bright so that various information can appear in it: the thief, the circumstances of the theft, and the place where the stolen object is concealed. The master conjures certain demon princes to come in the form of black men and appear in the boy's nail. If the boy cannot yet see any figures in his nail, the master repeats the conjuration. He asks the boy if he sees a demon leaping and rejoicing. The master and his companions speak to the boy to keep him from fear. Again the master conjures the demons to divulge the desired information. At the end of the experiment, the master rubs his fingernail clean with his tunic, and makes the sign of the cross over four parts of his body with the sword. Then the boy takes the sword and holds it before himself while leaving the circle. The companions and the master himself exit in the same manner.

In no. 39 the master scrapes the boy's right thumbnail, using a knife with a handle of black or white horn, and recites psalm verses. He then signs the boy's forehead with the sign of the cross, says a prayer asking God to have the boy tell the truth, and whispers the names of demons three times into the boy's right ear. Then he enters the circle and stands in front of the boy, anoints his nail with olive oil, gives him the knife, and recites a longer series of demons' names. He conjures the demons (repeatedly, if necessary) to make the boy's nail grow large and bright, so that the details of the theft will appear in it. When this happens, the master conjures the demons (again as often as needed) to come and appear to the boy in the forms of the thieves. When the demons appear, the master conjures them to give the boy power, so that he can make the necessary inquiry and behold the desired information. Afterward the master has the boy close his eyes, then he cleans his nail, signs him with the sign of the cross (*super eum*, *ante eum*, and *retro eum*), takes the knife from his hand, blesses both himself and the boy, erases the circle, and departs along with the boy. The 'kings' will return to their own kingdoms, but the master conjures them to return whenever he wishes.

In no. 40, the master turns to the east, scrapes both of the boy's thumbnails, places one of the boy's thumbs over the other, writes the name of the boy and the name Astaroth on the knife handle, gives the knife to the boy and has him hold it beneath his thumbs, anoints with olive oil the uppermost of the boy's thumbnails, making the form of a cross on it with all devotion, then himself takes a seat, holding the boy between his knees, and instructing him to look carefully at his thumbnail. (The position of the boy suggests an intimacy that is surely erotic, even if subtly so.) The master conjures the demons to appear in the thumbnail in the form of the thief or thieves, 'as they have promised'. He also prays to Christ,

to manifest the truth make the boy report it. Again he conjures the demons to appear, and to make the boy's nail grow large and bright. At the end of the experiment, the master says the prayer. 'Protect, save, bless, [and] sanctify all the people by the sign of the Lord's cross. Fend off afflictions of body and soul. Let no peril prevail against this sign. Amen. May Jesus Christ defend us by this sign of the cross. Amen.'

EXPERIMENTS INVOLVING VESSELS

Perhaps among the most ancient and widespread means for divination is gazing at the surface of a fluid in a bowl or other vessel. The materials for such operations would have been available virtually anywhere, even if suitable mirrors were not on hand. A letter to King Psammetichos, included in the Greek magical papyri, gives instructions for bowl divination: one should take a bronze bowl or saucer and fill it with water, then add green olive oil, recite an incantation over it, and ask questions of whatever god one wishes; the deity will reply, after which he can be dismissed with a powerful name of a hundred letters, a name which commands gods and *daimones*, causing the universe to tremble.[43] Elsewhere there are bowls or other vessels on which magical formulas have been inscribed, but these are usually intended for types of magic other than divination.[44]

In two brief experiments from the Munich handbook, the reflecting surfaces that furnish information are vessels or basins. No. 22 involves tracing a circle on the ground with the point of a special knife, entering the circle with a virgin boy or girl, carving various sacred names on a vessel, well cleaned inside and out, and writing on the vessel with a feather from the left wing of a black hen, with accompanying prayers. The master conjures the child to divulge the information revealed regarding a thief or murderer, then he invokes God to grant this knowledge to the child. The child gazes intently into the vessel, and continues doing so until figures appear. In 'The True Art of the Basin' (no. 29), the master recites ten names into a boy's ear, conjures spirits to appear in a basin and divulge information, writes three names on a slip of parchment or paper, and places it in the basin. Then he asks God with humble devotion to give the boy knowledge so that he can respond truly, and he asks Christ to illumine the boy's mind. He conjures the demons to appear to the boy in a mirror or on the blade of a sword. When the demons appear, the boy tells their king to sit down, and has him send for a ram, a feature reminiscent of no. 27. Then follow various conjurations. The experiment terminates with an exchange between the young boy and the demon king, again in the manner of no. 27.

These divinatory experiments are unusual in their emphasis on sitting: the master, the medium, any companions, and the spirits themselves are instructed or invited repeatedly to sit, whether on thrones, at table, on stools, or simply on the ground. It would perhaps be misleading to seek a single meaning in this posture;

the spirits' being enthroned in their capacity as kings can hardly have the same significance as the medium's being seated on a stool. Yet this feature of the experiments is consonant with another peculiarity of this category which distinguishes it from the psychological and illusionist rituals: in these experiments the conjurations are intended specifically to bring about consultation between the magicians and the spirits, rather than their dialogue being a prelude to some further result, and thus the parties on both sides are in effect sitting down to do business. This is not to say that their being seated is necessary, but that it makes a kind of sense here that it would not make elsewhere.

AN EXPERIMENT INVOLVING A BONE

For no. 28 the master anoints the right shoulder blade of a ram with olive oil and puts it beneath the handle of a knife. He holds a lighted candle and conjures six demons to appear in the reflective surface before a virginal boy (under twelve years of age) and answer questions. If the boy sees the shoulder blade grow larger and brighter, the master conjures the demons again to appear. When a spirit appears in the form of a black man, the master asks him questions through the mediation of the boy. The master can conjure the boy so that he has the power to see a spirit, but not the power to lie. The experiment closes with miscellaneous instructions: While making a circle, the master should say 'Sator Arepo Tenet Opera Rotas', then two prayers, one for aid in undertakings, the other for sending the Holy Spirit upon the boy to illumine his mind so that he can see and reveal truths. Names of God are given, to be inscribed on the shoulder blade. And to send the demons away, the master makes the sign of the cross over the shoulder blade and says, 'Behold the cross of the Lord. Take flight, O hostile powers (*Fugite partes aduerse*). The lion of the tribe of Juda, the stem of David, has conquered. Go in peace to the places from which you came.'

Johannes Hartlieb tells how the shoulder blades of various large animals are examined in the form of divination known as spatulamancy,[45] but does not speak of operations performed over these bones in the manner prescribed by the Munich handbook.

EXPERIMENTS INVOLVING VISIONS IN SLEEP

The last two divinatory experiments in the handbook, both short and simple in form, differ from the preceding divinatory rites because they do not involve gazing into reflective surfaces, but rather the inducement of revelatory dream visions. The Egyptians had been famous for their dream interpretation, whether the dreams were induced or spontaneous, and the Greek magical papyri from Egypt contain instructions for obtaining a revelation in sleep:

according to one passage, the person seeking the vision goes to bed in the presence of a lamp fuelled with sesame oil mixed with cinnabar, and recites a prescribed formula; to ensure that the revelation is not lost to oblivion, he must have a small tablet nearby to write it down. No. 16 has the master write a series of sacred names within a double band on virgin parchment, plus specified names. Three times he conjures the names themselves, that they may send the angels Michael, Gabriel and Raphael to reveal whatever information he is seeking. The master then places this parchment beneath his right ear when he goes to sleep.

No. 41, designed to discover hidden treasure, is exceptional for the extent to which it blends magic with pious devotion:

> To know where a treasure is hidden, first a person must make a general confession of all his sins, under a waxing moon, on a Sunday, when the Sun is in Leo, early in the morning. And when you first arise, sprinkle yourself with holy water, saying the antiphon, *Asperges me, domine, ysopo*, etc., in its entirety. Then go to a crucifix and say before it, *Miserere mei, deus* [Ps. 50 Vulg.], in its entirety, gazing constantly at the crucifix, with utter devotion. And when you say these things, then say most devoutly and with contrite heart, 'O rabbi, rabbi, my king and my God, and Lord of lords, you who are creator of all things, hear the prayer which I, a wretched and unworthy creature, make, and [be mindful?] of your redemption in this hour and always, and may my unworthy cry come unto Thee.'
>
> When you have said this, go to your house and into your chamber, which should be thoroughly cleaned, and, facing east, say this prayer as devoutly as you can: 'O gracious Orient . . . strengthen my understanding in this work by the dominion of your kingdom, which is never lost. Guide and fear [?] me in this my supplication. And I pray you by your kings . . . that on the following night Haram, a benign spirit, may come to me in my sleep and enkindle my heart and my mind, that I may know how to find a treasure, if there is any in these parts or elsewhere, and may he lead me and make a sign there, so that I may know it as true, and [I may know] the truth itself. . . . I call out and implore that you may deign to send me a spirit of truth this night in my sleep, that he may reveal to me a hidden treasure.' Say this facing east, and on bended knees. Say this prayer three times.
>
> When you go to bed, say nine times, 'Orient, Orient, Orient, I pray, beg, and ask, O most benign Orient, that you may fulfil my petition and desire to respect my entreaties.' Then a spirit will come to you, who will not displease you, but will make you dream of a treasure, and will lead you directly to the place.
>
> The next morning, when you arise, give three portions of alms in honour of the great knowing King, and go out, accompanied or alone, to the place where

there is treasure in your home [?], and take it. When you have the treasure, have three masses sung: the first in honour of the Holy Trinity, the second for the sins of the deceased, the third for the safeguarding of your life, etc.

It is by no means surprising to find orthodox, traditional prayers used in the practice of magic, or for non-standard petitions to be referred to as prayers, or even for the magician to prepare himself by a regimen of confession and purification. The offering of alms and the subsequent celebration of three masses is perhaps less expected; in any case, what we have here is a mixture of magic and devotion that assumes no incompatibility between the two, and in the mind of the practitioner there presumably was no incongruity.[47]

POSSIBLE JEWISH SOURCES

Magical practices are often so widespread that it is impossible to trace specific patterns of transmission, and the divinatory rituals found in the Munich handbook are at least as widely diffused as any other magical techniques. Nevertheless, there is some reason to suppose that these divinatory practices show the influence of Jewish divination in particular. This should not be surprising, in the light of frequent suggestions that Christians learned or obtained their magic from Jews.[48] One might suspect that this theme merely reflects stereotypes of the reprobate Jew,[49] but there is nothing implausible about Christians seeking to amplify their own repertoire of magical practices by borrowing from those of a people antecedently categorized as having a reprobate subculture. The formulas of the Munich handbook, like those of the Greek magical papyri from antiquity, often imitate those of Judaism, as if in homage to a culture perceived as having superior magic. The centrality of the Tetragrammaton,[50] the occasional use of Hebrew letters, and the use of the pentacle of Solomon in Clm 849 and other necromantic texts are evident signs of Jewish influence, however indirect and distorted the transmission may have been. No. 42 gives 'the great name Semiforas' (meaning the *Shem ham-M'forash*) as a series of Hebrew and pseudo-Hebrew words beginning 'Saday, Hay, Resel'; the scribe seems uncomfortable with the material, and at one point leaves a blank space in his transcription of the name, but does recognize it as a Hebrew name for God, which he says was written on the forehead of Aaron the priest.[51]

Samuel Daiches has edited and analysed a series of Jewish magical texts that resemble the divinatory practices of the Munich manuscript closely.[52] Of special interest are the procedures in three manuscripts from the collection of Theodore Gaster. Codex Gaster 315 tells how to conjure the 'princes of the thumb' by tracing a circle in the earth with a black-handled knife and then placing a young boy in the circle, anointing the boy's thumbnail and forehead with pure olive oil, and whispering a conjuration into his ear while he gazes at his nail. The

conjuration reads, in part, 'I adjure you, princes of the nail . . . that you should bring the king Minon in this nail, and the queen shall also come with him, and that his two servants shall come and that they shall bring there two lambs, one black and one white, and they shall slaughter them . . . and that they shall bring there three glass cups . . .' When the king and queen appear in the boy's nail, they should be invited to eat and drink, after which they will give all the information the operator desires.[53] Another ritual from the same manuscript, for conjuring 'the princes of the hand', requires invoking a series of names; if the boy sees nothing in his hand the master must repeat the invocation, then if necessary say, 'I adjure you, Ator, Sator, Somani, Ator' (a garbled version of the SATOR-AREPO formula). If the boy sees a man dressed in black he must have him don white garments, and then he invites him to eat and drink.[54] Similar rituals are prescribed in Codices Gaster 443 and 1,000. They all require as a medium a young boy (seven years old in one ritual) or girl, or in some cases a pregnant woman, in which case Daiches assumes it is the innocence of the unborn child that facilitates the divination.

The manuscripts Daiches uses are all late – from the sixteenth or seventeenth century, or, in the case of Codex Gaster 443, as late as 1775 – but Daiches argues for close parallels with much earlier Jewish and even Babylonian practice. One Babylonian ritual tablet of around 2000 BCE speaks of 'the master of the nail of this finger'; the slaughter of the lambs, the use of three cups, the invitation of the spirits to eat and drink, and the assurance that they will answer questions truly all find parallels in Babylonian divinatory texts. Rashi in the eleventh century referred to 'work of the demons' called 'princes of the thumb' that involved use of a black-handled knife, a glass cup, and so forth. Further evidence for the continuity of such practices in medieval Judaism comes from the *Sefer Hasidim* and related texts, which report visions in which demons or the spirits of the dead were summoned to appear in dreams or on reflecting surfaces, often to identify thieves or to locate lost objects. Around the turn of the thirteenth century, Jacob of Marvège recorded a series of dreams in which he received answers to questions he had posed (*she'elat halom*).[55] None of this evidence proves that the rituals found in the modern manuscripts preserve in detail the formulas used in medieval magic. Yet it seems likely that the divinatory rituals of the Munich handbook can be traced to medieval Jewish precedent, and thus indirectly to Babylonian prototypes; this is in any event more likely than the reverse, that the Gaster manuscripts contain Jewish borrowing from Christian sources.

AN EXPERIMENT FOR INSTRUCTION

The very first experiment in the Munich manuscript fits only loosely into the category of divination: it is intended for acquiring knowledge of all the liberal arts through the instruction of a demon. Because the first two folios of Clm 849

are missing, this experiment begins *in medias res*, yet even in truncated form the experiment is reasonably intelligible; in all likelihood there was either prefatory material or another experiment on folios 1 and 2, and only a small part of the present experiment has been lost. In the missing lines the magician is evidently instructed to take a piece of cloth and draw on it a 'circle', meaning a simple band made of two concentric circles, within which the names of various demons are to be inscribed. The markings on this cloth are to be made with the blood of a bird, perhaps a hoopoe, and evidently the magician is to use the heart of this bird as a writing instrument: at later points in the experiment reference is made to writing with 'the aforementioned blood' by means of a heart.

This experiment is built around four conjurations: the first, addressed to three "kings" among the demons, results in the initial presentation of a teacher to the magician; the second, again addressed to these kings, is for the return of the teacher and inception of lessons; the third, addressed to the same demons plus four others, is for the same effect; the fourth, addressed to the teacher himself, leads directly to his return and to the instruction. The magician commands the demons Apolin, Maraloth and Berith to send yet another demon as a teacher, or *magister*, a term used elsewhere in the manual for the magician himself.

> . . . toward the east. Then you must say: 'Apolin, Maraloth, Berith, I, so-and-so, exorcise and conjure you . . . to send me a certain spirit who is expert in teaching of all the sciences, and may he be kindly, faithful, and pleasing to me, and teach every knowledge that I desire, coming in the form of a master, so that I may feel no sense of fear. . . . Likewise, I conjure you . . . that you three great kings and companions of mine may endeavour to send to me, your petitioner, one of your subordinates, to serve as master of all the sciences and arts, coming to me in a pleasant and splendid human form, and instruct me lovingly, so that within thirty days I may acquire this knowledge, and after I have received this knowledge I may give them licence to withdraw.' And this must be said so many [=three?] times.
>
> When you have said this, put down the sword and wrap it in the aforesaid cloth, and, having made a bundle, lie down on it and sleep for a little while. After sleeping, rise and clothe yourself (for when the bundle has been made a man must undress and enter a chamber, placing this bundle beneath his head). You must know that when these conjurations have been said, sleep comes by divine power. In the sleep, three great kings [will] appear to you with countless servants, knights, and footsoldiers, among whom there will appear a certain master, whom the three kings will command. [You will see] him ready to come to you. For you will see the three kings, shining with wondrous beauty, who will speak to you in this sleep with one voice, saying, 'Behold, we give you what you have many times requested.' And they will say to the master, 'Let him be your student, and we command you to teach him every science or art

that he wishes to hear. Instruct and educate him so that within thirty days he will be regarded among others as supreme in whatever science he wishes.' And you will see him reply, 'My lords, I shall most gladly do whatever you wish.' When this has been said, the kings will depart and the master alone will remain, and will say to you, 'Arise, behold your master.' When this has been said, you will be aroused; at once you will open your eyes, and you will see a master, excellently attired, who will say to you, 'Give me the sword which you have beneath your head.' You will say, 'Behold your student, ready to do whatever you wish.' But you must have a tablet, and must write down all that he tells you.

First you must ask, 'O master, what is your name?' He [will] tell, and you must write it down. Second, from what order, and likewise write it down. When this has all been said, you must ask for the sword, and when you have it he will withdraw, saying, 'Wait until I return.' You will say nothing, but the master will leave and take the sword.[56] After his withdrawal, you must unwrap the cloth, as appears below. And you should write in this circle his name, as you have written it down, and you must write it with the aforementioned blood. When it is written, wrap up the cloth and hide it well.

When all this has been done, you must dine on bread and pure water alone, and that day you must not exit your chamber. And when you have eaten, take the cloth and enter the circle facing Apolin. Say: 'O King Apolin, great, powerful, and venerable, I, your servant, believing and wholly trusting that you are strong and mighty, ask by your incomprehensible majesty that your servant and subject, so-and-so, my master, should come to me as quickly as he can, by your virtue and power, which is great and supremely great unto ages of ages. Amen.' And you must speak likewise facing Maraloth, changing the name. And likewise facing Berich. When all this has been said, take some of the aforesaid blood and write your name in the middle of the circle with the aforesaid heart, as is shown below. Then write these names, as shown here, with this heart on the corners of the cloth. But if the blood of one bird is not enough, you may kill as many as you wish.

When all this has been done, sit in the circle for the entire day, gazing at it, and saying nothing. When evening comes, wrap up the cloth, undress, and enter the chamber, placing it beneath your head. And as you lie down, say in a clear voice, 'O Apolin, Maraloch, Berith, Sathan, Beliath, Belzebuc, [and] Lucifer, I implore you to command the master – here naming his name – to come to me tomorrow before sunrise and teach me thus-and-such science, without any error . . .'

Beware and take caution not to make the sign ✠ of the cross, on account of the great danger in sleeping. You should know that you will see the master speak with you throughout the night, asking you which science you wish to learn. You should reply, 'Thus-and-such', so that, as said, you may speak with

him throughout the night. If you awake during that night, rise and light a candle, and take the cloth and unwrap it, and sit on it - that is to say, in the circle, where your name is written on the spot ordained for you – and call on the name of your master, saying, 'O so-and-so, of thus-and-such an order, given to me by your greater kings as a master, I beseech you to come in a kindly form and teach me thus-and-such a science, in which I may become more expert than all mortals, learning it with great joy, without any effort, and with no tedium. . . .'

When you have said this, looking toward the east you will see the master come with many students, and you will ask him to command that they all depart, and at once they will withdraw. Then the master will say, 'Which science do you wish to hear?' You will say, 'This-and-such', and then you will begin.

Bear in mind that you will learn all that he tells you and commit it to memory, and within thirty days you will acquire every science that you wish to have.

And when you wish him to leave the chamber, fold and hide the cloth, and at once he will withdraw. And when you wish him to come, open the cloth, and at once he will appear there, continuing the lessons. After thirty days, having become well learned in science, have him give your sword to you, and then tell him to go, and he will withdraw in peace. You must repeat what you have said when you invoke him to gain knowledge of another science, and he will proclaim himself ready to oblige your will.

This is the end of the chapter on [gaining] knowledge.

The circle required for this first experiment is a single band inscribed within a square. Inscribed in and around the band are the names of seven spirits and the four cardinal directions. 'The name of the master, of such-and-such an order' and 'The name of the student' are marked in the centre.

This experiment contains one incidental feature of some interest: the sword, which the demonic teacher claims at the beginning of the lessons but relinquishes to the magician at the end of the month when instruction is over, may be intended as a kind of sacrifice, albeit a temporary one. It serves, at any rate, to symbolize the relationship between the magician and the demon that exists throughout the thirty days of instruction: although the magician (as the source and ultimate owner of the sword) has conjured the demon and has authority to command his presence, the demon (as temporary keeper of the sword) exercises the authority over his pupil that comes from his possession of superior knowledge. It is only when the demon has imparted knowledge of all the liberal arts that the magician has become, to that extent, his equal and thus regains the sword.

One might suppose that the magician conceives the sword further as a symbol

for the power brought by his newly gained knowledge, but the manuscript gives little indication of a coherent and consistent quest for power, least of all in the political sphere. It is true that the writer claims to have connections at court: in one experiment he reminds the reader, 'You have often seen me carry out this work at your court.' Elsewhere he tells of a trick that he played on an emperor and his courtiers. Even if we assume that this is not all pretence, however, the manual gives only meagre hints of specifically courtly interests. Only one experiment is designed to gain the favour of a potentate. Experiments to cause madness or to turn friends into enemies could be used at court, but could just as well be employed elsewhere. On the whole the manual is remarkably devoid of specifically political concern: there is little sense that the writer is intent on building or destroying kingdoms, nor does he display the combination of magical lore and practical engineering found in the real-life courtier Conrad Kyeser.[57] His procedures for divination seem to focus on personal rather than political matters. Some of the illusionist experiments bespeak the fanciful attitude toward magic often found in courtly romance: an illusory banquet is intended as an entertaining spectacle. The writer is perhaps here manifesting a distant fascination with courtly culture rather than a direct involvement in the life of any court. Any common necromancer, after all, might well fantasize about being called into the emperor's service and serving as Michael Scot was supposed to have served Frederick II.[58]

One might seek precedent here too in Jewish magic designed to foster learning. Formulas occur in various early Jewish mystical texts for mastery of the Torah. The assumption is that angels have opposed God's bestowal of the Torah upon humankind, and that this opposition accounts for students' failure to memorize the sacred text. The solution is to adjure the appropriate spirits, particularly the 'Prince of the Torah' (*sar ha-torah*), by the power of the sacred names; the specific purpose of such adjuration is to master and memorize the Torah.[59] More immediate precedent, however, may be found in the later medieval magic of the so-called *ars notoria*, which uses prayers and invocation of angels to gain mastery of the liberal and mechanical arts.[60] Although the *ars notoria* did not call upon demonic aid, and ostensibly revolved around the recitation of devotions to the Virgin and to unfallen angels, its techniques were untraditional and superstitious, and an unsympathetic observer might pardonably have categorized it with this first experiment in the Munich handbook.

It may also be instructive to compare the magic of this experiment with that narrated in a story told by Caesarius of Heisterbach, in the early thirteenth century, 'concerning a schoolboy who made homage to the devil to have verses composed':

> In the church of Saint Simeon in the diocese of Trier there was a little schoolboy. One day his master gave him a subject on which he was to compose

verses, but he was unable to do so, and sat about disconsolate. The Devil appeared to him in human form as he sat by himself, and said to him, 'Why are you so unhappy, little boy, and why are you sitting there looking so sad?' The boy replied, 'I'm afraid of my master, because I cannot compose any verses on the subject he has given me.' The Devil said, 'If you pay homage to me, I will compose the verses for you.' The boy was unaware that he was dealing with the Devil, the enemy of all, who was bent on mischief, so he replied, 'O yes, sir! I am ready to do anything you command, as long as I can have the verses and not get beaten!' For he did not know who it was. He stretched out his hand to the Devil, paying homage to him. At once he received the verses, written on tablets, and then he no longer beheld their writer. When he gave them to his master at the appropriate time, the latter was amazed at the excellence of the verses, and feared that the knowledge he found in them was supernatural [*divinam*] and not that of a human. He said, 'Tell me, who wrote these verses for you?' The boy said, 'I did, master.' But the master, not believing, repeated his interrogation of the lad many times over, until the boy confessed everything he had done, from beginning to end. Then the master said, 'My boy, that versifier was an evil one, the Devil himself.' Then he added, 'My dear child, are you sorry that you paid homage to that seducer?' The boy replied, 'O yes, master.' The master said, 'Now renounce the Devil and his homage, and all his pomps and all his works.' And he did so. Then the master cut off the sleeves of his surplice and offered them to the Devil, saying, 'These sleeves are yours, O seducer of men, but you will possess nothing more of this creature of God!' At once the sleeves were snatched away with a thunderbolt in the sight of all, while the boy's body remained unharmed. All this was told me by a prior from the church of Trier.[61]

The schoolboy's deed is both more innocent and more guilty than the necromancer of the Munich handbook: it is more innocent because he is unaware that the source of his verses is an evil spirit, and also because he does not conjure the spirit but merely accepts his offer, yet in itself his action is more profoundly guilty because he makes homage to the demon. Joseph Hansen sees the concept of homage to a demon as a high medieval innovation inspired by the obvious feudal analogue, the vassal's homage to his lord.[62] It seems to be only in orthodox literature condemning magic, however, that those who profit from the demons are seen as making such homage, or that sacrifices to the spirits are perceived as involving the same worship that would be implied by sacrifice offered to God. The magicians themselves, as in the Munich handbook, typically perceive any sacrifice as merely a *quid pro quo*. Oddly, the lad's schoolmaster recognizes that the demon has some legitimate claim on the boy as a result of the transaction, and offers the spirit the sleeves of the pupil's surplice (*superpellicii*) as

his due, even after the boy repeats his baptismal renunciation of Satan's works and pomps. The most basic difference between the two cases, in any event, is that Caesarius's schoolboy, unlike the Munich magician, receives no new knowledge: he has polished verses handed to him but does not himself become an accomplished versifier. The quest of knowledge through magical means seems to be a theme more deeply embedded in Jewish sources, and in the Solomonic literature related to those sources.

Notes

1 M.R. James, 'Twelve medieval ghost-stories', *English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), 420f.

2 *Ambo simul exanimati ab oculis meis et amplius non video eos, et nescio sine dubio ubi sunt.*

3 See the analogues in Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. H. von E. Scott and C.C. Swinton Bland, 1 (London: Routledge, 1929), 112-14. Barbara Newman has found parallels in several thirteenth- and fourteenth-century collections of exempla.

4 John of Salisbury, *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers*, ii.28, trans. Joseph B. Pike (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), 146-7.

5 *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes of Acle: An Edition of Tanner MS 407*, ed. Cameron Louis (New York: Garland, 1980), 169f.; C.L.S. Linnell, ed., 'The commonplace book of Robert Reynys of Acle', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 32 (1958-61), 114 (Linnell's edition of the text is badly flawed).

6 For the following see generally Benjamin Goldberg, *The Mirror and Man* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985), 3-25 (esp. 8-19), and Henry C. Bolton, 'A modern oracle and its prototypes', *Journal of American Folklore*, 6 (1893), 25-37. For early instances see W.R. Halliday, *Greek Divination: A Study of Its Methods and Principles* (London: Macmillan, 1919), 145-62 (which gives numerous parallels from various cultures) and A. Bouch-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'Antiquité*, 1 (Paris: Leroux, 1879), 176-88.

7 Siegfried Wenzel, ed. and trans., *Fasciculus morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook*, v. 30 (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), 578-9.

8 George L. Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929), 185.

9 See Peter J. French, *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972).

10 Domenico Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, trans. E.F.M. Benecke (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895), 303-5, citing the *Romans des Sept Sages*, *Cleomadès*, and the *Renart contrefait*. For parallels, see *ibid.*, p. 304, n. 9.

11 Charles Plummer, ed., *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), 150: *in speculo enim divinitatis omnia futura sibi presentia erant.*

12 Johann Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste, des Aberglaubens und der Zauberei*, ed. and trans. Falk Eisermann and Eckhard Graf (Ahlerstedt: Param, 1989), chs 56, 83-84, 86, 88-90.

13 Ibn Khaldûn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, i.194, trans. Franz Rosenthal, 2nd edn. vol. 1 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), 216-17; Bolton, 'A modern oracle', 37.

14 Reading *intra* for *infra*.

15 Petrus Garsia, *In determinationes magistrales contra conclusiones apologales Ioannis Pici Mirandulani*

Concordie Comitis prooemium (Rome: Eucharius Silber, 1489), sig. k iv verso through k v recto (the discussion continues through l ij recto); see Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 4 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 497–507.

16 Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 430.

17 *Registrum Radulphi Baldock*, ed. Fowler (Canterbury and York Series, 7), vol. 1, 144f.; Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 187.

18 Paris, *Les grandes chroniques*, vol. 5, 269–72; *Recueil des historiens*, vol. 20, 633f., 710–12; G.G. Coulton, trans., *Life in the Middle Ages*, 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), 160–62. *Willelmi capellani in Brederode postea monachi et procuratoris Egmondensis chronicon*, ed. C. Pijnacker Hordijk (Amsterdam: Muller, 1904), 127–30.

19 Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 80, 187, from David Wilkins, ed., *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, 3 (London, 1737), 393f.

20 Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 187, from A. Hamilton Thompson, ed., *Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 1915–), 208–13.

21 *Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, 8 (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1881), 265; William Hale Hale, *A Series of Precedents and Proceedings in Criminal Causes from 1475 to 1640, Extracted from Act Books of Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of London, Illustrative of the Discipline of the Church of England* (London: Rivington, 1847); 10f.; C. Trice Martin, 'Clerical life in the fifteenth century, as illustrated by proceedings of the Court of Chancery', *Archaeologia*, 60 (=ser. 2, vol. 10) (1907), 371f., 377; Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 188, 195f

22 The demons' capacity for knowledge and foreknowledge is discussed in the influential work of Saint Augustine, 'The divination of demons', in Roy J. Deferrari, ed., *Saint Augustine: Treatises on Marriage and Other Subjects* (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1955), 415–40.

23 Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 106–13, esp. 109. Brown quotes Victricius of Rouen on the effects of exorcism: 'A torturer bends over the unclean spirit, but is not seen. There are no chains here now, yet the being who suffers is bound. God's anger has other hooks to tear the flesh and other racks to stretch invisible limbs.' The theme is one which Barbara Newman will address in forthcoming research on thirteenth-century accounts of exorcism.

24 Fol. 156r.

25 Translation from G.G. Coulton, ed. and trans., *Life in the Middle Ages*, new edn, 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), no. 46, pp. 85f.

26 Translation from C. Trice Martin, 'Clerical life in the fifteenth century, as illustrated by proceedings of the Court of Chancery', *Archaeologia*, 60 (=ser. 2, vol. 10) (1907), 377f.; see Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 188.

27 Augustus Jessopp, *Random Roaming and Other Papers*, 2nd edn (London, Unwin, 1894), 109–12. Cf. Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 94, 206.

28 Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 195.

29 *Mary of Nijmeghen*, attributed to Anna Bijns, in Eric Colledge, trans., *Medieval Netherlands Religious Literature* (New York: London House & Maxwell, 1965), 208; repr. in Elizabeth Alvilda Petroff, ed., *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 364.

30 Nos 19, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 41 (not used); nos 18, 20, 23, 33, 38, 39, 40, 22, 28, 16 (not highly significant).

31 For examples of the use of a boy medium in antiquity, see Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), PGM IV.88, I.42, VII.540, V.370, IV.850, V.1 and VII.348.

32 No. 28 specifies that the boy should be under twelve. See also Rawlinson MS D 252, fols 109r–109v.

33 No. 22 in the Munich handbook; Rawlinson MS D 252, fol. 114v; Johann Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste*, ch. 84.

34 Nicholas Orme, 'Children and the Church in medieval England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 45 (1994), 580f.

35 Chs 86, 88, 94.

36 On these possibilities see James W. Fernandez, 'Reflections on looking into mirrors', *Semiotica*, 30 (1980), 27–39.

37 The writer's B and L might readily be confused, especially in the lower case; see, for example, the references to Belial in no. 12. One might suppose that Bylet is simply an alternative spelling for Lilit, but there is in fact a spirit known as Beleth, Bileth, Bilet or Byleth, on whom see Gustav Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels, Including the Fallen Angels* (New York: Free Press, 1967), 73.

38 Lynn Thorndike, *Michael Scot* (London: Nelson, 1965), 120.

39 Ch. 89.

40 Rawl. 8v, 151v.

41 Chs 83–84.

42 In no. 41 he writes 'Tetragrammaton' (probably that word, though possibly the four letters for which it stands) beneath the boy's feet, then he puts two stones on top of this inscribed word, lest the boy touch the sacred name with his feet.

43 Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, 1, pp. 40–43 (PGM IV.154–285).

44 Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University; Leiden: Brill, 1985); see Michael Ofori Mankata, *Hohorr – the Magic Bowl: A Ghanaian Folk Tale* (Accra: Afram, 1995).

45 Chs 115–31. See also Charles Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), XII–XV.

46 The dream oracle of Besas, in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 1, pp. 122–23 (PGM VII.222–49). On Egyptian dream interpretation see Joseph Kaster, trans. and ed., *The Wings of the Falcon* (New York, 1968), 153–8.

47 Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 219, contains a miscellany of magical experiments, among which are similarly pious recommendations on fol. 187v: to recover a lost object, recall the cross of Christ (which was found) and give bread to four paupers; to avert affliction, recall the blows of Christ; for release from captivity, recall that of Christ; to survive a duel, fast, give as much as possible in alms, have three masses sung (those for the finding of the Holy Cross, the exaltation of the Holy Cross, and the Ascension), and wash the hands and feet of three paupers (or five, seven or thirteen).

48 E.g., Edmond Albe, *Autour de Jean XXII: Hugues Géraud, évêque de Cahors: L'affaire des poisons et des envoûtements en 1317* (Cahors, 1904); Margaret Harvey, 'Papal witchcraft: the charges against Benedict XIII', in Derek Baker, ed., *Sanctity and Secularity: The Church and the World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973), 109–16.

49 On this subject see especially Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Anti-semitism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), and more recently R. Po-chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) and Jeremy Cohen, ed., *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996); on the reputation of Jewish magic in late antiquity see John M. Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition* (Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1974), 30–35.

50 Jacob Z. Lauterbach, 'Substitutes for the Tetragrammaton', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* (1931), 39–67; Kaufmann Kohler, 'The Tetragrammaton (Shem ham-M'forash) and its uses', *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy*, 1 (1909), 19–32.

51 Robert Eisler, 'Le Mystère du Schem Hammephorasch', *Revue des études Juives*, 82 (1926), 157–9.

52 Samuel Daiches, *Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and in the Later Jewish Literature* (London: Jews' College, 1913).

53 No. B1, text 1, pp. 14–16, with notes on pp. 28–38.

54 No. B1 text 2, p. 16, with notes on p. 38.

55 *Ibid.*, pp. 28–38; *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter; New York: Macmillan, 1971–2), articles on *Visions* and *Jacob of Marvège*.

56 If one reads *presentare* for *postulare*, the context becomes clearer: rather than asking for the sword, the magician must give it to the spirit; *quo habito* then becomes 'when he has it' rather than 'when you have it'.

57 Conrad Kyeser, *Bellifortis*, ed. and trans. Götz Quarg (Düsseldorf: VDI, 1967).

58 Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), 272–98; J. Wood Brown, *An Enquiry into the Life and Legend of Michael Scot* (Edinburgh: Douglas, 1897); Lynn Thorndike, *Michael Scot* (London: Nelson, 1965).

59 Peter Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God: Some Major Themes in Early Jewish Mysticism*, trans. Aubrey Pomerance (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992), esp. 49–53, 73–5, 89–95, 109–17, 150–57; Michael D. Swartz, 'Patterns of mystical prayer in ancient Judaism', in Paul V.M. Flesher, ed., *New Perspectives on Ancient Judaism*, 6 (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989), 173–86; and esp. Michael D. Swartz,, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

60 Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 2 (New York: Macmillan, 1929), 281–3. Papers from a session on an *ars notoria* manuscript – Nicholas Watson, 'A fifteenth-century ritual magic manuscript in the McMaster University Library', Richard Kieckhefer, 'The historical background of the McMaster manuscript', and Michael Camille, 'Aspects of art in *ars notoria* manuscripts' – delivered at the 30th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 5 May 1995, are to be published in a volume edited by Claire Fanger.

61 Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Die Fragmente der Libri VIII Miraculorum des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, ed. Aloys Meister (*Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte*, supplementary vol. 14) (Rome: Herder, 1901), 85f.

62 Joseph Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter, und die Entstehung der großen Hexenverfolgung* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1900; repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1964), 275–7.

6

FORMULAS FOR COMMANDING SPIRITS: CONJURATIONS AND EXORCISMS

A collection of sermon *exempla* from the 1270s relates a story of considerable interest for later medieval notions of what it meant to conjure demons. The compiler has been discussing the feast of the Assumption, the primary Marian feast of the era, and adds this sidelight for its unexpected relevance to that occasion:

> Something further concerning the feast of the Assumption of the glorious Virgin, which was once told to me and to Brother Roger called Bacon at Paris, must not be passed over in silence. A certain surgeon from my home country, and in fact even a native of my very parish, named Master Peter of Ardene, well known to all clerics from Ireland at that time, had taken a wife at Paris and in my day was a Parisian citizen. He told me and Brother Roger Bacon that a certain Spanish magician [*magus*] was on close terms with him. Every now and then he would summon the man, and they would come to his home for company and amusement. So this magician, wishing to return the favour for Master Peter, took him outside the city one night, with companions whom he wished to take with himself, and made a circle according to his art, and called upon his demon [*vocavit demonem suum*], who, on coming, responded to all the questions they asked. The man took them there for five nights, and each night dealt similarly with the demon he summoned. But the fifth night was the vigil of the Blessed Virgin's Assumption, so when the demon was called by the rite of the art as it was passed down he delayed his coming. And so he was summoned repeatedly, to the point that the devilish master became much agitated in regard to the devil. Finally the devil arrived, mourning and sighing, and with deep and plaintive sighs like a boy that has been beaten he said to them, 'You people are really strange [*Mirum est de vobis*], for the angels in heaven are celebrating the feast of the Virgin Mary, and you cannot take your rest here on earth!' Hearing this, they were astonished, and, not surprisingly, quite fearful. And Master Peter himself spoke to the demon, as he swore, taking pity on him, and said, 'What is your problem?' [The demon] said to him, 'Things are very bad for me.' Then they dismissed him and returned to their dwellings. So much for the story [*Explicit exemplum*].

> Behold, O Christian, with what joy you should celebrate the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, when even the devil, the enemy of the glorious Virgin, is compelled to preach that it should be celebrated, and when the angels celebrate it with so much festivity. When the devil said that he was very bad off amid this festive solemnity, the reason for this, as a great man whom I consulted about the matter suggested, is that on the solemnities of the Blessed Virgin and the saints their punishment is augmented. How this happens I leave to the judgement of those wiser than myself.[1]

Among the interesting features of this story, three are of particular relevance here: first, the suggestion that the demon can be made to appear, but that the magician's summons is one element among many in a cosmic network of potentially competing forces; second, the notion that the demons are subject to punishment with varying degrees of severity (so that, as we shall see, the magicians themselves can threaten to bring greater torment upon these fallen spirits); and third, the representation of the magician and his friends as adventurous inquirers daring to conjure the forces of hell to satisfy their curiosity and their quest of forbidden entertainment. The *exemplum* speaks of the magician as summoning the demon by a traditional rite, but, being uninterested in advertising techniques for necromancy, does not give the actual words of conjuration. From other sources, however, we know what such a rite would involve.

Central to most of the experiments in the Munich manual are formulas of varying length that hinge on the terms *coniuro*, *adiuro* and *exorcizo*, which are essentially interchangeable with each other and with other words meaning 'I command'. Indeed, the conjurations are so centrally important to necromantic experiments that the art of necromancy (as that term is commonly used in later medieval parlance) can even be referred to simply as the conjuring of spirits. Reduced to its generic essentials, the typical conjuration is in the form, 'I conjure you, thus-and-such spirits, by the holy names, by all the saints of God, etc., to carry out my will.' We may speak of the declaration ('I conjure you'), the address ('thus-and-such spirits'), the series of invocations ('by the holy names, etc.'), and the instruction ('to carry out my will') as the four primary elements virtually always found in conjurations. While each is of fundamental significance, they are important in different ways: the instruction indicates the nature of the command, the address makes it clear whom or what the necromancer is commanding, the declaration is the expression of intent to command, and the invocations are the sources of power by virtue of which he is able to command. In all these essential elements conjurations are analogous to exorcisms; indeed, the terms 'conjuration' and 'exorcism' are essentially interchangeable in medieval usage, regardless of whether the intent is to summon or to dispel the evil spirits.

Not all the verbal formulas used in the handbook are conjurations: there are also incantations that serve as glosses interpreting sympathetic magic (especially in the psychological experiments), and at times prayers addressed to God (especially in the *Book of Consecrations*, but note also that no. 22 speaks of a *coniuracio* with reference to the prayer *Deus, creator omnium rerum*, while no. 36 uses the term *oraciones* for a series of verses beginning 'I adjure you, King of kings and Lord of lords . . .').[2] But because the most common formulas are conjurations, it is entirely appropriate for necromancy to be known also as the art of conjuring demons.

The conjurations of the necromancer are in certain respects perhaps similar to the liturgical curses that Lester Little has analysed: they adapt ritual language to purposes that seem morally doubtful, although cursing a violator of monastic property rights might have appeared less problematic to a medieval monk than it does to a modern reader.[3] But while the necromancer's formulas do at times curse the spirits and threaten prospective victims,[4] in formal and structural terms the language of the conjurations does not closely resemble that of the curses Little discusses. Further, liturgical curses are inherently the communal acts of a community such as a religious house or cathedral chapter, whereas the conjurations express the will of a single necromancer. The curses assume direct divine agency, while the conjurations presuppose the compliance of created spirits.

The following (from no. 3) may be taken as a representative conjuration:

[Declaration:] I conjure **[Address:]** you demons inscribed in this circle, to whom is given the power of seducing and binding women in the love of men, **[Invocations:]**

- by the virtue and power of the divine majesty,
- and by the thrones and dominations and powers and principalities of Him who spoke and they were made,
- and by those [angels] who do not cease to cry out with one voice, saying, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest,'
- and by these names, which cause you fear and terror: Rator, Lampoy, Despan, Brulo, Dronoth, Maloqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascifin, Nartim and Lodoni,
- and by this ring which is here,
- and by the innumerable powers that you and your superiors possess,

[Instruction:] that wherever you are, you should rise up from your places without delay and go to so-and-so, and immediately without deception lead her here, and take her back when I wish. And let no one be aware of this or take account of it.

More complex in its structure is this conjuration (from no. 7):

[Address:] O Vsyr, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno, Syrtroy, Risbel, Cutroy, Lytay, Onor, Moloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor and Ym, arms-bearing spirits, whose role it is to bear arms and to deceive human senses wherever you wish, **[Declaration:]** I, so-and-so, conjure and exorcize and invoke you, **[Invocations:]**

- by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, who are called the holy Trinity,
- and by the creator of heaven and earth and of all things, visible and invisible,
- and by him who formed man from the mud of the earth,
- and by the annunciation of our Lord Jesus Christ,
- and by his nativity,
- and by his death and passion,
- and by his resurrection
- and by his ascension.

Likewise, **[Declaration:]** I conjure **[Address:]** all you aforesaid demons **[Invocations:]**

- by the gracious and most merciful and undefiled and incorrupt virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, who underwent death for us miserable sinners and recalled us to the heavenly fatherland.

Likewise, **[Declaration:]** I conjure **[Address:]** you aforesaid spirits **[Invocations:]**

- by all the holy men and holy women of God,
- and by all the apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins and widows,
- and by these most precious and ineffable names of the Creator of all, by which you all are bound, and which arouse fear in all things in heaven, on earth, and in hell, to wit Aa, Ely, Sother, Adonay, Cel, Sabaoth, Messyas, Alazabra and Osian.

Likewise, **[Declaration:]** I conjure and exorcize you **[Invocations:]**

- by the virtue and power of all your princes, kings, lords, and superiors,
- and by your virtue and capacity and power,
- and by your dwelling place, of which this [circle] is the form,
- and by all the figures present within it,

[Instruction:] that, inseparably bound to my power, you should come to me without delay, appearing in such a form that you will in no way frighten me, submissive and prepared to do and manifest to me all that I wish, and that you should do this by [the power of] all things on heaven and on earth.

To 'conjure' or 'adjure' someone meant basically to command him or her, and the terms had broad application. At one point in the Song of Songs the

Bridegroom says, 'I adjure you, daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes and the hinds of the fields, not to arouse or awake the beloved.'[5] In the Merovingian era, a Bishop Nicetius wrote in a letter to one Clotsinda, 'I conjure you, Lady Clotsinda, by the tremendous Day of Judgement, that you both read this letter carefully and often try to expound it to your husband.'[6] Even in this context, where the message is clearly political and has nothing to do directly with incorporeal spirits, the command is supported by appeal to an eschatological event. In the *vita* of Saint Brendan, one sea monster says to another, 'I adjure you in the name of Saint Bridget . . . to leave me alone,' and the efficacy of the adjuration becomes a sore point in Bridget's holy rivalry with Brendan, whose power the monster does not bother to invoke even though he, unlike Bridget, is physically present.[7] In a context closer to that of demonic magic, ghosts too might be conjured, as becomes manifest from a series of fifteenth-century ghost stories emanating from a Cistercian house in Yorkshire. The ghosts typically cause disruption to arouse the attention of the living, but it is only when they have been conjured or commanded by someone with spiritual power, and in the name of that which is holy, that they can speak and accomplish the business for which they have come back to earth. In one case, for example, a spirit who wished poshumously to confess his sins (allegedly including murder) had to be conjured by a parish priest 'in the name of the Holy Trinity and by the power of Jesus Christ' to answer all the priest's questions, whereupon he 'spoke from his inmost bowels, not with his tongue, but as if inside an empty barrel', and received absolution.[8]

The conjurations used in late medieval Europe are no different in principle from those used in other cultures, but the precise forms are in part culturally specific. In medieval Jewish conjurations, many of which survive from the Cairo Geniza, God's authority may be brought to bear on angels or demons to induce them to do the magician's bidding. These formulas are similar in their overall force but different in structure from the conjurations used within Christendom. Typically they are marked by six elements: first, the spirits are invoked in the name of God; second, they are adjured to perform specific tasks; third, the client is identified; fourth, the expected favours are listed; fifth, the requests are repeated and reinforced with quotations from the Bible and elsewhere, and sixth, the formulas conclude with a solemn liturgical 'Amen' or 'Selah'.[9] The resemblance to the conjurations of the Christian world is close enough that one might posit influence of Jewish magic on its Christian equivalent, but not so close as to prove simple and straightforward borrowing from one tradition to the other.

The conjurations of the Munich handbook are not always in the same form. One notable exception is a conjuration given in pseudo-Chaldean (no. 18): *Bismille araathe*. . . . This formula actually derives from an Arabic protoype: *Bismillahi ar-Rahmān ar-Rahīm*, the opening line of the Quran ('in the name of God, the merciful, the beneficent'), is a standard beginning to a Muslim

invocation, and other words in the formula appear also to be garbled versions of Arabic. Shorter or longer texts of such pseudo-Chaldean appear elsewhere as well (nos 19, 20 and 21), but in these cases the very esotericism is more important than any vestigial structure.

Normally the language for conjurations in late medieval Western sources was Latin, but at times - perhaps most often when a young child was being used as a medium - the conjuration is translated into the vernacular. The Munich handbook instructs the master at one point to have the child conjure the spirit in the mother tongue (no. 27). In the Rawlinson manuscript, the text shifts to the vernacular particularly for formulas addressed to the spirits when they have come, in one case for a threat addressed to them if they do not come, and once for a 'binding' conjuration (*coniuracio ligacionis*); the intent in at least some of these cases may be that the master's young companion, who might be a mere beginner in Latin, should use the vernacular.

THE DECLARATION

One of the most widespread ways of distinguishing between magic and religion is the notion that magic is coercive whereas religion is petitionary. Martin Buber seems to assume such a contrast when he says that 'Magic desires to obtain its effects without entering into relation.'[11] Yet this distinction is questionable, partly because it is not a mode of distinction that would have been familiar to medieval Europeans, also because it provides little aid in disentangling magical and religious elements that tend to be inextricably intertwined or even fused. It seems more useful to view demonic magic as inherently a kind of religious activity, and natural magic as lending itself readily to the intermingling of devotional elements.[12] It is the case, however, that the necromancers typically saw themselves as commanding, constraining and binding the spirits they invoked, and one of the arguments most insistently made in the theological condemnations of magic in the late Middle Ages is that such constraint is in fact not possible.[13] The magicians' conception of what they were doing is signalled already in the very opening of a formula of conjuration: the declaration is a statement of intent, indicating how the conjurer perceived his relationship with the spirits. They saw themselves as having a power analogous to that by which Christ astonished those about him (Mk 1:27, Lk 4:36), that of commanding unclean spirits and compelling their obedience.

At times the declaration is simple and unrepeated: 'I conjure you' (*coniuro vos* or *coniuro te*) is by far the most common declaration, occurring fully 147 times in the Munich handbook; equivalent formulas, such as 'I order you', 'I adjure you', 'I exorcize you' and 'I invoke you', are also common.[14] Elsewhere the declaration is compound: 'I invoke and adjure you' or 'I conjure you and command you'.[15] In

longer conjurations, the declaration may be repeated intermittently as a way of breaking the litany of invocations: 'I conjure you' is in six conjurations repeated once or twice, but may occur as often as five or even eleven times.[16] Elsewhere the recurring declarations vary in their form:

> I conjure . . . I conjure you . . . I conjure you and exorcize you [and] command you . . .
>
> I conjure you . . . I conjure you and call you to witness . . . I adjure you [followed by eight more occurrences of 'I conjure you'].

At times the recurrence and compounding of declarations becomes forceful and dramatic:

> I conjure you and exorcize you and call you forth . . . I conjure you . . . I conjure you and order and command you . . . I call you forth . . .
>
> I invoke you powerfully . . . I invoke and conjure you powerfully and exorcise you . . . I invoke and conjure and exorcize and constrain you . . .
>
> we exorcize and command you . . . we exorcize and manfully command you.
>
> I invoke you on behalf of [*ex parte*] the Father, I provoke you on behalf of the Son, I invoke you on behalf of the Holy Spirit[17]

Approximately 43 per cent of the time the second and following declarations are preceded by 'likewise' (*item*), which reinforces the sense and the force of the serial construction.

But while the declarations are most often statements of command, not infrequently they express supplication: 'I supplicate you'; 'I beseech you'; 'I beseech you, I supplicate you, I request of you'; 'I pray you'; 'I pray, ask, and entreat'.[18] Alternatively, the declaration may be one not of command alone but also of constraint ('I invoke, conjure, and constrain you'), a claim to yet higher power over the spirits.[19] A command may in principle be refused; coercion may not. As with humans, however, so too with demons, the distinction becomes blurred: a command supported by sufficient authority, or coupled with compelling threats, may be as compelling psychologically as brute force is physically.

THE ADDRESS

If the declaration is the conjurer's statement of intent, indicating how he perceives his action *vis-à-vis* the spirits, the address is the element in the conjuration that shows which spirits were being called upon – not an insignificant

matter, either from the magicians' perspective or from the viewpoint of authorities investigating the practice of magic. The address is our chief source of information for the demonology and angelology of the magicians. This topic will be explored more fully in the next chapter, but may be touched upon here. The address is sometimes an apostrophe, in the vocative case ('I conjure you, O Brimer, Suburith, Tranayrt, Lyroth, Berien, Damay'), and sometimes an appositive phrase, in the accusative case ('I conjure all you demons inscribed on this ring').[20] While the spirits are commonly both named and characterized, the name and the description do not always occur in the same part of the conjuration. And the conjuration mentioned above refers first to 'all you demons inscribed on this ring' and then addresses them twice by name. When the declaration is repeated, the address is sometimes replicated exactly as it was first given, but frequently the later declarations addresses merely the 'aforesaid demons' (*prenominatos demones*), as often as ten or eleven times in a single conjuration.[21] When multiple demons are being conjured they are usually all named, but one conjuration addresses the demon Lylet along with her companions (*socii*), who remain unnamed.[22]

In divinatory experiments, not only the informing spirits but also the boy serving as the necromancer's medium are often conjured to tell the truth. In such cases the conjuration is addressed to the boy simply as *puer* (no. 22) or, more often, as 'young virgin' or 'virginal youth' (*virgo iuuenis*).[23] Less often, objects used in the experiments are at times conjured and thus addressed: an image or a cloak. Power-bearing names are also addressed ('O ye most holy names').[24] Two experiments have conjurations addressed to the spirit who has taken the form of a horse.[25] In most contexts, the beings whose support is most needed and whose resistance is most feared are the spirits, and they are thus the ones chiefly subject to the magician's conjuration.

THE INVOCATIONS

As the fundamental source of efficacy by which a conjuration works, the invocations call upon the sacred power of numinous beings, names and events, power that can be wielded against the addressees and can make them to carry out the master's will. For example, a conjuration in one experiment (no. 7) invokes the power of God; events in the life of Christ; various sacred personages (Mary, the saints, then specifically the apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and widows); the sacred names of God (which bring great fear to 'all things in heaven, on earth, and in hell'); the power of the demons' own princes, kings, lords, and superiors; the spirits' own powers; their habitation, of which the circle is a representation, and 'all the figures present within it', although in fact there are no figures thus depicted. The invocations are strung together in a manner reminiscent of a litany, in most cases between two and eight in a single

conjuration, but not uncommonly as many as twenty-four. Only four experiments, all divinatory and involving the cooperation of a child medium, have conjurations with more than twenty-four invocations, and one of these runs to fully fifty-eight.[26]

Invocations can be found in mainstream Christian prayers from the late Middle Ages as well as in conjurations. The *Obsecro te* found in the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, invoked Mary by the joy she experienced at the Annunciation, by the tender care with which the Son of God entered her womb, by the joys she had in her Son, by the compassion she felt before the cross, and so forth.[27] The difference is that here the events are conceived as having psychological force: they are persuasive because they are remembered, and the point of the prayer is to call them to the Virgin's mind so that, moved by the recollection of what she herself experienced, she will have compassion on those for whom the events of Christ's life were performed – just as Christ himself is reminded of his Passion in the *Dies irae* and urged to mercy so that his suffering may not be in vain. In magical conjurations, the sacred persons, events, and objects cited serve more as powerful but impersonal weapons in a contest of wills, by which the magician may gain the upper hand over an unwilling spirit – as *arma nigromantica*, so to speak. A closer orthodox equivalent would be the petitions in the Litany of the Saints in which Christ is asked to 'free' humanity (*libera nos, domine*) by the successive acts of his life and death (*per natiuitatem tuam*, and so forth), but here the wording posits a natural and objective relationship between the sacred events and the desired effect: the normally expected effect of Christ's passion and death is to redeem humankind, not to give necromancers power over demons. Although the invocations are often by far the lengthiest in the elements of a conjuration, their meaning thus depends on the far shorter wording of the declaration and the instruction. If the purpose of the invocations is to call upon the sacred power of persons, objects and events, this power is like electricity, capable of running the most various machines and working diverse effects, both beneficent and brutally maleficent.

The subjects whose power is invoked fall into nine general categories. The examples given here are more than merely illustrative – they include the most common and significant cases within each category – but not exhaustive:

1. God:

'by God' (no. 20)

'by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit' (no. 11)

'by the undivided and inseparable Trinity in which are three persons, namely the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from both' (no. 8)

'by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, to which every name is bowed [*sic* – cf. Phil. 2:10] and every tongue proclaims Hosanna' (no. 11)

'by the living and true God' (no. 25)
'by Him who is everlasting and eternal, and by Him who gave us the grace not to stand in Hell' (no. 8)
'by God almighty, by Jesus Christ his Son, and by his Trinity, and by that providence which God had in [His] mind before the world was made, by the wisdom of God's eternity by which he made heaven stand above and established and perfected the world below . . . and by the prudence by which God separated light from darkness and created both, by the Word of God by which he made heaven and earth . . .' (no. 39)
'by the creator of heaven and earth, and by Him who created all things for the praise and glory of his name, and by the living God, and by the holy God, and by the true God' (no. 43)
'by the virtue and power of the divine majesty' (no. 3)
'by the ineffable virtue and omnipotence of the creator' (no. 33)

2. Sacred names for God or Christ:
'by the names which strike fear and terror in you' (no. 3)
'by the holy names by whose power you are bound' (no. 1)
Tetragrammaton (*passim*)
Adonay (nos 1, 7, 10, 13, 23, 25, 27, 28, 33, 35, 39)
El (nos 14, 28, 33, 39)
Ely (nos 7, 14, 23, 25, 27, 28, 35)
Eloy (nos 25, 27, 28, 33, 35, 39)
Alpha et O (nos 10, 25, 27, 28, 33, 39)
Emanuel (nos 20, 23, 23, 25, 27, 28, 33, 39)
Messyas (nos 7, 10, 23, 27, 28, 39)
Soter (nos 7, 10, 25, 27, 28, 39)
Sabaoth (nos 1, 5, 7, 10, 13, 23, 25, 27, 33, 35, 39)
62 unspecified names of Christ (no. 39)
99 names spoken by the daughters of Israel (no. 33)

3. Events from the life of Christ (usually emphasizing the Passion):
'by the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the baptism of Christ; by the fast of Christ; by the death of Christ; by the Passion of Christ; by the resurrection of Christ; by the ascension; by the coming of the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete' (no. 40)
'by the annunciation of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the sacred fast of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the baptism of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the temptation of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the 1,006 wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the 106 wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the 56 wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ, not including the others from his head to his feet; by the crown of thorns

which they placed on the head of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and they knelt down [and] mocked him, saying "Hail, king of the Jews"; by the reed and the blows with which they struck Christ; and by the three nails; by the lance with which the sacred body of Our Lord Jesus Christ was pierced, and at once blood and water flowed out; by the outburst of the holiness of Our Lord Jesus Christ, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit"' (no. 38; cf. no. 39)

4. The saints:

'by all the holy men and holy women [*sanctos et sanctas*] of God'

'by the four evangelists, Luke, Mark, Matthew, [and] John; by the four sermons; by the twelve apostles; by the three magi, Caspar, Balthasar, [and] Melchior; by the patriarchs [and] prophets; by the martyrs and confessors; and by all the popes of Rome, and all the virgins and widows; and by all the bishops; and by all the abbots; by all the priors; by all the provosts; by all the archdeacons; and by all deacons; by all monks; by all nuns; by all priests; by all deacons and subdeacons; by all the saints of God; by the merits of all the saints; by all the Christian people; and by all the saints who are in heaven and on earth; and by the 144 thousand innocents . . .' (no. 38)

'by the faith of the prophets, by the proclamations of the patriarchs, by the dignity of the twenty-four elders, by the creed of the apostles, by the passion of the martyrs, by the confessing of the confessors, by the chastity of the virgins, by the gospels of the evangelists . . .' (no. 39)

by the virginity of Mary, John the Evangelist, Catherine, Agatha, Cecilia, and Barbara (nos 27, 28).[28]

'by all the bodies of the saints that lie in Rome' (no. 12)

5. The Virgin Mary:

'by Saint Mary the virgin' (no. 29)

'by the gracious and most merciful and undefiled and uncorrupt virgin Mary, the mother of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who, dying for us wretched sinners, called us to the heavenly fatherland' (no. 7)

by her virginity (no. 28)

by her tears (no. 40)

by her milk (no. 12)

by her names – Queen, Flower, Rose, Lily, Ladder, Wisdom, Life, Sweetness, Mercy, and Hope (no. 10)

6. The angels:

'by the angels and archangels, thrones and dominations, principalities, powers, virtues of the heavens, cherubim and seraphim' (no. 40)

'by the thrones, dominations, powers, and principalities of Our Lord Jesus Christ; and by all the angels and archangels who dwell before the throne of God, crying out with one voice, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest."' (no. 9)
'by the nine orders of angels' (no. 29)
by the archangels Michael, Gabriel and Raphael (no. 38)

7. Material creatures:

'by all things that were and are and will be' (no. 2)
'by all things that exist beneath the heavens' (no. 35)
'by all the powers of heaven and earth' (no. 35)
'by heaven and earth, by the sea, by all things that are in them, by all emperors, by all kings, by all princes, by all counts, by all knights, by all citizens' (no. 38)
'by all things that the four parts of the world contain, and by the ages of the world, and by all animals that exist beneath the heavens, and by serpents and flying things, bipeds, tripeds, quadrupeds' (no. 40)
'by heaven and earth, the sea and hell, and all things existing in them' (no. 11)
by the heavenly and earthly Paradise (no. 10)
'by the eternity of all creatures' (no. 5)
by the five *secula* and seven *etates* of the world (no. 39)
'by the Sun and Moon and all the heavenly stars, and by all those things which have [power] to frighten and constrain you, and by the power of which it behoves you to come to us who summon you' (no. 6)
'by all things which have [power] to terrify, constrain, and bind you, and whose command it behoves you to fulfill completely' (no. 11)
'by your virtue and power, and by all things that have power against you' (no. 11)
by the sacraments of baptism (no. 33)
by the eucharist (nos 12, 38, 39)
by the four rivers of Paradise (no. 8)

8. The Last Judgement:

'by the fearful day of judgement' (no. 35)
'by the fearful day of judgement of God most high, and by the fiery consumption, and by the glassy sea which is before the gaze of the divine majesty, and by the four animals . . . before the throne of the divine majesty, with eyes before and behind' (no. 33)
'by the fearful day of judgement, on which you are all to be damned' (no. 40)

9. The rulers of the demons:

'by Toth, your prince; by Zambrim et Mambrim; by Vsuel [and] by Saduel, to whom you are held to obey and tell the truth' (no. 33)

'by the power and dignity of Lucifer, Aphaleon and Neutrion' (no. 8)

'by your master Astaroth' (no. 40)

'by all your princes, kings, lords and superiors, and by your hell, and by all those things that exist in it'. (no. 10)

'by the virtue and power of all your princes, kings, lords and superiors, and by your [own] virtue and potentiality and potency [*possibilitatem ac potenciam*], and by your dwelling place, of which this [circle] is a form, and by all the figures abiding in it' (no. 7)

The invocations used by far most often and consistently are those in the first two categories - those appealing to the power of the divine persons, powers and names. Of these, the most common is the Tetragrammaton, the *nomen altissimum* in no. 14, spelled *Tetragramaton* (nos 1, 10, 13, 14, 25, 27, 28, 35), and also produced as Y-V-E and HX-V-V-HV, while Y-V-E-X is given as a name used by Abraham (no. 33).[29] The most extended and perhaps the most interesting series of invocations referring to the divine names is one (no. 33) with thirty-one specific names associated with events from salvation history, particularly the Exodus:

> We exorcise and command you by the most mighty and potent name of God, El, strong and wondrous; by Him who spoke and it was made; by all his names; and by the Name YVE, which Moses heard and spoke . . . and by the name YVEX, and with the name [Y]V[E]X, which Abraham heard, and he knew the almighty God; and by the name Joth, and with the name Joth, which Jacob heard from the angel accompanying him, and he was freed from the hand of his brother Esau; and by the name Eyzaserie, and with the name Eyzaserie, which Moses heard on the mountain, and he merited to be now with God, and to hear him speaking in the flame; and by the name Anathematon, and with the name Anathematon, which Aaron heard, and he became eloquent and wise . . .

This conjuration proceeds to invoke the names the names Sabaoth, Oristion, Eloy, Yephaton, Arbitrios, Elyon, Adonay, Pantheon and Arimon, by which Moses caused the plagues in Egypt; Geremon, by which he freed the Israelites; Yegeron, by which he divided the Red Sea; Anabona, by which he merited to receive the tablets of the law; Egyryon, by which Joshua overcame his foes; Patheon, by which David was saved from Goliath, and so on.[30]

Names for Christ are sometimes derived from biblical images, especially in one extended series (no. 39):

> Messyas, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Panthon, Panthocrathon, Eloy, Theos, Hon, Vision, Saviour, Alpha and Omega, First and Last, First Born, Beginning and End, way, truth, and wisdom, virtue, Paraclete, I am who am, who are, mediator, lamb, sheep, ram, calf, serpent, kid, Word, image, glory, grace, salvation, light, salt, peace, splendour, bread, font, vine, shepherd, prophet, undying hope, king, father, almighty, merciful, eternal, highest good, Trinity, unity, Father, El, Eloy, Eloe, Eleon, Saday, Symator, Tu, Ye, Ye, Prince of Peace, Enstriel, spirit, fear, goodness, thou, unity of unities, threefold godhead.

Occasionally names for God are derived from Hebrew or Greek liturgical formulas: AGLA (no. 33), the common magical abbreviation for the Hebrew *Ata gibor leolam Adonai* ('Thou art mighty for ever, O Lord'); *Theos* (no. 39), *Tschiros* (no. 28), and *Athanatos* (nos 28, 33), names derived from the liturgical *trisagion*, taken over into the Latin liturgy of Good Friday in the original Greek); *Eleyson* (no. 28), from the *Kyrie eleison*. Other names derived from Greek titles are *ho ōn* (nos 14, 23, 27, 28, 33) or simply *Hon* (no. 25) ('The Existing One'), and Pancraton (nos 28, 33) or Panthocrathon (no. 39), presumably variants on *Pantocrator*, 'the Almighty' or 'Ruler of All'.[31]

In short, what Joseph Kaster says about mastery of the divine names in ancient Egyptian ritual applies in Jewish and Christian contexts as well: 'whoever knows the god's real name, secret and ineffable and taboo, has control over him in the sense that he can evoke his power. In all ceremonial magic, the essential portion of the spell is the calling forth of the spirit or deity by *name*; when he is evoked by his real name, he must work the desire of the magician who "controls" him. This is "a name to conjure with".'[32]

On occasion the names of the demons, like those of God and Christ, are represented as possessing power: one invokes the demonic names Apolyn, Gebel, Astaroth, Tereol, Falmar and Tyroces (no. 5); another has an invocation 'by the name of your highest prince' (no. 27).

Certain conjurations invoking events from the life of Christ make explicit what is presumably implied elsewhere, that they are calling not so much upon the events themselves as upon the power manifested in the events: 'by the power by which Our Lord Jesus Christ entered in to his disciples when the doors were closed' (no. 35); 'by the power of Our Lord Jesus Christ, to wit that for us humans he descended from heaven and was born of the virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate . . .' (no. 38).

On rare occasions the invocations appeal to the very practice of magic, whether historical or present: spirits are conjured by 'all the experiments of Virgil [the necromancer]' (no. 38),[33] by the ring brought for the experiment (no. 3), or by the magical circle used for the experiment, 'by which you are effectively called forth' (no. 9). In view of the magical powers often ascribed to Solomon, it is not surprising to find his rings invoked, along with the signs and names inscribed on

them (nos 28, 33); his seven signs, his seal, and his characters (nos 27, 38); or his wisdom (nos 12, 30, 38).[34] Often the invocations show a preference for saints grouped in threes: most especially the three magi, Caspar, Balthasar and Melchior; also the three young men Sydrac, Mysaach and Abdenago and the three patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.[35] The virgin child medium conjures spirits by his own virginity, and the master conjures him by the virginity he has maintained and the baptism he has received (nos 27, 28).

When Oriens is conjured, the invocations refer to his own dignities and subordinate spirits: 'by your kings, and by all your royal powers; by Sotuem [and] Sortfen; by your Sun, a most holy and sacred radiant treasure, bright and shining, which your excellence sends forth and which your manifest and benign power sends back; and by all your dignities and commands' (no. 41).

A conjuration from the supplementary material in Clm 849 commands the demons by virtue of two biblical analogies:

> O you demons, and all princes and every kind of demons, whom your guilt cast out from heaven on high, I adjure you and order you to obey my command and my precepts. Just as God commanded the Jordan and it stood still that the children of Israel might walk across without hindrance, so to I command you to obey my precepts day and night, at all hours and moments, [and be subject] to my precepts. Just as the Red Sea obeyed Moses and Aaron when it divided and presented a dry path for the children of Israel, so by invocation of Our Lord Jesus Christ I command you to obey me without delay, without harm or deception to me or any living thing . . .[36]

The Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, too, uses analogies in some of its conjurations: as Christ was 'fixed' to the cross by the Jews, so may the aerial spirits be 'fixed' by the power of the holy names; as the almighty Father (*sic*!) lay in the tomb for two days and arose on the third day, so may the aerial spirits rise up and come forth; may the master proceed securely along his way, as Jesus proceeded through the midst of his enemies and none of them laid a hand on him because his hour had not come.[37] These formulas are similar in form to invocations, and presumably the intended force is the same: the purpose of the analogy is presumably not only to clarify what the conjurer intends (in which case it would be ancillary to the instruction) but to call upon the power of the sacred event that is recalled.

THE INSTRUCTION

The part of the conjuration directing the addressee what to do is typically introduced with the conjunction meaning 'that' (*ut*, or sometimes *quatenus*, more rarely *quod*). The formula of instruction may be repeated once, twice, or more

often (in one conjuration for experiment no. 39 as many as ten times), in which case the manuscript may give the full version only the first time and only the incipit for subsequent occurrences.[38] Necromantic texts sometimes speak of 'obediencial conjurations', intended to compel the spirits' submission; 'bonds' or binding conjurations such as the 'bond of Solomon' (*vinculum Solomonis*), used in the Munich handbook's divinatory experiments to keep the spirits from departing until they have answered all questions;[39] and 'licencial conjurations', dismissing the spirits and requiring them to return at the magician's will.[40] The conjurations found in the Munich handbook, however, can most usefully be divided into 'summoning conjurations' and 'executing conjurations'.

Summoning conjurations are used to instruct a spirit or spirits to come before the necromancer ('that you come in a benign form', 'that you should come to me', 'that you should have no rest until you come to me', 'that you should at once proceed here', or 'that you should be compelled to come here').[41] They may be commanded to appear in a reflecting surface as part of a divinatory experiment ('that you should all appear') or to send another spirit or spirits for that purpose ('that you should command your master that he himself should come', 'that you should take pains to send one of your subordinates', 'that you should send me a certain spirit', 'that you should have your subordinates come here', 'that you, N., should make spirit N. come to me').[42]

Executing conjurations, which require the spirit or spirits to carry out the will of the master, are more varied in proportion to the various purposes of the experiments. In psychological experiments the spirits are enjoined to affect the minds and hearts of the individuals singled out as victims ('that you should sow and stir up hatred between them', 'that you should seduce the heart and mind of N. to my love', 'that you should never have rest until you make her heart burn with my love').[43] In divinatory experiments involving a young boy as medium, either the master or the boy may conjure the father of lies or his minions to tell the truth, or the master may conjure the boy himself to do so ('that you should relate to us whatever you see', 'that you should tell me the truth', 'that you should show me the truth', 'that you should have no rest unless you reveal to this boy the thief and the theft').[44] The spirits may be instructed to make possible the conditions for the bestowal of information – to enlighten the boy's mind, or to cause his fingernail to grow bright and appear large.[45] These conjurations may even involve the explicit insistence that the spirit or the child not lie, nor even have the power to conceal or deceive ('that you should have no power of concealing, but should manifest all that you see').[46] The spirits may be conjured to entrust a treasure to the master ('that you should leave me a treasure'), to fetch and replace a woman ('that you should go to so-and-so and immediately fetch her here, and return her when I wish'), to guard some object, not to harm the master in the course of the experiment ('that you should have no power to harm me'), to protect the master ('that you should forthwith have these terrors

removed', 'that you should avenge me against him who is trying to harm me'), or to obey the master's command generally ('that you should obey my command').[47] The child medium may be conjured not only to tell the truth but, at an earlier stage, to gaze into his fingernail ('that you should gaze into [your] nail and see whether it becomes bright or not').[48]

In some conjurations, to be sure, the distinction between summons and execution breaks down. In divinatory experiments the spirits may be simultaneously commanded to come, to make themselves seen, and to provide information ('that you should appear to me and give true responses', 'that you should come and appear and tell me the truth', 'that you should come and appear and reveal this to us', 'that you should appear and respond and reveal all the truth', 'that you should appear and reveal to us the truth', 'that you should come and answer me and tell the truth').[49] Elsewhere they may told to come and bring an object ('that you should come to me, bringing a consecrated ring'), to come and transport the necromancer ('that you should come to me without delay, and carry me to such-and-such a place'), to come and consecrate an object ('that you should come here and consecrate this ring'), or simply to come and fulfill the master's will ('that you should come to me and carry out my entire will').[50]

Executing conjurations need not be addressed to the spirits by whose power the operation is done. Experiment no. 12 contains two instructions to the woman whose passionate love is required, although the second of these vacillates between the second and the third person: 'that you should be unable to sleep until you complete my libidinous desire' and 'that, as the hart longs for the fountain of water [Ps. 41:2 Vult.], so you, N., should long for my love; and as the raven longs for the carcasses of dead people, so you should long for me [*sic*!]; and as this wax melts before the fire, so you, N., should long for my love, so that you are unable . . .' In experiment no. 11, for a cloak of invisibility, the master conjures the cloak itself 'that no one may be able to see me'. In the simple experiments to obtain a horse, as in the complex experiment to procure a flying throne, the master conjures the horse or the throne to transport him, usually to a specified location ('that you should carry me', 'that you should lead me to such-and-such a place').[51]

A BOND OF SATAN OR MIRAGE

One lengthy conjuration appears both in the Munich necromancer's handbook (no. 32) and again twice in the appended material; versions of it by three different hands are thus included in Clm 849.[52] The two isolated versions, which agree quite closely in their wording, are addressed to the demon (or 'ancient serpent') named Mirage; the version incorporated into the manual, which differs markedly from these at many points, addresses the Devil, or Satan, 'most wicked enemy of the faith, death of the human race, tempter of righteousness, lover of evils, root

and kindling of vices, seducer of humans, and master', 'most wicked dragon', 'accursed and most mendacious spirit' and 'author of diabolical power, inventor of evils'. The conjuration begins anomalously with a statement regarding the powers being brought to bear against the Devil ('may the angels and archangels accuse you . . . may the elect of God accuse you'), followed by a prayer for divine aid ('God . . . I invoke your holy name . . . I humbly implore that you may deign to give me aid against this spirit Satan'). These elements are followed by simply commands addressed to the spirit himself ('Hear, therefore, Devil . . . come forth . . . I adjure you . . . to be subject to my commands and carry them out'). The instructions are for the most part purely generic: 'I adjure you . . . to do quickly whatever I command you', or 'to do quickly whatever I order and command of you', or 'I adjure and constrain and command you . . . to obey me without any impediment or harm or wound or affliction to my body or soul'. At the end, however, the instruction is specific but allows for such variation that the effect is still to make this a generic conjuration, for virtually any purpose:

> [Come] to me in this hour, without any harm or injury or affliction to my soul or my body, or send another [spirit] or have him come, who will know perfectly how to fulfil my every desire, and will not withdraw from me until I have given him leave and he has fully satisfied my will. I conjure you by all that is written above to make a spirit come to me carrying gold and silver [coins] and [hidden] treasures, before I withdraw from this place. And as often as I invoke him, let him appear at once, benign and humble, harming no one, and ministering to me in all things, and fulfilling my will. So be it, so be it, amen. And bring or send me a spirit willing and competent in all knowledge. May he have the power to make me invisible whenever I wish. And let him please me, and be always under my power. And provide him also with the power to consecrate books and experiments, and everything that I wish. Amen, amen, amen.

Repeatedly the will of the conjuror is identified with that of God: the spirit is told that God himself commands him, or that the conjuror does so not by his own power but by that of God, or 'by the power which I have over you, Mirage, given me by God almighty in baptism and the other sacraments'. At one point the conjuration reads, 'The Word made flesh commands you, He who was born of the virgin commands you, Jesus of Nazareth commands you, He who created you commands you to carry out quickly what I ask or wish to have from you or desire to know; the more you delay in doing what I command you, the greater will be your punishment from day to day.' The reminder of the punishment awaiting the spirit on the Day of Judgement, and the threat of heightened torment as a penalty for disobedience, is also repeated – somewhat as elsewhere (no. 2) a spirit is threatened with being cast forever into the depths of the sea.[53]

The conjuration of Mirage, from the supplementary material in the codex, is followed by material that the main block does not take over: a set of instructions for constructing a circle in a secret location, with various prayers, and supplementary conjurations in which Mirage is threatened with intensified pains if he does not present himself: 'If not, I exorcize you that the chains of your punishment may be rife with sulpur and pitch.'[34] The spirit is to be conjured a second and third time, if necessary, but no more.[35]

EXORCISMS AND CONJURATIONS

Adolf Franz published a lengthy formula of exorcism taken from a West Frankish manuscript of the ninth century, which reads in part:

. . . I conjure you, Devil, Satan, Enemy,

- by God the Father almighty;
- and by those virtues which the Lord himself made and makes;
- by those angels he has before himself in [his] mind; . . .
- by those four animals which uphold the world itself;
- by every good creation that God has made in heaven and on earth;
- and by the light and the earth and all its creeping things;

by all these things I conjure you that you should not have power to remain, for he commands you who ordered you to be cast down from the kingdom of heaven on high. Hear, therefore, and be afraid [*Audi ergo et time ergo*], Devil, Satan, Enemy; you are banned, and again I speak to you and conjure you

- by that king who rules and commands all things . . .

Again I have said to you, O infernal enemies, by all things that I have had in mind for you [in] so great a conjuration as this, that you should not have power to remain or to do harm or to rebel. . . . I exorcize you, O accursed one, most unclean spirit, basilisk dragon, noxious serpent . . . that you should go out from this temple of God . . . I exorcize you, O unclean spirit, author of sins, deceiver of souls, envious one, insatiable homicide who endeavoured to kill the immortal man whom God created by his power. . . . In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ I adjure you, O enemy . . . I conjure you and entreat [*obtestor*] you, O enemy, [that] you should not have power to remain here in this person's soul or body . . . I adjure you

- by the gates of Paradise;
- by the six golden candlesticks [Apoc 1:12]. . .

I speak to you in truth, O unclean spirit, dragon, I adjure you,

- by the Holy Spirit;
- I adjure you by the six fiery furnaces;
- I adjure you by the cherubim and seraphim;
- I adjure you by the wings of the winds;

- I adjure you by the mystery of Christ's [passion];
- I adjure you by the resurrection of Christ the Lord;
- I adjure you by the precious pearls;
- I adjure you by the years [and] by the days;
- I adjure you by the passion of the saints;
- I adjure you by him who who freed the people Israel from the Red Sea, who freed Daniel from the lion's den, who illumined the blind, healed the paralytics, [and] cleansed the lepers.

I adjure you now by him, O enemy, unclean one, inveterate dragon, [that] you should depart from the soul and withdraw from the body or from all the inward parts of [this] servant of God. . . .

It is not I who command you, nor my sins, O most unclean spirit, but the immaculate lamb, Jesus Christ Our Lord, the Son of God, commands you.

The angels press upon [*urguent*] you, the archangels press upon you, the prophets press upon you, the apostles press upon you, the martyrs press upon you, the confessors press upon you. Therefore may the arts of the Devil fail [*defici[a]nt ergo artes diaboli*] by day [and] by night . . .

I exorcize you, O author of diabolical power, inventor of malice . . .[56]

The essential elements of this formula are exactly those seen in necromantic conjurations of a much later era. There are, to be sure, distinctive embellishments. First, the devil being expelled is not only named (Devil, Satan, Enemy) but characterized: he is the 'accursed one, most unclean spirit, basilisk dragon, noxious serpent', or the 'unclean spirit, author of sins, deceiver of souls, envious one, insatiable homicide who endeavoured to kill the immortal man whom God created by his power', and as the 'author of diabolical power, the inventor of malice', and so forth. Second, he is expelled from the energumen's body as well as his soul. Third, it is expressly said not merely that the exorcist commands in the name of Christ (as in Acts 16:18) but that Christ himself is the one who commands, even if through the exorcist. Fourth, various sacred figures are represented as participating in the exorcist's struggle with the malign spirit: the angels, archangels, prophets, apostles, martyrs and confessors all place pressure upon the possessing devil (*urguent*, for *urgent*), or denounce him (reading *arguunt*). And fifth, the second-person address is interrupted with a third-person subjunctive urging that the Devil's arts or snares may come to naught. The essential structure of the formula remains unaffected by these elements, but the network of relations is rendered more complex. The exorcist insults the spirit with whom he is engaged in struggle, identifies his own action as that of Christ, and calls upon the angels and saints not simply as possessors of power that can be tapped through invocation but as active participants in the contest. The representation of the exorcism as a cosmic combat, perhaps a local instance of that apocalyptic conflict that Christ initiated in his own exorcisms and carried

forward in his passion and resurrection, here becomes exceptionally dramatic and explicit.

As already indicated, the conjurations of the necromancer are identical in form to the exorcisms designed to dispel demons. The resemblance may be seen in a manual for exorcizing the possessed that was printed several times in the late fifteenth century went by the title *The Conjuration of Malign Spirits Dwelling in the Bodies of People, as it is Done in Saint Peter.*[57] The simplest form of exorcism used here is simply, 'I exorcize you, unclean spirit, in the name of God the Father almighty ✠ and in the name of Jesus Christ his Son ✠ and by the power of the Holy Spirit ✠ that you should recede from this servant of God, N.' Like the conjurations of exorcists, however, the formulas used here become extended through repetition of the instruction and through numerous invocations:

> I conjure you, O Devil, by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by the patriarchs and prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and all the holy men and holy women of God . . . and by our Lord Jesus Christ I conjure you, that you should recede from this servant of God, N. I conjure you, O Devil, by the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he endured for the human race, that you should recede from this servant of God, N. I conjure you, O Devil, by the holy cross on which our Lord [died for] the servant of God, N., that you should not be able to conceal yourself in his body, nor in his members, nor in his head. I conjure you, Devil, by the nails of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which his hands and feet were affixed to the cross, that you should withdraw from this servant of God, N., that you not be able to conceal yourself in his mouth or head. I conjure you, Devil, by the lance that Longinus held, by which he pierced the side of our Lord Jesus Christ, and blood and water flowed out, that you not be able to conceal yourself in his throat or on his tongue or under his tongue, or in his other members. I conjure you, Devil, by the death and burial of Christ, from which he rose from the dead on the third day, that you not be able to conceal yourself in his bowels or inward parts. I conjure you, Devil, by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, in which he appeared to his disciples, saying, 'It is I, do not be afraid,' and he commanded them, saying, 'Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creatures; he who believes and is baptized will be saved, but he who does not believe will be condemned'; by the aforesaid words I conjure and admonish you that you should recede from this servant of God, N. I conjure you, O Devil, by the ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you should recede from this servant of God, N. I conjure you, Devil, by the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete most high, whom our Lord Jesus entrusted to his disciples in fiery tongues, that you should recede from this servant of God, N., and not return any more, nor make any [spirit] return to him, and as God separated

> heaven from earth, truth from falsehood, good from evil, sweet from bitter, so may you be separated from this servant of God and not be able to approach him any more . . .

The exorcist claims directly the authority of Christ, proclaiming that Christ himself commands the spirit to withdraw:

> He commands you, accursed devil, who walked on the sea with dry feet. . . . He commands you, accursed devil, who commanded the winds and the sea and the storms. He commands you, accursed devil, who ordered that you be cast from the heights of heaven to the depths of Earth. . . .

He further threatens the spirit by reminding him of the punishments prepared for him: 'Nor should you be unaware, Satan and Belzebuch, that pains and torments will come upon you in the day of judgement and in that eternal day when God will come like a fiery furnace to judge the living and the dead. . . .' Not only the general structure of the formulas but even the precise wording echoes the conjurations of the Munich handbook and other necromantic texts. At one point, for example, the manual for dispelling a demon parallels the conjuration of Mirage:

> You, therefore, most evil spirit, enemy of humankind, death's plunderer [*raptor*], evader of justice [*iustitie declinator*], root of evils, font of vices, seducer of humans [*deductor hominum*] . . . master of demons . . .
>
> You, therefore, most evil Mirage, enemy of the faith of humankind, inventor [*repertor*] of death, herald of injustice [*iniusticie declarator*], root of evils, inciter of vices, seducer of humans [*seductor hominis*], master of demons . . .[58]

Unlike the rite in this oft-published work, the exorcism of elves and other 'demons' from a fifteenth-century medico-magical manuscript makes no pretence of official status, yet it is identical in its basic form to other exorcisms and conjurations:

> In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, amen. I conjure you, elves and all kinds of demons, of the night or of the day, by the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and the undivided Trinity, and by the intercession of the most blessed and glorious ever virgin Mary, by the prayers of the prophets, by the merits of the patriarchs, by the intercessions [*suffragia*] of the angels and archangels, by the intervention of the apostles, by the passion of the martyrs, by the faith of the confessors, by the chastity of the virgins, and by the intercession of all the saints, and by the Seven Sleepers, whose names are Malchus, Maximian, Dionysius, John, Constantine,

Serapion, [and] Mortian [*MS* Martimanus], and by the name of the Lord God which is blessed forever ✠A✠G✠L✠A✠, that you should cause or inflict no harm or any evil on this servant of God, N., whether in sleep or while awake. ✠ Christ has conquered [*sic*] ✠ Christ reigns ✠ Christ rules ✠ may Christ bless us ✠ [and] defend us from every evil. ✠ Amen.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, amen. ✠ In my name they will cast out demons, they will speak with new tongues, they will take up serpents, and if they drink any poison it will not harm them, [and] they will put their hands on the sick and will cure them. ✠ Wondrous cross, dispeller of sorrow, recovery of health. ✠ Behold the cross of the Lord; flee, adverse ones [*partes adverse*]. ✠ The lion of the tribe of Judah has conquered, the root of David has sprouted [*allam?*]. ✠ Christ conquers ✠ Christ reigns ✠ Christ rules ✠ may Christ defend this servant of God from every fantasy and every vexation of the Devil, and from every evil, at every hour and everywhere, by the power of the holy cross ✠ Amen ✠ agios ✠ hyskyros ✠ athanathos ✠ eleyson ✠.[59]

The same may be said of an exorcism of 'malignant spirits' found in the same manuscript:

Hear, O accursed Satan, I adjure you by the name of the eternal God and of Our saviour, His Son Jesus Christ. Depart, trembling and sighing, overcome with your envy. Let there be nothing in common between you and your angels and the servant of God, N. Do not harm him or appear visibly before him, in his sleep or while he is awake. Again I conjure you demons or malignant spirits, whoever you are, by the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ on the cross, and by his bloody wounds. Again I conjure you by the death of Jesus Christ on the cross and the giving up of his spirit, which descended into hell and despoiled it, that now and henceforth you should always flee from this servant of God, N., and never enter into him, but go out and withdraw from him. Again I conjure you by the power of the words written here, if thou are or ye are within him, that thou shouldst or ye should (if you are many) go out from him, so that he may have no terror or disturbance from henceforth. This compels you: may the Word made flesh ✠ the holy cross of Christ, the nails, [and] the crown of thorns drenched in the blood of the Lamb of God on the cross save him, defend the bearer here and everywhere from every adversity and perversity of the Devil. In the name of the Father, etc.[60]

In exorcisms the boundary between mainstream tradition and deviant usage is difficult to define with precision, but the extreme cases are easy enough to determine. One late medieval manuscript requires that the energumen be laid before an altar after mass, inside a chalk diagram, with three stoles binding his

body; another requires that the possessed person be dressed in a chasuble and stole and made to lie on his back, with feet turned toward the altar, while the exorcist recites a ritual bond (*vinculum*) to control the evil spirits by the power of various divine names.[61] When Niccolò Consigli was tried at Florence in 1384, for example, he was accused not only of summoning demons to work harm but also of exorcizing the possessed and thus usurping clerical prerogatives. When a ten-year-old girl was brought to him he cured her of possession by laying her on a rug, and intoning a diabolical incantation that began 'Tant muructa? tiri?'[62] In comparison, the exorcisms cited above share their basic form (from declaration through instruction) with the necromantic conjurations we have examined, and they all rest on the mainstream theological assumption that the will of the demons can be constrained, with God's permission and aid, and through the power of the sacred. The necromancers shared with fully official exorcists a belief in the power of the holy to command and ultimately constrain the unclean spirits.

Following a suggestion of Lynn White, André Goddu has sought to explain what he sees as the 'failure of exorcism' in the fifteenth century largely in terms of a heightened consciousness of the possibility that exorcism may be ineffective. Faced with these diminished expectations, theologians began to argue that exorcism was indeed effective on the spiritual plane even if residual bodily effects remained. Alternatively, one could fall back on the time-honoured notion that if exorcism did not succeed then *prima facie* the condition was not truly one of demonic possession.[63] Interesting as his argument is, it rests upon the questionable assumption that the use of exorcism in fact declined. What Goddu shows is that in the October volumes of the *Acta sanctorum* there is diminished occurrence of exorcism in materials from the fifteenth century. But he seems to be referring mainly not to actual exorcisms performed by saints while they were alive, but rather expulsion of demons worked at the tombs of deceased saints, which have indirect relevance at most to the study of exorcism. More compelling is the suggestion of Nancy Caciola, that precisely in the fifteenth century there was *increasing* interest in exorcism as a quasi-liturgical ritual, and that extensive manuals on exorcism, with formulas and instructions for its use, are chiefly the produce of this century. To be sure, there were lengthy formulas in earlier eras, mainly derived from baptismal exorcisms, but before the fifteenth century exorcisms tended to be more concise, and the techniques in large measure improvised.[64] The Munich handbook was thus riding on the crest of a new development: what it represents is a particular version (or, from an orthodox perspective, perversion) of a more general interest in the elaboration and assembly of materials for the commanding of malign spirits. Once again we can see conjuration as the reverse side of a tapestry whose obverse consists of orthodox exorcism – both taking on new significance, as it happens, at the same time that literal tapestries were becoming more significant and more elaborate in European artistic practice.

Notes

1 A.G. Little, ed., *Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicantium, saeculo XIII compositus a quodam Fratre Minore Anglico de provincia Hiberniae, secundum codicem Dunelmensem editus* (Aberdeen: Typis Academicis, 1908), 22. Barbara Newman, who is working on the theme of demon-preachers in and around the thirteenth century, called this text to my attention.

2 See Richard P.H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988): 277, on texts in which it appears that God is being commanded or conjured.

3 Lester K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993).

4 See the curse directed against thieves in the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, fols 121r–121v: *Obscurentur oculi eorum ne videant et dorsum eorum semper incurva. Irruat super eos formido et pauor in magnitudine brachij tui. Fiant immobiles quasi lapis, donec pertranseat populus tuus, domine, donec pertranseat* [*sic*] *populus tuus* [*sic*] *iste quem possedisti, etc* . . . . (Cf. 124r–124v.)

5 In the Vulgate, Song of Songs 2:7, *Adiuro vos, filiae Hierusalem, per capreas cervosque camporum, ne suscitetis neque evigilare faciatis dilectam.*

6 C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939–1210* (Philadelphia, 1985), 238, citing Nicetius, *Epistulae Austrasicae*, in MGH Epp. Merow. et Karol. aev., 1/3/9, 119–22.

7 Charles Plummer, ed., *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), 143: *illa bestia fugata ad persequentem se voce humana dixit: 'Adiuro te in nomine Brigide, virginis Hibernensis, ut me dimittas.'*

8 M.R. James, 'Twelve medieval ghost-stories', *English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), 413–22 (no. 3). On these cases see Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Les revenants: les vivants et les morts dans la société médiévale* (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 168–73.

9 Michael D. Swartz, 'Scribal magic and its rhetoric: formal patterns in medieval Hebrew and Aramaic incantation texts from the Cairo Genizah', *Harvard Theological Review*, 83 (1990), 163–80.

10 Rawl. 19r–20r, 124v, 139r–142r, 151v, 155r–156r; 148r–149r; 153r.

11 Martin Buber, *I and Thou*, 2nd edn, trans. Ronald Gregor Smith (New York: Scribner, 1958), 83.

12 See Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 78–80.

13 See Iohannes de Francofordia, *Quaestio, utrum potestas coherendi demonis fieri possit per caracteres, figuras atque verborum prolationes* (1412), in Joseph Hansen, ed., *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter* (Bonn: Georgi, 1901; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 71–82. See also the conclusions of the Paris theologians, from 1398, in Jean Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Palemon Glorieux (Paris: Desclée, 1961–73), vol. 10, p. 89: article 17 condemns the belief 'That by such arts demons are truly coerced and compelled and do not feign such compulsion to seduce people'.

14 *Precipio vobis* occurs six times (e.g., no. 38 and no. 39); *adiuro vos/te* twice; *exorcizo te, voco vos, invoco vos*, and *obsolvo vos* also occur.

15 *Te invoco et adiuro* (no. 14); *coniuro vos et precipio vobis* (no. 39).

16 No. 27 (five times in a single conjuration), no. 39 (eleven times).

17 No. 12 (*coniuro . . . coniuro te . . . coniuro vos et exorcizo vos* [*et*] *impero vobis*); no. 39 (*coniuro vos . . .*

coniuro et contestor vos . . . adiuro vos followed by eight more occurrences of *coniuro vos*); no. 8 (*vos coniuro et exorcizo, et provoco vos . . . coniuro vos . . . coniuro vos et impero atque precipio vobis . . . vos adiuro*); no. 15 (*vos potenter invoco . . . vos invoco et coniuro potenter et exorcizo . . . vos invoco et coniuro et exorcizo et constringo*); no. 33 (*vos exorcisamus atque imperamus . . . exorcizamus atque viriliter imperamus*); no. 11 (*invoco vos ex parte Patris, provoco vos ex parte Filij, invoco vos ex parte Spiritus Sancti*). Further examples: *coniuro vos et adiuro*, followed by *coniuro vos* twice; *coniuro vos* six times, followed by *precipio vobis*; *vos exorcizo et coniuro . . . coniuro vos*; *vos coniuro et exorcizo et invoco . . . coniuro vos . . . coniuro vos et exorcizo*; *vos coniuro . . . coniuro vos . . . precipio vobis*; *vobis precipio . . . precipio vobis*; *coniuro vos . . . precipio vobis*; *vobis impero et precipio et coniuro . . . coniuro vos*.

18 No. 1 (*supplico vobis* and *te deprecor*); no. 4 (*vos deprecor, vobis supplico, vos rogito*); no. 22 (*te deprecor*); no. 23 (*te exoramus*); no. 24 (*rogo . . . rogo vos*); no. 29 (*te deprecor*); no. 41 (*precor te . . . rogo et contestor* and *precor, rogo, et peto*).

19 E.g., no. 6 (*rogo vos, coniuro et adiuro*). no. 15 uses the forms *coniuro et constringo te, te invoco, coniuro, et constringo*, and *te invoco et coniuro et constringo*.

20 Both from no. 10; the latter reads *Coniuro vos, omnes demones scriptos in hoc anulo*.

21 No. 39 and no. 40.

22 No. 23.

23 In no. 27 he is addressed several times by that designation and also as simply *virgo* or *infans*.

24 Nos 4 (*ymago*), 11 (*cappa*), 24 (*O vos sanctissima nomina*). no. 40 addresses *Jaspar, Balthasar, Melchior, Smoagel, Emanuel, et deus fortis*, but this appears to be a mistake; these names should appear in invocations rather than in an address.

25 Addressed as *aque bone* in nos 17 and 43.

26 A conjuration in experiment no. 38 has thirty-four, one in no. 40 has forty-six, one in no. 33 has forty-nine, and one in no. 39 has fifty-eight.

27 Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 262f.

28 Cf. *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes of Acle: An Edition of Tanner MS 407*, ed. Cameron Louis (New York: Garland, 1980), 169–70.

29 Nos 1, 10, 13, 14 (where it is called the *nomen altissimum*), 25, 27, 28, 33 (where it is said to have been used by Abraham) and 35. On the Jewish background for magical use of the divine name see K. Kohler, 'The Tetragrammaton (Shem ham-M'forash) and its uses', *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy*, 1 (1919), 19–32.

30 Compare the wording of the conjuration in Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D 252, fols 87v–89v.

31 Nos 33 (AGLA); 39 (Theos); 28 (Ychiros); 28 and 33 (Athanatos); 28 (Eleyson); 14, 23, 27, 28, 33 (On); 25 (Hon); 28, 33 (Pancraton); 39 (Panthocrathon). One of the more extraordinary invocations is *per legem legalem et per spem speratam et per karitatem karitatissam* (no. 14), presumably an adaptation or garbling of the three theological virtues.

32 Joseph Kaster, trans. and ed., *The Wings of the Falcon* (New York, 1968), 60.

33 On the lore of Virgil see Domenico Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, trans. E.F.M. Benecke (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895), and J.W. Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer* (Cambridge, MA, 1934).

34 See esp. F.C. Conybeare, 'The Testament of Solomon', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 11 (1899), 1–45, but also John M. Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition* (Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1974), 30–35.

35 E.g., no. 20.

36 Fols 141r–141v.

37 Rawl. MS D 252, fols 16v–17v, 72r–72v.

38 E.g., nos 27, 35, 40.

39 No. 25, *vt non recedatis . . . quousque certificati fuerimus de omni re dubitabili*; no. 27, *vt non habeatis licenciam recedendi . . . donec . . . michi dicatis . . . veritatem*, and *vt non habeatis potestatem recedendi . . . donec . . . meam voluntatem adimpleueritis*, and *vt virtutem talem recipias quod quocunque furris ligata, ipsi spiritus non habeant potestatem recedendi quousque uelle ligatoris perficiant*). They may also be used to ensure that the spirits will repeat the desired effect on later occasions, at the master's will (no. 9, *vt iterum nos debeatis vt predictum equum semper ad me venire cogetis*). The term 'bond' (*hoc vinculum est legendum*) occurs in no. 33.

40 E.g., Rawlinson D 252, 4v, 43v (*coniuracio obediencialis*) and 12r, 14v, and 36v (*coniuracio licencialis*).

41 Nos 1, 6, 8, and 9. Also nos 7 and 9, *quatenus . . . ad me venire debeatis*, and *vt hic venire debeatis*; and no. 11, *quatenus . . . huc venire debeatis*.

42 Nos 1, 6, and 13. Also no. 24, *vt mittatis . . . angelos . . . qui dicant michi veritatem*; no. 27, *vt . . . vadas pro rege tuo vt facias eum venire*; no. 38, *vt vestrum vnus . . . veniat vt iste puer possit eum . . . videre*; no. 41, *vt michi spiritum veritatis . . . mittere digneris*.

43 Nos 5, 13, and 35. Also no. 2, *vt eatis . . . vt relinquatis talem in statu priori*, and *vt . . .* [*talem*] *personam . . . vexetis, vt versus vos . . . affligatis*; no. 4, *vt . . . ipsum* [?] *iuxta me taliter aligetis, vt me . . . veneretur*; and no. 5, *quatenus . . . edicas . . . inseratis*.

44 Nos 22, 24, 27, and 38. Also no. 38, *vt michi sitis obedientes et isto puero . . . quod verum est . . . dicatis*, and no. 39, *quod . . . ostendatis et dicetis huic puero . . . ubi acceptum uel reconditum sit hoc furtum*.

45 No. 22, *quatenus isti puero tribuas sciencium et intellectum, vt michi veritatem enunciet*; no. 29, *illumina istius pueri cor* [*et*] *mentem, vt fac vt michi veritatem . . . dicat . . . vt* [?] *indicet omnia*, and *vt isti puero tribuas sciencium et intellectum, vt michi veritatem . . . dicat*; no. 38, *vt . . . iste puer . . . possit videre furem cum furto*; no. 39, *quod vobis detis auctoritatem huic puero . . . audiendi, interrogandi, et videndi*, and *vt . . . eugenem huius pueri . . . crescere et clarescere faciatis . . . vt apparere possit . . . et videre in eo furem et furtum*; no. 40, *vt . . . faciatis eugenem istius pueri . . . crescere et clarescere . . . quod iste puer . . . in eo videre possit furem uel furtum et furtum*.

46 No. 27.

47 Nos 33, 3, 43, 15, 39, 40.

48 No. 27; cf. no. 22.

49 Nos 23, 27, 28, 29, 33.

50. Nos 10, 15, 10, 39.

51 Nos 14, 15, 17, and 43.

52 The conjuration on fols 59v–69v is abbreviated; the full text is given on fols 109r–118r and 139r–146r. Compare the conjuration in Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D 252, fols 24r–29r.

53 For parallels see Marvin Meyer and Richard Smith, eds, *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (1994), 157, and Kaster, *Wings of the Falcon*, 151–2. See also *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.1.13, p. 141.

54 Fols 115v and 144r, *Alioquin exercizo te ut cathene penales tue fecundentur* [or, on 144r, perhaps *secundentur*] *sulphure et pice*.

55 Fols 111v–118r and 141r–146r.

56 Adolf Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, 2 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909), 587–96.

57 *Coniuratio malignorum spirituum in corporibus hominum existentium prout in Sancto Petro* (Rome: Stephan Plannck, ca. 1492; also Rome: Eucharius Silber, ca. 1495, and other editions).

58 Clm 849, fols 109r–109v, 139v.

59 British Library, MS Sloane 962, fols 9v–10r: *In nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti, amen. Coniuro uos elues et omnia genera demonum nocturna siue diuturna per patrem, et filium, et spiritum sanctum, atque individuam trinitatem, et per intercessionem beatissime et gloriose semperque virginis Marie, per oraciones prophetarum, per merita patriarcharum, per suffragia angelorum et archangelorum, per int[er?]uentum apostolorum, per passionem martyrum, per fidem confessorum, per castitatem virginum, et per intercessionem omnium sanctorum, et per septem dormientes, hos quorum nomina sunt hec: Malchus, Maximianus, Dionisius, Iohannes, Constantinus, Seraphion, Martimanus, et per nomen domini dei quod est benedictum in secula ✠ A ✠ G ✠ L ✠ A ✠ vt non nocetis neque aliquid mali faciatis vel inferatis huic famulo dei N. neque dormiendo neque vigilando. ✠ Christus uicit* [sic] *✠ Christus regnat ✠ Christus imperat ✠ Christus nos benedicat ✠* [et] *ab omni malo defendat ✠ Amen. In nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti, amen. ✠ In nomine meo demonia eicient, linguis loquentur nouis, serpentes tollent, et si mortiferum quid biberint non eis nocebit, super egros manos imponent et bene habebunt. ✠ Crux admirabilis, euacuacio doloris, restitucio sanitatis. ✠ Ecce crucem domini, fugite partes* [sic?] *aduerse. ✠ Vicit leo de tribu iuda, radix Dauid* [Apoc 5:5] *allem* [sic?]. *✠ Christus vincit ✠ Christus regnat ✠ Christus imperat ✠ Christus hunc famulum dei N. ab omni fantasia et ab omni vexacione diaboli et ab omni malo omni hora et vbique per virtutem sancte crucis defendat ✠ Amen ✠ agias ✠ hyskyros ✠ athanathos ✠ eleyson ✠.*

60 Fol. 10r: *Contra malignos spiritus. Audi maledicte Sathana, adiuro te per nomen eterni dei et saluatoris nostri filij eius Ihesu Christi, cum tua victus inuidia, tremens gemensque, discede. Nichil tibi neque angelis tuis sit commune cum famulo dei N., neque noceas ei, neque appareas coram illo visibiliter, somp*niendo *neque vigilando, et iterum coniuro vos demones siue spiritus malignos, quicumque sitis, per aspercionem sanguinis Ihesu Christi in cruce, et eius vulnera cruentata. Et iterum coniuro vos per mortem Ihesu Christi in cruce et spiritus emissionem, qui ad infernum descendit et illum spoliauit, vt nunc et a modo semper fugiatis ab hoc famulo dei N. et nunquam in eum introeatis sed exatis et recedatis ab eo. Et iterum coniuro vos per virtutem verborum istarum infrascriptorum hic* [MS *huc?*], *si infra eum sis vel sitis, vt exeas vel exeatis, si plures sitis, ab illo vt nullum a modo habeat terrorem neque vexacionem. Hoc vos cogat, verbum caro factum ✠ crux Christi sancta* [MS *sancea* or *santea*], *clausi, corona spinea in sanguine agni dei in cruce perfusa, saluent ei, defendant hic et vbique ferentem* [sic] *ista ab omni aduersitate diaboli et perurse. In nomine patris, etc.*

61 Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, 2, p. 573.

62 Gene A. Brucker, ed., *The Society of Renaissance Florence: A Documentary Study* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 261–6; Gene A. Brucker, 'Sorcery in early Renaissance Florence', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 10 (1963), 13–16, 22f.

63 André Goddu, 'The failure of exorcism in the Middle Ages', in A. Zimmermann, ed., *Soziale Ordnungen im Selbstverständnis des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1980), 540–57.

64 Nancy Caciola, 'Discerning Spirits: Sanctity and Possession in the Later Middle Ages' (University of Michigan dissertation, 1994), Ch. V: 'Exorcism from spectacle to ritual'.

7

DEMONS AND DAIMONS: THE SPIRITS CONJURED

In his recent study of late Byzantine demonology, Richard Greenfield distinguishes between a 'standard orthodox' tradition of demonology and 'alternative' traditions. The former sees demons as immaterial, as ranked under a single chief (Satan, the Devil), and as acting only with God's permission or through illusion (which they use because, weakened by Christ, they must dupe humans into believing they still wield power). The latter ascribe some degree of materiality to them, classify them in various hierarchies with multiple leaders, and ascribe some power to the demons themselves.[1] Greenfield says that in the alternative traditions, 'it is always assumed that the demons are free to obey the practitioner or are capable of doing what he wants as long as sufficient or coercion is provided. There is no suggestion that they can only do so if allowed to by God for the ends of divine providence or economy, the state of affairs required by standard belief – indeed, many of the purposes for which they are employed would seem to be most inappropriate, if not actually contradictory to normal Christian concepts of God's purposes.'[2] Greenfield does not mean to suggest a clear or sharp dichotomy, but rather a strong difference in tendency between the theological purists and those with alternative and at least implicitly non-orthodox views.

With perhaps some differences in nuance, one can make the same rough distinction for the later medieval West as well, and some if not all of the specific contrasts that Greenfield isolates would apply in the West. Most fundamentally, one can discern – in the Munich manuscript, as in Western magic generally – a tension between the early Christian notion of demons as fallen angels, whose status is determined by their free moral act of rebellion against God, and the Graeco-Roman conception of *daimones* (or *daemones* in Latin) as spirits linked with the world of nature, whose status is fixed by their natural position within the hierarchy of beings. Apuleius's *De deo Socratis* remained long influential in Christian tradition, despite its incongruence with the notion of demons as fallen angels; for Apuleius, *daemones* were rational beings whose natural sphere was the sublunary air, just as gods and humans are rational beings residing in the ether and on earth respectively. They are not naturally evil, but may be either good or evil.[3] The conjurations of late medieval necromancers, resembling as they do the exorcisms intended for the possessed, presuppose that the spirits in question are the same sort of fallen ones that Christ expelled from the energumens of first-century Palestine. But intermingled with references to such manifestly maleficent

beings are notions of benign or neutral spirits, neither angels nor demons in classical Christian terms, a category not recognized in the orthodox theology of the late Middle Ages.[4] One might thus say that the conjurations betray a tension between 'demonology' and what we might call 'daimonology'.

Theologians as well as necromancers believed that the demons held various ranks, in a kind of hierarchy that parodied that of God's heavenly court, or rather a 'Lowerarchy', as C.S. Lewis called it.[5] The notion of a demonic hierarchy, with a multiplicity of named and ranked spirits, stems chiefly from the Neoplatonists, and above all Iamblichus. Proclus, drawing on Iamblichus's elaborate categorization, spoke of *daimones* as ruling the fire, the air, the water, the earth and the underground region; to this system Psellus added lucifugues (or light-fleeing) demons, and Johannes Trithemius lent the weight of his authority to this system.[6] The basic notion became part of mainstream theological tradition: that demons are organized into an infernal parody of the celestial hierarchy is an assumption that the *Malleus maleficarum* shared with Thomas Aquinas.[7] For the later medieval West, at least, one thus cannot speak of such conceptions as part of an alternative tradition, although it is true that a fascination with the details of the infernal hierarchy was left to the fringes of the theological community.

Altogether 189 spirits are addressed by name in the Munich handbook's conjurations, of whom 88 are referred to expressly as *demones*. Further specification is common: 'malign demons'; 'most inimical spirits'; 'all hateful and malign, invidious and discordant demons'; 'arms-bearing [or squire] spirits, whose role it is to bear arms and . . . deceive human senses'; 'spirits who dwell in the water [and] endanger ships'; 'spirits who attend to sinners'; 'infernal spirits'; 'fornicator, tempter, seducer, possessor of humans'.[8] In short, the compiler of this manual was far from squeamish about invoking clearly and explicitly fallen angels.

The conjurations of the Munich handbook sometimes refer to demons by their rank in the infernal hierarchy: five are 'princes of the demons'; three are powerful, magnificent, and illustrious spirits; Bartha is a king; Baltim, Galtim, and Saltim are dukes; Belial is 'foremost prince'; seven demons are 'subjects' of Lytim.[9] On rare occasion the spirits referred to in the Munich handbook are clearly conceived as unfallen – a claim that would elicit skepticism from orthodox authorities. Experiments no. 24 and no. 25 both refer to 'angels', and in other cases as well the characterizations could be taken as implying unfallen angels: 'most benign spirits, who sow concord'; 'most pleasant, happy, joyful spirits'; 'powerful, magnificent, and illustrious spirits, in whom I place full trust'.[10] In two experiments the spirit addressed is named Orient, and in both cases he is explicitly conceived as a benevolent figure: he is addressed, 'O most high and benign king Orient', 'O benign Orient, maker of the greater part of the world, heaven, and earth, at whose command all things on heaven and on earth were wisely made'.[11] It would be hazardous to posit a direct connection here with the

goddess-figure Oriente said to have been venerated in the territory of Milan in the late fourteenth century,[12] but in both cases the traditional medieval primacy of the direction east obviously lies behind the construction of a chief deity. In several experiments God himself is addressed: 'God, creator of all things'; 'Almighty, everlasting God, Lord Jesus Christ'; 'God of heaven, God of earth, God of the angels, God of the archangels, you who are king of all the saints, the patriarchs, and the prophets'; 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who, according to the will of the Father, with the cooperation of the Holy Spirit, by your death gave life to the world'; and 'King of Kings and Lord of Lords, eternal and unchanging Lord God'.[13]

Sometimes the nature of the spirit addressed cannot be determined. In one case the subject of the address is the indeterminate 'N.' (no. 12), and elsewhere the spirit who appears to a boy is addressed simply as 'you who are before me' (no. 27). Another experiment provides a conjuration with the indeterminate address, 'O so-and-so, of thus-and-such an order' (no. 1).

A few of the experiments list demons whose names are familiar from other sources: Astaroth, Baruch, Belial, Belzebub, Berith, Castiel, Lucifer, Mirael, Paymon and Satan or Sathan.[14] The experiments that list such familiar spirits do not restrict themselves to these, however, but also address less familiar or entirely unfamiliar names: one conjures not only Belzebub, Berith, Lucifer and Sathan, but also Apolin, Beliath and Maraloch; another addresses not only Mirael and Astaroth but also Belferith, Camoy, Noryoth, Ocel, Oreoth, Pinen, Sismael, Sobronoy and Tryboy; a third gives the altogether well established name Satan (spelled 'Sathan') but also the exceptional ones Altramat, Archidemath, Discobermath, Fritath, Hegergibet, Helyberp, Pestiferat and Sona; a fourth lists not only Berith, Belzebub and Astaroth, but also Althes, Cormes, Dies, Diles, Dilia, Fabar, Felsmes, Mithiomo, Molbet, Natheus, Onaris, Pist, Progemon, Thobar, Vmon and Vralchim.[15] In some cases the names listed could be corrupt or variant forms of more familiar ones: Apolin could be Apollion, Arath could be Arathiel, Astra could be Astrael, Damay could be Dahnay, Erlain could be Erel(l)im, Gana could be Ganael, Gebel could be Gebiel, Lamair could be Lama, Oor could be Or, Safrit could be Safriel, Tami could be Tamiel, Taraor could be Tara, Tatomofon could be Tatonon, Thomo could be Thomax, Ym could be Im, and Zanno or Zaimo could be Zainon.[16] Even so, of the 189 names addressed in the conjurations, only 17 per cent at most seem to be well established ones. Of the eleven spirits named in experiment no. 34, only Curson has broad currency (unless Hanni is equated with Haniel). When the list of spirits in this manual is compared with that in *Picatrix*, what is striking is the singular lack of correspondence.

The crucial question for the necromancers of Western Europe is whether the demons can be compelled to appear, and their own assumption – that the demons can be so compelled, but only with God's permission and aid – is not

fundamentally different from the assumption that underlies orthodox exorcism and mainstream theology. John of Frankfurt devoted a treatise in 1412 to the question, 'whether it is possible to have the power of coercing a demon through characters, figures, and recitation of words' (*utrum potestas cohercendi demonis fieri possit per caracteres, figuras atque verborum prolationes*), and he insisted that it was not – that the demons may pretend to be compelled only to lure the conjurers deeper into their own perfidy, but that they come, if at all, of their own free will.[17] He seems not to have taken fully into account that the necromancers, exactly like orthodox exorcists, claimed the power of coercing demons specifically with divine aid. To be sure, their goals were at variance with orthodox morality, yet they saw their appeal to sacred powers as itself a sacred activity, and if it led to the killing and coercion of other individuals, that did not sway them from this conviction.[18] In any event, while their critics and judges saw the necromancers as in league with the demons, they perceived themselves as calling upon God to help them control and exploit the spirits.

One reason it appeared to critics that the necromancers were bound to the spirits they conjured, rather than vice versa, is that they seemed to make sacrifice to these spirits: fumigations and other acts could readily be seen as sacrifices. Nicholas Eymericus explains that some conjurers exhibit the honour of latria to the demons they invoke by sacrificing to them, adoring them, reciting execrable prayers to them, dedicating themselves and promising obedience to the demons, swearing by them and adjuring one demon by the name of a higher one, singing songs in their honour, genuflecting and making prostrations, observing chastity out of respect for them, fasting and otherwise macerating the flesh in their honour, wearing black or white out of reverence to them, using characters and unknown names, lighting lamps and offering fumigations, sacrificing birds and beasts and even their own blood, and so forth.[19]

Some of the experiments in the Munich handbook and elsewhere do indeed involve offering something, such as a hoopoe, to the demons. Whether such offerings count as sacrificial depends on one's definition of sacrifice. If any exchange with spirits implying *do ut des* is a sacrifice, then the term applies. From the necromancers' perspective, however, a fumigation would surely be more a means for alluring and gaining power over the spirits, and the offering of a hoopoe would be payment for services rendered. There is no explicit acknowledgement in the handbook that the magician is *serving* the spirits; to the contrary, he sees himself as commanding and exploiting them.

The spirits invoked may on occasion be represented as unfallen ones. Some are referred to as 'most benign', which could suggest but does not prove that they are unfallen; even an evil spirit may relate in a kindly manner toward his own. In one experiment (no. 9) the master greets the spirits when they appear with a wish that God may restore them to their original status, which makes it clear that they are fallen yet suggests that they are none the less redeemable.[20] Most interesting is

the suggestion that the spirits who provide a magic ship (no. 8) are of intermediate status: 'And you should note carefully that in this ship you are able to mention holy things, as in true Christianity, because these spirits are between good and evil, dwelling neither in Hell nor in Paradise.' The Paris theologians in 1398 condemned the belief that there are good and benign demons, omniscient demons, and demons who are neither saved nor damned but somewhere in between.[21] At times the spirits summoned are threatened with damnation if they refuse to obey the master, which assumes either that they are unfallen spirits or that they occupy some middle ground, perhaps being fallen but capable of redemption.[22]

The problem of distinguishing between fallen and unfallen spirits had long been a vexed one, and it was not made easier by the necromancers' habit of calling more or less indiscriminately on spirits of both kinds, as well as allegedly neutral spirits. The Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, for example, sometimes prays for power over all malign spirits, or for power over Satan, or for protection from malign spirits. It explicitly invokes Satan and other 'infernal demons'.[23] At other times it implicitly identifies the invoked spirits as demons, conjuring them 'by the power by which [Christ] destroyed hell and despoiled and tormented your companions [*socios*]' or 'by him who cast you from heaven'. While magicians were not at all shy about conjuring angels directly, the tendency in the Rawlinson manuscript perhaps more often than in other manuscripts is to pray that good angels be sent. It even includes a lengthy prayer to the master's guardian angel for protection. At one juncture it conjures 'benevolent spirits and demons', without making altogether clear whether these are distinct categories.[24]

One rule of thumb was that spirits explicitly known from traditional sources as unfallen angels could be prayed to, but others were at best suspect. The archangels mentioned in the Bible and the Old Testament apocrypha (Gabriel, Michael, Raphael) were mentioned from the seventh century onward in the Litany of the Saints, although it was not until the twentieth century that Benedict XV made the feast of the last two obligatory. The names of other angels were deemed apocryphal: the Book of Enoch adds Uriel, Raguel, Seraqael and Haniel to the list of archangels. In the mid-eighth century a Frankish priest named Adalbert was condemned, *inter alia*, for praying to Uriel, Raguel, Tubuel, Adin, Tubuas, Sabaok and Samiel, all of whom a Roman synod declared to be in fact demons. In 789, Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis* condemned the invocation of 'unknown angels', presumably for the same reason.[25] Even if a petitioner intended to call upon unfallen angels, the spirits he summoned might not be the spirits he got.

Johann von Frankfurt noted in the early fifteenth century that Plato distinguished between good daimons (*calodemones*) and evil (*cacodemones*), but for scriptural and dogmatic reasons he rejects this distinction and insists on a rigid dichotomy between unfallen angels and demons, the latter being always evil.[26] Invoking demons, he says, is prohibited both by scripture (Deut 2:18, also IV

Kgs 1 and I Kgs 28) and by canon law (the canon *Episcopi*). He insists that demons cannot be coerced: they are free agents, with intellect and will, and cannot be bound by human actions; Job attests that no power on earth is comparable to the Devil;[27] and many later medieval authorities are cited to confirm this stance. He argues that 'although demons often do come when they are summoned by invocations, they do so not coerced, but fraudulently, so as to deceive them [the conjurers] and others" (p. 78). (Not long before Johann wrote, the theologians at the University of Paris had in 1398 condemned the belief that God is induced to compel demons to obey invocations, and that by magical arts the demons are compelled to speak truthfully.[28]) To be sure, Solomon is said to have exorcized or commanded demons, but if he did so at the time that he himself had the spirit of God, then he expelled the demons by divine power and with the cooperation of God, whereas if he do so after he had fallen into idolatry (III Kgs 11 Vulg.), then *fuit factum arte magica*, and the demons pretended to be expelled so as to lead people into error. When Tobias placed a fish's liver on coals, demons were expelled (Tob 6) – but the book of Tobias is not canonical, so it may have edifying value but no probative force. Experience itself may suggest that demons come or depart when certain words are uttered, but it is prayer and not fumigation that has the effect of expelling demons.

Notions of demonic corporeality are more rarely expressed but not unknown. The Rawlinson manuscript says at one juncture that if the spirit refuses to withdraw, the master should trace a circle with the point of his sword and then 'strike' the spirit who is left standing outside the circle. The text goes on to explain that the reader should not be astonished at this reference to striking, because the spirits can indeed be struck when they assume bodies for the sake of apparition.[29] More extraordinary is the tale – involving a ghost rather than a demon, to be sure – of 'a woman who captured a spirit, carried it into a house on her back in the presence of certain men, one of whom later told that he saw the hands of the woman sunk deep into the spirit's flesh, as if its flesh were putrid and not solid, but fantastic'.[30] More often the spirits' corporeality is presupposed but not the subject of comment: they presumably cannot carry the magicians about in the form of horses or usher forth elaborate banquets without some sort of bodies, but the precise nature of their flesh seems not to have concerned the writer of the Munich handbook.

When the demons appear, they presumably do so either through phantasms impressed directly on the viewers' senses or in assumed bodies.[31] They may be able to take on any appearance they wish, conceivably even that of a famed beauty such as Helen of Troy, since their bodies are in any event assumed, but it seems to have been agreed that their most natural shape is terrifying. The Munich handbook thus routinely conjures the spirits to appear in pleasing and non-threatening form, the implication being that it is natural for them to

appear otherwise. Indeed, the treatise on necromancy ascribed to Roger Bacon warns that demons will try to frighten the magician with illusions, with hissing like that of a serpent, and with terrifying shapes, but bold use of the Tetragrammaton and the sign of the cross will compel them to adopt pleasing forms.[32] The spirits are conjured to appear in human form, because they are assumed closer to beasts, and thus it is more natural for them to assume grotesque versions of bestial appearance,[33] as they did in hagiography since the life of Saint Anthony.[34] In one case they are told to take on the pleasing form of a ten-year-old boy, evidently by cross-fertilization of the instruction with the requirements for a medium.[35]

The most sustained discussion of demons in the Munich manual is an extended list which names and describes eleven spirits (no. 34). Each has a rank: marquis, 'president' (*preses*), count, duke, prince or king. They appear in diverse forms: as a seneschal; as a man with large teeth and three horns, carrying a sharp sword in his hand; as a crowned man with leonine face, bearing a viper in hand, riding horseback, and preceded by trumpets; as a splendid knight, with lance, banner, and sceptre; as a boy with the wings of an angel, riding on a dragon with two heads;[36] as a beautiful and crowned woman, riding on a camel; as a knight, riding on a black horse; as a benevolent man with a woman's face. Hanni comes in a fiery flame, but also takes human form. Curson is said readily to assume a human and aerial body; presumably the others as well take on aerial bodies when they come visibly.[37] Their functions are likewise diverse. Six of the spirits are said to disclose the location of hidden treasure, or to reveal and open treasures, and although in one case it is specified that the treasure must not be protected by magic or charms, in another case the spirit in question can reveal treasures guarded by other spirits. Four of them respond to questions about present, past, future, and hidden matters; Curson can reveal divine and hidden matters, even regarding divinity and the creation of the world. Another gives knowledge about occult matters and duels. Three specialize in imparting particular knowledge: the trivium, astronomy and other liberal arts, and languages. Two can procure the love of women, especially beautiful women in one case, widows in the other; a third makes women burn with love for men, on demand will transform them into another form until they come to their beloved, and makes them sterile. Others can enable a person to cross seas and rivers quickly, or to pass quickly from one region to another. Four can secure the favour of all, enemies as well as friends, or that of magnates and princes, or of all kings, marquises and knights. One gives dignities; another gives an exorcist power over serpents; yet others provide excellent familiars or knights. Each has command of legions of subordinate spirits (perhaps an allusion to Mark 5:9), as few as twenty-two, and as many as fifty.

Identical in form but independent in content is the list contained in *Le livre des*

esperitz found in a fifteenth-century French manuscript (Trinity College, Cambridge, MS 0.8.29). This compilation lists forty-seven spirits: the triad Lucifer, Bezlebuth and Satan; four associated with the cardinal directions; then others for whom title, appearance, function, and number of subordinate legions are given, as in the Munich handbook. Most commonly the spirits here listed are said to give accurate response to the master's questions (Vaal, Bucal, Oze, Bulfas, Artis, Gazon, Diusion, Orient, Poymon, Am[m]oymon, Barthas, Samson, Vipos, Berteth, Distolas, Asmoday, Flauos, Carmola, Abugor, Caap, Bune, Amon). They also furnish instruction (Bezlebuth, Barthas, Artis), sometimes in all sciences (Cerbere, Parcas, Tudiras hoho, Am[m]oymon), often regarding more specific matters: the virtues of herbs and precious stones (Machin, Parcas, Forcas, Gemer); transformation of metals into gold or silver (Berteth); all language (Ducay, Agarat); astronomy and other sciences (Barthas, Furfur); the sounds of birds and dogs (Barbas). They disclose or provide buried treasure (Diusion, Parcas, Abugor, Bezlebuth, Barbas, Samson, Forcas). They make a person invisible (Parcas, Beal, Forcas). They obtain the love of women (Ducay, Furfur [?], Bitur), or of queens and women generally, whether maidens or not (Samson). They secure provision of dignities, seigneuries and favour (Agarat, Bitur, Vaal, Am[m]oymon, Poymon, Berteth, Gazon, Artis, Beal), as well as wealth (Bune, Cerbere, Distolas), or specifically of gold and silver (Caap, Dam, Bezlebuth). They can furnish means by which the 'master' or someone else at the master's will may be transported from place to place (Ducay, Machin, Malpharas, Bune, Parcas), and the spirit Distolas can provide a horse to transport the master in an hour 100, 200 or 300 leagues but no further. Unlike the list of spirits in the Munich handbook, however, the *Livre des esperitz* also indicates that certain spirits specialize in maleficent magic: they can bring death or illness, deformity, destruction of adversaries, discord and battles. The service Bezlebuth performs, which would have endeared him to Faustus, is to reveal all the secrets of hell.

Such lists of demons derived their basic conception from early Jewish sources such as the *Testament of Solomon*, which listed various demons and told how Solomon employed them.[38] These catalogues were especially common in the treatises and grimoires of the early modern era (Johannes Weyer's *Pseudomonarchia daemonum* lists sixty-nine demons with their offices and functions), but the basic idea can be traced to medieval sources. Trithemius speaks of a *Liber officiorum* that catalogues four emperors and various kings, dukes, marquises, and counts. The *Lemegeton* lists seventy-two demons with their functions, including Asmoday (a great king with three heads, who furnishes a ring of virtues, teaches mathematics, answers questions truly, makes a person invisible, reveals hidden treasure, and so forth), Berith, and others.[39]

Among other specializations, there were demons who ruled over one or another of the cardinal directions. Thus, the Paris theologians repudiated the

notion that one demon is king of the east and holds special prominence, known in the Munich handbook and elsewhere simply as Oriens, while others ruled the west, the north and the south.[40] No doubt the identification of these demons with special competence had much practical value for those wishing to make use of their services, but the formation of the lists was in itself a display of theoretical knowledge that might appeal greatly to those curious about the secrets of hell. One can perhaps understand why stern medieval moralists, never favourable to *curiositas* in the first place, would condemn this particular sort of curiosity in particular as vain and perilous.

Presupposed throughout the Munich handbook is that the experiments described are worked through the power of spirits, often overtly referred to as demons. The writer makes no pretence that his magic is in any way 'natural', as opposed to demonic. Classical notions of magic as either implicitly or explicitly grounded in the instruction and aid of demons come here to their fullest development: far from shrinking from this suggestion or defending himself against it, the writer candidly acknowledges and perhaps even boasts, no doubt like other necromancers of the era, that the commanding of malign spirits is the essence of his art.

Table C. Spirits named in the conjurations

Abgo (*demon*, no. 39)
Abgoth (*demon*, no. 40)
Achalas (*spiritus*, no. 26)
Althes (*demon*, no. 38)
Altramat (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Andyron (*demon*, *subditus* of Lytim, no. 39)
Apolin (or Apolyn) (no. 1) (no. 5 inv.)
Arath (*demon*, no. 40)
Arbas (or Arbes?) (no. 28)
Archidemath (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Astaroth (or Astoroth or Astarotht) (*demon malignus*, no. 2; no. 12; no. 33; *princeps demoniorum*, no. 38) (no. 5 inv.)
Astra (no. 33)
Asyel (no. 13)
Azathi (*demon*, no. 39)
Baltim (or Balthym? or Balthim or Baltym) (*dux*, no. 15)
Bartha (or Bartham?) (*rex*, no. 15)
Baruth (*demon*, *subditus* of Lytim, no. 39)
Basal (no. 29)
Bel (*spiritus infernalis*, no. 35)
Belam (no. 13)
Belferith (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Belial (*inicialis princeps*, no. 12)
Beliath (no. 1)
Belzebub (or Belzebuc?) (no. 1; *princeps demoniorum*, no. 38)
Berien (or Beryen, no. 10)
Berith (or Berit) (no. 1; *spiritus potens, magnificus, et illustris*, no. 11; *princeps demoniorum, fornicator, temptator, et seductor, possessor hominum*, no. 38)
Bireoth (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Bos (*demon*, no. 39)
Brimer (no. 10)

Spirits named in the conjugations

Camoy (or Canay) (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Carab (or Careb?) (no. 29)
Cargie (no. 28)
Castiel (no. 13)
Cebal (no. 33)
Cormes (*demon*, no. 38)
Cutroy (or Cotroy?) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7; *spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8)
Damay (or Damayn, no. 10)
Demefin (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Demor (or Denior) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Dies (*demon*, no. 38)
Diles (*demon*, no. 38)
Dilia (*demon*, no. 38)
Discobermath (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Dorayl (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Dyacon (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Dydones (*demon*, no. 40)
Dyrus (*demon*, no. 39 and no. 40)
Dyspil (or Dyspyl) (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8)
Ebal (*spiritus infernalis*, no. 35)
Elam (no. 13)
Emogeni (*demon*, no. 40)
Ergarrandras (no. 28)
Erlain (no. 13)
Fabanin (no. 29)
Fabar (*demon*, no. 38)
Fabath (*demon*, no. 40)
Fabin (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Falmar (no. 5 inv.)
Faubair (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Febat (*demon*, no. 39)
Felsmes (*demon*, no. 38)
Feremin (*spiritus peccatoribus insistens*, no. 9)
Finibet (*demon*, no. 40)
Foliath (*demon*, no. 39)
Fritath (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Fyriel (or Firiel) (*spiritus potens, magnificus, et illustris*, no. 11)
Fyrin (or Syrim) (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8)
Fyrus (*demon*, no. 40)
Gallath (*demon*, no. 40)
Galtim (or Galtym? or Galtyra?) (*dux*, no. 15)
Gana (*demon*, no. 39)
Gebat (or Gebath?) (*demon*, no. 39)
Gebel (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4) (no. 5 inv.)
Gemitias (*demon*, no. 39)
Geremittarum (*demon*, no. 40)
Gyton (*demon*, no. 40)
Haram (*spiritus benignus*, no. 39)
Hegergibet (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Helyberp (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Jubutzis (*demon*, no. 40)
Lamair (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Lamisniel (or Lamsiyel, no. 13)
Lautrayth (*spiritus peccatoribus insistens*, no. 9)
Leutaber (or Zeugaber) (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Lotobor (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Lucifer (no. 1)
Lylet (or Bylet or Bylent) (no. 24; *demon, subditus* of Lytim, no. 39)
Lyroth (no. 10)
Lytay (or Lytoy or Litor) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Lytim (*demon*, no. 39)
Maraloch (no. 1)
Masair (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Mememil (or Melemil) (*spiritus potens,*

Spirits named in the conjugations

magnificus, et illustris, no. 11)
Memoyr (or Memoir) (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Midain (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Miracl (no. 2)
Mistal (no. 29)
Mithiomo (*demon*, no. 38)
Molbet (*princeps demoniorum*, no. 38)
Moloy (*spiritus armigerus, sensus [decipiens]*, no. 7)
Motmyo (*demon*, no. 39)
Natheus (*princeps demoniorum*, no. 38)
Neyilon (*spiritus*, no. 26)
Non (no. 29)
Noryoth (or Moryoth) (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Nubar (*demon*, no. 39)
Ocel (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Oliroomim (*spiritus peccatoribus insistens*, no. 9)
Onaris (*demon*, no. 38)
Onor (*spiritus armigerus, sensus [decipiens]*, no. 7)
Onoroy (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8)
Oor (or Dor) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus [decipiens]*, no. 7)
Oreoth (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Oriens (or rex Orientis) (*altissimus et benignissimus rex*, no. 4; *benign[issim]e*, no. 41)
Ornis (no. 28)
Oronothel (no. 29)
Orooth (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8)
Oymelor (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Panite (or Panyte) (*demon*, no. 38 and no. 40)
Paymon (no. 12)
Peamde (*demon*, no. 39)
Peripaos (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Pestiferat (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Pharachte (*demon*, no. 39)
Pinen (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Pist (*demon*, no. 38)
Progemon (*demon*, no. 38)
Pumeon (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Pumotor (or Pumiotor) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus [decipiens]*, no. 7)
Rabam (no. 13)
Rayma (*demon*, no. 40)
Riasteli (no. 29)
Rimasor (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Rimel (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8)
Risbel (or Ristel) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus [decipiens]*, no. 7)
Rodobayl (or Rodobail) (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Rofanes (*demon*, no. 40)
Safrit (*demon*, no. 39)
Salaul (*spiritus armigerus, sensus [decipiens]*, no. 7)
Saltim (*dux*, no. 15)
Sanfrielis (*demon*, no. 40)
Sathan (no. 1; *demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Selentis (*demon*, no. 40)
Selutabel (or Belutabel) (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Sertugidis (*demon*, no. 40)
Silitor (or Silitol) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus [decipiens]*, no. 7)
Sismael (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Sobronoy (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Sona (no. 27)
Suburith (no. 10)
Symofor (or Simofor) (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Syrama (or Sirama) (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Syrtroy (*spiritus armigerus, sensus*

Spirits named in the conjugations

[*decipiens*], no. 7)
Sysabel (or Sisabel) (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8)
Tamafin (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Tami (or Tamy – Tamer?) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Taraor (*spiritus potens, magnificus, et illustris*, no. 11)
Tatomofon (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Tentetos (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Tereol (no. 5 inv.)
Tereoth (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Termines (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Thitodens [?] (*demon*, no. 39)
Thobar (*demon*, no. 38)
Thomo (*demon*, no. 40)
Tranayrt (or Tramayrt, no. 10)
Tryboy (or Triay) (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Tyroces (no. 5 inv.)
Tyros (*demon*, no. 39)
Tyroy (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8)
Va (no. 29)
Vatuel (no. 29)
Vijas (*demon*, no. 39)
Virus (*demon*, no. 39)
Virytus (*demon*, no. 40)
Vm (*demon*, no. 39)
Vmeloth (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Vmon (*demon*, no. 38)
Vniueny (*demon*, no. 40)
Vnyrus (*demon*, no. 39)
Vom (*demon*, no. 39)
Vralchim (*demon*, no. 38)
Vresius (*demon*, no. 39)
Vsyr (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Vtimo (*demon*, no. 40)
Vzmyas (*demon, subditus* of Lytim, no. 39)
Ygrim (*demon, subditus* of Lytim, no. 39)
Ym (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Ytelteos (*demon, subditus* of Lytim, no. 39)
Zanno (or Zaimo) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Zelentes (*demon*, no. 39)
Zymens (*demon, subditus* of Lytim, no. 39)

Table D. Spirits listed in no. 34

Name	*Rank*	*Appearance*	*Function*	*Number of legions*
Barbarus	count and duke		discloses treasures not protected by magic	36
Cason	duke	seneschal	responds about present, past, future, and hidden things; gives favour of friends and enemies; gives dignities	45
Otius	*preses* and count	human, with large teeth and	responds about present, future, and hidden matters; gives	36

Name	*Rank*	*Appearance*	*Function*	*Number of legions*
		3 horns, sharp sword in hand	favour of friends and enemies	
Curson	king	man, with crowned leonine face, viper in hand; rides horseback, trumpets proceeding	reveals present, past, future, and hidden matters; reveals and opens treasures; assumes human and aerial body and responds about divine and hidden matters (including deity and creation of world); gives excellent familiars	22
Alugor	duke	splendid knight, with lance, banner, and sceptre	responds about occult matters and duels; provides knights; gives favour of all kings, marquises, and knights	50
Taob	prince	human	excellent physician for women, making them burn with love for men, on request transforming them into another form until they come to their beloved; makes sterile	25
Volach	president	boy, with wings of angel; rides on dragon; has two heads	responds about hidden treasures; serpents appear, gives over serpents into the hands of exorcist	27
Gaeneron	duke	beautiful woman, crowned, riding on camel	responds about present, past, and future matters, and hidden treasures; gives love of women, especially beautiful ones	27
{ Tvueries Tuveries?	marquis	knight, riding on black horse	teaches trivium, reveals hidden treasures and other hidden things; causes person to cross sea and rivers quickly	30
Hanni	president	fiery flame, but takes human form	teaches astronomy and other liberal arts; gives excellent familiars; gives favour of magnates and princes;	30

Name	*Rank*	*Appearance*	*Function*	*Number of legions*
			reveals treasures guarded by spirits	
Sucax	marquis	man, with woman's face; appears benevolent	gives love of women, especially widows; gives command of languages; makes person pass quickly from region to region	23

Notes

1 Richard P.H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988), *passim*, esp. 307–26.

2 *Ibid.*, 275–6.

3 C.S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), esp. 40–44 and 117.

4 See the Paris conclusions of 1398, in Jean Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, 10, ed. Palemon Glorieux (Paris: Desclée, 1961–73), p. 89: the 23rd condemned article is 'That some demons are good, some benign, some omniscient, others neither saved nor damned'.

5 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, i.109.1; *Malleus maleficarum*, i.4, trans. Montague Summers (London: Rodker, 1928; repr. London: Pushkin, 1948), 28–31; C.S. Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters*, xx (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 102.

6 E.M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949), 29–36, esp. 35.

7 *Summa theologiae*, i.109.1; *Malleus maleficarum*, i.4, 28–31.

8 No. 2 (ten named *demones maligni*); no. 5 (*spiritus inimicissimos*); no. 5 (*omnes demones odiosos et malignos, invidios et discordes*); no. 7 (fifteen named *spiritus armigeri, quibus proprium est arma deferre et . . . sensus humanos decipere*); no. 8 (*spiritus habitatores aque, qui naues . . . periclitare conamini*); no. 9 (three named *spiritus peccatoribus insistentes*); no. 35 (*spiritus infernales*); no. 38 (Berith, described as *fornicator, temptator, et seductor, passessor hominum*). See also no. 3 (*omnes demones in hac ymagine scriptos* and *demones in hoc circulo sculptos*) and no. 5 (*spiritus inimicissimos* and *omnes demones odiosos et malignos, invidios et discordes*).

9 No. 38 (*principes demoniorum*); no. 11 (*spiritus potentes, magnifici, et illustres*); no. 15 (Bartha as *rex*, and Baltim, Galtim, and Saltim as *duces*); no. 12 (Belial as *inicialis princeps*); no. 39 (seven demons as *subditi* of Lytim).

10 No. 4 (eleven *spiritus benignissimi et concordiam seminantes*); no. 6 (sixteen *spiritus iocundissimi, plenes, et gaudentes*); no. 11 (*spiritus potentes, magnifici, et illustres, in quibus omnino confido*).

11 No. 14 (*O altissime et benignissime rex Orientis*); no. 41 (*O Oriens benigne, matior pars mundi, celi, terreque sator, cuius nutu* [sic] *omnia, tam celestia quam terrestria, prouide facta sunt; benignissime Oriens*).

12 Ettore Verga, 'Intorno a due inediti documenti di stregheria Milanese del secolo XIV.', *Rendiconti del Reale Instituto Lombardo si Scienze e Lettere*, ser. 2, vol. 32 (1899), 166–8; on Madonna Oriente see Carlo Ginzburg, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Pantheon, 1991), esp. 92–6, 100–102, 131–6, 247–8.

13 No. 22 (*Deus, creator omnium rerum*); no. 25 (*Omnipotens, sempiterne deus, Domine Ihesu Christe*); no. 29

(*Deus celi, deus terre, deus angelorum, deus archangelorum, qui es rex sanctorum omnium, patriarcharum ac prophetarum* and *Domine Ihesu Christe, fili dei vivi, qui ex voluntate Patris, cooperante Spiritu Sancto, per mortem tuam mundum vivificasti*); no. 36 (*rex regum et dominus dominancium, eterne et incommutabilis deus dominus*).

14 Nos 2, 5, 12, 33, and 38 (Astaroth); no. 20 (Baruch); no. 12 (Belial); nos 1 and 38 (Belzebub); nos 1, 3, 11, and 39 (Berith); no. 13 (Castiel); no. 1 (Lucifer); no. 2 (Mirael); no. 12 (Paymon); nos 1 and 27 (Sathan). See the listings for each of these in Gustav Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels, Including the Fallen Angels* (New York: Free Press, 1967), and for general information on demons see also Leander Petzoldt, *Kleines Lexikon der Dämonen und Elementargeister* (Munich: Beck, 1990). On the naming of demons see Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 248–50.

15 Nos. 1, 2, 27, and 38.

16 Nos 1 and 5 (Apolin or Apolyn); no. 40 (Arath); no. 33 (Astra); no. 10 (Damay); no. 13 (Erlain); no. 39 (Gana); nos 4 and 5 (Gebel); no. 6 (Lamair); no. 7 (Oor); no. 39 (Safrit); no. 7 (Tami); no. 11 (Taraor); no. 6 (Tatomofon); no. 40 (Thomo); no. 7 (Ym); no. 7 (Zanno or Zaimo). For these too see Davidson's *Dictionary*.

17 Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen*, 71–82.

18 Richard Kieckhefer, 'The holy and the unholy: sainthood, witchcraft, and magic in late medieval Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 24 (1994), 355–85; and in Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl, eds, *Christendom and its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 310–37.

19 Nicolaus Eymericus, *Directorium inquisitorum*, ii. 42–3 (Rome: Georgius Ferrarius, 1587), translated in Alan C. Kors and Edward Peters, eds., *Witchcraft in Europe, 1100–1700: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), 84–92. See also Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief*, 252–5.

20 The classic source of the notion that Satan and the demons are redeemable is Origen; see on this theme Joseph Wilson Trigg, *Origen: The Bible and Philosophy in the Third-century Church* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1983), 89, 106, 138f., 206, 208. Whatever indirect influence Origen may have had on the necromantic tradition, it is difficult to believe that writers such as the compiler of the Munich handbook had any direct acquaintance with his works.

21 Ch. 23.

22 Rawlinson MS, 148r–149r, 150v, 154r.

23 *Coniuro vos demones infernales* (fol. 121v).

24 Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson MS D 252, fols 24r (prayer for power over all malign spirits); 40v (prayer for power over Satan); 37r, 50r–50v, and 72r (prayers for protection from malign spirits); 152r (invocation of Satan); 121v (*Coniuro vos demones infernales*); 4v and 5v (implicit identification of spirits as demons); 78r–78v (prayer for vision of good angels); 123v (prayer that good angels be sent); 159v (prayer for three good angels to appear in a crystal); 135v–139r (prayer to guardian angel); 73r (*Coniuro vos spiritus benevolos et demones*).

25 Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*, trans. János M. Bak and Paul A. Hollingsworth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1988), 65–8 and Jeffrey B. Russell, 'Saint Bonaventure and the eccentrics', *Church History*, 33, (1964), 235–47, esp. 237–8. For general information on the cult of angels see A.A.

Bialas, 'Devotion to angels', *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 514–15, and the sources cited there.

26 Iohannes de Francofordia, *Quaestio, utrum potestas coherendi demonis fieri possit per caracteres, figuras atque verborum prolationes*, in Joseph Hansen, ed., *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter* (Bonn: Georgi, 1901; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 71–82.

27 Page 72, citing the depiction of Leviathan: *Et veram Iob 4.* [i.e. 41:24 Vulg.] *dicitur: non est potestas super terram, qui ei comparetur, et textus ibidem loquitur de dyabolo.*

28 Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, 10, pp. 88f., art. 9, 17.

29 Fols 77v–78r.

30 M.R. James, 'Twelve medieval ghost-stories', *English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), 418f.

31 The *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.1.4, pp. 109–14, discusses the nature of these assumed bodies in connection with the nature of incubi, and concludes that the demons confect ad hoc flesh from the elements in the surrounding air.

32 *De Nigromancia of Roger Bacon*, iv.3, ed. and trans. Michael-Albion Macdonald (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1988), 33, 56f.

33 On demons in the form of beasts, see Russell, *Lucifer*, 209: 'Until the eleventh century the Devil was generally portrayed either as a human or as an imp, and this tendency persisted in Byzantine art. In the West, beginning in England about 1000 and spreading to Germany about 1020 and then beyond, the Devil tends to be a monstrous composite of human and animal.'

34 St. Athanasius, 'Life of St. Anthony', ch. 9, in Roy J. Deferrari, et al., trans., *Early Christian Biographies* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1952), 144.

35 Fol. 27v.

36 It is evidently the dragon that is two-headed, although the context does not make the point clear.

37 On this point see the *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.1.4 (p. 109), and Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*, I.51.2 ad 4.

38 F.C. Conybeare, 'The Testament of Solomon', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 11 (1899), 1–45.

39 On this material see generally Butler, *Ritual Magic*, 47–89, and Arthur Edward Waite, *The Book of Ceremonial Magic* (repr. Secaucus, NJ: Citadel, 1961), 58–66.

40 Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, 10, p. 90, art. 25.

8

THE MAGIC OF CIRCLES AND SPHERES

If necromancy was in one sense chiefly the art of conjuring, it was also widely associated in the popular mind with the drawing of magic circles. The *Fasciculus morum* says of necromancers (*nigromantici*) first of all that they 'raise devils in their circles that are expected to answer their questions', and only secondly that they also 'make figures of people in wax or some other soft material in order to kill them'.[1] In *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, the messenger of Necromancy traces a circle on the ground, with characters and figures, and informs the Pilgrim that his invocation causes the spirits to answer and obey, and they cannot withstand his prayers, characters, and conjurations because he holds a commission from 'the King', meaning God, to whom they are subject.[2] The Yorkshire manuscript mentioned earlier tells how one man used a magic circle in conjuring not a demon but a ghost:

> . . . he came to the assigned place and made a large circle with a cross, and it had on it [the opening words of?] the four gospels and other sacred words, and he stood in the middle of the circle, placing four small reliquaries in the form of a cross on the rim of the circle, and saying words such as 'Jesus of Nazareth' and so forth were inscribed on the reliquaries. Then he waited for the spirit to arrive. Finally he came, in the form of a goat, and three times he went around the circle, going 'a-a-a, a-a-a, a-a-a'. But when he was conjured he fell to the ground and rose up again in the form of a man of great height, horrid and gaunt, like one of the dead kings shown in paintings.[3]

Like conjuration, the use of magic circles appears to have spread beyond the sphere of clerical necromancy. For example, a woman charged with witchcraft at Provins in 1452 was said to have belonged to a 'sect' of witches that conjured the Devil by tracing three evidently concentric circles on the ground.[4] What this incident probably represents is not a popular tradition parallel to that of the necromancers, but influence from their tradition.

FORM AND PREPARATION OF THE MAGIC CIRCLE

These magic circles could at times be very simple, but sometimes they were elaborate diagrams made on specially constructed platforms.[5] The *Sworn Book*

ascribed to one 'Honourius, son of Euclid', gives elaborate instructions for constructing a magic circle. The magician must construct a square platform fourteen feet across of good and well dressed stone, or of tile, or (if necessary because of poverty) of pure earth. On top of it he must fashion a circular platform, seven feet across and three feet high. The site must be ritually purified and consecrated, with blessings, incense, and invocation of angels. Then, presumably on top of the circular platform, he must make two concentric circles, carved with a new knife or inscribed in chalk, with the names written in the band between the circles. In a later chapter the magician is told that in an elaborate ceremony of consecration he should carve or inscribe four concentric circles, the smallest nine feet and the largest twelve feet across, with names of God and of angels in the bands and the seal of Solomon in the centre. Then there must be two concentric squares around these circles, with the corners pointing in the cardinal directions, names of God between the squares, and lighted censers placed within two smaller concentric circles at each of the four corners.[6]

The *De nigromancia* associated with Roger Bacon provides even fuller and more elaborate instructions for preparing and consecrating a magic circle. The magician must have a square 'secret vault' constructed in some remote place, twenty feet to each side at most, and twenty feet high at least, with windows facing the cardinal directions. Inside this building he must inscribe two concentric circles in chalk, fifteen feet at the most across, with characters and names of spirits inscribed. There are distinct kinds of circles for spirits of the air, fire, water, and earth, but the treatise is not altogether clear regarding the distinguishing features. The consecration entails, among other things, having a priest say a mass in honour of Saint Cyprian, famous for having been a magician.[7] A later chapter gives further details: the pentacle of Solomon should circumscribe the circle; the Tetragrammaton must be inscribed on all circles, because without it 'all conjurations of the spirits will fail, and no spirit will answer truth, but falsehood'; and an appropriate time must be observed for making the circle.[8] Elsewhere the treatise recommends a circle for discovery of hidden treasure that is inscribed on a circular sheet of vellum eight feet in compass, which should have ten loops with which it can be pinned to the ground.[9]

The Rawlinson necromantic manuscript is more interested in conjurations than in circles, but does prescribe and depict circles in connection with some of its conjurations, sometimes very simple, sometimes with pentangles and words and characters inscribed, and says at one point that the master should trace a circle with the point of his sword. There as elsewhere, however, circles may be inscribed not on the ground, as a location for conjuring, but on a moveable object, as a means for gaining power over the spirits: at one point the reader is told to draw a circle on a tablet, with the name 'Satan' inscribed in it.[10]

MAGIC CIRCLES IN THE MUNICH HANDBOOK

The circles in Clm 849 consist most fundamentally of single circular bands or varying numbers of concentric bands, between two and four.[11] Beyond this simple composition are various complicating factors: a single band inscribed within a square (no. 1); an inverted triangle inscribed within the outer boundary of a single band (no. 15); a double band divided into ten segments, and a rectangle inside the circle divided into six sections (no. 18); a double band with its interior divided into six wedges (no. 22); a triple band with a cross dividing the interior into four wedges (no. 40); a square inscribed in a single band, with a circle inside the square, and short bars extending outward from the middle of each side of the square and touching the inner side of the circular band (no. 9); a single band bisected by a horizontal band, while a vertical band bisects the upper portion of the circle, and a closed crescent shape (presumably representing a ship) appears in the upper two-thirds of the circle, with two dots beneath it at the prow and the stern (no. 8). Another experiment (no. 13) is unusual in having not a circle but a shield with a single band around its edge.

Inscriptions are of various kinds:

1. Four cardinal directions, with east on top in the fashion of traditional medieval cartogarphy: nos 1, 6, 9, 15, 36; at times not all the directions are explicitly given (nos 8, 10, 11).

2. Positions of the master and child medium: The position of the master is often marked in the centre of the circle, with the term *Locus magistri* (nos 3, 7, 9, 12) or simply *Magister* (nos 10, 11). The circle for no. 8 marks the position with the inscription *Hic magister cum suis sociis*. No. 1 has *Nomen magistri, de tali ordine* and *Nomen discipuli* are marked in the center. The positions for no. 22 are in the literal sense eccentric: inscriptions indicate that the master and boy are to sit on top of pentagrams on opposite sides of the circle: *Hic sederat* [=*sedeat*] *puer super signum* (at the top), and *Hic sedeat magister super signum a latere sinistro* (at the bottom). Toward the middle of the circle for no. 40 are word fragments and *N.p.* (presumably for *Nomen pueri*).

3. Names of spirits, given most frequently within the bands: no. 1 has the names of the spirits Belial, Satan, Osendior, Matalot, Belzebub, Lucifer, Sententino and Apolin inscribed in and around its band; no. 2 has Oreoth, Pinen, Otel, Tryboy, Noryoth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy and Sismael inscribed in its band, and the names Mirael and N. (for the name of the intended victim) inscribed in its centre; no. 3 has the names Rator, Lampoy, Despan, Brunlo, Dronoth, Maloqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascifin, Nartim and Lodoni; no. 6 has the names Oymelor, Symofos, Manoir, Faubair, Demefin, Rodobayl, Tamafin, Abelutabel, Lamair, Tentetos, Leutaber,

Rimasor, Masair, Lotobor, Tatomofon and Sirama; no. 7 has O Vsyr, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno, Syrtroy, Risbel, Cutroy, Litor Onor, Moloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor and Ym, *spiritus armigeri*, in its bands; no. 8 has the names Fyron, Dyspil, Onoroy, Sysabel, Cotroy, Tyroy, Rimel and Orooth; no. 9 has the names Lantrayth, Feremni and Oliromim; no. 10 has O Brimer, Suburith, Tranauit, Lyroth, *tnq* (?) Berien, Damayn; no. 11 has the names Firiel to the west, Melemil to the south, Berith to the east, and Taraor to the north; no. 18 has the names Latranoy, Iszarin, Bicol, Danmals, Gromon, Zara, Ralkal, Sigtonia, Samah and Meneglasar written in the ten segments of its outer band, corresponding figures in its inner band, and the letters F-L-O-R-O-N in the six sections of its inner rectangle; no. 12 has the invocation *Tu Belial, tu Astaroth, tu Paymon, ad hoc sitis opus michi adiutores*; no. 13 has the names Asyel, Castyel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Olam and Belam in horizontal bands; no. 23 has the name Lylet (or Bylet) inscribed in its centre.

4. Sacred names: no. 16 has *Agla / Michael virtus dei / Gabriel fortitudo / Emanuel Paraclitus / Raphael medicina dei / Alpha et O, Oli, Ely / Tetragrmaton, amen / Agla* inscribed inside a double band, with a cross inside a square before and after each line of text; no. 36 has four divine names outside its triple band: Sabaoth at the top, Tetragramaton at the right, and Adonay at the bottom, Agla at the left.

5. Miscellaneous inscriptions: no. 15 has characters in what appears to be pseudo-Hebrew; to the right of the circle for no. 22 is a rectangular *signum* with the inscription *Esto altissimus, tnus, eternus, amen*, on five horizontal bands; no. 40 shows the word *onus* (possibly for *On*) four times.

Various types of sign and other objects also appear:

1. Pentagrams (or pentangles). No. 6 has a pentagram inscribed in its centre; no. 10 has a pentagram inscribed; no. 23 contains two pentagrams with the name *On* just beyond each point inscribed in the upper and lower wedges, and two more to the lower left and right of the circle.

2. Astronomical characters and miscellaneous figures: no. 6 shows radiating figures extending across its bands on the upper left, upper right, lower right, and lower left; nos 9 and 10 show astronomical and other signs alongside the names of spirits; no. 11 has two figures.[12]

3. Objects to be used in the experiments: no. 6 shows a sword at the top, extending downward, with its point on the top of a pentangle); no. 11 shows a sword lying toward the east with its point near the centre; no. 15 has dots evidently denoting positions for jars. These objects are presumably not meant to be drawn, but rather positioned where they are shown. Alongside the circle

for no. 2 runs a vertical band labelled *Hoc* [or *hic*] *est candela* and inscribed with the names Oreoth, Pinen, Ocel, Triboy, Norioth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy.

When prayers are shown inscribed on the bands, these may be meant to be inscribed, but are perhaps more often to be recited as the circles themselves are traced:

The first circle for no. 39 has *In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti: In nomine indiuidue trinitatis, Alpha et O, deus et homo*; and *Ego te facio per illum qui creauit celum et terram, mare et omnia que in eis sunt* in its three bands.

The second circle for no. 39 has *In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti, Celi enarrant* in the middle band, and *Deus tuum* [sic] *regi da* in its three bands.

No. 36 has inscriptions in each of its three bands: ✠ *Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei Patris omnipotentis, qui solo verbo vniuersa creauit* in the outermost; ✠ *Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei viui qui humanum genus humano sangwine redemit* in the middle, and ✠ *Hunc circulum facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracliti, quia* [*sic*] *apostolorum et prophetarum corda sua gracia illustrauit* in the innermost. In the upper left, a further inscription begins in the outer circle and ends in the middle one: *Per hoc signum sancte crucis gracia dei defendat nos ab omni malo.*

No. 40 has ✠ *Hunc circulum facio in nomine Patris omnipotentis dei, qui solo verbo cuncta creauit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, dextera domini exaltauit me, non moriar sed viuam et narrabo opera domini. Castigans castigauit dominus* in (and extending beyond) its outermost band; ✠ *Hunc circulum facio in nomine filij unigeniti dei viui, qui humanum genus proprio sangwine redemit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, dextera domini exaltauit me, non moriar sed viuam et narrabo opera* in its middle band; and ✠ *Hunc circulum facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracliti, qui corda apostolorum et prophetarum suorum sanctissimam graciam* [*sic*] *illustrauit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, etc.* in its outermost band.

No. 23 has *Deus sanctus, deus omnipotens, deus fortis, deus inmortalis, pater futuri seculi.*

No. 12 gives a modified conjuration that is shown on the circle for no. 12: *Tu Belial, tu Astaroth, tu Paymon, ad hoc sitis* [*michi* deleted] *opus michi adiutores.*

One of the experiments in the Munich handbook (no. 7) speaks of the circle as a representation of the spirits' habitation, perhaps implying a conception of Hell related to Dante's, but the point remains implicit and undeveloped. And in one of the handbook's experiments (no. 33) an unusual kind of magic circle is required: the master goes to a cemetery and gathers as many stones as there are verses in Psalm 50, and with them he makes a circle, then sprinkles it with verbena.

THE FUNCTION OF THE MAGIC CIRCLE: PROTECTION OR HEIGHTENING OF POWER

Magic circles are usually represented in histories of magic as protective devices,[13] and at least sometimes they performed that function. In one of the *exempla* told by Caesarius of Heisterbach, a cleric famed for his skill in necromancy agrees to conjure demons to persuade a knight who does not believe in them. The cleric inscribes a circle on the ground at a crossroads, and warns the knight that he must remain within the circle as protection from the demons, and within this protective confine the knight remains secure (albeit terrified) when demons and the Devil himself arrive. In another *exemplum*, individuals who dare to step outside the circle are immediately attacked by the fiends.[14]

This notion of the magic circle as a protective device occurs at times in the magicians' own writings. In the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript the spirits are commanded to approach the master 'beside the circle here inscribed' (*iuxta circulum hic circumscriptum*). Elsewhere the spirits are commanded to come to the 'place and circle' (*locum et circulum*) ordained for their appearance. The master is to 'sign' or bless the circle with his rod, saying 'I make this circle in honour of the Holy Trinity, that [it] may be for him and his companions a place of protection and a refuge which the demons cannot violate, enter, defile, touch, or even fly over; they must appear in a place designated for them outside the circle.'[15] The notion of the circle as a protective device is found again in an early sixteenth-century text pseudonymously ascribed to Cornelius Agrippa.[16] But it is probably not the magicians' original understanding of how the magic circle functioned. The circle as a locus of power, enhancing the power of the operator, is ancient; it appears, for example, in the early Jewish story of Honi the Circle-Drawer and in the Greek magical papyri.[17] The further notion that the circle protects the magician from demons may well have originated with moralists such as Caesarius, as a symbolic way of talking about how hazardous it is to conjure demons, even if it was eventually taken over by the necromancers themselves.

In the Munich handbook it is clear that the circle is a focus of power meant to gain control over spirits. The circles have power to convoke the demons (no. 9) and to terrify them (no. 7). In one case the circle is identified as the insignia of the spirits being conjured (no. 8). In another experiment the circle seems to be identified as a representation of the spirits' dwelling place (no. 7). Apart from its power over spirits, a circle may be inscribed on horsehide, and then it will exert power over any horses to whom it is displayed, or keep unwanted horses from approaching its bearer (no. 9). At one point it is said that the spirits cannot enter a circle (no. 3), but elsewhere they are said in fact to do so (no. 11). The instructions for conjuring Mirage in the supplementary sections of the codex do suggest that the circle has a protective function, more for the magician's companion than for the master himself: the master makes a circle with a knife

and has his companion sit inside it, carefully instructing him not to stretch hand, foot, clothes or hair outside it until all is done, 'lest through some error he should seem to enter into danger'.[18] The role of the circle in one of the manual's erotic experiments (no. 3) is ambiguous: it is clearly a focus of magical power, and it may also play a protective role. The text says that the larger the circle, the better; if anything of the master's should extend beyond the circle, 'it would be bad for you'. Does this imply that the circle is a protective enclosure against the assaults of the demons? Perhaps, but this function is not clearly expressed. At no point does the author expressly state that the demons may cause harm and that the circle is necessary for protection; indeed, the experiment is explicitly said to be without danger. While the master sports with the woman inside his capacious circle the demons have in fact vanished; there is no sense that they remain as invisible yet menacing presences. The master's greatest fear may be not assault but interruption: having gone to such effort to secure the woman's presence and guard the secrecy of his magic, he does not want to be disturbed in his love-making by forces demonic or otherwise, and the circle provides an enclosure within which his privacy is secure. Exceeding the bounds of this enclosure will probably have the worst result he envisions: the spell will be broken and he will be disappointed in his love.

ASTRAL MAGIC

Magic circles are not explicitly linked with the celestial spheres, at least in the Munich handbook, yet the magic of circles and that involving heavenly bodies are perhaps related, at least indirectly. In each case the circular form – the perfect shape, according to ancient Greek thought – was conceived as a centre of power that radiated outward. The elegance of the simple form, made with a single and uniform line, seems to have been suggestive of inward-looking strength combined with maximal power to influence other beings. Even if the magic circle could also serve as a protective boundary, defining a safe space within itself, the Munich handbook makes it clear that the circle exerted force over demons, whether traced on the ground or transferred to a sheet of parchment. More clearly and perhaps more obviously, in medieval thought, the stars and planets emitted powers that affected life on earth and could be put to use by a magician for good or for ill. The possibility of such astral magic was not merely a belief of the magicians themselves; philosophers and theologians, indeed educated people generally, accepted the premise that the heavenly bodies influenced affairs here below.[19]

In 1441 Eleanor Cobham, the Duchess of Bedford, was tried for treasonous magic along with accomplices who included Roger Bolingbroke. His part in the matter is summarized by one contemporary source in these terms:

> And a certain clerk, one of the most renowned in all the world in astronomy and the magical art, master Roger Bolingbroke, was arrested, and publicly in the cemetery of St Paul's, with the vestments of his magic and with waxen images, and with many other magical instruments, he sat in a certain high throne, so that people from everywhere might see his works; afterwards he was hanged, drawn and quartered, and his head placed on London Bridge. This master Roger was one of the most notable clerks in the whole world, and he was accused on account of . . . Lady Elianora [Cobham], to whom he was an advisor in the magic art, and after his death many lamented exceedingly greatly.

For our purposes it is not necessary to explore all details and implications of the affair.[20] Suffice it to point out that this Bolingbroke clearly was an 'astronomer' or astrologer, and surely had cast the horoscope of Henry VI, already an activity that smacked of treason, but whether he had actually compassed the monarch's demise is another matter. In any case, we have here a classic case of the intersection between astrology, astral magic and necromancy. Whether or not this particular astrologer was also a necromancer, to lend further force to its conjurations necromancy clearly did borrow techniques, however superficially, from the traditions of astral magic derived from Arabic treatises such as *Picatrix*. This and similar writings had been translated from Arabic into Western European languages in and around the thirteenth century and seem to have had profound influence on necromantic practice. This influence manifests itself in the Munich manual chiefly in instructions to observe certain astrological conditions and in the use of fumigations.

In various ways the magical apparatus contained in the Munich manual draws from the tradition of astral magic. Eleven experiments specify that their operations, or certain of them, should be done under specified astrological conditions, which most often entail phases of the moon: the work should be done under a waxing or waning moon, or in a particular phase of the moon. The day of the week is sometimes specified. The time of the day may be indicated: the first hour, before sunrise, morning or noon. Thus, an erotic experiment (no. 12) must be initiated in the hour of Venus or the hour of Jove, not simply because of the obvious erotic associations of Venus, but because Venus and Jupiter were seen as 'favourable' planets. At times the manual says that operations should be carried out under a clear sky. Astrological specifications of slightly greater sophistication occur only rarely: an experiment is to be carried out under a conjunction of Venus and Jupiter, or when the Sun is in Leo.[21]

Fumigations (or suffumigations) occur in eight of the manual's experiments. In psychological experiments it is the image or the object sympathetically representing the victim that is fumigated: with myrrh and saffron (no. 3); with

cinnamon, pepper and agrimonia (no. 4), or with sulphur fumes (no. 5). In illusionist experiments it is the circle that is thus treated: with the marrow of a dead person (no. 8), or with incense and myrrh (no. 11). An all-purpose experiment (no. 36) likewise instructs the master to place incense and myrrh in a thurible (presumably of gold) and walk around the outer edge of the circle, saying, 'I make this fumigation in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.' Both versions of the Mirror of Floron require that the mirror itself be fumigated.

The portion of the manual most fully reflecting the influence of Arabic astral magic is the compendium devoted specifically to the subject (no. 37). This section of the manuscript, which is deeply indebted to works such as *Picatrix* and other manuals of astral magic,[22] contains two types of material: integrated instructions for magical rites utilizing the powers of the heavenly bodies, and lists of supplementary information regarding each day of the week (the seals to be used, the names of angels and other spirits who rule and serve on each day, suffumigations to be employed) and each hour of the day and night (the name and function of each, names of angels that rule each hour, images to be used for each hour, and so forth).[23] The latter form of material can perhaps best be conveyed in tabular form (see Tables E–G), even if some nuance is lost in this presentation. Those subsections which give integrated instructions for rites are, in particular, no. 37a (conjurations for each day of the week), nos 37m and 37n (uses of images for each day and night hour), and no. 37q (uses of images and conjurations for each day of the week).

Two examples (one from no. 37m, the other from no. 37q) will illustrate how the integrated experiments draw upon the schemata found in the mere lists:

> During the fifth day hour one should make an image to tame wild beasts, such as lions, bears, wolves, and any other wild and harmful beasts. At this hour cast an image of the animal of the sort you wish to control or tame, and on the head of the image carve the name of the animal, and on the chest the name of the hour and the name of the lord of the hour, and on the stomach the seven names of the first hour, and fumigate the image with Indian wood and with red sandalwood, and bury the image in a place of your choosing, and with the Lord's help aiding you, you will see that all those animals will be turned to your will.

Somewhat more elaborate is a procedure for bringing concord between humans:

> The fifth image is that of Thursday, and the angels constituted over it are Satquiel, Pattar, Constiel, [and] Assassayel, and these are the winds

constituted over the image: Silite, Maraben, Halharit, and their helpers are Yse, Riron, Naasay, [and] Eladab. And when you wish to perform this work, make an image of yellow bronze or of yellow wax on a Thursday, and tint it with green, and make it for a man [or] for a woman, if you wish thereby to bring friendship between two men or women, or between a man and a woman. Make two images of green wax in the month of May, at the height of Pisces, or in the month of January in the height of Sagittarius, and write the name of the man on the heart of the woman's image, and the name of the woman on the heart of the male, and say this conjuration:

'O Lord God, almighty creator of [all] things, visible and invisible, establish gentle concord between thus-and-such woman, daughter of so-and-so, and so-and-so, son of so-and-so, such as you established between Adam and Eve, and between Jacob and Rachel, and between Michael and Gabriel (one of whom is fiery and the other watery, [yet] the one does not harm the other, but there is great concord between them), and such concord as you established between the angel whose medium is fire and the one whose medium is snow, so that the snow does not extinguish the fire, nor does the fire consume the snow, and so you likewise turn envy into concord. Thus, O Lord, by your most holy kindness and mercy, may you cause so-and-so, daughter of so-and-so, to accord with, to love, and to cherish so-and-so, son of so-and-so. I conjure you angels by the name Yafaa, Safaa, Alleya, Hayala, Haya, Halix, Hayul, Ataya, Hytoia, Saffetaba, Coffossol, Remlestar, El, Lord God, you who know the secrets of [all] hearts and are the end and the beginning, [and] who never die. Hasten, Sarafem [and] Custyeli, and command Amaris and his helpers, that they may quickly carry out and accomplish my request.'

And bury the image in a place by which they pass, and you will see the marvels of almighty God.

No. 37a consists chiefly of conjurations for the days of the week: the conjurations differ in two main ways from those found in the main block of material: their purpose is left unspecified, there being no explicit instruction to the spirits conjured; and they involve word play and near repetition of a sort often associated with Kabbalah: 'In the name Adonay, Adonay, Eye, Eye, Eyu . . . Eye, Aloraye; in the name Sadaye, Saday, Cados, Cados, Cados, the high one, sitting upon the cherubim . . .'; 'In the name Adonay, Adonay, Adonay, Eye, Eye, Eye, Cados, Cados, Cados, Hatyn, Hatyn, Hatyn, Va, Va, strong one, Va, who appeared on Mount Sinai with glorification of his reign, Ya, Adonay, Saday, Sabaoth, Hanath, Hu, Haxi, Ya, Ya, Ya, Marmalita, Abym, Yea . . .'; and 'by the name Ya, Ya, Ya, A, A, Va, Hy, Hy, Haa, Haai, Va, Va, Han, Han, Hon, Hy, Hyen, Haya, Haya, Hol, Hol, Hay, Hael, Hon; by the names of the Lord Adonay,

Haya, Hol, creator of the ages, Cados, Cados, Cados, Ebel, El, Ya, Ya, Ya, Eloy, Arar, Eloym, Eloym . . .'

Elements of simple lunar astrology, too, are found toward the end of the compilation, in a listing of what were called *lunationes*, or days of the lunar cycle that are good or bad for making magical inscriptions (no. 46). In general, lunar astrology lent itself more to popular use than did the more technical science of solar astrology; while it is found in varying degrees of complexity, it could easily be reduced to a simple list of days in the lunar cycle, identified as favourable or unfavourable, whether in general or for a particular operation such as the working of magic.[24]

When all is said and done, however, the use of astrology and astral magic in the Munich handbook - and probably in other, similar necromantic texts – is fairly superficial. One does not find detailed or rationalized efforts to exploit the powers of celestial bodies, and even the concise treatise of astral magic is more a catalogue than a fully developed work, presumably included simply because the compiler was highly eclectic, but not genuinely integrated into the drift of the compilation as a whole.

The *Speculum astronomiae*, probably written by Albert the Great, explains the basic principles of astrology, then touches at the end on necromancy and related arts. The author says he does not mean to speak in favour of astrological images, because of their similarity to necromantic (*necromanticas*) ones. He then goes on to say that necromantic books should be set aside without being destroyed. 'For perhaps the time is already at hand, when, for certain reasons about which I am now silent, it will be useful on occasion to have inspected them, but, nevertheless, their inspectors should be wary of using them.'[25] Coy as it is, this statement makes clear that the boundary between astral magic and necromancy was fluid in practice even if in theory it could be stated with clarity: astral magic invoked the natural powers of the stars and planets, while necromancy called upon demons; but if there were spirits associated with the heavenly bodies, these might be difficult to distinguish from the spirits of the air traditionally conceived as demonic.[26] One can well understand why orthodox authorities and writers would be suspicious of that which even bordered on the forbidden. The works translated from the Arabic might include a great deal of material that was straightforwardly astrological and clearly non-demonic, but a work such as *Picatrix* appealed to both the powers of the planets and those of spirits, and identified its art as that of necromancy. The Munich handbook is important in part because it extends the spectrum to the furthest extreme, giving us nearly in its entirety a work expressly devoted to demonic magic, worked out in considerable detail and for the most part with only token borrowing from the astral magic with which necromancy was so richly intertwined.

Table E. Specifications for each day of the week

	Angels serving (37a, 37b, 37d, cf. 37h)	*Spirits ruling (and co-adjutors) (37e)*	*Suffumigations (37f)*	*Purposes (37g)*	*Images (37q)*
Sun.	Raphael	King Saytam ('Taatus, Candas, Vanibal)	yellow or red sandalwood	binding tongues otherwise binding people	gold or yellow wax, for binding tongues
Mon.	Gabriel	King Almodab (Sylol, Millalu, Abuzaba)	aloes, *anacap*	benevolence, concord, friendship	gold or steel or white wax, for concord
Tues.	Samael	'*rex filius dyabuli*' (Carmath, Utanaual, Pascami)	pepper, *abana*, *cyg*	illness and destruction	red copper or red wax, for depopulating a house, causing bloodshed or illness, or other harm
Wed.	Michael	King Saba (Conas, Pactas, Sanbras)	*altast*	enmity and hatred	lead, for enmity
Thurs.	Satquiel	Madrath, son of Arath (Hyrti, Ignaro Quiron, Saalalebeth)	yellow incense	peace	yellow copper or yellow wax, for concord between man and woman
Fri.	Anael	King Saabotes (Nassath, Ynasa)	*almastic* or *lignum radim*	friendship	white wax, for love of a woman
Sat.	Captiel= Caffriel	Hayton, Assayby (Abimalyb, Haybalydoth, Yfla)	*assandaron*, sulphur	binding locations	*pix clara*, for binding tongues or places, for discord

Table F. Specifications for day hours

	Names (37j)	*Functions (37j)*	*Ruling angels (37l)*	*Functions of images (37m)*
1st	Yayn	binding tongues	Raphael	binding tongues
2nd	Yan, Or	friendship, favour of potentates	Anael	benevolence
3rd	Nassura	hunting, fishing	Michael	congregating birds and fish
4th	Sala	binding wild beasts	Gabriel	dispelling beasts
5th	Sadadat	binding beasts	Gaffriel	taming wild beasts
6th	Tamhut	freeing captives	Satquiel	freeing captives
7th	Caror	peace between kings	Samael	hunting and fishing
8th	Tariel	discord	Raphael	destroying houses and other places
9th	Karon	travel, safe passage among robbers	Anael	travelling without harm
10th	Hyon	work with demons or demoniacs, foul wind, aid to ladies	Michael	obtaining one's will with kings and princes
11th	Nathalon	causing bleeding in women, binding men to women and vice versa	Gabriel	concord
12th	Abat	peace (between men and women)	Cafriel	binding tongues

Table G. Specifications for night hours

	Names (37k)	*Functions (37k)*	*Ruling angels (37l)*	*Images (37n)*
1st	Leron	working with demoniacs, foul winds	Satquiel	illuminating dark places
2nd	Latol	working with fish	Samael	knowing fortunes
3rd	Hami	working with fire	Raphael	dispelling reptiles
4th	Atyn	destroying houses, expelling people	Anael	destroying or depopulating villages, causing enmity
5th	Caron	asking questions of sleepers	Michael	scattering armies

	Names (37k)	*Functions (37k)*	*Ruling angels (37l)*	*Images (37n)*
6th	Zaia	working with fruit trees and other plants	Gabriel	putting enemies to flight
7th	Nectius	expelling people, causing sickness and death	Cafriel	burning vegetation
8th	Tafat	causing enmity	Satquiel	gathering bees or birds
9th	Conassuor	binding tongues, entering before kinds and lords	Samael	attracting and capturing birds
10th	Algo	destroying evil speech or thought	Raphael	scattering besieging armies
11th	Caltrua	binding or catching birds	Anael	Not to be used for making images
12th	Salaij	telling fortunes, disclosing theft or other crime	Michael	

Notes

1 Siegfried Wenzel, ed. and trans., *Fasciculus morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), v. 30, pp. 578–79.

2 Guillaume de Deguileville, *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, Englisht by John Lydgate, A.D. 1426, from the French of Guillaume de Deguileville, A.D. 1330, 1355*, ed. F.J. Furnivall (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1899–1904), vol. 2, pp. 493–505, lines 18,471–924. See Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 172–3, where the drawing of the meeting with the necromancer is reproduced.

3 M.R. James, 'Twelve medieval ghost-stories', *English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), 416f.

4 Hansen, *Quellen*, 536–9; *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, ser. 2, vol. 3 (1846).

5 A classic Byzantine treatise on magic instructed its reader to make two concentric circles wide enough to accommodate two people; they should be drawn inside a square, with an entrance corridor to the south, and various words and signs are to be inscribed. See Richard P.H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988), 286–7.

6 *The Sworn Book of Honourius* [sic] *the Magician, as Composed by Honourius through Counsel with the Angel Hocrotll*, ed. and trans. Daniel J. Driscoll (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1983), chs 26 and 38.

7 *De Nigromancia of Roger Bacon*, ii.4–6, ed. and trans. Michael-Albion Macdonald (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1988), 13–26. On the legend of St Cyprian of Antioch see *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater (New York: Kenedy, 1956), under 26 September.

8 *De Nigromancia*., iii.1, 28f.

9 *Ibid*., 51.

10 Rawl. 29r, 73r, 77v–78r, 79r, 103v, 104v.

11 One (nos 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 12, 15), two (nos 7, 10, 16, 18, 22), three (nos 36, two in 39, 40), or four (no. 6).

12 For parallels and possible sources in Arabic culture see H.A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei* (Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1930).

13 E.g., Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief*, 286.

14 Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. H. von E. Scott and C.C. Swinton Bland, vol. 1 (London: Routledge, 1929), 315–17. See also Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books, and Local Legends*, rev. edn (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955–58), nos. D1272 (magic circle), D1381.11 (magic circle protects from devil) and G303.16.19.15 (devil cannot enter magic circle made to keep him out); and Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (FF Communications, 204) (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Akademia Scientiarum Fennica, 1969), p. 86, nos. 1,069–71.

15 Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson MS 252, fols 25v, 59v–61v.

16 Cornelius Agrippa, *Of Occult Philosophy, Book Four: Magical Ceremonies*, ed. and trans. Robert Turner (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1985), 72.

17 *Taanith*, 3.8, in C.K. Barrett, *New Testament Background: Selected Documents* (London: SPCK, 1956; rev. edn 1987), pp. 191–2; and Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 141 (PGM VII.846–61), 73 (IV.2006–2125).

18 Fols 112v–113v, 142r–142v: *magister facit circulum cum cultello, et faciat socium suum intus sedere, et precipiat sibi magister quod nec pedes neque manus nec vestes nec capillos foras extendat, donec magister exeat expeditus ab omnibus ordinatis. . . . Postea faciat circulum cum cultello suo, et assignet locum in quo socius suus sedere debeat. Postea iubet eum sedere, et ostendit ei sub qua forma sedere debeat in circulo, et qualiter se regere in omnibus debeat, et qualiter spiritum in aduentu suo recipere debeat, et quomodo exire debeat de circulo, et qualiter in recessu suo eum licenciare teneat, et quomodo exire debeat de circulo, et quo debeat se diuertere. Et hec omnia debet magister socio suo ostendere antequam eum in circulo incurrere permittit, ne ex defectu periculum intrare videatur.*

19 See Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 131–3.

20 See Hilary M. Carey, *Courting Disaster: Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1992), ch. 8, from which the translation is taken.

21 Nos 4, 6, 8, 11, 19, 41 (waxing moon); 2, 5 (waning moon); 7 [?] (first phase of the moon); 9 (sixth phase); 20 (other phases); 4, 41 (Sunday), 9 (Tuesday), 11 (Wednesday), 6 (Thursday or Sunday), 2, 5 (Saturday); 4, 11 (first hour); 5 (before sunrise); 41 (morning [*de mane*]); 6 (noon); 7, 8 (clear sky); 20 (conjunction of Venus and Jupiter); 41 (Sun in Leo); 5 (under a waning moon *et maxime quando est in combustione*).

22 *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the Ghâyat Al-Hakim*, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986), esp. passages such as those on pp. 15–22 (images to effect peace, love, the favour of a lore, etc.); pp. 68–73 (images of planets), and 200–2 (fumigations for various planets); for further examples see 'Thabit ibn Qurra's *De imaginibus*', in Francis J. Carmody, *The Astronomical Works of Thabit b. Qurra* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 180–97. See Lynn Thorndike, 'Traditional medieval tracts concerning engraved astrological images', in *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer: Etudes d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale de la Scolastique médiévale offertes à Monseigneur Auguste Pelzer* (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1947), 217–73.

23 Nos 37a (conjurations for days of week), 37b (signs of angels), 37c (signs of days), 37d (angels ruling days), 37e (spirits ruling days), 37f (fumigations for days), 37g (purposes served each day), 37h (angels of days), 37i (names of God), 37j (names and functions of day hours), 37k (names and functions of night hours), 37l (names and functions of hourly angels), 37m (images for day hours), 37n (images for night hours), 37o (angels of times), 37p (names of planets and parts of Earth), 37q (images and conjurations for days) and 37r (summary). The association of angels and demons with specific days and hours had been worked out in Byzantine sources; see Armand Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, I (Liège: Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 1927), 403–4, 434–8. For material similar to that in no. 37j, see Charles Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), IX, p. 2.

24 On the tradition from which this text draws see Ute Müller, *Deutsche Mondzeitragetexte aus dem Spätmittelalter* (diss. Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, 1971); *The Works of John Metham, including The Romance of Amoryus and Cleopes*, ed. Hardin Craig (EETS, o.s. 132) (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1916), xxxviii–xlii (a survey of the genre), 148–56; L. Braswell, 'Popular lunar astrology in the late Middle Ages', *University of Ottawa Quarterly*, 48 (1978), 187–94.; Robert Vian, ed., *Ein Mondzeitragebuch: Zwei altdeutsche Handschriften des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts* (Halle, 1910); and Frank Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb: Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), 49–57. W. Braekman, 'Magische experimenten en toverpraktijken uit een middelnederlands handschrift', *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1966, 54–68, gives the first six sections of a moon-book for when the moon is in each zodiacal sign.

25 Paola Zambelli, *The 'Speculum astronomiae' and its Enigmas: Astrology, Theology and Science in Albertus Magnus and His Contemporaries* (Dordrecht, Boston, and London: Kluwer, 1992), chs 16–17, pp. 270–73.

26 On this issue see especially D.P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic, from Ficino to Campanella* (London: Warburg Institute, 1958; repr. Notre Dame, ID: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975).

9

CONCLUSION

Some time around the 1530s, Benvenuto Cellini witnessed the conjuring of demons in the Colosseum at Rome - or at least so he reports in his autobiography.[1] He had met a Sicilian priest who knew Latin and Greek, and who agreed to introduce him to the art of necromancy. Along with two companions they went to the Colosseum, traced circles on the ground, and undertook 'the finest ceremonies that can be imagined', amid various suffumigations and an hour and a half of conjurations. When legions of demons filled the Colosseum, the priest urged Cellini to make some inquiry, and he asked them to restore to him his Sicilian girlfriend, Angelica, to which they made no reply. Cellini and the priest went to the Colosseum a second time, with a twelve-year-old boy and two other companions. In Hebrew and Greek as well as Latin, the necromancer conjured multitudinous demons by name, invoking the power of God, and there appeared a hundred times as many spirits as previously. Cellini repeated his request, and the spirits promised that within a month he would be together with Angelica. But the ceremony was soon out of control: the necromancer declared that the demons were a thousand times more than he had conjured, and they were the most dangerous of spirits; the boy shrieked that a million threatening figures were swarming around them, while four 'giants' were endeavouring to break into the circle. Eventually, however, the numbers of spirits dwindled, so that by the time the conjurers left their circle the boy reported there were only two demons left, skipping along the road or on the rooftops. The necromancer insisted that he had never before encountered such a ferocious display of demons. The experience did not dissuade him, however, from urging Cellini to join him in another ritual, the consecration of a book by which they could discover buried treasure. Cellini agreed, but was soon so preoccupied with his work that he abandoned both this new project and his hopes regarding Angelica.

E.M. Butler inclined to accept Cellini's story essentially at face value, although she noted that only the boy seems actually to have seen the conjured spirits - the rest of the party relied chiefly on the lad's reports - and she ascribed the exceptional success of the necromancer's rituals to the boy's impressionable nature.[2] No doubt it could have happened. Conjuring demons is hardly the most implausible undertaking humans have devoted themselves to, and it seems *prima facie* unlikely that books of necromancy would have circulated in late medieval and early modern Europe without occasional use of the experiments they contained. The results may more often have been those experienced by Gilles de Rais, who engaged more than one clerical necromancer in an effort to recoup his

finances with demonic aid, but who found the conjurations utterly without effect – except when he was not looking, at which point the necromancer would assure him that ferocious spirits had come and beaten him mercilessly.[3] Gilles de Rais's necromancers were perhaps typical in their skilful deception of a gullible client. One is reminded of the necromancers, including a former Templar, who strung Cardinal Francesco Caetani along, begging for time to complete their experiments, and pleading that they could not do so because they were unable to locate such necessary items as a hoopoe.[4] The necromancer appears often to have been a mountebank, and the most important factor in his success was perhaps the credulity of his client. Yet one hesitates to generalize; if clients could place faith in necromancy, this was in part because the broader culture took the matter seriously enough to prosecute people for exercising the art, and few doubted in principle that conjuring could succeed, so there must have been necromancers and would-be necromancers who copied out experiments into their books in the hope of having close encounters with malign but potentially useful spirits.

In some respects the story of Benvenuto Cellini is consonant with the picture of necromancy given in the Munich handbook, while in other ways it is not. The use of circles, conjurations and suffumigations, the recruitment of a young boy, and the presence of a few companions – all this is typical of what we have seen in the necromancer's manual. The use of a classical language is again expected, although Greek and Hebrew may have been exceptional. The experiments in the Munich handbook sometimes instruct the spirits to come in pleasant and non-threatening form, as if the conjurers were aware that the experience of Cellini and his friends – a veritable temptation of Saint Anthony – might befall them. What is most unusual about Cellini's report is precisely its drama. The demons foreseen in the Munich manuscript are made tame, domesticated, even docile in comparison. The conjurations are intended to coerce the spirits, and the expectation is that these spirits will present themselves in a mood of submission to the necromancer's constraint. Yet the writer surely knew the alternative possibility, and if he insisted on using conjurations as spiritual weapons against the spirits he did so because he knew that precautions were necessary, that docility did not come naturally to demons.

I have argued that material such as the Munich handbook is historically important because it helps us grapple with the mentality of the clerical necromancers, but that this mentality was not a simple or stable entity. Its variations depended largely on the type of ritual in question. The illusionist experiments display a playful and imaginative impulse, but one that could nurture the profoundly serious anxieties seen in the early witch trials. In the psychological rites we find a quest for power over other people's minds, wills, and bodies, often manifesting itself as an expression of violent impulse, and in any case revealing tension in the clash of wills. In the divinatory operations a desire

for knowledge often combines with pecuniary motives, and we see an almost obsessive concern with the truth of the knowledge gained, in the face of the danger of falsehood. In the Munich handbook we find all three types of material, but in shifting proportions: if I am right in my hypothesis that we have the experiments substantially in their original order, the compiler seems to have become less interested in the glamorous forms of magic, more absorbed in workaday divination, and more prosaic in his manner of presentation as he pursued his task. To read the work in this way is to find in it an element of implicit autobiography, even when the first person is not used. It is also to see the compiler as reflecting both synchronically and diachronically the diversities of magical tradition: not only does he bring disparate practices into fusion, combining sympathetic magic or scrying with conjuring and other techniques, but as he continues the process his work loses some of its earlier brio and he settles for kinds of magic more likely to draw money-bearing clients.

Furthermore, I have suggested that books such as the Munich manual of necromancy are significant for the light they shed on broader tendencies in late medieval culture. First, attention to such a compilation expands our conception of how a book could function and how it could be perceived in late medieval culture. Cellini's story reminds us of what we have already seen, that a book was a sacred object, particularly when consecrated, and that its sacrality was a factor enabling the necromancer better to attain his goals. Second, awareness of what magicians set out to do is needed for a realistic of their enemies' reactions and refutations. Cellini knew, as everyone at the time knew, that the behaviour of his priest friend was transgressive. One might view it as frivolous transgression; it certainly had no obvious political significance. Be that as it may, it takes on more sober significance in light of the virulent attacks on necromancy by people whose opinion weighed heavily, including popes and theologians, inquisitors and secular judges, those instrumental in forging the cumulative concept of witchcraft as a hammer for crushing women in particular, and the Humanist mages who wished to distance themselves as effectively as possible from common and vulgar necromancers. Third, study of this material helps us see the essential continuity in form between necromancy and exorcism, and the grounding of both in the established liturgy of the medieval Church. As the reverse side of the liturgical tapestry, the necromancer's experiments help us to see how ritual could be perceived and perverted by those making private use of it for transgressive purposes.

From a slightly different perspective, we might say that a text such as the Munich handbook is historically significant because it elucidates the connection between dreams and nightmares. The necromancers and their clients dreamed of discovering wealth, sexual fulfilment, favour and promotion, power over adversaries, entertainment, and knowledge of secret and future matters. In pursuing these dreams they risked entering into nightmares that they shared with

those about them. Cellini experienced what any necromancer other than a sheer impostor must have feared, the traumatic disruption of psychic and spiritual security, the terrifying irruption of sinister forces into the private space they occupied. The thrill of flirting with such danger was surely one reason for the art's powerful appeal. Like the Ouija board, the necromancer's circle could begin as a game but turn unexpectedly nasty and threatening. On a purely rationalist reading, the danger of the means might be balanced against the allurement of the ends. More realistically speaking, the hazards were surely among the attractions of such activity, and as Freud would remind us, the nightmare was itself the distorted fulfilment of a wish, at least for those mysterious souls who took delight at venturing into a Boschian landscape, in the hope that when they finished they would not be trapped within its frame.

Notes

1 *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*, lxiv–lxv, trans. John Addington Symonds (repr. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1946), 118–22. For background see Franco Cardini, 'I diavoli al Colosseo: note su alcuni luogli "magici" della città di Roma nel Medioero', in F. Troncarelli, ed., *La città dei segreti: magia, astrologia e cultura esoterica a Roma (XV–XVIII secolo)* (Milan: Angeli, 1985), 43–54.

2 E.M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949), 118–29.

3 Reginald Hyatte, intro. and trans., *Laughter for the Devil: The Trials of Gilles de Rais, Companion-in-Arms of Joan of Arc (1440)* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1984).

4 Charles Victor Langlois, 'L'affaire du cardinal Francesco Caetani (Avril 1316)', *Revue historique*, 63 (1897), 56–71; Conrad Eubel, 'Vom Zaubereiunwesen anfangs des 14. Jahrhunderts (mit urkundlichen Beilagen)', *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 18 (1897), 628.

The Necromancer's Handbook in Clm 849: Fols 3r–108v

THE DISPOSITION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript is from the first half of the fifteenth century, of unknown provenence. It is not mentioned in Otto Hartig, *Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht V. und Johann Jakob Fugger* (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosoph.-philolog. und hist. Klasse, vol. 28, sect. 3, 1914). It is on paper, without discernible watermark. The present binding is probably from the end of the nineteenth or beginning of the twentieth century; the inner side of the rear binding bears a sticker referring to Georg Winkler Buchbinderei KB, Hoflieferant, München, Kreuzstr. 9. Fol. 3 is heavily worn. In the middle of the lower margin of fol. 3r (as on fol. 156v) is a stamp with the inscription *Bibliotheca Regia Monacensis*. In the middle of the upper margin of fol. 3r, *Clm 849* is marked in pencil. The manuscript is 14.7 cm wide and 21 cm high. The text is in a single column, with lineation still discernible on almost all pages. Initials are rubricated. Foliation runs from fol. 3 through fol. 152, and was probably executed after the earliest binding; earlier foliation occurs on individual folios, and is largely erroneous. Various hands are represented, but these do not always correspond to the gatherings of the manuscript; gatherings 12 through 14, however, are written by entirely different hands from those that precede, and the condition of the paper is also different from that in gatherings 1 through 11.

There are fifteen gatherings:

Table H. Gatherings of Clm 849

	Folios	*Experiments*	*Codicological particularities*
1	3–11	No. 1 to beginning of no. 4	Sheet with fol. 10 is separately inserted.
2	12–23	End of no. 4 to beginning of no. 9	Sheet with fols 12–13 is separately inserted.
3	24–35	End of no. 9 to beginning of no. 16	Sheet with fols 24–25 is separately inserted.
4	36–45	End of no. 16 to beginning of no. 27	Fol. 45 is also marked as fol. 59 (in earlier hand).

	Folios	*Experiments*	*Codicological particularities*
5	46–50	End of no. 27 through no. 30	Postponement of the middle of no. 27 results in textual discontinuity at the beginning of this gathering. After fol. 50 (on which no. 30 is completed), five uncounted folios (i.e., the second half of the gathering) are excised.
6	51–59	Middle of no. 27, then no. 31 and beginning of no. 32	Between fol. 51 (which is inscribed only recto) and 52 (which begins with an incipit) five uncounted folios are excised. Fol. 59r is also marked as 79 (in earlier hand).
7	60–68	End of no. 32 to beginning of no. 37	Between fol. 66 and fol. 67 is fol. 65 bis.
8	69–82	Continuation of no. 37	Fol. 70r is also marked as fol. 89 (in earlier hand). Fol. 71r is also marked as fol. 70 (in later hand). Fol. 82 is also marked as fol. 9 (in earlier hand).
9	83–95	Continuation of no. 37	Three sheets – fols 91, 92, and 94 – are separately inserted. Fol. 94 is also marked as fol. 10 (in earlier hand).
10	96–103	End of no. 37 to beginning of no. 40	Fol. 96r is also marked as fol. 104 (in later hand).
11	104–108	End of no. 40 through no. 47	After fol. 108, three uncounted folios are excised. Fols 106–7 are also marked as fols. 114–5 (in later hand). No. 44 is a fragment on the middle of fol. 107v. No. 47 is a fragment on the middle of fol. 108v.
12	109–118	Related materials, written by various hands	After fol. 118, two uncounted folios are excised. In this gathering there is no lineation.
13	119–32		
14	133–146		Fols 133–139 are also marked as fols 1–7.
15	147–156		Six sheets – fols 147–151 and 156 – are separately inserted.

TEXTUAL DISCONTINUITIES

Apart from the abrupt beginning of the text at the beginning of the main block (on fol. 3r) and the occurrence of textual fragments at the end of this block (on the middle of fol. 107v and on the middle of fol. 108v), discernible breaks in

textual continuity occur at three points within the block: (1) Between fols 45 and 46, one text ends abruptly (45v) at the end of the fourth gathering, the fifth gathering begins with a blank page (46r), and a new text begins *in medias res* (46v). (2) Between fols 50 and 51, one text ends with an *explicit* (50v), five folios are excised at the end of the fifth gathering, and the sixth gathering begins *in medias res* (51r). (3) Between 51 and 52, one text ends abruptly (51r) even though the verso is blank, five following folios are excised within the gathering, and the same gathering resumes with an *incipit* (52).

The discontinuities on fols 45–51 are related, in the sense that the central portion of an experiment (no. 28) has been postponed to fol. 51r, which evidently supplies the missing link between the beginning (fols 44v–45v) and the end (fols 46v–47v) of this experiment. Note that experiment no. 28 is divided into two 'chapters': the end of the first is marked by the words *Explicit primum capitulum* near the bottom of fol. 46r; the second begins with a list of names at the very bottom of that folio, which continues at the top of fol. 51r and continues with a conjuration that occupies the remainder of fol. 51r (fol. 51v is blank), only to conclude with the material on fols 46v–47v, which terminated with the notation *Explicit secundum capitulum*. The textual continuity produced by this rearrangement is corroborated by the identification of two chapters as part of a continuing experiment. The discontinuity is not fully explainable in terms of erroneous binding, which would not account for the scribe's not using the verso of fol. 51. Rather, the lack of continuity is more plausibly explained on the assumption that the scribe recognized belatedly that he had material at hand that belonged to an earlier experiment; he may not have taken the trouble to determine exactly where the fragment inserted on fol. 51r belonged.

It is possible that the only material actually deleted from the miscellany is that on the first two folios. Although folios are elsewhere excised (between fols 50 and 51, between fols 51 and 52, and between fols 108 and 109), the evident textual discontinuities can be emended by rearrangement, and there are no further deletions from the original foliation.

At the end of this block, three folios between 108 and 109 are excised at the end of a gathering, after which new material begins, written by different hands. Within this new material there are three further breaks in textual continuity: between 118 and 119, where two folios are excised at the end of a gathering; between 132 and 133, with the beginning of a new gathering; and between 146 and 147, again with the beginning of a new gathering.

EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

Punctuation and capitalization have been standardized. Non-standard but clearly intentional forms and spellings have been allowed to stand: *abilem* for *habilem* (no. 34), *aparuisti* for *apparuisti* (no. 31), *beniuolus* for *beneuolus* (no. 34), *blica* for *plica*

(no. 1), *colido* for *collido* (no. 5), *commitantem* for *comitantem* (no. 19), *commitiuam and commitiua* for *comitiuam and comitiua* (no. 7), *decim* for *decem* (no. 18), *desparsit* for *dispersit* (no. 33), *dissipulos* for *discipulos* (no. 35), *duodecim* for *duodecem* (no. 27), *genubus* for *genibus* (nos 10 & 11), *hillariter* for *hilariter* (no. 6), *hostio* for *ostio* (no. 17), *inungas* for *inunguas* (no. 22), *karacteribus* for *characteribus* (no. 19), *karitatem karitatiuam* for *caritatem caritatiuam* (no. 14), *kathedram* for *cathedram* (no. 15), *legittimo* for *legitimo* (no. 27), *letania* for *litania* (no. 31), *lingnum* for *lignum* (no. 13), *loycam* for *logicam* (no. 34), *magestas* for *majestas* (no. 1), *magestatis* for *majestatis* (no. 33), *navim* for *navem* (no. 8), *optinere* for *obtinere* (no. 31), *pallificando* for *paleficando* (no. 19), *patifacere* for *patefacere* (no. 6), *pulcherimi* for *pulcherrimi* (no. 13), *quadruuio* for *quadriuio* (no. 26), *rethoricam* for *rhetoricam* (no. 34), *ribelles* for *rebelles* (no. 33), *senephali* for *seneschali* (no. 34), *sepellire* for *sepelire* (no. 4), *sepellitur and desepelliendo* for *sepelitur and desepeliendo* (no. 2), *Septemtrione* for *Septentrione* (fols 115r and 144r), *thesaurum* for *thesaurus* (no. 43), *vppupa* for *upupa* (no. 6). The text has been corrected conservatively when it was necessary to do so for the sense of a passage, but not simply to correct errors; e.g., on fol. 56r *quod vij die hominem ad ymaginem plasmasti tuam* is corrected to *qui vij[a] die hominem ad ymaginem plasmasti tuam* but *vij* is not corrected to *vi*, and on fol. 13r *discedat . . . seruiet* [for *seruiat*] . . . *diligat* has been allowed to stand. Necessary additions have been made in square brackets; deletions and substitutions are indicated in the notes. Lower-case *c* and *t* are sometimes distinguished but often not; when the context allows either, *c* is used. In occult names and 'Chaldean' formulas especially it is often impossible to distinguish between *c* and *t*, to determine whether a superscript line over a vowel represents *m* or *n*, or to make other editorial judgements which depend on context; in these cases the transcription is perforce largely arbitrary.

Italics are used for ritual text that is to be recited, but not for dialogue. In the conjurations, chains of invocations given in unbroken sequence in the manuscript are broken into individual units (beginning with *per* or *et per*), each marked with a bullet, to clarify the structure of each invocation.

NO. 1. FOR GAINING KNOWLEDGE OF THE LIBERAL ARTS (FOLS 3r–5v)

[. . .] versus orientem. Deinde dicere [debes]:

Apolin, Maraloth, Berith, ego, talis, vos exorciso[a] *et coniuro ex parte dei omnipotentis, qui vos vestra electione iussit antra subire profundi, ut debeatis michi mittere quendam spiritum peritum dogmate omnium scienciarum, qui michi sit beniuolus, fidelis, et placidus, ad docendum omnem scienciam quam voluero,*[b] *veniens in forma magistri, vt nullam formidinem doleam percipere. Fiat. Fiat. Item coniuro vos*

a *Corrected from* exorcisor.

b *MS* volueris, *although the final letter is uncharacteristic for this hand.*

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *et [per] hec sancta nomina quorum virtute ligamini – scilicet Dobel, Vriel, Sabaoth, Semoni, Adonay, Tetragramaton, Albumay, Siloth, Moreth, Sadabin, Rodobel, Domiel, Perarabiel,*[c] *Alatuel, nominem, nominam,*[d] *[et] Vsobel,*

quatenus vos tres reges maximi et michi socii michi petenti vnum de subditis vestris mittere laboretis, qui sit magister omnium scienciarum et arcium, veniens in forma humana placabilis [et] splendens[e] *michi, et erudiens me cum amore, ita et taliter quod in termino 30a[rum] dierum talem scienciam valeam adipisci, permittens post sumpcionem sciencie dare sibi* [3v] *licenciam recedendi.*

Et hoc eciam tociens dici debet.

Hec vero dicta,[f] depone ensem et involue in dicto panno, et facto fasciculo cuba super ipso, et aliquantulum dormias. Post sompnum vero surge et induas te, quia facto fasciculo homo se spoliat et intrat cubiculum, ponendo dictum fasciculum sub capite. Est autem sciendum quod dictis hiis coniuracionibus sompnus accidit virtute diuina. In sompno apparent tibi tres maximi reges cum famulis innumeris, militibus et peditibus, inter quos est eciam quidam magister apparens, cui ipsi tres reges iubent. A[d] te ipsum venire paratum videbis. [Videbis] enim tres reges fulgentes mira pulchritudine, qui tibi in dicto sompno viua voce loquentur, dicentes, 'Ecce, tibi damus quod multociens postulasti.' Et dicent illi magistro, 'Sit iste tuus discipulus, quem docere te iubemus omnem scienciam siue artem quam audire voluerit. Doce ipsum taliter et erudi, vt in termino 30a[rum] dierum in quacumque sciencia[g] voluerit summus inter alios habeatur.' Et videbis ipsum respondere, 'Domini mei, libentissime faciam quidquid [4r] wltis.' Hiis dictis, reges abient et magister solus remanebit, qui tibi dicet, 'Surge, ecce magister tuus.' Hiis vero dictis, excitaberis; statim apperies oculos, et videbis quendam magistrum optime indutum, qui tibi dicet, 'Da michi ensem quam[h] sub capite tenes.' Tu vero dices, 'Ecce discipulus vester, paratus facere quidquid wltis.' Tamen debes habere pugillarem, et scribere omnia que tibi dicet.

Primo debes querere, 'O magister, quod[i] est nomen vestrum?' Ipse dicit,[j] et tu

c *Or* Pararabiel.
d Sic *in MS.*
e *MS* splandens.
f Sic in *MS.*
g *MS* in quam scienciam.
h Sic in *MS.*
i Sic in *MS.*
j Sic in *MS.*

scribas. Secundo, de quo ordine, et similiter scribe. Hiis scriptis, debes sibi postulare[k] ensem; quo habito ipse recedit, dicens, 'Expecta me donec veniam.' Tu nichil dices. Magister vero recedet et fert ensem. Post cuius recessum, tu dissolues pannum vt ap[p]aret inferius. Etiam scribas in dicto circulo nomen eius scriptum per te, et scribi debet per te cum predicto sangwine. Quo scripto, involue dictum pannum et bene reconde.

Hiis factis, debes prandere solo pane et pura aqua, et illa die non egredi cameram. Et cum pransus fueris, accipe pannum et intres circulum versus Apolin. Dic sic: 'O rex Apolin, magne, potens, et venerabilis, [4v] ego famulus tuus, in te credens et omnino confidens quod tu es fortis et valens, rogo per incomprehensibilem magestatem tuam vt famulus et subiectus tuus, talis, magister meus, debeat ad me venire quam[l] cicius fieri potest, per virtutem et potenciam tuam, que est magna et maxima in secula seculorum. Amen.' Et similiter dicere [debes] versus Maraloth, mutando nomen. Et versus Berich similiter. Hiis dictis, accipe de dicto sangwine et scribe in medio circuli nomen tuum cum supradicto corde, vt hic apparet inferius.[m] Deinde scribe cum dicto corde in angulis panni illa nomina, vt hic apparent. [5r] Si autem sangwis unius auis non sufficeret, potes interficere quantum tibi placet.

Quibus omnibus factis, sedebis per totam diem in circulo, aspiciens ipsum, nichil loquendo. Cum vero sero[n] fuerit, blica dictum pannum, spolia te, et intra in cubiculum, ponendo ipsum sub capite tuo. Et cum posueris,[o] dic sic plana voce:

> *O Apolin, Maraloch, Berith, Sathan, Beliath, Belzebuc, [et] Lucifer, supplico vobis vt precipiatis magistro – in eo* [*loco*] (nominando eius nomen) – *vt ipse debeat venire cras ante solis ortum ad me et docere me talem scienciam sine aliqua fallacia, per illum qui venturus est iudicare viuos et mortuos et seculum per ignem. Amen.*

Caue igitur et precaue ne signum ✠ crucis facias, propter magnum periculum in sompno. Scias quod videbis magistrum tota nocte loqui tecum, interrogans a te quam scienciam velis addiscere. Et cum dices, 'Talem', ita quod, vt dictum est,

k *Meaning* presentare.'

l *Followed by* ci *(?), deleted.*

m *Circle at the bottom of fol. 4v: a single band inscribed within a square. The names of the spirits* Belial, Satan, Mendior Matalot, Belzebuh, Lucifer, Sententino *and* Apolin *are inscribed in and around the band, as are the four cardinal directions.* Nomen magistri, de tali ordine *and* Nomen discipuli *are marked in the centre.*

n *The final* o, *written with a superscript line, has been corrected, with the correct form* sero *also in the margin.*

o *Meaning* reposueris.'

tota nocte cum eo hoc loqueris. Cum itaque excitatus fueris, quod e[s]t in ipsa nocte, surge et accende candelam, et accipe dictum pannum et devolue, et in eo sede, videlicet in circulo vbi nomen tuum scriptum est ad tuum commodum, et voca nomen magistri tui, sic dicens:

O talis, de tali ordi- [5v] *ne, et in magistrum michi deditus per maiores reges tuos, te deprecor vt veniesp in forma benigna, doctum me talem scienciam, [in] quaq sim promcior omnibus mortalibus, discens ipsam cum magno gaudio, sine aliquo labore, et omni tedio derelicto. Veni igitur ex tuorum parte maiorum, qui regnant per infinita secula seculorum. Amen. Fiat, fiat, fiat.*

Hiis itaque dictis, tunc aspiciens versus occidentem videbis magistrum venire cum multis discipulis, quem rogabis vt omnes abire iubeat, et statim recedunt.[r] Quo facto, ipse magister dicet, 'Quam scientiam audire desideras?' Tu dices, 'Talem,' et tunc incipies.

Memento enim quod quantum tibi dicet, tantum addisces[s] et memorie commendabis, et omnem scienciam quam habere volueris addisces in termino xxx[a][rum] dierum.

Et quando ipsum de camera abire volueris, plica pannum et reconde,[t] et statim recedet. Et quando ipsum venire volueris, aperi pannum, et subito ibidem apparebit, continuando lecciones. Post vero terminum 30a[rum] dierum, doctus optime in scientia, fac tibi dare[u] ensem tuum et dic vt vadat, et cum pace recedat. Debes iterum dicere cum pro alia ipsum invocabis habenda sciencia, qui tibi dicit ad tui libitum esse paratum.

Finis est capituli sciencie, etc.

NO. 2. FOR CAUSING A PERSON TO LOSE HIS SENSES (FOLS 6r–7v)

Ad hoc igitur, vt sciencia siue ars possit ab aliquo auferri, vnde diligenter attende.[a] Debes enim primo decrescente luna die sabbati ire ad illum quem ad mentem venire volueris et coram eo sic dicere plana voce:

p Sic *in MS.*
q *MS* quam.
r Sic *in MS.*
s *MS* addiscens.
t *MS* retunde.
u Sic *in MS.*
a Sic *in MS.*

Subintret Mirael cerebrum tuum et omnem sapienciam, sensum,[b] *discrecionem, [et] cogitationem diluat et aboleat. Coniuro te, Mirael,*

- *per omnes principes et maiores,*
- *et per omnia que facere voles,*

vt in tali quem aspicio debeas permanere donec michi libuerit, et ipsum obfuscare,[c] *et omne quod agnoscit ammittat,*[d] *alioquin mittam te in maris profundum, quod non egredieris in secula.*

Quibus dictis, recede et prestolare donec sero fuerit. Quo facto, vade ad hostium eius et incide de ligno ipsius hostij tantum quod de ipso calamum facere possis, et ad domum redeas, et fac de ipso calamum, et de sangwine murilogi in panno lini cum ipso calamo scribe:

O Mirael, ablator sapiencie, sciencie, cognicionis, et artis, adsis in sensibus talis, et spiritum facere debeas animo dementem.[e]

Qua conuocacione scripta, fit in dicto panno circulus cum dicto sangwine vt hic apparet,[f] vbi scribitur vt sequitur: nomen illius quem priuare volueris in medio circuli conscribitur, [cum] hoc nomine 'Mirael'. Quibus factis, debes dicere sic:

Coniuro vos decem demones [6v] *malignos, videlicet Oreoth, Pinen, Ocel, Tryboy, Noryoth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy, Sismael,*

- *per indiuiduam trinitatem, videlicet Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum ab vtroque procedentem,*
- *et per tremendam et timendam diem judicij,*[g]
- *et per omnia que fuerunt et sunt et erunt,*

vt[h] *sicut in hoc circulo figurati,*[i] *circuitis talem,*[j] *ita vere et efficaciter et existenter personam eius circuatis, et sensus eius taliter affligatis quod ignorans, demens, stultus, et mente captus*[k]

b *Followed by* et.

c *Corrected in margin from* abfuscare.

d *MS* amittit.

e Sic *in MS.*

f *Figure on fol. 6r: a single circular band, with* Oreoth, Pinen, Otel, Tryboy, Noryoth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy *and* Sismael *inscribed in it. In the centre of the circle* Mirael *and* N. *(for the name of the intended victim) are inscribed. Along the left side of 6v is a band labelled* Hoc [*or* hic] est candela *and the following names inscribed along it:* Oreoth, Pinen, Ocel, Triboy, Norioth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy.

g *The writer began to write* judij-, *then corrected the second* j *to* c.

h *MS* et.

i *Followed by* estis.

j *Followed by* vt.

k *MS* capitis.

[7r] *efficiatur. Et tu, Mirael, de cerebro eius nunquam egrediaris, manens in eo die noctuque donec ab eo abire iubebo.*

Quibus sic dictis ter, iterum redeas in eadem nocte ad domum ipsius cum dicto panno et cum quodam cultello, et cum ibi fueris, volue humeros versus suum hostium, et flectens te in terram, minge in parte eius more cameli. Faciendo foueam subter[r]ando dictum pannum in eius limite,[l] dic sic:

Subterro te, talem, in nomine demoniorum scriptorum circa te, quod semper ipsi demones [sint] circa te et omnis tua virtus sepulta sit.

Et cooperto dicto circulo cum terra, redeas iterum ad domum, et fac candelam, in qua sint scripta omnia contenta in circulo. Et debes ipsam facere de cera primo empta, [in] nomine et [pro] destrvccione eius, cum vna acu similiter empta. Qua facta, accende ipsam et dic sic:

Sicut hec candela,[m] facta in destruccionem talis, comburitur et consumatur,[n] ita omnis virtus et sciencia existens in ipso in demenciam conuertatur, per virtutem demoniorum in hac candela scriptorum. Et sicut vos demones hic scripti ardetis, ita nullam requiem habere possitis donec hoc duxeritis ad effectum.[o]

Quibus verbis semel prolatis, dictam candelam extingwe, dicendo hec verba:

Sicut hec candela extingwitur, ita omnis virtus in tali permanens penitus consumetur.

Mane vero ipsam accende, dicendo, *Sicut hec* [7v] *candela, etc.* Item alio mane, vsque ad terminum septum dierum, computato primo die; in octavo vero die, videbis istum dementem omnino, de quo omnes mirabuntur. Mirabile est autem quod non credit se aliquem habere defectum, et omnes alios mente putat esse carentes.

Hanc igitur experienciam apud te tene, quia magne virtutis est.

Cum autem ipsum volueris in statum priorem deuenire, optime fieri potest. Die iouis, 1. hora noctis, vade ad suum hostium vbi sepelisti pannum, quod dum sepellitur debet poni pannus in quodam vase vt non putrescat; sic factis omnino ipsum liberandi, et ipsum pannum desepelliendo, sic dicas:

l *Corrected from* limate.

m *Followed by* est.

n *Presumably meaning* consumitur.

o *MS* affectum.

O Mirael, Oreoth, Pinen, Ocel, Triay, Moryoth, Belferith, Canay, Astaroth, Sobronoy, [et] Sismael, ego, talis, absoluo vos vt eatis ad vestri libitum. et relinquatis talem in statu priori.

Quibus dictis, fer domi[p] istum pannum, et accenso igne ligni oliue et[q] prouincula et herba verbena,[r] priocias dictum pannum sub dicto igne, dicendo,

Sicut ignis iste consumit hunc pannum, ita omnis ars facta per[s] me contra talem penitus consumetur.

Combusto igne, proice dictum puluerem in aqua currenti, et omnis ars destructa erit. Cognoscet eciam se postea vir quod fuerit primo omni prefectura priuatus, credens se habuisse egritudinem, cuius occasione hec accessisse putabit, etc.

NO. 3. FOR AROUSING A WOMAN'S LOVE (FOLS 8r–11v)

. . . maxima diligencia probaui ipsam, et est periculosa, cum hec scilicet in persona, et . . .[a]

Cum volueris habere amorem a quacumque muliere vis, siue longinqua siue propinqua, tam nobili quam prolipia,[b] in quacumque die vel nocte vis, siue in augmento siue in amicicie detrimento, primo debes habere quandam columbam totam albam et cartam factam de cane femina dum est in amore, de qua est habere leuissimum. Et debes scire quod predicta carta potentissima est ad amorem mulieris habendum. Debes eciam habere calamum aquile. Et in loco occulto accipe dictam columbam et cum dentibus morde eam penes cor ita vt cor egrediatur, et cum calamo aquile in dicta carta cum dicto sangwine scribe nomen illius quam vis. [Debes] formare ymaginem mulieris nude quam melius scis,[c] dicendo,

Formo talem, N., filiam talis, quam habere desidero, nomine[d] istorum sex spirituum calidorum, videlicet Tubal, Sathan, Reuces, Cupido, Afalion, Duliatus, quod ipsa me diligat super omnes viuentes istius mundi.

p *Sic, for* domum.?
q *Meaning* cum.?
r *MS* herbam verbenam.
s *Inserted above the and in margin.*

a *Introductory line at top of folio, partly cut off.*
b *Meaning* plebeia.?
c Sic *in MS.*
d *Meaning* in nomine.?

Qua facta, scribe in fronte nomen eius et hoc numen 'Tubal', dicendo,

Tu es talis, filia talis, de cetero ad meam voluntatem disposita, et tu es Tubal in fronte eius. Te iubeo permanere, ligando sensus eius capitis sui[e] *ad me tantummodo cupientem.*

Postea adhuc scribe in brachio suo dextro 'Sathan', et in [8v] sinistro 'Reuces'. Quibus scriptis, sic dic:

Sicut tu, Sathan, et tu, Reuces, estis scripti in hac ymagine facta nomine talis, ita continuo affligatis brachia ista sua vt aliquid facere nequeat sed me amplecti desideret.

Quo facto, iterum scribe penes cor ymaginis nomen tuum, dicendo,

Sicut in corde istius ymaginis sum, ita talis, N., die noctuque me in corde suo habeat.

Quo facto, scribe supra wuluam imaginis hoc nomen 'Cupido', dicendo sic:

Sicut tu, Cupido, es super wuluam istius ymaginis, ita semper maneas super wuluam talis, accendendo ipsam vt omnes viros istius mundi despiciat et me tantummodo cupiat, et ignis amoris mei ipsam torqueat et inflammet.

Quo facto, scribe in crure dextro 'Afalion', in sinistro 'Duliatus'. Quibus scriptis, dic:

Sicut tu Afalion et tu Duliatus estis scripti in hac ymagine, ita sedeatis in cruribus talis, affligendo crura eius propter amorem vehementem mei, quod non velit ire nec ire desideret aliquo nisi huc.

Quibus dictis, accipe[f] ipsam ymaginem ambabus manibus, et flexis genibus dic sic:

Adtraxi cor et mentem talis per hanc ymaginem, et prouoco in ipsam invocacione forti quod ipsa me diligat, cupiat, et affectet, et eciam tota nocte in sompno aspiciat, per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, qui viuit [9r] *et regnat et imperat in eternum.*

Quibus dictis, habeas mirram et saffranum, et facto igne, dictam ymaginem suffumiga, dicendo hanc coniuracionem:

e Sic *in MS.*

f *MS* accipit.

Coniuro vos omnes demones in hac ymagine scriptos, per dominos vestros quibus obedire tenemini: Sobedon, Badalam, et Berith,[g] *quatenus talem, cuius ymago est hoc nomine figurata, in amore meo accendere debeatis, vt die noctuque in me cogitet, in me speret, donec cum affectu meam compleuerit voluntatem. Et sicut in hac ymagine scripti et fixi estis, ita in ipsa recumbaris donec de ea faciam quidquid velim.*

Hac igitur coniuracione ter dicta, et facta suffumigacione, habeas[h] caude pilum cuiusdam equi, et suspende dictam cartam cum dicto pilo, ita vt moueatur ab aere, et dimitte stare; illa[i] vero die, vel sequenti, vel alia, vel quando potes, ad illam mulierem accedas, et procul dubio libentissime te videbit, dicens [se] sine te stare non posse. Et hoc habeas pro constanti, et tuo animo[j] faciet voluntatem, et super te omnia diliget[k] in eternum.

Si bene seruaueris ymaginem eius nomine figuratam, in qua virtus talis existit, ymmo et de hoc magis est admirandum: hoc est signum: antequam vidisses ipsam, statim facta hac ymagine [9v] cum ad eam accesseris erit de [te] taliter filocapta quod dum te viderit, quod non recedas ab ipsius coniunccione priuatus, ymmo de omni quod volueris contentus habebis.[l]

Si vero ad eam non possis accedere, siue[m] timore aut loci distancia aut aliquo interueniente, tamen potes ipsam apportari facere per supradictos demones, qui ita efficaces sunt quod si esses in Oriente in vna hora ipsam ab Occasu portarent sine aliquo periculo, et similiter reportarent sine aliqua diwlgacione. Et vt sit facta ymago vt dictum est et suspensa illa die, in aliqua hora diei, sufflas in ipsa ita quod flatu tuo moueatur. Et similiter secunda die et tercia die. In nocte vero ipsius diei tercij, vel eciam in ipsa die, solus uel cum tribus sociis fidelibus, accipe dictam ymaginem et cum illo pilo liga ipsam ad collum tuum, et pendet in pectore tibi. Et habeas quandam ensem, et in terra fac circulum cum dicto ense. Facto circulo, stans intus, voca socios si habeas, qui nichil faciant nisi quod in circulo sedeant et ludum videant; quos si non habueris, quod melius est.[n] Habeas stilum ferreum, et circa circulum scribe vt hic apparet,[o] cum silentio semper.

g *MS* Lerith.

h *MS* habeat *or* habeac.

i *MS* illam.

j *Perhaps for* tui animi.

k Sic *in MS.*

l Sic *in MS.*

m *MS* sine.

n Sic *in MS.*

o *The upper portion of 10r is occupied by a single circular band containing the names* Rator, Lampoy, Despan, Brunlo, Dronoth, Maloqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascifin, Nartim *and* Lodoni. *The centre is labelled* Locus magistri.

Quo facto,[p] [10r] dic hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos demones in hoc circulo sculptos, quibus data est potestas et potencia ducendi et alligandi mulieres in amore virorum,

- *per virtutem et potentiam maiestatis diuine,*
- *et per thronos et dominaciones et potestates et principatus illius qui dixit et facta sunt,*
- *et per illos qui non cessant clamare vna voce, dicentes, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus sabaoth, pleni sunt celi et terra gloria tua. Osanna in excelsis.* [10v] *Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini. Osanna in excelsis',*
- *et per hec nomina pauencia et tremencia vos,*[q] *scilicet Rator, Lampoy, Despan, Brulo, Dronoth, Maloqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascifin, Nartim, et Lodoni,*
- *et per anulum istum qui hic est,*
- *et per innumerabiles potencias vestras et maiorum vestrorum,*

quod vbicumque sitis de locis vestris sine mora surgatis et ad talem pergatis, et statim sine fallacia ipsam huc ducatis, et cum voluero ipsam reportabitis. Et de hoc nemo senciat vel perpendat.

Qua[r] dicta ter, versus anulum aspiciendo, audies quandam vocem dicentem, 'Ecce nos sumus,' et statim eos videbis sex domicellos pulcriores et mites, tibi eadem voce dicentes, 'Assumus hic, parati tibi parere[s] benigne. Dic igitur quid vis, et statim subito faciemus.' Tu autem dices, 'Eatis ad talem et michi ipsam sine mora ducatis.' Quibus dictis, subito recedent; ante horam ipsam sine lesione portabunt.

Et scias quod nullus ipsorum potest ingredi circulum, sed ipsam apportent apud ipsum, et ipsa porriget tibi manum, et intus ipsam trahis, que aliquantulum est attonita tamen wult libentissime [11r] tecum stare. Doceo eciam te quod quanto maiorem circulum facis, melius est tibi, quia in eo potes facere circulum et in ipso melius extendere. Si enim aliquid tui esset vltra signum circuli, malum esset tibi. Venta itaque muliere, omnes spiritus euanent.

Potes enim retinere hanc mulierem in dicto circulo quantum tibi placet, quia cum mulier ingreditur circulum dicere debes illis spiritibus, 'Vnus vestrum vadat ad locum a quo[t] talem a[p]portauistis, et in forma [eius] ibidem maneat donec ipsam hic habuero.' Hiis dictis, omnes abient cum silencio. Cum autem, illa die ac nocte ac mense ac anno quando tibi placuerit quod ipsam ad domum volueris reuertere,[u] dic sic:

p Quo facto *repeated at top of 10r.*

q Sic *in MS.*

r *Sc.* coniuracione.

s *MS* parare.

t *Corrected from* qua.

u Sic *in MS.*

O vos spiritus, qui talem huc duxistis, accipite ipsam et ad domum suam portate. Et quotiens ipsam reuoluero, ipsam sitis in reportando subiecti. Venite igitur per miras valencias quas ineffabiliter exercimini.

Quibus ter dictis, venient quinque spiritus, qui eam te vidente portabunt.

Memento enim, quando ipsa egreditur circulum, in dicendo 'Vale', tangere ipsam cum ymagine quam habes ad collum, quia in eternum pro hac te diliget et neminem preter te videre curabit; ymaginem semper interim quod cum muliere [11v] moraris, ad collum retinere debes, qui semper ipsi mulieri invisibilis apparebit, et cum ipsa abierit, dissolue ipsam a collo tuo et in quoddam vasculum diligenter reconde. Et ipsa recondita, dilue totum circulum et secure egrediaris. Et quando [eam] iterum ad te venire volueris, fac vt desuper dictum est.

Et nota quod experimentum est efficacissimum, et in eo nullum periculum est. Quo solo experimento Salomon habebat quascumque mulieres volebat. Et hec dicta sufficiant pro habendis mulieribus. Et debet fieri cum sollempnitatibus maximis, etc.

NO. 4. FOR GAINING DIGNITY AND HONOUR (FOLS 11v–13v)

Dicto de habendo amore mulieris, volo tibi legare artem probatissimam ad obtinendum dignitatem et honorem, statum et maximam incorruptibilem dileccionem a rege uel a pelato siue domino, et generaliter a quocumque viro volueris.

Primo igitur habeas duos lapides molles quos ad inuicem ita fricabis vt superficies ipso[rum] plane eque concordent. Quo facto, in vno sculpes formam illius quem volueris,[a] incipiendo a capite, deinde vsque ad pedes, faciendo primo a parte anteriori, deinde a posteriori, sculpendo eciam coronam in capite si rex est, et sic [12r] secundum dignitatem. Qua sculpita,[b] formabis in illo eciam lapide apud aliam formam tuam figuram, quam melius scieris, incipiendo a capite, vt dictum est, et a parte anteriori deinde a tergo. Quibus factis, scribe in fronte primo more sigilli nomen illius, et in tua nomen tuum. Quo facto, luna crescente die dominica in prima hora diei, habeas argentum siue stagnum, et ad ignem decola. Quo decolato, proicias in formam illius, dicendo sic:

Ego, talis, volens talem graciam obtinere et ab eo venerari, semper honorari, similiter et timeri, formo[c] ymaginem factam et sculptam nomine eius virtute cuius ipse me perpetue diligat vltra modum.

a *Followed by* incip, *deleted.*

b Sic *in MS, for* sculpta.

c *MS* formam.

Qua[d] facta, habeas stilum ferreum, et in eius fronte sculpes hoc nomen 'Dyacom'; in pectore eius hec tria nomina, scilicet 'Pumeon', 'Terminas', et 'Peripaos'; et in spatulis hec sex nomina, videlicet 'Midam', 'Fabni', 'Gebel', 'Darail', 'Vmeloth', et 'Thereoth'; et in vmblico hoc nomen 'Byreoth'.[e] Quibus scriptis, habeas pannum lineum candidissimum, et hanc ymaginem in ipsam involve. Quam involutam bene recondas.

Die vero iouis, in prima hora diei, facto igne, cola similiter stagnum et in tua forma ipsum infunde, dicendo,

Ego, talis, formo ymaginem meam et ad mei similitudi- [12v] *nem, qua ego semper dominer tali et ab ipso diligar et timear in eternum.*

Qua formata, similiter in alio linteolo involuas.

Et est aduertendum quod ymago illius cuius vis graciam obtinere debet esse longitudinis ipsius unius semissi, cum sculpitur in ipso lapide. Qui eciam lapis tantus debet esse quod ymago tua tercia parte ymaginis illius debeat esse maior. Et eciam in ymagine tua[f] debes imponere sceptrum.

Quibus factis omnibus diligenter, ut dictum est, in sequenti die veneris, prima hora eius, suffumiga ymaginem illius ad fumum horum aromaticum, scilicet cinamomi, piperis longi, et herba agrimonia, dicendo sic:

Ego, talis, exorzizo[g] te, ymaginem,[h] nomine talis formatam,
- *per inseparabilem vnicam et indiuiduam trinitatem,*
- *et per omnes thronos, dominaciones, et potestates, et principatus,*
- *et [per potenciam] omnium creaturarum,*

vt per tui virtutem obtineam graciam et amorem talis cuius nomine facta es.

Quibus ter dictis, sic proferas:

O Dyacon, Pumeon, Termines, Peripaos, Midain, Fabin, Gebel, Dorayl, Vmeloth, Tereoth, et Bireoth, spiritus benignissimi et concordiam[i] seminantes, ego, talis, cum instantia magna vos deprecor, vobis supplico, vos rogito, per vnicum dei filium, qui sui

d *Sc.* ymagine.

e *The forms of these names vary even within this experiment:* Dyacom *appears on fol. 12v as* Dyacon; Terminas *as* Termines; Midam *as* Midain; Fabni *as* Fabin; Darail *as* Dorayl; Thereoth *as* Tereoth, *and* Byreoth *as* Bireoth.

f *Corrected in MS from* tuam.

g *Sic in MS, corrected from what appears to be* exerzizo.

h Sic *in MS.*

i *MS* concordium.

sanguinis effusione humanum genus mortuum suscitauit, vt per hanc ymaginem forma- [13r] *tam nomine talis ipsum iuxta me taliter aligetis, vt me super omnes mortales veneretur, nunquam a meo consensu discendens, sed meis semper parens preceptibus. Michi studeat complacere, per eundem dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, qui viuit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen.*

Qua oractione dicta, accipe tuam ymaginem et ipsam in dextra teneas, aliam autem in sinistra, et iunge illam tue, sic dicendo ter: 'Subiecit populos nobis, et gentes sub pedibus nostris' [Ps. 46:4 Vulg.]. Quo dicto, habeas quandam catenulam ferream, et ad collum ipsius ymaginis liga, ponendo aliud capud in manu dextera tue ymaginis. Quo posito, bene ligato, ita sic dices:

Sicut tu, ymago formata nomine talis, es subpedita et ligata mee ymagini, ita talis in eternum sit michi penitus alligatus.

Quo dicto, capias cum tuis manibus ambas manus ymaginis, et retro flectens dic,[k]

Ligo per hanc ymaginem manus talis, quod manus eius perpetuo nullam vim habeant contra me.

Flecte eciam predicte ymaginis caput versus terram, sic dicendo:

Sicut ymago hec, facta nomine talis, manet coram me flexa ceruice, ita talis nunquam a mei voluntate discedat, sed me continue sequatur et michi semper seruiet[l] *et me in eternum diligat super omnes, me veneretur, et michi studeat applaudere.*

Quo dicto, faciendo semper suffumigacionem, accipe [13v] tuam ymaginem et a tergo ipsius pone aliam, ita quod os suum tangat humeros tue ymaginis, et ponendo sic dicas:

Sicut hec ymago, facta et condita nomine talis, stat apud istam ymaginem factam nomine mei cum maxima subieccione; ita talis sit subtritus et subiectus michi donec iste ymagines fuerint conseruate.

Quibus dictis, involue ipsas, vt dictum est, in quodam alio linteolo mundissimo.

Quas involutas in quodam vasculo pone et clam porta per ciuitatem et coram eius presenciam in habitaculo eius, si potes; et hoc facere debes per totam diem.

j *Corrected in both text and margin from* sensu.

k *MS* dicendo.

l Sic *in MS for* seruiat.

In sero, autem, debes sepellire has ymagines in tali loco et ita infra, v́t [non] reperiantur, et videbis mirabilia. Si autem coram ipso aut eius habitaculum pergere non valeres, subterra, vt dictum est, et ipsas[m] vbicumque tibi placet, et ab ipso super omnia diligeris.

Hoc enim experimentum[n] vsus fuit Parmen[i]des ad regis Persarum graciam obtinendam.

NO. 5. FOR AROUSING HATRED BETWEEN FRIENDS (FOLS 13v–15r)

Ad faciendum odium inter diligentes.[a]

Restat etiam vt de odio et inimicitia inter diligentes ponere pertractemus.

Cum igitur inter duos viros siue mulieres siue masculum et feminam seminare volueris inimiciciam et[b] odium capitalem, necesse est vt accipias duos lapides viuos et recondes[c] vnius ponderis, qui debent esse fluminei, et in vno debes sculpire nomen vnius cum hiis [14r] nominibus: Cartutay, Momabel, Sobil, et Geteritacon. Et in altero, nomen alt[er]ius et hec nomina, scilicet Puzanil, Pimaton, Folfitoy, et Mansator. Que nomina sunt valde se odencia. Quibus sculptis, vni videlicet illum qui factus est nomine illius, debes sub ianua eius limine[d] subterrare si potes, si autem non, sepelias sub limine[e] cuiusdam domus inhabitate, et similiter alium sub limine[f] alterius, vt dictum est, vel sub cuiusdam domus, vt supra scriptum est, et[g] ibi stare permittas septem diebus et septem noctibus.

Quo facto, ante solis ortum remoueas et in locum ocultum ambas facias[h] et ipsas in ignem

proicias, sic dicendo:

Coniuro vos spiritus inimicissimos, per eterni dei gloriam, quod inter talem et talem, quorum nomina hic in illis lapidibus sculpta permanent, quantum odium inter vos est, tantum inter ipsos seminetis et inseratis.

m Sic *in MS; meaning not altogether clear, but perhaps* et *should be deleted.*

n Sic *in MS.*

a *Title repeated in margin.*

b ac *added between lines.*

c vn *deleted.*

d *MS* limite.

e *MS* limite.

f *MS* limite.

g *MS* et et.

h Sic *in MS.*

Quibus ter dictis, ipso[s] lapides de igne afferas, sic dicendo: 'Cum irascetur furor eorum in nos, forsitan aqua absorbuisset nos' [Ps. 123:3f. Vulg.]. Quo dicto, proiciamus[i] ipsos in aqua frigidissima, et in ipsa stare permitte sereno celo tribus diebus et noctibus.

Quarto autem die, accipias ipsos et suffumiga eum cum fumo sulphuris, dicendo sic:

Coniuro vos omnes demones odiosos et malignos, inuidios et discordes,

- *per vnitatem Sancti Spiritus Paracliti manentis in Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto,*[j]
- *et per eternitatem omnium creatorum,*
- *et per omnes sanctos et sanctas dei,*
- *et per hec sancta nomina, virtute quorum dominator olimpi celum et terram est formare dignatus, scilicet 'Aa',* [14v] *'Sabaoth', 'Helyn', et 'Abacel',*
- *et per omnes reges et dominatores inferni,*
- *et per hec nomina demonum, videlicet 'Apolyn', 'Gebel', 'Astaroth', 'Tereol', 'Falmar', et 'Tyroces',*

quatenus quantum odium inter vos existit et quantum inter Caym et Abel fuit, tantum inter talem et talem protinus inseratis. Accendite itaque ipsos, et taliter inflametis quod vnus alterum videre non valeat, ymo vno reliquum in innumerabili odio rebellis affligat.[k] *Remoueatur ab ipsis omnis amor, dileccio, fraternitas, et compago; ad inimiciciam ac omne odium maximum conuertantur.*

Quibus ter dictis, suffumigando ipsos semper, reconde.

Nocte vero sequenti, colidas dictos lapides simul et vnum super reliquum proicias, sic dicendo:

Non collido hos lapides, ymo col[l]ido talem et talem, quorum nomina hic sculpta sunt, quod vnus alterum continuo affligat et inmitigabili odio se ad inuicem de cetrero crucient.

Et sic facias singula nocte et singula die ter per aliquos dies. Et videbis statim siue audies quod inimici efficientur et se odient animo, et vnus alterum videre non valent.[l]

Si enim omnino ipsos disiungere voles, et voles vnum ab altero disgregare et vnus alterum fugiat, facias hoc modo. Surge die sabbati ante solis ortum, decrescente luna, et maxime quando est in combustione, et ire versus solis ortum

i Sic *in MS, for* proice?

j Sic *in MS.*

k Sic *in MS.*

l Sic *in MS.*

facias.[m] Qua facta, habeas dictos lapides illuc tecum [15r] latos, et fortiter ipsos ad inuicem frica, pulsando vnum super alterum, sic dicendo:

Non colido has[n] *lapides, etc.*

Quo dicto ter, sepelias quem volueris. Deinde recede et versus occidentum vade et ibi fac foueam, et aliam[o] ibi sepelias, dicendo sic:

Sicut disiunxi hos lapides, ita talis[p] *se disiungat a tali, et oppositi sint sicut isti lapides.*

Quo sepulto, rec
ede. Et videbis disiungi et vnum ab altero separari.

Hoc enim experimentum occultandum est, quia ineffabilis in eo virtus existit. Nullum enim remedium invenitur ante[q] ipsi disiungantur et se mordaciter odiant.

Cum vero volueris ad primam amiciciam remeare, desepeliendi sunt predicti lapides et in fornace ponendi; qui, bene cocti, minutissime terantur, et ipsos cum aqua ad invicem inpasta et siccare permitte. Quo siccato, in fluminis aqua proicias, dicendo,

Tollatur omnis inimicicia et ira que fuit inter talem et talem, et in amorem pristinum reuertantur, per misericordiam pii dei, qui non respicit malicias peccatorum. Amen.

Et scias quod per hec statim coniunguntur, et omnis ira tollitur, et pristina pace fruuntur.

NO. 6. FOR OBTAINING A BANQUET (FOLS 15r–18v)

Artem quam in tua curia vidisti me tociens exercere, videlicet ad prouocandum dapiferos. Primo debet fieri invocacio xv[a] spirituum hoc modo: In primo, extra villam debes accedere, luna crescente, die iouis [15v] vel die dominica, in meridie, et debes tecum ferre ensem lucidissimum et auem vppupam, et cum dicto ense in quodam remoto loco facere circulos. Quibus factis, cum acie predicte[b] ensis scribere debes xvj nomina vt inferius apparebit in[c] illa figura. Quibus factis, debes

m Sic *in MS.*
n Sic *in MS for* hos.
o Sic *in MS.*
p *MS* talis et talis.
q Sic *in MS.*
a Sic *in MS.*
b Sic *in MS.*
c *MS* et.

figere versus orientem in interiori circulo dictum ensem, vt hec racio demonstrat.[d] Quo facto, debes tibi taliter alligare dictam vppupam vt discedere non valeat de in- [16r] teriori circulo, in quo tu stare debes.

Quo facto, genibus flexis, respiciendo versus orientem et capiendo dictum ensem ambabus manibus, sic[e] proferas:

Oymelor, Demefin, Lamair, Masair, Symofor, Rodobayl, Tentetos, Lotobor, Memoyr, Tamafin, Leutaber, Tatomofon, Faubair, Selutabel, Rimasor, Syrama, spiritus iocundissimi, ylares, et gaudentes, ego, talis, vos adiuro

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *et [per] filium vnici dei potentissimi, viui et veri, qui propter nos et nostram salutem descendit de celis et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto, ex pura et intemerata ac incorrupta virgine Maria,*
- *et per natiuitatem et passionem ac resurreccionem domini nostri Iesu Christi, filij dei veri,*
- *et per sanctum lauacrum baptismatis quo quisque saluatur,*
- *et per solem et lunam et omnia sidera celestia,*
- *et per omnia illa que [potenciam] habent vos terrere et constringere, et virtute quorum ad nos vocantibus[f] oportet accedere,*

quatenus huc sine mora ad me venire debeatis in forma miti, placida, et iocunda, patifacere quidquid dicam.

Qua dicta duodecies[g] – videlicet primo quater versus orientem, secundo quater versus meridiem, tercio quater versus occidentem, quarto et vltimo quater versus aquilonem – portando semper ensem in manu, et cum [16v] dicis coniuracionem, figiendo[h] semper ipsum in quolibet loco; deinde pone vbi primo erat dicta coniuracio, vt dictum est.

d *Diagram on fol. 15v: a quadruple band with a pentangle inscribed in the centre, a sword depicted at the top (extending downward across all four bands, with its point on the top of the pentangle) and other figures (likewise extending across all four bands) on the upper left, upper right, lower right, and lower left. The cardinal directions are given outside the outermost band, with* Oriens *on top. Within the bands sixteen names are inscribed:* Oymelor, Symofos [*on 16r:* Symofor; *on 17v:* Simofor], Manoir [*on 16r:* Memoyr; *on 17v:* Memoir] *and* Faubair *in the outermost band;* Demefin, Rodobayl [*on 17v:* Rodobail], Tamafin *and* Abelutabel [*on 16r:* Selutabel; *on 17v:* Belutabel] *in the next;* Lamair, Tentetos, Leutaber [*on 17v:* Zeugaber] *and* Rimasor *in the next; and* Masair, Lotobor, Tatomofon *and* Sirama [*on 16r:* Syrama] *in the innermost.*

e *Corrected in MS from* sicut.

f Sic *in MS, for* ad nos vocantes oportet vos accedere*?*

g *Sic in* MS.

h Sic *in MS for* figendo *or, rather,* fige.

Qua dicta, semper genibus flexis, iterum volue te versus orientem, tenendo nunc ensem per
manum dexteram, et accipiendo vppupam per sinistram, sic dicas:

Venite, o prenominati[i] *spiritus, venite ad me, venite, quoniam ego precipio vobis per eternam dei gloriam. Amen.*

Qua dicta semel, volue te cum ense et vppupa versus occidentem, et videbis xvi milites decoros et strenuos, qui tibi dicent, 'Vocasti nos et ad te venimus, pararej subiecti. Pete secure quid vis, quoniam tibi sumus in obediendo parati.' Tu autem dices, 'Facite michi videre vestram potenciam, vt aspiciam mensas cum discumbentibus multis cum inprandionibus infinitis.' Qui tibi respondebunt [se] libenter velle facere.

Et statim venient domicelli multi, apportantes mensas tripedes, manutergia, et alia necessaria. Post hec venient nobilissime gentes, qui discumbent, et pincernas ibidem seruientes et apportantes infinita cibaria. Et audies cantus, melodias, et tripudiantes videbis et ludos innumeros. Et scias quod illi duodecim[k] non discedant a te, stantes apud circulos et extra, et tecum loquentes et videntes. [Debes] eciam scire quod ad te de illis discumbentibus apud circulos venient tres reges, [17r] rogantes te vt cum ipsis commestum vadas. Et tum respondebis te aliquo modo non posse discedere. Quibus dictis, ipsi subito ad discumbentes reuertentur, dicentes eis de circulo te mouere non velle, quos audies. Quibus dictis, mittebunt[l] per vnum pincernam de qualibet dape, de qua secure comedas, et de ipsa porrige illis xvi apud circulum stantibus, et ipsi eciam de ea comedent.[m] Post hec, videbis omnes a mensis discedere et ordinate equos ascendere.

Et demum omnes a tuis oculis euanebunt, preter illos xij,[n] qui, stantes coram te, dicent, 'Nonne placuit tibi ludus noster?' Quibus tu hillariter respondebis quod sic. Et facta responsione, ipsi petent a te vppupam, que continuo trepidabit, quod mirum est. Quibus tu sic dices: 'Volo vobis vppupam dare si iurabitis ad me venire, faciendo hunc ludum quotiens michi placuerit.' Qui dicent se esse iurare paratos. [Ad] quos librum quendam facias apportare, quem subito apportabunt, et in ipso hoc modo iurare facias:

i *Corrected from* prenominate.

j Sic *in MS for* pareti et *or* parere?

k Sic *in MS.*

l *MS* mittentibus.

m *MS* comedentur.

n Sic *in MS.*

Iuramus omnes duodecim[o] *in hoc sacrato libro*

- *per illum deum viuum et verum, qui nos et omnia creauit,*
- *et per dominos quos timemus et adoramus,*
- *et per legem quam obseruamus,*

ad te sine mora venire quocienscumque vocaueris nos, et mensas parari facere, [17v] *sicut et adhuc melius vt vidisti.*

Et statim iurabunt.

Et cum iurauerint, dabis eis vppupam, quam cum habuerint a te petent licenciam recedendi. Quibus dabis hoc modo, dicendo, 'Pergite quo affectatis accedere, et estote sollicitiᵖ michi.' Qui dicent [se] esse tibi de cetero obligatos. Hiis dictis, abeunt, similiter et tu egredere de circulis et ipsos aboleas vt nullus appareat, et tuum ensem ferendo recedas.

Debes igitur attendere quod vppupa magne virtutis est nigromanticis et demones invocantibus,[q] quapropter ipsa multo[r] vtimur ad[s] nostri tutelam.

Cum enim clam aut palam aut vbicumque ipsos ad te venire volueris, respicias in libro suprascriptos circulos et figuras, legendo submissa voce nomina in ipsis existencia. Quibus inspectis et semel lectis, lege hanc coniuracionem semel:

Oymelor, Demefin, Lamair, Masair, Simofor, Rodobail, Tentetos, Lotobor, Memoir, Tamafin, Zeugaber, Tatomofon, Faubair, Belutabel, Rimasor, et Sirama, rogo vos, coniuro et adiuro per dei veram maiestatem, vt hic venire faciatis subditos vestros, qui apportent huc cibaria, et primo talem et talem, et faciant pulcherimum festum cum iocis, canticis, choreis, et tripudiis, et ge- [18r] *neraliter cum omnibus que*[t] *circumstantibus corda letificent* [cf. Ps. 103:15 Vulg.].

Qua semel lecta, splendidissimi venient domicelli parantes mensas pulcherrimas. Quibus paratis, audies tubas, cytaras, et cantus innumeros. Cum enim alta voce dices, 'Apportate aquam', statim apportabitur. Et similiter, 'Ferantur epule', et statim feruntur. Et erunt pincerne et dappiferi optime seruientes, et domicelle pulcherrime, et instrventes, facientes innumerabilia sollacia. Et potes facere apportari, si tibi placet, inprandioni[um] mille maneries, que valde et[u] ultra modum sapient comedentibus.

o *Sic in* MS.
p *MS* sollicite.
q *Followed by* quem.
r *MS* multa.
s *MS* in ad.
t *MS* qui.
u *Followed by* p, *deleted.*

Debes itaque scire quod quanto magis comedunt, multo plus famescunt, quia apparentur sicut dapes, tamen non[v] existent, ita quod si famelicus in illis esset credens illis dapibus saciari, vt si non comederet procul dubio moreretur.

Et quando volueris ludum destruere, dic vt mensas accipiant. Eciam acceptis statim mensis,[w] omnes astantes ibidem permanebunt. Quos si voles cantare aut sonare aut omnem ludum facere, dic, 'Sic fiat,' et videbis affectum,[x] quoniam hij sunt spiritus ludi et omnis solacij, qui facient omnia dicta sibi. Et cum volueris ipsos abire, dic sic: 'O vos omnes, recedite, et quociens vos vocabo ad me, omni causa remota pergetis.' Qui respondebunt, 'Libentissime faciemus.' Et ipsis recessis, omnes [18v] exiuerint, de hac arte stupentes.

Et hic finitur ars illa, que est quasi apud hodiernos ignota, quam Matheus Hispanus totaliter ignorauit, etc.

NO. 7. FOR OBTAINING A CASTLE (FOLS 18v–21r)

Experimenta formosissima ad conuocandum spiritus vt homo faciat[a] apparere castrum pulcherrimum et fulcitum, siue ad prouocandum armatorum innumeras[b] legiones.[c]

Et eciam[d] vna[e] alia experiencia ad prouocandum spiritus vt homo faciat apparere castrum pulcherimum et fulcitum, siue ad prouocandum armatorum innumeras legiones,[f] quod leuiter fieri potest, et intra alia pulcherimum reputatur.

Vade primo, luna 10, sereno celo, extra villam ad aliquem locum segregatum et secretum, portans tecum lac et mel, de quo per aerem aspergere debes. Et discalciatus, nudo capite, genibus flexis, versus occidentem sic lege:

O Vsyr, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno, Syrtroy, Risbel, Cutroy, Lytay, Onor, Moloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor, et Ym,[g] *spiritus armigeri, quibus proprium est arma deferre et vbicumque wltis sensus humano*[*s*] *decipere, ego, talis, vos coniuro et exorcizo et invoco,*

v *Followed by* sunt.

w *MS* mensas.

x *Meaning* effectum*?*

a *MS* faciant.

b *MS* innumerasl.

c *Heading underlined in text and repeated in margin.*

d enim *written above, invading preceding line.*

e *Written above* alia, *also invading preceding line.*

f *This repetition may be erroneous, or may be a reference to the repetition of the experiment (fol. 20r) or to the testimonial anecdote (fols 20r–21r).*

g Silitor *appears on fol. 20r as* Silitol; Demor *appears on fol. 20r as* Denior; Zanno *appears on fol. 19r as* Zanno, *with the note added* uel Zaimo, *and on fol. 20r as* Zaimo; Risbel *appears on fol. 20r as* Ristel; Lytay *appears on fol. 19r as* Litor *and on fol. 20r as* Lytoy; Pumotor *appears on fol. 20r as* Pumiotor; Tami *appears on fol. 20r as* Tamy; Oor *appears on fol. 19r as* Oor, *with the note added* uel Dor, *and on fol. 20r as* Dor.

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, que sancta trinitas nu[n]cupatur,*
- *et per creatorem celi et terre et visibilium omnium et invisibilium,*
- *et per illum qui hominem de limo terre formauit,*
- *et per enunciacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *et per eius natiuitatem,*
- *et per eius mortem et passionem,*
- *et per eius resurrexionem,*
- *et per eius ascensionem.*

Item [19r] *ego coniuro vos omnes prenominatos*[h] *demones,*

- *per piam et misericordissimam et intemeratam ac incorruptam virginem Mariam, matrem domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui pro miseris peccatoribus mortem sumens nos ad celestem patriam reuocauit.*

Item ego coniuro vos supradictos spiritus,

- *per omnes sanctos et sanctas dei,*
- *et per omnes apostolos, martires, confessores, virgines, et viduas,*
- *et per hec preciosissima ac ineffabilia nomina omnium creatoris, quibus omnes ligamini, et que*[i] *terrent omnia celestia, terrestria, et infernalia, scilicet Aa, Ely, Sother, Adonay, Cel,*[j] *Sabaoth, Messyas, Alazabra, et Osian.*

Item ego coniuro vos et exorcizo

- *per virtutem et potenciam omnium principum, regum, dominorum, et maiorum vestrorum,*
- *et per virtutem et possibilitatem ac potenciam vestram,*
- *et per habitaculum vestrum, cuius hec est forma,*[k]
- *et per omnes figuras in ipso permanentes,*

quatenus vos, insolubiliter ad mei potenciam alligati, ad me sine prestolacione venire debeatis, in tali habitu vt me aliqualiter non terreatis, [19v] *subiecti et parati facere ac demonstrare michi omnia que voluero, et hoc facere debeatis et velit*[*is*] *per omnia que in celo et in terra morantur.*

Qua lecta semel versus occidentem, similiter [lege] versus meridiem, orientem, et aquilonem.

Et a longe videbis continuam commitiuam turbam armatorum versus te venientem, qui premittent[l] tibi quendam scutiferum, dicentem quod illi ad te

h *Followed by* spiritus, *deleted.*

i *MS* quem.

j *Meaning* El?

k *Figure at bottom of fol. 19r: double band, with* O Vsyr, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno [*outside outer band:* uel Zaimo], Syrtroy, Risbel, Cutroy, Litor *in the outer band, and* Onor, Moloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor [*inside inner band:* uel Dor], et Ym, spiritus armigeri, *in the inner band.* Locus magistri *is marked in centre.*

l *MS* permittent.

veniunt quos vocasti. Cui dices sic: 'Vade ad eos, et dic ipsis vt in tali condicione ad me veniant vt nullum timeam,[m] sed secure permaneam cum ipsis.' Quo dicto, statim ad eos redibit.

Qui post modicum interuallum venient ad te. Quibus visis, ostende eis[n] statim hunc circulum, qui habet multum ipsos 15 demones pauentare (uel spanentare),[o] quem ipsi aspicient, dicentes, 'Secure quid vis pete, quoniam per nos tibi omnino fiet.' Quibus tunc dices quod istum suum circulum taliter debeant consecrare vt quandocumque ipsum aspexeris, vocando ipsos, ad te debeant velociter venire,[p] debentes illud facere quod est in ipsis naturale, scilicet facere[q] apparere fortilicias et castra cum foueis et cum multitudine armatorum. Qui dicent [se] hoc facere velle. Quibus porriges librum, et videbis quemlibet ipsorum super ipsum manum inponere et aliqua verba loqui, que non intelliges. Hoc facto, ipsum tibi restituent.

Quo restituto, rogabunt te vt ipsos abire permittas, quia a te non possunt nisi licencia petita. Quibus dices, 'Facite hic castrum, vt vi- [20r] deam vestri efficaciam.' Qui statim circa te castrum facient, cum multis aliis, in medio cuius castri te videbis, et ibidem militum maxima multitudo [erit]. Tamen isti quindecim a te discedere non valebunt. Post enim huius hore spacium, te[r] rogabunt vt a te discedere possint. Quibus dic, 'Estote michi parati quocienscumque hunc circulum aspiciam, vocando vos, et subito recedetis.'[s] Qui iurabunt a[d] te venire continuo. Quo dicto, dic vt recedant quocumque ire desiderant. Et tunc ludus totaliter destruetur, et nullus ibidem apparebit.

Hiis factis, domum remea, custodiendo librum bene in quo virtus totalis existit. Quando vero enim pulcherime artem volueris operari, aspicias circulum, legendo nomina; incipiendo ab oriente, sic dices:

O Vsyr, Salaul, Silitol, Denior, Zaimo, Syrtroy, Ristel, Cutroy, Lytoy, Onor, Moloy, Pumiotor, Tamy, Dor, Vm, voco vos vt hic venire debeatis per consecracionem huius circuli, in quo signa vestra permanent, et michi in omnibus istis apparere faciatis castrum fortissimum, cum profundis foueis, et militum et peditum cum maxima commitiua.

m *First two letters corrected in MS.*

n *Followed by* hoc circulum, *deleted.*

o *Parentheses inserted on the assumption that* uel spanentare *is meant as an alternative reading. For* qui habet . . . pauentare uel spanentare *read perhaps* qui facit . . . pavere *or* pavescere.

p *Followed by* et proficisti, *deleted.*

q *MS* faciendi.

r *The* e *is misshapen, and another* e *is written above it.*

s Sic *in MS.*

Et subito videbitur ibi castrum pulcherrimum[t] cum omnibus necessariis. Quod si vis ingredi, poteris, quia continuo miles tecum stabit,[u] cui omne quod voles apparere precipias et fieri faciat.

Cum semel ego hanc artem [probare volebam], exercui eam cum imperatore, quem multi nobiles comitabant, qui venando per quandam obscuram siluam pergabant. Et hunc modum tenui. Primo inspexi circulum, vocando supradictos demones [20v] plana voce. Et tunc statim venit ad me quidam speciosus miles, quem nullus preter me valebat aspicere, qui ad me dixit, 'Ego sum vnus de vocatis spiritibus, ab aliis ad te missus, qui nominor Salaul, cui precipias quid tibi placet petere, et statim fiet.' Cui dixi, 'Volo vt apparere facias istis vnam legionem armatorum, quam imperator et alij secum stantes ipsos[v] credent esse rebelles.' Qui dixit, 'Factum est.' Et tunc omnes comites et eciam imperator[w] respexerunt versus aquilonem, et a longe viderunt versus ipsos venire et equitum et militum innumerabilem multitudinem, a quibus vnus discessit, et ante magne hore spacium venit ad imperatorem, tremendo dicens, 'Domine imperator, ecce videte gentes sine numero qui contra vos veniunt, iurantes vos et omnes vestros comites mori tradere, et vestros dure[x] interficere.' Quo audito, imperator et comites[y] quid deberent agere nesciebant.[z] Et interim ipsi spiritus apropinquabant. Quos imperator et alij videntes et audientes, ipsorum instrumenta terrencia fugere tunc ceperunt, et isti sequentes ipsos et sagitando vna voce clamabant, 'Fugere non potestis hodie mortem!' Et tunc ego dixi, 'O Salaul, fac ante imperatorem et suos unum castrum mirantissimum,[a] quod imperator et alij ingredientur.' Et factum est. Tunc factum est tutissimum castrum comitum optime,[b] cum turribus et foueis, depresso[c] ponte, quod vide- [21r] batur optime et plenum esse[d] dispendiariis, clamantibus, 'O domine imperator, ingredere cum tuis sociis festinanter!' Qui ipsum intrauerunt, in quo videbantur esse famuli et multi amici imperatoris; existimauit se ibi invenisse se viriliter defendentes. Quibus ingressis, leuauerunt pontem et se defendere

t *Added in margin.*

u *Note added in bottom margin:* uel quia continuo quidam milites tecum stabunt.

v Sic *in MS.*

w *MS* imperator et eciam.

x e *repeated above line.*

y *Followed by* territus, *deleted.*

z *MS* nesciebat.

a *Followed by* comitum, *deleted.*

b optime *added in margin.*

c *MS* depresse.

d *Followed by* stipendariis, *deleted.*

ceperunt. Tunc illi spiritus cum machinis[e] castrum mirifice totaliter expugnabant. Quapropter imperator et alij sui, valde territi, magis timebant.

Tunc dixit michi Salaul, 'Non habemus potenciam hic[f] morandi nisi vno quadrante, ita quod recedere nos oportet.' Et tunc, recesso castro et expugnantes[g] et ipsis recedentibus castrum et omnia euanerunt.[h] Imperator et alij sui tunc viderunt et invenerunt se in quadam[i] palude, de quo admirati sunt valde. Quibus dixi, 'Negocium ex hoc maximum fuit festum.' Et ad ciuitatem remeatis, de sero cenauimus. Quibus sequentem experienciam post cenam feci.

Memento quod ars predicta nisi vno quadrante durare non potest, nisi durabit vnum quadrantem vna vice, etc.

NO. 8. FOR OBTAINING A BOAT (FOLS 21r–23r)

Vt vbicumque sis possis habere nauem, in qua tu cum quibuscumque voles quocumque ferris[a] vadas: ieiunus[b] die lune; ipsa die, luna crescente, ad celum serenum, id est sereno celo, solus [sis] in loco remoto, et fer tecum vnam [21v] costam hominis siue mulieris mortui, quam primo acuere debes, et facere cum ipsa in terra has figuras cum nominibus et aliis omnibus contentis in ipso circulo, vt hic apparet.[c] Quo facto, debes ingredi signatum locum, et voluendo te circa circulum, suffumiga ipsum cum medulla mortui, vt dictum est.

Quo facto, audies per aerem voces, facta suffumigacione; quibus auditis, hanc coniuracionem dices versus occidentem, vt scriptum est:

Fyrin (quod[d] sic dicas: *O Fyrin*), *Dyspil, Onoroy, Sysabel, Cotroy, Tyroy, Orooth,* [22r]

e *Followed by* et.

f *Followed by* manendi, *deleted.*

g *MS* expungnantes.

h *Perhaps for:* recesso castro, et expugnantibus recedentibus, castrum et omnia euanuerunt.

i *Followed by* plade *(deleted)* plaude *(deleted)* uel.

a *Meaning* voles.?

b u *partly covered by blot.*

c *Figure on fol. 21r: a single circular band in which are inscribed the names* Fyron, Dyspil, Onoroy, Sysabel, Cotroy, Tyroy, Rimel *and* Orooth. *A horizontal band bisects the circle, and a vertical band bisects the upper portion of the circle. A closed crescent shape (presumably representing a ship) appears in the upper two-thirds of the circle, with two dots beneath it at the prow and the stern. Within this crescent shape, below the horizontal band, is the inscription* Hic magister cum suis sociis. *The position* Occidens *is marked just inside the circular band, at the bottom.*

d *MS* qui.

Rimel, spiritus[e] *habitatores aque, qui naues nauigantium periclitare conamini, ego vos coniuro et exorcizo, et prouoco vos, vbicumque sitis, aut in oriente aut in occidente aut in meridie aut in aquilone, aut in aquis aut in terris,*

- *per indiuiduam ac inseparabilem trinitatem que in tribus personis existit, scilicet Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum ab vtroque procedentem,*
- *et per illum qui perpetuus et eternus est,*
- *et per illum qui concessit nobis graciam in inferno non stare.*

Item, ego coniuro vos[f] *et constringo vos*

- *per quatuor flumina paradysi,*
- *et per aduentum domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui frangens vectes ferreos sanctos patres de tenebris extraxit ad lucem.*

Item ego coniuro vos

- *per wltum, manus et pedes, atque plagas Ihesu Christi,*

vt hic venire debeatis, vos octo[g] *spiritus prenominati, vt vos videam in forma na*[u]*tarum, et hoc sine prestolacione*[h] *aliqua faciatis. Item ego coniuro vos et impero atque precipio vobis*

- *per potenciam et dignitatem Luciferi, Aphaleon, et Neutrion,*

vt nullam requiem habeatis donec ad me veniatis,[i] *vt dixi. Venite, quia ego vos advoco ex parte domini dei Sabaoth, quo et gloria cuius celi et vniversa terra est repleta.*

Qua semel dicta, tenendo costam semper in manu dextra, videbis octo nautas[j] cum magna reuerencia et timore dicentes, [22v] 'Ecce, mittimur ad te; precipe nobis de omnibus ad nos pertinentibus, et erit sine mora fulcitum.' Quibus dicis, 'Volo vos coniurare ac promittere michi tot debeatis ad me venire teneamini cum a me fueritis coniurati.' Qui maximum[k] facient sacramentum ad te venire et redire quandocumque libuerit, tuam parati facere voluntatem. Hoc iurato, sic dices: 'Ego precipio vobis vt hunc circulum cum naui capiatis et ad talem locum sine mora me feratis.' Hiis dictis, videbis ipsos cum ramis[l] ingredi nauim et imponere vela, et incipient nauigare. Et scias quod tibi videbitur esse in profundo maris, et in paruo temporis spacio voles quocumque ferris.[m] Quibus eciam

e *Followed by* habitares, *deleted.*

f *MS* te.

g *Initial* o *corrected from* v.

h *MS* prestilacione.

i *MS* veneatis.

j *MS* naues.

k *MS has extraneous line over the* x.

l *MS* romis.

m *Sic in MS, perhaps for* quocumque vis te feret *or* volabis quocumque vis.

precipias vt ad locum a quo acceperunt te instantissime reportent, qui statim facient. Et cum illic[n] fueris reportatus, dic eis eciam quod revenient, quod hec omnia sine fraude facient, eis quocienscumque iubebis, qui statim iurabunt ad te venire velociter quando eis vocaueris, et te solum vel cum quibus volueris in naui portare quocumque tibi placuerit accedere.

Quibus iuratis, des licenciam recedenti. Quibus recessis, aboleas circulum, et costam subterra ibi.

Cum igitur tu solus uel cum aliis voluntatem habueris nauigandi, cum ferro uel cum ligno uel digito vel cum aliquo signante fac circulum cum aliis, vt superius demonstraui, et cum aliis ingredere supradictum locum, dicens eis vt timere non de- [23r] beant, fingens eis aliquid.[o] Et cum omnes ingressi fuerint, sic legas semel:

O Syrim. Dyspyl, Onoroy, Sisabel, Cotroy, Tyroy, Orooth, [et] Rimel, sculpti in hoc circulo, ego invoco vos per vestram subieccionem michi factam, vt statim sine mora subito et incontinenti hinc[p] debeatis accedere, mites, subiecti, parati et obedire michi et tanquam na[u]te hunc circulum cum hac naui figuram vestram debeatis assumere, et nauigando debeatis nos portare ad talem locum ad quem intendimus profiscisi.[q]

Et[r] conuocatione lecta, venient statim in naui octo naute placabiles, dicentes tibi, 'O viri,[s] quo ire intenditis?' Quibus tu dices, omnibus audientibus, 'Ad talem locum.' Tunc nauis et omnes[t] in aqua esse videbuntur,[u] et istos velociter nauigare, aspiciens qui nauigant,[v] et[w] ad locum optatum [venietis] vnius in[fra] hore spacium. Et cum ibi fueris, si in ipso loco manere volueris, dic nautis vt abiant, parati ipsum officium reassumere[x] et execucioni mandare quando eos invocaueris. Qui[y] subito, hoc audito, recedent. Et cum volueris remeare vel alias pergere, voca ipsos vt dictum est, et omnia facient.

n *MS* illis.
o Sic *in MS.*
p Sic *in MS, meaning* huc.
q *Corrected in margin from* perfecisti.
r *MS* Aut.
s O viri *added in margin.*
t et omnes *added in margin.*
u *MS* videbitur, *assuming* nauis *alone as the subject.*
v Sic *in MS.*
w *Followed by* epulent, *deleted.*
x *MS* reasumere.
y *MS* Quo.

Et scias diligenter quod in ipsa naui similiter potest fiere nominacio sanctorum, sicut in vera cristianitate, quia hij spiritus sunt inter bonum et malum, non in inferno, non in paradyso morantes, quibus hanc artem facere proprium est. Et circulus ille insignia sua est.

Hoc enim experimentum vidi multos esse peritos, tamen aliter et aliter; hic autem modus est verus, pauci laboris,[z] et nullius periculi.

Et nota quod in isto libro sunt nomina et figure spirituum secundum suas proprietates, que ignota sunt; igitur occultande sunt et celande, propter ipsorum ineffabilem efficaciam pro certo, etc.

NO. 9. FOR OBTAINING A HORSE (FOLS 23v–25v)

Volo eciam tibi mittere[a] quomodo equus, hoc est spiritus in equi forma, possit haberi, ferentis te tam per aquas quam per terram, tam per colles quam per planicies, quocumque volueris.

Primo enim, 6a luna, die Martis, ieiunus, forinsecus egrediaris cum quodam freno nunquam operato, et in loco secreto cum quodam clauo siue stilo ferreo fac circulum, vt hic apparet,[b] sculpiens in eo nomina et figuras ibidem apparentes.[c] Quibus factis, permanens in medio, genibus flexis, super freno versus orientem aliquantulum alta voce sic dicas:

O Lautrayth, Feremin, [*et*] *Oliroomim, spiritus peccatoribus insistentes, ego, talis, in vestra* [24r] *virtute confidens, vos coniuro*

- *per illum qui dixit et facta sunt, et omnia scit et cognoscit antequam fiant,*
- *et per celum et terram, ignem et aerem et aquam, solem et lunam et stellas,*
- *et per thronos, dominaciones, potestates, atque principatus domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *ac per omnes angelos et archangelos qui morantur ante thronum dei simili voce clamantes, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus Sabaoth, pleni sunt celi et terra*

z *MS* laborum.

a Sic: *in MS.*

b *Figure on fol. 25v: a single circular band, with a square inscribed, and a circle inside the square. Short bars extend outward from the middle of each side of the square and touch the inner side of the circular band. Names of the cardinal directions flank each of these bars.* Locus magistri *is marked in the centre of the circle. The band contains the names* Lantrayth, Feremni *and* Oliromim, *plus astronomical and other signs.*

Lantrayth *appears as* Lautrayth *in the text on the same folio, and as* Lutrayth *on fol. 29.* Feremni *is given as* Feremin *on the same folio, and as* Feremim *(with a misshapen final m) on fol. 25v.* Oliromim *appears as* Oliroomim *in both later contexts.*

c *MS* apparencias.

gloria tua, osanna in excelsis; benedictus qui venit in nomine domini, 'osanna in excelsis',

quatenus vos tres ad me venire debeatis suauiter, vt non terr[e]ar nec timeam, sed securus existam,[d] *et quidquid vobis imperabo debeatis totaliter adimplere et cum maxima efficacia execucioni mandare. Item ego coniuro vos supradictos spiritus*

- *per illum qui venturus est judicare viuos et mortuos et seculum per ignem,*
- *et per tremendam diem judicij,*
- *et per sentenciam quam audire debetis in ipsa die,*
- *et [per] hunc circulum, quo efficaciter prouocamini,*

vt sine mora huc meare cogamini, et precepta mea suppliciter obseruetis.

Quibus dictis ter, tres equites videbis a longe venire. Quos cum videris, dic donec ad te fuerint, *Leuaui ad te oculos meos in montes, vnde veniet auxilium michi. Auxilium* [24v] *meum a domino, qui fecit celum et terram* [Ps. 120:1f. Vulg.; cf. Ps. 122:1]. Et quando apud circulum fuerint, statim descendent equos, et tunc hilariter [te] salutabunt. Quibus dices, 'Dominus per sui misericordiam in statum pristinum vos reducat.' Hoc dicto, ipsi dicent, 'O magister, ad te venimus, vnanimes tuis preceptis seruire parati. Precipe igitur nobis illud, propter quod[e] nos huc venire fecisti, et erit penitus expeditum.' Quibus respondere debes, 'Volo vt presens frenum' – tenendo ipsum ambabus manibus – 'taliter consecretis vt quocienscumque ipsum squassauero ante me veniat equus, ori cuius ipsum possim imponere, et ipsum ascendere possim, ipsum equitare tute et accedere quo michi libuerit proficisci.' Hoc dicto, ipsi asserunt[f] dictum frenum velle secum ferre et ibidem tercio die reportare. Quibus ipsum[g] dabis. Et cum dederis, ascendent equos et sine mora recedent. Quibus recessis, egredere circulum, non abolendo [illum], et deinde recedas.

Tercia vero dei, in vesperis, reuertaris illuc, et invenies ibidem predictos spiritus offerentes tibi dictum frenum, asserentes tuam peticionem esse fulcitam. Et accepto freno, sic dicas: 'Ego coniuro vos per deum deorum vt sine mei licencia de hinc[h] discedere non possitis.' Hoc dicto, tibi respondebunt quod quantum voles ibidem [25r] permanebunt. Quo dicto, squassabis frenum, et subito illuc veniet equus niger, cui inpones frenum, et equitabis. Hoc facto, descendes[i] et remouebis frenum, et subito equus abibit.

d *Followed by* t, *deleted.*

e *MS* illud, quidquid.

f Sic *in MS.*

g *MS* ipsius.

h *Followed by* poss, *deleted.*

i *MS* descendens.

Quo recesso, sic dices:

Ego iterum coniuro vos,
- *per omnia antedicta,*
- *et per omnia habencia contra vos potestatem,*

vt iurare vos debeatis vt predictum equum semper[j] *ad me venire cogetis.*

Qui iurabunt et promittent expresse hoc continuo cum efficacia facere. Quod cum iurauerint, dic quod cum salute recedant. Quibus recessis, egredere circulum et ipsum totum aboleas, et frenum tecum portes.

Et cum volueris equum venire, dic, squassando frenum, *Lutrayth, Feremim, Oliroomim*, et statim equuus veniet, cui[us] ori inpones frenum, et equitabis. De cuius cluni[bu]s aliquantulum incidere debes, quia micior erit, et hoc omni vice facere debes. Et cum volueris ipsum currere, punge ipsum uel verberes, quia illic more sagitte [volabit], de quo nunquam cadere poteris, nec timere poteris. Et quando voles descendere, nunquam recedet donec frenum de ore eius auferes.[k] Quo ablato, subito euanescet.

Facimus enim talia frena tenuissima, ita quod in paruo loco portare possimus, que nunquam frangi possi[n]t nec putrefieri, [25v] propter ipsam consecracionem.

Item est aduertendum quod si supradictum circulum, in corio equi cum sangwine equi scriptum, cum dente eciam equi, est[l] ostensum equis, subito moriuntur. Et si ipsum, vt dictum est scriptum, erga te tuleris, nullus equus ad te poterit appropinquare. Et [de] virtute huius circuli eciam ait Socrates in libro magice.

NO. 10. FOR RESUSCITATING A DEAD PERSON (FOLS 25v–28r)

Cum volueris [in] aliquem mortuum infundere spiritum, ita quod viuus, [vt] erat prius,[a] videbitur, talis ordo tenendus est. Primo quidem ex auro anulum fieri facias. Eciam sculpta sint[b] in parte[c] exteriori hec nomina: Brimer, Suburith, Tranauit; in parte vero interiori sculpta sint hec nomina: Lyroth, Beryen,

j *MS* predictum equum semper vt.

k *MS has recedent and* euanescent, *but the line over the last* e *in* euanescent *is faint. Evidently the writer meant to correct the plural to the singular.*

l *MS* eciam.

a *MS* primo; *cf. fol. 27r.*

b *MS gives* sit, *with a line over the* t, *which elsewhere in the MS is used for* sicut.

c *MS* ex parte.

Damayn.[d] Quibus sculptis, die dominico ante ortum solis accedas ad aquam currentem et in ipsa pone dictum anulum, et quinque diebus ipsum in ea stare permittas.

Sexta vero die, ipsum extrahe et fer ad quoddam monumentum, et in ipso pone, ita quod moretur ipsa die Veneris et Sabbati die. Vero dominica die, ante solis ortum, accedas extra villam, sereno celo, in loco occulto et remoto, et fac circulum cum quodam ense, et in ipso scribe cum dicto ense nomina et figura[s] vt hic apparet.[e] [26r] Quibus scriptis,[f] ingredere in eum vt signatum est, et pone ensem sub genubus tuis, dicendo versus meridiem hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos, omnes demones scriptos in hoc anulo – quem in manibus habeas,

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *et per omnipotentem deum, factorem celi et terre,*
- *et per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, eius filium, qui propter humani generis salutem mortem sufferre dignatus est,*
- *et per gloriosam virginem Mariam, matrem eius,*
- *et per lac* [26v] *eius sanctissimum Christi,*[g] *per quod angeli denunciando pastoribus locuti sunt, 'Gloria in excelsis deo, etc.'*

Item ego coniuro vos, O Brimer, Suburith, Tranayrt, Lyroth, Berien, Damay,

- *per omnes sanctos et sanctas dei,*
- *et per hec nomina sancta dei: Tetragramaton, Oel,*[h] *Messyas, Soter, Adonay, Alpha et O, Sabaoth,*
  - *et per hec sancta nomina virginis Marie, scilicet regina, flos, rosa, lilium, scala, sapiencia, vita, dulcedo, misericordia, et spes,*
  - *et per paradisum celestem et terrestrem,*
  - *et per omnes angelos et archangelos, thronos, dominaciones, potestates, atque principatus, et maiestates et glorias regis celi et terre,*
  - *et per omnes principes, reges, dominos, et maiores vestros,*

d *The names are given on fols. 25r, 26r, 26v, and 27r. Spelling is consistent, except that* Tranauit *appears on 26v as* Tranayrt *and on and 27r as* Tramayrt, Beryen *is given on 26r and 26v as* Berien, *and* Damayn *lacks the final* n *on 26v.*

e *Figure on fol. 26r: a double circular band, with a pentagram inscribed.* O Brimer. Suburith, Tranauit *is inscribed in the outer band, with astronomical signs;* Lyroth, vnq *(sic)* Berien, Damayn *is inscribed in the inner band, with further signs.* Magister *is written in the centre of the pentagram. The cardinal directions* meridies, occidens *and* oriens *are marked outside the band. For alternative forms of the names, see above, n. c.*

f *Followed by* ingrediar, *deleted.*

g *Something missing – perhaps* et per cantum?

h *Presumably for* O El.

- *et per infernum vestrum,*
- *et per omnia in eodem existencia*

quatenus vos omnes, constricti et ligati in voluntate mea et in potestate mea, debeatis huc accedere in benigna forma, vt nullum timeam, et consecrare ita et taliter presentum anulum, vt in eo hec virtus existat, videlicet quod quandocumque inposuero ipsum in digito alicuius mortui, vnus vestrum ipsum ingrediatur, et vt primo viuus[i] *appareat in illa similitudine et forma, per illum qui viuit et regnat in vnitate Spiritus Sancti deus, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.*

Hiis semel dictis, apparebunt subito apud circulum 6 spiritus, [27r] petentes dictum anulum; quibus dabis. Quo dato, ipsi abient, et similiter tu egredere circulos, ferens tecum ensem, non destruens circulum.

Sexta vero die, cum predicto ense, reuerteris et versus meridiem sic dices:

Ego coniuro vos, O Brimer, Suburith, Tramayrt, Lyroth, Beryen, Damayn, per deum vnum, viuum, solum, et verum, vt nunc sine mora ad me venire debeatis, apportando anulum consecratum, ita quod quando inposuero ipsum in digito siue in manu alicuius persone viue cadat in terram sicut mortua, et quando abstulero ab ipsa in statum pristinum reuertatur, et eciam in quocumque[j] *mortuo inposuero, vt dictum est, ipsum spiritus ingrediatur et viuus vt prius fuerat videatur, per omnia que possunt vos terrere et omnino constringere.*

Hiis dictis quater, videlicet primo versus meridiem semel, et similiter versus occidentem, deinde versus aquilonem et versus orientem,[k] videbis versus orientem venire quendam equitem, qui cum fuerit apud circulum sic dicet: 'Tales mittunt' – nominando[l] nomina suprascripta – 'tibi hunc anulum consecratum, dicentes [se] ad te venire non posse, quia non expediens est; experieris anuli virtutem, et si non habuerit virtutem a te postulatam, dicent quod quandocumque [vis] sunt ad te venire parati.' Quem anulum accipies,[m] dicendo ei, [27v] 'Graciam tibi et ipsis.' Hoc dicto, statim recedet,[n] et tu eciam exies de circulo, ipsum totaliter destruendo.

Et predictum anulum bene teneas involutum in syndone albo. Cum vero volueris vt aliquis viuus mortuus videatur et ab omnibus videtur vita carere, pone in digito eius hunc anulum, et cadauer videbitur; et quando remouebis, veniet in

i *MS* vnus.
j *MS* cuicumque.
k *Followed by* et.
l *MS* nominando nominando.
m *MS* accipiens.
n *MS* recedes.

primum statum. Et quando volueris aliquod cadauer animatum apparere, pone vt dictum est anulum, uel ad manum siue ad pedem liga, et ante horam surget in forma primo habita, et viua voce coram omnibus loquetur, et hoc monstrare poterit sex diebus, quia quilibet eorum sua die in ipso permanebit. Et si volueris [illum] ante dictum terminum vt primo erat esse, remoue anulum. Et hoc modo resurgere poteris defunctum.

Hec enim experiencia dignissima est et occultanda, quia in ipsa magna virtus existit.

Circulus eciam suprascriptus multas virtutes habet, cuius tres per me notas[o] exponam. Si enim die Veneris ipsum cum calamo vppupe et cum eius sangwine in carta edina nouata[p] scripseris,[q] et aliquam personam cum eo tetigeris, in eternum super omnes ab ipsa diligeris. Et si predictum circulum, scriptum vt dictum est, posueris super caput egroti, ipso ignoranti, si mori debet dicet se nullatenus euadere posse; et si debet euadere dicet se omnino [28r] liberatum. Et si predictum circulum, scriptum similiter, super te habueris, nullus canis tibi latrare valebit. Et ista sunt per me experta; inexperta[r] vero per me relinquo.

NO. 11. FOR INVISIBILITY (FOLS 28r–29v)

Tracto eciam de arte invisibilitatis, hodie quasi ab omnibus ignorata.[a]

Cum itaque volueris apud omnia, tam racionabilia quam non, invisibilis ac insensibilis haberi, primo, crescente luna die Mercurij, in prima hora diei, castus ante per triduum, et tonsus capillos et barbam, et albo indutus, extra villam in loco occulto, sereno celo, in plano solo, cum ense splendidissimo fac circulum vt hic apparet,[b] scribendo hec nomina [et] cum eis omnia ibidem apparencia. [28v] Hoc facto, fingas versus occidentem super Firiel dictum ensem. Et cum figeris, habeas vas in quo sit ignis cum thure, mirra, et olibano, et cum fumo ipsorum [circum]vade circulum, suffumigando ipsum, incipiendo a Fyriel et ibi finiendo. Hoc facto, habeas aquam benedictam et aspergas te et circulum, dicendo,

o *MS* notans.

p Sic *in MS.*

q *In margin:* Nota.

r *MS* inexperto.

a *At top of page, in margin:* de invisibilitate.

b *Figure on fol. 28r: a plain circle, with the positions* oriens, meridies *and* occidens *labelled, a sword lying toward the east with its point near the centre,* Magister *inscribed near the centre (with* Firiel *to the west,* Melemil *to the south,* Berith *to the east, and* Taraor *to the north), and two figures.*

The names occur on fols 28r, 28v, 29r, and 29v. Spelling is consistent, except that Firiel *occurs twice on 28r as* Fyriel, Melemil *appears on 28v as* Mememil, *and* Taraor *is given on 29r as* Tarator.

Asperges[c] *me, domine, ysopo et mundabor; lauabis me et super niuem dealbabor* [Ps. 50:9 Vulg.]. Quo facto, voluendo te genubus flexis versus occidentem, emissa voce, sic dicas:

Ego, talis, coniuro vos, O Fyriel, Mememil, Berith, [*et*] *Taraor, spiritus potentes, magnifici, et illustres,*[d] *in quibus omnino confido,*

- *per vnicam, inseparabilem, ac indiuiduam trinitatem, scilicet Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *et per deum vnicum, solum, viuum, et verum, qui omnia de nichilo formauit, et cui subdita sunt omnia, celestia, terrestria,*[e] *et infernalia,*
- *per celum et terram, mare et infernum, et omnia in ipsis existencia,*
- *et per omnes principes, reges, et dominos vestros,*
- *et per illum deum quem timetis et adoratis,*
- *et per omnia que habent* [*potenciam*] *vos terrere, constringere, et alligare, et quorum preceptum vos oportet totaliter adimplere,*

quatenus vos omnes 4or cum humilitate maxima huc venire debeatis, ligati, constricti, et iurati ad execucioni mandandum quidquid a uobis petiero. Venite sine mora; venite, quia invoco vos ex parte Patris, prouoco [29r] *vos ex parte Filij, invoco vos ex parte Spiritus Sancti.*

Hac invocacione dicta quater, scilicet semel versus Firiel, semel versus Melemil et versus Berith et Tarator, aderunt subito in circulo 4or spiritus, dicentes tibi, 'Dic nobis quid vis, et plene tibi obediemus.' Quibus dices, 'Ego volo quandam cappam invisibilitatis, que sit tenuis et incorruptibilis, qua cum indutus fuero nullus videre nec me sentire valeat.' Hoc dicto, vnus discedet, et ante horam apportabit ibi quandam cappam, quam ab ipsis petebas[f] vt tibi dare deberent. Qui respondebunt tibi dare non posse si primo ipsis non das tuum indutum album; quibus dabis, et cum dederis eis, ipsi tibi dabunt cappam. Quorum vnus statim induet indutum eis datum; similiter tu statim induas cappam. Quam cum indueris, illis spiritibus dices, 'Abite cum pace,' et statim recedent. Et cum abierint, debes dimittere circulum, ferendo ensem.

Tercia vero dei, cum cappa illuc reuertere, et invenies tuum indutum, quem accipies. Memento enim, si ipsa tercia die non reuerteris, siue tuum indutum ibi dimissum non accipias, quarta die nullum invenires, sed in septem diebus moreris. Accepto enim tercia die induto, ipsum in eodem loco combures. Et scias

c *MS* Asperiges.

d *MS* illustros.

e *The second* t *appears marked for deletion, erroneously.*

f *MS* petiebas.

quod quando ipsum combures audies maximos planctus [29v] et querelas. Et cum combureris, aspergas cinerem per aerem, sic dicendo:

Coniuro vos, Firiel, Melemil, Berith, [et] Taraor,
- *per virtutem et potenciam vestram,*
- *et per omnia habencia contra vos potestatem,*

vt non habeatis virtutem nec potenciam ledendi me per hanc cappam, sed Ihesus Christus protegat et defendat me per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Quo dicto, habeas aquam benedictam et aspergas dictam cappam, sic dicendo:

Ego coniuro te, cappa,
- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *et per hanc aquam,*

vt quandocumque te indutus fuero, nullus sentire nec videre me valeat, per dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, filium dei viuum, qui viuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

NO. 12. FOR OBTAINING A WOMAN'S LOVE (FOLS 29v–31v)[a]

Recipe ceram virgineam, arte virginizatam, et hoc[b] in die Jouis vel in die dominico, hora Veneris vel hora Jouis; ex dicta cera facias ymaginem ad carbones accensas sine fumo in vna olla positos. Et habeat magister de capillis mulieris pro qua wult facere, et tres fillos sete rubee, et habeas tecum cultellum albi manubrij ad hoc facti. Et vade ad locum vbi artifex facit acus, et tu facias facere ab eodem artifice, hora Solis vsque ad horam Saturni. Deinde magister [30r] habeat duos socios fideles, et vadat ad arborem fructiferam, et faciat magister circulum.[c] Et incipiat magister artem facere, siue ymaginem mulieris pro qua facis, semper murmurando in corde tuo,

Tu Belial, tu Astarotht,[d] *tu Paymon, ad hoc sitis opus michi adiutores.*

Et similiter murmurando dices,

a *In margin:* de amore.

b *Inserted above line.*

c *Figure on fol. 30r: a double circular band, with* Tu Belial, tu Astaroth, tu Paymon, ad hoc sitis [michi *deleted*] opus michi adiutores *inscribed in the band, and* Locus magistri *marked in the centre.*

The names appear on the same folio in the text. Spelling is consistent for two of them, but Astaroth *is rendered in the text as* Astarotht.

d Sic *in MS.*

Ego, N., formo istam ymaginem in amorem talis, vt valeat ad quod facta est. Et tu, Belial, inicialis princeps, ad hoc opus sis michi adiutor.

Et tunc[e] magister faciat ymaginem de predicta cera, incipiens hora Jouis, descendendo vsque ad horam Saturni. Et sic formata ymagine, faciat fieri [30v] magister ab artifice perito nouem acus, qui eas faciat corpore balneatus et nitidis vestibus indutus; faciat dictas acus hora Solis vsque ad horam Saturni. Postea magister fingat dictas acus in ymagine, ita collocando vnam in capite, aliam in humero dextro, terciam in sinistro, 4am vbi cor consueuit ab hominibus assignari, ita dicendo:

Sicut ista acus fingitur in cor istius ymaginis, ita fingatur amor N. in amorem N., quod non possit dormire, vigilare, iacere, sedere, [uel] ambulare,[f] quousque in meum exardescat amorem.

quintam in vmbilico, sextam in femore, septimam in latere[g] dextro, octauam in sinistro, nonam in ano. Sic formata ymagine, christianizes ipsam, inponendo sibi nomen [mulieris] pro qua facis, submergendo ter et dicendo, 'Quomodo vocatur?'; et respondetur, 'N.' Et tu debes dicere, *Ego baptizo te, N., in nomine Patris, et Filij, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.* Et postea pone ymaginem in panno nouo et mundo, dimittendo ab hora Solis vsque ad horam Martis. Deinde facias istam coniuracionem sub arbore fructifera ad carbones accensos, et voluas te versus orientem, et dicas.

Coniuro, talis, N., caput tuum, crines tuos, oculos tuos, aures tuas, genas tuas; coniuro, talis, cerebrum tuum; coniuro, N., tunicas[h] [31r] *cerebri*[i] *tui, scilicet duram et piam matrem; coniuro, N., oculos tuos; coniuro, N., tunicas oculorum tuorum; coniuro, N., frontem tuam; coniuro, N., dentes tuos; coniuro, N., os tuum; coniuro, N., mentum tuum; coniuro, N., nasum tuum; coniuro, N., nares tuas; coniuro, N., palatum tuum; coniuro, N., gingiuas tuas; coniuro, N., guttur tuum; coniuro, N., humeros tuos; coniuro, N., spatulas tuas; coniuro, N., pectus tuum; coniuro, N., mammillas tuas; coniuro, N., corpus tuum; coniuro vmbilicum tuum; coniuro, N., femur tuum; coniuro, N., renes tuos; coniuro, N., latera tua; coniuro, N., anum tuum; coniuro, N., costas tuas; coniuro, N., vuluam tuam; coniuro, N., genua tua; coniuro, N., crura tua; coniuro, N., talos*[j] *pedum tuarum; coniuro, N., brachia tua; coniuro,*

e *Added both between lines and in margin.*

f *Followed by* sic.

g *MS* lattere *or* lactere.

h *Followed by* tuas, *deleted.*

i *MS* cerebrum.

j *MS* tales.

N., digitos manuum tuarum; coniuro, N., manus tuas; coniuro, N. vngwes manuum tuarum; coniuro, N., cor tuum; coniuro, N., pulmonem tuum; coniuro, N., bucellas tuas; coniuro, N., stomachum tuum; coniuro, N., totam personam tuam; coniuro, N., totam substanciam tuam, vt non possis dormire nec sedere nec iacere nec aliud artificiale facere donec meam libidinosam compleueris voluntatem. Coniuro te

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *per magistratum*[k] *artis,*
- *per virtutem ipsius,*[l]
- *per sapienciam Salomonis,*
- *per verum Sabaoth,*
- *per verum seraphin,*
- *per verum Emanuel,*
- *per omnia corpora sanctorum* [31v] *que iacent in Roma,*
- *per lunam et solem et dominum maiorem,*
- *et per lac virginis,*
- *per sanctam Mariam, matrem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per eukarisma sanctum,*
- *per corpus et sangwinem Ihesu Christi.*

Coniuro vos ex exorcizo vos [*et*] *impero vobis, vt sicut ceruus desiderat fontem aquarum* [Ps. 41:2 Vulg.], *ita desideres,*[m] *N., ad meum amorem. Et sicut coruus desiderat cadauera mortuorum, ita desideres*[n] *tu me. Et sicut cera ista liquefacit a facie ignis, ita desideret N. in meum amorem, quod non possit, etc.*

Signa autem mulieris hec sunt et sequentur: solitudo, inuolucio capitis, ploratus, gemitus, percussiones, euigilaciones, [et] eiulaciones. Tunc magister siue ille qui facit vadat ad illam, et si viderit illam solam stantem aut[o] sedentem, tunc corroboret magister coniuracionem vsque ad quintam diem. Et si illa in terra omnino fuerit, consumatur; si autem fuerit in villa aut aliam ciuitatem transierit, tamdiu magister faciat coniuracionem quousque illa possit venire.

Et in hoc fuerunt concordes nigromantici omnes astroloyci Hyspanici, Arabici, Hebrei, Caldei, Greci, et Latini. Et extractum fuit istud experimentum [ex libro] de secretis artibus ymaginarie artis, [ex libro] de floribus omnium experimentorum, etc.

k *MS* mgrm *with line over last three characters.*

l *Presumably either incomplete or intended with reference to the previous phrase.*

m *MS* desiderat, *following the Psalm verse.*

n *MS* desideras.

o *MS* et.

NO. 13. FOR CONSTRAINING A MAN, WOMAN, SPIRIT, OR BEAST (FOLS 32r–33r)

Per hoc experimentum constringitur homo, mulier, vir, spiritus, [vel] bestia, cuiuscumque condicionis existat.

Hec nomina in hunc modum sint scripta in spatula.[a] Postquam hoc totum adinpletum fuerit, quod vis eligere tibi. Si aliquem spiritum constringere volueris, scribe nomen eius in spatula inter b et e et in nomine quod est Bel. Si aliquem hominem constringere volueris, scribe nomen illius inter l et a. Si vero aliquam bestiam constringere volueris, scribe nomen eius inter a et n, et colorem eius. Pro spiritibus vero atque hominibus et pro mulieribus, agendum est ita et in eadem hora in qua expleta spatula fuerit ab accione,[b] ibi oportet vt in primis perquirantur lingna ex spina alba vel lingna que vagantur in aquis, et faciat inde ignem, carbonesque collige et in ollam nouam mitte, et desuper paulatim pone spatulam, et paulatim augmentando ignem donec spatula calefiat.

Et tunc invoca predictos spiritus, et dic hanc coniuracionem:

Asyel, Castiel, Lamisniel, Rabam, Erlain, [et] Belam,[c] *vobis precipio*

[A1] Si pro homine uel muliere quem uel qua[m] in tuo amore accendere volueris, sic dicas:

vt statim, etc.

secundum quod infra continetur.[d] [B] Si vero pro spiritu, [32v] nomina illum spiritum quem vis vt veniat ad te patenter, humiliter, pulcra facie, et blando sermone, dicendo,

a *Figure at the bottom of fol. 33r (i.e., at the end of the experiment): a shield divided into 16 horizontal bands, with one vertical band down the centre. In the top band is inscribed,* Hec est figura spatule. *Succeeding bands bear the names* Asyel, Castyel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Olam *and* Belam, *each of which straddles the vertical band. In the vertical band are the letters* A *(at the intersection with the second horizontal band),* B *(fifth),* E *(seventh),* L *(ninth),* A *(eleventh) and* N *(thirteenth). Across the intersection of the vertical band and the twelfth horizontal band* Leo *is written.*

To the side is the note: Item nota quod spatula supradicta debet esse asinina vel leporina vel anserina vel caponina, secundum diuersos [usus?].

b Sic *in MS.*

c *Corrected in lower margin from* Bolam.

d *This phrasing occurs toward the end of the conjuration given in the next paragraph.*

Coniuro vos, Asyel, etc., vt N. spiritum N.,[e] *qui potestatem habet super omne quod ab eo querere volo, ad me venire faciatis patenter, humiliter, blando sermone, eius forma vt dixi, scilicet militis* [*et*] *pulcherimi, ad complendum omnia que ei precipere voluero.*

[A2] Et cum pro viro aut muliere hoc facere volueris, fac ei prius notum vbi te invenire possit, quia nisi te inveniet pro cuius furore suo insaniet.[f] [C] Si pro bestia, [dic:]

Coniuro predictos spiritus vt constringant illam bestiam

quam vis, ne de loco in quo est se remouere valeat donec volueris.

[A3] [Conjuration to constrain a man or woman:]

Asyel, Castiel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Elam, Belam, ego vos coniuro

- *per deum verum,*
- *per deum viuum, qui vos creauit,*
- *et per eum qui Adam et Euam formauit,*
- *et per eum qui mare creauit aridamque fundauit, qui facit angelos suos spiritus et ministros suos ignem vrentem* [Ps. 103:4 Vulg.], *qui nouit ea que non sunt sicut ea que sunt, qui habet claues mortis* [*et*] *inferni, ipse enim primus et nouissimus, principium et finis, Alpha et O, et qui viuit et fuit mortuus et revixit,*[g] *qui vocauit deum patrem eius.*
- *Alphagramaton, per hoc nomen*

vos coniuro,

- *et per sanctum et ineffabile nomen dei Tetragramaton,*
- *et per id nomen quod nemo nouit nisi ipse* [33r] *qui est verbum dei,*
- *et per hec nomina dei: Hely, Heloy, Heloe, Sabaoth, Elion, Adonay, Saday,*
- *et per omnia nomina eius,*
- *et per ipsius virtutem,*
- *et per omnes virtutes celorum;*

item coniuro vos

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *et per sanctam trinitatem et vnitatem dei,*
- *et per illam coronam quam dominus noster Ihesus Christus in suo capite habuit,*
- *et per lac beate Marie virginis,*
- *et per hec predicta nomina et per omnes virtutes eorundem,*

e Sic *in MS.*

f Sic *in MS.*

g *Corrected above line from* refixit.

et per istam coniuracionem precipio vobis, vt statim et cito et velociter et sine mora seducatis cor et mentem N. in amorem meum. Et sicut hec spatula calefit et incenditur, ita illum vel illam, N., incendatis et calefaciatis igne mei amoris, et ita vt nu[n]quam quiescere valeat donec meam adimpleuerit voluntatem. In nomine quod est Bel, etc.

NO. 14. FOR OBTAINING A HORSE (FOLS 33v–34r)

Vt equum habeas ad eundum quo vis, [debes] respicere aerem versus orientem, flexis genibus [et] iunctis manibus et si esses[a] in carcere, et dic cum magna fiducia et spe firmissima obtinendi,

O altissime et benignissime rex Orientis, exaudi oracionem meam et clamor meus ad te veniat; fiant aures tue intendentes in vocem deprecacionis mee [Pss. 101:2, 129:2 Vulg.], *per nobilissimam sedem maiestatis tue. Te invoco et adiuro*

- *per illum dominum quem cones[b] diligis, confidis, et speras,*
- *per legem legalem[c] et per spem sperantem et per karitatem karitatiuam,*
- *per On, El, Ely,* [*et*] *Tetragramaton, quod est nomen altissimum,*
- *et per locum vbi sedes in solio magne nobilitatis tue.*

Mitte ad me spiritum aereum, quo[d] in eo valeam ad plenum, quod opto, proficere. Potens es,[e] domine, ipsum mittere, vt michi in hac hora tua magna potencia in omnibus et per omnia sit obediens et legalis./ Et ideo te, domine, invoco, adoro, et laudo nomen tuum in eternum, qui oriens omnes benedicte et gloriossisimus[f] per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

Hoc igitur dicto septies, dic audaciter:

Volo ire ad talem partem, et statim veni.

Vt si volueris spiritus uel equus, vel dormiendo uel vigilando.[h] Cum equus venerit, dic,

Coniuro te per dominum, qui creauit celum et terram, mare, et omnia que in eis sunt, tam

a *MS* esset, *perhaps meaning* vt si esses?

b *Or* tones, *perhaps intending* toto corde?

c *Meaning* fidem fiduciałem, *corresponding to the other theological virtues?*

d *Meaning* vt?

e *MS* est.

f Sic *in MS.*

g *Perhaps meaning* qui Oriens es, benedictus et gloriosissimus.

h *Probably meaning* Et si volueris spiritum uel equum, uel dormiendo uel vigilando.

visibilia quam invisibilia, vt[i] *sine strepitu et timore, dampno aliquo uel periculo seu angustia mei cor-* [34r] *poris et anime portes me suauiter et depones me sine aliqua lesione presenti uel futuri, vsque ad talem locum suauiter me deponas.*

Cum enim deposuerit te vbi affectabis, dicas humiliter,

Gracias tibi ago, Oriens, qui dignum me fecisti in hac parte mea[k] *et pro tanta gracia et beneficio meo,*[l] *et me tibi offero, seruire et semper tuis obedire mandatis. Benedictum* [*et*] *laudatum sit semper nomen tuum, regnaturum super omnia secula seculorum. Et tibi eciam gracias ago, qui per coniuracionem nominum altissimi dei per me fatigare*[m] *dignatus es, etc.*

NO. 15. FOR OBTAINING A FLYING THRONE (FOLS 34r–35v)

Vade ad locum secretum et altum, tempore sereno et absque ventu, et dic: *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis, Secundum magnam misericordiam tuam* [Ps. 50 Vulg.]. cum *Gloria Patri* totum,[a] *In manus tuas, domine, commendo spiritum et totum spiritum et corpus meum,*[b] *Domine deus, Pater omnipotens,* [et] *Iudica me* [Ps. 42 Vulg.]. Postea fac talem circulum vt inferius designabitur,[c] cum ollis, et [34v] pone in ollam septentrionis cinerem et farinam, et in orient[al]em ignem cum sale, in occidentalem[d] aquam et calcem. Et sede in medio circuli et verte te versus septentrionem, et voca regem nubium, nomine Bartha, vt mittat 3es de ducibus qui habent posse[e] [super] nubibus et ventris, scilicet Saltim,[f] Balthim, Gehim, qui ducent te absque lesione et absque periculo tui corporis et anime ad locum quem volueris. Et tunc apparebit tibi parua nubes, et de tribus ollis exibunt tres alie olle, dicen[te]s, *Ascende, ascende, ascende.* Tunc autem inperterrite ac et cum audacia parate[g] sellam

i *MS* et.

j *Followed by* et.

k Sic *in MS.*

l *MS* mea.

m *Probably meaning* pro me fatigari.

a Sic *in MS.*

b Sic *in MS; cf. Lk. 24:46.*

c *Figure at bottom of fol. 34r: a single circular band, with an inverted triangle inscribed within its outer boundary. Characters (in pseudo-Hebrew?) are inscribed along two sides of the triangle, within the band. In the intersections of the band and the triangle, circles with dots in them (evidently denoting positions for jars) are marked. Cardinal directions are shown.*

d *MS* occidentali.

e *Possibly meaning* potenciam; *followed by* michi, *deleted.*

f *Followed by redundant* Baltim, *deleted.*

g Sic *in MS.*

magistro, hec dicas ter. Tunc videbis kathedram in medio nubis, et tu ascende illam, et dic,

Rex Bartha, et duces Saltim, Baltim, [et] Galtim, portate me placabiliter, sine timore et inpedimento et periculo aliquo mei corporis[h] *et anime, vsque ad talem locum, et suauiter me leuate et suauiter me deponite. O tu rex Bartha, et o vos principes Saltim, Balthim, Galtyra,*[i] *vos potenter invoco vt cito et velociter me ducatis vsque ad talem locum sine omni timore et periculo mei corporis et anime, et ad hoc*[j] *vos invoco et coniuro potenter et exorziso per hec angelorum nomina altissima qui in aere sunt potentes: Mastiesel,*[k] *Emedel, Emethel, Sangel, Eymeal, Venoel, Gerbon, Seutan, Ty-* [35r] *robay, Teneyn, Teregey, Gerebon, Gamelorum, Tubairum, Ficary, Gysay, Austeron, Boreal, Gemeloy, Garoen, Sypro, Ebely, Aurora, Subseloy, Siego, Afonei, et Zephirim, Boreoth, Beolthoray, Aforax,*[l] *Aquelyo, Eureal, Fauelyon. Per hec nomina vos invoco et coniuro et exorcizo et constringo, vt sine mora veniatis ad me existentem in hoc loco, et multum*[m] *me suauiter et benigne deferatis et ducatis ad talem locum, sine omni timore, lesione, et periculo mei corporis et anime. Sic fiat, fiat, amen.*

Vade securus et non timeas, quia portabunt te quo volueris. Si forte socios habere volueris in via et in opere, oportet quod sitis impares, tamen plus.[n] Hec nomina dices, scilicet Semegibetelye, Sabolaay,[o] Saroten, Saramey, Cerbelli, Tyaurax.[p] Et sic ire voteris in omnem partem et terram securus quo volueris.

Si quis tibi forte nocere voluerit vel attemptauerit: Si a parte septentrionali senseris kathedram descendere, dic,

O Balthym, te invoco, coniuro, et constringo vt vindices me de isto qui michi nocere temptatur,[q] *per hec septem nomina que in omnibus potestatem habent, scilicet Flegely, Stygeloy,*[r] *Melyon, Babaia, Regale, Setgaboy, Guitipabey.*

h *Corrected in MS from* corperis?.
i Sic *in MS.*
j *Or* hec.
k *Or* Masciesel.
l *Or* Afforax.
m Sic *in MS.*
n Sic *in MS.*
o *Corrected in MS from* Sabalaay.
p *Or* Tyanrax.
q *Meaning* temptat?
r *Or* Scygeloy.

Et statim veniet tempestas super eum et timeas.[s] Si vero a parte occidentali quis tibi nocere temptauerit, dic audacter,

O Saltim, coniuro et constringo te per ista semptem nomina, [35v] *scilicet Sebegyol, Sebely, Serbaton, Tymelyy,*[t] *Gerotal, Tyboel, Galtym. Fiat vt sit pluuia et nubes super illum, in tantum quod non possit videre nubem.*

Si vero ex parte orientali quis temptare voluerit, dic,

Veniatis, Galtym [*et*] *Baltym, per ista nomina, scilicet Flegely, Stygeloy, Melyon, Barbaia, Regale, Segaboy, Guitipabey, et cadant tonitrua super*[u] *illum et nubes et tempestas, ita* [*quod*] *me temptare non audeat.*

Si forte in via videris super te tempestates uel serpentes aut aues aut alia terribilia, quibus forte posses terreri, dicas,

O tu rex Bartham, ego te invoco et coniuro et constringo, rex sapiens et fortis, per hec nomina, scilicet Alrogen, Segeuuratetho, Spitalote, Frigonay, Gebelsey, vt hec terribilia[v] *facias protinus remoueri statim.*

Dictis hiis verbis, sine mora recedent, et vltra non habebis contrarium.

Hic circulus debet fieri ad istud opus, etc.[w]

NO. 16. FOR FINDING SOMETHING IN SLEEP (FOLS 35v–36r)

Ad inveniendum in sompnis que vis, scribe hec nomina in carta virginea cum nominibus illius diei in hunc modum sicut inferius patebit. Postea pone sub dextra aure quando vadis dormitum, et videbis quidquid vis de preteritis, presentibus, et futuris.

Hec est con- [36r] iuracio que debet fieri super cartam:

O vos gloriosa nomina summi dei, cui omnia, presencia, preterita, et futura presencia sunt,

s *Possibly meaning* et timebit *or* quem times.

t Sic *in MS.*

u *Partly covered by blot.*

v *MS* terrebilia.

w That is, the circle given already on fol. 34r, but perhaps drawn at the end of the experiment in an earlier manuscript.

rogo vos ego, seruus et subditus vester, quod mittatis michi angelos vestros[a]*, qui scripti sunt in circulo isto, vt michi reuelare debeatis*

quidquid super talem rem, uel de quocumque vis negocio quod venturum est. Et hec dicas tribus[b] vicibus, et videbis quidquid vis, per potenciam dei.

Hic est circulus qui debet scribi cum ibis dormitum.[c]

NO. 17. FOR OBTAINING A HORSE (FOL 36r-v)

Ad equum habendum[a] scriba[n]tur in hostio domus vacui, in crepusculo noctis, more he- [36v] brayco, hec nomina cum sangwine vespertilionis: Tuditha, Stelpha, Alpha, Draco, Mariodo, Ypation. Quibus scriptis, recede modicum a loco.

Post horam paruam reuertaris, et inuenies equum paratum, quem[b] cum uolueris ascendere pone sinistrum pedem ad strepam et dic hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro te, eque bone,

- *per creatorem celi et terre,*
- *et per illum qui creauit vniuersa et omnia ad laudem et gloriam sui nominis,*
- *et per deum viuum,*
- *et per deum sanctum,*
- *et per deum verum,*[c]

vt non in corpore nec in anima nec in minimo membro meo vere obesse[d] *valeas, nec in aliquo me perturbes, sed me, N., ad locum talem deferas, placide, hilariter, jocunde, et velociter, absque omni impedimento.*

Deinde ascende audacter et secure, quia omnino tibi nocere non potest. Signo vere crucis non te signabis, quia ipsum a te fugabis.

Cum autem perveneris ad locum prenominatum, descende de equo et accipe

a *Blot between* o *and* s.

b *MS* dicat.

c *Figure on fol. 36r: a double circular band, with eight lines of text inscribed within it:* Agla / Michael virtus dei / Gabriel fortitudo / Emanuel Paraclitus / Raphael medicina dei / Alpha et O, Oli, Ely / Tetragramaton, amen / Agla. *Each line of text has a cross inside a square at either end.*

a *Followed by* hec.

b *MS* quod.

c *Followed by a blot.*

d *Corrected from* abesse.

frenum, et absconde sub terra. Peracto autem tuo negocio, recipias frenum et scucte[e] firmissime, et statim veniet. Cum autem ascendere volueris, dic[f] precedentem coniuracionem et hec tria verba: *Rastelya, Elogo, Yetas*, etc.

NO. 18. THE MIRROR OF FLORON, FOR REVELATION OF PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE (FOLS 37r–38r)

Hic incipit speculum Floron.

Fac fieri speculum de puro calibe, ad mensuram palme vnius in rotundo; habeatque manubrium ad tenendum, et sit illuminatum et lucidum vt ensis. Sitque factum in nomine Floron, et in circuitu istius speculi ex alia parte non lucida sint hec decim nomina, cum hiis decem caracteribus descripta, et nomen spiritus predicti sit in medio scriptum.[a] Postquam fuerit factum, in loco secreto vngatur ex puro balsamo ex parte lucida, et subfumiga, scilicet [37v] cum ligno aloes, ambra, et mirra, et olibano albo.

Hoc peracto, magister huius operis sedens faciat ipsum speculum teneri per manubrium cum ambabus manibus pueri virginis ante pectus suum, et ipse magister sit balneatus, eciam mundis vestibus indutus, qui antequam incipiat exercere hoc opus mel, lac, et vinum equaliter insimul mixtum in aerem aspergat, dicendo,

O Floron, in speculo sicut solitus es apparere citissime respondeas.

Hoc dicto, hanc coniuracionem coram speculo legat:

Bismille araathe mem[b] bismissa gassim gisim galisim darrgosim samaiaosim ralim ausini taxarim zaloimi hyacabanoy illete laytimi hehelmini betoymi thoma leminao vnuthomin zonim narabanorum azarethia thathitat hinanadon illemay sard hucacef illemegiptimi sitaginatim viaice hamtamice tatiala taltarini alaoht haleytum gaptametuntij mortoorfail geibel huabaton albital hualepin halmagrilie hualeon huastanie hualtamemeth huatorzor illenie giptimi tatgnie gathegine lesuma lesanim aptasale albweroahit vlleath alfard vsemeth aptisile abfluwarth vllelath ant clulamoralie hahysitimi waleles [38r] *lithimi caegine*

e Sic in *MS*.

f *MS* ac.

a *Figure on fol. 37r: a double circular band, divided into ten segments. Outer band has the names* Latranoy, Iszarin, Bicol, Danmals, Gromon, Zara, Ralkal, Sigtonia, Samah *and* Meneglasar *written in the ten segments; inner band contains corresponding figures. Inscribed within the bands is a rectangle, subdivided into six sections, which contain the letters* F-L-O-R-O-N.

b *Second* m *written with superscript line over it.*

catlieginelesmirabolamini abtasile albiwahith alleath halamaton vnitia gaytatalon huia gay soze cemeselis phalmorath bethathure huaba lagis illemeammitimi gelgine gathegine lesmirapta libe albiwath vleuth.[c]

Dicta vero hac coniuracione, magister in speculo aspiciat, et videbit militem armatum in equo sedentem et armigerum suum comitantem secum, qui miles de equo descendet, et armiger eius equum tenebit. Cui militi sic dicet: 'Se desperata, decentissime visibiliter greciomo.'[d] Et tunc magister ipsum interrogat de preteritis, presentibus, et futuris, et ipse continuo certo scripto interrogata plenius insinuabit.

Non ergo tibi incredibile sit, quicumque fuerit[e] huius operis artifex, quia dum nouies ista perfeceris, idem spiritus manifeste vniuersa que prius per scripta insinuauerat ore ad os viua voce palificando denunciabit.

Dum ergo cuncta pro tuo velle perfeceris, eidem spirituif cum pace precipe vt recedat, et iuxta preceptum sui domini redeat cum fuerit vocatus.

NO. 19. THE MIRROR OF FLORON, SECOND VERSION (FOLS 38r–39v)

Hic incipit speculum Floron, et alio modo quam supra sit notatum, quamuis cum eisdem regulis.

Fac fieri speculum de puro calibe, ad mensuram palme vnius in rotundo, et habeat manu- [38v] brium ad tenendum, et sit illuminatum et lucidum vt ensis. Sitque factum in honore et in nomine spirituum inferiorum, et in circuitu speculi et ex alia parte non lucida sint 10 nomina cum decem karacteribus suprascriptis, vt pateat in speculo, et hoc nomen Floron in medio sit sculptum. Et postquam factum fuerit, in loco tali secreto sicut scis vngatur puro balsamo in parte lucida. Et sit subfumigatum hiis speciebus, scilicet ligno aloes, ambra, mirra, splendenti,[a] et olibano albo.

Hoc facto, magister huius operis sedens faciat ipsum speculum teneri ambabus manibus alicuius pueri virginis[b] ante pectus suum. Et ipse magister sit primo balneatus et mundis vestibus indutus, et ab omnibus aliis modis, vt bene nosti, ordinatus,[c] antequam incipiat hoc opus exercere. Mel, lac, et vinum mixta aspergantur in aere, et magister predictum spiritum proprio

c *Individual words in almost all cases separated by punctus.*

d Sic *in MS.*

e *Meaning* fueris*?*

f Sic *in MS.*

a Sic *in MS.*

b *MS* alicui puero virgini.

c Sic *in MS.*

nomine[d] advocet vt in speculum sicut solitus est veniat et vera responsa de omnibus interrogatis per certa scripta vel verba respondeat.

Hoc dicto, magister coniuracionem sequentem C[h]aldaycis verbis scripta[m] perlegat hoc modo:

Brismassa cassini gossini gaissini gratagossini samalaosini raxini gratini caraxini maraxini sobohini herura banor allegalte alitisti alaro haletum ha- [39r] *maymon hyalermon bispelimi bristedelimin hybelim bytho yhan bythoimin chosuma lonym lonynti torrimernum vitabanor atheretatat hyathet huyazalon vtaref illemegyptum biragyarius hyarite[e] heramenice conolar ganstraximi aloryoli helytum gayta mementum montoro lazyabel hubaton albneta[l][f] hyxalepini almagarie hualeon hyaltanixe hualenyefet huatosor allemegitum cagine satogyne laminy lesymaybdo abtysilthi alluhuait valehat arfard huzeniecht aptihle abimerahit vllehath enzebula morabe balitum veralesucum teagyne lesmyro valanum aptalile asugnathecht valleaath hyamatharon hyabia gaytatalon hya yagapolozol phalmolmeth bethaure huaba laygip illenietentum taygine oragine deragrineles myraptalile vlleytith setrataha conox.[g]*

Magister inspiciat in speculo et videbit militem armatum in equo sedentem et armigerum suum commitantem secum. Qui miles de equo descendet, et armiger eius equum tenebit. Cui militi sic dicet: 'Parate insilitio gytromon.' Tunc magister interroget ipsum de preteritis, presentibus, et futuris, et ipse continuo certo scripto interrogata plenarie inti- [39v] mabit. Non sit igitur incredibile tibi, quicumque fueris huius operis artifex, quod cum con[iuracionem] predicta[m] feceris, idem spiritus qui prius manifeste insinuauerat per scripta postea vna nocte per exercicium et in die omni hora ore ad os pallificando denunciabit, et eciam omnia que sub circulo lune sunt et eciam in terra et super terram, visibiliter et[h] aperte demonstrabit.

Cum igitur cuncta perfeceris, precipe vt in pace recedat et iuxta preceptum magistri quacumque[i] hora vocatus fuerit quod festinanter veniat et sine mora.

Nota quod 10 nomina cum suis caracteribus debent sculpi in speculo prima die Veneris, luna[j] crescente, et eciam speculum eadem die debet fieri. Et si non potest ex toto perfici eodem die Veneris, compleatur [secunda] uel tercia die Veneris, et semper luna crescente. Videat bene sculptor vel faber quod non sint poluti luxuria per 9 dies antequam accedant ad opus. Sint eciam balneati et loti et mundis vestibus induti, vt scis.

d *Partly covered by blot.*
e *Followed by* heramite, *deleted.*
f *Or* albuetal.
g *Or possibly* conrox.
h *Followed by* apere, *deleted.*
i *MS* quecumque.
j *MS* lune.

NO. 20. ANOTHER WAY OF USING A MIRROR (FOLS 39v–40v)

Item, secundum alium modum.

In coniunccione Veneris et Jouis, vade ad locum secretum ac secretissimum, vt infra assignabitur. Et habeas tecum candelas accensas, et tene tecum speculum calibeum limpidum et politum, factum luna 4a uel 7a vel xiija.[a] [40r] Et in sequenti die ieiunabis. Et cum operare volueris, vade ad locum vt supra dictum est, et fac circulum, et finge ibi speculum supradictum supra[b] lignum ad modum cultelli factum, et dicas hec verba:

Siclis piclis ticlis moturas baruch cortex garyn ruent hismuie haruel fuganes furtym fermal faruc cornalis bosuo zelades pasapa phirpa tirph. Tu qui es deus, Alpha et O, fac hoc speculum crescere et clarescere donec ad visum meum sufficiat.

Hic non est defectus.

Sequitur [alia] coniuracio:

Coniuro te

- *per deum,*
- *et per tres pueros Sydrac, Mysaach, et Abdenago,*
- *et per tres magos Caspar, Balthasar, et Melchior,*
- *et per tres patriarchas Abraham, Ysaac, et Iacob,*
- *et per illum cui nomen est Theoden, Lien, Elyon, Vergiton, Christus, Deus fortis, Emanuel, Caspar, Caspan, Caspar, Corpion, Asmal.*

Hec dic tribus vicibus, et videbitur tibi clarescere et crescere, et apparebunt tibi multi in speculo tamquam in campo.[c] Tunc inquire secure de quacumque re quod volueris, et sufficienter tibi respondebunt.

Post primam autem vicem, [40v] quandocumque vis, vbicumque vis, in secreto tamen loco, hoc facere poteris dicens verba supradicta. Hoc enim speculum tibi consecrabitur ad illam quam tu vnquam plus affectasti in circulo nobilissimo de tribus militibus.[d]

Et nota quod omnis circulus et dicti circuli debent fieri quando[e] nubes non appareant, quod si postea apparuerint non est timendum, quia spiritus sunt, etc.

a xiija *duplicated in lower margin.*

b *MS* supera.

c *MS* canpo.

d Sic *in MS.*

e *MS* quod.

NO. 21. FOR INVISIBILITY (FOL. 40v)

Studeas invenire vnam cattam nigram, natam in mense Martij, et exviscera eam, corde tamen remanente; tunc abscide cor cum cultello qui sit de Venere facto,[a] et oculos erue dicte catte cum eodem cultello, et imple[b] foramina oculorum semine cuiusdam herbe que elyotropia dicitur, vnum in oculo dextro et aliud in sinistro, et tercium in cor[de], semper hec verba dicendo: *Sapreson lampsones sampsanay, invisibilis fiat homo.* Et reple eam cora,[c] et sepeli eam in ortu tuo in quo nemo intrat, et eam riga[d] cum sangwine humano et aqua commistis, hoc continuando per xv dies vsque quo crescit herba alba, cuius semen suo opere[e] semper illa verba repetendo. Scias tamen quod quelibet herba dabit semen, sed granum unum bonum, quod quidem sic eligere debes, et nomina semper repetendo. Habeas igitur speculum coram te, et respiciendo vnum granum post aliud in speculo, et ponas omnia grana in ore tuo sub lingwa tua, et bene semper consideras granum illud quod ponis in os tuum. Et si in[f] quocumque grano posito in ore te videre non poteris in speculo, scias id esse bonum et vtile pro te, etc.

NO. 22. FOR DISCOVERING A THIEF OR MURDERER BY GAZING INTO A VESSEL (FOL. 41r–42r)

Ad furtum inveniendum, recipe cultellum cum manubrio nigro vel albo, et facias circulum in terra,[a] dicendo has oraciones: *Deus, qui corda fidelium Sancti Spiritus, etc., Concede nos famulos tuos, etc.*, et *Homines sancti tui.* Et habeas puerum uel puellam virginem. Et magister intret[b] cum ea vel cum eo in circulum, et accipiet[c] magister

a *Meaning* cum cultello die Veneris facto? *The* e *in* de *is blotted out, but the word is replicated in the margin.*

b *Followed by* fro, *deleted.*

c Sic, *an alternative form of* cera.

d *MS* rega.

e Sic *in MS.*

f *Meaning* cum?

a *Figure at the top of fol. 42r: double circular band, the interior of which is divided into six wedges. Pentagrams with* On *just beyond each point are inscribed in the upper and lower wedges, and to the lower left and right of the circle. Within the circle is inscribed* Hic sederat [=sedeat] puer super signum *(in the inner band, at top);* Hic sedeat magister super signum *(in the inner band, at bottom)* a latere sinistro *(in the outer band, at bottom). To the right of this figure is a column containing five horizontal bands and labelled* Istud est signum; *in the bands is inscribed* Esto altissimus, vnus, eternus; amen, *with one word per band.*

b *Followed by blot.*

c *Altered in MS from* accipiat.

serraginem bene mundatam intus et extra, et scribat super eum predicto cultello hoc signum et hec nomina similiter:

Onel,[d] *On, Adonay, Emanuel, sanctus deus fortis, sanctus Ely, sanctus Elyon, sanctus dominus deus Sabaoth, mirabilis splendor, Alpha et O. Fiat.*

Quo scripto, accipias lumen et invngas desuper serraginem cum penna galline nigre, et de sinistra ala, hoc modo dicendo *Pater Noster* ter, tot cum *Kyrieleison, Christeleison, Kyrieleison* tribus vicibus, *Christus ab antiqua fraude, magnus, magnus et eternus; fiat, amen, Exaudi nos* tribus vicibus, *Pater de celis, miserere nobis; sancta Maria, ora pro nobis; sancte Michahel, orate pro nobis; sancte Raphahel, ora pro nobis; sancte Johannes Baptista, precursor domini, ora pro nobis; omnes sancti et sancte, ora pro nobis; Kyrieleison, Christeleison, Kyrieleison; Christe, audi nos.*

Hoc vero supra scriptum periurato,[e] dicat magister in auriculo pueri coniuracionem istam:

Coniuro te, puer,

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, cui omne nomen flectitur et omnis lingwa proclamat Osanna* [cf. Phil. 2:10];

coniuro te

- *per sanctam Mariam semper virginem,*
- *per angelos et archangelos,*
- *per xxiiijor seniores,*
- *et per cxla milia martirum* [41v] *qui pro nomine Christi iugulati sunt,*
- *et per sanctum Johannem Baptistam,*
- *et per omnes patriarchas et prophetas,*
- *et per xij apostolos,*
- *et per 4or ewangelistas,*
- *et per septuaginta discipulos domini,*
- *et per omnes sanctos et sanctas dei,*
- *et per omnes virtutes omnipotentis dei, celestes, terrestres, et infernales,*

vt quidquid tu videas nobis insinues, et vt tu veraciter videre posses quis vel qui eciam sit vel sint qui furtum istud uel homicidium fecerunt, virtute omnipotentis dei[f] *et gracia.*

Coniuracione vero facta, dicas super caput pueri hanc coniuracionem:

d *Meaning* On, El.

e Sic *in MS.*

f *MS* virtute dei omnipotentis dei.

Deus, creator omnium rerum, te deprecor humili deuocione, per tuam mirabilem potenciam, quatenus isti puero tribuas scienciam et intellectum, vt[g] *michi veritatem annunciet de furtis uel homicidiis, vt*[h] *cogatis, omni fallacia remota, inimicos,*[i] *vt exaltent nomen tuum, quod est benedictum in secula seculorum. Amen. Domine Ihesu Christe, qui cooperante Spiritu Sancto per mortem tuam mundum viuificasti, illumina cor*[j] *et corpus istius pueri, vt veritatem michi annunciet de furtis que interrogauero, per hec sanctissima nomina: Nazarenus, Messyas, Adonay, qui cum Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto viuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum.*

Precipiat magister puero vt intente inspiciat in vase illo idem chimurili,[k] hoc vero modo vt alibi non respiciat aut aliquo modo visum suum ab eo auertat. Et si aliquo modo puer in prima vice nichil viderit, iterum coniuret illum puerum secunda vice, quousque videat puer hoc furtum vel homicidium et rem illam de qua dubitas. Etc.

NO. 23. FIRST MIRROR OF LILITH (FOL. 42r–43r)

Hoc est primum speculum Lilit et suorum virorum suorumque militum seniorum. Et hoc speculum debet fieri in magistratu sui speculi, et in memoria omnium nominum suorum seruorum, qui omnes res ante Caym faciunt in mundissimo loco.[a]

Coniuro vos demones vt veniatis et compareatis et dicatis michi de quocumque interrogauero vos omnem veritatem, in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Christus ✠ vincit ipsum ✠ Balbieit ✠ Zelans,[b] *Zelles, Dimedero, Cadar, es qui cottidie astra celorum ascendunt vbi sunt tres dogie*[c] *cruci uel breues actu uel ictu seculorum in quatuor partes seculi, ad faciendam totam voluntatem in eam, per deum vbi probabilit[er]*[d] *et licencia placabiliter et effabiliter, sine terrore, absque tocius ineffabili poten-* [42v] *cia deitatis summi viui, in hac veri dei virtute te exoramus, Lylet, per honorem patris tui Arieth, et per illud sacramentum quod tu Nocma matri tue fecisti verbo, vt in similitudine tua et non in*

g t *malformed, and duplicated above line.*

h *Meaning* et?

i *MS* inimici.

j c *blotted out, and word duplicated in margin.*

k Sic *in MS.*

a Sic *in MS.*

b *Followed by* zo *(?), deleted.*

c Sic *in MS.*

d Sic *in MS.*?

coruorum similitudine, ad sermocinandum et ad sedendum nobiscum in quacumque hora requisierimus te in speculo isto, pacifice ac humiliter ac sine vlla deformitate, te michi ostendas; et amplius vt duo uel plures de seruis tuis, qui vero tam de furto quam de homicidio aut de quacumque alia re dubitabili de qua scire voluero michi dent vera responsa vel signa, in dei virtute et obediencia.

Istud vero speculum debet formari ad modum Clypei, vel[e] alio modo [si] volueris, in cuius giro hec nomina depingantur: *Deus sanctus, deus omnipotens, deus fortis, deus inmortalis, pater futuri seculi.* Et circa duo lattera superiora sigilla Salomonis depingantur majora, in fine vero clypei minus sigillum Salomonis, et in medio speculi hoc nomen 'Lylet'[f] depingatur, prout in hac patebit figura que infra ponitur.[g] [43r] Postea vero sicut alio vitro, sicut alia specula solent, circumdetur.[h] Quo vero facto, tacite et secrete defer ad quadriuium vel ad sepulc[r]um alicuius hominis interfecti, in crepusculo noctis, diei Martis vel Saturni, dicendo hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro te, Lylet,[i] ac socios tuos,
- *per Alpha et O,*
- *per primum et nouissimum, Abiel, Rotbons, Cafre, O deus, O male Christe, inclitus, On, Ely, Elyon, Messyas, Sabaoth, Adonay, Emanuel;*

coniuro [te] eciam, Lylet,[j] atque socios tuos,
- *per annunciacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *et per natiuitatem eius,*
- *et per aduentum Spiritus Sancti paracliti,*

vt in quacumque hora te vocauero, in hoc speculo michi appareas cum tuis sociis atque de re illa de qua scire voluero michi vera dando responsa vel signa.

Oracione vero ista completa, per aliam viam reuertaris ad hospicium tuum. Postea vero, eadem hora ac die, ad quadriuium vade et accipe speculum, et cum de re aliqua volueris scire dubitabili, ipsos per coniuracionem iam dictam venire compellas. Et quere quidquid volueris, et dicent tibi. Etc.

e *Largely blotted out.*

f *MS* Bylet.

g *Figure given at bottom right of fol. 42v: shield with a single band around its edge. In the band is inscribed,* Deus sanctus, deus omnipotens, deus fortis, deus inmortalis, pater futuri seculi. *The name* Bylet [=Lylet] *appears in the centre. In the upper left- and right-hand corners are pentagrams with* On *just beyond each point; smaller version appears at bottom.*

h *Perhaps meaning:* Postea vero vitro, sicut alia specula solent, circumdetur.

i *MS* Bylet.

j *MS* Bylet.

NO. 24. FOR LEARNING ABOUT ANY UNCERTAIN THING BY GAZING INTO A CRYSTAL (FOL. 43r–v)

Si vis scire de omni re de qua dubitaueris, accipe puerum virginem et cristallum, quem laua cum vino. Deinde scribe in illo cum oleo oliue hec nomina: [43v] Hon, Hely, Sabaoth, Adonay, Hel, Hely, Heloym, Sother, Emanuel, Alpha et O, [et dic,]

O vos sanctissima nomina, rogo vt mittatis michi duos angelos uel tres in hunc cristallum, qui dicant michi veritatem de hiis que ego inquiram. Et rogo vos angelos vt dicatis michi veritatem quam[a] *ego inquiram a vobis.*

Primo hec[b] dicat puer:

Coniuro vos in nomine Dedeon, et dij Egarias et Semisonay, et ex parte magistri mei, quod veniatis in hunc cristallum, ita quod aperte[c] *possim videre.*

Et repete nomina superius habita donec venerint.

Et cum venerint, puer dicat nomina supradicta et coniuret eos *in nomine Dedeon et dij, etc.*; quod fiat ter. Et super sedes aureas sedeant, et cum sedeant puer dicat,

Coniuro vos in nomine Bessabes, et Hint, et Seren, et Salaboni, et Lethem, vt non recedatis ab hoc cristallo sine licencia mei magistri, qui hic presens est.

NO. 25. FOR INFORMATION ABOUT A THEFT BY GAZING INTO A CRYSTAL (FOLS 43v–44r)

Experimentum cristalli ad inveniendum furtum.

Accipias cristallum planum et lucidum, ad modum sigilli factum vel speculi, quem in cera reconde ex una parte virginea. Postea scribas in ipso cum oleo viridi hoc nomen: Honely. Postea dicas hanc coniuracionem:

Omnipotens, sempiterne deus, Domine Ihesu Christe, filie[a] *dei viui, qui lapidibus, herbis,* [*et*] *predicacionibus virtutes michi gentissimas*[b] *atque* [44r] *mirabiles contulisti,* [*et*] *lapidem istam; item,*

- *per natiuitatem sanctam tuam,*
- *ac per passionem ac gloriosam resurreccionem tuam et ascensionem,*

a *MS* que.

b *Or* hoc.

c *MS* apperte.

a *MS* filij.

b *Meaning* gratissimas?

- *atque per hec sancta nomina tua: Adonay, Sabaoth, Hon, Ely, Eloy, Elyon, Honely, Solher, Tetragramaton, Emanuel, Alpha et O,*

consecrare [*et*] *benedicere digneris, per*[c] *tui honorem et gloria*[*m*]*, qui viuis et regnas deus, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen. Agla, Otmonta, Panoneogens, Origmaria, non obstet Asya, Africa, nec Europa,*[d] *nec eius partes, quin ad nos veniatis. Fiat, fiat, fiat sine mora.*

Postquam vero apparuerint tibi in cristallo, dicas hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos angelos,

- *per deum viuum et verum,*
- *et per natiuitatem*[e] *sanctam eius,*
- *et per eius passionem,*[f]
- *et per eius resurreccionem sanctam,*
- *et per eius missionem Sancti Spiriti paracliti,*
- *et per sanctam eius aduentum,*
- *et per hec sancta nomina dei: Honay, Sabaoth, Onel, Ely, Eloym, Solher, Emanuel, vt superius dictum est,*
- *et per omnia nomina sancta dei,*

vt non recedatis ab hoc lapide quousque certificati fuerimus de omni re dubitabili de quo scire voluerimus, virtute dei omnipotentis et obediencia. Amen.

Notandum eciam est quod non debet aliquis vti hoc experimento pro re vili vel modica, sed pro causa[g] ardua, et ne eciam secundum quod dictum est alibi, 'Ne sumas nomen dei tui in vanum [Ex 19:7], nec invoces invtiliter, etc.'[h]

NO. 26. KEY OF PLUTO, TO OPEN ALL LOCKS (FOL. 44v)

Sume tibi ferrum inventum ex inprouisu, et fac tibi fieri clauem huiusmodi, factam die Veneris.[a] Et cum facta fuerit, repone eam per noctem cum sacrificio galli albi in quadruuio, dicens,

O spiritus Neyilon [*et*] *Achalas, accipite sacrificium vt nichil contra me et contra clauem istam valeat sera vbi ista clauis ponetur.*

c *Followed by* te.

d *MS* Eroupa.

e *MS* natifitatem.

f *Followed by two (?) deleted words.*

g *MS* casa.

h *Ex. 20:7 Vulg.:* Non adsumes nomen domini dei tui in vanum.

a *Figure on upper right of fol. 44v: a key, with a single tooth extending to the left and a single tooth to the right.*

Et fac super istam clauem antequam posueris subtus terram hanc figuram de sangwine galli albi.[b] Et dimitte ibi tribus diebus. Tercia autem nocte, ante gallicinium, accipe eam inde. Cum transieris vrbem, recipe clauem cum sinistra manu de occidente in orientem, omnesque[c] seras aperiat. Et[d] dicitur hec[e] clauis Plutonis.

NO. 27-A. FOR OBTAINING INFORMATION ABOUT A THEFT BY GAZING INTO A FINGERNAIL (FOLS 44v 45v)

Ad furtum inveniendum, accipe puerum virginem de legittimo thoro, hora qua vis ante meridiem, et illius vngwem de pollice sinistre manus cum cultello bene purgabis. Deinde cedulam subnotatis nominibus scriptam in eodem digito ligabis sub ungwe. Et hec sunt nomina: Egippia, Benoham, Beanke (vel Beanre), Reranressym, Alredessym, Ebemidyri, Fecolinie, Dysi, Medirini, Alhea, Heresim, Egippia, Benoham,[a] Haham, Ezirohias, Bohodi, Hohada, Anna, Hohanna, Ohereo, Metaliteps, Aregereo, Agertho, Aliberri, Halba.

Hoc facto, si puer non vi- [45r] det aliquid, etc.[b] Si autem videt, liga corrigiam ouinam, quam ad tres missas quas perfecte audiuisti tecum habuisti, supra cedulam circa digitum, dicendo hanc coniuracionem:

O vos demones, qui coram me in vngwe istius pueri apparuistis,

- *per eum qui est Alpha et O,*

vobis impero et precipio et coniuro,

- *per hec sacratissima nomina: Ely, Eloy, Messyas, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay,*
- *et per On, quod est primum nomen domini Pantoncraton,[c] Anetheten,*
- *et per alia nomina michi cognita et incognita,*

vt non habeatis potestatem recedendi cum vestris sociis donec omnino omnem meam voluntatem adimpleueritis, et sine omni mendacio et lesione alicuius. Et si hoc facere contempseritis, iubeo vos ligari sub profunditate aquarum maris, per hec duo nomina: Ioth [et] Nabnoth, per que Salomon constringebat in vase vitreo demones. Coniuro vos

- *per vij signa Salomonis,*
- *et per sigillum et sapienciam eius,*

b *Figure part-way down fol. 44r: a large cross, followed by* XI.

c *MS* omnia qui.

d *Deleted, but re-added in margin.*

e *Or* hoc.

a *These two names, already given at the outset of the series, are here repeated.*

b *Partly blotted out.*

c Sic in *MS, for* Pantocrator?

vt non habeatis licenciam recedendi hinc donec de quacumque re interrogauero michi dicatis et ostendatis veritatem.

Hiis dictis, si puer non dicat directe, dic in aure eius hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro te, virgo iuuenis,
- *per deum verum Basyon,*
- *et per nomen On, Berion, Sabaoth, Adonay;*

coniuro te
- *per baptismum* [45v] *et castitatem tuam sacratam, qua te regenerauit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto,*

vt non habeas potestatem celandi, sed omnia que videris manifestes.

Hiis coniuracionibus ter dictis, si te expedire[d] non expediant spiritus, adde hanc coniuracionem:

Vos demones ab oriente,[e] *vos demones ab occidente, vos demones ab meridie, vos demones a septentrione, aperite nobis, Discobermath, Archidemath, Fritath, Altramat, Pestiferat, Helyberp, Hegergibet, Sathan.*

Qua coniuracione ter dicta seu repetita, clare videbit puer omnia.

Hoc eciam experimentum valet adhoc si aliquis vellet scire statum amicorum suorum, vtrum essent sani vel egri, et denunciat si essent in via vel non.

Coniuracio super corrigiam, de qua iam dictum est: Finita missa qualibet die, ter dicas hanc coniuracionem super corrigiam:

Coniuro te, Sona,
- *per hoc nomen domini: Tetragramaton,*
- *et per hoc nomen dei: Ioth,*
- *et per hoc nomen dei: Nabnoth,*
- *et per omnes virtutes et potestates herbarum et lapidum et verborum,*

vt virtutem talem recipias quod quocumque fueris ligata, ipsi spiritus non habeant potestatem recedendi quousque velle ligatoris perficiant.

Explicit primum capitulum.

Cemay edo cuscutas, feferaton, San.[f]

d *Or possibly* expedite.

e *Followed by* ab occidente, *deleted.*

f *Fol. 46, following, is blank.*

NO. 27-C. FOR OBTAINING INFORMATION (FOLS 46v–47v)[a]

[. . .] pueri; et

- *per nomen principis vestri summi,*
- *per coronam capitis sui,*
- *per obedienciam quam sibi debetis,*

vt veniatis ab omnibus partibus mundi, omni occasione postposita, et in vngue istius pueri appareatis, et nobis sine dubio et sine fallacia illud quod a vobis scire volumus veraciter manifestetis. Fiat, fiat, fiat.

Coniuro te, virgo iuuenis,

- *per*[b] *deum On, Orion, Sabaoth, Adonay,*

vt non habeas potestatem menciendi uel celandi de quocumque interrogauero; item[c] *coniuro te, virgo juuenis,*

- *per deum tuum, Alpha et O, qui est primus et nouissimus,*

vt michi veritatem dicas de hac re de qua te requiro; item coniuro te, virgo,

- *per baptismum quem*[d] *recepisti in nomine sancte et indiuidue trinitatis,*
- *per castitatem et potenciam qua te reg[e]nerauit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto,*

vt non habeas potenciam neque licenciam celandi uel menciendi quodcumque videris; item coniuro te, virgo iuuenis,

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *per sanctum nomen dei Elthie,*
- *per sanctum Tetragramaton,*
- *per sancta nomina dei On, Ely, Eloy, Eloe,*

vt non habeas licenciam seu potestatem celandi[e] *quodcumque sciueris; coniuro te, virgo iuuenis,*

- *per baptismum quem accepisti de sancta credulitate, per castitatem et potenciam sacramenti qua te reg[e]nerauit de anima Spiritus Sancti,*

vt tam cito et sine mora, aperte et breuiter, in vngue istius pueri veritatem [47r] *nobis ostendas, aliter, etc.*[f] *Infans, coniuro te*

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *per nomen*[g] *dei*[h] *Elthie,*

a *Text continued from fol. 51r.*

b per *repeated.*

c *Followed by blot.*

d *MS* quod.

e *MS* scelandi.

f *This element of conjuration, addressed to the spirit, seems misplaced in the midst of a conjuration addressed to the boy.*

g *MS* nomina.

h *Followed by* Elith, *deleted.*

- *per Tetragramaton,*
- *per hec nomina domini nostri Ihesu Christi: Ely, Eloy, Eloem,*
- *et per baptismum quem accepisti in nomine sancte et indiuidue trinitatis,*
- *per caritatem dei, Alpha et O, quod est principium et finis,*

vt aspicias in vngwe ita vt si deveniat clarus uel non.

Tunc interroga puerum si vngwis sit clarior quam ante. Si dicat non, lege iterum coniuracionem ab inicio, et tercia vice si necesse fuerit. Si dicit quod sit clarior, quere si videat aliquid. Si dicit quod videat hominem, faciat magister coniurare puerum illum[i] quem videt, in materna lingwa, sic:

Tu qui es coram me, coniuro te

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *et per sanctam Mariam et eius virginitatem,*
- *per sanctum Iohannem et eius virginitatem,*
- *per sanctam Katherinam et eius virginitatem,*
- *per omnes sanctos et sanctas virgines,*
- *et per virginitatem meam,*

vt cito vadas pro rege tuo et facias eum venire coram me, ita vt ipsum possim expresse videre et intelligere.

Postea quere a puero si rex venit. Si non, coniuret iterum puer vt prius. Si venit, dicat puer regi quod descendat de equo suo et faciat afferri cathedram super quam sedeat. Tunc querat puer a rege si velit comedere. Si dicit quod non, tunc de quo volueris queras. Si dicit quod sic, dicat puer regi quod mittat pro vno ariete [47v] ad quemcumque locum voluerit et faciat ipsum excorriari et decoqui, et tunc dicat quod faciat poni mensam, et surgat et lauet manus, et sedeat ad mensam et faciat arietem poni coram se, et cito comedat. Postquam comedit, surgat et accipiat aquam et lauet manus.

Postea dicat puer regi quod remoueat coronam de capite et ponat manum dextram super caput suum et iuret per coronam suam et per ceptrum suum et per illod quod tenet sub manu sua dextra quod veraciter respondeat ad omnes questiones magistri. Deinde querat magister per puerum quidquid voluerit. Postquam satis factum questionibus magistri, detur spiritibus licencia, et puer sic dicat: 'Ite. Pax sit inter nos et vos. Et quando magister vos vocauerit, estote parati sibi obedire in omnibus per omnia.'

Explicit secundum capitulum[j]

i *Followed by* quod, *blotted out.*

j *Written twice.*

NO. 28. FOR OBTAINING INFORMATION BY GAZING AT A BONE (FOLS 47v–49r)

De[a] omni re dubitabili, eciam incerta, [pro] veritate habenda, accipe spatulam arietis dextram, oleo oliue invnctam, quam ponendo super manubrium cultelli, inspiciat puer[b] virgo. Tu vero ex alia parte, tenendo candelam accensam, dicas hoc modo:

Ergarrandras, Ornis, Arbes, Cargie, Ornis, Arbas, ego in virtute domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui est Alpha et O, primus et nouissimus, inicium et finis, coniuro vos demones et advoco,

- *per eum qui dixit omnia et facta sunt,*
- *et per* [48r] *eum cui obediunt omnes creature,*
- *et per eum* [*ante*] *quem tremunt omnes exercitus angelorum, celestium et terrestrium et infernorum,*
- *et per ipsius virtutem et omnipotenciam,*
- *et per tremendum diem iudicij summi dei,*
- *et per ipsius nomina hec sancta: On, El, Ely, Eloy, Adonay, Alpha et O, Messyas, Soter, Emanuel, Pancraton, Occinomos, Tetragramaton, Agyos, Otheos, Athanatos, Yschiros, Kirios, Alleluia, Eleyson, Ymas,*[c]

quatenus sine mora visibiliter in hac spatula compareatis, ante faciem istius pueri virginis, et respondeatis et demonstretis omnem veritatem de hac re,[d] *N., nobis dubitabili*[e] *et incerta. Britonia, Bresis, Diton, Crasis, Sanete, Garbamion, libera nos famulos ab omni malo. Pater noster, etc.*

Item coniuro vos demones

- *per caput et coronam principis vestri,*
- *et per vestram potestatem, vobis a summo deo datam,*
- *per anulum Salomonis, et per signa et sancta nomina in ipsis descripta,*
- *et per vij celos et per omnes angelos in ipsis dispositos,*
- *et per omnes potestates aereas*[f] *et infernales,*

quatenus cito, etc. Gospar, Dasper, Gespar, Lapir, Sparsis, Nota, Calius,[g] *Asper. Item coniuro vos demones*

a *Repeated in margin.*
b *Followed by* vr, *deleted.*
c Sic *in MS.*
d *Followed by* nob, *deleted.*
e *Corrected from* dubitabile.
f r *blotted out, and replaced above line.*
g *Or* Talius.

- *per caput et coronam principis vestri,*
- *et per*[h] *vestram potestatem, vobis a summo deo datam,*
- *per anulos Salomonis et per signa et sancta nomina in ipsis descripta;*[i]
- *per angelos et archangelos, per thronos et dominaciones, per principatus et potestates* [48v] [*et*] *virtutes, per cherubin et seraphin, et per omnes virtutes celorum,*
- *per celum et terram et mare et omnia que in eis sunt,*
- *per xij apostolos,*
- *per martires et confessores, virgines* [*et*] *viduas,*
- *per patriarchas et prophetas et ewangelistas,*
- *per*[j] *xxiij seniores,*
- *per cxl milia innocentum,*
- *et per omnes sanctos et electos dei qui sunt in celo et in terra,*

quatenus cito et sine mora, etc.

Tunc inquiras a puero si videat spatulam crescere et clarescere, quod si sic, tunc dicat postea hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos spiritus

- *per virtutem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *et per virginitatem sancte Marie,*
- *et per virginitatem sancte Katerine et sancte Lucie et sancte Agate et sancte Cecilie et sancte Barbare,*
- *et per virginitatem sancti Johannis ewangeliste,*[k]
- *et per caput sancti Johannis ewangeliste,*
- *et per virginitatem meam,*

vt cito in hac spatula a[*p*]*pareatis, vt vos videre possim.*

Quo spiritu viso in forma humana nigra, inquire ab ipso de tuo negocio, prout melius videris expedire, puero mediante[l] et per virginitatem[m] ipsum spiritum constringente.

Sit puer infra xij annos existens. Et post mane et in crepusculo noctis, circulum protrahendo, dicas,

h *Followed by* virtutem, *deleted.*

i *The lines* Item coniuro vos demones . . . per signa et sancta nomina in ipsis descripta *are repeated verbatim.*

j *Formation is irregular, as if the scribe began writing the sign for* et *and then changed it to that for* per.

k Sic *in MS, meaning* Baptiste.

l *Initial letter blotted out.*

m *Changed in MS to (or from?)* virginitates.

Sator, arepo, tenet, opera, rotas. In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Acciones nostras, quesumus, domine, aspirando preueni et adiuuando persequere, vt cuncta nostra opera a te semper incipiant et per te cepta finiantur. Per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen. Deus, qui misisti Spiritum Sanctum super [49r] *apostolos tuos, mitte Spiritum Sanctum tuum paraclitum super istum puerum, et illumina et clarifica intellectum ipsius atque animam, vt in spiritu videre possit creaturas tuas, et nobis reuelare omnem veritatem de hac re nobis dubitabili et incerta.*

Scribantur in spatula hec sancta nomina dei: On, El, Eloy, Adonay, Alpha et O, Pancraton, Occinomos, Tetragramaton. Dum volueris eos licenciare, fac signum crucis supra spatulam, dicendo,

In nomine Patris, et Filij, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Ecce crux[n] *domini: fugite, partes aduerse; vicit leo de triba Juda, stirps Dauid. Ite in pace ad loca vnde venistis.*

Poteris eciam coniurare puerum per virginitatem vt habeat potestatem videndi spiritum et non menciendi.

Explicit.

NO. 29. THE TRUE ART OF THE BASIN (FOL. 49r–v)

Incipit ars verissima de bacimine.

Hec nomina dices in aurem pueri virginis:

Carab, Riasteli, Careb, Basal, Mistal, Oronothel, Fabanin, Non, Va, Vatuel. Coniuro vos

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *per*[a] *sanctam Mariam virginem,*
- *per ix ordines angelorum,*
- *per patriarchas,*
- *per prophetas* [*et*] *apostolos,*
- *per martires,*
- *per confessores,*
- *per virgines,*

vt appareatis in bacimine isto, vt veraciter huius rei veritatem nobis ostendatis, vt non sit michi aliquod impedimentum veritatis in ista questione. Rabuel, Astena, Hylatol, cogitate facere voluntatem meam per predictas potestates.

n *MS* crucem.

a *Followed by* patriarches et prophetas, *deleted, and by a redundant* per *that is not deleted.*

Hec tria nomina scribentur in cedula [49v] que ponitur in bacimine dum ars fiet. Postea dic,

Deus celi, deus terre, deus angelorum, deus archangelorum, qui es rex sanctorum omnium, patriarcharum ac prophetarum, te deprecor humili deuocione vt isti puero tribuas scienciam et intellectum, vt michi veritatem de quibus[cumque] interrogauero dicat, per hec sancta nomina tua: Ely, Eloe, Sabaoth, Adonay, Elyon, On, qui viuis et regnas per infinita secula seculorum. Amen. Domine Ihesu Christe, fili[b] *dei viui, qui ex voluntate Patris, cooperante Spiritu Sancto, per mortem tuam mundum viuificasti, illumina istius pueri cor [et] mentem, et fac vt michi veritatem de hiis que interrogauero dicat, per hec sancta nomina tua: Jesus Nazarenus, Messyas, Sother, Emanuel, Fortis, Fons, Leo, Petra, vt indicet omnia de quibus postulo veritatem.*

Explicit.

Coniuracionem facio, tu qui es Alpha et O. Coniuro vos demones,

- *per tres reges, Caspar, Balthasar, Melchior,*
- *et per tres pueros, Sydrac, Misac, Abdenago,*

vt omnes appareatis huic puero in hoc speculo uel ense, Abiniabyndo, Abyncola, Abracalos, Pyel, Thyel, Syel.

Quibus apparentibus,[c] dicet puer regi vt sedeat et mittat pro ariete, sic[ut] alias dictum est ante in secundo capitulo istius tractatus.

Postea sequatur coniuracio pueri sicut eciam ibidem dictum est.

Explicit.

NO. 30. TWELVE NAMES TO MAKE SPIRITS APPEAR IN A BOY'S HAND (FOLS 49v–50v)

Bethala, Pamelon, Anguis, Floris, Ereth,[a] Alya, Cabyona, Ely, Eloy, Sadamay, Melgry, Asmyacre, intretis in nomine domini. Karacteres isti [50r] scribendi sunt vt infra docetur: A, Q,[b] O, P, E, V.

In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti, signum sancte crucis sit in fronte tuo, hoc modo

b *MS* filij.

c *MS* aparantibus.

a *Corrected in MS from* Areth.

b *MS has sign for* quod.

signet te dominus Ihesus Christus, hoc modo signet te dominus sicut signauit in Chana Galilee. In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.

Hoc ter dicatur, qualibet vice signando frontem pueri cum pollice tuo dextre[c] manus. Hec nomina predicta xij, scilicet Bethela,[d] etc., tociens repetantur, quousque sex spiritus compareant in manu pueri. Postquam[e] comparuerint, precipiat puer eis in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti vt sedeant, et vnus eorum surgat, qui det vera responsa ex parte magistri sui.

Modus operandi idem: Accipe resinam albam quam accendes per candelam super lapidem aliquem planum sub pelui desuper aliquantulum eleuata. Postea cum penna noua colligas in pergamen[t]o aliquo uel corio albo puluerem illum adherentem pelui ex vaporacione resine predicte, et reserua quousque operari volueris. Tunc enim intinges digitum medium[f] dextre manus primo in oleo oliue, et linies inferiores quatuor articulos sinistre manus pueri masculi virginis. Deinde eundem digitum tuum intingas in puluerem prefatum,[g] et similiter lineas articulos pueri, sicut prius, et sic alternando, nunc cum oleo, nunc cum puluere, donec articuli predicti fiant sicut speculum clarum et resplendens.

Post[ea] dic verba illa duodecim supra nominata: Bethala, Pamelon, etc. Deinde cum signaueris frontem pueri et frontem tuam, si vis, dicendo, *In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti*, signum sancte crucis sit in fronte, etc., vt supra.

[50v] Cum autem predictos spiritus vis licenciare, puer dicat,

Precipio vobis quod recedatis, in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.

Et iterum signare poteris frontem pueri et tuam si vis tercio, modo quo prius et verbis. Nota eciam quod in parte peluis predicte eleuata interius per circuitum cum cultello inscribendi sunt sex illi karacteres, qui supra in isto capitulo sunt nominati – scilicet A, Q,[h] etc. – antequam ipsa resina sub ipsa pelui accenditur.

Explicit. Etc.[i]

c *MS* dextro.

d Sic *in MS.*

e *Preceded by* Qui.

f u *misshapen, as if scribe began writing* e.

g *MS* prefato.

h *Formed as before.*

i *Remainder of fol. 50v is blank.*

NO. 27-B. FOR OBTAINING INFORMATION (FOL. 51r)[a]

[. . .] *Cedon, Zephata, Eloym, Eloyay, venite et apparete in vngwe istius pueri sub forma humana, et ipsum*[b] *vngwem faciatis crescere et clarescere in tantum vt sufficiat ei ad videndum de quocumque ipsum interrogauero. Coniuro vos spiritus,*

- *per tres reges, Caspar, Baltasar, Melchior, quibus stella apparuit,*
- *[et] per virtutem domini nostri Ihesu Christi, vt natiuitatem suam manifestaret,*[c]

vt in vngwe istius pueri appareatis, et quod a vobis inquirere volumus nobis absque fallacia et sine dubio manifestetis. Coniuro vos spiritus qui vocati estis,

- *per tres pueros Sydrac, Misac, Abdenago,*

vt in vngwe istius pueri appareatis, nec ipsi puero timorem uel terrorem aut lesionem faciatis, et nos de omnibus que a uobis scire volumus certos faciatis. Coniuro vos spiritus qui vocati estis,

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *et per omnipotenciam eius et virtutem,*
- *per cherubin et seraphin,*
- *per thronos et dominaciones,*
- *per principatus et potestates et virtutes,*
- *per angelos et archangelos,*
- *per patriarchas,*
- *per prophetas,*
- *per apostolos,*
- *per confessores,*
- *per martyres,*
- *per monachos,*
- *per virgines et viduas,*
- *per omnes sanctos et electos dei,*
- *per ix ordines angelorum,*
- *per sanctam Mariam matrem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per virginitatem istius* [. . .][d]

a *Continuation of text from fol. 45v.*

b *MS* ipsam.

c *Meaning* qua natiuitatem suam manifestauit?

d *Fol. 51v is blank; text continues on fol. 46v.*

NO. 31. THE BOOK OF CONSECRATIONS (FOLS 52r–59v AND FOLS 135r–139r)

Incipit prologus libri consecracionum,[a] dividens[b] ac demonstrans ad quid inventus fuerit, et quid sit eius effectus. Quicumque aliquod opus inceptum perficere voluerit vt perveniat ad effectum, prevideat sibi prius in omnibus et caueat ne in vanum operetur, et precipue in opere isto, quod pre cunctis locis aliis preciosissimum et magis laudabile atque certissimum, quod dei nominibus est consecratum et confirmatum, ne aliquis operator falli possit, si spem et fidem bonam habeat et certam in domino Ihesu Christo, a quo omnia bona procedunt. vt testatur sacra littera, qui non firmiter fideliterque crediderit, saluari non poterit.[c] Sic ergo fideliter crede[re] vnicuique operatori est necesse, ne fallatur.

Scias ergo pro certo hoc opus esse inventum propter [errorem] quorundam experimentorum remouendum, scilicet florum, vt per virtutem et invocacionem sanctorum dei nominum [et per] ineffabilem ipsius misericordiam, virtutem et potestatem efficaciter obtineant

[135r] Incipit prologus libri consecracionum dicens aut [demonstrans] ad quod inventus sint et quid sint eius[a] effectus. Quicumque enim aliquot opus inceptum et finire voluerit ut preueniat ad effectum, prouideat sibi primo que sibi[b] necessaria sunt, ne in vanum operetur, et precipue in opere isto[c] quod pre cunctis alijs magistris[d] est laudabile atque certissimum, quod sacris nominibus est consecratum ac confirmatum, ne aliquis operare possit falli, si spem et fidem firmam habeat in domino Ihesu Christo, a quo omnia bona procedunt, sicut sacra scriptura dicit, qui firmiter et fideliter non crediderit, saluus esse non poterit. Si[c] ergo credere vnicuique operatori necesse est, ut non fallatur.

Scias ergo pro certo quod opus est inventum propter errorem quorundam experimentorum remouendum, ut per virtutem et invocacionem sanctorum nominum dei et per

a *Heading duplicated in MS.*
b Sic *in MS.*
c *Cf. Is 7:9, Lk 1:20, Lk 8:12, Rom 10:9, I Cor 1:21.*

a Sic *in MS.*
b *MS* scilicet.
c *Followed by* que, *deleted.*
d Sic *in MS.*

quem debeant obtinere, sicut inferius declarabitur. Quando aliquod experimentum virtutem et potestatem suam sana[d] amisit tali modo sicut postea declarabitur potest recuperari.

Nota quod multi sunt qui multa et magna querunt et multa eciam scripta habent et credunt de die in [52v] diem ad effectum pervenire, sed nunquam pervenient. Et sic se ipsos decipiunt, et opera sua amittunt, et melius valet virtus vnius verbi istorum quam pondus auri. Vnde dicitur, 'Melius est sciencia quam secularis potencia.'[e] Sic ista sciencia preualet omnibus aliis, quia omnia alia vera experimenta sunt corrupta, quorum quedam sunt ficta et sic omnia pene falsa.

Hiis igitur diligenter prenotatis, ad nostrum propositum recurras, et videamus quando et qualiter[f] exorcista siue operator habere debeat, et quid ei sit vtile ad operandum, ne fallatur.

In primis, quicumque hoc opus sit facturus

ineffabilem ipsius misericordiam, veritatem[g] atque potestatem efficaciter obtineant quod optinere debea[n]t, sicut inferius declarabitur. Cum igitur hoc experimentum virtutem ac potenciam suam amiserit, tali modo sicud postea docebitur recuperari poterit.

Nota. Multi sunt querentes magna scripta, et credunt de die in diem peruenire ad effectum, et non perueniunt. Sed se ipsos sic decipiunt, quod tempora[f] sua amittunt, et melius est scire virtutem vnius verbi quam pondus[g] auri, vnde dicitur, 'Melius est sciencia quam secularis[h] potencia.' Sic ista sciencia plus valet omnibus sciencijs, que omnia experimenta sunt victa et corrupta, et sic pene omnia vniuersa.

Hijs igitur diligenter prenominatis prenotatis ad imum recordamus ipso situm volentes quando operari et qualiter exorcista se habere debeat, et quit[i] sit ei vtile ne fallatur.

In primis, igitur, quicumque hoc opus sit

d Sic *in MS.*

e *This quotation conveys the spirit of the Pseudo-Aristotelian tradition most fully conveyed in the* Secretum secretorum; *see M.A. Manzalaoui, ed.,* Secretum secretorum: Nine English Versions *(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977–).*

f *MS* equaliter?

e *MS* et veritatem.

f Sic *in MS.*

g *Corrected in MS* to pondeus.

h *MS* solis aris?

i Sic *in MS.*

ad quod vocatur liber consecracionum, ab omni pollucione mentis et corporis se debet abstinere in cibo [et] potu, in verbis ociosis siue inmoderatis, et sit mundis indutus[g] vestibus, nouem diebus ante opus inceptum, et debet audire in qualibet missam vnam, et librum istum secum deferre et pone super[h] altari donec missa finiatur quolibet die, quousque transacti fuerint omnia,[i] et hec devotissime faciat, cum oracionibus et ieiuniis, quia sicut scriptum est, per ieiunium et oraciones occulta ministeriorum celestium reuelatorque diuini sacramenti archana penduntj Et cottidie post missam librum portabis domi. Et habeas locum secretum [53r] ab omnibus absconditum, ne aliquis sit presens operi suo,[k] et prius aspergat locum aqua benedicta vbi librum istum[l] ponet, et cum cingulo sacerdotali et stola dedicata liget eum in modum crucis circumquaque, et flexis genibus versus orientem, dicat vij psalmos cum le-

facturus, quod vocatur liber consecracionum, ab omni pollucione mentis et corporis debet se abstinere, in cibo et in potu atque verbis ociosis, sit moderatus et sit mundis vestibus indutus ix diebus antequam[j] opus incipiatur, et debet audire qualibet die vnam missam [135v] et istum librum ferre secum et ponere in altari quousque missa finiatur, et hoc deuotissime faciat, cum oracionibus et ieiunijs, sicut scriptum est, 'Per ieiunia et oraciones occulta misteriorum celestium reuelantur, archana diuine sacramenta pandantur.' Et cottidie post missam portatur librum domu et habeat locum secretum,[k] ab omnibus inquinamentis mundum, nec aliquis sit presens huic operi, et aspergat locum aqua benedicta, scilicet vbi ponat librum et eum cingulo sacerdotis et stola benedicta liget[l] librum in modum crucis circumquaque, et flexis genibus ponat librum versus Orientem, dicens vij psalmos cum oracione longa et letaniam, sanctificet et benedicat et consecret istum librum suis sanctis nominibus insignitum, cum omni deuocione ac toto cordis affectu, et deus omnipotens sua bonitate ac misericordia sanctificet hunc librum, benedicat,

g *MS* indutis.

h su *(?) duplicated above line.*

i *MS* omnes.

j *Meaning, perhaps,* occulta misteriorum celestium reuelantur, et diuini sacramenti archana panduntur.*?*

k Sic *in MS.*

l *Partly blotted out.*

j *MS* antequem.

k *Followed by* abhominibus, *struck through.*

l *MS* ligat.

tania et oracionem sequentem antequam liber aperiatur. Et supra[m] librum predictum debet aperire cum humili deuocione et toto cordis[n] affectu, vt omnipotens deus misericordia et bonitate sua sanctificet ac benedicat et consecret istum librum sanctissimis nominibus suis insignitum, vt virtutem quam obtinere debeat potenter obtineat, vt valeat ad consecrandum vinculum spirituum et ad omnes invocaciones et coniuraciones ipsorum, et sic omnia alia experimenta.

Similiter nota hunc librum non valere habenti nisi ab ipso denuo consecretur.

Letania autem finita, aperi et dic hanc oracionem humiliter et animo perfecto et mente sincera.

Oracio. *Deus meus, miserere[o] mei et parce malis meis. Sana animam meam, quia peccaui tibi. Non obneges michi umquam que pluribus aliis contulisti. Exaudi, deus, oracionem famuli tui, N., et[p] quacumque die* [53v] *invocauero te exaudi me velociter, sicut exaudisti sanctam Mariam matrem tuam. Suscipe,* et[m] consecraret suis sanctissimis nominibus[n] insignitum ut virtutem quem obtinere debeat videlicet ad consecrandum vinculatum spiritum,[o] valens ad omnes invocaciones et coniuraciones ipsorum et ad omnia[p] alia experimenta.

Item nota. Quicumque polluit hunc librum sciat eum vltra non valere nisi[q] ab ipso de nouo consecretur,[r] tunc oracione et letania viuificat librum.

Aperiat et dicat hanc oracionem humili corde et anima deuota, tunc incipe sicut sequitur:

Deus meus, miserere mei et parce malis meis, sana animam meam, quia peccaui tibi. Non abneges vni quod pluribus contulisti. Exaudi, deus, oracionem meam, famuli tui N., et[s]

m Sic *in MS.*
n *MS* corde.
o *MS* miscerere.
p *MS* vt.

m *Followed by an extraneous stroke.*
n *Followed by* et.
o Sic *in MS.*
p alii *deleted.*
q *Followed by* abip *and a space.*
r *MS* consecratur.
s *MS* ut.

domine, clamorem[q] *confitentis. Audi*[r] *vocem precantis, per merita beatissime Marie virginis matris tue atque omnium sanctorum tuorum, vt oraciones et preces perveniant ad aures pietatis tue, quas ego pro hoc libro consecracionum effundo coram te in hac hora, vt per tua sanctissima nomina que in ipso continentur sit consecratus et confirmatus a quocumque voluero, prestante domino nostro Ihesu Christo, qui viuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.*

Oracio. *Domine Ihesu Christe, per ineffabilem misericordiam tuam, parce michi seu miserere mei et exaudi nunc per invocacionem nominis tui, scilicet Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti, vt accepta habeas et tibi placeant verba et oraciones oris mei, per invocaciones sanctorum tuorum nominum in hoc libro descriptorum. Humiliter et fideliter, deprecantissime, licet ego indignus, cum in te confidens vt sanctifices et benedicas librum istum sanctis nominibus tuis insignitum et consecres istum, vt per hec nomina tua sanctissima – On, Ihesus,*

in quacumque die invocauero te, velociter exaudi me, sicut exaudisti Mariam matrem tuam. Suscipe, domine, clamorem confitentis anime. Exaudi, domine, vocem deprecantis, per merita et oraciones beatissime virginis[t] *Maria matris tue, atque omnium sanctorum, et oraciones et preces mee ad aures tue pietatis, quas ego pro*[u] *hoc libro consecracionum effundo coram te in hac hora, per tua sanctissima nomina, que in hoc libro continentur, sit consecratus et confirmatus, ad quodcumque voluero, prestante domino nostro Ihesu Christo, qui viuit et regnat in secula seculorum.*

[136r] *Domine Ihesu Christe, per ineffabilem misericordiam tuam, parce michi et miserere mei. Exaudi me nunc per inuocacionem nominis tui trini, scilicet Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, ut accepta habeas et placea*[n]*t tibi verba oracionis mee, per inuocacionem sanctorum nominum tuorum in hoc libro scriptorum. Humiliter et fideliter deprecans, licet ego indignus peccator, tamen in te confidens, ut sanctifices ac benedicas*[v] *librum istum tuis sanctis nominibus insignitum, et consecres*

q *Followed by* confide, *deleted.*

r *Extraneous letter between* d *and* i *appears blotted out.*

t *Followed by* matris, *deleted.*

u *MS* per.

v *MS* benedices.

Christus, Alpha et O, El, Eloy, Eloyye, Sithothith,[s] *Eon, Sepmelamaton, Ezelpha-*
[54r] *tes,*[t] *Tetragramaton, Elyoram, Ryon, Deseryon, Erystion, Ysyornus, Onela, Baysyn, Moyn, Messyas, Sother,*[u] *Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay – et per omnia secreta nomina tua que in hoc libro continentur, quatenus virtute, sanctitate, ac potestate eorundem nominum sit liber iste consecratus ✠ et benedictus ✠ et confirmatus ✠ per virtutem sacramenti corporis et sanguinis tui, vt virtutem quam liber iste debet obtinere efficaciter, sine aliqua fallacia, veraciter obtineat, ad consecrandum vinculum spirituum et ad consecrandum omnia experimenta corrupta, et perfectam virtutem et potestatem habeant ad quam sunt constituta, prestante domino Ihesu Christo, qui sedet in altissimis, cuius*[v] *honor et gloria per infinita secula seculorum. Amen, amen, amen, amen, amen.*

per hec sanctissima nomina tua, scilicet On, Ihesus Christus, Alpha et O, El, Ely, Eloye, On, Otheon, Stimlamathon,[w] *Ezelphares, Tetragramaton, Elyoraz,*[x] *Eygiraem,*[y] *Vsirion, Oristion,*[z] *Orona, Anellabiassin, Noyn, Messias, Cother,*[a] *Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, et per omnia nomina secreta que in hoc libro continentur, quatenus sanctitate,*[b] *virtute, ac potestate eorundem nominum tuorum, [per] virtutem et potestatem tuam diuinam, sit iste liber consecratus ✠ benedictus ✠ sanctificatus ✠ et confirmatus, per virtutem corporis et sanguinis tui, ut virtutem quam debet obtinere obtineat efficaciter, sine aliqua fallacia, ad consecrandum*[c] *vinculatum spiritum,*[d] *ad consecranda omnia experimenta corrupta, ut perfectam virtutem habeant ad ea ad que ipsa sunt constituta, prestante domino, qui sedet in altissimis. Tui est honor et gloria per infinita*

s *Or* Sichochich?
t *Malformed, and duplicated below line.*
u *Followed by* ::: v.
v *Meaning* cui sit?
w Sic *in MS?*
x *Followed by* ey, *struck through.*
y Sic *in MS?*
z Sic *in MS?*
a Sic *in MS.*
b *MS* sanctificati.
c *Followed by* vinctum spiritum, *deleted.*
d Sic *in MS.*

Bene✠dicat te Pater. Bene✠dicat te Filius. Bene✠dicat te Spiritus Sanctus. Amen. Sancta Maria, mater domini nostri Ihesu Christi, te bene✠dicat et sanctificet, vt virtutem sacramenti in te obtineas quam obtinere debeas. Bene✠dicant te omnes sancte virgines. Bene✠dicant te hodie et omni tempore sancti et electi dei. Omnes virtutes celestes te bene✠dicant et confirment, omnes angeli et archangeli, virtutes et potestates, principatus, throni et [54v] *dominaciones, cherubin et seraphin, et ex auctoritate et licencia dei te bene✠dicant, per merita et oraciones et invocaciones omnium sanctorum tuorum.*

Oracio. *Domine Ihesu Christe, bene✠dicas et sanctifices librum istum, et confirmes per omnipotenciam tuam, vt virtutem et potestatem obtineat ad quam institutus est et confirmatus, prestante domino Ihesu Christo, cuius regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in secula seculorum. Amen.*

Et sic in dei virtute confisus ad librum consecracionum accedas securus, et invenies quod optas. Hoc facto per ix dies, erit liber consecratus, et quocienscumque aliud consecrare volueris, incipias primam oracionem legere, scilicet *Deus invisibilis*, cum reliquis

secula seculorum. Amen.

Oracio. *Benedicat te Pater, benedicat te Filius, benedicat te Spiritus Sanctus. Sancta Maria, mater domini nostri Ihesu Christi, benedicat et sanctificet te, ut virtutem sacramenti obtinere debeas quam obtinere debes. Benedicant te omnes sancte virgines. Benedicant te hodie et in omni tempore omnes sancti et electi dei, omnes virtutes celestes, te benedicant et confirmant omnes angeli et archangeli, principatus, virtutes, potestates, troni, et dominaciones, cherubin et seraphin, ex auctoritate et licencia*[e] *dei te benedicant, per merita et oraciones ac inuocaciones omnium sanctorum tuorum. Domine Ihesu Christe, benedic, consecra,* [136v] *et sanctifica librum istum, et confirma per omnem potenciam tuam, ut virtutem et potestatem optineat*[f] *ad quam constitutus et confirmatus est, prestante domino nostro Ihesu Christo, cuius regnum et imperium permanet sine fine in secula seculorum. Amen.*

Et sic in dei virtute[g] confisus, ac tute ad librum consecracionum accedas et inuenies quod hoc facto per ix dies, erit consecratus, et

e *MS* lancea.
f *MS* optineant.
g *MS* in die Iouis.

sequentibus, et[w] in vtroque tuum Confiteor debes dicere, et aqua benedicta respergi, et signum sancte crucis fronti tuo inpone, vt deus infundat graciam[x] Spiritus Sancti ad opus tuum perficiendum.

Et sic vtere hoc exemplar et non fallaris. Et caue prudenter ne in manibus insipientium hoc magnum secretum deveniat, quod a sapientissimis phisichis est mag[n]is et sanctis dei nominibus consecratum.

Et si alicui experimento deficit documentum ante consecracionem, [55r] habeas istud preparatum, et sic cum documentis docens debes experimenta tua consecrare, et ponas vnum uel plura coram te, et dic primo et principaliter tuum Confiteor, et postmodum versus istos: *Ne derelinquas me, domine deus meus, ne discesseris a me. Intende in adiutorium meum, domine deus salutis mee* [Ps 37:22–23 Vulg.]. *Fiat misericordia tua, domine, super nos, quemadmodum spera[ui]mus in te* [Ps 32:22 Vulg.]. *In te, domine, speraui; non confundar in eternum.* [Ps 70:1 Vulg.]. *Intret in conspectu tuo oracio mea.*

quociescumque aliquid consecrare volueris, incipe primam oracionem legere, scilicet 'Deus inuisibilis,' cum tribus reliquis subsequentibus, et inter utrumque debes dicere tuum Confiteor, et aqua benedicta te aspergere, et signum crucis in fronti tuo pone, ut deus infundat graciam Sancti Spiritus, ad opus tuum perficiendum.

Et vtere hoc exemplari, et non fallaris.[h] Et caue diligenter ne hoc magnum secretum in manus insipiencium deueniat, quod sapientissimis et paratissimis philosophis fuit absconditum, et nominibus dei sanctis insignitum.

Item si alicui experimento deerit documentum ante consecracionem, habeas illud in prompto et hijs[i] debes tua experimenta consecrare et ponas vnum uel plura circa te et dic primo et principaliter tuum Confiteor, etc., *Ne derelinquas me, [domine] deus meus, ne discesseris a me. Intende in adiutorium meum, domine deus salutis mee* [Ps 37:22–23 Vulg.]. *Fiat misericordia tua, domine, super me, quemadmodum speraui [in] te* [cf. Ps 32:22 Vulg.]. *In te, domine, speraui, non confundar in eternum. In iusticia tua libera me et eripe me* [Ps 70:1–2 Vulg.]. *Intret in conspectu tuo oracio mea. Inclina aurem tuam ad precem*

w *MS* et et.
x *MS* qm.
h *MS* vallaris.
i Sic *in MS?*

Inclina aurem tuam ad preces nostras [cf. Ps 87:3 Vulg.]. *Domine, exaudi oracionem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat* [Ps 101:2 Vulg.].

Oracio. *Deus invisibilis, deus inestimabilis, deus incorruptibilis, deus piissime, deus excelse, deus gloriose, deus immense, deus tocius misericordie, ego, licet indignus et plenus iniquitate, dolo, et malicia, suppliciter ad tuam venio misericordiam, orans et deprecans vt non respicias ad vniuersa et innumerabilia peccata mea, sed sicut consueuisti peccatori misereri*[y] *et preces humilium exaudire, ita quod me famulum tuum, N., licet indignum, exaudire digneris clamantem ad te, quod hoc experimento sanctissimis nominibus insignito vt virtutem quam obtinere debeat potenter obtineat, sed adereas*[z] *potestates et infernales principes, quod hanc [55v] oracionem consecratam mirabiliter constringant vt cum voluerit humano voluntati obediant, et cum exorcista voluerit in unum omnes congregare, et cum voluerit dispergat, et per sanctissimum nomen tuum quod scribitur* ⁊or *litteris, loth, hoth, vel hec, vel A G L A, g, e, he, van, quo audito*[a] *meam* [Ps 87:3 Vulg.]. *Domine, exaudi oracionem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat* [Ps 101:2 Vulg.].

Oracio. *Deus inuisibilis, deus inestimabilis, deus ineffabilis, deus incommutabilis, deus incorruptibilis, deus pijssime, deus dilectissime, deus potentissime, deus fortissime, deus summe, deus gloriose, deus immense, deus totius misericordie, ego licet indignus et plenus iniquitate, dolo, et malicia, suplex*[j] *ad tuam venio misericordiam,* [137r] *orans et deprecans ne despicias ad uniuersa et innumerabilia peccata mea sed sicut consueuisti peccatorum misereri et preces humilium exaudire, ite me famulum tuum, N., licet indignum, exaudire digneris, clamantem ad te pro hoc experimento tuis sanctissimis nominibus insignito, ut virtutem quam obtinere debeat potenter obtineat, scilicet aereas potestates et insanabiles*[k] *principes, per hanc oracionem consecratam, humiliter et mirabiliter constringat, vt velint vel nolint humani*[l] *voluntati obediant. Et cum exorcista voluerit, eos omnes in unum*

y *Corrected in MS from* misesere.
z *Meaning* ad aereas?
a *MS* auditu.
j Sic *in MS.*
k Sic *in MS.*
l Sic *in MS.*

mare regreditur, aer commutatur,[b] *vel N. concitatur,*[c] *terra tremit, ignis extingwitur, omnisque celestis exercitus, terrenus et infernalis, tremit et turbatur, et per hec sanctissima nomina tua – On, Alpha et O, Principium et Finis, E, El, Ely, Elyo, Eloe, Elyon, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Egge, Yaya, Eeye – consecratur hoc experimentum, eo potestate, cuius*[d] *honor et gloria [per] infinita seculorum secula. Amen.*

Si autem quodcumque experimentum consecrare volueris quod pertinet ad invocaciones spirituum, tunc dicere debes: *Me*[e] *exaudire digneris, clamantem ad te, quod hoc experimento*[f] *vt virtutem quam obtinere debeat potenter obtineat, per sanctissimum nomen tuum quod scribitur*, et sic in qualibet consecracionem, vt supra dictum est. Finita oracione, procede vlterius:

congreget,[m] *et cum voluerit eos dispergat.*[n]

Oracio. *O summe deus, per sanctissimum nomen tuum quod scribitur per quatuor litteras,*[o] *scilicet ioth, varo, hee, thet, quo audito mare retrogreditur, aer commutatur et concitatur, terra*[p] *timet, ignis extingwitur, omnisque exercitus terrenus et infernalis tremet [et] turbatur, et hec sanctissima nomina tua, On, Alpha et O, Principium et finis, El, Ely, Eloy, Eloy, Elyon, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Eggie, Ye, Ye, Ya, Ya, consecretur hoc experimentum, prestante illo cui est laus, honor, et gloria per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.*

Rubrica. Si autem aliquis aliud experimentum consecrare voluerit, quod non pertinet ad consecracionum spiritum,[q] tunc debes dicere quater, *Me exaudire digneris clamantem ad te, ut hoc experimentum virtutem obtineat quam obtinere debet potenter, per sanctissimum nomen tuum quod scribitur per iiij litteras, scilicet Ioth, Varo, Hee, Teth, etc.*

b Sic *in MS.*
c Sic *in MS.*
d *Presumably meaning* eius . . . cui.
e *MS* Mi^{c}.
f Sic *in MS.*
m *MS* congregat.
n *MS* dispergit.
o *MS* litteris.
p *Followed by* tremet, *struck through.*
q Sic *in MS.*

Deus, vniuersi conditor orbis, qui celum super altitudinem nubum extendisti et terram in sua stabilitate super aquas fundasti, [56r] *et mari terminum suum quem preteriri non poterit* [Ps 109:9 Vulg.] *tribuisti; qui solem et lunam et stellas in summo aere collocasti; qui omnia in sapiencia fecisti* [Ps 103:24 Vulg.]; *qui*[g] *vij*[a][h] *die hominem ad ymaginem plasmasti tuam et de spiritu tuo in eum inspirasti; quem*[i] *eciam cum Euam propter preua*[r]*icacionem eiecisti; qui genus humanum in aqua diluuij perdidisti; qui Noe et eos qui cum eo erant in archa saluasti; qui Abrahe sub triplici persona ad radicem manibus*[j] *apparuisti; qui Loth de submersione Sodome et Gomorre liberasti; qui Moysi in medio rubi in flamma ignis locutus fuisti; qui populum tuum de captiuitate Egyptorum deduxisti et ei per medium*[k] *maris viam aperuisti;*[l] *qui legem Moysi in Monte Synay dedisti; qui de petra aquas exire fecisti; qui Da-*

Oracio. *Deus, vniuersi orbis conditor et redemptor, qui celum super altitudinem nubium extendisti et terram in stabilitate sua super aquas fundasti, et mari terminum quem preterire non potest tribuisti* [cf. Ps 103:5, 9, Vulg.], *et solem et lunam ac stellas in celo collocasti; qui omnia in sapiencia fecisti* [Ps 103:24 Vulg.]; *qui vja die hominem ad ymaginem ac similitudinem tuam formasti et ei spiraculum vite inspirasti,* [137v] *quem vna cum Eua propter preuaricacionem de Paradiso eiecisti; qui genus humanum aquis diluuij saluasti; qui Abraham sub triplici persona ad Iheem*[i] *Mambre apparuisti; qui Loth de submersione Sodome et Gomorre liberasti; qui Moysi in medio rubi in flamma ignis apparuisti et ei locutus fuisti; qui populum tuum per manum Moysi et Aaron de captiuitate Egiptiaca eduxisti et eos per medium Maris Rubri viam fecisti; qui Moysi legem in Monte Sinay dedisti; qui aquas de petra Oreb exire fecisti; qui aquas amaras in Amarat per inmissionem ligni in dulcorem conuertisti; qui solem et lunam per inuocacionem Iosue stare fecisti; qui flumen Iordanis in ingressu filiorum Israhel diuidisti; qui Danielem de lacu leonum eripuisti; qui tres pueros, scilicet Sidrach, Misach, et Abdenago, de igne* [*camini*] *ardentis abire il-*

g *MS* quod.
h Sic *in MS.*
i *MS* quam.
j Sic *in MS.*
k *MS* modum.
l *MS* apperuisti.
r Sic *in MS.*

nielem de lacu leonum rapuisti;[m] *qui tres pueros de camino ardenti, scilicet Sydrach, Mysaac, Abdenago, illesos abire fecisti; qui Susannam in te confidentem de falso crimine liberasti;* [*et qui*] *Yonam de ventre ceti saluasti, per hec et alia multa miracula que fecisti, exaudi propicius, pie Ihesu, oracionem famuli tui, N., et da huic experimento virtutem et potestatem super malignos spiritus, ad congregandum ipsos et ligandum et sol-* [56v] *uendum et maledicendum et in profundum abyssi*[n] *proiciendum si non obseruauerunt mandata exorciste, qui es sanctus et benedictus, et regnas per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.*

Oracio. *O gloriose Adonay, per quem creantur omnia et hec regenerantur et constituunt*[*ur*]*, adesto propicius invocacionibus meis, et clementer presta vt hoc experimentum perfecte virtutem obtineat ad cogendum malignos spiritus, velint*[o] *humiliter obediant et eius mandatum impleant, te iuuante et iubente, qui sedes in altissimis et cuncta custodis, etc. Honor sit et potestas per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.*

On pie, On iuste, Adonay sanctissime, qui lesos fecisti; qui Susannam in te confidentem de falso crimine liberasti; qui Ionam de uentre ceti saluasti – per hec et alia multa mirabilia que fecisti, exaudi, pie Ihesu Christe, oracionem famuli tui N., et da huic experimento potestatem et virtutem super malignos spiritus, ad ipsos[s] *congregandum, ligandum, soluendum, et maledicendum, et in profundum abissi proiciendum si non seruant precepta et si non obediant mandatis exorciste, prestante domino, qui est sanctus et benedictus, regnans in secula seculorum. Amen.*

Gloriose Adonay, per quem creantur et generantur omnia, et que[t] *subsistunt vniuersa, adesto propicius invocacionibus meis, et clementer michi presta ut hoc experimentum perfectam virtutem obtineat ad subiugandum malignos spiritus, vtrum velint vel nolint, semper exorciste obediant humiliter atque mandata eius impleant, adiuuante et iubente qui sedet in altissimis et cuncta custodit, et cui est laus et honor per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.*

[138r] *On pie, on iuste, Adonay sanctissi-*

m *MS* capuisti.

n *MS* abyssus.

o *MS has* velint *(?), followed by a space, possibly meaning* vt [humiliter obediant].

s *Followed by* ad.

t Sic *in MS.*

es fons misericordie et pietatis, origo, rex regum, et dominus dominancium, qui sedes in magestate tua, intuens profundum abyssi, omnia cernens, omnia regens, omnia continens, et virtute tua moderaris,[p] *qui hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem tuam de limo terre formasti, vt in terra sicut in celo lauderis et glorificeris, vnde omnis terra adoret te et psallat tibi, et ego, licet indignus, psalmum dicam nomini tuo. Vnde piissime et misericordissime magestatem tuam imploro et cum humili deuocione expostulo suppliciter vt in virtute tua et gracia dono tuo consecrantur et confirmantur omnes consecraciones, coniuraciones, et invocaciones que in hoc libro continentur, vt virtutem* [57r] *et efficaciam ad quam instituteq sunt potenter obtineant et potestatem exorciste super malignos spiritus perfecte tribuant cum invocati et exorcisati fuerint statim ex omni parte conueniant et responsa certa et vera reddant*[r] *et mandata exorcistarum perficiant, illo prestante cui laus et potestas, qui per omnia regnat et imperat, per omnia secula* [*secul*]*orum. Amen.*

Oracio. *Adonay, Meloth, Adonay, Ioiloth, me, qui es fons misericordie et pietatis, origo, rex regum et dominus dominancium, qui sedes in maiestate tua intuens in profundum abissi, omnia regens, omnia cernens, omnia contuens, omnia gubernans, omnia tua virtute moderans, qui hominem de limo terre et ad ymaginem et similitudinem tuam formasti, ut in terra sicut in celo glorificeris et lauderis, quia omnis terra adoret te et psallat tibi, et ego licet indignus peccator psallam tibi ac psalmum*[u] *dicam nomini tuo, pijssime et misericordissime deus, maiestatem tuam suppliciter exoro et cum humili deuocione tuam immensam sanctitatem imploro et expostulo, ut in uirtute tua et dona gracie tue consecrantur et confirmantur oraciones et consecraciones, coniuraciones, et inuocaciones que in hoc libro continentur, ut virtutem et efficaciam ad quam instituta sunt potenter obtineant et potestatem super malignos spiritus exorcisare perfecte tribuant, et cum exorcisati et inuocati fuerint, statim ex omni parte conueniant et responsa veritatis reddant et mandata exorciste perficiant, prestante illo cui est laus et potestas, qui regnat* [*et*] *imperat per eterna secula seculorum. Amen.*

Adonay, Meloth, Adonay, Naioloth,[v] *Leo-*

p *Meaning* moderans.?

q *Final* e *blotted out.*

r *MS* reddunt.

u *MS* psallmum.

v Sic *in MS.*?

Exclaui, Azeth, Adonay, in quo cuncta creata sunt et sanctificata, [per] misericordiam tuam et ineffabilem karitatem tuam, per hec sanctissima nomina invoco te, vt N.,[s] *michi postulanti, licet indigno famulo tuo, N., auxilium gracie tue prestare digneris super has consecraciones [et] invocaciones tuis sanctissimis nominibus insignitas, que in hoc libro continentur.*[t] *On, El, Eloe, Adonay, Sadoy, Alpha et O, Ya, He,*[u] *Yhe, Aseroye, Esyon, Prearraton, Tetragramaton, Ezelphares, Otaizomos, Onoyteon, Stimulacio, On, Ely, Araz, Messyas, Sother, Emanuel, Saboath, Panttra,*[v] *Pramelius,*[w] *Principium, Primogenitus, Sapiencia, Virtus, Grabaton,*[x] *Osanna, Sol, Splendor, Gloria, Lux, Panis, Fons, Vitis, Mens, Hostium, Ianua, Petra, Lapis, Os, Verbum, Salus, Angelus, Sponsus, Sacerdos, Philosophia, Mediator, Agnus, Ouis, Vitulus, Serpens, Aries, Leo, Vermis, Athanatos, Kyrios, Ayos, Theos. Per hec nomina sanctissima, et per alia que lam, Naoch, Adonay, per quem cuncta creata et significata sunt, [per] misericordias tuas et ineffabilem potestatem tuam, per sanctissima nomina tua te inuoco, ut michi postulanti licet indigno famulo tuo, N., auxilium gracie tue prestare digneris super has oraciones et invocaciones tuis sanctissimis nominibus insignitas, que in hoc libro continentur, On, El, Eloe, Adonay, Saday, Alpha et O, Ye, Ye, Aserie, Vsion, Pantrathon,*[w] *Tetragramaton, Acomiamos, Occinomos, Onoydeon,*[x] *On, Elioram, Messias, Sother, Stimulamaton, Emanuel,* [138v] *Sabaoth, Pantrather,*[y] *Premelus,*[z] *Principium et finis, Primogenitus, Sapiencia, Virtus, Hrabathon,*[a] *Osanna, Sol, Splendor, Gloria, Lux, Panis, Fons, Vitis, Mons, Hostium, Ianua, Petra, lapis, Os, Verbum, Salus, Angelus, Sacerdos, Pastor, Propheta, Mediator, Agnus, Ouis, Vitulus, Serpens, Aries, Leo, Vermis, Athanathos,*[b] *Kirios, Ayos, Otheos – per hec sanctissima nomina tua et per omnia que nominare non licet, suppliciter expostulo*

s *Added above line; probably intended to be added after* michi.

t *Pointing hand drawn in margin.*

u *Duplicated in margin.*

v Sic *in MS?*

w Sic *in MS?*

x Sic *in MS?*

w Sic *in MS.*

x Sic *in MS?*

y Sic *in MS.*

z Sic *in MS?*

a Sic *in MS?*

b Sic *in MS.*

[57v] *nominare non licet, te suppliciter expostulo vt oracionibus, consecracionibus, atque invocacionibus istis, que continentur in hoc libro, virtutem et potestatem tribuas, per virtutem tuam diuinam, ad consecrandum*[y] *omnia experimenta et invocaciones demonium, vt vbicumque maligni spiritus in virtute tuorum nominum fuerint advocati et exorcizati, statim* [*ex*] *omni parte conveniant et exorcizatoris voluntatem adimpleant,*[z] *nichil nocentes, neque timorem inferentes, sed pocius obedientes et ministrantes ad tua districta*[a] *virtute mandata perficientes. Fiat. Fiat. Amen.*

Notandum: si denuo aliquod[b] experimentum componere volueris, ad placitum inpone ei documentum et consecra ipsum sicut prius dictum est, et cum est consecratum pervenit ad effectum.

Oracio. *Omnipotens, sempiterne deus, qui in principio omnia creasti ex nichilo; cui obediunt omnes creature; cui omne genus flectitur, celestium, terrestrium, et infernorum; quem timent angeli et archangeli, dominaciones, potestates, adorant et tremunt; qui vt oracionibus et consecracionibus istis, scilicet in hoc libro contentis, virtutem et potestatem tribuas ut per virtutem diuinam ad consecrandum*[d] *omnia experimenta et* [*in*]*vocaciones*[e] *demonium vt*[f] *vbicumque maligni spiritus in uirtute tuorum nominum invocati fuerint et exorcisati, statim ex omni parte conueniant et voluntatem*[g] *exorciste diligenter adimpleant, nichil ei nocentes nec terrorem ei inferentes, sed pocius ei ministrantes et*[h] *obedientes, per tremendum iudicium tuum et omnia mandata exorciste perficiant. Amen.*

y *MS* consecrandam.
z *Followed by* et, *deleted.*
a *MS* districti ?
b *MS* alique?
c *MS* et.
d *MS* sacrandam.
e *Followed by* demonum, *struck through.*
f *Followed by* vbique, *struck through.*
g *Followed by* d, *struck through.*
h *Written above line.*

manu claudis omnia; [qui] Adam et Euam ad similitudinem [tuam] formasti et angelos tuos incredulos per superbiam eorum in profundum Thartari eiecisti, te rogo, te peto, clementissime pater omnipotens, et sic obsecro, per Ihesum Christum filium tuum, in cuius potestate sunt omnia, qui sedes[c] *ad dexteram Patris omnipotentis, iudicaturus uiuos et mortuos, tu qui es Alpha et O, primus* [58r] *et nouissimus, rex regum, dominus dominancium, Joth, Agla, Nabuoth, El, Elyel, Enay, Enacuel, Ananyel, Aniazyel, Sodamel, Agyten, Colymas, Elyas, Schyros,*[d] *Athanathos,*[e] *Ymas, Ely, Messyas.*

- *Per hec tua sancta nomina,*
- *et per alia tua nomina*

aduoco te et obsecro te,

- *per natiuitatem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per puerum baiulantem,*[f]
- *per baptismum tuum,*
- *per passionem tuam,*
- *per resurrexionem*[g] *tuam,*
- *per spiritum paraclitum tuum,*

c *Note shift to second person, addressing Christ.*

d Sic *in MS?*

e Sic *in MS?*

f Sic *in MS?*

g *MS* resurrexicionem.

- *per amaritudinem anime tue quando exiuit de corpore,*
- *et per v vulnera tua,*
- *per mortem tuam,*
- *et per sanguinem et aquam que exiuerunt de corpore tuo,*
- *per misericordiam et omnipotenciam et virtutem ineffabilem tuam,*
- *per sacramentum quod discipulis tuis dedisti pridie quam passus fuisti,*
- *per sanctam trinitatem et indiuiduam,*
- *per beatam Mariam, matrem tuam,*
- *per angelos et archangelos tuos,*
- *per omnes sanctos et sanctas tuas,*
- *per omnia sacra misteria et beneficia que sunt in honore tuo,*
- *per sanctissima nomina, cognita et incognita,*

adoro te et invoco, obsecro te et benedico te et rogo te, vt accepta habeas omnes coniuraciones et verba oris mei quibus vti. Peto, des virtutem et potestatem super angelos tuos qui de celo electi sunt, ad decipiendum genus eorum et loquelam eorum contrahendum, ad constringendum, ad soluendum, ad ligandum, ad cogendum[h] *eos coram te, ad precipiendum, ad omnia que sunt eis* [58v] *possibilia, et verba mea et vocem meam vllo modo acceptent et me*

h *MS* cog'endu.

timeant. Per humilitatem et misericordiam et graciam tuam deprecor et peto te, Athon, Onay, Anay, Anathon, Vegeido, Ya, Yayay, El, Blemutum, Vsyon, Vsy, Elyas,

- *per omnia nomina tua,*
- *per sanctos et sanctas,*
- *per archangelos, angelos, potestates, dominaciones, virtutes,*
- *et per nomen*[i] *per quod Solomon astringebat dyabolos et conclusit eos, Shoeth, Hebatit, Het, Agla, Jocht, Othot, Vanecht, Nabuthi,*
- *et per omnia sacra nomina tua que scripta sunt in hoc libro,*
- *et per virtutem eorundem,*

quatenus michi compareant et michi respondere de omnibus permittas que queram, sine lesione corporis et anime mee, per dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, filium tuum, qui tecum vivit, etc.

Oracio. *Pater de celis deus, unus in substancia, trinus in personis, qui Adam et Euam et plurimos*[j] *peccare permisisti, et filium tuum vnigenitum pro eorum peccatis crucifigi et mori voluisti, clementissime igitur pater, te rogo*

Pater de celis, vnus in substancia,[i] *trinus in personis, qui Adam et Euam in pomum*[j] *peccare permisisti, et tuum vnigenitum filium pro eorum peccatis cruci et morti*[k] *tradidisti, clementissime pater, te igitur rogo et peto ac sup-*

i *Followed by* quod, *deleted.*
j Sic *in MS.*

i b *added in margin.*
j Sic *in MS?*
k *MS* morte.

et peto supplex metis[k] *omnibus quibus possum,*[l] *per Alpha et O, Christum filium tuum,*[m] *vt me congregare et me adunare quosdam angelos tuos incredulos permittas, qui michi hanc*[n] *potestatem alloquendi et faciendi, quod volo et desidero, et hoc*[o] *sine lesione al*[i]*qua vel alicuius nocumento. Et per virtutem lapidum, harbarum, et verborum, et nominum tuorum, michi des potestatem soluendi et ligandi demones, verbis meis et auxilio tuo. Quod michi concedas per innumerabilem virtutem et omnipotenciam tuam. Amen.*

[59r] **Oracio.** *O summa et eterna deitas, et virtus altissima, qui te disponente hiis vero iudicio vocaris nominibus: Emoytko, On, Strinolamaton, Elzephares, Tetragramaton, Elyeyon, Egyrion, Vsyrion, Oristion, Eryono, Vsy, Ormis, Euella, Brasym, Moym, Ioseph, Messyas, Sother, E, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, et eciam sicut superius scribuntur, te invoco, te*

pliciter[l] *per omnia nomina tua quibus possum, per Alpha et O, per Ihesum Christum*[m] *filium tuum, ut me, famulum tuum, N., facias congregare, adiurare angelos siue spiritus qui habent potestatem michi loqui et facere que volo ac desidero, sine lesione et nocumento corporis et anime mee et omnium viuencium, precipue qui dedisti potestatem et uirtutem herbis, lapidibus, verbis, per uirtutem omnium herbarum, lapidum, et verborum, et precipue sanctissima nomina tua*[n] *concede potestatem ligandi* [*et*] *soluendi demones verbis meis et auxilio tuo. Hoc michi concedas per mirabilem uirtutem et omnem potenciam tuam. Amen.*

[139r] *O summa et eterna diuinitas, O*[o] *virtus altissima, qui* [*te*] *disponente hys nominaris nominibus: Oneytheon, Stimula, Mathon, Elelpharos, Tetragramathon,*[p] *Osorion, E, Egyrion, Vsyrion, Oristion, Orrona,*[q] *Vsiorius, Ouel, Byasim, Neym, Ioseph, Messias, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, etc., sicut*

k *Meaning* mentis.?
l Sic *in MS.*
m *MS* Christi filij [*altered from* filium] tui.
n *MS* hunc.
o *Or* hec.

l Sic *in MS.*
m *Followed by* fli. *struck through.*
n *MS* sanctissimos nominum tuos.
o Sic *in MS?*
p Sic *in MS.*
q Sic *in MS?*

adoro, tocius mentis viribus imploro, quatenus per te presentes oraciones, consecraciones, et invocaciones in hoc libro existentes consecrentur et preparentur,[p] *quemadmodum conuenit, scilicet vbicumque malignis*[q] *spiritus in virtute tuorum nominum fuerint invocati seu exorcizati, statym ex omni parte conveniant*[r] *et voluntatem exorcistarum adimpleant diligenter, quod nichil nocentes nec timorem inferentes, sed pocius obedientes et ministrantes districta virtute mandata exorciste*[s] *perficientes. Fiat. Fiat. Amen.*

In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi, Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti, tam trinitas et inseparabilis vnitas, te invoco vt sis salus, defensio, et proteccio corporis[t] *et anime mee, nunc et in perpetuum, per virtutem crucis et passionis tue. Te deprecor, domine Ihesu Christe, fili dei viui, per merita et oraciones et intercessiones beatissime matris tue Marie atque omnium sanctorum, vt michi concedas graciam tuam atque potestatem diuinam super omnes malignos spiritus, vt quemcumque in modicum superius scribit*[ur]*, te invoco, te adoro, te totis mentibus et verbis imploro, quatenus presentes oraciones, consecraciones, et invocaciones in hoc libro existentes consecrentur*[r] *et preparentur, quemadmodum conuenit, scilicet ut vbicumque maligni spiritus per virtutem*[s] *tuorum nominum fuerant aduocati et exorcisati, statim ex omni parte conueniant et voluntatem exorciste adimpleant*[t] *diligenter, ei nichil nocentes, nec timorem ei aliquem inferentes, sed pocius ei obedientes et ministrantes, et tua uirtute ac iudicio tuo districto mandata exorciste perficientes. Amen. Finis.*

p *MS* preparantur.
q *MS* malignus.
r Sic *in MS?*
s *MS* exorcisti.
t *MS* corperis.

r *MS* consecrantur.
s *MS* iuret?
t *Followed by* et.

virtute tuorum nominum invocauero, statim ex omni parte [59v] *conueniant*[u] *et voluntatem meam perfecte adimpleant, quod nichil nocentes*[v] *nec timore*[m] *inferentes, sed pocius obedientes et ministrantes, et tua districta virtute mandata mea perficientes.*[w] *Amen.*

NO. 32. CONJURATION OF SATAN/MIRAGE

From fols 59v–62v

Per invocacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi, imperatoris et agni inmaculati,[a] *quod inde*[b] *arguant te angeli et archangeli; argua*[n]*t te Michael et Gabriel* [*et*] *Raphahel; arguant te tres patriarche Abraham, Ysaac, et Jacob, et prophete; arguant te apostoli Christi, sancti et electi dei. Deficiant ergo artes tue de die in hora et in mense et in momento, sic*[*ut*] *cessauerunt jam vos et membros,*[c] *vt cito et sine aliqua condicione obediatis dictis meis et*

u *MS* conueniunt.

v *Corrected in MS, with second vowel blotted out and* e *substituted.*

w *MS* perficiem.

a *MS* imperatori et angnus inmaculatus.

b Sic *in MS?*

c Sic *in MS.*

From fols 109r–111v [A] & 139r–140r [B]

Per inuocacionem nominis domini Ihesu Cristi, Mirage, imperat tibi agnus immaculatus; perinde arguant te angeli et archangeli, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael; arguant te tres patriarche, scilicet Abraham, Ysaac, et Iacob; arguant te prophete et omnes apostoli Christi; arguant te omnes sancti et electi dei. Deficient ergo aures[a] *tue in die et in nocte in hora et in mense et in momento,*[b] *sicut defecerunt Iamnes et Mambres* [II Tim 3:8], *nisi cito sine aliqua mora dictis meis obedias et voluntati mee subiciaris.*

a Sic *in MS.*

b momentu AB.

voluntati mee subiciatis.[d] *Amen.*

Deus angelorum, deus archangelorum, deus prophetarum, deus apostolorum, deus martyrum, deus confessorum, deus virginum et viduarum, deus pater [*domini*] *nostri Ihesu Christi, invoco nomen sanctum tuum preclare magestatis tue potencie.*[e] *Supplex exposco vt michi auxilium prestare digneris adversus istum spiritum Sathanam, vt vbicumque lateat, audito nomine tuo, velociter de loco suo exeat et ad me festinanter accedat. Ipse imperat tibi, dyabole, qui de supremis sedibus te in inferiora mire mergi iussit. Audi ergo, dyabole, et* [60r] *tu, victus et prostratus, accede in nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Tu ergo, nequissime, inimicus fidei, generis humani mortis temptator iusticie, delectator malorum, radix* [*et*] *fomes viciorum,*[f] *seductor hominum, et*[g] *magister, et stas et resistis cum scis te perdere vires tuas. Istum metue qui in Ysaac immolatus est, in Ioseph venundatus est, in agno occisus est, in homine crucifixus est, deum*[h] *surrexus triumphator. Audi ergo, diabole, et timeas verba dei, et esto michi paratus in omni-*

Deus angelorum, deus archangelorum, deus prophetarum, deus apostolorum, deus ewangelistarum, deus martirum, deus confessorum, deus domini nostri Ihesu Christi, inuoco nomen sanctum tuum in hac preclara tue maiestatis potencia. Supplex exposco ut michi auxilium tuum preparare digneris aduersus illum spiritum Miragem, ut vbicumque iacet, [B 139v] *audito nomine tuo, velociter de loco suo exeat et festinanter*[c] *ad me accedat. Ipse imperat tibi, dyabole, qui te de supernis celorum sedibus in inferiora terre demergi*[d] *precepit. Audi, ergo, Mirage nequissime, et time,*[e] *victus et prostratus, accede in nomine dei*[f] *nostri Ihesu Christi. Tu ergo, Mirage nequissime, inimicus fidei, humani generis mortis repertor,*[g] *iniusticie declarator, malorum radix, fomes viciorum,* [A 109v] *seductor hominis, demonum magister, qui stas et resistis*[h] *cum scis te perdere vires tuas. Illum metue qui in Ysaac est ymmolatus, in Ioseph venundatus, in agno*

d *Meaning* subiciaris*?*
e Sic *in MS.*
f *MS* vincorum.
g et *added above line.*
h Sic *in MS, for* deus *or* deinde*?*

c vestinanter B.
d demerge A.
e tunc A.
f *Sic* AB, *presumably for* domini.
g *Corrected from* reperator *in* B.
h resipis A.

bus negociis meis perficiendis. Amen.

Adiuro te, non mea infirmitate sed virtute Spiritus Sancti, vt subiectus sis meis mandatis perficiendis. Cede michi et ministris Christi illius, dyabole. Arguat te potencia [eius] qui se[i] *crucis*[j] *patibulo subiugauit, te illius brachium contremat,*[k] *qui te uictus gemitibus inferni*[l] *animas ad lucem perduxit. Sit timor tibi corpus hominis. Sit tibi formido ymago dei, quam sancta morte sua redemit. Nec resistes, nec moreris ap[p]ropinquare michi et velle meum adimplere, et ne me in infernum putes condempnandum,*[m] *dum me peccatorem nimis esse cognoscis.*

Imperat tibi dominus. Imperat tibi magestas. Imperat tibi deus Pater. Imperat tibi occisus, in homine crucifixus, deum[i] *surrexit triumphator. Audi ergo, Mirage, et time verba dei, et esto michi preparatus in omnibus negociis prouidendis.)*

Adiuro te, serpens antique, per iudicem viuorum et mortuorum, per eum qui habet potestatem te mittere in Iehennam, vt facias cito quidquid precipio tibi, illo iubente qui sedet in altissimis. Amen.

Adiuro te, Mirage, non mea vi set uirtute Spiritus Sancti, ut sis subiectus mandatis meis, ea sine mora perficienda. Cede ministris Ihesu Christi. Illius potestas te vrgeat qui se pro nobis affligendo crucis patibulo subiugauit, illius enim brachium contremisce qui de victis gemitibus inferni animas ad lucem produxit. Sit tibi tremor cor[p]us hominis. Sit tibi formido ymago dei, quam[k] *Christus sancta morte redemit. Ne resistas, ne moreris*[l] *apropinquare michi, et uelle meum implere, et ne me infirmum putes ad condempnandum te.*

Tibi imperat deus Pater. Tibi imperat deus Filius. Tibi imperat Spiritus Sanctus. Tibi

i *Followed by* ab asseris[us] *(?), deleted.*
j *Followed by* suo, *deleted.*
k *Corrected in MS from* contremiat?
l inferni *duplicated in margin.*
m *MS* condempnendum.

i *Sic* AB, *for* demum?
j perfidend' B.
k quatenus A.
l moretis B.

Filius. Imperat tibi Spiritus Sanctus. Imperat tibi apostolorum sedes, scilicet Petri et Pauli ceterorumque apostolorum. Imperat tibi indulgencia confessorum. Imperat tibi martyrum sangwis. Imperat tibi sacramentum crucis. Imperat tibi[n] *mysteriorum virtus. Imperat tibi virtus* [60v] *in quo nichil invenisti de corporibus tuis.*[o] [*Imperat tibi Christus,*] *qui te spoliauit, qui regnum tuum destruxit, qui te vinctum ligauit et vasa tua disrupit, qui te proiecit in tenebras, vt tibi cum ministris tuis erit preparatus interitus, sed quem nunc crudelem te recogitas, quem*[p] *temerarie retractas.*

Reus [*es*] *omnipotentis dei, cuius statuta*[q] *transgressus es; reus*[r] *filij eius Ihesu Christi, quem temptare ausus es et crucifigere presumpsisti; reus humani generis, cui*[s] *mors tuis imperat apostolorum fides, scilicet Petri et Pauli et ceterorum apostolorum. Imperat tibi indulgencia confessorum. Imperat tibi sa*[*n*]*gwis martirum. Imperat tibi mundicia virginum. Imperat tibi continencia viduarum.* [A 110r] *Imperant tibi pia opera coniugatorum. Imperant tibi oraciones omnium bonorum hominum in ecclesia dei militancium. Imperat tibi sacramentum* [B 140r] *crucis. Imperat tibi virtus corporis et sa*[*n*]*guinis domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Imperat tibi misteriorum virtus. Imperat tibi Ihesus Christus in quo nichil iurauisti*[m] *de operibus tuis, qui te exspoliauit, qui regnum tuum destruxit, qui victum te ligauit et vasa tua disrupit, qui te proiecit in tenebras exteriores vbi tibi et ministris tuis est preparatus eternus interitus. Sed quid nunc, truculente dyabole retractus, qui temperie redardas?*[n]

Reus es omnipotenti[*s*]*, cuius statuta transgressus es; reus Ihesu Christi filij*[o] *eius, quem temptare ausus fuisti et crucifigere permisisti; reus humani generis, cui mors persuasionibus tuis euenit. Impero*[p] *tibi, nequissime, per imperium diuinum. Adiuro te per agnum inma-*

n *Followed by* minstriorum virtus, *deleted.*

o Sic *in MS.*

p Sic *in MS?*

q *MS* statera, *with* r *inserted above line, after another interlinear letter which is blotted out.*

r *Followed by* esse *(?), deleted.*

s *MS* tibi.

m *Sic* AB.

n *Meaning* redardescis*?*

o Christo filio AB.

p imperat AB.

persuasionibus euenit. Impero tibi, draco nequissime, per imperium dominicum. Adiuro te in nomine agni inmaculati,[t] *qui ambulat super aspidem et basiliscum, qui conculcauit leonem et draconem* [Ps 90:13 Vulg.], *vt facias cito quidquid precipiam. Contremisce et time, invocato nomine dei, quem inferi timent, quem celorum virtutes et potestates, dominaciones et virtutes,* [*et*] *alie subiecte sunt et timent et adorant, quem cherubin et seraphin indefessis vocibus laudant. Imperat tibi verbum qui*[u] *caro factum.*[v] *Imperat tibi natus ex virgine.*[w] *Imperat tibi Iesus Nazarenus, qui te creauit, vt cito impleas omnia que a te petam uel habere voluero uel scire desidero.*[x] *Quia quanto tardius feceris que tibi precipio vel precipiam, tibi supplicium magis crescit et crescat de die in diem.*

Exorcizo te, maledicte et mendacissime spiritus,

- *per verba veritatis,*
- *per omnipotentem,*

culatum, qui ambulat super aspidem et basiliscum, qui conculcat leonem et draconem [Ps 90:13 Vulg.], *ut facias cito quidquid impero tibi et precipio. Contremisce et time. Inuoco nomen domini, illum time cui uirtutes celorum, potestates, dominaciones, et principatus subiecti sunt, timent, et honorant,*[q] *quem cherubin et*[r] *seraphin indefessis vocibus laudant. Imperat tibi verbum caro factum,*[s] *imperat tibi natus de uirgine. Imperat tibi Ihesus Nazarenus. Imperat tibi qui te creauit, ut impleas cito omnia que peto a te uel habere voluero uel scire cupio. Quia*[t] [A 110v] *quanto tardius feceris ea que tibi precipio, tanto*[u] *magis supplicium tibi erit de die in diem.*

Exorcizo te, maledicte et[v] *nequissime ac*[w] *mendacissime spiritus,*

t *MS* inmaculatij?

u *Inserted above line.*

v *MS* caro factum est.

w *Followed by interlinear marking, apparently an* m *(presumably for* Maria*), which appears to be struck through.*

x desidero *added in margin.*

q honorent A.

r *Followed by* seruhp, *struck through* B.

s *Followed by* est, *struck through (?)* B.

t que AB.

u tantum B, *but with the letter* o *written twice in the margin.*

v ac B.

w et B.

- *per Ihesum Christim Naza-* [61r] *renum, agnum immaculatum, de altissimo progressu*[*m*]*, de Spiritu Sancto conceptum, ex Maria virgine natum, quem Gabriel angelus nunciauit venturum, quem cum vidisset centurio*[y] *exclamauit, dicens, 'Vere hic est filius dei'* [cf. Matt 27:54].

Exorciso te, auctor dyabolice potestatis, inventor malorum, cum omnibus subditis tuis, in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti; in nomine gloriose deitatis, cuius ix ordines angelorum, throni, dominaciones, patriarche[z] *et apostoli, et omnes sancti*[a] *diebus ac noctibus proclamant, dicentes, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, qui erat et qui est*[b] *et qui venturus est, et qui est omnipotens'* [Apoc 4:8], *vt non presumas transgredi precepta mea, N. Nec tibi*[c] *lateat,*[d] *N., inminere tibi penas, inminere tibi tormenta, diem iudicij, diem supplicij, sempiterni diem, qui venturus est*[e] *velut clibanus ar-*

- *per verbum veritatis,*
- *per deum omnipotentem,*
- *per Ihesum Christum Nazarenum,*
- *per agnum inmaculatum de altissimis progressum, de Spiritu Sancto conceptum, ex Maria virgine natum, quem Gabriel nunciauit, quem cum vidisset Johannes*[x] *exclamauit, dicens 'Hic est filius dei.'*

Exorcizo te, auctor dyabolice potestatis, inuentor malicie, cum omnibus subditis tuis, in nomine Patris et Filij et Spritus Sancti, et in nomine gloriose deitatis, cui nouem chori angelorum, patriarche et prophete, apostoli, martires, confessores,[y] *virgines et* [B 140v] *vidue, et omnes electi dei diebus ac noctibus indefessa voce collaudant, dicentes, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, qui erat, qui est, et qui est venturus, et qui est omnipotens'* [Apoc 4:8], *ut non presumas transgredi precepta mea. Nec tibi*[z] *lateat tibi imminere penas, tibi imminere tormenta, tibi imminere diem iudicij, tibi imminere diem suplicij sempiterni, per deum qui venturus est velud clibanus*[a] *ignis ardentis,*

y centurio *duplicated in margin.*
z *Corrected in MS from* patriarchi?
a et omnes sancti *added in margin.*
b et qui est *added above line.*
c *MS* te.
d latet *altered in MS to* lataet.
e est *added above line.*

x Sic *in MS.*
y martires et confessores B.
z te AB.
a clibanum AB.

dens, in quo tibi atque vniuersis angelis tuis sempiternus erit preparatus interitus. Et ideo pro tua nequicia dampno te atque dampnabo. Da honorem deo viuo et vero, et michi subditus esto in omnibus operibus meis preparandis ac proficiendis. Da honorem deo viuo et vero; da honorem Ihesu Christo et[f] *Spiritui Sancto Paraclito, in cuius nomine ac virtute precipio tibi ego*[g] *N., vt nomini eius*[h] *et verbis meis obedias, cui omnis creatura deseruit, quem cherubyn et seraphym laudant, dicentes, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus*[i] *exercituum* [Is 6:3], *qui regnat et dominatur per infinita secula. Amen, amen, amen.'*

[61v] *Coniuro et constringo atque precipio tibi, vt sine aliquo nocumento michi nunc et semper obedias, sine lesione et grauamine corporis et anime mee. Coniuro te, diabole,*

- *per*[k] *omnia predicta sacramenta facta,*[l]
- *et per omnia scripta, dicta, facta, creata, viua* [*et*] *mortua,*

in quo tibi et angelis tuis preparatus est semp[*i*]*ternus introitus. Et ideo pro tua nequicia, dampnate*[b] *atque dampnande, da honorem deo viuo et vero, et esto*[c] *michi subiectus, ut omnia precepta mea adimpleas. Da honorem Ihesu Christo filio eius, da honorem Spiritui*[d] *Sancto Paraclito, in cuius nomine atque virtute precipio tibi, Mirage, ut nomini eius ac preceptis meis obedias, cui omnis creatura deseruit, quem cherubin et seraphin laudant, dicentes, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus exercituum* [cf. Is 6:3], *qui regnat et dominatur* [A 111r] *per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.'*

Adiuro ac constringo et[e] *precipio tibi, Mirage, ut michi obedias sine aliquo impedimento uel nocumento uel lesione et grauamine corporis et anime mee, nunc et semper. Iterum coniuro te, Mirage,*

- *per omnia predicta sacramenta facta et facienda,*
- *per omnia scripta sancta, creata, viua et mortua,*
- *per illum qui te de celo proiecit.*

f deo viuo . . . Christo et *added in margin.*

g ego *added above line.*

h eius *deleted and* eus *substituted.*

i deus *added above line.*

j *Followed by* -turus, *deleted.*

k *Followed by* omnes, *deleted.*

l *Followed by duplication of* et per omnia sacramenta facta.

b dampnante A.

c est A.

d Spiritu AB.

e ac B.

- *et per istum qui te de paradyso eiecit.*

Coniuro te et precipio tibi, N.,

- *per hostiam sacram,*
- *per hostiam inmaculatam,*
- *per hostiam conscriptam et benedictam atque deo placentem.*

Coniuro te atque precipio tibi, Diabole,[m]

- *per omnia quibus constringi et ligari possis.*

Exorciso te

- *per nomen tuum et potestatem omnium spirituum,*
- *et per omnes karacteres,*
- *et per sigillum Salominis,*
- *et per anulum*[n] *eius, ix candarias celestes, in maledicione et confusione et augmentacione penarum*[o] *tuarum*[p] *dupla,*[q] *de die in diem,*

quod tu, Diabole, non requiescas[r] *nec cesses a labore continuo in eodem loco in quo modo es remouearis*[s] *et ab officio tuo et ab omni soci-*

Coniuro te et precipio tibi

- *per hostiam sanctam et per hostiam inmaculatam,*
- *per hostiam scriptam et per hostiam benedictam atque deo placentem.*

Coniuro te ac precipio tibi, Mirage,

- *per omnia per que ligari et constringi possis.*

Exorcizo te

- *per nomen domini,*
- *per potestatem omnium spirituum,*
- *per omnes caractares,*
- *per sigillum Salominis,*
- *per annulos eius,*
- *per septem candelabra aurea ante dominum lucencia,*

ut tibi, Mirage, augmentatur penarum accerbitas de die in diem, ita vt non requiescas nec cessas a labore tuo continuo in eodem loco vbi nunc es remouere,[f] *et ut remouearis ab omni officio tuo et ab omni societate et temptacione et decepcione, ut priuaris statim per verba coniuracionis tibi inflicta. Maledico* [B 141r] *te et nomen tuum confundo in eternum*

m *Followed by* quibus, *deleted.*
n *Corrected in MS from* annulum.
o *MS* puerum.
p *Followed by* fide *(?), deleted.*
q *MS* duplo.
r -equi- *erroneously struck through.*
s *Followed by* abo, *deleted.*
f *Sic* AB.

etate et temptacione et decepcione alicuius[t] *priuatus statim, per verba et coniuraciones tibi predicta. Maledico te, dyabole, et nomen tuum confundo in eternum,*

- *et per omnes dies vite tue,*
- *et per potestatem quam*[u] *habeo super te hic michi ab omnipotenti deo*[v] *data in baptissmo et in aliis sacramentis,*
- *et per eukaristiam que est corpus Christi.*

Eciam te excommunico et maledico tibi et omne illud quod ad te pertinet [62r] *et confundo* [*te*],

- *per On,*
- *et per*[w] *Alph*[*a*] *et O,*
- *et per Emanuel,*
- *et per nomen dei ineffabile,*
- *et per sanctum Tetragramaton,*
- *et per omnia verba que dicta sunt tibi,*[x] *N.,*

vt facias statim, sine aliqua mora, mandatum meum et peticionem quam tibi manifestabo, dum vtinam comparas quod michi alloquaris.

In nomine Patris veni, et in nomine Filij

- *per omnes dies vite mee,*
- *per potestatem quam habeo super te, Mirage, michi ab omnipotenti deo data in baptismo et alijs sacramentis,*
- *per corpus domini nostri Ihesu Christi.*

Eciam te excom[m]unico, tibi maledico et omne id quod a[*d*] *te pertinet, et confundo te et omnia tua,*

- *per On,*
- *per Alpha et O,*
- *per Emanuel,*
- *per nomen dei ineffabile,*
- *per sanctum Tetragramaton,*
- *per omnia nomina et verba que dicta sunt,*

ut statim venias, Mirage, sine aliqua [A 111v] *mora, mandatum et potestatem meam quam tibi manifestabo, quam michi loqueris.*

In nomine Patris veni. In nomine Filij veni. In nomine Spiritus Sancti veni. In nomine sancte Trinitatis veni. Tibi dico, in nomine dei summi veni. In nomine creatoris et omnium creaturarum veni ad me in hac hora, sine aliquo nocumento, lesione, atque grauamine corporis et anime mee, uel alium mittas,

t Sic *in MS.*

u *Corrected in MS from* quem.

v deo *added above line.*

w *Added above line.*

x *Followed by* etc.?

veni, et in nomine Spiritus Sancti veni, et in nomine sancte trinitatis tibi dico veni, in nomine summi dei creatoris omnium creaturarum veni ad me in hac hora, sine aliquo nocumento, lesione, atque grauamine anime mee et corporis mei, uel alium mittas uel venire facias, qui sciat perfecte omne desiderium meum adimplere, et nullo modo a me recedat,[y] *nisi licenciatus fuerit a me, et voluntatem meam plenarie perfecerit. Coniuro te per hec et per hoc*[a]*, et ita vt supradicta sunt, vt facias michi venire vnum spiritum, qui auferat secum aurum et argentum denarios, et thesauros, antequam a loco isto recedam; et quocienscumque ipsum invocauero statim compareat,*[b] *benignus ac humilis, nulli nocens, et michi in omnibus ministrans, et voluntatem meam perficiens, fiat, fiat, amen; vt ducas uel mittas michi vnum spiritum prom[p]tum et ydoneum in omnia sciencia; vt habeat potestatem facere me invisibilem quandocumque voluero;*[c] [62v] *et vel venire facias, qui sciat perfecte desiderium meum adimplere, et nullo modo a me recedere, nisi a me fuerit licenciatus uel uoluntatem meam plenarie perficiat. Item coniuro te per hec que supradicta sunt, ut facias michi venire vnum spiritum qui portet*[h] *michi aurum et argentum uel thesauros absconditos, antequam de isto loco recedam; ut sit michi ministrans in omni uoluntate mea, et*[i] *quocienscumque ipsum inuocauero statim compareat michi, benignus ac humilis, nulli nocens, sed uoluntatem meam in omnibus adimplens et perficiens, fiat, fiat, fiat, amen; ut adducas michi vnum spiritum promptum et ydoneum in omni sciencia, et ut habeat potestatem me faciendi inuisibilem quandocumque voluero; et michi placuerit, et quod semper sit sub potestate mea; et concedas ei similiter [potestatem] consecrandi libros, experimenta, et omnia quecumque voluero. Amen.*

y *Followed by* dare *(?), deleted.*

a *Or* hec.

b *MS* comparaeat.

c *The clauses marked here as [B] and [C] are given at the end of 62r, after* Fiat, fiat, amen, *but are evidently intended as alternatives to the material here given as [A]. The lines on the top of 62v* (Et michi placuerit . . . Amen. Amen. Amen.) *may also be intended for reading here.*

g fere AB.

h portat AB.

i ut B.

michi placuerit, et eciam quod semper sit sub potestate mea; et concedas ei similiter potestatem consecrandi libros et experimenta et omnia quecumque voluero.[d] *Amen, amen, amen.*

d *MS* volueris.

NO. 33. FOR OBTAINING INFORMATION FROM A MIRROR (FOLS 62v–65r)

Circue cimiterium et collige tot lapides quot[a] sunt versus in psalmo *Misereri mei deus* [Ps 50 Vulg.].[b] Cum hiis lapidibus, pone circulum quando vis, et inpone herbam que vocatur verbena. Postea accipe speculum, et line ipsum cum oleo oliue cum pollice, dicendo *Gloria in excelsis deo, etc.* Et intres circulum. Stes supra herbam, et verte primo ad orientem, dicens,

Coniuro te, Astra, Astaroth, Cebal,
- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *per xxiiijor seniores,*
- *et per tres pueros Sydrach, Mysaac, et Abdenago,*
- *per Toth,[c] principem vestrum,*
- *per Zambrim et Mambrim,*
- *per Vsuel [et] per Saduel, quibus obedire tenemini de veritate,[d]*
- *et per baptismum quod recipitur in fonte a sacerdote,*

vt obediatis michi.[e]

Cum venerit spiritus, dic si volueris, 'Deum qui te genuit dereliquisti, et oblitus [es] domini creatoris tui.' Cui tunc dicet spiritus, 'Verum est.' Tunc dic, 'Ligo[f] et constringo vos demones, per verba que audistis a creatore vestro pendente[g] in cruce, vt nulli noceatis, sed[h] de[i] veritate respondeatis michi.' Quod si noluerint, lege vinculum Salomonis; de vinculo spirituum non est soluendum, sed ymo pocius diuidendum et ymitandum.[j]

[63r] Sed tamen, vt predictum est, cauendum est ne in manus quorundam insipiencium hoc secretum deueniat. Eructuamus sapientissimum filium, per quod[k] predicti reges et principes [cum] omnibus subditis suis valeant subpeditari

a *MS* quod.

b *Added in upper margin:* Nota: 47 versus sunt in isto psalmo.

c *Perhaps a reference to Thoth?*

d Sic *in MS.*

e *Followed in MS by* et per baptismum quod recepi in fonte a sacerdote meo, vt obediatis michi, *whether by way of pleonasm or as a correction.*

f *Followed in MS by* uel *(?).*

g *MS* pendens.

h *Followed in MS by extraneous* de *(?), deleted.*

i *Followed in MS by* virtute, *deleted.*

j Sic *in MS.*

k Sic *in MS. Perhaps* Eruct[u]amus sapientissimum verbum *(Ps. 18:3 Vulg.) is intended, which would explain the neuter* quod.

et cogi et ligari et in abissum proici. Si vero sunt ribelles et cõntradicentes et inobedientes exorciste semper, et si in omnibus non obedierint uel precepta exorciste non conseruauerint, hoc vinculum est legendum,[l] quod sic incipit:

- *Per corroboratum et potentissimum nomen dei El, forte et ammirabile,*

vos exorcisamus atque imperamus,

- *per eum qui dixit et factum est,*
- *per omnia nomina ipsius,*
- *et per nomen Y et V et E, quod Moyses audiuit et locutus est,*
- *per nomen Genery, et in nomine Genery, quod Noe audiuit et locutus est, cum viija familia de linea sua,*
- *et per nomen Y et V et E et X, et in nomine V et X,*[m] *quod Abraham audiuit et cognouit omnipotentem deum,*
- *et per nomen Joth, et in nomine Joth, quod audiuit Jacob ab angelo secum comitante, et liberatus est de manu fratris sui Esav,*
- *et per nomen Eyzaserie, et in nomine Eyzaserie, quod Moyses in monte audiuit, et meruit quod nunc est cum deo, et audire ipsum cum flamma loquentem,*[n]
- *et per nomen*[o] *Anathematon, et in nomine Anathematon, quod Aron audiuit, et eloquens et sapiens* [63v] *factus est,*
- *et per nomen Sabaoth, et in nomine Sabaoth, quod Moyses audiuit et inde nominauit, et omnes aque egredi de terra ceperunt palidum,*[p] *et verse sunt in sangwinem, et putruerunt,*[q]
- *et per nomen Oristion, et in nomine Oristion, quod Moyses nominauit, et fluuij omnes ebulierunt ranas,*[r] *et absconderunt in domibus Egyptorum,*
- *et per nomen Eloy, et in nomine Eloy, quod Moyses audiuit, percuciens puluerem terre, et factus est cinifes in hominibus et iumentis,*[s]
- *et per nomen Artifontite, et in nomine Artifontite, quod Moyses nominauit, et omne genus muscarum misit in Egyptum, et inter*[t] *Egyptios,*
- *et per nomen Yephaton, et in nomine Yephaton, quod Moyses audiuit, et quod Moyses nominauit, percuciens terram, et grauis pestis percussit equos, asynos, et camelos, oues et boues interierunt,*

l *MS* lcdendum.

m Sic *in MS.*

n Sic *in MS.*

o *MS* votum.

p Sic *in MS – evidently an echo of the biblical* paludes, *which would fit equally little into the present context.*

q *Cf. Ex. 7:17–21.*

r *Cf. Ex. 8:3.*

s *Cf. Ex. 8:17.*

t *Followed in MS by* in, *deleted.*

- *et per nomen Arbitrios, quod Moyses nominauit, et tulit cinerem de cymiterio, et desparsit in celum, et facta sunt wlnera visicarum vrgentium in hominibus et iumentis, et in omni terra Egyptorum,*
- *et per nomen Elyon, et in nomine Elyon, quod Moyses nominauit, et* [*facta est*] *grando talis qualis non fuerat ab inicio mundi, vsque ad presens tempus, ita quod homines et iumenta que erant in agris ceciderunt et interierunt,*
- *et per nomen Adonay, et in nomine Adonay, quod Moyses voluit, et facte sunt locuste et apparuerunt super omnem terram, et quidquid residuum grandis erat* [64r] *deuorauerunt,*
- *et per nomen Pantheon, et in nomine Pantheon, quod Moyses nominauit, et facte sunt vmbre horribiles tribus diebus et tribus noctibus,*
- *et per nomen Arimon, et in nomine Arimon, quod Moyses media nocte nominauit, et omnia primogenita Egypti perierunt et mortua fuerunt,*
- *et per nomen Geremon, et in nomine Geremon, quod Moyses nominauit et totum Ysraheliticum populum in captiuitate*[u] *liberauit,*
- *et per nomen Yegeron, et in nomine Yegeron, quod mare audiuit, et diuisum est,*
- *et per nomen Ysiston, et in nomine Ysiston, quod mare audiuit et submersit omnes currus pharaonis,*
- *et per nomen On, et in nomine On, quod petre audiuerunt, et innumerabiles emanuerunt,*
- *et per nomen Anabona, et in nomine Anabona, quod Moyses in monte Synay audiuit, et meruit tabulas manu*[v] *saluatoris scriptas accipere,*
- *et per nomen Egyryon, et in nomine Egyryon, cum quo Yosue pugnauit et inimicos destruxit suos et victoriam obtinuit,*
- *et per nomen Patheon, et in nomine Patheon, vt*[w] *sanctus Dauid nominauit et liberatus est de manu Golye,*
- *et per nomen Eya, et in nomine Eya, quod Salomon audiuit et Gabaon et meruit in sompnis postulare et inpetrare sanctam sapienciam,*
- *et* [64v] *per nomen Pancraton, et in nomine Pancraton, quod Elyas orauit quod non plueret, et non pluit tribus annis et mensibus sex,*
- *et per nomen Symayon, et in nomine Symayon, quod Elyas orauit et celum dedit pluuiam, et terra dedit fructum suum,*
- *et per nomen Eloy, et in nomine Eloy, quod Elyseus nominauit et Esunamitis filium liberauit,*
- *et per nomen Athanatos, et in nomine Athanatos, quod Yeremias nominauit et preteri*[*i*]*t captiuitatem Jerusalem ciuitatis,*

u *MS* captificate.

v *MS* manus.

w Sic in *MS*.

- *et per nomen Alpha et O, et in nomine Alpha et O, quod Daniel nominauit, et per illud Bel destruxit et draconem interfecit,*
- *et per nomen Emanuel, et in nomine Emanuel, quod tres pueri in camino ignis ardentis*[x] *nominauerunt, et per hoc illesi exierunt et liberati,*
- *et per hec nomina et omnia alia nomina omnipotentis dei viui et veri, qui vos de excelso throno primum*[y] *de vestra culpa eiecit et vsque ad abissum locum vos proiecit.*

Exorcizamus[z] *atque viriliter imperamus,*

- *per eum qui dixit et factum est, cui obediunt omnes creature,*
- *et per tremendum diem iudicij dei summi,*
- *et per igneam deuoracionem,*
- *et per mare vitreum*[a] [cf. Apoc. 4:6] *quod est ante conspectum diuine magestatis,*[b]
- *et per 4or animalia contra sedem diuine magestatis gaudencia (uel gradiencia), oculos ante et retro ha-* [65r] *bencia* [cf. Apoc. 4:6–8],
- *et per sanctam trinitatem, que*[c] *est verus deus vnus,*
- *et*[d] *per nonaginta nouem nomina que dicunt filie Israel,*[e]
- *et per ineffabilem ipsius creatoris virtutem et omnipotenciam,*
- *et per*[f] *xxiiijor seniores ante*[g] *thronum circumstantes,*
- *et per angelos celorum, potestates et dominaciones, que sub eo creatore nominantur,*
- *et per summam sapienciam,*
- *et per anulum Salomonis* [*et*] *sigillum,*
- *et per sacratissimum nomen illius, quod omne seculum timet, quod scribitur 4or literis,*[h] *HV, V, et V, HV, AGLA,*
- *et per ix celestes candarias,*
- *et per earum virtutes,*

[*A*] *quatenus hodierno die vsque ad talem terminum rei michi integre custodiatis;*[i] [B] *quatenus thesaurum istum quem huc vsque custoditis penitus michi relinquatis, sine aliqua*

x *MS* ardenter.
y Sic *in MS.*
z *MS* Exorcistamus.
a *MS* vinecum.
b *Followed by* gaudencia uel gradiencia, *deleted.*
c *MS* qui.
d *Added above the line.*
e *MS* Israeli.
f *Followed by* ignem ar, *deleted.*
g *Added in margin.*
h *Followed by a blot, or by* scilicet *(?).*
i Sic *in MS.*

diminucione, ita quod faciatis quod a nullo[j] *valeat seperari;* [C] *et iam in hac hora veniatis*[k] *et debeatis michi respondere, de re et de rebus integre*[l] *de quibus vobis interrogauero veritatem dicere.*[m]

Item, si invenires spiritum vel spiritus rebelles uel contrariantes, sic dices:

Per nomen Pneumaton, et in nomine Pneumaton, quod Moyses nominauit et absorpti fuerunt a cauernis terre, Dath, An, et Abyron, et virtute illius sacratissimi nominis dei Pneumaton, maledicimus vos in profundum abyssi; vsque ad vltimum diem iudicij ponimus vos atque religamus, nisi precepto meo[n] *obediatis et desiderium meum duxeritis ad effectum.*

NO. 34. LIST OF DEMONS (FOLS 65v–65r bis)

Barbarus [est] magnus comes et dux, et apparet in signo Sagitarij siluestris cum 4or regibus ferentibus tubas. Intellectus autem cum latratus canum inimicus boum et omnium animalium.[a] Loca thesauriorum facit aperiri que non custodiunt[ur] a magicis et a cantacionibus. Et est de ordine virtutum, et habet sub se xxxvj legiones.

Cason magnus dux est et fortis, et a[p]paret in similitudine senaphali. Dat ad plenitudinem vera responsiua[b] de presentibus, preteritis, et futuris, et occultis.[c] Dat graciam amicorum et inimicorum. Dat dignitates et confirmat. Habet sub se xlv legiones.

Otius magnus preses et comes [est], et apparet in signo Vipere, et habet deterrimam hominis speciem, sed cum suscipit formam humanam habet dentes magnos et tria cornua. In manu portat gladium acutum. Dat ad plenitudinem vera responsiua[d] de presentibus et futuris et occultis rebus. Dat graciam amicorum et inimicorum. Habet sub se xxxvj legiones.

Cvrson magnus rex est et fortis, et apparet in similitudine hominis. Facies

j *Meaning* a me nunquam?

k Sic *in MS?*

l Sic *in MS?*

m *Alternative C added in margin.*

n Sic *in MS?*

a Sic *in MS.*

b Sic *in MS.*

c *MS* occulte, *perhaps intended to modify* dat, *but more plausibly construed as parallel to the preceding substantives, as in the following paragraph.*

d Sic *in MS.*

leonina coronatus est dyademate. In manu fere[n]s[e] viperam fortissimam, equitat super [66r] dorsum feruentissimum, et ante ipsum semper precedunt tube.[f] Bene scit presencia, preterita, et futura [et] occulta pandere. Loca thesaurorum ostendit et aperiri[g] facit.[h] Libenter suscipit corpus humanum et aereum, et dat vera responsa de diuinis et occultis rebus, de deitate et mundi creacione. Dat optimos familiares. Habet sub se xxij legiones, partim de ordine virtutum et partim de ordine thronorum.[i]

Alugor magnus[j] dux est. Apparet in similitudine militis pulcherrimi, ferens lanceam, vexillum, et sceptrum. Ad plenitudinem dat vera responsa de occultis rebus et de duellis, quarum[k] fieri debeant et quarum[l] aduentura sunt. Dat eciam milites in occursum, et dat graciam omnium regum, marchionum, et omnium militum. Habet sub se l[m] legiones.

Taob magnus est et princeps. Apparet in signo medici cum suscipit figuram humanam; [est] doctor opti[m]us mulierum, et facit ardere in amorem virorum. Si sibi iussum fuerit, facit eas transmutari in aliam formam, quousque veneri[n]t coram dilectis; finis[n] facit eas steriles. Habet sub se 25[o] legiones, etc.

[66v] Volach magnus preses est. Apparet [in forma] pueri, et habet alas ad modum angeli. Equitat super draconem. Duo habet capita. Dat ad plenitudinem vera responsa de occultis thesauris, in quibus [locis] videntur et apparent. Serpentes et absque illis custodibus[p] posse omnium serpentum tradit in manus exorciste. Habet sub se xxvij legiones.

Gaeneron dux est fortis et potens, et apparet in similitudine pulcherrime mulieris. Ductili coronatur coria.[q] Equitat super camelum. Dat ad plenitudinem vera responsiua de presentibus, preteritis, et futuris, et de occultis thesauris, in quibus locis videntur et apparent. Dat optime amorem mulierum, et precipue puellarum. Habet sub se xxvij legiones.

e *Or perhaps meaning* fert.

f Sic *in MS*

g *MS* apperui, *but either* aperiri *or* apparere *is presumably intended.*

h *MS has extraneous vertical line between* c *and* i.

i *MS* throni.

j *Followed by a blot.*

k *Meaning* quando *or* quomodo?

l *Meaning* quomodo?

m Sic *in MS?*

n *Meaning* si vis?

o *Duplicated in margin.*

p Sic *in MS.*

q *Meaning* ducali coronatur corona?

Tvueries marchio magnus et fortis [est], regnans et imperans in Afforanis[r] partibus. Docet ad plenitudinem gramaticam, loycam, rethoricam, ac dictata,[s] et facit loca thesaurorum aperiri,[t] et occulta ostendi[u] facit. Eciam hominem velocissimo cursu mare et flumina transire uel transmeare [facit]. In specie militis apparet. Equitat super equum nigerrimum et superbitatem.[v] Habet sub se xxx legiones.

Hanni preses magnus [est], et apparet in flamma ignea, sed cum suscipit formam humanam [65r bis][w] mirabilem reddit hominem abilem in astronomia et[x] in aliis artibus liberalibus. Dat optimos familiares et graciam magnatum et principum, et loca thesaurorum que a spiritibus custodiunt[ur] mirabiliter ostendit. Habet sub se xxx legiones.

Svcax magnus marchio est, et apparet in similitudine hominis. Wltum habet femineum. Videtur beniuolus. Multum mirabiliter dat amorem mulierum, et maxime omnium viduarum. Dat ad plenitudinem omnia genera li[n]gwarum. Facit hominem transire de regione in regionem velocissimo cursu. Habet sub se 23 legiones.

NO. 35. FOR OBTAINING A WOMAN'S LOVE (FOLS 65r bis–67v)

Incipiunt experimenta bona[a] et probata et verissima, primo de modo scribendi[b] Bel et Ebal.

Nota: in feria quinta, nouis vestibus indutus et balneatus, in crepusculo, scribe in costam nomen tuum et mulieris, Bel et Ebal – Bel in principio, et in medio nomen tuum et nomen mulieris, in fine Ebal – et pone ad ignem et fac cremari costam, et quando est in maximo calore uel furore lege coniuracionem que sequitur, et consequeris desideratum:

[65v bis] *Coniuro vos spiritus infernales Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in ista costa scripta sunt et in igne ardescunt,*

r *Meaning* Africanis?

s *MS* dictate.

t *MS* apperire.

u *MS* ostendere, *followed by a blot.*

v *Meaning* superbum?

w *Fol. 65 bis occurs between fols. 66 and 67.*

x et *duplicated.*

a *These three words occur twice, the first time as a heading.*

b *Followed by a blank space.*

- *per omnes virtutes celorum et terre,*
- *per thronos, principatus et potestates, et dominaciones,*
- *per cherubin et seraphin,*
- *et per omnia que sub celo sunt,*

vt nunquam requiem habeatis, quin[c] *cor eius in amore mei ita ardere faciatis vt nunquam dormire, comedere nec bibere, nec ire nec stare, nec flere nec ridere, nec aliquod opus perficiat, quin cordis mei desiderium prius adimpleat. Item coniuro vos, Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in*[d] *igne ardescunt,*

- *per dominum omnipotentem,*
- *et per Ihesum Christum filium eius,*
- *et per Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *et per virtutem sancti dei,*
- *et per ipsam prouidenciam dei,*
- *et per terram, mare, et profundum abissi,*
- *et per clemenciam* [*dei*],
- *et per visionem dei,*
- *per noctem et tenebras,*
- *et per tremendum diem iudicij,*

vt nunquam requiem habeatis quin cor[e] *eius in amore mei ita ardere faciatis vt nunquam dormire, comedere nec bibere, ire nec stare nec iacere, nec flere nec ridere, nec aliquod opus perficere valeat, quin cordis mei desiderium penitus adimpleat*[f] *Item coniuro vos, Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in igne ardescunt,*

- *per deum* [67r] *verum, per deum viuum, per deum sanctum, qui vos et cuncta creauit, qui Adam et Euam de limo creauit, qui fecit angelos suos spiritus* [Ps. 103:4 Vulg.], *qui scit presencia, preterita, et futura, qui habet claues celi,* [*qui*] *claudit et aperit,* [*qui*] *claudit et nemo aperit* [Apoc. 3:7],
- *per eum qui fuit mortuus et resurrexit, qui est principium et finis, Alpha et O, primus et nouissimus* [cf. Apoc. 21:6, 22:13],

vt nunquam, etc. Coniuro vos, O Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in igne ardescunt,

- *per hec sancta nomina dei: Ely, Eloy, Eleon, Tetragramaton, Tupanoel, Fabanoel, Sabaoth, Sathay, Adonay.*

Coniuro vos

- *per virtutem qua dominus noster Ihesus Christus ianuis clausis ad discipulos suos intrauit.*

Coniuro vos, Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in igne ardescunt,

c *MS* quoniam.

d *Followed by* ige.

e *MS* corus.

f *MS* adimpleatis.

- *per spineam coronam quam dominus noster Ihesus Christus in capite sustinuit,*
- *et per fixuram clauorum qui pias manus et pedes transfixerunt,*
- *et per sangwinem et aquam de latere fluentem,*
- *et per lacrimas beate virginis Marie,*
- *et per mortem et sepulturam Christi,*
- *per resurreccionem et ascensionem Christi,*

vt nunquam requiem habeatis, quin cor mulieris in amore ita ardere faciatis quod nunquam dormire, comedere nec bibere, nec stare nec sedere, [*nec flere*] *nec ridere, nec aliquod opus perficere valeat, quin cordis mei desiderium* [67v] *penitus adimpleat, et quod illud nullatenus obmittat.*[g] *Hoc*[h] *precipio vobis, per eum qui viuit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen. Amen. Amen. Etc.*

NO. 36. GENERIC PREPARATION FOR CONJURING SPIRITS (FOLS 67v–68v)

De responsione spirituum.[a]

Cum magister voluerit vocare spiritus, vadat ad locum[b] secretum cum duobis sociis, et[c] habeat cultellum cum manubrio albo uel nigro, in cuius lamina hec nomina ex utraque parte sunt scripta: Agla [et] Sabaoth. Et faciat[d] cum eodem cultello exteriorem circulum,[e] dicendo, *Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei Patris omnipotentis, qui solo verbo vniuersa creauit.* Et in eodem circulo scribat cum cultello prelibato hec nomina: contra orientem, Agla; contra occidentem, Tetragramaton; contra septentrionem, Adonay; contra meridiem, Sabaoth. Deinde faciat secundum circulum, dicendo, *Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei viui, qui humanum genus humano sanguine redemit.* Tercium vero circulum faciat dicendo, *Hunc*

g *MS* obmittatis.

h *Or* hec.

a *Line duplicated in margin of MS.*

b *MS* locrum.

c *MS* aut.

d *MS* faciendo.

e *Figure at top of fol. 68r: a triple circular band, with* Sabaoth *and* meridies *marked just outside at the top,* occidens *and* Tetragramaton *at the right,* septentrion [sic] *and* Adonay *at the bottom,* oriens *and* Agla *at the left. The outermost circle bears the inscription,* ✠ Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei Patris omnipotentis, qui solo verbo vniuersa creauit. *The middle circle has the inscription,* ✠ Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei viui qui humanum genus humano sangwine redemit. *The innermost contains the inscription,* ✠ Hunc circulum facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracliti, qui [*MS* quia] apostolorum et prophetarum corda sua gracia illustrauit. *In the upper left, a further inscription begins in the outer circle and ends in the middle one:* Per hoc signum sancte crucis gracia dei defendat nos ab omni malo. *The interior is left blank.*

circulum facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracliti, qui[f] *apostolorum et prophetarum corda sua gracia illustrauit.* Post hec faciet crucem per omnes circulos, [dicens], *Per hoc signum sancte crucis gracia dei defendat nos ab omni malo.* Tunc accipe turribulum, inposito thure[g] et mirra, [et] circuas[h] ex- [68r] teriora circuli,[i] dicens, *Hanc fumigacionem facio in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.* Et post hec,[j] stans contra orientem extra circulum,[k] dicat vij psalmos cum letania,[l] deuote et humiliter, et has oraciones:

Adiuro[m] *te, rex regum et dominus dominancium, eterne et incommutabilis deus,*[n] *intellige clamorem meum nunc et spiritus mei gemitumque cordis mei,*[o] *vt respirem*[p] *in te saluatorem meum. Da*[q] *michi intellectum sanctum et bonum, et aufer a me quod malum est; et commutans me in omnem dilectionem tuam qua formasti me et saluasti, tribuas*[r] *incrementum michi. Exaudi, domine, precem meam qua clamaui ad te, et exaudi me. Reuela et illumina oculos mentis mee et carnis, vt considerem et intelligam mirabilia tua. Viuifica me in iustificacionibus tuis, vt preualeam in conspectu aduersariorum*[s] *meorum et dyaboli.*[t]

NO. 37. MANUAL OF ASTRAL MAGIC (FOLS 68V–96V)

37a. Conjurations for each day of the week

Incipiunt coniuraciones dierum super composicionem sacrificiorum, quod fiet quando debuerit aliquid operare[a] antequam illud incipiat. Coniura ergo cum alia

f *MS* quia.
g *MS* thus.
h *MS* circuat.
i *MS* circulum.
j *Or* hoc.
k *Followed by* in, *deleted.*
l *Followed by* et.
m *Redundant* a *struck through.*
n *Followed by* dominus, *deleted.*
o Sic *in MS.*
p Sic *in MS.*
q *MS* dat.
r *Followed by* in- *(?), deleted.*
s *Followed by* et.
t *Followed by a blank space left for the title of the following material, and by this fragment (evidently in the same hand, but less careful than usual):* Aloe epacium quando im aracum *(?)* pliwis wirnies *(?).*

a *Note that* operari *and* operare *are used interchangeably.*

coniuracione sequentium dierum quibus operabis, et scribenda fuerint. Scribe ea die suo.

Coniuracio diei dominici sequitur, etc.

[1.] [69r] Coniuracio diei solis.[b]

Coniuro et confirmo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti,

- ✠ *In nomine Adonay, Adonay, Eye, Eye, Eyu, qui est ille qui fuit, est, et erit, Eye, Alorąye,*
- *in nomine Sadaye, Saday, Cados, Cados, Cados, altus, super cherubin sedens,*
- *et per nomen ipsius magni, sancti, fortis, potentis, et exaltati, super omnes celos, Eye, Saraye, Plasmatoris seculorum, qui creauit mundum, celum, et terram, mare, et omnia que in eis sunt in primo die celorum, et sigillauit super eos cum nomine sancto suo,[c] Yhon, super terram que sigilla terra est, honorato, precioso nomine suo Yhaa,*
- *et per nomina sanctorum angelorum qui dominantur in primo exercitu et seruiunt coram potentissimo Salamia, angelo magno et honorato,*
- *et per nomen stelle que est Sol,*
- *et per signum inmensissimum dei viui et quod omnia per predicta.*[d]

Coniuro

- *super Raphael angelum*[e] *qui est prepositus diei dominici,*[f]
- *et per nomen Adonay, dei Israel, qui creauit mundum et quicquid est in eo,*

quod pro me labores et adimpleas omnem voluntatem meam et peticionem iuxta meum velle et votum in negocio et causa mea.

Dicas autem secundum quod tibi videbitur.

[2.] Coniuracio diei lune.[g]

[69v] *Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti,*

- *in nomine Adonay, Adonay, Adonay, Eye, Eye, Eye, Cados, Cados, Cados, Hatyn, Hatyn,*[h] *Hatyn, Va, Va, fortis, Va, qui apparuit*[i] *in monte Synay cum glorificacione regni sui, Ya, Adonay, Saday, Sabaoth, Hanath, Hu, Haxi, Ya, Ya, Ya, Marmalita, Abym, Yea, qui maria creauit, stagna, et omnes aquas in secunda die, quosdam in*

b *Heading duplicated in margin.*

c u *corrected from another letter, which is blotted out.*

d Sic *in MS.*

e *MS* angele.

f *Meaning* dominico.

g *Heading duplicated in margin, and again at top of fol. 69v.*

h *Corrected both times from* Hatym.

i *MS* apparauit

celis,[j] *quosdam in terra, et sigillauit mare cum virtute sua et alto nomine suo vt terminum quem sibi posuit non preterierent* [Ps. 103:9 Vulg.],

- *et per nomina angelorum qui dominantur in secundo exercitu, qui seruiunt Oraphaniely, angelo magno, precioso, et honorato,*[k]
- *et per nomen stelle que est Luna,*
- *et per sigilla et per nomina predicta.*[l]

Coniuro super te Gabriel, qui est prepositus diei secundo, scilicet Lune, quod pro me labores et adimpleas omnem meam peticionem. Amen.

[3.] Coniuracio dici Martis.[m]

Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti,

- *per nomen Ya, Ya, Ya, A, A, Va, Hy, Hy, Haa, Haai, Va, Va, Han, Han, Hon, Hy, Hyen, Haya, Haya, Hol, Hol, Hay, Hael, Hon,*
- *per nomina*[n] *domini Adonay, Haya, Hol, Plasmatori seculorum, Cados, Cados, Cados,* [70r] *Ebel, El, Ya, Ya, Ya, Eloy, Arar, Eloym, Eloym,*
- *et per nomen ipsius alti dei qui fecit aridam apparere et vocauit eam terram et produxit arbores et herbas de ea, et sigillauit super eam precioso et honorato* [*et*] *metuendo nomine suo,*
- *et per nomina angelorum dominancium exercitui tertio et ministrando Acynerim, angelo magno, forti, potenti, et honorato,*
- *et per nomen stelle que est*[o] *Mars,*
- *et per nomen Adonay, dei viui et veri.*

Coniuro super te, Samael, angelo qui est[p] *prepositus diei tercio, scilicet Marti, quod pro me laboretis et adimpleatis omnem meam voluntatem et totam meam peticionem, vt sicut in primo capitulo, etc., etc.*

[4.] Coniuracio diei Mercurij.[q]

Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti et potentes,

j *MS* celos.
k *MS* honorata.
l *MS* predictos.
m *Heading duplicated in margin.*
n *Followed in MS by* men, *deleted.*
o *MS* qui.
p Sic *in MS.*
q *Heading duplicated in margin.*

- *in nomine fortis, metuendi, et benedicendi, Ya, Adonay, Eleoym, Saday, Saday, Saday, Eye, Eye, Eye, Asaame, Asaomie, Asamye,*
- *in nomine domini Adonay, cum quo super verba hominum sigillauit Saa, quid, Sarguans,*[r] *Capym, Say, Saaqui,*
- *et per nomina*[s] *Cryasy, Adonay, Taguaasas, Adonay, dei Israel, quia ipse est*[t] *[qui creauit] diem et noctem,*
- *et per nomina omnium*[u] *angelorum seruiencium* [70v] *exercitui 4o, quorum Thytagora, angelo maiori, forti atque potenti,*[v]
- *et per nomen stelle que est Mercurius,*
- *et per nomen sigilli cum quo sigillatur Adon, fortissimo et honorato,*[w]
- *et per omnia predicta.*

Coniuro super te, angele magne Michahel, qui es prepositus diei 4o,

- *et per nomen sanctum quod in fronte Aaron sacerdotis altissimi creatoris*[x] *erat,*
- *et per nomina angelorum qui in gracia confirmati sunt creatoris,*
- *et per nouem sedes animalium habencium seuas*[y] *et alas,*

vt pro me laboretis in [causa] mea, vt cicius ducatur ad effectum optatum, etc.

[5.] Coniuracio diei Veneris.[z]

Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti atque potentes,

- *in nomine Hay, Hey, Hea, Ya, A, Ya, Ya, Ananey,*
- *in nomine Saday, qui creauit quadrupedia et animalia reptilia et hominem in sexto die, et dedit Ade potestatem super omnia animalia – inde benedictus sit nomen creatoris in loco suo,*
- *et per nomen angelorum qui seruiunt exercitui sexto coram Daghyel, angelo magno principi, forte*[a] *atque potenti,*
- *et per nomen stelle que*[b] *est Venus,*
- *et per sigillum eius, quod quoddam sigillum est sacratum,*

r Sic *in MS?*

s *Followed in MS by* et.

t *Followed by* ide, *struck through.*

u omnium *added below line in MS.*

v Sic *in MS.*

w Sic *in MS.*

x *Corrected in MS from* creatis.

y Sic *in MS?*

z *Heading duplicated in margin.*

a *Corrected in MS from* fortem.

b *MS* qui.

- *et per omnia predicta.*

Coniuro super te, angele magne Anael, qui es prepositus diei sexto, vt pro me labores, vt supra.

[6.] [71r] Coniuracio diei Jouis.[c]

Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti atque potentes,

- *per nomen Cados, Cados, Cados, Eseraye,*[d] *Esoraye, Eseraye, Hatym, Va, fortis firmatoris seculorum, Catiney, Yaheiz, Yaruc, Yarac, Calloac, Allae, Assaf, Maataf, Barifay, Abnaym,*
- *et per nomen Adonay, qui creauit*[e] *pisces et reptilia in aquis et aues volantes super faciem terre versus celos die quinto,*
- *et per nomina angelorum seruiencium exercitui quinto, pastore angelo magno sancto et potenti principi,*
- *et per nomen stelle que*[f] *est Jupiter,*
- *et per nomen sigilli sui,*
- *et per nomen Adonay, supremi diei omnium creatoris,*[g]
- *et per nomina omnium stellarum, et per vim et virtutem eorum,*
- *et per nomina predicta.*

Coniuro super te, Satquiel, angele magne qui est[h] *prepositus diei Jouis, quod pro me labores vt meus affectus ad effectum deueniat.*[i]

[7.] Coniuracio diei Saturni.[j]

Coniuro et confirmo et presciendo[k] *super vos, Captiel, Matatori, Sartaquidi, angeli fortes et potentes,*

- *per nomen Adonay, Adonay, Eye, Ey, E, Eye, Hacyn, Hacyn, Hacyn, Cados, Cados, Cados, Yma, Yma, Yma, Saday, Ya, Sar, domini formatoris seculorum,* [*qui*] *die septimo quieuit, et illam in beneplacito suo filiis Israel in hereditatem* [71v] *et obsequium dedit, vt eum firmiter seruarent et custodirent et sanctificarent ad habenda*

c *Heading duplicated in margin at bottom of fol. 70v.*

d *Corrected in MS from* Esaraye.

e *Followed by* pisces, *struck through.*

f *MS* qui.

g *Presumably meaning* supremi dei, omnium creatoris.

h Sic *in MS.*

i *MS* deueniant.

j *Heading duplicated in margin.*

k Sic *in MS.*

inde bona et in alio seculo remuneraciones, et nomina angelorum seruiencium exercitui septimo coram Boel, angelo magno, potenti principi,

- *et per nomen stelle que*[l] *est Saturnus,*
- *et per sanctum*[m] *sigillum eius,*
- *et per omnia predicta.*

Coniuro Captiel, qui prepositus es[n] *diei septimo, qui est*[o] *dies sabbati, vt pro me labores*[p] *et non desistas*[q] *donec totum affectum ad effectum perducas. Amen.*

37b. Seals for seven angels

Sequitur videre et scire septem sigilla que[a] signanda sunt in quolibet opere secundum diem septimane.

Hec sunt sigilla vij planetarum discurrencium vij celos, secundum quod dixerunt vij physici sapientes, quotquod opus facies, quod si non scies non complebitur sine signis istis sequentibus, quoniam quelibet dies suum sigillum et suam[b] planetam et suos angelos et suum regem spirituum cum adiutoriis suis et sua[s] creatura[s] et suffumigium suum, secundum quod inferius tibi dicetur, et quando feceris hec,[c] scias quod perfectum ipsum fuisse et magnum qui hunc librum composuit. Et scias quod quidquid quesieris perficietur,[d] et virtute dei, cuius nomen sit benedictum per infinita secula seculorum, amen.

[1.] [72r] Ecce sigillum Raphahelis, angeli cuius stella est Sol. Fac illud die Solis in signo Leonis.[e]

[2.] Ecce sigillum Gabrielis, angeli cuius stella est Luna. Fac illud die Lune, hora Lune, in signo Cancri, etc.[f]

[3.] Ecce sigillum Samaelis, angeli cuius stella est Mars. Fac illa die Martis, hora Martis, in signo Arietis uel Scorpionis.[g]

l *MS* qui.
m *Followed by* g, *struck through.*
n Sic *in MS.*
o *MS* es.
p *MS* laboras.
q *MS* desistac *or* desistat.
a *MS* qui.
b *MS* suum.
c *Or* hoc.
d perficietur *duplicated in MS.*
e *Followed by seal.*
f *Followed by seal.*
g *Followed by seal.*

[4.] Ecce sigillum Michahelis, angeli cuius stella est Mercurius. Fac illa die Mercurij et hora Mercurij, in signo Capricorni uel Gemini uel Virginis.[h]

[5.] Ecce sigillum Satquielis, angeli cuius stella est Jupiter. Fac illa die Jouis, et hora Jouis, signo Sagittarij et Pissis, etc.[i]

[6.] [72v] Ecce sigillum Anaelis, angeli cuius stella est Venus. Fac illa die Veneris, hora Veneris, in signo Thauri et Libre, etc.[j]

[7.] Ecce sigillum Caffrielis,[k] angeli cuius stella est Saturnus. Fac illa die Sabbati, hora Saturni, in signo Capricorni et Aquarij.[l]

37c. Seals for days of the week

[1.] Ecce sigillum diei dominici, quod fieri debet Sole ascendente.[a]
[73r] Ecce signum Solis, quod[b] est planeta die[i] dominice.[c]
[2.] Ecce sigillum Lune, quod fieri debet Luna ascendente.[d]
Ecce signum Lune, quod est planeta diei Lune.[e]
[3.] Sigillum diei Martis, quod debet fieri Marte ascendente.[f]
[73v] Signum die[i] Martis, quod est planeta diei Martis.[g]
[4.] Sigillum Mercurij debet fieri Mercurio ascendente.[h]
Signum Mercurij, quod est planeta Mercurij diei.[i]
[5.] Sigillum Jouis, quod fieri debet Joue ascendente.[j]
[74r] Signum Jouis, quod est planeta diei Jouis.[k]
[6.] Sigillum Veneris, quod debet fieri Venere ascendente.[l]

h *Followed by seal.*
i *Followed by seal on top of 72v.*
j *Followed by seal.*
k *Or* Casfrielis?
l *Followed by seal.*

a *Followed by four lines of seals.*
b Sic in *MS, here and in following cases.*
c *Followed by two lines of seals.*
d *Followed by two lines of seals.*
e *Followed by one line of seals.*
f *Followed by five lines of seals.*
g *Followed by two lines of seals.*
h *Followed by five lines of seals.*
i *Followed by one line of seals.*
j *Followed by two lines of seals, and three further lines at the top of 74r.*
k *Followed by one line of signs.*
l *Followed by four lines of signs.*

Signum Veneris, quod est planeta diei Veneris.[m]

[7.] Sigillum Saturni, quod debet fieri Saturno ascendente.[n]

[74v] Note de signis vij planetarum, id est septem dierum. Conpleta signa vij dierum ebdomade super planetis et signis eorum. Caue igitur in illis tibi, quia[o] maxima virtus est in eis, quare quia in eis complebuntur opera tua.

37d. Names of the angels who rule over the days of the week

Nomina angelorum regnancium a diebus septimane sunt dicenda, et sequitur que opera habet[a] nominare in operibus septimane.

[1.] Angelus diei dominici est Raphahel.

[2.] Angelus diei Lune est Gabriel.[b]

[3.] Angelus diei Martis est Samael.

[4.] Angelus diei Mercurij est Michael.

[5.] Angelus diei Jouis [75r] est Satquiel.

[6.] Angelus diei Veneris est Anael.

[7.] Angelus diei Saturni, id est Sabbati, est Captiel.[c]

In isto igitur opere nominabis angelum diei in quo facies opus tuum, et scribe illa, quare[d] si fuerint scripta multum iuuabunt te cum potencia creatoris.

37e. Spirits who rule over the days of the week

Regum spirituum vij diebus in septimana regnancium nomina subscribentur super eos angelos dominantes diei quando facies opus et sic venient et complebunt voluntatem tuam et respondebunt tibi in omnibus que quesieris.[a]

[1.]Die ergo dominico regnat et seruit rex Saytam. Coadiutores sui sunt[b] Taatus, Candas, Vanibal.

[2.] Et die Lune regnat et seruit rex Almodab. Coadiutores sui sunt Sylol, Millalu, Abuzaba.

[3.] Die Martis regnat et seruit rex filius dyabuli.[c] Coadiutores sunt Carmath, Utanaual, Pascami.

m *Followed by one line of signs.*

n *Followed by 6 lines of signs at the top of 74v.*

o Sic *in MS.*

a Sic *in MS.*

b r *in* Gabriel *partly blotted out in MS.*

c *Or* Capciel?

d Sic *in MS.*

a Sic *in MS.*

b *Followed in MS by* Sylol, Candas, *struck through.*

c Sic *in MS.*

[4.] Die Mercurij regnat et seruit rex Saba. Coadiutores sui sunt[d] Conas, Pactas, Sanbras.

[5.] Die Jouis regnat et seruit rex Madrath, filius Arath. Coadiutores sui sunt Hyrti uel Hyiti, Ignaro,[e] Quiron, Saalalebeth.

[6.] Die Veneris [75v] regnat rex et seruit Saabotes. Coadiutores sui sunt Nassath, Ynasa.

[7.] Die Saturni regnat Hayton, Assayby. Coadiutores sui sunt Abimalyb et Haybalydoth et Yfla.

Conpleta sunt nomina regum spirituum regnancium et seruiencium septem diebus septimane.

37f. Suffumigations for each day of the week

Quilibet enim dies septimane habet suffumigium sibi appropriatum, cum quo suffumigabis[a] opus tuum quod facies in ea, et complebitur opus tuum sine dubio.

[1.] Suffumigium dies dominice assandalum croceum vel rubeum uel simile sibi.

[2.] Die Lune est aloes, anacap, uel simile sibi.

[3.] Die Martis est piper aut abana, cyg[b] uel sibi simile.

[4.] Die Mercurij est altast aut ei simile.

[5.] Die Jouis est olibanum aut croceum uel ei simile.

[6.] Die Veneris est almastic aut lignum radim uel ei simile.

[7.] Die Saturni est assandaron et sulphur aut ei simile.

Et si in die Saturni operare volueris ad ligandas lignas,[c] erit suffumigium thus Odee Capre.[d] Hec[e] sunt suffumigia dierum septimane.

37g. Purposes served in each day of the week

[1.] In die dominico operari poteris ad ligandas li[n]gwas aut ad alias ligaciones hominum.

[2.] Die Lune operandum est ad beniuolenciam et ad concordiam et amiciciam.

[3.] Die Martis [76r] operandum est ad infirmandum homines et destruendum.

d *Followed in MS by* Comas, *deleted.*

e Sic *in MS?*

a fumi *blotted out in MS.*

b Sic *in MS, for* cygminus?

c *Meaning* linguas?

d Sic *in MS?*

e *MS* Hee.

[4.] Die Mercurij operandum est ad ponendum inimiciciam siue odium inter homines.

[5.] Die Jouis operandum est ad faciendum pacem inter homines discordantes.

[6.] Die Veneris operandum est ad coniu[n]gendum homines in amicicia uel prouocandos de loco ad locum ad beniuolenciam.

[7.] Die Saturni operari poteris ad ligandum[a] interiora[b] balnea, molendina, aut similia.[c]

Dictum est de operibus dierum septimane in qua operandum est.

Quacumque die septimane operari volueris ad beniuolenciam aut quo[d]libet bonum uel malum, attende diligenter quod illa sit operi faciendo conueniens,[d] nec dimittas opus tuum de die in diem uel differas, quare si illud opus non confirmaretur uel non duceretur ad effectum forsitan putaret[ur] illud esse falsum.

37h. Angels serving on each day of the week

Sciendum quod qualibet[a] die septimane presunt tres angeli ad seruiendum homini et opera eius perficienda.

[1.] Diei dominico presunt tres angeli, scilicet Raphahel, Dardiel et[b] Vrlacafel.

[2.] Die Lune presunt[c] hij: Gab[ri]el, Michael, Sammyel.

[3.] Diei Martis presunt hij, scilicet Satyel, Sanyel, Barma- [76v] ly.

[4.] Diei Mercurij presunt hij, scilicet Gemi, Sabael, Sarpiel, Muriel.

[5.] Diei Jouis presunt hij, scilicet Pacta, Castiel, Assassael.

[6.] Diei Veneris presunt hij, scilicet Anael, Sarquiel, Sacquiel.

[7.] Diei Saturni presunt hij, scilicet Captiel, Mataton, Sartquiel, id est Satraquel.

In omni opere quod facies, invocabis angelos illius die[i] quo operari volueris, et ipsi tuam complebunt voluntatem et ducent ad effectum opus tuum.

37i. Names of God

Sequuntur consequenter nomina que scribere habent in principio cuiuslibet operis quod facies ei et respondebunt voluntati tue. Et sunt ex nominibus

a um *blotted out in MS.*

b *Initial* i *blotted out in MS.*

c *Followed by* Quacumque die septimane.

d *Meaning* quod illa sint operi faciendo conueniencia?

a *MS* quilibet.

b *MS* uel.

c *MS* prosunt *(here and in the following five cases).*

creatoris. Ista ergo nomina cum nominari volueris invocanda sunt, scilicet Anguas, Yna, Dei Israel, Ybae,[a] Subae, Guabas, Ynissamon, Haa, Dosa, Barian. In omnia alia karta quam scribes opus hoc vt scribat in ea vbi sit alique ex materia carte quod si fuerit de amicicia et si fuerit de inimicicia et si ad medicinam similiter sic obseruet[ur] in omnibus.[b]

37j. Names of the hours of the day, and their functions

Scribere nos oportet nomina horarum[a] diei quibus horis perficientur opera que facies.

[1.] [77r] Prima ergo diei hora dicitur Yayn. In hac hora facienda est carta ad destruendas voces hominum et mala verba eorum et lingwas ligandas.

[2.] Secunda enim hora diei dicitur Yan, Or, et in ea operaberis ad amiciciam et graciam et beneficium obtinendum et ad societatem hominum aduittandum[b] ad reges et ad potentes.

[3.] Tercia vero hora diei dicitur Nassura. In ea facias cartam uel ymagines ad venerandum[c] feras vel aues, siue ad inplicandum pisces, uel aliquod quodlibet nascencia perhibenda.[d]

[4.] Quarta hora diei dicitur Sala. In ea fac cartam uel ymaginem ad ligandum omnes bestias siluestres, leones, vrsos, et similia.

[5.] Quinta hora diei dicitur Sadadat. In ea fac cartas ad ligaciones et ad applicandas quaslibet bestias, et ad quidquid vis aliud.

[6.] Sexta hora diei dicitur Tamhut. In ea operari poteris ad extrahendum captiuos de carcere, ad ligatos soluendos.

[7.] Septima hora diei dicitur Caror. In ea operatur ad ponendum pacem inter reges.

[8.] Octaua hora diei dicitur Tariel. In ea operari poteris ad mandeolenam et discor- [77v] diam[e] ponendam inter homines.

[9.] Nona hora diei dicitur Karon. In ea facienda est carta ad itinerandum[f] uel ad eundum inter latrones sine timore.

[10.] Decima hora diei dicitur Hyon. In ea operari poteris ad demonia uel demoniacos uel ventum malum uel pauorem uel iuuandum ad dominas.

a *Corrected in MS from* Ybas *(?).*

b *This entire paragraph seems obscurely written.*

a *MS* horas.

b *Meaning* admittendam *or* admittendorum?

c *Presumably meaning* venandum.

d Sic *in MS.*

e c *added above line in MS.*

f *MS* itenerandum.

[11.] Vndecima hora diei dicitur Nathalon. In ea operari poteris ad prouocandum sangwinis fluxum in mulieribus et ad ligandum virum cum muliere uel e contrario.

[12.] Duodecima hora diei dicitur Abat. In ea operari poteris inter maliuolos ad pacem ponendam inter virum et mulierem.

37k. Names of the hours of the night, and their functions

[1.] Iste sunt hore diei, et operibus sibi pertinentibus.[a]

Prima hora noctis dicitur Leron. In ea fac ad demoniacos opera tua, aut ad uentos malos aut ad congregandas et loquitur cum eis.[b]

[2.] Secunda hora noctis dicitur Latol. In ea operari poteris ad piscariam et ad omina nascencia aque.

[3.] Tercia hora noctis dicitur Hami. In ea operari poteris ad accendendum uel ad exti[n]gwendum ignem et ad omnia que in eo volueris operari.

[4.] Quarta hora noctis dicitur Atyn. In ea operari [78r] poteris ad destruendum domum uel huiusmodi ad expellendum homines de loco ad locum.

[5.] Quinta hora noctis dicitur Caron. In ea fac questiones vt in sompnis videat quod futurum est in mundo uel in diebus uel in annis et ad secreta reuelanda.

[6.] Sexta hora noctis dicitur Zaia. In ea operari poteris ad arbores et fructus earum et ad ceteras plantas terre et ad omne quod operandum est in terra.

[7.] Septima hora dicitur Nectius. In ea operari poteris ad expellendum homines de domo sua uel quod infirmetur uel quod moriatur.

[8.] Octaua hora noctis[c] dicitur Tafat. In ea poteris operari ad inimicicaam ponendam inter quos volueris.

[9.] Nona hora noctis dicitur Conassuor. In ea poteris operari ad ligaciones li[n]gwarum aut ad intrandum ad reges et dominos.

[10.] Decima hora noctis dicitur Algo. In ea operari poteris ad destruendas li[n]gwas uel omnem cogitacionem super te aut concilium malum quod super te cogitatum fuerit.

[11.] Vndecima hora noctis dicitur Caltrua. In ea operari poteris que volueris in auibus, ad eas ligandas[d] uel capiendas.

[12.] Duodecima hora noctis dicitur Salaij. In ea poteris [78v] operari ad inveniendum quidquid predictum est uel ad reuelacionem furti uel malorum factorum.

a *Presumably meaning* opera eis pertinencia.

b Sic *in MS.*

c *Corrected in margin of MS from* nothis.

d *First* a *inserted above line, substituting for a letter that is blotted out.*

371. Names of angels that rule each hour of the day and of the night

Cvm aliquod opus uel cartam volueris scribere, nomen hore et nomen angeli et hore et qui ei dominatur uel ministratur oportet te nominare. Hec sunt nomina angelorum dominancium omnibus horis diei noxium[a] septimane. Prime hore diei dominatur Raphael. 2e hore Anael. 3e Michael. 4e Gabriel. 5e Gaffriel. 6e Satquiel. 7e[b] Samael. 8ue Raphael. 9e Anael. 10e Michael. Vndecime Gabriel. 12e Cafriel.

Nocte diei Lune prima hora dominatur Satquiel. 2e hore Samael. 3e Raphael. 4e Anael. 5e Michael. 6e Gabriel. 7e Cafriel. 8e Satquiel. 9e Samael. 10e Raphael. 11e[c] Anael. 12e Michael. Sic autem intelligere debes de omnibus aliis noctium et dierum prenominatis quidem enim angeli dominatur et ministrat horis secundum dominacionem planetarum uel ministracionem in eis. Omni hora Solis ministrat uel dominatur Raphael. Hora Veneris, Anael. Hora Mercurij, Michael. Hora Lune, Gabriel. Hora Saturni, Caffriel. Hora Jouis, Satquiel. Hora Martis, Samuel. Diei eciam cuiuslibet planete cum angelis suis signaque planetarum distributa horum angelorum nomina debent concordare et respondere [79r] nominibus capitulis supra proxime positus et angelo qui continetur infra in coniuracionibus cuiuslibet diei et in capitulis de ymaginibus deorum quibus ministrant adinuicem.[d]

Diei dominici ergo ministrat Sol, et angelus eius Raphael, eiusque signum Leo. Diei lune[e] ministrat Luna, et angelus eius Gabriel, eiusque signum Aries et Scorpio. Diei Martis ministrat Mars, et angelus eius Samael, eiusque signum Cancer. Diei Mercurij ministrat planeta Mercurij, et eius angelus Michael uel Mathael, eiusque signum Gemini uel Virgo. Diei Jouis ministrat Jupiter, et angelus eius Samael, eiusque signum Sagitarius et Pisces. Diei Veneris ministrat Venus, et angelus eius[f] Anael, eiusque signum Thaurus et Libra. Diei Sabbati ministrat Saturnus, et angelus eius Caffriel, eiusque signum Capricornus et Aquarius.

Nomina[g] siue istis v nominibus opus tuum perficere non poteris. Prima hora diei Lune ministrat uel dominatur Gabriel. Secunda hora Caffriel. 3a hora Satquiel. 4a hora Samael. 5a hora Raphael. 6a hora Anael. 7a hora Michael. 8a hora Gabriel. Nona hora Caffriel. Decima hora Satquiel. Vndecima hora Samael. Duodecima hora Raphael.

a Sic *in MS.*
b *Blotted out in MS.*
c *MS* 12.
d Sic *in MS.*
e *Corrected in MS from* luna.
f *MS* eiusque.
g Sic *in MS.*

37m. Images to be used for each hour of the day

[79v] De operibus ymaginum diei.

[1.] Nota primo malas li[n]gwas. Prima hora diei facienda est ymago ad ligandas li[n]gwas, et li[n]gwa que ligata fuit illa hora nunquam erit potens loquendi malum verbum de te. Prima hora diei fac ymaginem canis ex argento uel stanno[a] puro, et sculpe in capite ymaginis nomen illius super quem operaris et nomen domini hore et diei in quo hec[b] facis, et in ventre ymaginis nomen potentissimi et altissimi domini, et suffumigabis ymaginem suffumigio supra dicto, et cum sangwine rubeo et involues eam in panno albo nouo, et sepelies eam ad partem illius de quo volueris, tunc non loquitur de te malum. Et sic ligabunt omnia ora et oculi hominum, et tibi nunquam nocere poterit quamdiu durabit ymago ista. In ventrem ymaginis scribe nomen Lune et nomen signi et angelorum tempore quo hoc[c] facies. Hec autem nomina sunt nomina creatoris multum preciosa et benedicta, quibus creatum fuit[d] celum et terra.[e] Hic[f] autem cum sculpes, sculpe eam totaliter vt bene appareat.[g] Et hec sunt nomina: Lyara, Lyalguana, Loaffar, Vialuarab, Lebara, Lebarion, Layasales. Hec sunt vij nomina que scribes in ventre forme, et scribes ea in omnibus operibus omnium rerum pertinencium hominibus, aut auibus et bestiis et omnibus creaturis de concordia et amicicia.

[2.] [80r] Secunda hora diei facienda est ymago benivolencie, et vna ymago viri et altera mulieris de purissimo stanno fusile et [in] capite ymaginis mulieris nomen viri, et in capite viri nomen mulieris, in pectore vero et in ventre ymaginis[h] sculpes vijtem subsequencia nomina simul cum vijtem nominibus supradictis, et iunges ymagines, conglutinando[i] eas cum cera, ita quod inter se bene firmantur, et sepelias[j] in domo illius quem volueris alium sequi, et fiet inter eos amicicia durabilis quamdiu ymagines durabunt. Et hec sunt ista vij nomina, hec scribes: Malthayl, Caramel, Azariel, Zaraimayl,[k] Parsail, Porbayl, Seralabelis. Et hec[l] quod[m] legi possunt.

a *MS* stangno.
b *Or* hoc.
c *Or* hec.
d *Presumably meaning* quibus creauit.
e *In margin of MS:* Nota nomina, *and pointing hand.*
f *Meaning* hanc [ymaginem].
g *MS* appariat *or* apperiat [appiat].
h *MS* ymaginem.
i *MS* conglutinaando.
j *MS* sepelieas.
k Sic *in MS.*
l *Or* hoc.
m *Meaning* quoque.

[3.] Tercia hora diei facienda est ymago ad prouocandas omnes aues et tota omnia piscamina[n] ad locum signatum. In hac hora fac ex ere rubeo ymaginem animalis quod applicare volueris, et sculpe in capite ymaginis nomen domini hore et in pectore similiter et in ventre vij nomina prime hore, et suffumiga eam cum feniculo aut ordeo yndo, et sepeli eam in loco ad quem volueris applicare animalia sub quorum similitudine ymaginem formasti, et videbis mirabilia creatoris quando veniant ad locum istum.

[4.] [80v] Quarta hora diei facienda est ymago ad animalia prouocanda uel effuganda, vt scorpiones et omnia reptilia et bestias siluestras. In hac hora fac ymaginem ex ere croceo ad similitudinem animalis cuius genus [ge9] in loco signato volueris applicare, sculpe nomen animalis in capite ymaginis et in pectore nomen domini hore, et vij supradicta nomina, prima hora[o] sculpe in ventre ymaginis et sepeli ymaginem in loco quo vis applicari. Hec quidem ymago applicabit omnia animalia que tunc non in loco erant.

[5.] Qvinta hora diei facienda est ymago ad feras mitigandas, vt leones, vrsos, et lupos, aut[p] quaslibet alias feras nocentes. In hac hora funde ymaginem animalis cuius genus volueris applicari uel mittigari, et sculpe in capite ymaginis nomen animalis, et in pectore nomen hore et nomen domini hore, et in ventre vij nomina prime hore, et suffumiga ymaginem cum ligno yndo et cum sandalo rubeo, et sepeli ymaginem in loco vbi volueris, et auxilio domini te adiuuante videbis quod omnia illa animalia ad voluntatem tuam reuertentur.

[6.] Ad liberandos incarceratos. Sexta hora diei facienda est ymago pro captiuis aut incarceratis, uel dampnandis ad mortem uel saluandis. In hac [81r] hora funde ymaginem illius uel istorum quos saluari volueris ex argento uel stanno, et sculpe in capite ymaginis nomen viri saluandi, et in pectore nomen hore, et in ventre[q] septem nomina prime hore, et[r] dona[s] ymaginem alicui eorum, quod eam secum teneat carcere et ista nocte euadent a carcere cum potencia dei creatoris.

[7.] Ad uenandum uel ad piscandum.[t] Septima hora diei facienda est ymago pro uenacione et piscacione, et est fortis et vtilis multum. Funde ymaginem ex optimo argento in hac hora, et sculpe in capite ymaginis nomen domini hore, et in pectore ymaginis vij nomina 2e hore, et omni hora qua piscatum vel venatum

n Sic *in MS.*

o *MS* hore.

p *MS* aut.

q *MS* virtute.

r et *slightly malformed, and duplicated above line in MS.*

s *MS* tona.

t *Heading added in margin of MS.*

ieris ymaginem tecum porta et[u] applicacionem, venacionem, uel piscacionem quam volueris.

[8.] Ad maliuolenciam et discordiam ponendam inter homines. Octaua hora diei facienda est ymago ad domos uel ad loca destruenda[v] et deponenda. In hac hora funde ymaginem ex ere rubeo cum duobus capitibus, quorum vnum sit asininum, reliquum vero hominis, et sculpe in capite asinino nomen loci quod deletum esse volueris, et in capite humano sculpe nomen domini loci, et ministratores domini loci et in pectore ymaginis nomen domini hore, et suffumiga ymaginem cum sangwine hominis inter- [81v] fecti uel cum auxugia carnis, et sepeli eam in loco quem depopulatum rem[w] volueris et fugient omnes homines et depopulabitur iste locus talis quod nec quoddam[x] brutum animal remanebit.

[9.] Quod poteris transire vbicumque volueris et nullus tibi nocere potest. Nona hora diei facienda est ymago ad ambulandum sine timore inter leones aut feras et transire per eas sine timore [uel] terrore, et ad omnia itineranda secure. In ea hora funde ymaginem sub similitudine de qua quesieris,[y] et scribe in capite ymaginis nomen domini hore, in ventre vij nomina prime hore, et suffumiga ymaginem cum supradicto[z] fuste et croco. Portans eam tecum, transibis per quemcumque locum volueris sine timore, qui[a] oculi cunctorum videre te non poterunt et eorum li[n]gwe obmutescent. Poterisque transire, [et non] fiet tibi dampnum. cum potencia dei.

[10.] Ad optinendum quidquid volueris coram[a] regibus et[b] principibus. Decima hora diei facienda est ymago ad intrandum ad reges et potestates. In hac hora funde ymaginem hominis ex argento, et sculpe in capite ymaginis nomen hominis, et in pectore nomen hore et nomen domini hore, et in ventre vij nomina prime hore, et suffumiga ymaginem cum croco et fuste supra- [82r] dicto, et involue eam in panno nouo lineo et albo, et hora qua ad aliquem volueris intrare vel ire porta eam tecum, et obtinebis quid volueris cum adiutorio dei.

[11.] Ad faciendum concordare discordantes. Vndecima hora diei facienda est ymago ad prouocandam concordiam inter discordantes uel inter virum et mulierem. In hac hora funde duas ymagines, vnius ponderis et vnius quantitatis

u *Meaning* ad.?

v *Meaning* depopulaturum?

w Sic *in MS?*

x *Followed in MS by* p, *struck through.*

y *Perhaps meaning* sub similitudine bestie de qua quesieris?

z Sic *in MS.*

a *Followed in MS by* te, *struck through.*

b *Followed in MS by* pueri (?), *struck through.*

et qualitatis, et sculpe nomen viri in capite femine, et nomen femine in capite masculi. et in pectoribus ambarum ymaginum sculpes nomen hore et nomen domini hore, et in ventris nomina 2e hore, et pone eas facie ad faciem, et suffumiga eas cum croco et fuste supradicto, et pone eas in secreto ad stellas, et videbis mirabilia, quomodo vnus inqui[e]tet alium et non poterit vnus sine alio stare.

[12.] Ad ligandas li[n]gwas. Dvodecima hora diei facienda est ymago ad ligandas li[n]gwas. In hac hora fac ymaginem hominis ex optimo stanno, et sculpe in capite nomen eius, et in pectore nomen hore, et in ventre nomina prime hore, et suffumiga cum croco et fuste supradicto, et pone ad stellas vij noctes, et cum mochazat et cum sandaras, et coniura eam cum qui sic incipiunt Samahil, et non erit potens loqui super eum malum verbum.

[82v] Finite sunt vij ymagines que faciende sunt in similibus horis diei cum omnibus suffumigacionibus et operibus suis. Caue igitur in illis, quia exanimate sunt et vere et ne per te mentiantur,[c] quia per eas totam perficies tuam voluntatem, in gracia dei, cuius nomen sit benedictum. Amen.

37n. Images to be used for each hour of the night

De operibus ymaginum noctis.

Modo dicam operacionem ymaginum noctis, sicut studuerunt antiqui qui nominati sunt; invocantur qui ipsi eas composuerunt, vt omnes homines operantes eas scirent de lucerna quc nunquam exti[n]gwi possit.

[1.] Prima hora noctis facienda est ymago ad illuminanda loca tenebrosa uel quemlibet alium locum obscurum. In hac hora funde candelam eream quasi crucibulum habens vij ora, et sculpa in quo[libet] ore crucibuli hec nomina: Sarastan, Hasas, Dalas, Sassa; et pone in quolibet ore crucibuli lignum[a] de bombace, et scribe super os crucibuli hec xij nomina: Bezat, Berith, Zenit, Caffan, Dalfat, Dana, Aneth, Beas, Manith, Hassas, Dalaph, Sefa. Et fac ex eo super crucibulum ymaginem hominis tenentis secum quasi formam vasis in similitudinem fundentis oleum in candela, et imple candelam oleo quod non fuerit expressum manibus, et sculpe super faciem ymaginis istud [83r] nomen: Leorphahel [uel] Leorpahel, et super formam nomen istud: Rosahal. Et similiter supra candelam crucibuli, et cooperi faciem ymaginis quod non possit discooperiri, et accende ora crucibuli, et nunquam

c Sic *in MS.*

a *MS* lignium.

exti[n]gwetur. Poteris facere ymaginem in loco quod nulla mulier poterit transire, nec ibi stare, nec ibi stetur.[b]

[2.] Secunda hora noctis faciendum est ymago ad presciendum fortunium. Istud testificatus est homo Almera, qui fuit ex sapientibus antiquis, qui cum ingressus fuisset quamdam ciuitatem quam nominabant Alandar fecit in ea ymaginem istam et vlterius ingressa non fuit mulier in eam. In hac hora funde ymaginem ex ere lympide, et scribe super faciem ymaginis hec nomina: Notooa,[c] Har, Beel, Cead, Vasas, Naaya, Haat. Et hec alia sculpes in quodam folio oris[d] et ponas in manu ymaginis; hec sunt nomina, scilicet, Raagor, Ralaz, Branar, Cundaz,[e] Natho, Jany. Et sepeli ymaginem in medio ciuitatis siue ville, vt nullus te videat dum hoc[f] feceris. Et cum hac ymagine poteris prescindere scorpiones aut cetera nocencia de loco.

[3.] Ad fugandum omnia reptilia. Tercia hora noctis facienda est ymago ad predestinendum reptilia nocencia aut bestias malas aut locustas, vt viperas aut omnem rem malam. In hac hora funde ymaginem [83v] eream ad similitudinem reptilis quod volueris fugari et scribe in facie eius hec nomina: Vabros, Wiez, Bercca,[g] Beror, Berabut, Baramel. Et sepely ymaginem vbi volueris, et omnia de dictis effugabunt.

[4.] Ad destinandum villam aut locum quem volueris depopulari, aut inimiciciam. Qvarta hora noctis facienda est ymago ad villam vel locum destruendum quem volueris depopulari, aut inimiciciam.[h] In hac hora minge tu ipse retro in ore cameli uel catti, et collige in panno hominis, et vade ad domum inimici tui, et [scribe] ista nomina cum ista aqua in porta domus eius: *Raccedi,*[i] *Palicos, Pytalas, Pila, coniuro vos quod cito destruetis domum illius*, N., et tam cito factum erit.

[5.] Ad dispergendum exercitum. Qvinta hora noctis faciendum est ymago ad dispergendum exercitum congregatum super castrum aut quemlibet alium locum, aut malas nubes aut grandinem. In hac hora funde ymaginem ex plumbo et ere rubeo equaliter mixtum sitque 4or librarum, et sculpe in ea hec nomina: Baraa, Atle, Hate, Carbara, Garglale, Ha, Conadiuro Famal,[j] Alul, Beaali, Aguel,

b Sic *in MS.*
c Sic *in MS?*
d Sic *in MS.*
e Sic *in MS?*
f *Or* hec.
g Sic *in MS?*
h Sic *in MS.*
i Sic *in MS?*
j Sic *in MS.*

et Arpa, Nafaca, Paluo. Et suffumiga ymaginem suffumigiis que docuimus, et[k] coniura super eam vij nomina scripta, et sepeli[l] ymaginem in altori loco, et tale infor- [84r] tunium eueniet quod totus exercitus dispergetur, [et] fugiet. Et si operatus fuerit ad dispergendas nubes, sepeli eam in altiori loco et propinquiori monte, ville, morce, uel loco seminato, et dispergetur nubes et complebitur quod quesieris, videbisque mirabilia et potenciam creatoris.

[6.] Ad faciendum fugere inimicos uel inimicum. Sexta hora noctis facienda est ymago ad expellendum inimicum a villa de domo in qua moratur. In hac hora funde ymaginem ex ere rubeo, et sculpe in ea hec nomina: Tartarath, Acuta, Col, Cafra, Cal, Guabrath, Afah, Audena, Cal, Matha, Coltasia, Bal, Mathail, Cafia, Falduc, Atal, Parclena,[m] Cul, Mathiel, Fustaul, Gaulyar, Etal, Patath, Cicubael, Barath, Cabuel, Athael, Pera, Patua. Et in capite ymaginis sculpe nomina illius pro quo ymaginem facis, et suffumiga ymaginem supradictis suffumigiis, et pone eam prope[n] habitacionem eius, et recedet maliuolus fugiendo de villa vel domo, nec quiescet, et pauescet, et distruetur eius sensus totalis.

[7.] Ad comburendum[o] nascencia terre. Septima hora noctis facienda est ymago ad comburenda nascencia terre. In hac [84v] hora funde ymaginem ex ere rubeo, et sculpe in ea hec nomina: Agug, Cantzit, Totnan, Catua, Via, Meracuat, Vanath, Gara, Turat,[p] Nuxae, Artha, Nar. Descendat ignis de celis in terram, qui[q] tremat totum terminum istum. Adrat, Mararat, Beguayl, Algayl, Carat.[r] Et sepeli ymaginem in termino ville, et in toto termino folium viride non[s] cremabit.

[8.] Ad congregandum apes aut columbas uel alias quascumque aues. Octaua hora noctis facienda est ymago ad applicandas apes ad aluarium suum, aut columbas ad columbarium suum, aut quascumque alias aues ad locum signatum de longinquis partibus terminis in circuitu. In hac hora funde ymaginem apis de auro ad pondus vnius aurei, et sculpe in ea ista nomina: Cadota, Carosa, Astab, Yatyon,[t] Vetartuna, Taracta. Et sepely ymaginem in altiori loco illius termini et applicabunt illuc omnes[u] apes qui erunt in circuitu loci illius aut columbe ad

k *Followed in MS by sign for* con-, *blotted out.*

l *Followed in MS by* eam, *deleted.*

m Sic *in MS?*

n *MS* proprie.

o *MS* comburendam.

p Sic *in MS?*

q *Followed in MS by* creauit te, *struck through.*

r Sic *in MS.*

s Sic *in MS.*

t *Followed in MS by* Vertart, *struck through.*

u *Followed in MS by* aues, *deleted.*

columbarium suum vbi fuerit ymago columbe facta secundum quod supra dictum est. Similiter et omnes alie aues.

[9.] Hanc ymaginem facies ad omnia que volueris prouocare ad capiendum aues quas volueris. [85r] Nona hora noctis facienda est ymago ad prouocandas aues quarumlibet ad quemlibet locum volueris. In hac hora fac ymaginem illarum auium quas volueris prouocare, et sculpe in ea ista nomina: Totarati, Tuata, Berhantual, Toluhaya, Ya. Et pone eam quo volueris aues applicari, et applicabunt.

[10.] Ad dispergendum exercitum obsidentem[v] villam uel castrum. Decima hora noctis facienda est ymago ad dispergendum exercitum obsidentem villam uel castrum. In hac hora funde duas ymagines ex duobus generibus diuersorum metallorum: vna sit ex ere rubeo, 2a ex plumbo, 3a de stanno, 4a de argento, 5a de ferro. Sint autem hee due ymagines in vno corpore, et ista ymago habeat duo capita, vnum leonis, reliquum vero thauri, habens cornva a parte anteriori,[w] et sculpe in testis illis ista nomina: Horata, Taramat, Bata, Velaheia, Laa, Veda, Eaeffaxa, Lylatrala, Calmaatur, Mantut, Caatuas. Et sculpe in ventre formam leonis et formam bouis, et pone inter eas de sepo bouis et de sepo colubri, et suffumiga ymaginem cum eis et sepely eam vbi sedet exercitus, et cadit in eo talis occisio quod ipsimet se occident, et nunquam reuertatur medietas ad terram suam de ordine.

[11.–12.] [85v] Vndecima et duodecima hora noctis nichil per ymagines manuum est operandum, nisi per oracionem et postulacionem, sic enim dixerunt sapientes: Qui de hac sapiencia inquirere uel addiscere voluerit, oportet eum primitus scire horar et nomina dierum, quia in hiis est tota virtus magisterij, et cum hiis perficies opera tua in virtute creatoris, cuius nomen est benedictum in secula [secul]orum. Amen.

37o. Names of angels serving specific times

Qvando volueris operari ex libro isto adnomina nomen Terre in tempore suo quolibet eorum 4or nominum, videlicet in quolibet opere vnum. Et quia hoc[a] precipitur, quia si fieret aliqua transgressio per operantem, nullum[b] veniret ad effectum, etc.

Cvm autem aliquod opus aut ymaginem operare volueris ad precidendum[c]

v *MS* absidentem.

w Sic *in MS?*

a *Or* hec.

b *MS* nullo.

c Sic *in MS.*

da[m]pnum hominibus siue seminibus aut gregibus, accipiet[d] tempus diei quo hec[e] facies, et si de nocte operatus fueris, accipiet tempus noctis cum nominibus angelorum mendancium[f] tempus in quo operaberis, in nomen non prohibende vt lucuste grandis et malorum nubium aut rei que tibi videbitur, et hec sunt nomina que scribes in primo tempore.[g]

Nomina angelorum primi temporis: Gatrat,[h] Cassa, Tait, Amatyel, Gramsatos, et nomen potentis super istos est Oamquiel, et nomen capitis Singlytiel, et Venatyel, Atatyel, [86r] nomen vero auium est Nerastas.

Nomina angelorum secundi temporis sunt hec: Bartatel, Turiel, Vlmiel, et nomen capitis signi Labael.

Nomina angelorum seruiencium tempori 3o sunt hec: Tarquayl, Acartayl, Acayl, Gaabarayl, et nomen capitis signi Calguarath.

Nomina angelorum seruiencium tempori 4o sunt hec: Amabel, Terayl, Atraa, Atratrayl.

Cvm autem operari volueris, accipe nomen temporis quo hoc[i] facies, et scribe alia nomina aut signa secundum quod fuerit opus, et omnia venient ad effectum in virtute et potencia creatoris, cuius nomen est benedictum in secula [secul]orum. Amen.

37p. Names of the planets and of parts of the earth

Nota de nominibus Solis.

Dicere nos oportet et docere cupiditates scire ista sciencia[j] ymaginum et nomina Solis et Lune et Terre, et 4or parcium mundi, in quolibet tempore.

Nomen igitur Solis in primo tempore est Abrayn. In secundo tempore Acamon. In 3o Abragon. In 4o Rifar.

Primo tempore Solis sunt hec nomina signorum eius: Aries, Thaurus, Gemini. Tempore 2o Cancer, Leo, Virgo. Tempore 3o sunt hec: Libra, Scorpio, Sagitarius. Tempore vero 4o sunt hec: Capricornius, Aquarius, Pisses.[k]

De nominibus Lune. [86v] Primo tempore nomen Lune est Lunatulant. Secundo tempore Albora. Tercio tempore Alladyn. Quarto tempore Saarbaquia.

d Sic *in MS.*

e *Or* hoc.

f *Presumably meaning* ministrancium.

g *This entire paragraph appears to be obscurely written.*

h Sic *in MS?*

i *Or* hec.

j *Possibly meaning* et cupitis scire istam sciencia m.

k Sic *in MS.*

De nominibus celorum. Primo tempore celorum est Asaptaa, Tima. Secundo tempora Armatrassi. Tercio Mafatyn, Gnam.[l] Quarto Safatem.

De nominibus Terre. Primo tempore Terre nomen Inamodon. Secundo tempore Festaen.[m] Tercio Tabian vel Rathbil. Quarto Yemat uel Yaneaa.

De nominibus 4or parcium mundi, scilicet Orientis, Occidentis, Meridiei, et Septentrionis.

Primo nomen 4or parcium mundi, scilicet Orientis in primo 4or temporum est Gnaandon. 2o Pibdaya. 3o Aldebath. 4o Pedioth. Nomen Occidentis tempore primo Amana. 2o Tana. 3o Ytadaon. Quarto Malchaam.[n] Nomen Meridiei tempore primo Mantham. 2o Yasaory. 3o Azut. Quarto Danor. Nomen Septentrionis tempore primo Manbasut. 2o Gasson. 3o Mascyel. Quarto Yamhor.

De aliis 4or nominibus Terre: alia nomina Terre in 4or temporibus: In primo tempore Talyn. 2o Cosmaaram.[o] Tercio Aydarael. Quarto Saybath.

Vt scias que sunt 4or tempora.

Scias quod primum tempus incipit a medio Marcij et finit in medio Junij, et menses[p] Aprilis [87r] et Maij sunt in medio, et sunt de tempore primo. Secundum tempus incipit a medio Junij et finit in medio Septembri, et Julius et Augustus sunt in medio, et sunt de tempore 2o. Tercium tempus incipit a medio Septembri et finit in medio Decembri, et October et Nouember[q] sunt in medio, et sunt de tempore 3o. Quartum tempus incipit a medio Decembris et finit in medio Marcij, et Januarius et Februarius sunt in medio, et sunt de tempore 4o.

37q. Images and conjurations for days of the week

De ymaginibus vij dierum ebdomade.

Sapientes philosophi et experti qui composuerunt istum librum confidentes in deo qui est super omnes deus ordinauerunt ymagines vij dierum ebdomade ad faciendum peticiones, et est sciencia altissima et honorata et multum secreta et non conceditur omnibus hominibus nisi viris magni et profundissimi sensus et intelligencie.

Caue igitur tibi in illis, et proba, et invenies veritatem sanctissimam.

[1.] De ymagine diei dominice. Prima ymago est diei dominici. Forma eam ex

l Sic *in MS?*

m Sic *in MS?*

n Sic *in MS?*

o Sic *in MS?*

p *MS* mensis.

q *MS* Octobri et Nouembri.

auro uel auricalco aut cera crocea, et scribe super eam nomina sequencia, et si in altitudine dicitur ascensio Leonis in mense Augusti aut Aprilis. Hec sunt nomina angelorum man- [87v] dancium Leonem: Raphael, Dardyel, Vrlathafel. Nomina ventorum sunt hec uel spirituum qui semper mandant Leonem: Baythan, et eius adiutores Cahatus, Cardas, Yabal. Cum volueris ligare li[n]gwas, fac ymaginem istam in horis nominatis que tibi conuenit[r] et altitudine dicta, et coniura super eam per ista coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos, angeli sigillo Solis consignati: Banarga, Lyon, Cylon, Bamayon, Admyon, Assuerop, Tayuf, Rem, Letana, Baupa, Yanoth, Haralyl, Quilil, Casub, Nubtub, Caytuli, Catub,[s] per creatorem celi et terre et 4or parcium mundi et ventorum qui[t] sunt inter celum et terram, qui est super omnes deus, fortissimus et altissimus, et non est alius deus preter eum, et ipse est rerum et conditor omnium naturarum: Yal, Faoli, Ydardyel, Ycalatasyel. Item coniuro vos per hec nomina: Vasamiaa,[u] Licaa, Cassaa, Lamubatub. Olot, Elos, Cymehalod, ipse est qui scit sciencias secretas et apertas, Yfael, Cardiel, Telataph, El, laborate et complete peticionem meam et opus quod cupio compleri.

[2.] Secunda ymago est [diei] Lune, et est facienda ex auro vel ex stanno aut ex cera alba. Ymago hec est ad maximam beniuolenciam et concordiam, et hi[v] sunt angeli super eam dominantes: Gab[ri]el, [88r] Michael, Samuel. Cum autem volueris facere concordiam et magnam beniuolenciam, fac ymaginem istam 2a hora[w] diei Lune, in altitudine Cancri,[x] in mense Julij aut Martis, uel in mense Piscium. Hec sunt nomina ventorum qui[y] manda[n]t Cancrum: Heletel, Halmital, et huius adiutores sunt Bellomilalum,[z] Abuzaba. Et coniura super eam per istam coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos angeli quibus commissum est signum Lune, Comoha, Bamoha, Zihil, Bephaha, Casal, Nata, Vada. Coniuro vos per honorem dei vt compleatis hanc peticionem, nec in aliam rem laboretis donec festinetis[a] compleueritis. Rogo te, G[abriel], M[ichael], et S[amuel],

r Sic *in MS?*
s *Followed in MS by* et.
t *MS* que.
u Sic *in MS?*
v *MS* ii.
w *MS* 2am horam.
x *MS* Cancer.
y *MS* que.
z Sic *in MS?*
a -ne- *accompanied by dots normally indicating deletion. Perhaps an adverb is intended?*

quod hec[b] *mea peticione adimplere confirmare non remaneat*[c] *quousque eam perfecte adimplebitis et confirmabitis, diuina nobis concessa gracia et virtute.*[d]

[3.] Tercia ymago est die[i] Martis. Forma eam ex ere rubeo aut cera rubea, die Martis et hora Martis, mense[e] Aprilis aut Decembri.[f] Et scias quod hoc opus est multum honoratum et forte, quando volueris istud opus operari. Nomina angelorum commissorum sigillo Martis sunt hec, scilicet Sariel, Taryel, Harmalil, et nomina ventorum qui seruiunt ei super[g] hec: Harmabia, Blisacana. Ababob. et eius 3es adiutores Coaamal,[h] Vmial,[i] Perasas. Et coniura per istam coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos [88v] *principes angelorum et ventorum eius, Edus, Mafraas, Dadayus, et Hydus, Habat, Alat, Nays, Madasia, Yaral, Fastriath, Ysamtiel, Ytatel, Haramalil, nomine Cabar, Carachar, Ycidanis, Yalens, Harab, et dominum lucis altum Bathaquius, diuini*[j] *Honris,*[k] *Tortur, Hamahe, Dana, Cadara, dominum celorum et terre, nec est alius deus preter ipsum, deum Salciel, Tariel, Hatamalil, precipe*[l] *Hamar, Benall,*[m] *et adiutoribus eius, quod faciant et compleant quod ab ipsis postulaui.*

Si volueris depopulare domum, ad sa[n]gwinis fluxum prouocare, aut aliquem infirmari, aut quodlibet aliud dampnum facere, forma[n] ymaginem ex ere rubeo et sepely ymaginem iuxta aquam currentem.

[4.] Qvarta ymago est diei Mercurij, et hec sunt nomina angelorum quibus super eam constituunt: Michael, Fanuel,[o] Sarpiel; et nomina ventorum sunt hec mandantium eam, scilicet Tobha et adiutores eius Danhas, Paclas, Sambas. Forma ymaginem mense Julij aut Octobris, et plumbo: sculpe in ea nomina ista

b *Or* hoc.
c Sic *in MS.*
d *MS* virtus.
e *MS* mensis.
f *MS* Decembris.
g *Meaning* sunt?
h Sic *in MS?*
i Sic *in MS?*
j *Meaning* dominum?
k Sic *in MS?*
l Sic *in MS.*
m Sic *in MS?*
n *MS* formam.
o Sic *in MS?*

ad seperandos beniuolentes et ponendas inimicicas inter eos,[p] et coniura sic per ista coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos angeli per nomen creatoris, preter quem nullus est vince[n]s, ipse enim est creator et preceptor, et omnis potestas est in manu sua, uel eius sibi eciam est virtus insuperabilis, quia ipse est potens et invincibilis rex, sub cuius [89r] *auctoritate omnia sistunt et viuunt. Coniuro vos, Michael, Sarpiel, Muriel, Peruuri,[q] Yeserie, Adonay, Sabaoth, Yo, Yo, domini celorum et terre, venite per bonitatem veri fortis qui solus fuit, est, et erit. Michael, Sarquiel, Muriel, complete peticionem meam,[r] vt veniat ad effectum.*

[5.] Qvinta ymago est diei Jouis, et angeli super eam constituti sunt Satquiel, Pattar,[s] Constiel, Assassayel, et hij sunt venti constituti super ymaginem: Silite, Maraben, Halharit, et sui adiutores sunt Yse, Riron, Naasay, Eladab. Et quando igitur volueris hoc opus operari, forma ymaginem ex ere croceo aut ex cera crocea die Jouis, et intinge eam cum viridi, et fac pro viro et pro muliere, [si] hoc modo volueris ponere amiciciam inter duos viros aut mulieres aut inter virum et mulierem. Forma duas ymagines ex cera viridi mense Maij, scilicet in altitudine Piscium, aut mense Januarij in altitudine Sagitarij, et scribe nomen viri super cor ymaginis femine et nomen femine super cor masculi, et dic coniuracionem istam:

Domine deus, omnipotens creator rerum visibilium tam invisibilium, pone beniuolenciam et mansuetam concordiam inter mulierem talem, filia[m] talis, et talem, filium talis, quam posuisti inter Adam et Euam, et inter Jacob et Rachelem, et inter Michaelem et Gabrielem, quorum vnus est igneus et alter aqueus, vnus [*autem*] *alteri non* [89v] *nocet, sed est inter eos concordia magna, et quemadmodum posuisti concordiam in angelo cuius medietas est ignea, altera niuea, vt nix ignem non extinguit, nec ignis niuem consumit, et tu pariter inuidiam concordare facis. Ita, domine, tua sanctissima pietate et misericordia[t] talem, filiam talis, concordare, diligere, et amare cum tali, filio talis, facias. Coniuro vos angeli nomine Yafaa, Safaa,[u] Alleya, Hayala, Haya, Halix, Hayul, Ataya, Hytoia, Saffetaba, Coffossol, Remlestar,[v] El, domine deus, qui scis secreta cordium et es finis et principium, qui nunquam morieris. Festina, Sarafem, Custyeli, et precipe Amaris[w] et adiutoribus eius, vt cito faciant et compleant peticionem meam.*

p *MS* eas.
q Sic *in MS?*
r *MS* mean.
s Sic *in MS?*
t *MS* misericordiam.
u *Corrected in MS from* Safea *(?).*
v Sic *in MS?*
w Sic *in MS?*

Et sepeli ymaginem in loco per quem transeant, et videbis mirabilia omnipotentis dei.

[6.] Sexta ymago est diei Veneris, et angeli mandantes eam sunt Anael, Naquiel, Sagriel, et venti sunt Sarabores, et 3es adiutores Trathacas, Nasat, Nasaa. Quando de ymaginibus operari volueris, formas illas die Veneris ex cera alba mense Maij, in altitudine Thauri, aut in mense Octobris, et scribe nomen viri super cor ymaginis mulieris, et nomen mulieris in capite ymaginis viri, et suspende eas ad stellas, et percute eos cum virga oliue, et coniura eas cum ista coniuracione:

Venite, Anael, Tarquiel, Samuel, [90r] *Hassahaa, Saaca, Giraca, Adtulia,*[a] *Archalia, Aler, Gnad, Atualia, Saana, Samorie, Mahyra, Cartel, Harat, Maslatym,*[y] *Caci, Yca, Yca, Dad, Dada, per ipsum qui est Cados, Salba, dominum angelorum et ventorum, Heyt, Asseveye, Adonay, El, Salday, Saraoth, Sabaoth, Lyaste, Ady, Gualbroa,*[z] *vir fortissimus, virorum fortissimum,*[a] *deus altus et magnus, creator noster, preter cuius potenciam non est alia, A, Cya, Ya, Barquissaquil, Sabguyel, et per istam coniuracionem quam super vos coniuro, et per virtutem El, Veneris, bene fortunate, coniuro vos vt bene proficiatis in hac mea causa,*[b] *et compleatis cito meam voluntatem, commemorando filium talis, et talem filiam*[c] *talis, sicut ferrebat*[d] *cor Eue per amorem Ade in omnibus, Hayerab, Hayclas, Canael, Taltoth, Scarpe, cor talis, filie tali*[s]*, pro loco condenso vbi cottidie transeat.*[e]

[7.] Septima ymago est diei sabbati, cuius planeta est Saturnus, et hec ymago est multum honorata et preciosa, super omnes alias ymagines, eo quod Saturnus est in septimo celo. Hanc autem ymaginem mandant isti angeli: Castuel, Maratron uel Matraton, Satael. Et venti huic seruientes sunt hij: Memmi, Aloybain, Aflas, Analuabith. Quando autem volueris ligare li[n]gwas aut balneum [90v] aut[f] molendinum aut centorium, uel ponere discordiam inter duos diligentes se, forma ymaginem ei et[g] sculpe in ea nomina dicta, et porta eam

x Sic *in MS?*

y Sic *in MS?*

z Sic *in MS?*

a Sic *in MS.*

b *MS* meam casam.

c *MS* tali filia.

d *Perhaps intended for* furebat.

e *The final words read like fragments of instruction that do not belong to the conjuration, but the passage is evidently confused.*

f *MS* ad.

g *Meaning* eorum?

tecum. necessaria cum ea, per portam ciuitatis aut ville uel domus, et sepeli eam in medio vbi volueris, et ligabunt omnes li[n]gwe hominum loci illius. Et si volueris ponere discordiam inter duos beniuolos, uel inter virum et mulierem, forma duas ymagines de pice clara, sitque facies ymaginis viri facies porci, et facies ymaginis mulieris facies canis, et pone eas tergo ad tergum, et scribe in cartha virginem[h] sequencia verba, et ponis[i] eam inter costas ymaginis, et hec sunt verba que faciunt inter eos vt istos discordiam et inimiciciam, maliuolenciam, pec[t]orum percussio, capillorum depilacio, abhominaciones, et fuga, vt nunquam vnus ab altero possit diligi. sed ab inuicem sibi tristes obuient. Et sepeli ymaginem sub porta domus vnius illorum, et videbis mirabilia. Et coniura super eam[j] cum ista coniuracione:

Venite, Cya, Mutaron, Sathauel,[k] angeli commissi sigillo Saturni Stigis[l] quod in hoc hora in adiutorium michi, et precipite spiritibus Amamni[m] et Astaba, Hertanalit,[n] vt venia[n]t cito, meum completum[o] mandatum, per nomen domini benedictum Albilfael, Fiel, Ignaborum, Yada, Yaffla, Tasagaf, Hyaalym, Anagodyny, [91r] *Dymas, Anazana, Salodaya, Athym, Adyr, Elsyday, Adaptinor, Sabath, Adoray, Eloym, Eloe, Gna, Cithe, Sereaye, Alssylayessus, Agnibora,[p] Osatietas, angelorum Cassie, Mittaron, Satquiel, precipite me Mira et Affla, et Alualuaht, Sayp, Aladep, vt idem meam compleant voluntatem per[q] sanctitatem coniuracionis huius, quam super vos scripsi.*

37r. Summary

Cvm operare volueris, accipe semper tempus, siue de die siue de nocte, cum nominibus angelorum mandancium tempus in quo operaberis, et nomen rei, et ibi sunt nomina supradictorum angelorum mandancium tempus, que[a] scribere debes in primo tempore et in 2o tempore et in 3o et 4o, et eciam nomina signorum eius, sicut ibi iacet. in quolibet tempore suo, et isti sunt angeli cerciores

h *Meaning* virginea.*?*
i *Meaning* ponas.*?*
j *MS* eas.
k Sic *in MS?*
l *I.e., Saturn (the spirit) of Styx.*
m Sic *in MS?*
n Sic *in MS?*
o Sic *in MS.*
p *Followed in MS by* Osan *(?), struck through.*
q *MS* pre.
a *MS* qui.

et meliores, secundum librum quendam illi quod dedit, uidetis et quod[b] vocas principes xij mensium, vt sequitur infra, et loco istorum nominabis et pones istos supradictos. Nota quod sicut supradicti angeli sunt nominandi, sicut eciam nomina dierum in quo operaberis,[c] sicut continentur in capitulo quod incipit, 'Conplete sunt vij signa dierum'. Ista sunt dicta Iudei.[d]

Nota quod isti sunt principes angelorum xij [91v] mensium, qui dominantur in suis thronis in quinto celo, qui habe[n]t thronos 4or. Primus thronus est in parte orientali, in quo dominantur tres angeli qui sunt principles. Secundus thronus est in parte occidentali, et ibi dominantur alij 3es angeli et principes. Tercius thronus est in parte septentrionali, et ibi dominantur 3es alij angeli, vt infra statim melius declarabitur.

Nota quod semper vni throno[e] deseruiunt tres menses, et vnum tempus, vt infra patebit. Primus ergo angelus est princeps, qui est in primo throno et in parte orientali, dominatur primo tempore et mense primo, et iste vocatur Aysansasyel, et iste et[f] alij principes supradicti[g] habent plures alios seruientes eis[h] et obedientibus eorum imperiis ornare quilibet princeps dominus est invocandus et nominandus secundum tempus et ordinem suum cum suis seruitoribus, et imo iste primus angelus concordat cum primo tempore et mense, et secundus[i] [sic] cum 2o, et 3us cum 3o, 4us cum 4o, et sic de aliis.

Primum tempus:[j]

2o mense regnat et dominatur princeps Ragiel cum suis seruitoribus.

3o mense regnat et dominatur princeps Dyrnaot cum suis seruitoribus.

[92r] Secundum tempus:[k]

4o mense regnat et seruit princeps Tanenon cum suis seruitoribus.

Quinto mense regnat et dominatur[l] princeps Terogat cum suis seruitoribus.

Sexto mense regnat et dominatur princeps Morel cum suis seruitoribus.

3m tempus:[m]

b *This passage appears confused.*

c Sic *in MS.*

d Sic *in MS?*

e *MS* throni.

f et *added above line in MS.*

g *MS* supradicte.

h *MS* eius.

i *MS* secundo.

j *Written on right side of page.*

k *Written on right side of page.*

l *Followed in MS by* Terogat, *struck through.*

m *Written on right side of page.*

Septimo mense regnat et dominatur princeps Patderon cum suis seruitoribus.

Octauo mense regnat et dominatur princeps Illdegage cum suis seruitoribus.

Nono mense regnat et dominatur princeps Andegor cum suis seruitoribus.

4m tempus:[n]

Decimo mense regnat et dominatur princeps Macgmel cum suis seruitoribus.

Vndecimo mense regnat et dominatur princeps Assandaran cum suis seruitoribus.

Duodecimo mense regnat et dominatur princeps[o] Abarthiel cum suis seruitoribus.

Nota eciam quod sicut mensium sunt nominandi sic eciam nomina dierum sunt in quo operaberis, quorum nomina sunt: Prima enim dies dominica[p] vocatur Metraton. Et 2a Yaspel, Tercia Geminiel. 4a Gabriel. 5a Michael. 6a Raphael. 7a Sarphiel uel Captiel, vt scribitur in sacra scriptura. Distingwe tempora et concordabis scripturis,[q] et ideo primo distingwenda sunt tempora et cognoscenda, [92v] et 2o in quolibet opere quod operare volueris si vis opus tuum perficere et vt posses tempora disti[n]gwere et cognoscere, scias quod primum tempus cum fiunt 4or tempora incipit a medio Marcij et finitur in medio Junij, et menses[r] Aprilis et Maij sunt in medio, et sunt de primo tempore, et[s] sic continentur ad tale signum.[t]

Et cum tempus summum[u] continentur 3es menses supradicti, 3es menses et eorum principes, possunt eis adaptari et coniungi et cum eis nominari et invocari quo ad primum tempus, quia sunt primo tempore orientali et in primo throno orientali.

Cvm eciam secundum tempus contineat 3es menses et eorum principes presente 2o tempore adaptari, nominari, et [in]vocari, cum sunt dicitur[v] tempore occidentali et throno occidentali.

Cvm eciam 3m tempus continet 3es menses et eorum principes, possunt 3o tempore adaptari nominari et invocari, cum eciam sunt de 3o tempore et throno meridionali.

Cvm 4m tempus eciam continet 3es menses et suos principes presunt [pñ] 4o

n *Written on right side of page.*

o *Followed in MS by* Abra, *struck through.*

p *MS* dominice.

q *Followed in MS by an extraneous* et, *struck through.*

r *MS* mensis.

s *MS* etc.

t Sic *in MS.*

u Sic *in MS.*

v *This passage appears confused.*

tempore[w] adaptari et nominari et invocari cum sunt de 4o tempore et throno septentrionali, ad tale signum invenies angelos cerciores et meliores, qui habent concordare cum 4or temporibus.

Cvm volueris coniurare seu cartham scribere vel nomina invocare, dic nomina angelorum [93r] dominancium tempore et mensi et altitudini qua facies opus. Prima enim altitudo mensis est Nysan, 2a est Yar, et sic de aliis, quod si operatus fueris ad bonas[x] vel ad bonum, narrabis angelos bonos, et si ad malum malos, et sic facies in omnibus que volueris operari, et ita complebitur opus tuum, et probatum libri doctrina est vera et cetera.[y]

Cvm eciam oporteat te nominare nomina Solis et signorum et Lune et terre et parcium 4or mundi, et cum nomina Solis sunt 4or et 4or sunt[z] tempora, concordabit primum cum primo, atque nominabis et invocabis, et secundum cum 2o, et 3m cum 3o, et 4m cum 4o. Et cum sint 3a nomina signorum eius in quolibet tempore, facies idem. Et cum sint eciam 4or nomina Lune concordabis cum predictis et nominabis primum cum primo tempore, et secundum cum 2o, et 3m cum 3o, 4m cum 4o. Et cum eciam sint 4or nomina terre quod eciam oportet te nominare, facies eciam quod primum nominabis cum primis et secundum cum 2is, et 3m cum 3is, et 4m cum 4is, sic[ut] habetur superius in capitulo. Dicere oportet et ita facies de 4or nominibus quod terra signabit [sigibt] aliter ibi in fine dicti capituli.[a] Et eciam oportet te nominare 4or partes[b] mundi, videlicet orientis, occidentis, et meridiei, et septentrionis, et cum quolibet istorum habeat 4or nomina secundum tempus suum, primum nominabis et invocabis cum primis, secundum cum 2o, [93v] 3m cum 3o, 4m cum 4o, et sic de aliis.

Et auertas quod sigillum et signum diei scribatur seu depingatur dies et hora est in qua debes opus tuum facere seu incipere, quia magna virtus est in eis, quare cum eis complebunt opera tua, et nomina angelorum regnancium in diebus septimane dicenda sunt, et sequitur que nomina habet[c] nominare in operibus septimane secundum diem suum.

Angelus diei dominici est Raphael, et si operatus fueris in die dominico istum nominabis et [in]vocabis, et sic de omnibus aliis, vt continetur in supradicto capitulo completa, etc. In omni igitur opere nominabis angelum diei in quo

w *MS* tempori.

x Sic *in MS.*

y *Meaning* certa?

z *Changed in margin to* sint.

a *MS* capitulum.

b *MS* parcium.

c *Meaning* habes?

facies opus, et scribe illud, quia si fuerit inscripto,[d] quia multum iuuabit te cum potencia creatoris.

Regum eciam spirituum vij diebus septimane regnancium nomina subscribentur, seu omnes angelos dominantes diei quo facies opus, et sic veniunt et complebunt voluntatem tuam, [et] respondebunt tibi in omnibus que quesieris.

Diei ergo dominico regnat et seruit Baytan rex, coadiutores sui sunt Caatus, Candas, Vambal, et sic de aliis, vt ibi invenies.

Nota eciam quod quilibet dies septimane habet suffumigium suum sibi a[p]propriatum, cum quo [94r] suffumigari oportet opus quod facies in ea, et complebitur opus tuum sine dubio. Suffumigium diei dominice est assandalis croceum uel rubeum vel sibi simile, et sic de aliis, vt ibidem continetur, et eciam ibi subsequentur[e] invenies qualia opera facere debes in quolibet die.

Nota quod eciam oportet te scribere nomina horarum die[i] quibus quidem horis perfic[i]entur opera que facies. Prima ergo diei hora dicitur Yayn. In hac hora facienda est cartha ad destruendas[f] voces hominum et mala verba eorum, et li[n]gwas ligandas, et sic invenies ibi de aliis horis, tam diurnis quam nocturnis.

Nota eciam quod cum aliquod opus aut cartham scribere volueris, nomen hore et nomen domini hore, id est angeli qui ei dominatur uel ministrat, oportet te nominare. Vnde hec sunt nomina angelorum dominancium omnibus horis diei septimane. Prima enim hora diei dominatur Raphael, et sic de alijs que ibi invenies quo ad idem, et sic eciam est de nocte. Vnde nocte diei Lune prima hora dominatur Sarquiel, et sic eciam de aliis, vt ibi invenies, etc.

Nota eciam quod sic est de omnibus horis supradictis, ita eciam est et intelligere debis, quod quidam angeli dominantur uel ministrant horis secundum dominacionem planetarum uel ministracionem in eis. Omni enim hora Solis dominatur uel ministrat Raphael, et sic de aliis, vt ibi invenies, etc.

[94v] Nota eciam diligenter de concordia, quod eciam habens,[g] debes facere de omnibus supradictis, et coniunccione eorum est regula talis. Diei eciam cuilibet planete cum angelis suis signaque planetarum distributa horum angelorum nomina debent concordare et respondere nominibus et capitulis supra scriptis, et angelo qui[h] continetur in coniuracionibus cuiuslibet diei, vt supra in capitulis de ymaginibus dierum quibus ministrant adinvicem diei, ergo dominico ministrat Sol, et angelus eius est Raphael, eiusque signum est Leo, et sic de aliis, vt ibi invenies.

d Sic *in MS.*

e *Meaning* subsequenter*?*

f *MS* destruandas.

g *Followed in MS by* de, *struck through.*

h *MS* que.

Omnia predicta oportet te seruare quandocumque volueris operare secundum istum librum, et in aliquo deficere non posses, quia hec per ordinem invenies quomodo et qualiter habere te debes, et opus tuum secundum istum librum facias et nichil dimittas, si non vis errare, et primo semper respicere mensem lunarem, quia mensis lunaris dierum alij boni sunt, alij sunt mali, vt habetur supra in libro isto, et ideo regula est talis, quod quocumque die septimane operare volueris ad quo[d]libet bonum siue malum facere vis, attende diligenter, quod illa dies sit operi fiendo respiciendo mensem lunarem, vt dictum est. Et si illa dies sit bona et conueniens, non dimittas opus tuum de die in diem, uel differas, quare quia[i] opus tuum non veniret ad effectum, et forsitan putares illud esse falsum.

[95r] Avertas eciam diligenter quod in principio vnius cuiusque tui operis debes scribere nomina que respondebunt voluntati tue, et sunt hec nomina ex nominibus creatoris. Cum igitur illa nomina altissima nominare volueris, flexis genibus humiliter, invocabis sic:

Invoco et humiliter supplico vobis nomina altissima dei, vt nos adiuuetis in opere tali, ad complendum, ad perficiendum:[j] *Agnas, Yana, dei Israhel, Ybat, Suliat, Gnalas, Yemssamon, Haa, Dosa, Barian, Barian, etc.*[k]

Inuoco et appello te, Captiel, angele qui es[l] *prepositus diei*[m] *septimo, qui es dies sabbati, quod pro me labores*[n] *et* [*non*] *desistas donec totum meum effectum et desiderium ad*[o] *effectum perducas. Rex Mayron, Assayby, invoco te et appello et tuos adiutores Abymalib et Haybaly, Dot et Yfla, quod pro me laboretis et non desistetis donec totum meum affectum et desiderium compleuerit*[*is*].

Vos[p] *angeli qui presidetis diei sabbati, Captiel, Mataton, Sarquiel, id est Satraquiel, invoco et appello vos vt pro me laboretis et non deficiatis donec totum meum affectum compleueritis. O sanctissima nomina dei, Agmas,*[q] *Yana, dei Israel, Ydar, Subar, Gnabas, Yemssamon, Haa, Dosa, Ba-* [95v] *rian,*[r] *invoco vos et requiro toto corde et ore vt dignemini me exaudire et adiuuare, et totum meum desiderium complere, vt valeam videre mille armatos in meo seruicio.*

Cyayn, prima hora diei invoco te vt adiuues me, vt facias me videre predictos spiritus

i Sic *in MS.*

j *Followed in MS by* Agnas, Yna, Yana, dei Israel, Ybat, Subat, *struck through.*

k *Pointing hand drawn in margin, with inscription* Nota nomina.

l *MS* est.

m *MS* dei.

n *MS* laboras.

o *Followed in MS by blot.*

p *MS* Quos.

q *Or* Aginas?

r *Second pointing hand shown in margin of fol. 95r.*

armatos, et te eciam, Yan, oportet, que es[s] *2a hora, et te eciam, 3a hora Dasura, et te eciam, 4a hora, Sala.*

Invoco eciam et appello angelos dominantes predictis horis, Raphael, 2o Anael, 3o Michael, 4o Gabriel. Invoco eciam Saturnum et eius angelum Captielem, et eius signum Capricornum et Aquarium, et suum sigillum quod est hoc quod hic pono,[t] *vt me adiuuent et faciant michi apparere predictos spiritus armator in meo seruicio.*

Terra, que[u] *in 4o tempore vocaris*[v] *Yemat vel Yaneaa, invoco te et appello, vt tu adiuues me et facias apparere predictos spiritus armatos in meo seruicio. O nomina angelorum qui seruitis 4o tempore, Amabel, Terayl, Atrarayl, invoco vos et appello, vt faciatis michi* [96r] *venire spiritus in forma militum armatos in meo seruicio. O angeli fortes, Castiel, Matraton, Fatael, invoco vos vt meum desiderium compleatis et predictos spiritus venire faciatis. Et vos ventos, Genuum, Altibayn, Aflas,*[w] *Analuabet,*[x] *venite Eya, Mittaton, Sathane, uel angeli promissi, sigillo Saturni, sitisque in hac hora in adiutorium michi, et precipite spiritibus Amamim*[y] *et Astabam et Hactanaabil, vt veniant cito meum comple*[z] *mandatum, per nomen benedictum Abilfaelfiel, Anagodym, Dymaon, Ana, Ana, Saoday, Athym, Adyr, Essiday, A, Daymior, Sabat, Adonay, Eloym, Eloe, Gna, Cythe, Seredye, Assylla, Yssessus, Agnabora. O societas*[a] *angelorum, Cassie, Matraton, Satquiel, precipite me Mira et Affla et Abrahualit, Sayp, Aladep,*[b] *vt iam meam compleatis voluntatem, per sanctitatem coniuracionis huius, et per coniuracionem quam super vos feci. O Tomitat, nomen Solis in 4o tempore, invoco te vt tu adiuues ad faciendum venire supradictos spiritus in forma militum in seruicio meo. O nomina signorum 4ti temporis, invoco vos vt adiuuetis me quod supradicti spiritus venient in meo seruicio, Capricornus, Aquarius, et Pisces. O Saarlaquia, nomen Lune in 4o tempore, rogo te et invoco vt tu adiuues me, quod fa-* [96v] *cies venire supradictos spiritus in forma militum in meo seruicio. O Safaten, nomen celorum in 4o tempore, rogo te et invoco vt tu adiuues me, quod facias venire supradictos spiritus in forma militum in meo seruicio. O nomina 4or parcium*[c] *mundi, Orientis Pedyoth, Malchaam,*[d] *Mendie, Danoe, Septentrionis Yambor, vos invoco et rogo vt vos adiuuetis me et facialis venire supradictos spiritus in forma militum in servicio meo.*

s *MS* est.

t *Followed in MS by three signs, given next to each other across the page.*

u *MS* quod.

v *s struck through in MS?*

w Sic *in MS?*

x Sic *in MS?*

y Sic *in MS?*

z Sic *in MS.*

a *Followed in MS by* ange, *struck through.*

b Sic *in MS? Third letter is blotted out.*

c *MS* temporum.

d Sic *in MS?*

NO. 38. FOR OBTAINING INFORMATION ABOUT A THEFT BY GAZING INTO A FINGERNAIL (FOLS 96v–99v)[a]

Accipe puerum virgineum de legittimo thoro, et socios quos tibi placuerint, et vadas ad locum secretum, et facias circulos 3es cum gladio. Ad primum dic, *In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.* Ad secundum dic, *In nomine individue trinitatis, Alpha et O, deus et homo.* Ad 3m dic, *Ego te facio per illum qui creauit celum et terram, mare et omnia que in eis sunt.*[b]

Hoc finito, fac quod vnusquisque habeat gladium suum, et non minus 4or gladiis extractis, et accipe sedem tripedem, et pone inferiorem circulum, et scribas [97r] nomen pueri ad sedem, et benedic puerum per hanc benediccionem, circu[i]endo per caput eius cum gladio, dicens,

Crux Christi tecum. Crux Christi est quam semper adoro. Crux Christi est vera salus. Crux Christi soluit vinculum mortis. Crux Christi est invincibilis per arma. Crux Christi est mobile signum. Crux Christi superat omne malum.

Et da[c] puero gladium tenere ad manus, et fac illi crucem ad frontem, dicendo,

Crux sancta sanctificet[d] *te et omnes oraciones sacerdotum benedicant te.*

Et fac puerum sedere ad sedem, et radas sibi vngwem cum cultello, et vnge sibi vngwem cum oleo oliue, et tunc benedicas socios tuos, semper vnum post alium, et te ipsum cum predicta benediccione, sicut tu puerum benedixisti. Et facias eos sedere, vnum post alium, ad inferiorem circulum, et da vnicuique gladium suum tenere ad manum, et facias eos habere silencium, et fac puerum cla[u]dere oculos, et benedic puerum et te ipsum et omnes socios tuos per inicium sancti ewangelij secundum Johannem: *In principio erat verbum, et verbum erat aput deum, etc.* [Jn 1:1].

Hoc finito, fac puerum inspicere vngwem quousque se reuertat et ipse coniurare,

Vmon, Progemon, Mithiomo, Pist, Vralchim, Althes, Panite, Fabar, Thobar, Cormes,

a *This experiment begins a section that is labelled on fol. 96v as follows:* Incipiunt experimenta verissima et probata: Incipiunt experimenta verissima et probata, primum ad omnia indaganda que volueris, siue presencia, siue preterita, siue futura, etc.

b *Cf. Ps. 145:6 Vulg.*

c *MS* dat.

d *MS* sanctificat.

Felsmes, Diles, Dilia, Dies, Onaris, coniuro vos demones prenominatos, per hec nomina sancta, On, Ton, [97v] *Gon, Ron, Apt,*[e] *Galapt,*[f] *Ics,*[g] *Calens, Timel, vt citissime iam nullam requiem habeatis, nec in celo nec sub celo, nec in terra nec sub terra, nec in pluuiis nec in ventis, nec in nubibus nec in aeribus, nec in ignibus nec in aquis, nec in abissis nec in arundinibus, nec in ponis*[h] *nec in aliis quibus*[cumque] *locis, nisi furem cum furto isto puero ostendens*[i] *vngwem istius pueri virginei oleo linito crescere, clarescere, tanta latitudinis apparere, vt poterit euidenter videre in eo furem et furtum factum nobis ablatum, et locum vbi adhuc latet,*[j] *et quicumque cum ipso furto actum.*

Tunc sibyla ter. Ad primum dic, *O domine*[k] *Ihesu Christe.* Ad secundum dic, *O deus fortis.* Ad 3m dic, *O potestas.*

Hoc finito, dic coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos, principes omnium demoniorum, Astaroth, Belzebub, Berit, Fornicator, Temptator, et Seductor, Possessor hominum, Natheus, Molbet.[l] *Precipio vobis vt vestrum vnus in forma nigra veniat vt iste puer possit eum euidenter videre in sua vngwe.*

Hoc finito, queras a puero si videt latitudinem at altitudinem in suo vngwe. Si non, dimittas formam nigram et incipe predictam coniuracionem vsque quod videbit omnia.[m] Tunc facias venire sicut prius posui, eciam precipias ipsis per hec nomina:

El, Eloy, Elyon, Aloe, Sappa, Sother, Emanuel, Tetragramaton, Saday, Luamay, Athanatos, Ysos, Kyrie, Primogenitus, Vita, Finis, Via, Flos, Fons, Ve- [98r] *ritas, Sapiencia, Virtus, Paraclitus, Ego sum qui sum, Mediator, Agnus, Ouis, Vitulus, Serpens, Aries, Leo, Os, Verbum, Ianua, Ymago, Gloria, Lux, Sol, Splendor, Lapis angularis, Sponsus, Pastor, Propheta, Sacerdos, Immortalis, Lex, Rex, Christus, Pater, Filius, Spiritus Sanctus, Agla, Petra, Eternitas, Neon, Burnon, Parli, Caon, Aepton, Alpha et O, Omnipotens, Misericors, Caritas, Eternus Creator et Redemptor, Primus et Nouissimus, Dator et Receptor, Ayos, Otheos, Ychyros, Sanctus Deus, Fortis et Paciens, Iustus Iudex in vltimo die. Per ista lxxija*

e Sic *in MS?*
f Sic *in MS?*
g Sic *in MS?*
h *Meaning* pontibus.*?*
i *MS* ostendans.
j *MS* latet.
k *Followed in MS by first stroke of an* x, *struck through.*
l Sic *in MS?*
m omnia, *written in margin of MS, probably belongs here.*

nomina Christi precipio vobis vt michi sitis obedientes et isto puero virgineo de qua re et de qua interrogacione quod factum est [nichil] retineatis, quod verum est numeretis et dicatis.

Hoc finito, queras si videt demonem saltantem et gaudentem. Tunc dic ad puerum, et facias ad socios tuos simul loqui quod puer non habeat timorem. Hoc finito, incipe coniurare et fac istum recedere et furem cum furto minare:[n]

Coniuro vos, prenominatos demones,

- *per istum qui creauit celum et terram et omnia que in eis sunt,*
- *et per istum qui nos et vos creauit et nos redemit cum suo precioso sangwine,*
- *et per istum qui venturus est,*
- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *et per sanctam obedienciam,*
- *et per corpus domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui hodie et cottidie celebratur per vniuersum mundum,*
- *et per sanctam trinitatem,*
- *per deitatem,*
- [98v] *per humanitatem,*
- *per deum verum,*
- *per deum viuum,*
- *per deum sanctum,*
- *per deum omnipotentem,*
- *per sanctam Mariam, matrem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per eius vnicum filium,*
- *et per tremendum diem iudicij,*
- *per resurrex[i]onem omnium mortuorum,*

vt recedas et furem cum furto [et] loco, cui adducas, vt iste puer euidenter possit videre furem cum furto N.

Non[o] dicas aliam coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos, prenominatos demones,

- *per annunciacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per sacrum ieiunium domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per baptismum domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per temptacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per passionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*

n *Presumably for* minari.

o *Meaning* nunc?

- *per milia sex wlnera domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per centum sex wlnera domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per quinquaginta sex wlnera domini nostri Ihesu Christi, sine alijs de capite vsque ad plantas,*
- *per spineam coronam quam in capite domini nostri Ihesu Christi posuerunt et genua flectebant* [*et*] *illudebant sibi, dicentes, 'Aue rex Iudeorum',*
- *per arundinem et alapas, quibus Christum cedebant,*
- *et per 3es clauos,*
- *per lanceam qua sacratum corpus domini nostri Ihesu Christi perforatum est dum continuo exiuit sa*[*n*]*gwis et aqua,*
- *per emissionem sue sanctitatis domini nostri Ihesu Christi, 'In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum',*
- *per anxietatem quam beata virgo Maria, mater domini nostri Ihesu Christi, habuit dum vidit filium eius pendentem in cruce, dicens, 'Flecte ramos, arbor alta,' et non secundum quod compositum est ex 4or litteris, scilicet Alpha et O, deus et homo factus.*[p]

Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per omnes sanctos angelos, thronos, et dominaciones, principatus, potestates, virtutes celorum, cherubin et seraphin, qui non cessant* [99r] *clamare, dicen*[*te*]*s, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus',*
- *et per virtutem domini nostri Ihesu Christi, scilicet propter nos homines descendit de celis et natus ext ex Maria virgine, sub Poncio Pylato passus est,*
- *et per 3es angelos, scilicet Michael, Gabriel,* [*et*] *Raphael,*
- *et per dominicam oracionem, scilicet Pater noster,*
- *per vij candelabra que in manibus angelorum odoriferum,*
- *per eorum miracula deo beneplacita, qui sunt sub christiana.*[q]

Hoc finito, queras a puero si videt. Si non, tunc dic hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos, prenominati demones,

- *per 4or euangelistas, Lucam, Marcum, Matheum, Johannem,*
- *per 4or sermones,*
- *per xij apostolos,*
- *per 3es magos, scilicet Caspar, Balthasar,* [*et*] *Melchior,*
- *per patriarchas* [*et*] *prophetas,*
- *per martires et confessores,*
- *et per omnes papas Romanorum, et omnes virgines et viduas,*

p Sic *in MS.*

q Sic *in MS.*

- *et per omnes episcopos,*
- *et per omnes abbates,*
- *per omnes priores,*
- *per omnes prepositos,*
- *per omnes archidiaconos,*
- *et per omnes deconos,*
- *per omnes monachos,*
- *per omnes moniales,*
- *per omnes sacerdotes,*
- *per omnes dyaconos et subdyaconos,*
- *per omnes sanctos dei,*
- *per merita omnium sanctorum,*
- *per omnem populum Christianorum.*
- *et per omnes sanctos qui sunt in celo et in tera,*
- *et per centum et*[r] *xliiij milia innocentum qui non sunt loquentes loqui in puericia, passi sunt supplicia,*
- *per omnes karacteres Salomonis,*
- *per sapienciam suam,*
- *per omnia experimenta Virgilij,*
- *per celum et terram,*
- *per mare,*
- *per omnia que in eis sunt,*
- *per omnes Cesares,*
- *per omnes* [99v] *reges,*
- *per omnes principes,*
- *per comites,*
- *per omnes milites,*
- *per omnes ciues.*

Hoc finito, queras si videt furem cum furto et si venisti ad finem. Tunc terge puero vngwem tunica tua, et accipias vnugla[m] pueri,[s] et benedicas puerum tali modo, faciendo crucem cum gladio ad 4or partes corporis sui, dicendo, *Pater, Filius, Spiritus Sanctus, sancti,*[t] *custodiant te.* Et fac puerum gladium recipere ante se, et exire de circulo, et omnibus sociis tuis ita facies et tibi.

r *Followed in MS by* l, *struck through.*

s *MS* domini.

t Sic in *MS.*

NO. 39. FOR OBTAINING INFORMATION BY GAZING INTO A FINGERNAIL (FOLS 99v–103r)

Incipit secundum [experimentum] bonum et probatum.[a]

[100r] Accipe puerum virginem de legittimo thoro, et fac 3es circulos. Ad primum circulum dic, *In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.* Ad secundum dic psalmum *Celi enarrant.*[b] Ad 3m dic *Deus tuum regi da.*[c] Post hec,[d] accipe sedem tripedem quercinium, et subtus scribe nomen pueri, et sub pedibus pueri scribatur hoc nomen Tetragramaton, et ponantur desuper duo lapides, ne puer tangat nomen pedibus. Postea scribe in manubrio cultelli et nomen pueri et hec nomina: Istath, Hoaz, Abays, Fastich; et in pollice scribe Alpha et O. Deinde rada vngwem dextri pollicis[e] cultello, cuius manubrium sit factum de cornu nigro uel albo.

Deinde dic, *Domine, secundum peccata, etc.*[f] Postea fac crucem ✠ tali modo in fronte pueri, dicens, *Tu qui es Alpha et O, fac verum dicere puerum virginem istum, N., qui est creatura tua. In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.* Et dic, *Domine Ihesu, fili dei viui, qui pro nobis peccatoribus de synu Patris descendisti ad terram, ostende nobis veritatem. Amen.* Deinde susurra puero ad aurem dextram, *Sathan, Belzebub, Astaroth, Berith, Azraro, Rotunda;* hec[g] dic ter.

Deinde intra circulos et pone te contra faciem pueri, et tunc lineas vngwem pueri rasum cum oleo oliue, et da puero cultellum ad manum, et dic,

Abgo, Safrit, Bos, Zelentes, Vin, Vom, Motmyo, Thitodens,[h] *Gemitias,*[i] *Gana, Vresius, Pharachte, Foliath, Gebath, Dyrus,* [100v] *Virus, Vnyrus, Peamde, Febat, Gebat, Tyros, Vijas,*[j] *Nubar, Azathi, coniuro vos prenominatos demones*

a *This line is given twice; between the two occurrences is the following figure: a triple circlar band, with the inscription* In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti *in the outermost band;* In nomine individue trinitatis, Alpha et O, deus et homo *in the middle band, and* Ego te facio per illum qui creauit celum et terram, mare et omnia que in eis sunt *in the innermost band.*

b *Ps. 18 Vulg.*

c *Cf. Ps. 71:2 Vulg.* (deus, iudicium tuum regi da). *Figure at top of fol. 103r: a triple circular band, with* In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti *in the outer band,* Celi enarrant *in the middle band, and* Deus tuum *(sic)* regi da *in the innermost.*

d *Or* hoc.

e *Followed in MS by* cuius.

f *Cf. Ps. 102:10 Vulg.* (non secundum peccata nostra fecit nobis) *and Ps. 118:65 Vulg.* (Domine, secundum verbum tuum).

g *Or* hoc.

h *Or* Chitodens.

i Sic *in MS?*

j Sic *in MS?*

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *per deum omnipotentem,*
- *per Ihesum Christum filium eius,*
- *et per trinitatem illius,*
- *et per ipsam prouidenciam quam deus in mente habuit prius quam mundus fieret,*

[vt] *obediatis imperio meo, non per virtutem meam sed per virtutem magestatis omnipotentis dei. Coniuro et contestor vos demones*

- *per sapienciam eternitatis dei, qua celum supra stare fecit, terram autem deorsum fundauit et perfecit, elementorum que*[k] *in opus mundi connexit,*
- *et per prudenciam qua deus lucem a tenebris separauit et vtrumque creauit,*

vt arte et magisterio, a magistro vestro Astaroth vobis concessa, unguem huius pueri, N., oleo linitum, crescere et clarescere faciatis et procreare latitudinem, vt apparere possit euidenter et videre in eo furem et furtum nobis ablatum, et[l] *locum de quo ablatum est, et in quem locum translatum est, et vbi adhuc positum est, et quidquid ex ipso furto*[m] *actum est. Item adiuro vos prenominatos demones*

- *per verbum dei, quo celum et terram creauit et herbam virentem in ea genere suo, solem et lunam et stellas et signum et tempora, fulgura et tonitrua, voces,*[n] *et omnia quecumque sint in terra, mare, et inferno,*

vt arte, etc. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per annunciacionem,*
- *per natiuitatem,*
- *per circumcisionem,*
- *per baptismum Christi,*
- *et per omnia que fecit Ihesus in Chana Galylee quando conuertit aquam et vinum,*

[101r] *ut arte, etc. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones*

- *per ieiunium Christi,*
- *et per istum gressum quando in Monte Oliuete ascendere voluerit adorandum Patrem, dicendo, 'Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste',*[o]
- *et per sudorem sa[n]guineum Ihesu Christi, qui de suo corpore emanauit pro nobis peccatoribus,*
- *et per omnia archana secretorum,*
- *per sa[n]guineas guttas sudoris Christi,*
- *per solem obscuratum,*
- *per lunam conuersam in sa[n]guinem et terribilem clamorem Christi pendentis in ligno crucis,*

k *MS* quos.

l *Followed in MS by* in.

m *MS* furtu.

n *MS* tunitrua.

o *Cf. Matt. 26:39.*

- *per sup[p]licium mortis,*
- *et per emissionem sui sanctissimi spiritus,*
- *et per istam virtutem qua velum templi cissum est, et inquinamenta aperta sunt,*
- *et per misterium sacri sepulchri,*
- *et per virtutem dei,*
- *et per dispositionem*[p] *diuine ordinacionis,*
- *et per*[q] *dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, quem adoramus, crucifixum, passum, et sepultum credimus, et scimus resurrexisse et [in] celos ascendisse confitemus,*

vt arte, etc. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per celum et terram, mare et omnia que in eis sunt;*
- *et per omnia que concludunt 4or partes mundi,*
- *et per serpencia et volatilia celi, bipedia, tripedia, [et] quadrupedia,*
- *et per omnes aereas potestates, vt arte (vt supra).*

Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per angelos et archangelos, per thronos et dominaciones, principatus et potestates, per virtutes celorum, per cherubin et seraphin,*
- *et per diuinum officium miseracionis,*
- *et per eos qui prosunt,*
- *et per omnia* [101v] *que subiecta sunt omnipotenti deo,*
- *et*[r] *per ipsum omnipotentem deum qui ex nichilo creauit cuncta [et] ad laudem et ad gloriam nominis sui fecit,*

vt arte, etc. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per v secula et vij etates mundi,*
- *et per tremendum diem iudicij*
- *et per lxij nomina Christi,*
- *[et per] etatem et claritatem Christi, quam habuit prius quam mundus fieret,*
- *et per centum et xliiij milia innocentum ante deum astancium,*
- *et omnes ordines ecclesiasticos,*

vt arte, etc. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per coeternam sapienciam dei, qua deus hominem creauit cum non esset, et Adam*[s] *ad ymaginem et similitudinem suam formauit,*

vt arte, [etc.]. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per sanctissima nomina Christi: Messyas, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Panthon, Panthocrathon, Eloy, Theos, Hon,*[t] *Visio, Saluator, Alpha et O, primus et*

p *MS* disponsicionis.

q *Followed in MS by* Ihesum.

r *MS* vt.

s Sic *in MS?* adia – *should be a form of 'adicio', but 'adam' is required.*

t *For Greek* ho on.

nouissimus, primogenitus, principium et finis, via, veritas, et sapiencia, virtus, paraclitus, ego sum qui sum, qui es, mediator, agnus, ouis, aries, vitulus, serpens, edus, verbum, ymago, gloria, gracia, salus, lux, sal, pax, splendor, panis, fons, vitis, pastor, propheta, spes immortalis, rex, pater, omnipotens, misericors, eternus,[u] *summum bonum, trinitas, vnitas, pater, El, Eloy, Eloe, Eleon, Saday, Symator, Tu, Ye, Ye, princeps pacis, Enstriel,* [102r] *spiritus, timor, pietas, tu, vnitas vnitatis, trina deitas,*

vt arte, etc. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per fidem prophetarum,*
- *per preconia patriarcharum,*
- *per dignitatem xxiiijor seniorum,*
- *et per symbolum apostolorum,*
- *et per passionem sanctissimorum martyrum,*
- *per confessionem piorum confessorum,*
- *et per continenciam sanctarum virginum ac viduarum,*
- *et per omnes sanctos et electos dei,*
- *et per 4or euangeliastas et eorum euangelia,*

vt arte, etc. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per salutem omnium sanctorum, viuorum et mortuorum,*
- *et per sancta sacrificia sacerdotum,*
- *et per omnes diuinos oraciones sanctorum,*
- *et per omnia corpora sanctorum dei,*
- *et per eorum animas in statu salutis eterne,*

vt arte, etc.

Si puer non videt ad tunc,[v] dicas,

Jaspar, Balthasar, Melchior, Smoagel, Emanuel, et deus fortis, te deprecor vt vngula N. efficiatur lata et crescat et clarescat.

Ad quamlibet coniuracionem debet operans puerum interrogare si vngwis crescat. Si non, repetatur eadem coniuracio, *Jaspar, etc.*, donec videat crescentem, latam, et magnam, quousque sufficiat. Quere a puero si aliquid videat. Si[w] videt, dic statim sub ungwe hanc coniuracionem:

Lytim, cum tuis subditis Ygrim, Andyron, Vzmyas, Yelteos, Zymens, Bylent, Baruth, precipio vobis, demones,

u *Line over* u *deleted in MS.*

v *Meaning* adhuc?

w *MS* etc.

- *per omnipotentem deum, viuum et verum,*
- *et per tres magos Jaspar, Balthasar, [et] Melchior,*

vt veniatis, vbicumque sitis, ad visionem istius pueri, N., veris[x] *in specie humana, et in specie istorum qui hoc furtum perpetra-* [102v] *uerunt.*

Quere a puero si aliquid videat. Si non, repetatur eadem oratio, Lytmy, donec appareant.

Ipsis autem apparentibus, dic hanc coniuracionem:

Precipio vobis, demones, per trinitatem et inseparabilem vnitatem que facta fuit super ipsum in Iordanis flumine, in[y] *columbe specie, quod vos ostendatis et dicetis huic puero, N., vbi acceptum uel reconditum sit hoc furtum, et in quo loco adhuc restat.*

Si adhuc non prodest, dic hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos demones et precipio vobis per nomen Naamay, Syy, qui Syrum de lepra mundauit, et Danielem de lacu leonum liberauit, et 3es pueros[z] *de camino ignis illesos abire fecit, quod vobis detis auctoritatem huic puero, N., audiendi, interrogandi, et videndi.*

Post coniuracionem factam, fac puerum claudere oculos, et purga sibi vngwem, et fac crucem super eum, ante eum, [et] retro eum, et accipe sibi cultellum de manu. Postea benedic te et ipsum, et dele circulum, et exeas secure cum eo, scilicet puero. Cum autem vis exire circulum, dic, *Pax ipsi*[a] *sit nobis et vobis.* Tunc reges recedunt ad propria regna, et dic,

Cum vos iterum[b] *vocauero, sitis parati obedire michi. Hoc*[c] *vobis precipio*

- *per eternum et viuum deum, qui in cruce passus [est] et ex latere eius exiuit sa[n]guis et aqua.*

Insuper precipio vobis

- *per hostiam sanctam, per hostiam puram, per hostiam immaculatam, qui est Ihesus Christus,*

vt cito michi tunc veniatis et omnem voluntatem meam adimpleatis. Amen. Etc.

x *Meaning* venientes?

y *MS* eciam.

z *MS* puero.

a *Meaning* Christi?

b *Followed in MS by* vobi, *deleted.*

c *Or* hec.

NO. 40. FOR OBTAINING INFORMATION ABOUT A THEFT BY GAZING INTO A FINGERNAIL (FOLS 103r–105v)

Experimentum verum de furtu et probatum.

In ortu solis fac 3es circulos, et crucem in medietate circulorum,[a] et fac tibi porrigere sedem tripedem de quercu et cultellum cum manubrio albo et linito cum oleo oliue. Hoc facto, scribe diuisim hec[b] xxiijor nomina; sunt 4or literas uel lapides parum latos et 3es literas pone subtus sedem et vnam subtus pedem[c] pueri, et ipsa omnia nomina subscripta [103v] scribe super vnam literam, quam pones super caput pueri. Hoc facto, tolle puerum ad circulos et loca puerum super sedem. Vertas sibi faciem contra orientem, et scabe puero ambas ungwes pollicis, et pone sibi vnum pollicem super alium, et scribe super manubrium nomen pueri et Astaroth, et des puero cultellum ad manus, ita quod cultellus sit subtus pollices. Hoc facto, vnge puero ungwem superiorem cum oleo oliue ad modum crucis, in omni pietate electa, vt illictis et districtis appareatis in vngwe istius pueri, N. Tu vero sede super sedem qualemcumque volueris, et tu tene puerum inter genua, et dic vt diligenter inspiciat ad vngwem. Hoc facto, caues ne aliquas operaciones habeas sextis aut sabbatis diebus.

Hec sunt nomina que scribi debent: in nomine Progeneri, Mutimo, Possunt, Thomopest, Vtany, Votanes, Filij, Fibos, Fibet, Baruth, Sachith, Propiietas, Voltam, Panyte, Farum, Farum, Farum, Cubarum, Crutines, Tyrygel, Dyrus, Formys, Fembusalk, Berith, Sathanas.

Incipe coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos, demones,

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctam,*
- *et per incarnacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*

a *Figure at bottom of fol. 105v: a triple circular band, with a cross dividing the interior into four wedges. The outermost circle has the inscription,* ✠ Hunc circulum facio in nomine Patris omnipotentis dei, qui solo verbo cuncta creauit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, dextera domini exaltauit me, non moriar sed viuam et narrabo opera domini. Castigans ca- *(finished outside the circle:* stigauit dominus*). The middle circle bears the inscription,* ✠ Hunc circulum facio in nomine filij unigeniti dei viui, qui humanum genus proprio sangwine redemit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, dextera domini exaltauit me, non moriar sed viuam et narrabo opera. *The innermost band contains the inscription,* ✠ Hunc circulum facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracliti, qui corda apostolorum et prophetarum suorum sanctissima gracia *[MS* sanctissimam graciam*]* illustrauit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, etc. *The word* onus *appears at the edge of each wedge. Toward the middle are the fragments* Fren, ---p'on *(?)*, on *and* N.p *(presumably for* Nomen pueri.

b *Followed in MS by* nomina, *deleted.*

c m *blotted out in MS.*

- *per baptismum Christi,*
- *per ieiunium Christi,*
- *per mortem Christi,*
- *per passionem Christi,*
- *per resurrexionem Christi,*
- *per ascensionem,*
- *per adventum Spiritus Sancti paracliti,*
- *per* [104r] *tremendum diem iudicij, in*[d] *quo omnes estis dampnandi,*

vt appareatis in vngwe istius pueri, N., in specie furis uel furum qui rem aut res istius hominis, N., accepit; absque omni decepcione appareatis, sicut promisistis. Emogeni, Thomo, Gyton, Sertugidis,[e] *Jubutzis.*

Tu qui es Alpha et O, fac verum dicere hunc puerum, N., virgineum, qui est creatura tua. Justus es,[f] *domine, et rectum iudicium tuum.*[g] *In circuito tuo, domine, lumen, est et non deficiet. Nichil occultum quod non reueletur, et coopertum quod non sciatur. Domine Ihesu Christe, fili dei viui, qui propter nos peccatores de sinu Patris descendisti ad terram, ostende nobis tuam* [*veritatem*] *et veritatem huius rei.*

Abgoth, Sanfrielis, Selentis, Vniueny, Vtimo, Geremittarum, Dydones, Rayma, Rofanes, Panyte, Fabath, Gallath, Dyrus, Fyrus, Virytus, Finibet, Arath. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, et deum omnipotentem, Ihesum Christum filium eius vnigenitum,*
- *et per deitatem ipsius,*
- *et per ipsam prouidenciam quam deus habuit prius quam mundus fieret,*

vt obediatis imperio meo. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per sapienciam dei, qua deus celum sursum stare fecit et terram deorsum fundauit, et mare in termino suo collocauit,*
- *et per virtutem qua deus confusionem elementorum in opus mundi convertit,*
- *et per* [104v] *sapienciam dei, qua deus lucem et tenebras creauit, qui diem ac noctem adunauit,*

vt arte et magisterio a magistro vestro Asef Caroth vobis concessa sicut[h] *sunt vt faciatis vngwem istius pueri, N., oleo linitum, crescere et clarescere et tante latitudinis comparere, quod euidenter iste puer, N., in eo videre possit furem uel fures et furtum furis nobis ablatum,*

d in *blotted out in MS.*

e Sic *in MS?*

f *MS* est.

g *Ps. 118:137 Vulg.*

h Sic *in MS.*

et rei locus[i] *de quo ablatum est, et locum in quem deportatum est, et locum in quo adhuc latet, et quidquid cum ipso furto est, vt huic reueletis. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones*

- *per magistrum vestrum Astaroth,*

vt compareatis[j] *in forma furis et furti, et quidquid cum hoc furto factum est ad nostram faciatis noticiam pervenire. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones*

- *per illum qui fecit celum et terram et herbam virentem in genere suo, solem et lunam et stellas celi, signa et tempora, fulgura et tunitrua, voces et omnia quecumque in terra, in mari, [et] in inferno sunt,*

vt arte, etc. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per ieiunium domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *et per iter quod fecit ad montem Oliueti ad orandum Patrem, 'Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste'.*

vt arte, etc. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per v vulnera domini nostri Ihesu Christi, et fixuras cla-* [105r] *uorum,*
- *et per lanceam et clauos quibus crucifixus est dominus.*

Coniuro [*vos*] *prenominatos demones*

- *per omnia que concludunt* 4*or partes mundi,*
- *et per etates mundi,*
- *et per omnia animalia que sub celo sunt,*
- *et per serpencia et volatilia, bipedia, tripedia,* [*et*] *quadrupedia,*
- *et per omnes aereas potestates.*

vt arte, etc. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per tollerancia*[*m*] *spinee corone*[k] *quam sustinuit dominus suo capite,*
- *et per poculum quo potatus est in cruce felle et aceto.*[l]

Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per angelos et archangelos, thronos et dominaciones, principatus, potestates, virtutes celorum, cherubin et seraphin,*
- *et per dominicum sacrificium et officium miseracionis,*
- *et per eos qui presunt aliis,*
- *et per omnia que sunt deo subiecta,*
- *et per deum omnipotentem,*
- *et per deum qui ex nichilo omnia creauit ad laudem et ad gloriam sui nominis ac magestatis,*[m]

vt arte, etc. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones

i Sic in *MS*.

j *MS* compareatis.

k *MS* corane.

l *MS* acceto.

m *Followed in MS by* fecit.

- *per coeternam sapienciam qua*[n] *deus hominem creauit cum non esset, condidit ad ymaginem et similitudinem suam,*

vt arte, etc. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per fidem prophetarum,*
- *per preconia patriarcharum,*
- *per dignitatem xxiiij seniorum,*
- *per symbolum apostolorum,*
- *per passionem sanctissimorum martyrum,*
- *per confessionem piorum confessorum,*
- *et per continenciam sanctarum virginum ac viduarum,*
- *et per lacrimas beate Marie virginis, quas fudit,* [105v] *et per planctum sancti Johannis euangeliste, cum viderunt Ihesum Christum in cruce exspiratum,*
- *et per solis obscuracionem et lunam versam in sa*[n]*guinem in signa transacta Filij dei,*
- *et per tremendum diem iudicij in quo omnes estis dampnandi,*

vt appareatis in vngue istius pueri, N., in specie furis uel furum qui[o] *rem uel res istius hominis, N., ac*[c]*eperit ad nostram noticiam faciatis peruenire.*[p]

Finito experimento, dic hunc versum:

Protege, salua, benedic, sanctifica populum cunctum per crucis signum domini. Morbos auerte corporis et anime. Hoc contra signum nullum stet periculum. Amen. Per crucis hoc signum defendat nos Ihesus Christus. Amen.

NO. 41. FOR DISCOVERING HIDDEN TREASURE IN SLEEP (FOL. 106r–106v)

A[d] sciendum vbi thesaurum sit absconditum, primum est quod oportet hominem confiteri generaliter peccata sua, luna crescente, videlicet die dominico, sole existente in leone, de mane. Et cum a prima surrexeris, asperge te aqua benedicta, dicens antyfonam, *Asperges me, domine, ysopo, etc.* totam, cum *Gloria Patri.* Postea vade ad crucifixum et dic coram eo *Miserere mei, deus* totum, semper respiciendo crucifixum, cum omni deuocione. Et cum hec dixeris, tunc dic deuotissime corde et contrito, *O rabi, rabi, rex meus et deus meus ac dominus dominancium, qui conditor es vniuersorum, exaudi oracionem mei, misere et indigne*[a] *creature, et redempcionis tue in hac hora et semper,*[b] *et indignus clamor meus ad te perueniat.*

n *MS* quo.

o *MS* uel.

p *Followed in MS by* vt arte, etc., *extraneously added.*

a *MS* miserere et indige.

b Sic *in MS.*

Hoc dicto, vade ad domum tuum et cameram tuam optime mundatam, et versus orientem dic hanc oracionem deuotissime quam potes:

O Oriens benigne, maior pars mundi, celi, terreque sator, cuius nutu[c] *omnia, tam celestia quam terrestria, prouide facta sunt, confirma intellectum meum in hoc opere per tui regni dominium, quod nunquam dimittitur. Rege et paue me in hac mea supplicacione. Et precor te*

- *per tuos reges quod tenet et stringit, sanat et confirmat,*[d]
- *et per omnes regias tuas potestas,*
- *per Sotuem, Sortfen,*

vt in nocte sequenti veniat ad me in sompnis Haram, spiritus benignus, et inflammet cor meum et mentem meam, vt sciam thesaurum [106v] *invenire, si aliquis est in partibus istis uel in aliis, et ducat me et signum ibi faciat vt cognoscam verum et ipsam veritatem,*[e]

- *per tuum solem sanctissimum et sacratissimum thesaurum nitidissimum, candidum et fulgentissimum, quod mittit tua excellencia et remittit tua manifesta et benigna potestas,*
- *et per omnes dignitates tuas et regimina*

vocor[f] *et contestor vt mich*[i] *spiritum veritatis in sompnis mittere digneris hac nocte, vt michi reueleť*[g] *thesaurum absconditum.*

Hoc fiat versus orientem et genibus flexis. Hanc oracionem ter dicas.

Q[u]ando autem intras lectum, dicas nouem vicibus,

Oriens, Oriens, Oriens, precor, rogo, et peto, benignissime Oriens, vt votum meum adimpleas, et velis respicere ad offensiones meas.

Et tunc veniet ad te spiritus qui te non offendet, sed sompniare te faciet thesaurum, et ducet te recte ad locum.

Mane autem facto, quando surrexeris, fac 3es elimosinas in honore magni regis scientis, et vade associatus uel solus ad locum vbi est thesaurus in domo tua, et recipe eam. Postquam habebis thesaurum, fac cantare 3es missas: primam ad honorem sancte trinitatis, 2am pro peccatis mortuorum, terciam pro[h] [in]columitate vite tue, etc.

c *MS* nuta.
d Sic *in MS.*
e Sic *in MS.*
f Sic *in MS.*
g *MS* reuelent.
h *MS* pro pro.

NO. 42. THE NAME SEMIFORAS (FOLS 106v–107r)

Nota: hoc est nomen magnum Semiforas, quod erat [107r] scriptum in fronte Aaron, sacerdotis creatoris. Crescat in me virtus tua, omnipotens deus, creator celi et terre, quemadmodum locutus fuisti, dicendo,

Sadaŷ, Haŷ, Resel,[a] *H, Q,*[b] *Ayn, Yemino, Selatadas, Braruth, Huŷ, Adonaŷ, Eya, Yen, Yhn uel Tunehŷ, Vo,*[c] *Da, Eŷ, Aha, Heye, Heye, Heye, Haya, Haya, Haya, Eŷ, Eŷ, Eŷ, Ya, Ya, Ya, Han, Han, Han, Ga, Ga, Ga.*

Conpletum est nomen Semiforas, benedictum nomen eius cuius regni non erit finis per infinita seculorum secula. Amen.

NO. 43. FOR OBTAINING A HORSE (FOL. 107r–v)

Ad equum habendum, hoc scribatur in hostio domus vacue in crepusculo noctis, more Hebrayco, hec nomina cum sa[n]gwine vespertilionis: Tuditha, Stehiha, Alpha, Draco, Mariodo, Ypanon. Quibus scriptis, recede modicum a loco.

Post horam paruam, reuertaris et invenies eqqum paratum, quem cum volueris ascendere, pone sinistrum pedem ad screpam et dic hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro te, eque bone,

- *per creatorem celi et terre,*
- *et per illum qui creauit vniuersa et omnia ad laudem et gloriam sui nominis,*
- *et per deum viuum*
- *et per deum sanctum*
- *et per deum verum,*

vt non in corpore nec in anima nec in minimo membro meo vere obesse valeas, nec in aliquo me perturbes, sed me, N., ad locum talem deferas, placide, hilariter, jocunde, et velociter, absque omni impedimento.

Deinde ascende audacter et secure, [107v] qu[i]a omnino tibi nocere non potest. Signo vere crucis non te signabis, quia ipsum a te fugabit.

Cum autem perueneris ad locum prenominatum, descende de equo et accipe frenum, et absconde sub terra. Peracto autem tuo negocio, recipias frenum et

a *Followed in MS by blank space.*

b Sic *in MS?*

c Sic *in MS?*

scucte firmissime, et statim veniet. Cum autem ascendere volueris, dic precedentem coniuracionem et hec tria verba:[d] kostolya, elogo, yetas.

NO. 44. FRAGMENT OF AN EXPERIMENT FOR AVERTING HARM (FOL. 107v)[a]

[. . .] creauit[b] mundum et septem dies, in quibus cuncta creata fuerint in vna torta, et obseruabis cartam, et cum hoc prohibes omnia dampna hominibus, cunctaque nocencia arboribus et nascoiciis,[c] nominabisque hec nomina sursum posita et deorsum. Et hec sunt nomina, scilicet: Layalym, Lyalgnea, Yalgnal, Narath, Lybarye, Lymbaros, Lyaslam. Cum hiis igitur signis prohibes omnia mala et dampna in mundo, et numquam ad locum reuerte[n]tur vnde fuerint expulsa.

NO. 45. FOR INVISIBILITY (FOLS 107v–108r)

Nunc igitur sume albam columbam, die Sabbati de nocte, et cartam agni virgineam, pergasque ad riuum iuxta quadruuium et occide columbam, dicens,

O vos quibus sacrificium debetur, estote michi completium votum meum.[a]

Hoc dicas contra occidentem primo, postea ad meridiem, deinde ad[b] orientem, post[e]a ad [108r] septentrionem. Et scribe de huius[c] collumbe sangwine hanc figuram.[d]

Reuertansque de mane ante solis ortum, invenies ibi aliam literam et as quodam involutum, illudque ligabis in capillis tuis cum volueris esse invisibilis. Et precaue tamen quod ibi dimittas columbam et cartam, ne ipsam accipias modo aliquo.

d *Followed by* kostelia, *deleted.*

a *This fragment occurs on the middle of fol. 107v, separated by double horizontal lines from the preceding and subsequent material.*

b *Followed by* mundum, *deleted.*

c *Meaning* nascenciis*?*

a Sic *in MS, for* completio voti mei?

b *Inserted above line in MS.*

c *MS* hac.

d *Figure toward top of fol. 108r: a complex horizontal design.*

NO. 46. FAVOURABLE AND UNFAVOURABLE DAYS OF THE MONTH FOR INSCRIPTIONS (FOL. 108r–v)

Mensis lunaris dierum alij sunt boni, alij mali ad scribendas[a] cartas. Prima dies mensis, scilicet lunaris, tota est bona. Secunda die mane est bona, et non plus. Tercia nil facere debes. Quarta dies tota bona. Quinta vsque ad horam terciam, et vltra non. Sexta die nichil facies. Septima die, prima hora bona est, et non plus. Octaua, mane bona. Nona nichil facies. Decima die omnino nichil facias,[b] quia mala[c] est ad omnia facienda. Vndecima bona est tota. Duodecima bona est vsque ad terciam uel quartam [horam]. 13a nichil facias. 14a tota bona est. 15a die[d] nichil facies. 16[a] mane tota bona est, postea nichil valet. 17a et 18a vsque ad meridiem mala est, et postea est bona. 19a nichil in ea agas. 20a et 21a et 22a [108v] dies, mane sunt bone, et non plus. 23a [et] 24a,[e] nichil facias. 25a mala, nec bona. 26a et 27a, nichil facias. 28a et 29a et 30a bona est toto. Etc.

NO. 47. FRAGMENT OF A CHEMICAL PRESCRIPTION (WITH A NOTE IN GERMAN) (FOL. 108v)

Item recipe salis petri, vitrioli, rorani,[a] ana tere, et fac aquam fortem ex eis, et dissolue in ea lune limaturam quantum soluere potes,[b] et quando non plus soluit lunam, tunc recipe illam aquam in qua luna est soluta et inpone mercurij crudi quantum coagulare potest. Istum mixtum sit coagulatum. Accipe et pone eum in crusibulum super stratum istarum rerum. Recipe ceram nouam, thuris albi, gummi arabicum, oxicroceum, asafetidam, serabiuum, boracem, semen orobi, cantarides, puluis buffonum,[c] cerusam, sal nitri, sal commune, vernicium, terebentinam, euforbium, ouum, ana partes equales, et fac similiter fluere. Etc.

a *MS* scribendos.

b *Followed in MS by* quare.

c *MS* male.

d *MS* hora.

e *Followed in MS by* u, *struck through (?).*

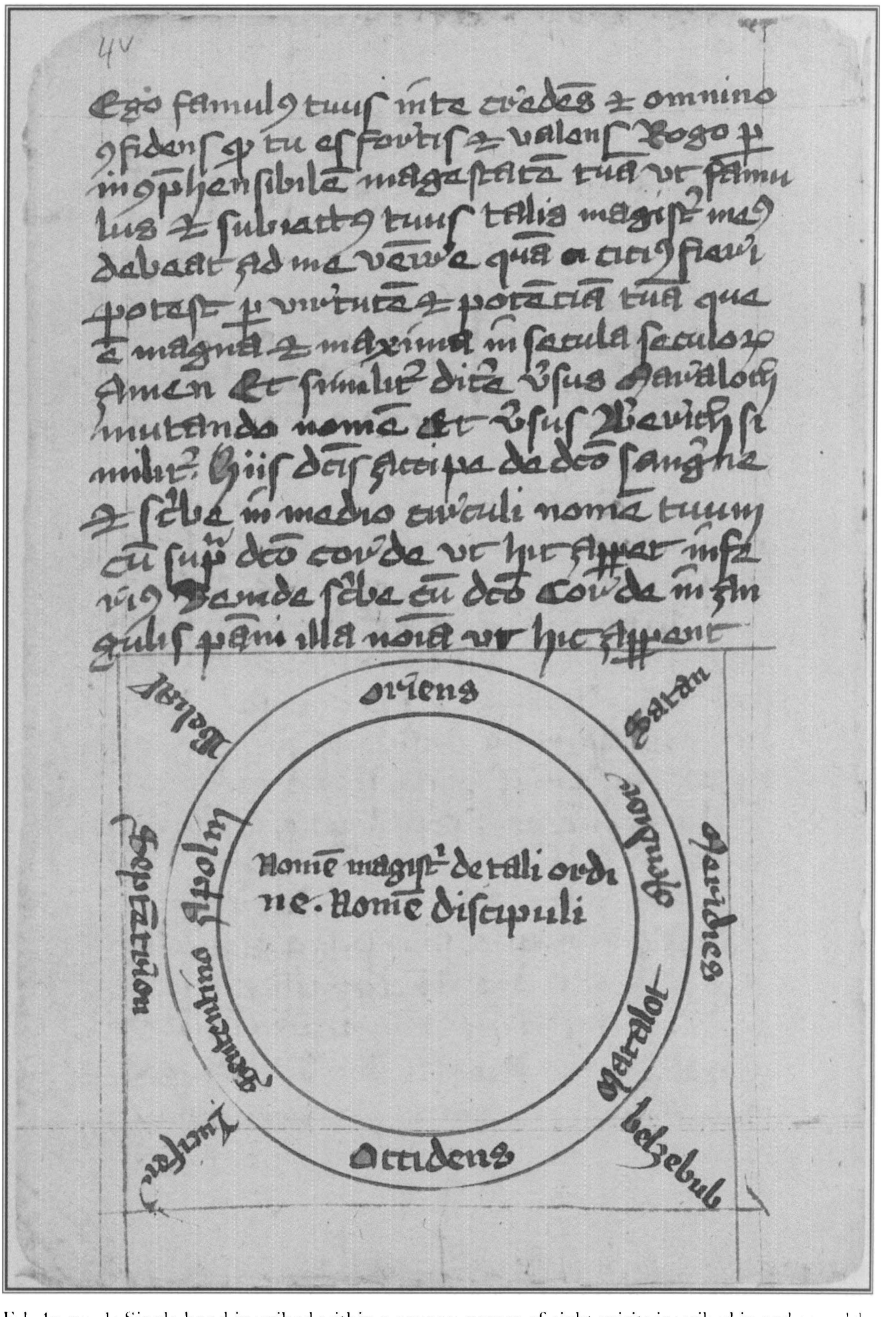
a Sic *in MS?*

b *Corrected in MS from* potest.

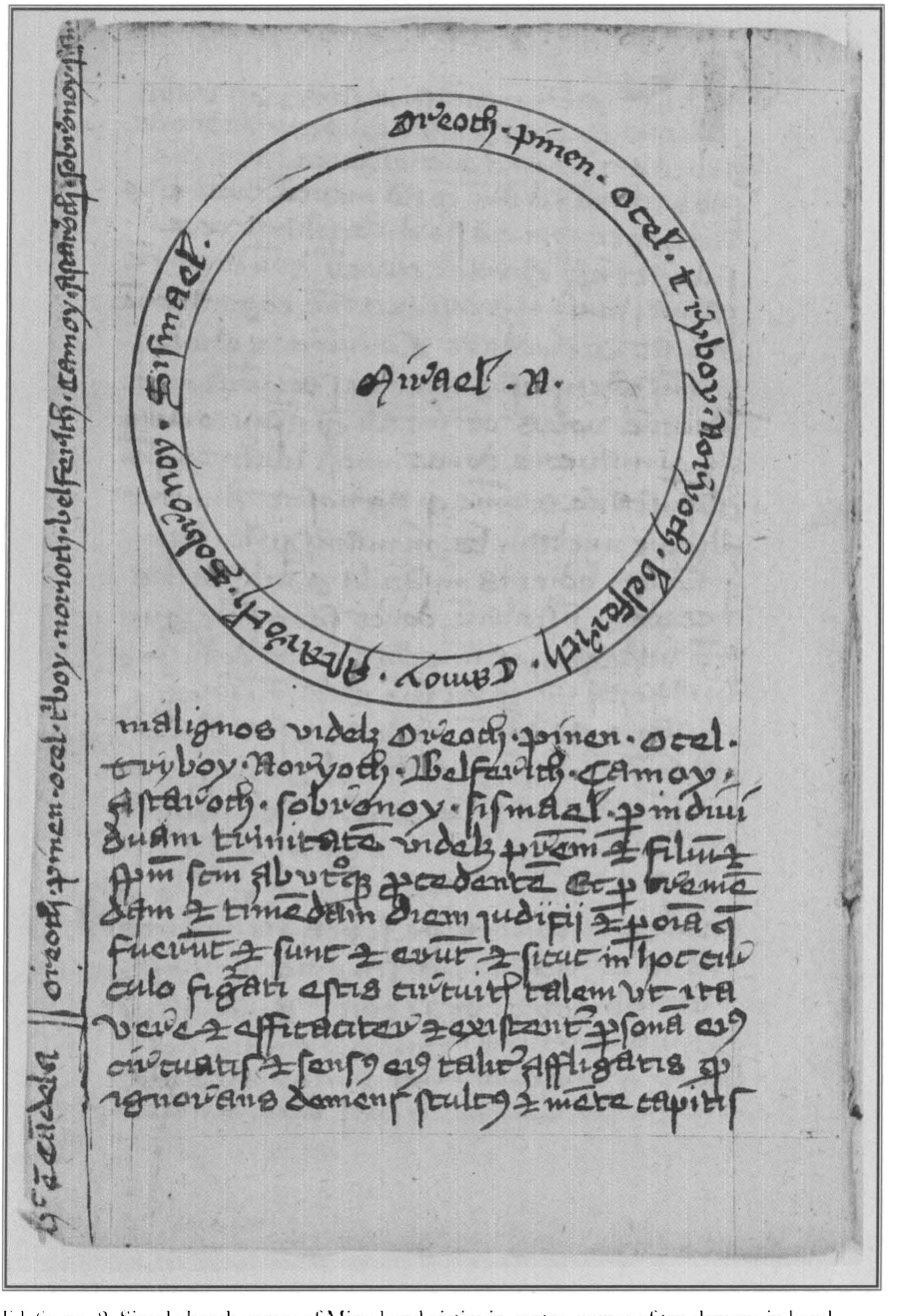
c *Note added at bottom of fol. 109r:* Puluis *[MS* Poluis*]* buffonum ist daz kupfer daz vom hamer felt, so mans schmihet *[?].*

PLATES

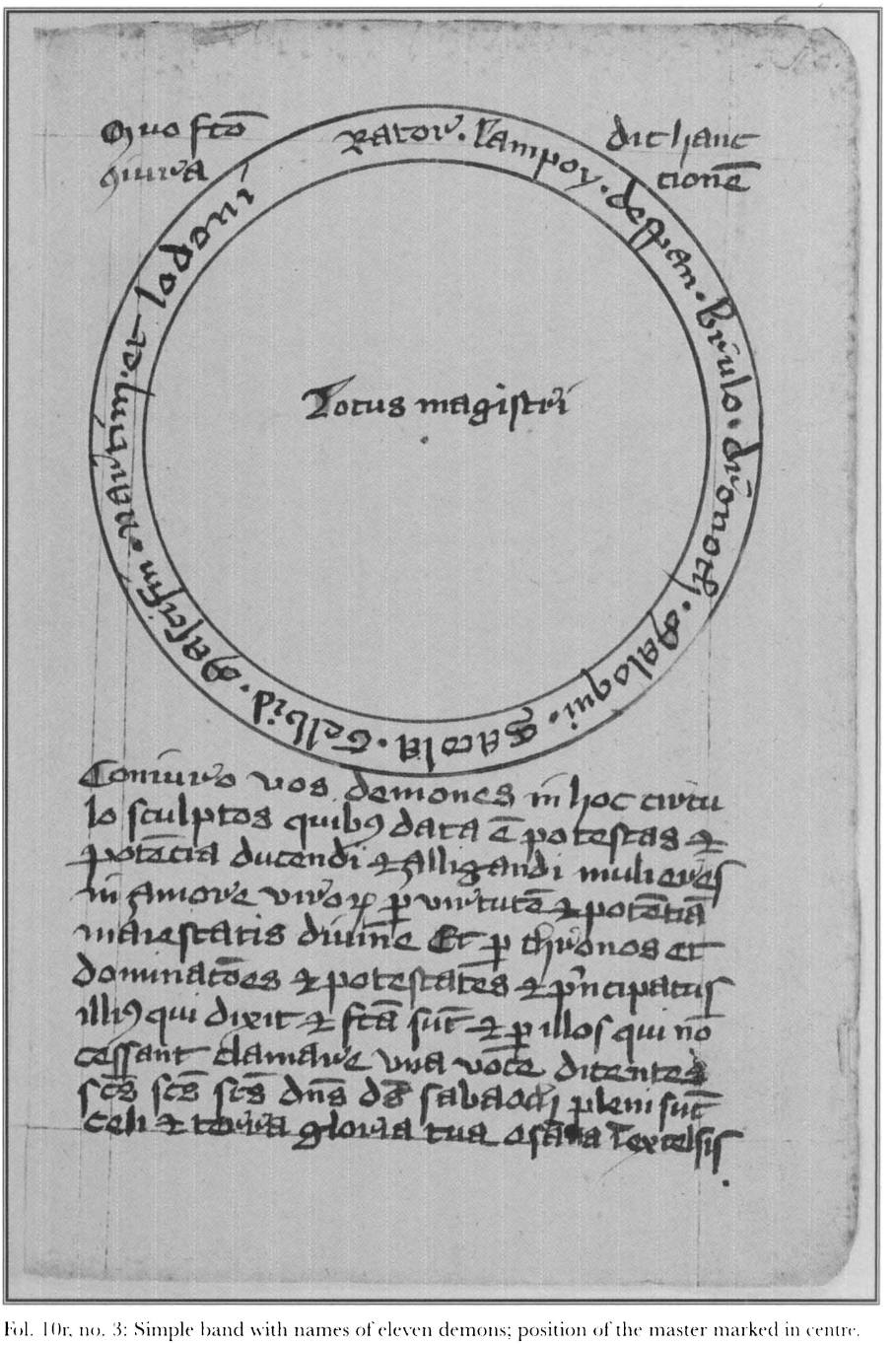
All the folios from 3r–108v of Clm 849 that contain magic diagrams or characters are reproduced.



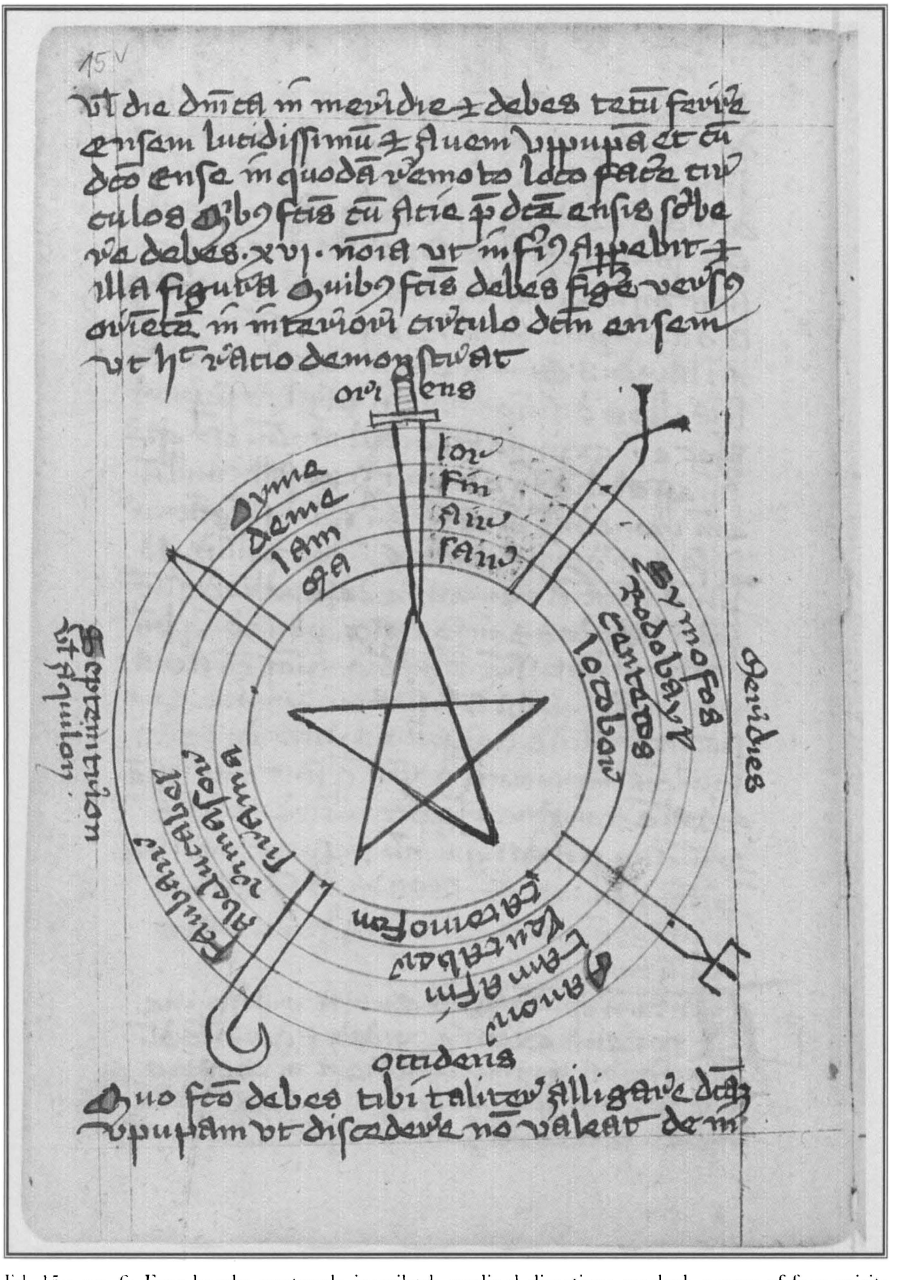
Fol. 4v, no. 1: Single band inscribed within a square; names of eight spirits inscribed in and around the band; cardinal directions marked; *Nomen magistri, de tali ordine* and *Nomen discipuli* marked in the centre.



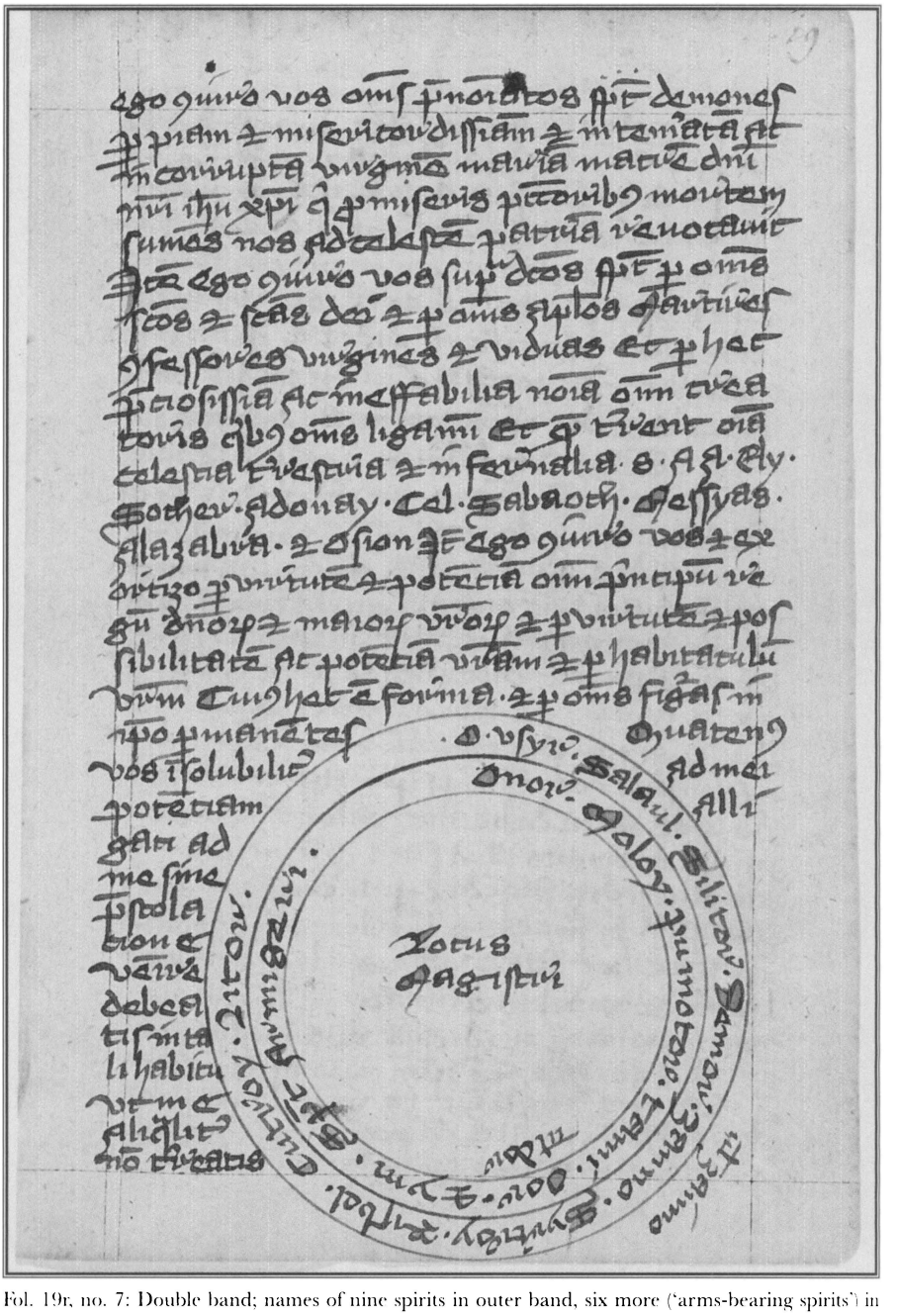
Fol. 6v, no. 2: Simple band; names of Miracl and victim in centre, names of ten demons in band.



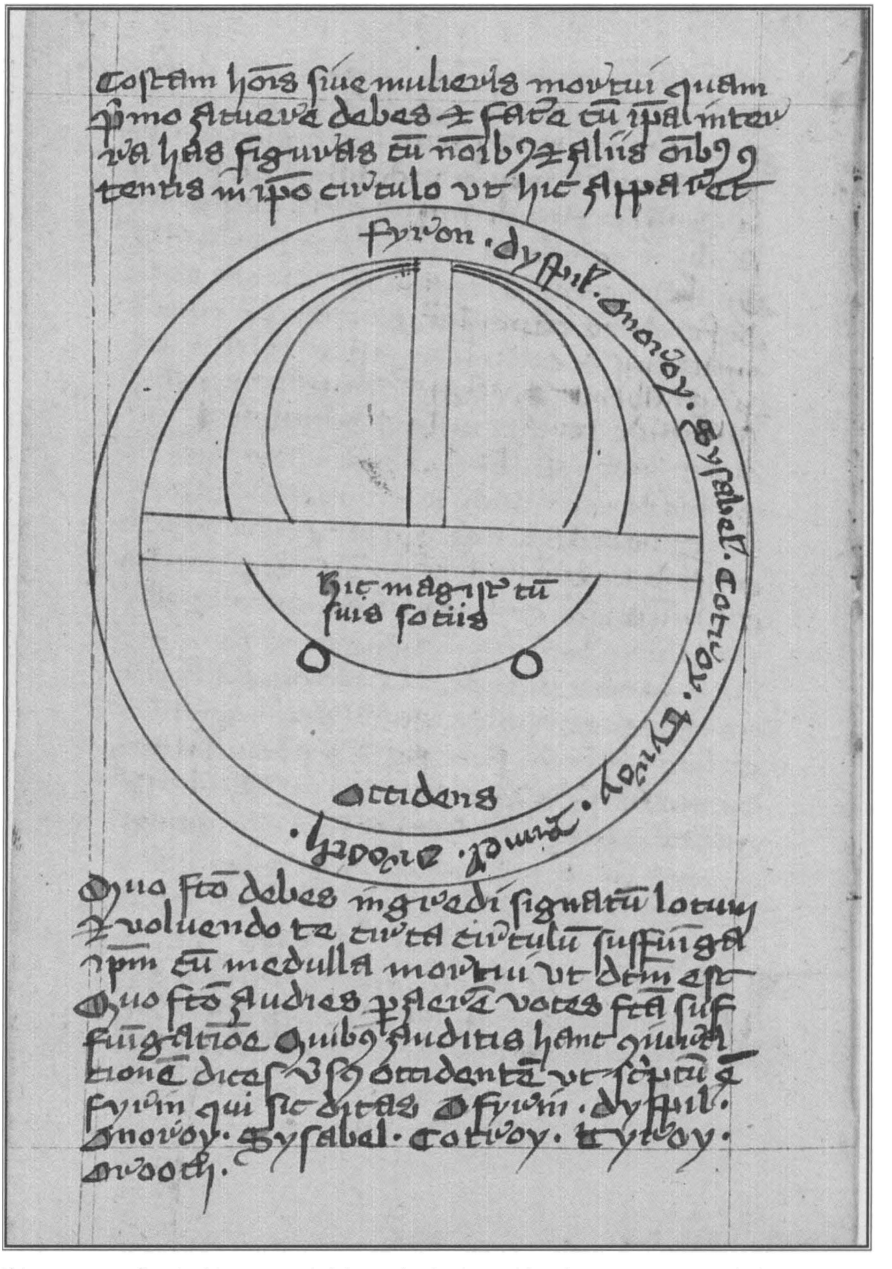
Fol. 10r, no. 3: Simple band with names of eleven demons; position of the master marked in centre.



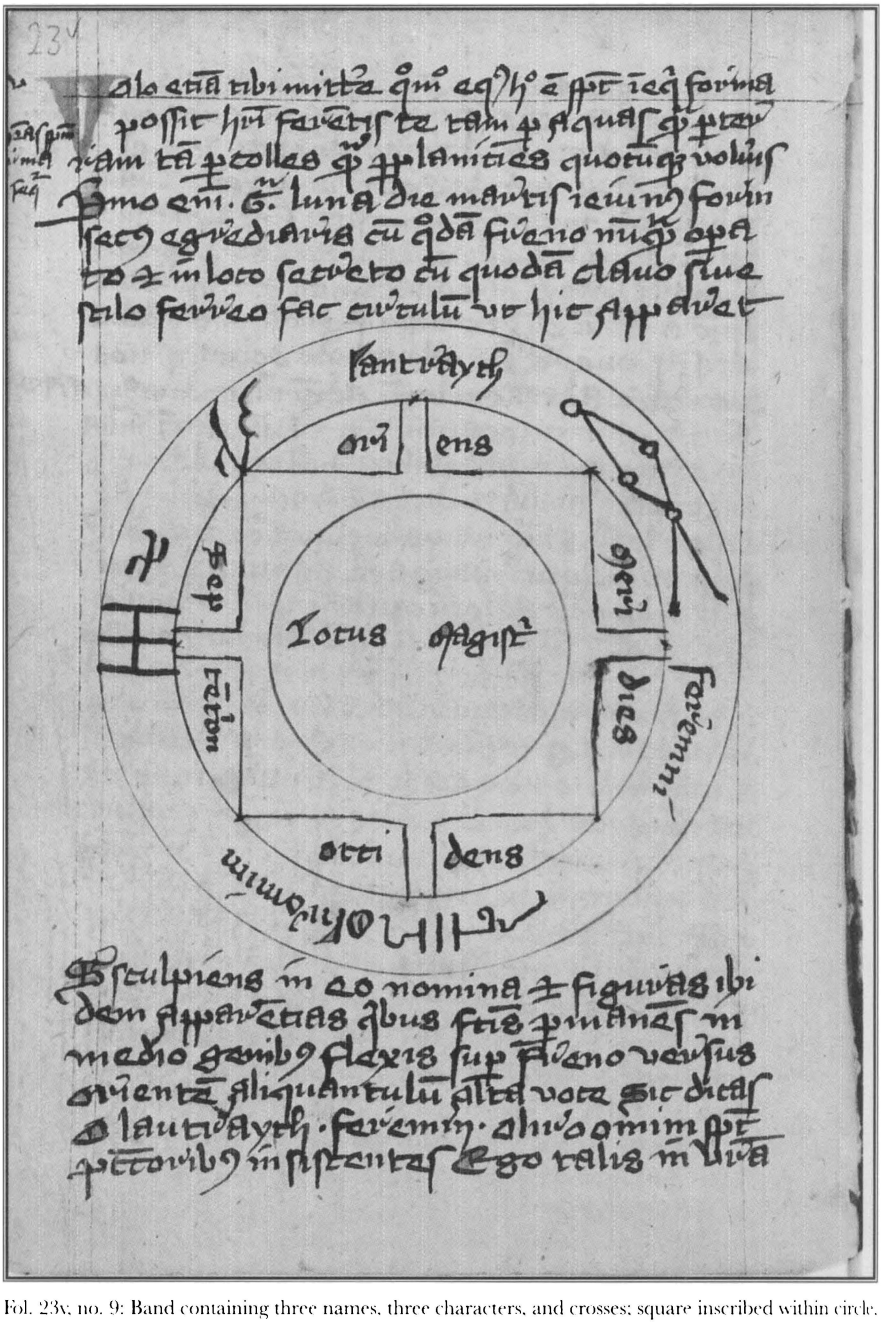
Fol. 15v, no. 6: Four bands; pentangle inscribed; cardinal directions marked; names of four spirits written in each band; position of sword marked to east; four other objects placed across the bands toward other directions.



Fol. 19r, no. 7: Double band; names of nine spirits in outer band, six more ('arms-bearing spirits') in inner band, position of master marked in centre.

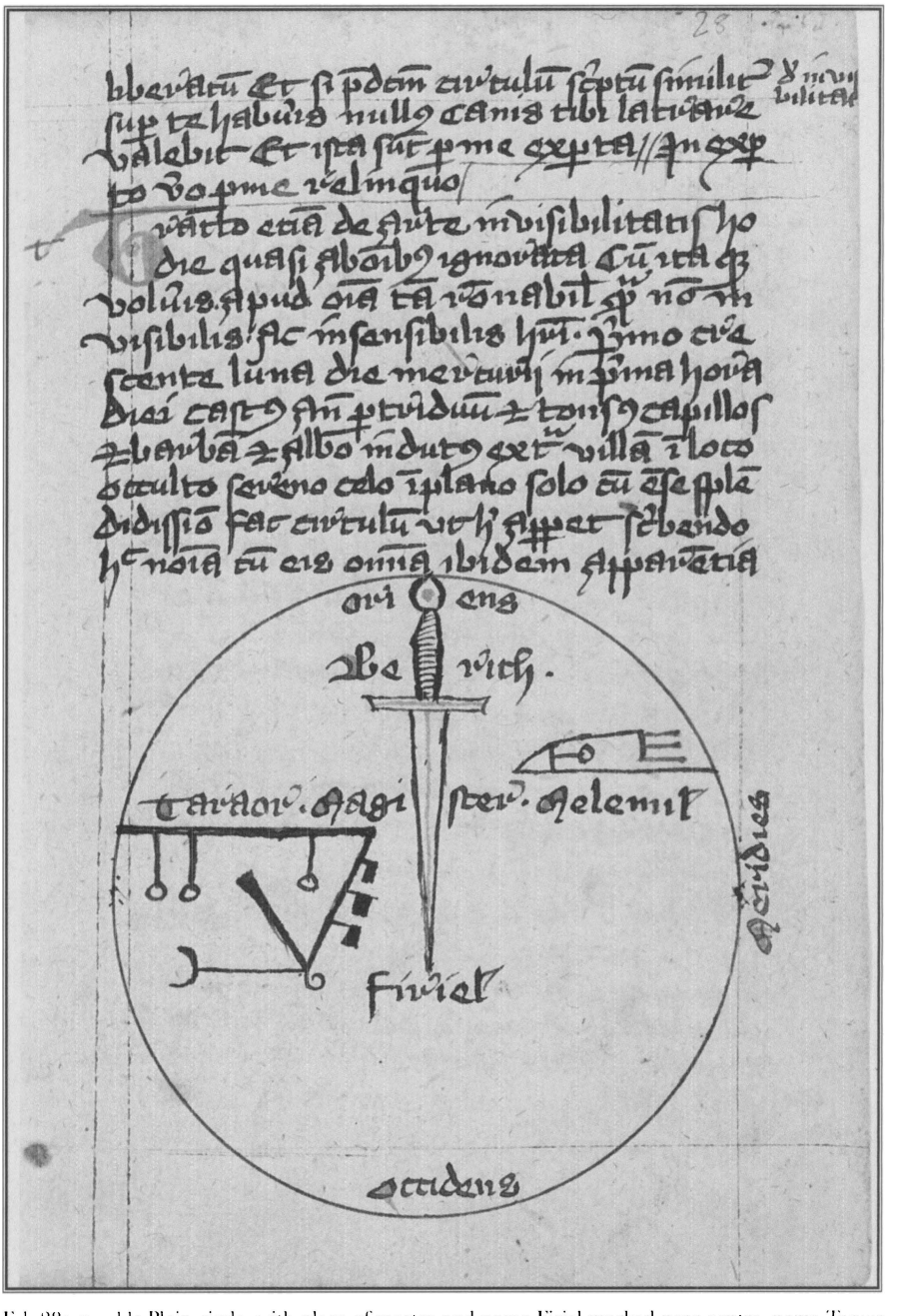


Fol. 21v, no. 8: Band with names of eight spirits, horizontal band across centre, vertical band across upper semicircle, all surmounted by crescent with two small circles, place of master and companions marked at bottom of crescent, east marked toward bottom.

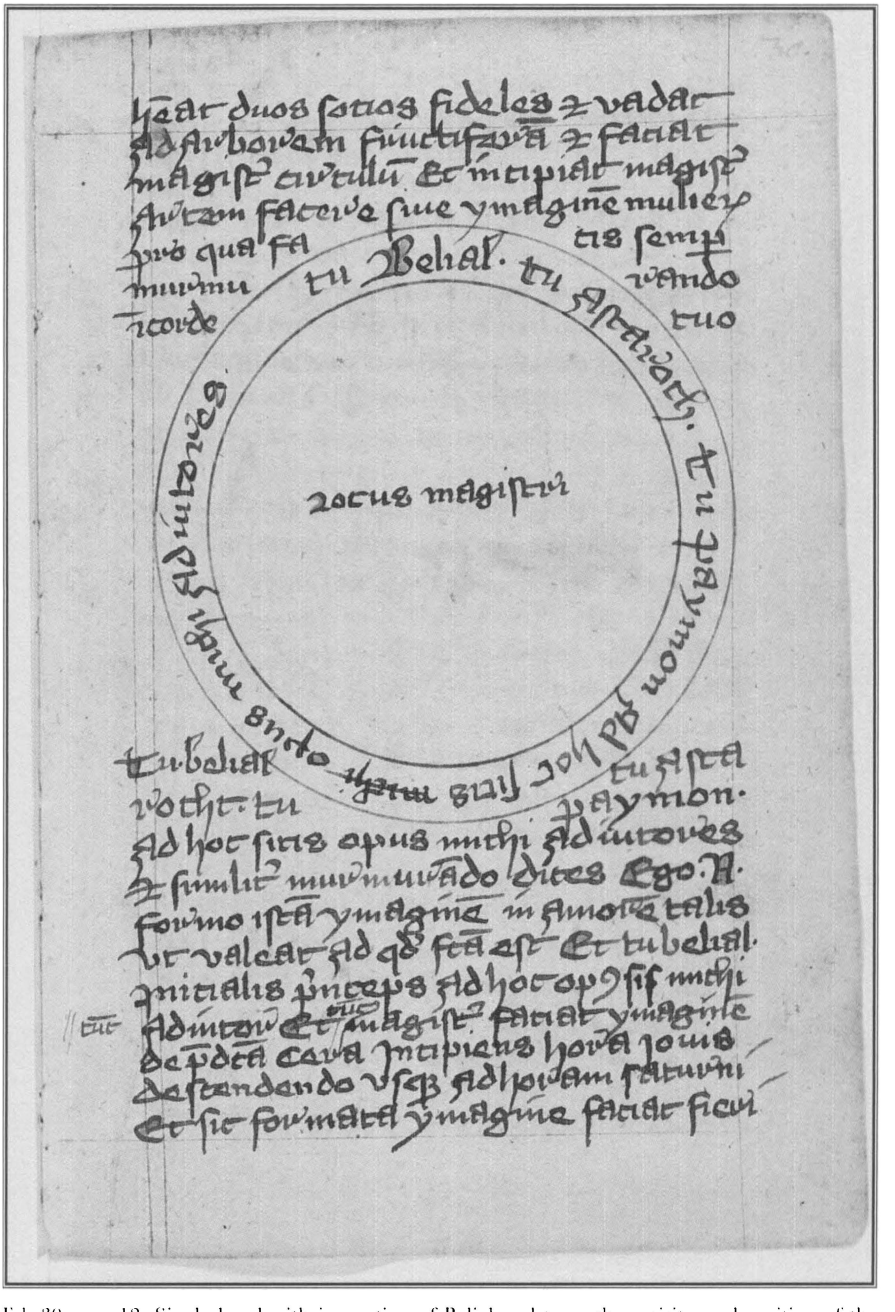


Fol. 23v, no. 9: Band containing three names, three characters, and crosses; square inscribed within circle, and arms protruding from the square, with cardinal directions; position of the master marked in centre.

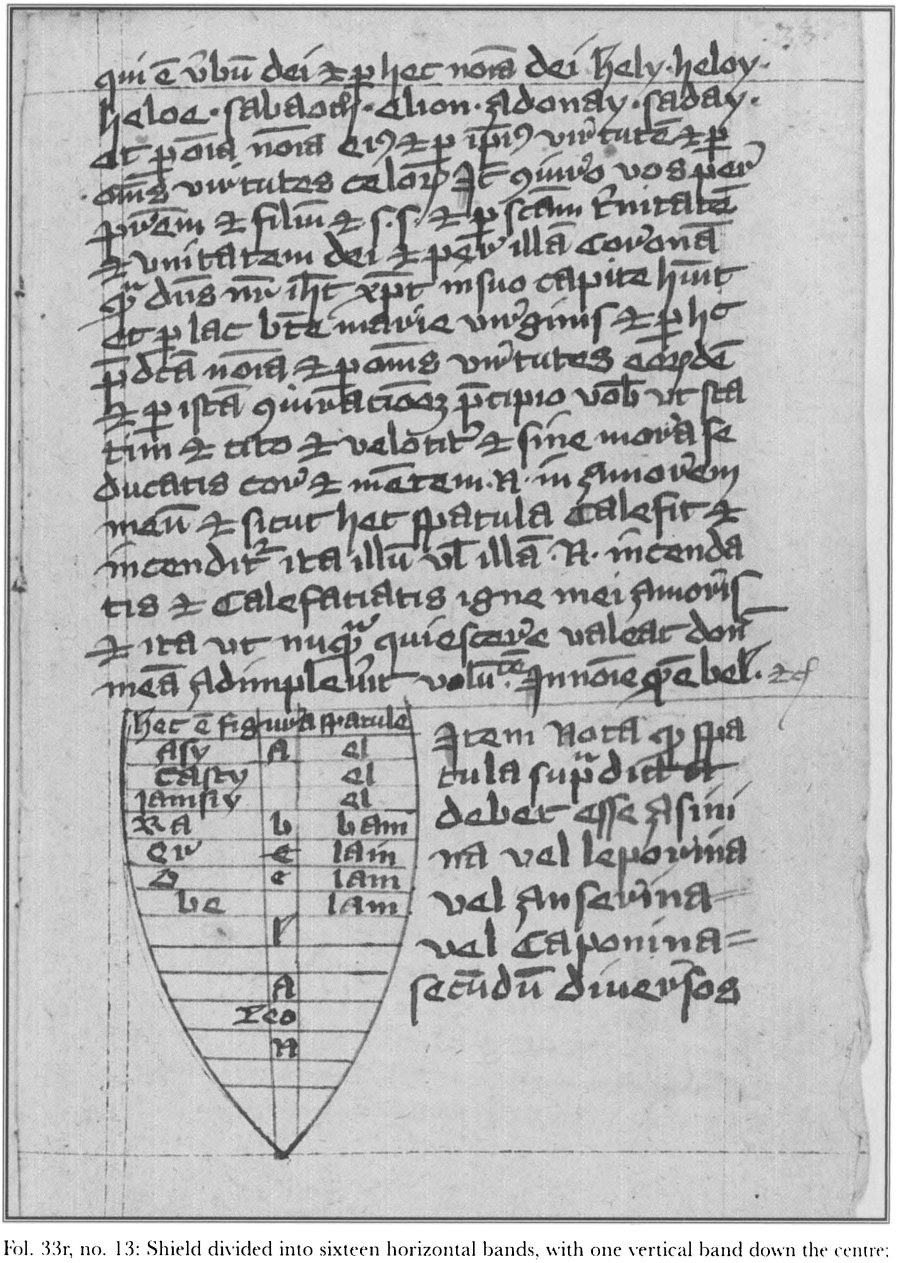
Fol. 26r, no. 10: Double band, drawn with sword; character and three names in each band; pentangle inscribed; cardinal directions indicated on sides; position of the master marked in centre.



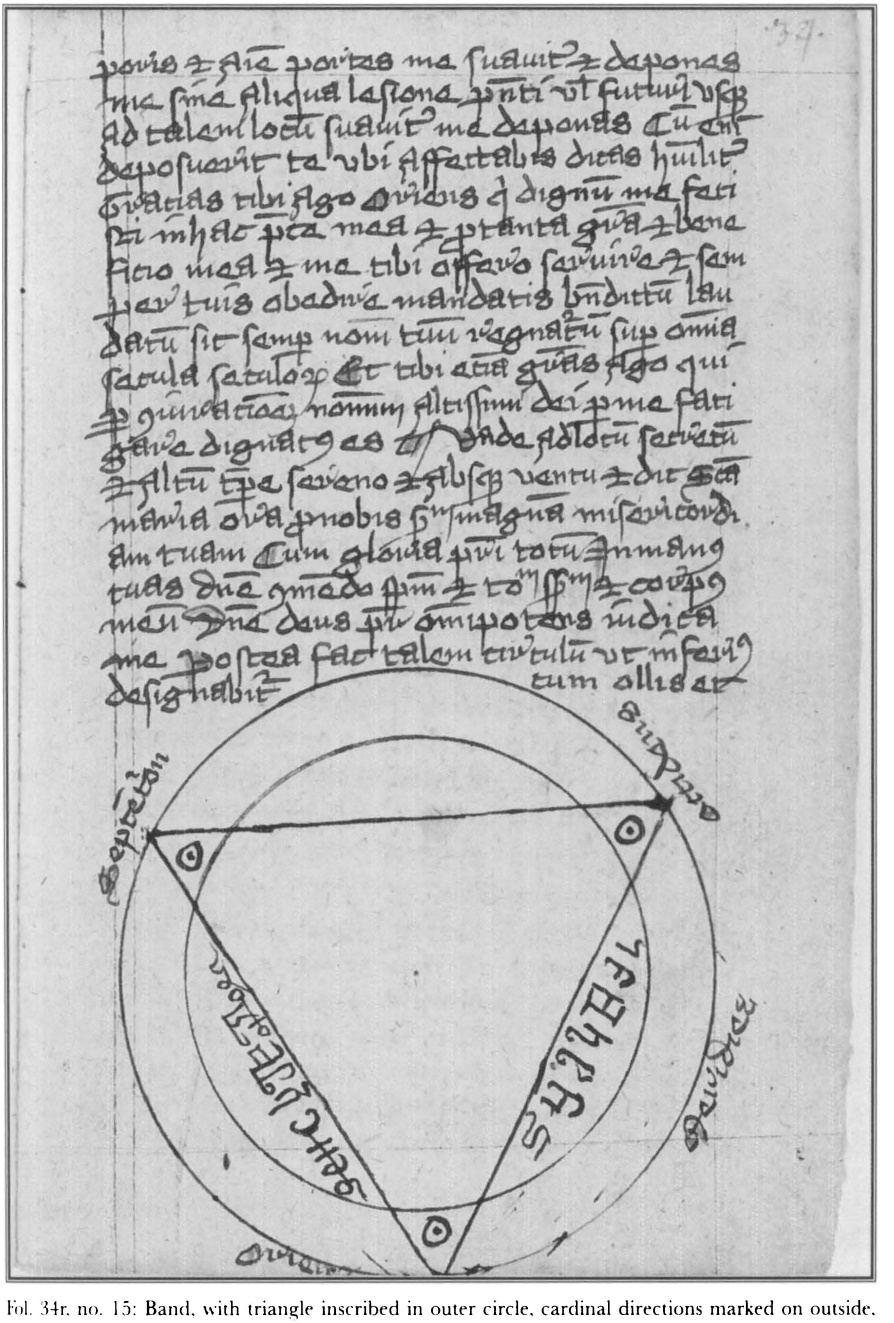
Fol. 28r, no. 11: Plain circle, with place of master and name Firiel marked near centre, name Taraor and elaborate character to left, name Melemil and further character to upper right.



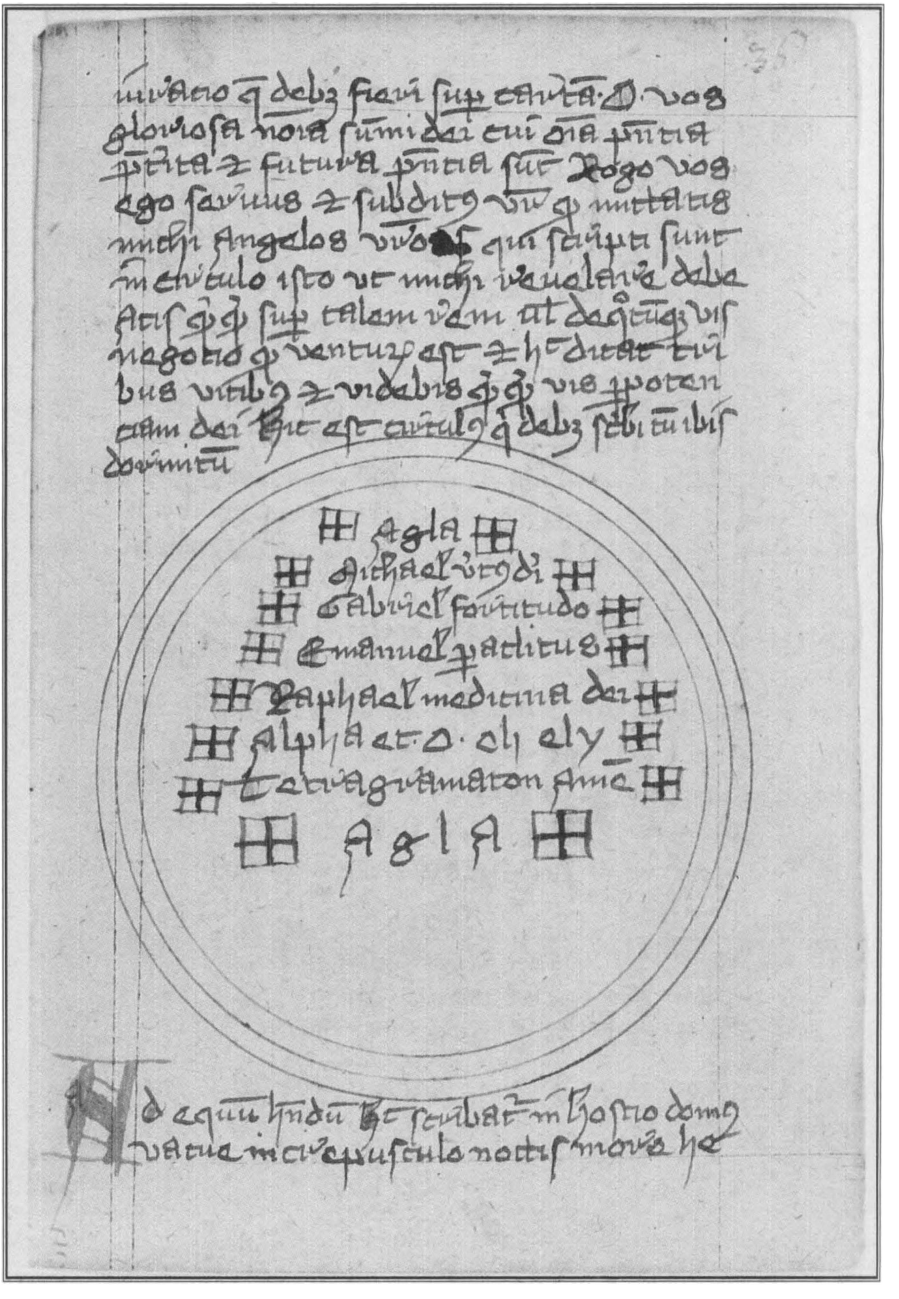
Fol. 30r, no. 12: Single band with invocation of Belial and two other spirits, and position of the master marked in centre.



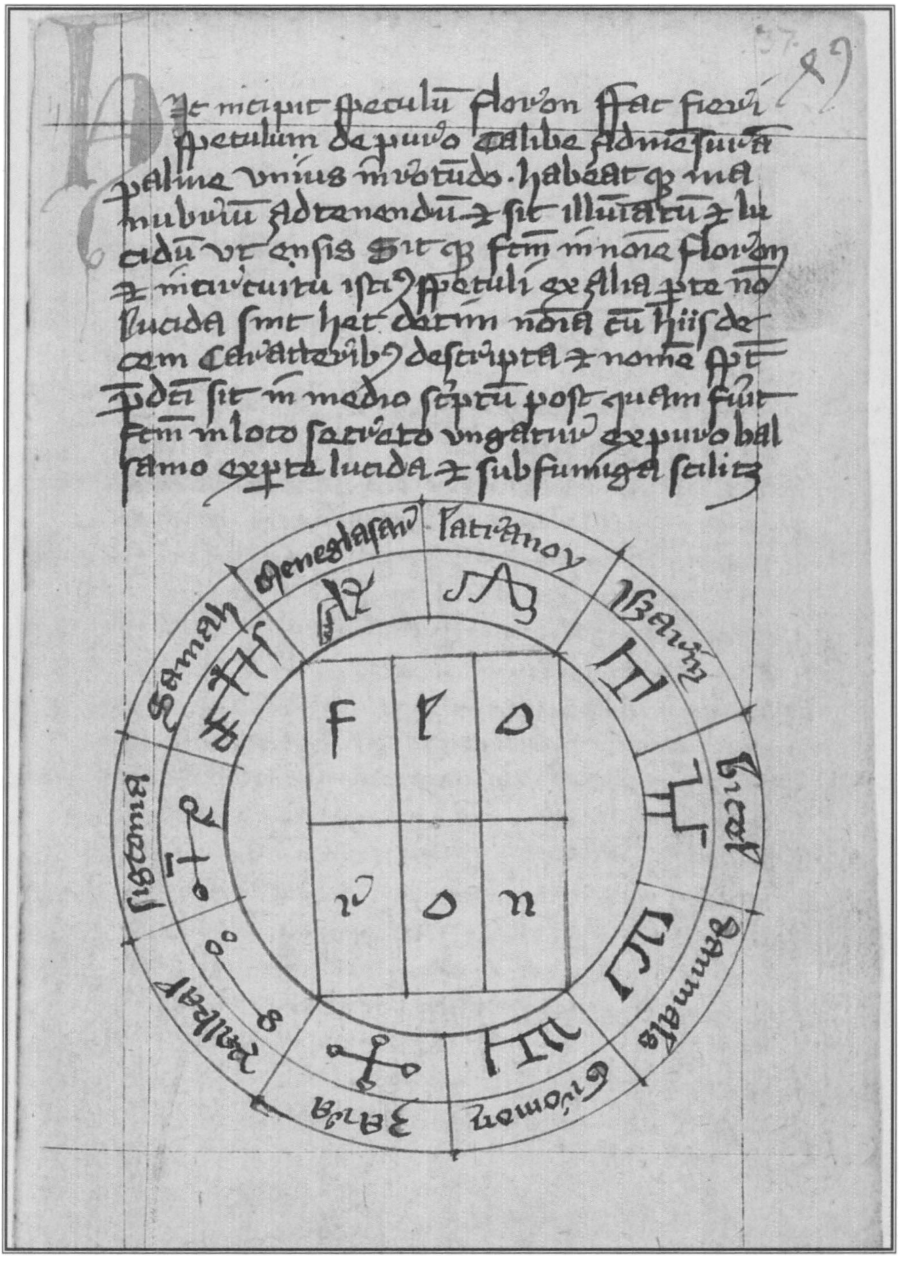
Fol. 33r, no. 13: Shield divided into sixteen horizontal bands, with one vertical band down the centre; names Asyel, Castyel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Olam and Belam in horizontal bands, each straddling the vertical band; *A*, *B*, *E*, *L*, *A* and *N* in the vertical band; *Leo* written across the intersection of the vertical band and the twelfth horizontal band.



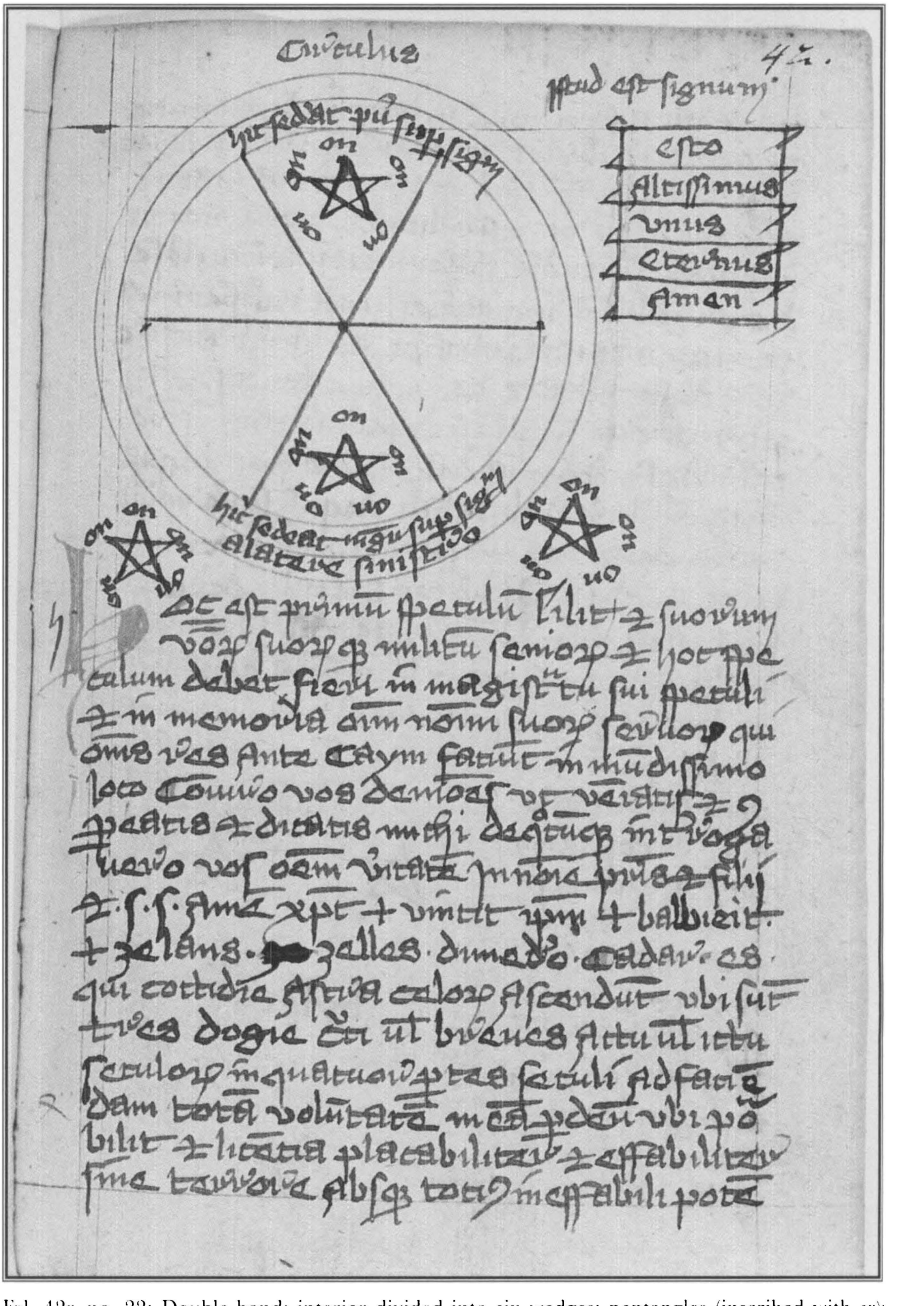
Fol. 34r, no. 15: Band, with triangle inscribed in outer circle, cardinal directions marked on outside, occult characters on two sides of triangle, positions of jars marked in angles.



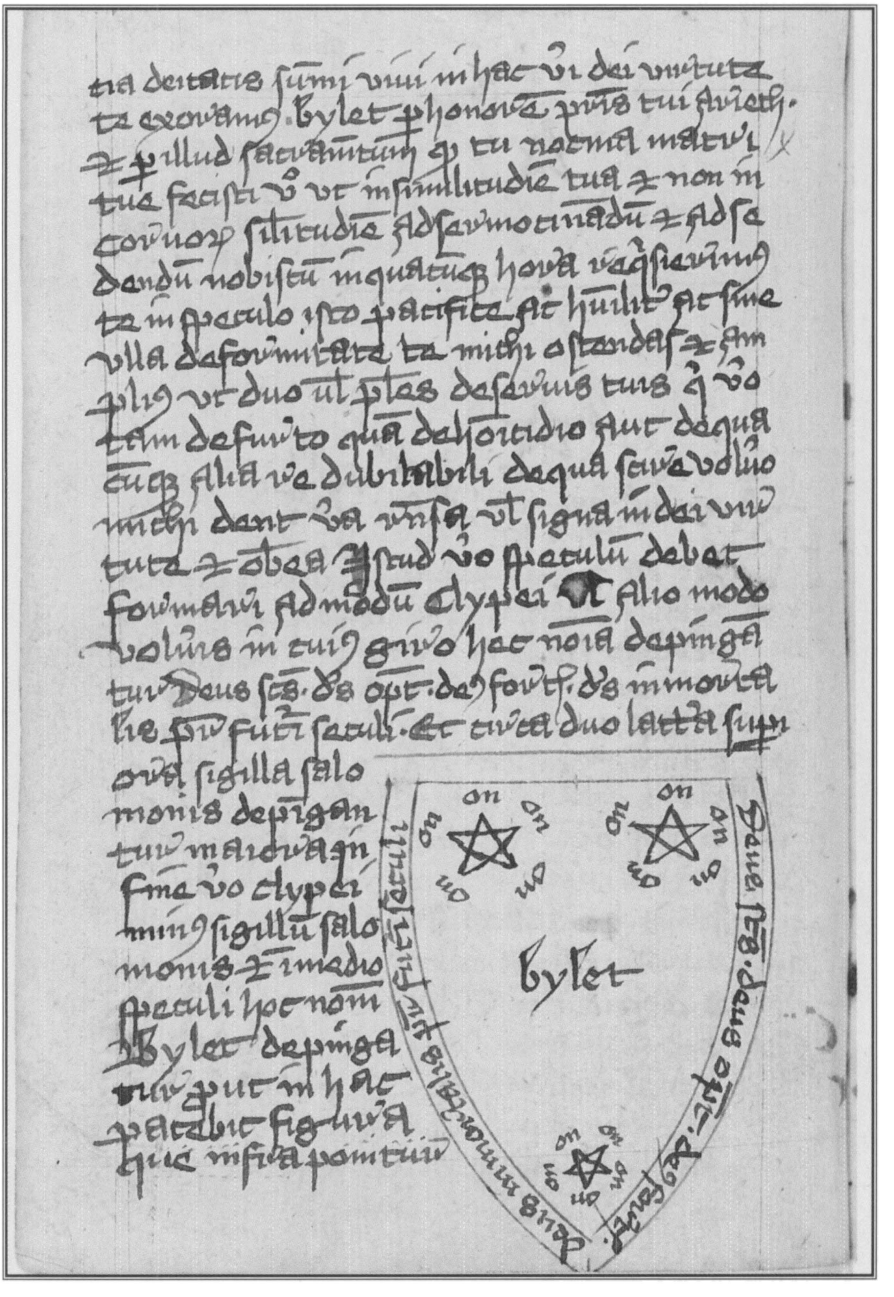
Fol. 36r, no. 16: Double band, with eight lines of text inscribed; cross inside square at either end of each line of text.



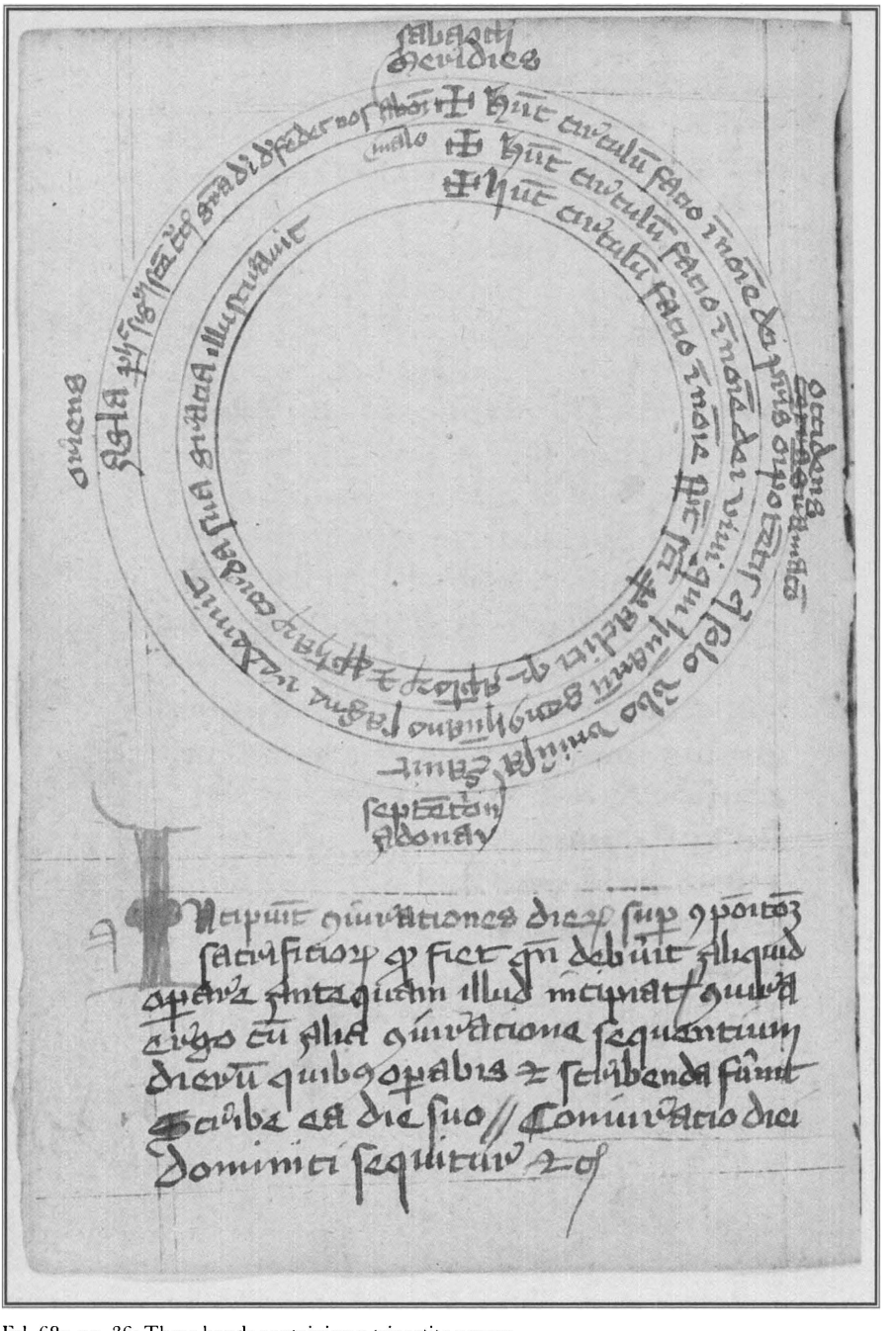
Fol. 37r, no. 18: Double band with ten segments; name of a spirit in outer part; occult character in inner part of each segment; inscribed and segmented vertical rectangle containing the letters F-L-O-R-O-N in segments.



Fol. 42r, no. 22: Double band; interior divided into six wedges; pentangles (inscribed with *on*); positions of master and boy marked; lined column (with inscription) to right.

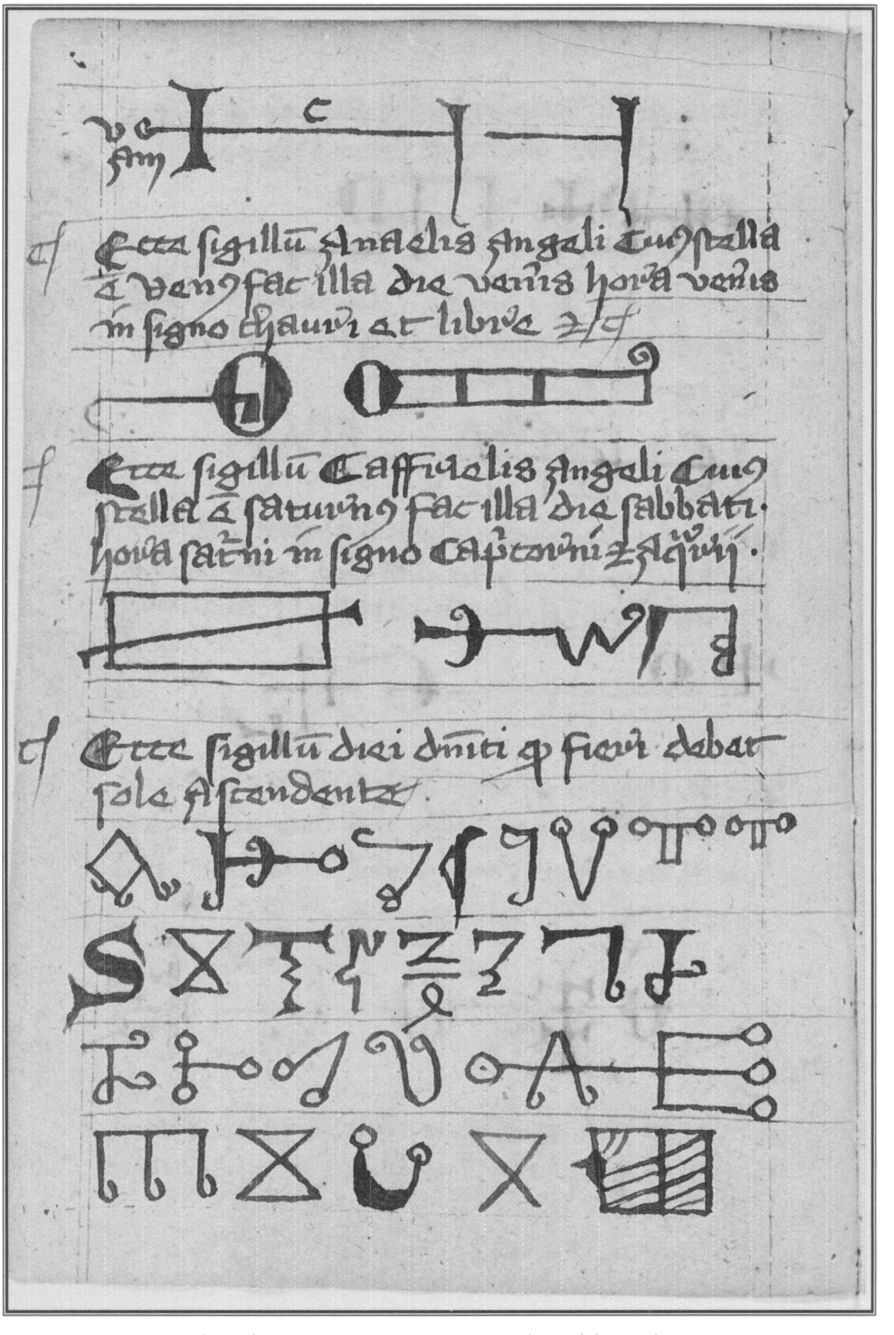


Fol. 42v, no. 23: Shield; inscription addressed to God; pentangles (*sigilla Salomonis*, inscribed with *on*); name Lylet inscribed near centre.

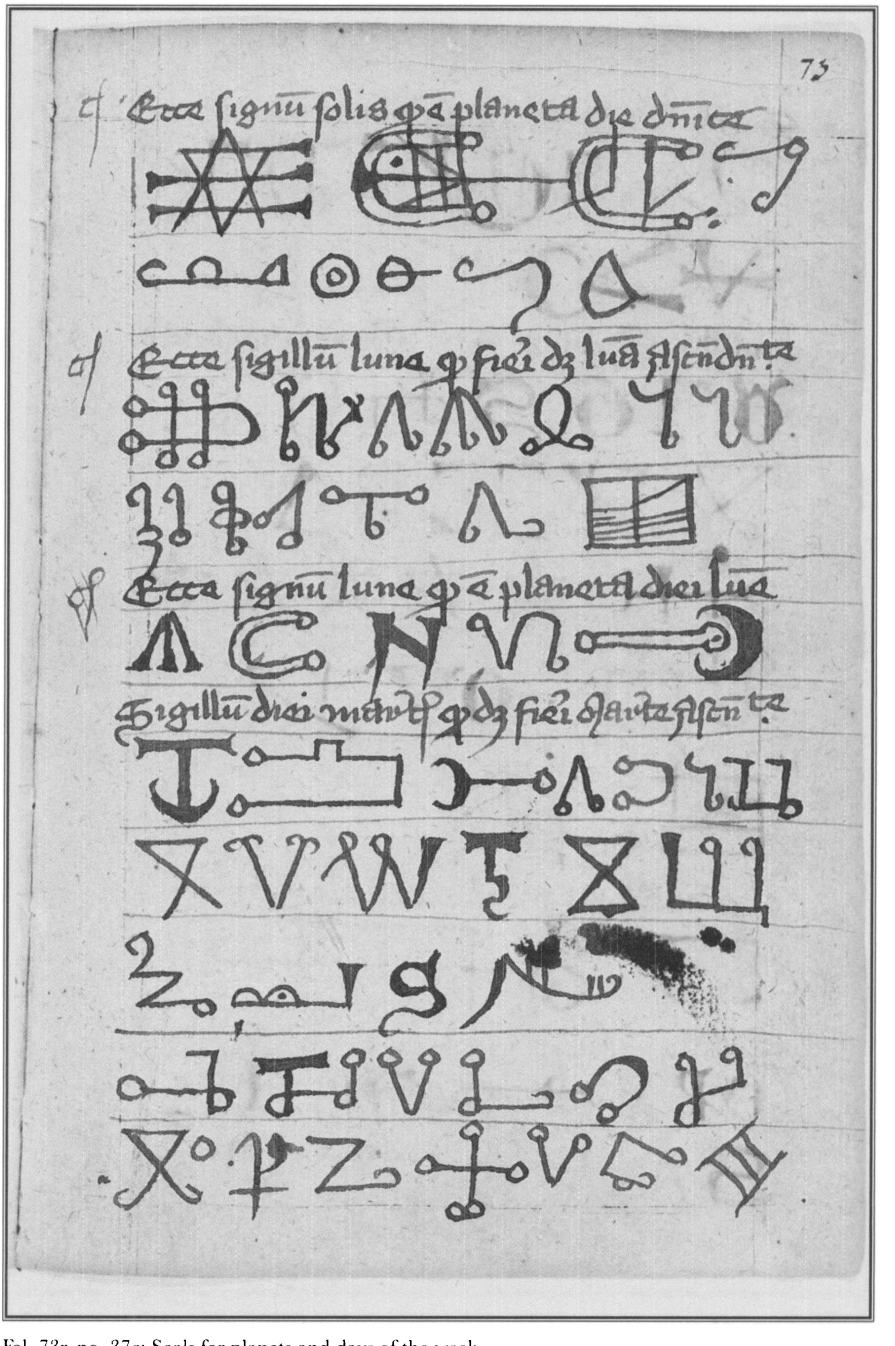


Fol. 68v, no. 36: Three bands containing a tripartite prayer.

Fol. 72r, no. 37b: Seals for angels.



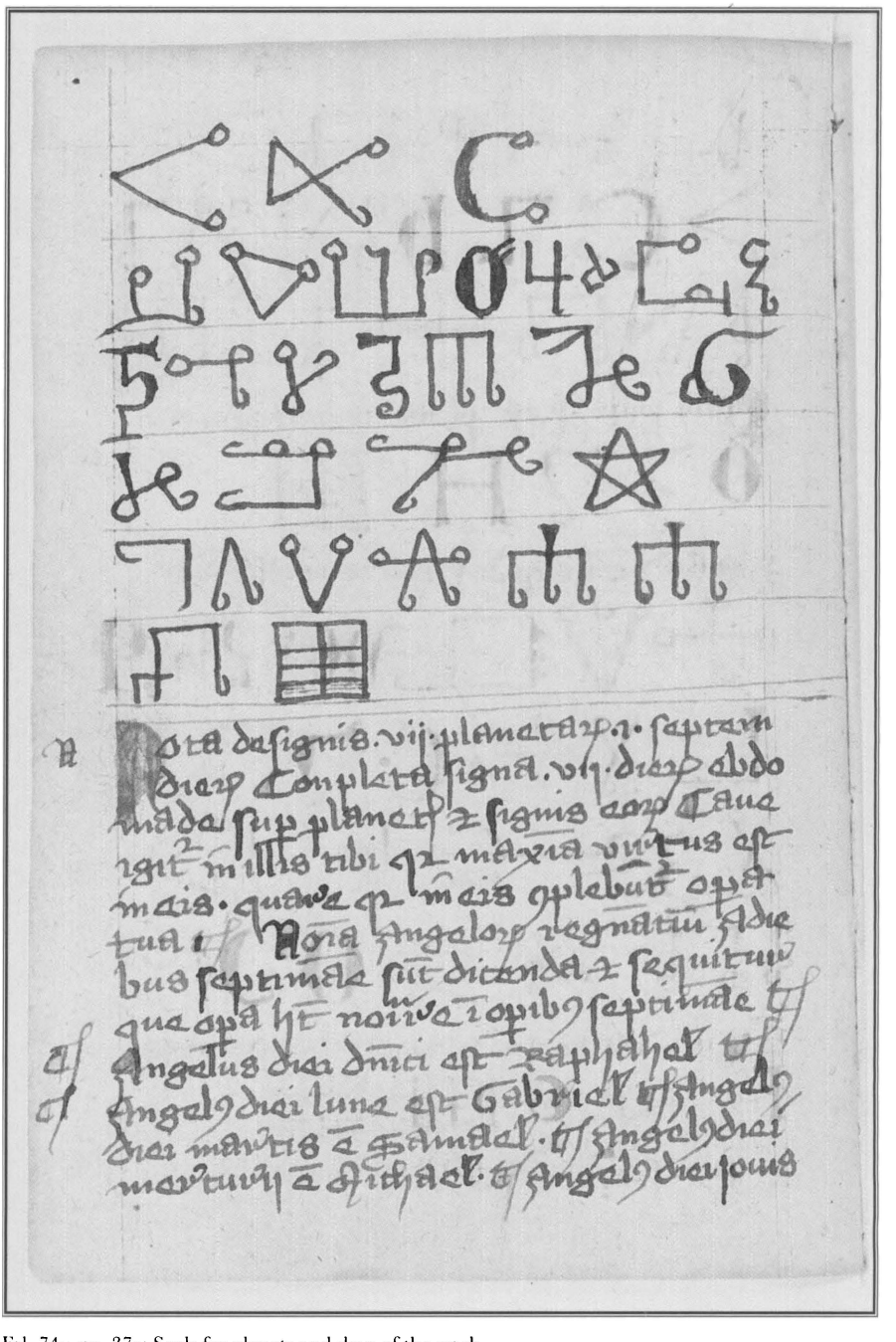
Fol. 72v, nos 37b–37c: Seals for angels, seals for planets and days of the week.



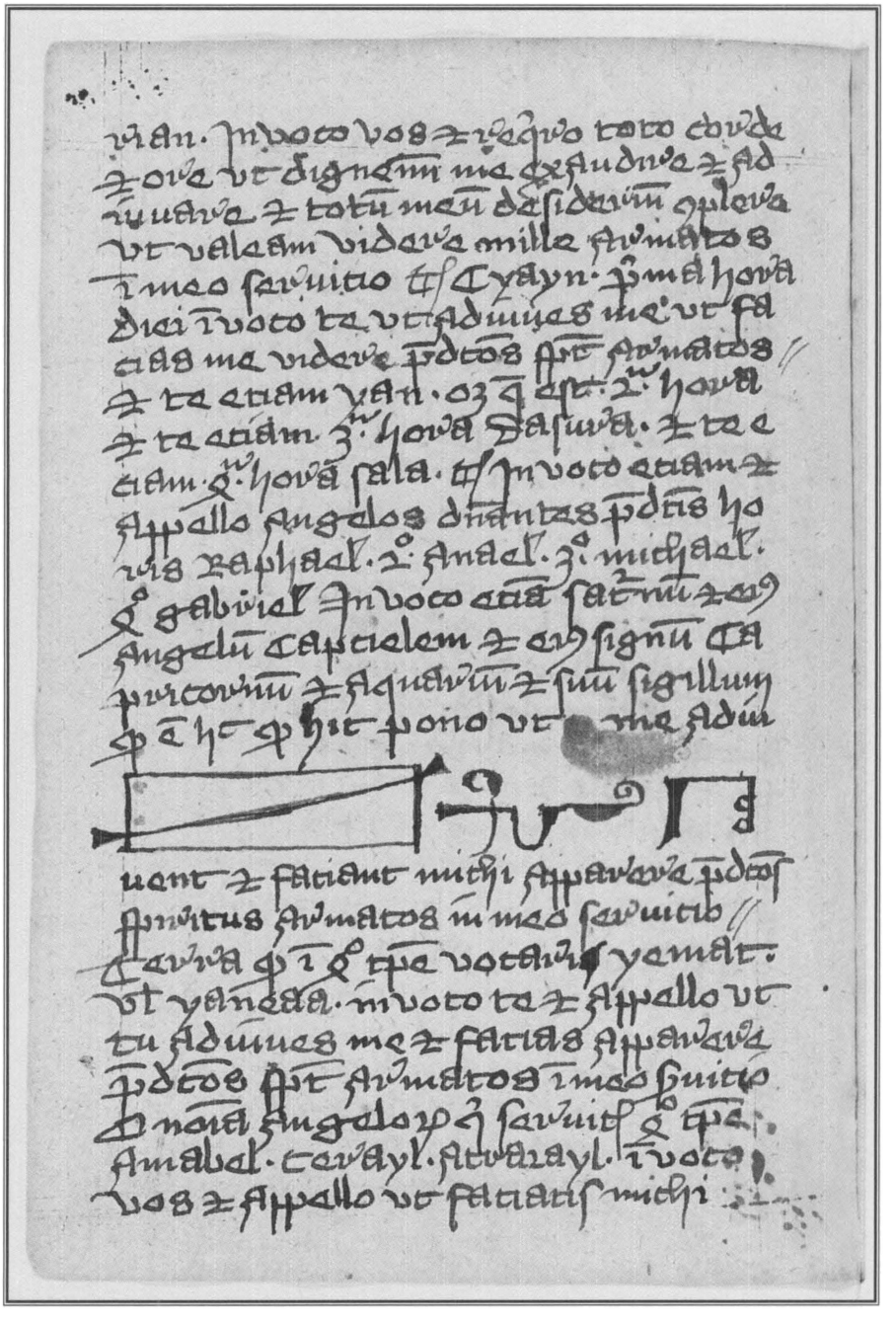
Fol. 73r, no. 37c: Seals for planets and days of the week.

Fol. 73v, no. 37c: Seals for planets and days of the week.

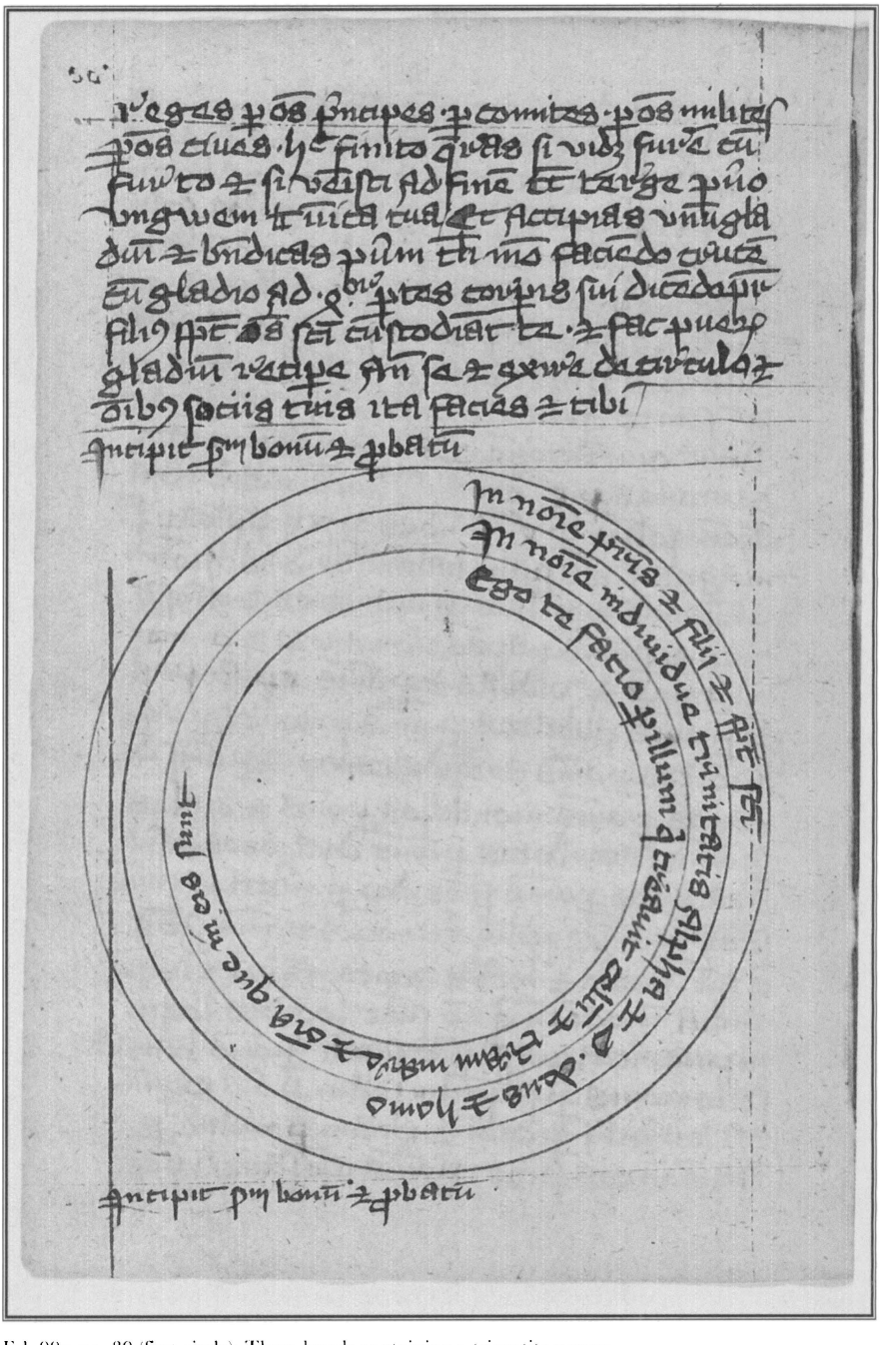
Fol. 74r, no. 37c: Seals for planets and days of the week.



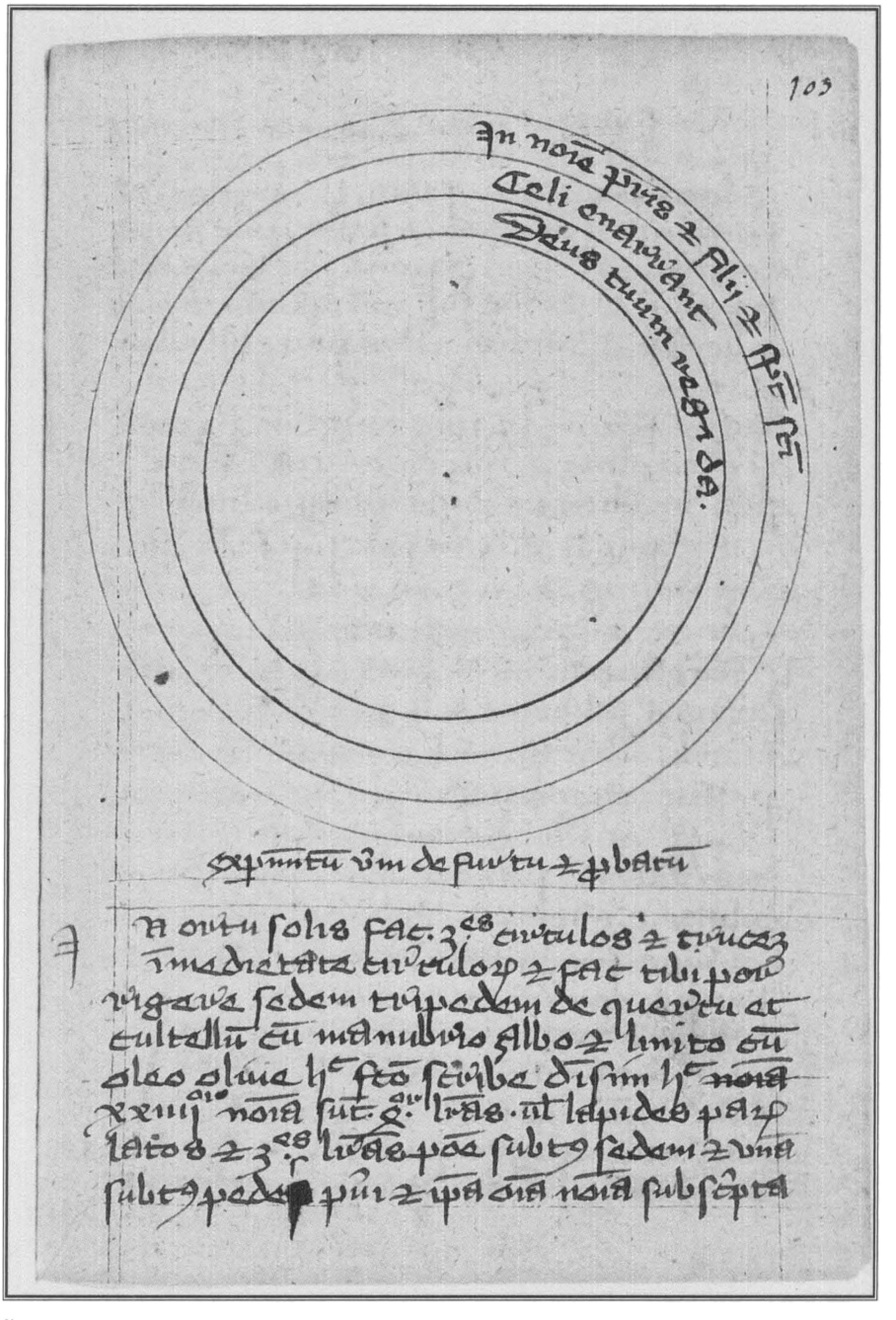
Fol. 74v, no. 37c: Seals for planets and days of the week.



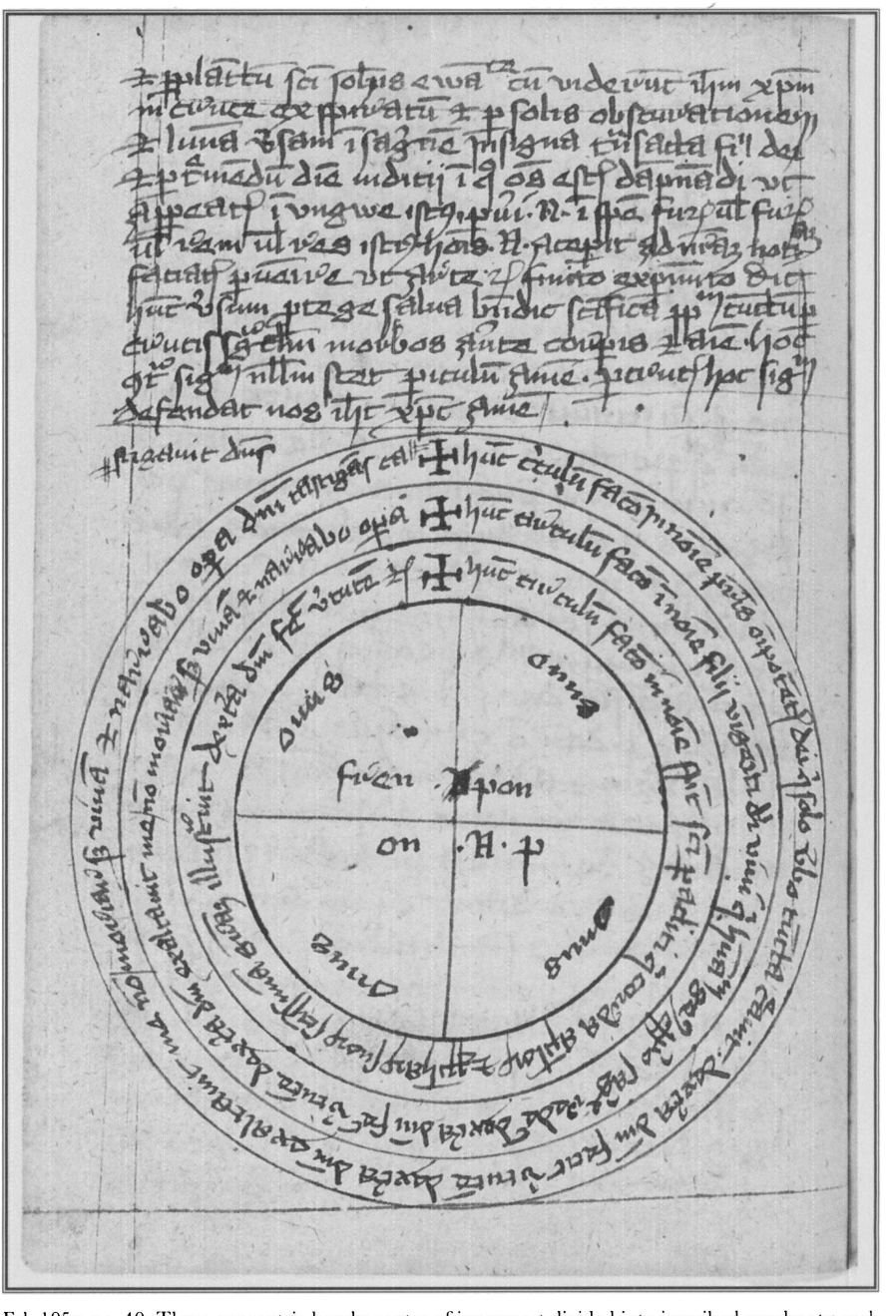
Fol. 95v, no. 37r: Seal of Solomon (three characters).



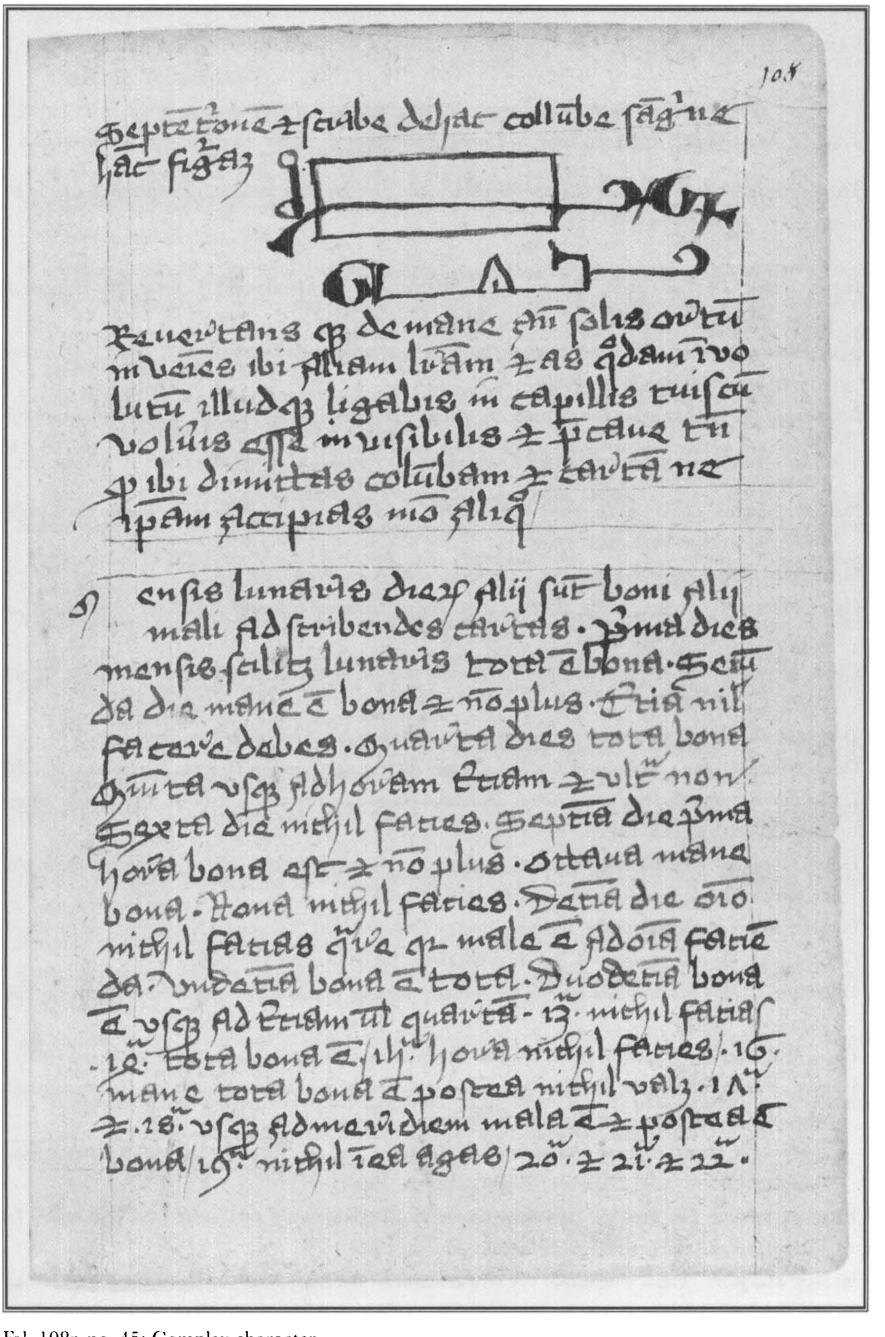
Fol. 99v, no. 39 (first circle): Three bands containing a tripartite prayer.



Fol. 103r, no. 39 (second circle): Three bands containing a tripartite prayer.



Fol. 105v, no. 40: Three concentric bands; centre of innermost divided into inscribed quadrants; each circle dedicated to member of Trinity.



Fol. 108r, no. 45: Complex character.

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THE KEY OF SOLOMON THE KING.

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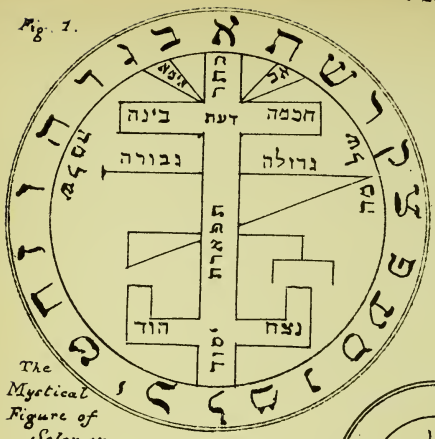
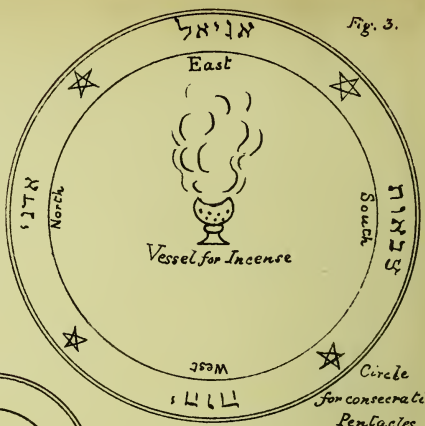
Fig. 1.



The Mystical Figure of Solomon.

Fig. 3.



Circle for consecrating Pentacles &c.

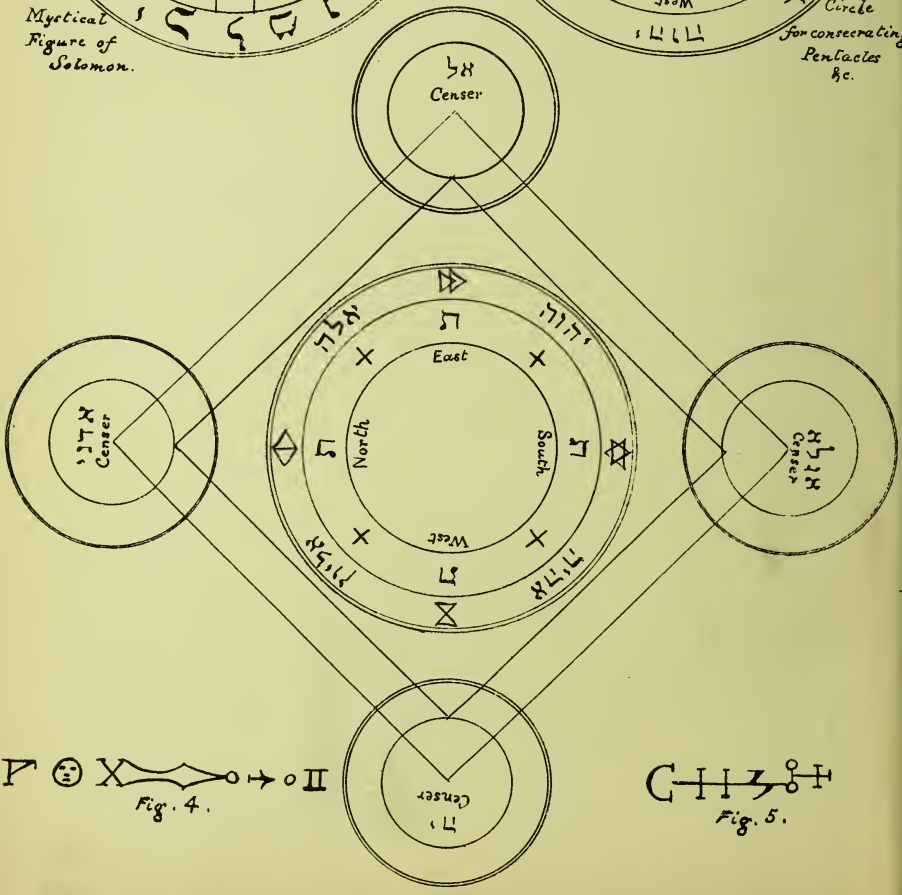


Figure 2.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

THE

KEY OF SOLOMON THE KING

(*CLAVICULA SALOMONIS*)

Now first Translated and Edited from Ancient MSS. in the British Museum

BY

S. LIDDELL MACGREGOR MATHERS

Author of "The Kabbalah Unveiled," "The Tarot," &c.

WITH PLATES

LONDON
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THE

KEY OF SOLOMON THE KING.

PREFACE.

In presenting this celebrated magical work to the student of occult science some few prefatory remarks are necessary.

The Key of Solomon, save for a curtailed and incomplete copy published in France in the seventeenth century, has never yet been printed, but has for centuries remained in Manuscript form inaccessible to all but the few fortunate scholars to whom the inmost recesses of the great libraries were open. I therefore consider that I am highly honoured in being the individual to whose lot it has fallen to usher it into the light of day.

The fountain-head and storehouse of Qabalistical Magic, and the origin of much of the Ceremonial Magic of mediæval times, the "Key" has been ever valued by occult writers as a work of the highest authority; and notably in our own day Eliphaz Lévi has taken it for the model on which his celebrated "*Dogme et Rituel de la Haute Magie*" was based. It must be evident to the initiated reader of Lévi, that the Key of Solomon was his text book of study, and at the end of this volume I give a fragment of an ancient Hebrew manuscript of the "Key of Solomon," translated and published in the "Philosophie Occulte," as well as an Invocation called the "Qabalistical Invocation of Solomon," which bears close analogy to one in the First Book, being constructed in the same manner on the scheme of the *Sephiroth*.

The history of the Hebrew original of the "Key of Solomon" is given in the Introductions, but there is every reason to suppose that this has been entirely lost, and Christian, the pupil of Lévi, says as much in his "Histoire de la Magie."

I see no reason to doubt the tradition which assigns the authorship of the "Key" to King Solomon, for among others Josephus, the Jewish historian, especially mentions the magical works attributed to that monarch;

this is confirmed by many Eastern traditions, and his magical skill is frequently mentioned in the Arabian Nights.

There are, however, two works on Black Magic, the "*Grimorium Verum*," and the "*Clavicola di Salomone ridolta*," which have been attributed to Solomon, and which have been in some cases especially mixed up with the present work; but which have nothing really to do therewith; they are full of evil magic, and I cannot caution the practical student too strongly against them.

There is also another work called "Lemegeton or the Lesser Key of Solomon the King," which is full of seals of various Spirits, and is not the same as the present book, though extremely valuable in its own department.

In editing this volume I have omitted one or two experiments partaking largely of Black Magic, and which had evidently been derived from the two Goetic works mentioned above; I must further caution the practical worker against the use of blood; the prayer, the pentacle, and the perfumes, rightly used, are sufficient; and the former verges dangerously on the evil path. Let him who, in spite of the warnings of this volume, determines to work evil, be assured that that evil will recoil on himself and that he will be struck by the reflex current.

This work is edited from several ancient MSS. in the British Museum, which all differ from each other in various points, some giving what is omitted by the others, but all unfortunately agreeing in one thing, which is the execrable mangling of the Hebrew words through the ignorance of the transcribers. But it is in the Pentacles that the Hebrew is worst, the letters being so vilely scribbled as to be actually undecipherable in some instances, and it has been part of my work for several years to correct and reinstate the proper Hebrew and Magical characters in the Pentacles. The student may therefore safely rely on their being now as nearly correct in their present reproduction as it is possible for them to be. I have therefore, wherever I could, corrected the Hebrew of the Magical Names in the Conjurations and Pentacles; and in the few instances where it was not possible to do so, I have put them in the most usual form; carefully collating throughout one MS. with another. The Chapters are a little differently classed in the various MSS., in some instances the matter contained in them being transposed, &c. I have added notes wherever necessary.

The MSS. from which this work is edited are:—Add. MSS., 10,862; Sloane MSS., 1307 and 3091; Harleian MSS., 3981; King's MSS., 288; and Lansdowne MSS. 1202 and 1203; seven codices in all.

Of all these 10,862 Add. MSS. is the oldest, its date being about the

end of the sixteenth century; 3981 Harleian is probably about the middle of the seventeenth century; the others of rather later date.

Add. MSS. 10,862 is written in contracted Latin, and is hard to read, but it contains Chapters which are omitted in the others and also an important Introduction. It is more concise in its wording. Its title is short, being simply "The Key of Solomon, translated from the Hebrew language into the Latin." An exact copy of the signature of the writer of this MS. is given in *Figure* 93. The Pentacles are very badly drawn.

3981 Harleian MSS.; 288 King's MSS.; and 3091 Sloane MSS.; are similar, and contain the same matter and nearly the same wording; but the latter MS. has many errors of transcription. They are all in French. The Conjurations and wording of these are much fuller than in 10,862 Add. MSS. and 1202 Lansdowne MSS. The title is "The Key of Solomon King of the Hebrews, translated from the Hebrew Language into Italian by Abraham Colorno, by the order of his most Serene Highness of Mantua; and recently put into French." The Pentacles are much better drawn, are in coloured inks, and in the case of 3091 Sloane MSS., gold and silver are employed.

1307 Sloane MSS. is in Italian; its Title is "La Clavicola di Salomone Redotta et epilogata nella nostra materna lingua del dottissimo Gio Peccatrix." It is full of Black Magic, and is a jumble of the Key of Solomon proper, and the two Black Magic books before mentioned. The Pentacles are badly drawn. It, however, gives part of the Introduction to 10,862 Add. MSS., and is the only other MS. which does, save the beginning of another Italian version which is bound up with the former MS., and bears the title "Zecorbenei."

1202 Lansdowne MSS. is "The True Keys of King Solomon, by Armadel." It is beautifully written, with painted initial letters, and the Pentacles are carefully drawn in coloured inks. It is more concise in style, but omits several Chapters. At the end are some short extracts from the *Grimorium Verum* with the Seals of evil spirits, which, as they do not belong to the "Key of Solomon" proper, I have not given. For the evident classification of the "Key" is in two books and no more.

1203 Lansdowne MSS. is "The Veritable Keys of Solomon translated from the Hebrew into the Latin language by the Rabbin Abognazar (? Aben Ezra"). It is in French, exquisitely written in printing letters, and the Pentacles are carefully drawn in coloured inks. Though containing similar matter to the others, the arrangement is utterly different; being all in one book, and not even divided into chapters.

The antiquity of the Planetary sigils is shown by the fact that, among the

Gnostic talismans in the British Museum, there is a ring of copper with the sigils of Venus, which are exactly the same as those given by the mediæval writers on Magic.

Where Psalms are referred to I have in all instances given the English and not the Hebrew numbering of them.

In some places I have substituted the word AZOTH for "Alpha and Omega," *e.g.*, on the blade of the Knife with the Black Hilt, *Figure* 62. I may remark that the Magical Sword may, in many cases, be used instead of the Knife.

In conclusion I will only mention, for the benefit of non-Hebraists, that Hebrew is written from right to left, and that from the consonantal nature of the Hebrew Alphabet, it will require fewer letters than in English to express the same word.

I take this opportunity of expressing my obligations to Dr. Wynn Westcott for the valuable assistance he has given me in the reconstruction of the Hebrew of the Pentacles.

S. LIDDELL MAC GREGOR MATHERS.

LONDON, *October*, 1888.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE

From Lansdowne MSS. 1203, "*The Veritable Clavicles of Solomon, translated from the Hebrew into the Latin language by the Rabbi Abognazar.**

Every one knoweth in the present day that from time immemorial Solomon possessed knowledge inspired by the wise teachings of an angel, to which he appeared so submissive and obedient, that in addition to the gift of wisdom, which he demanded, he obtained with profusion all the other virtues; which happened in order that knowledge worthy of eternal preservation might not be buried with his body. Being, so to speak, near his end, he left to his son Roboam a Testament which should contain all (the Wisdom) he had possessed prior to his death. The Rabbins, who were careful to cultivate (the same knowledge) after him, called this Testament the Clavicle or Key of Solomon, which they caused to be engraved on (pieces of) the bark of trees, while the Pentacles were inscribed in Hebrew letters on plates of copper, so that they might be carefully preserved in the Temple which that wise king had caused to be built.

This Testament was in ancient time translated from the Hebrew into the Latin language by Rabbi Abognazar, who transported it with him into the town of Arles in Provence, where by a notable piece of good fortune the ancient Hebrew Clavicle, that is to say this precious translation of it, fell into the hands of the Archbishop of Arles, after the destruction of the Jews in that city; who, from the Latin, translated it into the vulgar tongue, in the same terms which here follow, without having either changed or augmented the original translation from the Hebrew.

* I fancy this must be a corruption of "Aben Ezra."

INTRODUCTION

From Add. MSS. 10862, "*The Key of Solomon, translated into Latin from the Hebrew tdiom.*"

TREASURE up, O my son Roboam! the wisdom of my words, seeing that I, Solomon, have received it from the Lord.

Then answered Roboam, and said: How have I deserved to follow the example of my father Solomon in such things, who hath been found worthy to receive the knowledge of all living things through (the teaching of) an Angel of God?

And Solomon said: Hear, O my son, and receive my sayings, and learn the wonders of God. For, on a certain night, when I laid me down to sleep, I called upon that most holy Name of God, IAH, and prayed for the Ineffable Wisdom, and when I was beginning to close mine eyes, the Angel of the Lord, even Homadiel, appeared unto me, spake many things courteously unto me, and said: Listen, O Solomon! thy prayer before the Most High is not in vain, and since thou hast asked neither for long life, nor for much riches, nor for the souls of thine enemies, but hast asked for thyself wisdom to perform justice. Thus saith the Lord: According to thy word have I given unto thee a wise and understanding heart, so that before thee was none like unto thee, nor ever shall arise.

And when I comprehended the speech which was made unto me, I understood that in me was the knowledge of all creatures, both things which are in the heavens and things which are beneath the heavens; and I saw that all the writings and wisdom of this present age were vain and futile, and that no man was perfect. And I composed a certain work wherein I rehearsed the secret of secrets, in which I have preserved them hidden, and I have also therein concealed all secrets whatsoever of magical arts of any masters; any secret or experiments, namely, of these sciences which is in any way worth being accomplished. Also I have written them in this Key, so that like as a key openeth a treasure-house, so this (Key) alone may open the knowledge and understanding of magical arts and sciences.

Therefore, O my son! thou mayest see every experiment of mine or of others, and let everything be properly prepared for them, as thou shalt see properly set down by me, both day and hour, and all things necessary; for without this there will be but falsehood and vanity in this my work; wherein are hidden all secrets and mysteries which can be performed; and that which

is (set down) concerning a single divination or a single experiment, that same I think concerning all things which are in the Universe, and which have been, and which shall be in future time.

Therefore, O my son Roboam, I command thee by the blessing which thou expectest from thy father, that thou shall make an Ivory Casket, and therein place, keep, and hide this my Key; and when I shall have passed away unto my fathers, I entreat thee to place the same in my sepulchre beside me, lest at another time it might fall into the hands of the wicked. And as Solomon commanded, so was it done.

And when, therefore (men) had waited for a long time, there came unto the Sepulchre certain Babylonian Philosophers; and when they had assembled they at once took counsel together that a certain number of men should renew the Sepulchre in his (Solomon's) honour; and when the Sepulchre was dug out and repaired the Ivory Casket was discovered, and therein was the Key of Secrets, which they took with joyful mind, and when they had opened it none among them could understand it on account of the obscurity of the words and their occult arrangement, and the hidden character of the sense and knowledge, for they were not worthy to possess this treasure.

Then, therefore, arose one among them, more worthy (than the others), both in the sight of the gods, and by reason of his age, who was called Iohé Grevis,* and said unto the others: Unless we shall come and ask the interpretation from the Lord, with tears and entreaties, we shall never arrive at the knowledge of it.

Therefore, when each of them had retired to his bed, Iohé indeed falling upon his face on the earth, began to weep, and striking his breast, said:

What have I deserved (above others), seeing that so many men can neither understand nor interpret this knowledge, even though there were no secret thing in nature which the Lord hath hidden from me! Wherefore are these words so obscure? Wherefore am I so ignorant?

And then on his bended knees, stretching his hands to Heaven, he said:

O God, the Creator of all, Thou Who knowest all things, Who gavest so great Wisdom unto Solomon the Son of David the King; grant unto me, I beseech Thee, O Holy Omnipotent and Ineffable Father, to receive the virtue of that wisdom, so that I may become worthy by Thine aid to attain unto the understanding of this Key of Secrets.

And immediately there appeared unto me,† the Angel of the Lord, saying:

Do thou remember if the secrets of Solomon appear hidden and obscure unto thee, that the Lord hath wished it, so that such wisdom may not fall into the hands of wicked men; wherefore do thou promise unto me, that thou art not willing that so great wisdom should ever come to any living creature, and

* I think this is correct, but the name is very indistinctly written in the MS., which is difficult to decipher. In another copy of the Clavicle it is written Iroe Grecis, but I think this is an error.

† "Mihi" in MS., probably a slip for "unto him," "ei."

that which thou revealest unto any let them know that they must keep it unto themselves, otherwise the secrets are profaned and no effect can follow?

And Iohé answered: I promise unto thee that to none will I reveal (them), save to the honour of the Lord, and with much discipline, unto penitent, secret, and faithful (persons).

Then answered the Angel: Go and read the Key, and its words which were obscure throughout shall be manifest unto thee.

And after this the Angel ascended into Heaven in a Flame of Fire.

Then Iohé was glad, and labouring with a clear mind, understood that which the Angel of the Lord had said, and he saw that the Key of Solomon was changed, so that it appeared quite clear unto him plainly in all parts. And Iohé understood that this Work might fall into the hands of the ignorant, and he said: I conjure him into whose hands this secret may come, by the Power of the Creator, and His Wisdom, that in all things he may, desire, intend and perform, that this Treasure may come unto no unworthy (person), nor may he manifest it unto any who is unwise, nor unto one who feareth not God. Because if he act otherwise, I pray God that he may never be worthy to attain unto the desired effect.

And so he deposited the Key, which Solomon preserved, in the Ivory Casket. But the Words of the Key are as follows, divided into two books, and shown in order.

INTRODUCTION

From Lansdowne MSS. 1203, "*The Veritable Clavicles of Solomon translated from the Hebrew into the Latin language by the Rabbi Abognazar.*"

O MY Son Roboam! seeing that of all Sciences there is none more useful than the knowledge of Celestial Movements, I have thought it my duty, being at the point of death, to leave thee an inheritance more precious than all the riches which I have enjoyed. And in order that thou mayest understand how I have arrived at this degree (of wisdom), it is necessary to tell thee that one day, when I was meditating upon the power of the Supreme Being, the Angel of the great God appeared before me as I was saying, O how wonderful are the works of God! I suddenly beheld, at the end of a thickly-shaded vista of trees, a Light in the form of a blazing Star, which said unto me with a voice of thunder: Solomon, Solomon, be not dismayed; the Lord is willing to satisfy thy desire by giving thee knowledge of whatsoever thing is most pleasant unto thee. I order thee to ask of Him whatsoever thou desirest. Whereupon, recovering from my surprise, I answered unto the Angel, that according to the Will of the Lord, I only desired the Gift of Wisdom, and by the Grace of God I obtained in addition the enjoyment of all the Celestial treasures and the knowledge of all natural things.

It is by this means, my Son, that I possess all the virtues and riches of which thou now seest me in the enjoyment, and in order that thou mayest be willing to be attentive to all which I am about to relate to thee, and that thou mayest retain with care all that I am about to tell thee, I assure thee that the Graces of the Great God will be familiar unto thee, and that the Celestial and Terrestrial Creatures will be obedient unto thee, and a science which only works by the strength and power of natural things, and by the pure Angels which govern them. Of which latter I will give thee the names in order, their exercises and particular employments to which they are destined, together with the days over which they particularly preside, in order that thou mayest arrive at the accomplishment of all, which thou wilt find in this my Testament. In all which I promise thee success, provided that all thy works only tend unto the honour of God, Who hath given me the power to rule, not only over Terrestrial but also over Celestial things, that is to say, over the Angels, of whom I am able to dispose according to my will, and to obtain from them very considerable services.

Firstly. It is necessary for thee to understand that God, having made all things, in order that they may be submitted unto Him, hath wished to bring His works to perfection, by making one which participates of the Divine and of the Terrestrial, that is to say, Man; whose body is gross and terrestrial, while his soul is spiritual and celestial, unto whom He hath made subject the whole earth and its inhabitants, and hath given unto Him means by which He may render the Angels familiar, as I call those Celestial creatures who are destined: some to regulate the motion of the Stars, others to inhabit the

Elements, others to aid and direct men, and others again to sing continually the praises of the Lord. Thou mayest then, by the use of their seals and characters, render them familiar unto thee, provided that thou abusest not this privilege by demanding from them things which are contrary to their nature; for accursed be he who will take the Name of God in vain, and who will employ for evil purposes the knowledge and good wherewith He hath enriched us.

I command thee, my Son, to carefully engrave in thy memory all that I say unto thee, in order that it may never leave thee. If thou dost not intend to use for a good purpose the secrets which I here teach thee, I command thee rather to cast this Testament into the fire, than to abuse the power thou wilt have of constraining the Spirits, for I warn thee that the beneficent Angels, wearied and fatigued by thine illicit demands, would to thy sorrow execute the commands of God, as well as to that of all such who, with evil intent, would abuse those secrets which He hath given and revealed unto me. Think not, however, O my Son, that it would not be permitted thee to profit by the good fortune and happiness which the Divine Spirits can bring thee; on the contrary, it gives them great pleasure to render service to Man for whom many of these Spirits have great liking and affinity, God having destined them for the preservation and guidance of those Terrestrial things which are submitted to the power of Man.

There are different kinds of Spirits, according to the things over which they preside, some of them govern the Empyrean Heaven, others the Primum Mobilé, others the First and Second Crystalline, others the Starry Heaven; there are also Spirits of the Heaven of Saturn, which I call Saturnites; there are Jovial, Martial, Solar, Venerean, Mercurial, and Lunar Spirits; there are also (Spirits) in the Elements as well as in the Heavens, there are some in the Fiery Region, others in the Air, others in the Water, and others upon the Earth, which can all render service to that man who shall have the good fortune to understand their nature, and to know how to attract them.

Furthermore, I wish to make thee understand that God hath destined to each one of us a Spirit, which watches over us and takes care of our preservation; these are called Genii, who are elementary like us, and who are more ready to render service to those whose temperament is conformed to the Element which these Genii inhabit; for example, shouldest thou be of a fiery temperament, that is to say sanguine, thy genius would be fiery and submitted to the Empire of Baël. Besides this, there are special times reserved for the invocation of these Spirits, in the days and hours when they have power and absolute empire. It is for this reason that thou wilt see in the following tables to what Planet and to what Angel each Day and Hour is submitted, together with the Colours which belong unto them, the Metals, Herbs, Plants, Aquatic, Aërial, and Terrestrial Animals, and Incense, which are proper to each of them, as also in what quarter of the Universe they ask to be invoked. Neither are omitted, the Conjurations, Seals, Characters, and Divine Letters, which belong to them, by means of which we receive the power to sympathise with these Spirits.

TABLE OF THE PLANETARY HOURS.

Sunday.	*Monday.*	*Tuesday.*	*Wednes.*	*Hours from Sunset to Sunset.*	*Hours from Midnight to Midnight.*	*Thursd.*	*Friday.*	*Saturd.*
Merc.	Jup.	Ven.	Sat.	8	1	Sun.	Moon.	Mars.
Moon.	Mars.	Mer.	Jup.	9	2	Ven.	Sat.	Sun.
Sat.	Sun.	Moon.	Mars.	10	3	Mer.	Jup.	Ven.
Jup.	Ven.	Sat.	Sun	11	4	Moon.	Mars.	Mer.
Mars.	Mer.	Jup.	Ven.	12	5	Sat.	Sun.	Moon.
Sun.	Moon.	Mars.	Mer.	1	6	Jup.	Ven.	Sat.
Ven.	Sat.	Sun.	Moon.	2	7	Mars.	Mer.	Jup.
Mer.	Jup.	Ven.	Sat.	3	8	Sun.	Moon.	Mars.
Moon.	Mars.	Mer.	Jup.	4	9	Ven.	Sat.	Sun.
Sat.	Sun.	Moon.	Mars.	5	10	Mer.	Jup.	Ven.
Jup.	Ven.	Sat.	Sun.	6	11	Moon.	Mars.	Mer.
Mars.	Mer.	Jup.	Ven.	7	12	Sat.	Sun.	Moon.
Sun.	Moon.	Mars.	Mer.	8	1	Jup.	Ven.	Sat.
Ven.	Sat.	Sun.	Moon.	9	2	Mars.	Mer.	Jup.
Mer.	Jup.	Ven.	Sat.	10	3	Sun.	Moon.	Mars.
Moon.	Mars.	Mer.	Jup.	11	4	Ven.	Sat.	Sun.
Sat.	Sun.	Moon.	Mars.	12	5	Mer.	Jup.	Ven.
Jup.	Ven.	Sat.	Sun.	1	6	Moon.	Mars.	Mer.
Mars.	Mer.	Jup.	Ven.	2	7	Sat.	Sun.	Moon.
Sun.	Moon.	Mars.	Mer.	3	8	Jup.	Ven.	Sat.
Ven.	Sat.	Sun.	Moon.	4	9	Mars.	Mer.	Jup.
Mer.	Jup.	Ven.	Sat.	5	10	Sun.	Moon.	Mars.
Moon.	Mars.	Mer.	Jup.	6	11	Ven.	Sat.	Sun.
Sat.	Sun.	Moon.	Mars.	7	12	Mer.	Jup.	Ven.

Table of the Magical Names of the Hours, and of the Angels who rule them, commencing at the first hour after Midnight of each day, and ending at the ensuing midnight.

Hours.	*Sunday.*	*Monday.*	*Tuesday.*	*Wednesd.*	*Thursd.*	*Friday.*	*Saturday.*
1. Yayn . . .	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael
2. Yanor . .	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael
3. Nasnia . .	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael
4. Salla . . .	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael
5. Sadedali . .	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel
6. Thamur . .	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel
7. Ourer . .	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel
8. Thainé . .	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael
9. Neron . .	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael
10. Yayon . .	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael
11. Abai . . .	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael
12. Nathalon .	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel
1. Beron . .	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel
2. Barol . .	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel
3. Thanu . .	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael
4. Athor . .	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael
5. Mathon . .	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael
6. Rana . .	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael
7. Netos . .	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel
8. Tafrac . .	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel
9. Sassur . .	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel
10. Agla . . .	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael
11. Cäerra . .	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael
12. Salam . .	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael

Table of the Archangels, Angels, Metals, Days of the Week, and Colours attributed to each Planet.

Days.	*Saturday.*	*Thursd.*	*Tuesday.*	*Sunday*	*Friday.*	*Wednesd.*	*Monday.*
Archangel . .	Tzaphqiel	Tzadiqel	Khamael	Raphael	Haniel	Michael	Gabriel
Angel . . .	Cassiel	Sachiel	Zamael	Michael	Anael	Raphael	Gabriel
Planet . . .	Saturn	Jupiter	Mars	Sun	Venus	Mercury	Moon
Metal. . . .	Lead	Tin	Iron	Gold	Copper	Mercury	Silver
Colour . . .	Black	Blue	Red	Yellow	Green	Purple or Mixed Colours	White

NOTE BY EDITOR.

These Tables have been collated and compared with various examples of them both MS. and printed. They are to be used thus:—Supposing the student wishes to discover the properties of the hour from 12 to 1 o'clock p.m. on a Tuesday, let him look in the "Table of the Planetary Hours," and having found the hour marked 1 in the column headed "Hours from Midnight to Midnight," he will see in the column headed "Hours from Sunset to Sunset," on the same line the figure 8, showing it to be the eighth hour of the day; and in the column headed Tuesday, the name Mars, showing that it is under the dominion of the planet Mars. On consulting the "Table of the Magical Names of the Hours," &c., he will find under the number 1, the name Beron, and in the column "Tuesday," the name of the angel Zamael over against it on the same line, showing that the ruler of the hour is the Angel Zamael, and that its Magical Name is Beron. Further, on referring to the third Table he will see that Tuesday is under the rule of the planet Mars, whose Archangel is Khamael, Angel Zamael, Metal Iron, and Colour Red. Similarly it will be found that the hour from 10 to 11 p.m. on Saturday is the sixth hour of the night, under the dominion of the Sun, that its Magical Name is Cäerra, and that the Angel Michael rules it; while Saturday itself is under the dominion of the Archangel Tzaphqiel, of the Angel Cassiel, of the Planet Saturn, and that the Metal Lead and the Colour Black are applicable to it.

The ensuing Text is taken from the following MSS., collated and compared with each other.

Sloane MSS. 1307; Sloane MSS. 3091; Harleian MSS. 3981; Add. MSS. 10862; King's MSS. 288; Lansdowne MSS. 1202.

Extracts have also been made from Lansdowne MSS. 1203, which differs considerably from the others in general arrangement, though containing very similar matter.

In cases where the MSS. varied from each other I have taken the version which seemed most likely to be correct, in some cases mentioning the variant readings in footnotes. I have also, wherever it was possible to do so, corrected the Hebrew names in the Incantations, for these were in some cases so marred as to be hardly recognisable; e.g. *Zenard*, written for *Tzabaoth*, &c.

THE KEY OF SOLOMON.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the Divine Love which ought to precede the Acquisition of this Knowledge.

SOLOMON, the Son of David, King of Israel, hath said that the beginning of our Key is to fear God, to adore Him, to honour Him with contrition of heart, to invoke Him* in all matters which we wish to undertake, and to operate with very great devotion, for thus God will lead us in the right way. When, therefore, thou shalt wish to acquire the knowledge of Magical Arts and Sciences, it is necessary to have prepared the order of hours and of days, and of the position of the Moon, without the operation of which thou canst effect nothing; but if thou observest them with diligence thou mayest easily and thoroughly arrive at the effect and end which thou desirest to attain.

* 1202, Lansdowne MSS., omits the concluding part of this sentence.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Days, and Hours, and of the Virtues of the Planets.

When* thou wishest to make any experiment or operation, thou must first prepare, beforehand, all the requisites which thou wilt find described in the following Chapters: observing the days, the hours, and the other effects of the Constellations which may be found in this Chapter.

It is, therefore, advisable to know that the hours of the day and of the night together, are twenty-four in number, and that each hour is governed by one of the Seven Planets in regular order, commencing at the highest and descending to the lowest. The order of the Planets is as follows: ShBThAI, Shabbathai, Saturn; beneath Saturn is TzDQ, Tzedeq, Jupiter; beneath Jupiter is MADIM, Madim, Mars; beneath Mars is ShMSh, Shemesh, the Sun; beneath the Sun is NVGH, Nogah, Venus; beneath Venus is KVKB, Kokav, Mercury; and beneath Mercury is LBNH, Levanah, the Moon, which is the lowest of all the Planets.

It must, therefore, be understood that the Planets have their dominion over the day which approacheth nearest unto the name which is given and attributed unto them—viz., over Saturday, Saturn; Thursday, Jupiter; Tuesday, Mars; Sunday, the Sun; Friday, Venus; Wednesday, Mercury; and Monday, the Moon.

The rule of the Planets over each hour begins from the dawn at the rising of the Sun on the day which take its name from such Planet, and the Planet which follows it in order, succeeds to the rule over the next hour. Thus (on Saturday) Saturn rules the first hour, Jupiter the Second, Mars the third, the Sun the fourth, Venus the fifth, Mercury the sixth, the Moon the seventh, and Saturn returns in the rule over the eighth, and the others in their turn, the Planets always keeping the same relative order.

Note that each experiment or magical operation should be performed under the Planet, and usually in the hour, which refers to the same. For example:—

In the Days and Hours of Saturn thou canst perform experiments to summon the Souls from Hades, but only of those who have died a natural death. Similarly on these days and hours thou canst operate to bring either good or bad fortune to buildings; to have familiar Spirits attend thee in sleep; to cause good or ill success to business, possessions, goods, seeds,

* This first paragraph is omitted in 1307 Sloane MSS., and in 10862 Add. MSS.

fruits, and similar things, in order to acquire learning; to bring destruction and to give death, and to sow hatred and discord.

The Days and Hours of Jupiter are proper for obtaining honours, acquiring riches; contracting friendships, preserving health; and arriving at all that thou canst desire.

In the Days and Hours of Mars thou canst make experiments regarding War; to arrive at military honour; to acquire courage; to overthrow enemies; and further to cause ruin, slaughter, cruelty, discord; to wound and to give death.

The Days and Hours of the Sun are very good for perfecting experiments regarding temporal wealth, hope, gain, fortune, divination, the favour of princes, to dissolve hostile feeling, and to make friends.

The Days and Hours of Venus are good for forming friendships; for kindness and love; for joyous and pleasant undertakings, and for travelling.

The Days and Hours of Mercury are good to operate for eloquence and intelligence; promptitude in business; science and divination; wonders; apparitions; and answers regarding the future. Thou canst also operate under this Planet for thefts; writings; deceit; and merchandise.

The Days and Hours of the Moon are good for embassies; voyages; envoys; messages; navigation; reconciliation; love; and the acquisition of merchandise by water.*

Thou shouldest take care punctually to observe all the instructions contained in this chapter, if thou desirest to succeed, seeing that the truth of Magical Science dependeth thereon.

The Hours of Saturn, of Mars, and of the Moon are alike good for communicating and speaking with Spirits; as those of Mercury are for recovering thefts by the means of Spirits.

The Hours of Mars serve for summoning Souls from Hades,† especially of those slain in battle.

The Hours of the Sun, of Jupiter, and of Venus, are adapted for preparing any operations whatsoever of love, of kindness, and of invisibility, as is hereafter more fully shown, to which must be added other things of a similar nature which are contained in our work.

The Hours of Saturn and Mars and also the days on which the Moon is conjunct‡ with them, or when she receives their opposition or quartile aspect, are excellent for making experiments of hatred, enmity, quarrel, and discord; and other operations of the same kind which are given later on in this work.

The Hours of Mercury are good for undertaking experiments relating to games, raillery, jests, sports, and the like.

* Much of these foregoing instructions is omitted in the 10862 Add. MSS., but given in a different way in the ensuing paragraphs.

† In the French "des Enfers," in the Latin "Inferis."

‡ Conjunction means being in the same degree of the Zodiac; opposition is being 180 degrees, and quartile 90 degrees apart from each other.

The Hours of the Sun, of Jupiter, and of Venus, particularly on the days which they rule, are good for all extraordinary, uncommon, and unknown operations.

The Hours of the Moon are proper for making trial of experiments relating to recovery of stolen property, for obtaining nocturnal visions, for summoning Spirits in sleep, and for preparing anything relating to Water.

The Hours of Venus are furthermore useful for lots, poisons, all things of the nature of Venus, for preparing powders provocative of madness; and the like things.

But in order to thoroughly effect the operations of this Art, thou shouldest perform them not only on the Hours but on the Days of the Planets as well, because then the experiment will always succeed better, provided thou observest the rules laid down later on, for if thou omittest one single condition thou wilt never arrive at the accomplishment of the Art.

For those matters then which appertain unto the Moon, such as the Invocation of Spirits, the Works of Necromancy, and the recovery of stolen property, it is necessary that the Moon should be in a Terrestrial Sign, viz.:—Taurus, Virgo, or Capricorn.

For love, grace, and invisibility, the Moon should be in a Fiery Sign, viz.:—Aries, Leo, or Sagittarius.

For hatred, discord, and destruction, the Moon should be in a Watery Sign, viz.:—Cancer, Scorpio, or Pisces.

For experiments of a peculiar nature, which cannot be classed under any certain head, the Moon should be in an Airy Sign, viz.:—Gemini, Libra, or Aquarius.

But if these things seem unto thee difficult to accomplish, it will suffice thee merely to notice the Moon after her combustion, or conjunction with the Sun, especially just when she* quits his beams and appeareth visible. For then it is good to make all experiments for the construction and operation of any matter. That is why the time from the New unto the Full Moon is proper for performing any of the experiments of which we have spoken above. But in her decrease or wane it is good for War, Disturbance, and Discord. Likewise the period when she is almost deprived of light, is proper for experiments of invisibility, and of Death.

But observe inviolably that thou commence nothing while the Moon is in conjunction with the Sun, seeing that this is extremely unfortunate, and that thou wilt then be able to effect nothing; but the Moon quitting his beams and increasing in Light, thou canst perform all that thou desirest, observing nevertheless the directions in this Chapter.

Furthermore, if thou wishest to converse with Spirits it should be especially on the day of Mercury and in his hour, and let the Moon be in an Airy Sign,† as well as the Sun.

* *i.e.* New Moon.

† In Add. MSS. 10862; "or in an Earthy Sign, as hath been before said."

Retire* thou then unto a secret place, where no one may be able to see thee or to hinder thee, before the completion of the experiment, whether thou shouldest wish to work by day or by night. But if thou shouldest wish to work by night, perfect thy work on the succeeding night; if by day, seeing that the day beginneth with the rising of the Sun (perfect thy work on) the succeeding day. But the Hour of Inception is the Hour of Mercury.

Verily, since no experiments for converse with Spirits can be done without a Circle being prepared, whatsoever experiments therefore thou wishest to undertake for conversing with Spirits, therein thou must learn to construct a certain particular Circle; that being done surround that Circle with a Circle of Art for better caution and efficacy.

* The following paragraphs to the end of this Chapter are only found in the Latin version, Add. MSS. 10862.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the Arts.

If thou wishest to succeed, it is necessary to make the following Experiments and Arts in the appropriate Days and Hours, with the requisite solemnities and ceremonies contained and laid down in the following chapters.

Experiments, then, are of two kinds; the first is to make trial of what, as I have said, can be easily performed without a Circle, and in this case it is not necessary to observe anything but what thou wilt find in the proper Chapters. The second can in no way be brought to perfection without the Circle; and in order to accomplish this perfectly it is necessary to take note of all the preparations which the Master of the Art and his Disciples must undertake before constructing* the Circle.

Before commencing operations both the Master and his Disciples must abstain with great and thorough continence during the space of nine days from sensual pleasures and from vain and foolish conversation; as plainly appeareth in the Second Book, Chapter 4. Six of these nine days having expired, he must recite frequently the Prayer and Confession as will be told him; and on the Seventh Day, the Master being alone, let him enter into a secret place, let him take off his clothes, and bathe himself from head to foot in consecrated and exorcised Water, saying devoutly and humbly the prayer, "O Lord Adonaï," &c., as it is written in the Second Book, Chapter 2.

The Prayer being finished, let the Master quit the water, and put upon his flesh raiment of white linen clean and unsoiled; and then let him go with his Disciples unto a secret place and command them to strip themselves naked; and they having taken off their clothes, let him take exorcised water and pour it upon their heads so that it flows down to their feet and bathes them completely; and while pouring this water upon them let the Master say:—"Be ye regenerate, renewed, washed, and pure," &c., as in Book II., Chapter 3.

Which† being done, the Disciples must clothe themselves, putting upon their flesh, like their Master, raiment of white linen clean and unsoiled; and the three last days the Master and his Disciples should fast, observing the solemnities and prayers marked in Book II., Chapter 2.

Note that the three last days should be calm weather, without wind, and without clouds rushing hither and thither over the face of the sky. On the last day let the Master go with his Disciples unto a secret fountain of running water, or unto a flowing stream, and there let each of them, taking off his

* Sloane MSS. 3091, says, "before they come to the Circle."

† This paragraph is omitted in Lansdowne MSS. 1202.

clothes, wash himself with due solemnity, as is rehearsed in Book II. And when they are clean and pure, let each put upon him garments of white linen, pure, and clean, using the prayers and ceremonies described in Book II. After which let the Master alone say the confession. The which being finished, the Master in sign of penitence will Kiss* the Disciples on the forehead, and each of them will Kiss the other. Afterwards let the Master extend his hands over the Disciples, and in sign of absolution absolve and bless them; which being done he will distribute to each of his Disciples the Instruments necessary for Magical Art, which he is to carry into the Circle.

The First Disciple will bear the Censer, the Perfumes and the Spices; the Second Disciple will bear the Book, Papers, Pens, Ink, and any stinking or impure materials; the Third will carry the Knife and the Sickle of Magical Art, the Lantern, and the Candles; the Fourth, the Psalms, and the rest of the Instruments; the Fifth, the Crucible or Chafing-dish, and the Charcoal or Fuel; but it is necessary for the Master himself to carry in his hand the Staff, and the Wand or Rod. The things necessary being thus disposed, the Master will go with his Disciples unto the assigned place, where they have proposed to construct the Circle for the Magical Arts and experiments; repeating on the way the prayers and orations which thou wilt find in Book II.

When the Master shall have arrived at the place appointed, together with his Disciples, he having lighted the flame of the fire, and having exorcised it afresh as is laid down in the Second Book, shall light the Candle and place it in the Lantern, which one of the Disciples is to hold ever in his hand to light the Master at his work. Now the Master of the Art, every time that he shall have occasion for some particular purpose to speak with the Spirits, must endeavour to form certain Circles which shall differ somewhat, and shall have some particular reference to the particular experiment under consideration. Now, in order to succeed in forming such a Circle concerning Magical Art, for the greater assurance and efficacy thou shalt construct it in the following manner:—

The Construction of the Circle.

Take thou the Knife, the Sickle, or the Sword of Magical Art consecrated after the manner and order which we shall deliver unto thee in the Second Book. With this Knife or with the Sickle of Art thou shalt describe, beyond the inner Circle which thou shalt have already formed, a Second Circle, encompassing the other at the distance of one foot therefrom and having the same centre.† Within this space of a foot in breadth between the first and the second circumferential‡ line, thou shalt trace towards the Four Quarters of the Earth,§ the Sacred and Venerable Symbols of the holy Letter Tau.‖ And

* Note the "holy kiss" in the New Testament. "Greet ye one another with a holy kiss."

† *i.e.* Two Circles enclosed between three circumferential lines.

‡ *i.e.* within the first circle.

§ *i.e.* the four Cardinal points of the compass.

‖ The letter Tau represents the Cross, and in 10862 Add. MSS. in the drawing of the Circle, the Hebrew letter is replaced by the Cross; in 1307 Sloane MSS. by the T or Tau-Cross.

between the first and the second Circle,* which thou shalt thyself have drawn with the Instrument of Magical Art, thou shalt make four hexagonal pentacles,† and between these thou shalt write four terrible and tremendous Names of God, viz.:—

Between the East and the South the Supreme Name IHVH, Tetragrammaton;—

Between the South and the West the Essential Tetragrammatic Name AHIH, Eheieh;—

Between the West and the North the Name of Power ALIVN, Elion;—

And between the North and the East the Great Name ALH, Eloah;—

Which Names are of supreme importance in the list of the Sephiroth,‡ and their Sovereign Equivalents.

Furthermore, thou shalt circumscribe about these Circles two Squares, the Angles of which shall be turned towards the Four Quarters of the Earth; and the space between the Lines of the Outer and Inner Square shall be half-a-foot. The extreme Angles of the Outer Square shall be made the Centres of four Circles, the measure or diameter of which shall be one foot. All these are to be drawn with the Knife or consecrated Instrument of Art. And within these Four Circles thou must write these four Names of God the Most Holy One, in this order:—

At§ the East, AL, El;

At the West, IH, Yah;

At the South, AGLA, Agla;

And at the North ADNI, Adonaï.

Between the two Squares the Name Tetragrammaton is to be written in the same way as is shown in the plate. (*See Figure* 2.)

While constructing the Circle, the Master should recite the following Psalms:—Psalm II; Psalm LIV; Psalm CXIII; Psalm LXVII; Psalm XLVII; Psalm LXVIII.

Or he may as well recite them before tracing the Circle.

The which being finished, and the fumigations being performed, as is described in the chapter on Fumigations in the Second Book, the Master should reassemble his Disciples, encourage them, reassure them, fortify them, and conduct them into the parts of the Circle of Art, where he must place them in the four quarters of the earth, encourage them, and exhort them to fear nothing, and to keep in the places assigned to them. Also, the Disciple who is placed towards the East should have a pen, ink, paper, silk, and white cotton, all clean and suitable for the work. Furthermore, each of the Com-

* *i.e.* in the Outer Circle, bounded by the second and third circumferential lines.

† 10862 Add. MSS. is the only copy which uses the word *hexagonal*, but the others show four hexagrams in the drawing; in the drawing, however, 10862 gives the hexagrams formed by various differing interlacements of two triangles, as shown in Figure 2.

‡ The Sephiroth are the ten Qabalistical Emanations of the Deity. The Sovereign Equivalents are the Divine Names referred thereto. See my "Kabbalah Unveiled."

§ The MSS. vary as to the point whereat each Name is to be placed, but I think the above will be found to answer.

panions should have a new Sword drawn in his hand (besides the consecrated Magical Sword of Art), and he should keep his hand resting upon the hilt thereof, and he should on no pretext quit the place assigned to him, nor move therefrom.

After this the Master should quit the Circle, light the fuel in the earthen pots, and place upon them the Censers, in the Four Quarters of the Earth; and he should have in his hand the consecrated taper of wax, and he should light it and place it in a hidden and secret place prepared for it. Let him after this re-enter and close the Circle.

The Master should afresh exhort his Disciples, and explain to them all that they have to do and to observe; the which commands they should promise and vow to execute.

Let the Master then repeat this Prayer:—

Prayer.

When we enter herein with all humility, let God the Almighty One enter into this Circle, by the entrance of an eternal happiness, of a Divine prosperity, of a perfect joy, of an abundant charity, and of an eternal salutation. Let all the demons fly from this place, especially those who are opposed unto this work, and let the Angels of Peace assist and protect this Circle, from which let discord and strife fly and depart. Magnify and extend upon us, O Lord, Thy most Holy Name, and bless our conversation and our assembly. Sanctify, O Lord our God, our humble entry herein, Thou the Blessed and Holy One of the Eternal Ages! Amen.

After this, let the Master say upon his knees, as follows:—

Prayer.

O Lord God, All Powerful and All Merciful, Thou Who desirest not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness and live; give and grant unto us thy grace, by blessing and consecrating this earth and this circle, which is here marked out with the most powerful and holy Names of God. And thee, I conjure, O Earth, by the Most Holy Name of Asher Eheieh entering within this Circle, composed and made with mine hand. And may God, even Adonai, bless this place with all the virtues of Heaven, so that no obscene or unclean spirit may have the power to enter into this Circle, or to annoy any person who is therein; though the Lord God Adonai, Who liveth eternally unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

I beseech Thee, O Lord God, the All Powerful and the All Merciful, that Thou wilt deign to bless this Circle, and all this place, and all those who are therein, and that Thou wilt grant unto us, who serve Thee, and rehearse nothing but the wonders of Thy law, a good Angel for our Guardian; remove from us every adverse power; preserve us from evil and from trouble; grant, O Lord, that we may rest in this place in all safety, through Thee, O Lord, Who livest and reignest unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

Let the Master now arise and place upon his head a Crown made of

paper (or any other appropriate substance), on the which there must be written (with the Colours and other necessary things which we shall describe hereafter), these four Names Agla, Aglai, Aglata, Aglatai. The which Names are to be placed in the front, behind, and on either side of the head.

Furthermore, the Master ought to have with him in the Circle, those Pentacles or Medals which are necessary to his purpose, which are described hereinafter, and which should be constructed according to the rules given in the Chapter on Pentacles. They should be described on virgin paper with a pen; and ink, blood, or colours, prepared according to the manner which we shall hereafter show in the Chapters on these subjects. It will be sufficient to take only those Pentacles which are actually required, they should be sewed to the front of the linen robe, on the chest, with the consecrated needle of the Art, and with a thread which has been woven by a young girl.

After this, let the Master turn himself towards the Eastern Quarter (unless directed to the contrary, or unless he should be wishing to call Spirits which belong to another quarter of the Universe), and pronounce with a loud voice the Conjuration contained in this Chapter. And if the Spirits be disobedient and do not not then make their appearance, he must arise and take the exorcised Knife of Art wherewith he hath constructed the Circle, and raise it towards the sky as if he wished to beat or strike the Air, and conjure the Spirits. Let him then lay his right hand and the Knife upon the Pentacles or Medals, constructed of, and described upon virgin paper, which are fastened to or sewn upon his breast, and let him repeat the following Conjuration upon his knees:

Conjuration.

O Lord, hear my prayer, and let my cry come unto Thee. O Lord God Almighty, who has reigned before the beginning of the Ages, and Who by Thine Infinite Wisdom, hast created the heavens, the earth, and the sea, and all that in them is, all that is visible, and all that is invisible by a single word; I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I adore Thee, I glorify Thee, and I pray Thee now at the present time to be merciful unto me, a miserable sinner, for I am the work of Thine hands. Save me, and direct me by Thy Holy Name, Thou to Whom nothing is difficult, nothing is impossible; and deliver me from the night of mine ignorance, and enable me to go forth therefrom. Enlighten me with a spark of Thine Infinite Wisdom. Take away from my senses the desire of covetousness, and the iniquity of mine idle words. Give unto me, Thy servant, a wise understanding, penetrating and subtle heart, to acquire and comprehend all Sciences and Arts; give unto me capacity to hear, and strength of memory to retain them, so that I may be able to accomplish my desires, and understand and learn all difficult and desirable Sciences; and also that I may be able to comprehend the hidden secrets of the Holy Writings. Give me the virtue to conceive them, so that I may be able to bring forth and pronounce my words with patience and humility, for the instruction of others, as Thou hast ordered me.

O God, the Father, All Powerful and All Merciful, Who hast created

all things, Who knowest and conceivest them universally, and to Whom nothing is hidden, nothing is impossible; I entreat Thy Grace for me and for Thy servants, because Thou seest and knowest well that we perform not this work to tempt Thy Strength and Thy Power as if in doubt thereof, but rather that we may know and understand the truth of all hidden things. I beseech Thee to have the kindness to be favourable unto us; by Thy Splendour, Thy Magnificence, and Thy Holiness, and by Thy Holy, Terrible, and Ineffable Name IAH, at which the whole world doth tremble, and by the Fear with which all creatures obey Thee. Grant, O Lord, that we may become responsive unto Thy Grace, so that through it we may have a full confidence in and knowledge of Thee, and that the Spirits may discover themselves here in our presence, and that those which are gentle and peaceable may come unto us, so that they may be obedient unto Thy commands, through Thee, O Most Holy ADONAI, Whose Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom, and Whose Empire endureth unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

After having said all these words devoutly, let the Master arise, and place his hands upon the Pentacles, and let one of the Companions hold the Book open before the Master, who, raising his eyes to heaven, and turning unto the Four Quarters of the Universe, shall say:

O Lord, be Thou unto me a Tower of Strength against the appearance and assaults of the Evil Spirits.

After this, turning towards the Four Quarters of the Universe, he shall say the following words:—

These be the Symbols and the Names of the Creator, which can bring Terror and Fear unto you. Obey me then, by the power of these Holy Names, and by these Mysterious Symbols of the Secret of Secrets.

The which being said and done, thou shalt see them draw near and approach from all parts. But if they be hindered, detained, or occupied in some way, and so that they cannot come, or if they are unwilling to come, then, the Suffumigations and Censings being performed anew, and (the Disciples) having anew, by especial order, touched their Swords, and the Master having encouraged his Disciples, he shall reform the Circle with the Knife of Art, and, raising the said Knife towards the Sky, he shall as it were strike the air therewith. After this he shall lay his hand upon the Pentacles, and having bent his knees before the Most High, he shall repeat with humility the following Confession; the which his Disciples shall also do, and they shall recite it in a low and humble voice, so that they can scarcely be heard.*

* So as not to interfere with the direction of the Will-currents of the Master.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER IV.

The Confession to be made by the Exorcist.

Confession.

O Lord of Heaven and of Earth, before Thee do I confess my sins, and lament them, cast down and humbled in thy presence. For I have sinned before Thee by pride, avarice, and boundless desire of honours and riches; by idleness, gluttony, greed, debauchery, and drunkenness; because I have offended Thee by all kinds of sins of the flesh, adulteries, and pollutions, which I have committed myself, and consented that others should commit; by sacrilege, thefts, rapine, violation, and homicide; by the evil use I have made of my possessions, by my prodigality, by the sins which I have committed against Hope and Charity, by my evil advice, flatteries, bribes, and the ill distribution which I have made of the goods of which I have been possessed; by repulsing and maltreating the poor, in the distribution which I have made of the goods committed to my charge, by afflicting those over whom I have been set in authority, by not visiting the prisoners, by depriving the dead of burial, by not receiving the poor, by neither feeding the hungry nor giving drink to the thirsty, by never keeping the Sabbath and the other feasts, by not living chastely and piously on those days, by the easy consent which I have given to those who incited me to evil deeds, by injuring instead of aiding those who demanded help from me, by refusing to give ear unto the cry of the poor, by not respecting the aged, by not keeping my word, by disobedience to my parents, by ingratitude towards those from whom I have received kindness, by indulgence in sensual pleasures, by irreverend behaviour in the Temple of God, by unseemly gestures thereat, by entering therein without reverence, by vain and unprofitable discourse when there, by despising the sacred vessels of the temple, by turning the holy Ceremonies into ridicule, by touching and eating the sacred bread with impure lips and with profane hands, and by the neglect of my prayers and adorations.

I detest also the crimes which I have committed by evil thoughts, vain and impure meditations, false suspicions, and rash judgments; by the evil consent which I have readily given unto the advice of the wicked, by lust of impure and sensual pleasures; by my idle words, my lies, and my deceit; by my false vows in various ways; and by my continual slander and calumny.

I detest also the crimes which I have committed within; the treachery and discord which I have incited; my curiosity, greed, false speaking, violence, malediction, murmurs, blasphemies, vain words, insults, dissimulations; my sins against God by the transgression of the ten commandments, by neglect of my duties and obligations, and by want of love towards God and towards my neighbour.

Furthermore I hate the sins which I have committed in all my senses, by sight, by hearing, by taste, by smell, and by touch, in every way that human weakness can offend the Creator; by my carnal thoughts, deeds, and meditations.

In which I humbly confess that I have sinned, and recognise myself as being in the sight of God the most criminal of all men.

I accuse myself before Thee, O God, and I adore Thee with all humility. O ye, Holy Angels, and ye, Children of God, in your presence I publish my sins, so that mine Enemy may have no advantage over me, and may not be able to reproach me at the last day; that he may not be able to say that I have concealed my sins, and that I be not then accused in the presence of the Lord; but, on the contrary, that on my account there may be joy in Heaven, as over the just who have confessed their sins in thy presence.

O Most Mighty and All Powerful Father, grant through Thine unbounded Mercy that I may both see and know all the Spirits which I invoke, so that by their means I may see my will and desire accomplished, by Thy Sovereign grandeur, and by Thine Ineffable and Eternal Glory, Thou Who art and Who wilt be for ever the Pure and Ineffable Father of All.

The Confession having been finished with great humility, and with the inward feeling of the heart, the Master will recite the following prayer:—

Prayer.

O Lord All Powerful, Eternal God and Father of all Creatures, shed upon me the Divine Influence of Thy Mercy, for I am Thy Creature. I beseech Thee to defend me from mine Enemies, and to confirm in me true and steadfast faith.

O Lord, I commit my Body and my Soul unto Thee, seeing I put my trust in none beside Thee; it is on Thee alone that I rely; O Lord my God aid me; O Lord hear me in the day and hour wherein I shall invoke Thee. I pray Thee by Thy Mercy not to put me in oblivion, nor to remove me from Thee. O Lord be Thou my succour, Thou Who art the God of my salvation. O Lord make me a new heart according unto Thy loving Kindness. These, O Lord, are the gifts which I await from Thee, O my God and my Master, Thou Who livest and reignest unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

O Lord God the All Powerful One, Who hast formed unto Thyself great and Ineffable Wisdom, and Co-eternal with Thyself before the countless Ages; Thou Who in the Birth of Time hast created the Heavens, and the Earth, the Sea, and things that they contain; Thou who hast vivified all things by the Breath of Thy Mouth, I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I adore Thee, and I glorify Thee. Be Thou propitious unto me who am but a miserable sinner, and despise me not; save me and succour me, even me the work of Thine hands. I conjure and entreat Thee by Thy Holy Name to banish from my Spirit the darkness of Ignorance, and to enlighten me with the Fire of thy Wisdom; take away from me all evil desires, and let not my speech be as that of the foolish. O Thou, God the Living One, Whose Glory, Honour, and Kingdom shall extend unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER V.

Prayers and Conjurations.

Prayer.

O Lord God, Holy Father, Almighty and Merciful One, Who hast created all things, Who knowest all things and can do all things, from Whom nothing is hidden, to Whom nothing is impossible; Thou who knowest that we perform not these ceremonies to tempt Thy power, but that we may penetrate into the knowledge of hidden things; we pray Thee by Thy Sacred Mercy to cause and to permit, that we may arrive at this understanding of secret things, of whatever nature they may be by Thine aid, O Most Holy Adonai, Whose Kingdom and Power shall have no end unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

The Prayer being finished, let the Exorcist lay his hand upon the Pentacles, while one of the Disciples shall hold open before him the Book wherein are written the prayers and conjurations proper for conquering, subduing, and reproving the Spirits. Then the Master, turning towards each Quarter of the Earth, and raising his eyes to Heaven, shall say:

O Lord, be Thou unto me a strong tower of refuge, from the sight and assaults of the Evil Spirits.

After which let him turn again towards the Four Quarters of the Earth, and towards each let him utter the following words:

Behold the Symbols and Names of the Creator, which give unto ye for ever Terror and Fear. Obey then, by the virtue of these Holy Names, and by these Mysteries of Mysteries.

After this he shall see the Spirits come from every side. But in case they are occupied in some other place, or that they cannot come, or that they are unwilling to come: then let him commence afresh to invoke them after the following manner, and let the Exorcist be assured that even were they bound with chains of iron, and with fire, they could not refrain from coming to accomplish his will.

The Conjuration.*

O ye Spirits, ye I conjure by the Power, Wisdom, and Virtue of the Spirit of God, by the uncreate Divine Knowledge, by the vast Mercy of God,

* There is an Invocation bearing the title of "The Qabalistical Invocation of Solomon," given by Eliphas Lévi, which differs in many points from the one given above, though resembling it in some particulars. Lévi's is more evidently constructed on the plan indicated in the "Siphra Dtzenioutha," c. III.; Annotation § 5, sub. § 8, 9; while the one above more follows that laid down, *ibid.* § 5, sub. § 3. I see no reason to suppose that Lévi's is unauthentic. It will be noted by the Qabalistical reader, that the above Conjuration rehearses the Divine Names attached to the Ten Sephiroth.

by the Strength of God, by the Greatness of God, by the Unity of God; and by the Holy Name of God EHEIEH, which is the root, trunk, source, and origin of all the other Divine Names, whence they all draw their life and their virtue, which Adam having invoked, he acquired the knowledge of all created things.

I conjure ye by the Indivisible Name IOD, which marketh and expresseth the Simplicity and the Unity of the Nature Divine, which Abel having invoked, he deserved* to escape from the hands of Cain his brother.

I conjure ye by the Name TETRAGRAMMATON ELOHIM, which expresseth and signifieth the Grandeur of so lofty a Majesty, that Noah having pronounced it, saved himself, and protected himself with his whole household from the Waters of the Deluge.

I conjure ye by the Name of God EL Strong and Wonderful, which denoteth the Mercy and Goodness of His Majesty Divine, which Abrahum having invoked, he was found worthy to come forth from the Ur of the Chaldeans.

I conjure ye by the most powerful Name of ELOHIM GIBOR, which showeth forth the Strength of God, of a God All Powerful, Who punisheth the crimes of the wicked, Who seeketh out and chastiseth the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation; which Isaac having invoked, he was found worthy to escape from the Sword of Abraham his father.

I conjure ye and I exorcise ye by the most holy Name of ELOAH VA-DAATH, which Jacob invoked when in great trouble, and was found worthy to bear the Name of Israel, which signifieth Vanquisher of God; and he was delivered from the fury of Esau his brother.

I conjure ye by the most potent Name of EL† ADONAI TZABAOTH, which is the God of Armies, ruling in the Heavens, which Joseph invoked, and was found worthy to escape from the hands of his Brethren.

I conjure ye by the most potent Name of ELOHIM TZABAOTH, which expresseth piety, mercy, splendour, and knowledge of God, which Moses invoked, and he was found worthy to deliver the People Israel from Egypt, and from the servitude of Pharoah.

I conjure ye by the most potent Name of SHADDAI, which signifieth doing good unto all; which Moses invoked, and having struck the Sea, it divided into two parts in the midst, on the right hand and on the left. I conjure ye by the most holy Name of EL‡ CHAI, which is that of the Living God, through the virtue of which alliance with us, and redemption for us have been made; which Moses invoked and all the waters returned to their prior state and enveloped the Egyptians, so that not one of them escaped to carry the news into the Land of Mizraim.

Lastly, I conjure ye all, ye rebellious Spirits, by the most holy Name of God ADONAI MELEKH, which Joshua invoked, and stayed the course of the

* In the French, "merita d'échapper."

† More usually the Name TETRAGRAMMATON TZABAOTH is attributed to the Seventh Sephira.

‡ Both this Name and "Shaddai" are attributed to the Ninth Sephira, and I have therefore put the two invocations in the same paragraph.

Sun in his presence, through the virtue of Methratton,* its principal Image; and by the troops of Angels who cease not to cry day and night, Qadosch, Qadosch, Qadosch, Adonai Elohim Tzabaoth (that is, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, Heaven and Earth are full of Thy Glory); and by the Ten Angels who preside over the Ten Sephiroth, by whom God communicateth and extendeth His influence over lower things, which are Kether, Chokmah, Binah, Gedulah, Geburah, Tiphereth. Netzach, Hod, Yesod, and Malkuth.

I conjure ye anew, O Spirits, by all the Names of God, and by all His marvellous work; by the heavens; by the earth; by the sea; by the depth of the Abyss, and by that firmament which the very Spirit of God hath moved; by the sun and by the stars; by the waters and by the seas, and all which they contain; by the winds, the whirlwinds, and the tempests; by the virtue of all herbs, plants, and stones; by all which is in the heavens, upon the earth, and in all the Abysses of the Shades.

I conjure ye anew, and I powerfully urge ye, O Demons, in whatsoever part of the world ye may be, so that ye shall be unable to remain in air, fire, water, earth, or in any part of the universe, or in any pleasant place which may attract ye; but that ye come promptly to accomplish our desire, and all things that we demand from your obedience.

I conjure ye anew by the two Tables of the Law, by the five books of Moses, by the Seven Burning Lamps on the Candlestick of Gold before the face of the Throne of the Majesty of God, and by the Holy of Holies wherein the Kohen Ha-Gadul was alone permitted to enter, that is to say, the High-Priest.

I conjure ye by Him Who hath made the heavens and the earth, and who hath measured those heavens in the hollow of His hand, and enclosed the earth with three of His fingers, Who is seated upon the Kerubim and upon the Seraphim; and by the Kerubim, which is called the Kerub, which God constituted and placed to guard the Tree of Life, armed with a flaming sword, after that Man had been driven out of Paradise.

I conjure ye anew, Apostates from God, by Him Who alone hath performed great wonders; by the Heavenly Jerusalem; and by the Most Holy Name of God in Four Letters, and by Him Who enlighteneth all things and shineth upon all things by his Venerable and Ineffable Name, Eheieh Asher Eheieh; that ye come immediately to execute our desire, whatever it may be.

I conjure ye, and I command ye absolutely, O Demons, in whatsoever part of the Universe ye may be, by the virtue of all these Holy Names;—Adonai,† Yah, Hoa, El, Eloha, Elohinu, Elohim, Eheieh, Maron, Kaphu, Esch, Innon, Aven, Agla, Hazor, Emeth, Yaii, Araritha,

* The Archangel, who is called also the Prince of Ccountenances.

† I have made these Names as correct as possible; as in all the original MSS. the Hebrew is much mutilated. These names are some of them ordinary titles of God; others Magical and Qabalistical names compounded from the initials of sentences, &c.; and others permutations of other names.

YOVA, HA-KABIR, MESSIACH, IONAH, MAL-KA, EREL, KUZU, MATZPATZ, EL SHADDAI; and by all the Holy names of God which have been written with blood in the sign of an eternal alliance.

I conjure ye anew by these other names of God, Most Holy and unknown, by the virtue of which Names ye tremble every day;—BARUC,* BACURABON, PATACEL, ALCHEEGHEL, AQUACHAI, HOMORION, EHEIEH, ABBATON, CHEVON, CEBON, OYZROYMAS, CHAI, EHEIEH, ALBAMACHI, ORTAGU, NALE, ABELECH (or HELECH), YEZE (or SECHEZZE); that ye come quickly and without any delay into our presence from every quarter and every climate of the world wherein ye may be, to execute all that we shall command ye in the Great Name of God.

* I give these Names as they stand, they do not all appear to be Hebrew; some of them suggest the style of the barbarous names in the Græco-Egyptian Magical Papyri.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER VI.

Stronger and more potent Conjuration.

If they then immediately appear, it is well; if not, let the Master uncover the consecrated Pentacles which he should have made to constrain and command the Spirits, and which he should wear fastened round his neck, holding the Medals (or Pentacles) in his left hand, and the consecrated Knife in his right; and encouraging his Companions, he shall say with a loud voice:—

Address.

Here be the Symbols of Secret things, the standards, the ensigns, and the banners, of God the Conqueror; and the arms of the Almighty One, to compel the Aerial Potencies. I command ye absolutely by their power and virtue that ye come near unto us, into our presence, from whatsoever part of the world ye may be in, and that ye delay not to obey us in all things wherein we shall command ye by the virtue of God the Mighty One. Come ye promptly, and delay not to appear, and answer us with humility.

If they appear at this time, show them the Pentacles, and receive them with kindness, gentleness, and courtesy; reason and speak with them, question them, and ask from them all things which thou hast proposed to demand.

But if, on the contrary, they do not yet make their appearance, holding the consecrated Knife in the right hand, and the Pentacles being uncovered by the removal of their consecrated covering, strike and beat the air with the Knife as if wishing to commence a combat, comfort and exhort thy Companions, and then in a loud and stern voice repeat the following Conjuration:—

Conjuration.*

Here again I conjure ye and most urgently command ye; I force, constrain, and exhort ye to the utmost, by the most mighty and powerful Name of God El, strong and wonderful, and by God the Just and Upright, I exorcise ye and command ye that ye in no way delay, but that ye come immediately and upon the instant hither before us, without noise, deformity, or hideousness, but with all manner of gentleness and mildness.

I exorcise ye anew, and powerfully conjure ye, commanding ye with strength and violence by Him Who spake and it was done; and by all these names: El, Shaddai, Elohim, Elohi, Tzabaoth, Elim, Asher Eheieh,

* This Conjuration is almost identical with one given in the "Lemegeton," or Lesser Key, a different work, also attributed to Solomon.

YAH, TETRAGRAMMATON, SHADDAI, which signify God the High and Almighty, the God of Israel, through Whom undertaking all our operations we shall prosper in all the works of our hands, seeing that the Lord is now, always, and for ever with us, in our heart and in our lips; and by His Holy Names, and by the virtue of the Sovereign God, we shall accomplish all our work.

Come ye at once without any hideousness or deformity before us, come ye without monstrous appearance, in a gracious form or figure. Come ye, for we exorcise ye with the utmost vehemence by the Name of IAH and ON, which Adam spake and heard; by the Name EL, which Noah heard, and saved himself with all his family from the Deluge; by the Name IOD, which Noah heard, and knew God the Almighty One; by the Name AGLA which Jacob heard, and saw the Ladder which touched Heaven, and the Angels who ascended and descended upon it, whence he called that place the House of God and the Gate of Heaven; and by the Name ELOHIM, and in the Name ELOHIM, which Moses named, invoked, and heard in Horeb the Mount of God, and he was found worthy to hear Him speak from the Burning Bush; and by the Name AIN SOPH, which Aaron heard, and was at once made eloquent, wise, and learned; and by the Name TZABAOTH, which Moses named and invoked, and all the ponds and rivers were covered with blood throughout the land of Egypt;* and by the Name IOD, which Moses named and invoked, and striking upon the dust of the earth both men and beasts were struck with disease;† and by the Name, and in the Name PRIMEUMATON which Moses named and invoked, and there fell a great and severe hail throughout all the land of Egypt, destroying the vines, the trees, and the woods which were in that country; and by the Name IAPHAR, which Moses heard and invoked, and immediately a great pestilence began to appear through all the land of Egypt, striking and slaying the asses, the oxen, and the sheep of the Egyptians, so that they all died; and by the Name ABADDON which Moses invoked and sprinkled the dust towards heaven, and immediately there fell so great rain upon the men, cattle, and flocks, that they all died throughout the land of Egypt; and by the Name ELION which Moses invoked, and there fell so great hail as had never been seen from the beginning of the world unto that time, so that all men, and herds, and everything that was in the fields perished and died throughout all the land of Egypt. And by the Name ADONAI, which Moses having invoked, there came so great a quantity of locusts which appeared in the land of Egypt, that they devoured and swallowed up all that the hail had spared; and by the Name of PATHEON,‡ which having invoked, there arose so thick, so awful, and so terrible darkness throughout the land of Egypt, during the space of three days and three nights, that almost all who were left alive died; and by the Name YESOD and in the

* Some MSS. add. "et furent purifiés."

† Some MSS. substitute, "les hommes furent reduits en cendre, comme aussi les bœufs, betail, et troupeaux des Egyptiens."

‡ This is often written PATHTUMON in similar Conjurations, but the MSS. before me agree in giving this form.

Name YESOD, which Moses invoked, and at midnight all the first-born, both of men and of animals, died; and by the Name of YESHIMON, which Moses named and invoked, and the Red Sea divided itself and separated in two; and by the Name HESION which Moses invoked and all the army of Pharoah was drowned in the waters; and by the Name ANABONA, which Moses having heard upon Mount Sinai, he was found worthy to receive and obtain the tables of stone written with the finger of God the Creator; and by the Name ERYGION, which Joshua having invoked when he fought against the Moabites, he defeated them and gained the victory; and by the Name HOA, and in the Name HOA, which David invoked, and he was delivered from the hand of Goliath; and by the Name YOD, which Solomon having named and invoked, he was found worthy to ask for and to obtain in sleep the Ineffable Wisdom of God; and by the Name YIAI, which Solomon having named and invoked, he was found worthy to have power over all the Demons, Potencies, Powers, and Virtues of the Air.

By these, then, and by all the other Names of God Almighty, Holy, Living, and True, we powerfully command ye, ye who by your own sin have been cast down from the Empyreal Heaven, and from before His Throne; by Him who hath cast ye down unto the most profound of the Abysses of Hell, we command ye boldly and resolutely; and by that terrible Day of the Sovereign Judgment of God, on which all the dry bones in the earth will arise to hear and listen unto the Word of God with their Body, and will present themselves before the face of God Almighty; and by that Last Fire which shall consume all things; by the (Crystal) Sea which is known unto us, which is before the Face of God; by the indicible and ineffable virtue, force, and power of the Creator Himself, by His Almighty power, and by the Light and Flame which emanate from His Countenance, and which are before His Face; by the Angelical Powers which are in the Heavens, and by the most great Wisdom of Almighty God; by the Seal of David, by the Ring and Seal of Solomon, which was revealed unto him by the Most High and Sovereign Creator; and by the Nine Medals or Pentacles, which we have among our Symbols, which proceed and come from Heaven, and are among the Mysteries of Mysteries or Secrets of Secrets, which you can also behold in my hand, consecrated and exorcised with the due and requisite Ceremonies. By these, then, and by all the Secrets which the Almighty encloseth in the Treasures of the Sovereign and Highest Wisdom, by His hand, and by His marvellous power; I conjure, force, and exorcise ye that ye come without delay to perform in our presence that which we shall command ye.

I conjure ye anew by that most Holy Name which the whole Universe fears, respects, and reveres, which is written by these letters and characters, IOD, HE, VAU, HE; and by the last and terrible judgment; by the Seat of BALDACHIA;* and by this Holy Name, YIAI, which Moses invoked, and there followed that great Judgment of God, when Dathan and Abiram were swallowed up in the centre of the earth. Otherwise, if ye contravene and

* Sometimes, but as I think erroneously, written Bas-dathea. I imagine the word to mean "Lord of Life."

resist us by your disobedience unto the virtue and power of this Name YIAI, we curse ye even unto the Depth of the Great Abyss, into the which we shall cast, hurl, and bind ye, if ye show yourselves rebellious against the Secret of Secrets, and against the Mystery of Mysteries. AMEN, AMEN. FIAT, FIAT.

This Conjuration thou shalt say and perform, turning thyself unto the East, and if they appear not, thou shalt repeat it unto the Spirits, turning unto the South, the West, and the North, in succession, when thou wilt have repeated it four times. And if they appear not even then, thou shalt make the Sign of TAU* upon the foreheads of thy companions, and thou shalt say:—

CONJURATION.

Behold anew the Symbol and the Name of a Sovereign and Conquering God, through which all the Universe fears, trembles, and shudders, and through the most mysterious words of the Secret Mysteries and by their Virtue, Strength, and Power.

I conjure ye anew, I constrain and command ye with the utmost vehemence and power, by that most potent and powerful Name of God, EL, strong and wonderful, by Him who spake and it was done; and by the Name IAH, which Moses heard, and spoke with God; and by the Name AGLA, which Joseph invoked, and was delivered out of the hands of his brethren; and by the Name VAU, which Abraham heard, and knew God the Almighty One; and by the Name of Four Letters, TETRAGRAMMATON, which Joshua named and invoked, and he was rendered worthy and found deserving to lead the Army of Israel into the Promised Land; and by the Name ANABONA, by which God formed Man and the whole Universe; and by the Name ARPHETON,† and in the Name ARPHETON, by which the Angels who are destined to that end will summon the Universe, in visible body and form, and will assemble (all people) together by the sound of the Trumpet at that terrible and awful Day of Judgment, when the memory of the wicked and ungodly shall perish; and by the Name ADONAI, by which God will judge all human flesh, at Whose voice all men, both good and evil, will rise again, and all men and Angels will assemble in the air before the Lord, Who will judge and condemn the wicked; and by the Name ONEIPHETON,‡ by which God will summon the dead, and raise them up again unto life; and by the Name ELOHIM, and in the Name ELOHIM, by which God will disturb and excite tempests throughout all the seas, so that they will cast out the fish therefrom, and in one day the third part of men about the sea and the rivers shall die; and by the Name ELOHI,§ and in the Name ELOHI, by which God will dry up the sea and the rivers, so that men can go on foot through their channels; and by the Name ON, and in the Name ON, by which God will restore and

* Or the Cross.

† Also written *Hipeton*; and I believe sometimes replaced by *Anapheneton*, or *Anaphaxeton*.

‡ This word is given variously in the MSS., as *Oneypheon*, *Onayepheton*, and *Donecepheron*, &c.

§ Or *Elia*.

replace the sea, the rivers, the streams, and the brooks, in their previous state; and by the Name MESSIACH*, and in the Name MESSIACH, by which God will make all animals combat together, so that they shall die in a single day; and by the Name ARIEL, by which God will destroy in a single day all buildings, so that there shall not be left one stone upon another; and by the Name IAHT,† by which God will cast one stone upon another, so that all people and nations will fly from the sea-shore, and will say unto them cover us and hide us; and by the Name EMANUEL, by which God will perform wonders, and the winged creatures and birds of the air shall contend with one another; and by the Name ANAEL,‡ and in the Name ANAEL, by which God will cast down the mountains and fill up the valleys, so that the surface of the earth shall be level in all parts; and by the Name ZEDEREZA,§ and in the Name ZEDEREZA, by which God will cause the Sun and Moon to be darkened, and the Stars of heaven to fall; and by the Name SEPHERIEL,‖ by which God will come to Universal Judgment, like a Prince newly crowned entering in triumph into his capital city, girded with a zone of gold, and preceded by Angels, and at His aspect all climes and parts of the Universe shall be troubled and astonished, and a fire shall go forth before Him, and flames and storm shall surround Him; and by the Name TAU,¶ by which God brought the Deluge, and the waters prevailed above the mountains, and fifteen cubits above their summits; and by the Name RUACHIAH,** by which God having purged the Ages, He will make His Holy spirit to descend upon the Universe, and will cast ye, ye rebellious Spirits, and unclean beings, into the Depths of the Lake of the Abyss, in misery, filth, and mire, and will place ye in impure and foul dungeons bound with eternal chains of fire.

By these Names then, and by all the other Holy Names of God before Whom no man can stand and live, and which Names the armies of the Demons fear, tremble at, and shudder; we conjure ye, we potently exorcise and command ye, conjuring ye in addition by the terrible and tremendous PATHS†† of GOD and by His Holy habitation wherein He reigneth and commandeth unto the eternal Ages. Amen.

By the virtue of all these aforesaid, we command ye that ye remain not in any place wherein ye are, but to come hither promptly without delay to do that which we shall enjoin ye. But if ye be still contumacious, we, by the

* What is said here refers symbolically to the rooting out of the Evil Spirits, and Shells, from the Universe by King Messiach, which is spoken of in the Qabalah. The Qabalah sometimes expresses the Evil Spirits by the words animals, or beasts, and creeping things.

† The oldest MSS. gives the above form, in the others it is changed into *Iaphat*, *Taphat*, and even *Japhet*. It is probably a corruption of *Achad* Unity.

‡ This is also the name of the Angel of Venus.

§ So written in the oldest MS., the others give it as *Zedeesia*, *Zedeezia*, and *Zedezias*.

‖ Meaning "emanating from God." It is corrupted into *Sephosiel*, &c., in the MSS.

¶ *Iaha*, in 10862 Add. MSS.

** Meaning Spirit of Iah.

†† That is, the hidden and occult grades and links of emanation in the Sephiroth. The later MSS. have put, by a mistake, *voix* for *voies*, the oldest Latin MS. gives Semitis.

Authority of a Sovereign and Potent God, deprive ye of all quality, condition, degree, and place which ye now enjoy, and precipitate ye into and relegate ye unto the Kingdom of Fire and of Sulphur, to be there eternally tormented. Come ye then from all parts of the earth, wheresoever ye may be, and behold the Symbols and Names of that Triumphant Sovereign Whom all creatures obey, otherwise we shall bind ye and conduct ye in spite of yourselves, into our presence bound with chains of fire, because those effects which proceed and issue from our Science and operation, are ardent with a fire which shall consume and burn ye eternally, for by these the whole Universe trembleth, the earth is moved, the stones thereof rush together, all creatures obey, and the rebellious Spirits are tormented by the power of the Sovereign Creator.

Then it is certain that they will come, even if they be bound with chains of fire, unless prevented by affairs of the very greatest importance, but in this latter case they will send ambassadors and messengers by whom thou shalt easily and surely learn what occupies the Spirits and what they are about. But if they appear not yet in answer to the above Conjuration, and are still disobedient, then let the Master of the Art or Exorciser arise and exhort his Companions to be of good cheer and not to despair of the ultimate success of the operation; let him strike the air with the Consecrated Knife towards the Four Quarters of the Universe; and then let him Kneel in the midst of the Circle, and the Companions also in their several places, and let them say consecutively with him in a low voice, turning in the direction of the East, the following

Address to the Angels.

I conjure and pray ye, O ye Angels of God, and ye Celestial Spirits, to come unto mine aid; come and behold the Signs of Heaven, and be my witness before the Sovereign Lord, of the disobedience of these evil and fallen Spirits who were at one time your companions.

This being done, let the Master arise, and constrain and force them by a stronger conjuration, in manner following.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER VII.

An Extremely Powerful Conjuration.

Behold us again prepared to conjure ye by the Names and Symbols of God, wherewith we are fortified, and by the virtue of the Highest One. We command ye and potently ordain ye by the most strong and powerful Names of God, Who is worthy of all praise, admiration, honour, glory, veneration, and fear, that ye delay not longer, but that ye appear before us without any tumult or disturbance, but, on the contrary, with great respect and courtesy, in a beautiful and human form.

If they then appear, let them see the Pentacles, and say:

Obey ye, Obey ye, behold the Symbols and Names of the Creator; be ye gentle and peaceable, and obey in all things that we shall command ye.

They will then immediately talk with thee, as a friend speaketh unto a friend. Ask of them all that thou desirest, with constancy, firmness, and assurance, and they will obey thee.

But if they appear not yet, let not the Master on that account lose his courage, for there is nothing in the world stronger and of greater force to overawe the Spirits than constancy. Let him, however, re-examine and reform the Circle, and let him take up a little dust of the earth, which he shall cast towards the Four Quarters of the Universe; and having placed his Knife upon the ground, let him say on his knees, turning towards the direction of the North:

In the Name of Adonai Elohim Tzabaoth Shaddai, Lord God of Armies Almighty, may we successfully perform the works of our hands, and may the Lord be present with us in our heart and in our lips.

These words having been said kneeling upon the earth, let the Master shortly after arise and open his arms wide as if wishing to embrace the air, and say:

Conjuration.

By the Holy Names of God written in this Book, and by the other Holy and Ineffable Names which are written in the Book of Life, we conjure ye to come unto us promptly and without any delay, wherefore tarry not, but appear in a beautiful and agreeable form and figure, by these Holy Names: Adonai, Tzabaoth, El, Elohi, Elohim, Shaddai; and by Eheieh, Yod He Vau He which is the Great Name of God Tetragrammaton written with Four Letters, Anaphoditon, and Ineffable; by the God of those Virtues and Potencies, Who dwelleth in the Heavens, Who rideth upon the Kerubim, Who moveth upon the Wings of the Wind, He Whose Power is in Heaven

and in Earth, Who spake and it was done, Who commanded and the whole Universe was created; and by the Holy Names and in the Holy Names, IAH, IAH, IAH, ADONAI TZABAOTH; and by all the Names of God, the Living, and the True, I reiterate the Conjuration, and I conjure ye afresh ye Evil and rebellious Spirits, abiding in the Abysses of Darkness.

I conjure, I address, and I exorcise ye, that ye may approach unto and come before the Throne of God, the Living and the True, and before the Tribunal of the Judgment of His Majesty, and before the Holy Angels of God to hear the sentence of your condemnation.

Come ye then by the Name and in the Name of SHADDAI which is that of God Almighty, strong, powerful, admirable, exalted, pure, clean, glorified, virtuous, great, just, terrible, and holy; and by the Name and in the Name of EL, IAH, IAH, IAH, Who hath formed and created the world by the Breath of His Mouth, Who supporteth it by His Power, Who ruleth and governeth it by His Wisdom, and Who hath cast ye for your pride into the Land of Darkness and into the Shadow of Death.

Therefore, by the Name of the Living God, Who hath formed the heavens above, and hath laid the foundations of the earth beneath, we command ye that, immediately and without any delay, ye come unto us from all places, valleys, mountains, hills, fields, seas, rivers, fountains, ponds, brooks, caverns, grottos, cities, towns, villages, markets, fairs, habitations, baths, courtyards, gardens, vineyards, plantations, reservoirs, cisterns, and from every corner of the terrestrial earth where ye may happen to be in your assemblies, so that ye may execute and accomplish our demands with all mildness and courtesy; by that Ineffable Name which Moses heard and invoked, which he received from God from the midst of the Burning Bush, we conjure ye to obey our commands, and to come unto us promptly with all gentleness of manner.

Again we command ye with vehemence, and we exorcise ye with constancy, that ye and all your comrades come unto us in an agreeable and gracious manner like the breeze, to accomplish successively our various commands and desires. Come ye, then, by the virtue of these Names by the which we exorcise ye; ANAI, ÆCHHAD, TRANSIN, EMETH, CHAIA, IONA, PROFA, TITACHE, BEN ANI, BRIAH, THEIT; all which names are written in Heaven in the characters of Malachim,* that is to say, the tongue of the Angels.

We then, by the just judgment of God, by the Ineffable and Admirable Virtue of God, just, living, and true, we call ye with power, we force and exorcise ye by and in the admirable Name which was written on the Tables of Stone which God gave upon Mount Sinai; and by and in the wonderful Name which Aaron the High Priest bare written upon his breast, by which also God created the World, the which name is AXINETON; and by the Living God Who is One throughout the Ages, whose dwelling is in the Ineffable Light, Whose Name is Wisdom, and Whose Spirit is Life, before Whom goeth forth Fire and Flame, Who hath from that Fire formed the firmament, the Stars and the Sun;

* The Mystic Alphabet known as the "Writing of Malachim" is formed from the positions of the Stars in the heavens, by drawing imaginary lines from one star to another so as to obtain the shapes of the characters of this Alphabet.

and Who with that Fire will burn ye all for ever, as also all who shall contravene the Words of His Will.

Come ye, then, without delay, without noise, and without rage, before us, without any deformity or hideousness, to execute all our will; come ye from all places wherein ye are, from all mountains, valleys, streams, rivers, brooks, ponds, places, baths, synagogues; for God, strong and powerful, will chase ye and constrain ye, being glorious over all things; He will compel ye, both ye and the Prince of Darkness. Come ye, come ye, Angels of Darkness; come hither before this Circle without fear, terror, or deformity, to execute our commands, and be ye ready both to achieve and to complete all that we shall command ye.

Come ye, then, by the Crown of the Chief of your Emperors, and by the Sceptres of your power, and of SID, the Great Demon, your Master; by the Names and in the Names of the Holy Angels who have been created to be above you, long before the constitution of the world; and by the Names of the two Princes of the Universe, whose Names are, IONIEL and SEFONIEL; by the rod of Moses, by the staff of Jacob; by the ring and seal of David, wherein are written the Names of Sovereign God; and by the Names of the Angels by which Solomon has linked and bound ye; and by the sacred bonds by which ANAEL hath environed and hath conquered the Spirit; and by the Name of the Angel who ruleth potently over the rest, and by the praise of all creatures who cry incessantly unto God, Who spake, and immediately all things, even the Ages, were made and formed; and by the Name HA-QADOSCH BERAKHA, which signifieth the Holy and Blessed One; and by the Ten Choirs of the Holy Angels, CHAIOTH HA-QADESH, AUPHANIM, ARALIM, CHASHMALIM, SERAPHIM, MALACHIM, ELOHIM, BENI ELOHIM, KERUBIM, and ISHIM; and by, and in the Sacred name of Twelve Letters of which each Letter is the Name of an Angel, and the letters of the Name are ALEPH,* BETH, BETH, NUN, VAU, RESH, VAU, CHETH, HE, QOPH, DALETH, SHIN.

By these Names therefore, and by all the other Holy Names, we conjure ye and we exorcise ye; by the Angel ZECHIEL; by the Angel DUCHIEL; by the Angel DONACHIEL; and by the Great Angel METATRON, Who is the Prince of the Angels, and introduceth the Souls before the Face of God; and by the Angel SANGARIEL, by whom the portals of Heaven are guarded; and by the Angel KERUB, who was made the Guardian of the Terrestrial Paradise, with a Sword of Flame, after the expulsion of Adam our forefather; and by the Angel MICHAEL by whom ye were hurled down from the Height of the THRONE into the Depth of the Lake and of the Abyss, the same Name meaning, "Who is like God upon Earth;" and by the Angel ANIEL; and by the Angel OPHIEL; and by the Angel BEDALIEL; wherefore, by these and by all the other Holy Names of the Angels, we powerfully conjure and

* Which Letters I have, with much care, corrected, for in the MSS. the letters are jumbled together in hopeless confusion, *Scym* is written for *Shin*, *Res* for *Beth*, &c. The Name is *Ab*, *Ben*, *Ve-Ruach Ha-Qadesch*, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. There are two other Names of Twelve Letters frequently employed, HQDVSh BRVK HVA, Holy and Blessed be He; and ADNI HMLK NAMN, The Lord, the faithful King; besides other forms.

exorcise ye, that ye come from all parts of the world immediately, and without any delay, to perform our will and demands, obeying us quickly and courteously, and that ye come by the Name and in the Name of ALEPH, DALETH, NUN, IOD, for we exorcise ye anew by the application of these Letters, by whose power burning fire is quenched, and the whole Universe trembleth.

We constrain ye yet again by the Seal of the Sun which is the Word of God; and by the Seal of the Moon and of the Stars we bind ye; and by the other Animals and Creatures which are in Heaven, by whose wings Heaven cleanseth itself, we force and attract ye imperiously to execute our will without failure. And we conjure, oblige, and terribly exorcise ye, that ye draw near unto us without delay and without fear, as far as is possible unto ye, here before this Circle, as supplicants gently and with discretion, to accomplish our will in all and through all. If ye come promptly and voluntarily, ye shall inhale our perfumes, and our suffumigations of pleasant odour, which will be both agreeable and delightful unto ye. Furthermore ye will see the Symbol of your Creator, and the Names of his Holy Angels, and we shall afterwards dismiss ye, and send ye hence with thanks. But if, on the contrary, ye come not quickly, and ye show yourselves self-opinionated, rebellious, and contumacious, we shall conjure ye again, and exorcise ye ceaselessly, and will repeat all the aforesaid words and Holy Names of God and of the Holy Angels; by the which Names we shall harass you, and if that be not sufficient we will add thereunto yet greater and more powerful ones, and we will thereunto again add other Names which ye have not yet heard from us, which are those of an Almighty God, and which will make ye tremble and quake with fear, both ye and your princes; by the which Names we conjure both you and them also, and we shall not desist from our work until the accomplishment of our will. But if perchance ye yet shall harden yourselves, and show yourselves self-opinionated, disobedient, rebellious, refractory, and contumacious, and if ye yet resist our powerful conjurations, we shall pronounce against you this warrant of arrest in the Name of God Almighty, and this definite sentence that ye shall fall into dangerous disease and leprosy, and that in sign of the Divine Vengeance ye shall all perish by a terrifying and horrible death, and that a fire shall consume and devour you on every side, and utterly crush you; and that by the Power of God, a flame shall go forth from His Mouth which shall burn ye up and reduce ye unto nothing in Hell. Wherefore delay ye not to come, for we shall not cease from these powerful conjurations until ye shall be obliged to appear against your will.

Thus then, therefore, we anew conjure and exorcise ye by and in the Holy Name of ON, which is interpreted and called God; by the Name and in the Name of EHEIEH, which is the true Name of God, "I am He Who is;" by and in the Ineffable Name of Four Letters YOD HE VAU HE, the Knowledge and understanding of which is hidden even from the Angels; by the Name and in the Name of EL, which signifieth and denoteth the powerful and consuming fire which issueth from His Countenance, and which shall be your ruin and destruction; and by the Light of the Angels which is kindled and taken ineffably from that flame of Divine ardour.

By these then, and by other most Holy Names which we pronounce against you from the bottom of our hearts, do we force and constrain ye, if ye be yet rebellious and disobedient. We conjure ye powerfully and strongly exorcise ye, that ye come unto us with joy and quickness, without fraud or deceit, in truth and not in error.

Come ye then, come ye, behold the Signs and the Names of your Creator, behold the Holy Pentacles by the virtue of which the Earth is moved, the trees thereof and the Abysses tremble. Come ye; come ye; come ye.

These things being thus done and performed, ye shall see the Spirits come from all sides in great haste with their Princes and Superiors; the Spirits of the First Order, like Soldiers, armed with spears, shields, and corslets; those of the Second Order like Barons, Princes, Dukes, Captains, and Generals of Armies. For the Third and last Order their King will appear, before whom go many players on instruments of music, accompanied by beautiful and melodious voices which sing in chorus.

Then the Exorcist, or Master of the Art, at the arrival of the King, whom he shall see crowned with a Diadem, should uncover the Holy Pentacles and Medals which he weareth upon his breast covered with a cloth of silk or of fine twined linen, and show them unto him, saying:—

Behold the Signs and Holy Names by and before whose power every knee should bow, of all that is in Heaven, upon Earth, or in Hell. Humble ye yourselves, therefore, under the Mighty hand of God.

Then will the King bow the knee before thee, and will say, "What dost thou wish, and wherefore hast thou caused us to come hither from the Infernal Abodes?"

Then shall the Exorcist, or Master of Magical Art, with an assured air and a grave and imperious voice, order and command him to be tranquil, to keep the rest of his attendants peaceable, and to impose silence upon them.

Let him, also, renew his fumigations, and offer large quantities of Incense, which he should at once place upon the fire, in order to appease the Spirits as he hath promised them. He should then cover the Pentacles, and he will see wonderful things, which it is impossible to relate, touching worldly matters and all sciences.

This being finished, let the Master uncover the Pentacles, and demand all that he shall wish from the King of the Spirits, and if there are one or two Spirits only, it will be the same; and having obtained all his desire, he shall thus license them to depart:—

The License to Depart.

In the Name of Adonai, the Eternal and Everlasting One, let each of you return unto his place; be there peace between us and you, and be ye ready to come when ye are called.

After this he should recite the first chapter of Genesis, "*Berashith Bara Elohim*, In the beginning, &c."

This being done, let them all in order quit the Circle, one after the

other, the Master first. Furthermore let them bathe their faces with the exorcised water, as will be hereafter told, and then let them take their ordinary raiment and go about their business.

Take notice and observe carefully that this last conjuration is of so great importance and efficacy, that even if the Spirits were bound with chains of iron and fire, or shut up in some strong place, or retained by an oath, they could not even then delay to come. But supposing that they were being conjured in some other place or part of the Universe by some other Exorcist or Master of the Art, by the same conjuration; the Master should add to his conjuration that they should at least send him some Messengers, or some individual to declare unto him where they are, how employed, and the reason why they cannot come and obey him.

But if (which is almost impossible) they be even yet self-opinionated and disobedient, and unwilling to obey; in this case their names should be written on virgin paper, which he should soil and fill with mud, dust, or clay. Then he shall kindle a fire with dry rue, upon which he shall put powdered assa-fœtida, and other things of evil odour; after which let him put the aforesaid names, written on parchment or virgin paper, upon the fire, saying:—

The Conjuration of the Fire.

I conjure thee, O Creature of Fire, by Him who removeth the Earth, and maketh it tremble, that thou burn and torment these Spirits, so that they may feel it intensely, and that they may be burned eternally by thee.

This being said, thou shalt cast the aforesaid paper into the fire, saying:—

The Curse.

Be ye accursed, damned, and eternally reproved; and be ye tormented with perpetual pain, so that ye may find no repose by night nor by day, nor for a single moment of time, if ye obey not immediately the command of Him Who maketh the Universe to tremble; by these Names, and in virtue of these Names, the which being named and invoked all creatures obey and tremble with fear and terror, these Names which can turn aside lightning and thunder; and which will utterly make you to perish, destroy, and banish you. These Names then are Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth, He, Vau, Zayin, Cheth, Teth, Yod, Kaph, Lamed, Mem, Nun, Samekh, Ayin, Pe, Tzaddi, Qoph, Resh, Shin, Tau.*

By these secret Names, therefore, and by these signs which are full of Mysteries, we curse ye, and in virtue of the power of the Three Principles, Aleph,† Mem, Shin, we deprive ye of all office and dignity which ye may have enjoyed up till now; and by their virtue and power we relegate you unto a lake of sulphur and of flame, and unto the deepest depths of the Abyss, that ye may burn therein eternally for ever.

* Which are the Names of the Letters of the Hebrew Alphabet, to each of which a special mystic meaning and power is attached, besides its ordinary application.

† The Literal Symbols of Air, Water, and Fire; which are called by the Sepher Yetzirah the Three Mother Letters.

Then will they assuredly come without any delay, and in great haste, crying: "O Our Lord and Prince, deliver us out of this suffering."

All this time thou shouldest have near thee ready an exorcised pen, paper, and ink, as will be described hereinafter. Write their Names afresh, and kindle fresh fire, whereon thou shalt put gum benjamin, olybdanum, and storax to make therewith a fumigation; with these odours thou shalt afresh perfume the aforesaid paper with the Names; but thou shouldest have these names ready prepared beforehand. Then show them the Holy Pentacles, and ask of them what thou wilt, and thou shalt obtain it; and having gained thy purpose, send away the Spirits, saying:

The License to Depart.

By the virtue of these Pentacles, and because ye have been obedient, and have obeyed the commandments of the Creator, feel and inhale this grateful odour, and afterwards depart ye unto your abodes and retreats; be there peace between us and you; be ye ever ready to come when ye shall be cited and called; and may the blessing of God, as far as ye are capable of receiving it, be upon you, provided ye be obedient and prompt to come unto us without solemn rites and observances on our part.

Thou shouldest further make a Book of virgin paper, and therein write the foregoing conjurations, and constrain the Demons to swear upon the same book that they will come whenever they be called, and present themselves before thee, whenever thou shalt wish to consult them. Afterwards thou canst cover this Book with sacred Sigils on a plate of silver, and therein write or engrave the Holy Pentacles. Thou mayest open this Book either on Sundays or on Thursdays, rather at night than by day, and the Spirits will come.

Regarding the expression "night," understand the night following, and not the night preceding the aforesaid days. And remember that by day (the Demons) are ashamed, for they are Animals of Darkness.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER VIII.

Concerning the Medals or Pentacles, and the manner of constructing them.

As we have already made mention of the Pentacles, it is necessary that thou shouldest understand that the whole Science and understanding of our Key dependeth upon the operation, Knowledge, and use of Pentacles.

He then who shall wish to perform any operation by the means of the Medals, or Pentacles, and therein to render himself expert, must observe what hath been hereinbefore ordained. Let him then, O my Son Roboam, know and understand that in the aforesaid Pentacles he shall find those Ineffable and Most Holy Names which were written by the finger of God in the Tablets of Moses; and which I, Solomon, have received through the Ministry of an Angel by Divine Revelation. These then have I collected together, arranged, consecrated, and kept, for the benefit of the human race, and the preservation of Body and of Soul.

The Pentacles should then be made in the days and hours of Mercury, when the Moon is in an aërial* or terrestrial sign; she should also be in her increase, and in equal number of days with the Sun.

It is necessary to have a Chamber or Cabinet specially set apart and newly cleaned, wherein thou canst remain without interruption, the which having entered with thy Companions, thou shalt incense and perfume it with the odours and perfumes of the Art. The sky should be clear and serene. It is necessary that thou shouldest have one or more pieces of virgin paper prepared and arranged ready, as we shall tell you more fully later on, in its place.

Thou shalt commence the writing or construction of the Pentacles in the hour aforesaid. Among other things, thou shalt chiefly use these colours: Gold, Cinnabar or Vermilion Red, and celestial or brilliant Azure Blue. Furthermore, thou shalt make these Medals or Pentacles with exorcised pen and colours, as we shall hereafter show thee. Whensoever thou constructest them, if thou canst complete them in the hour wherein thou didst begin them, it is better. However, if it be absolutely necessary to interrupt the work, thou shouldest await the proper day and hour before re-commencing it.

The Pentacles being finished and completed, take a cloth of very fine silk, as we shall hereafter ordain thee, in the which thou shalt wrap the Pentacles. After which thou shalt take a large Vessel of Earth filled with Charcoal, upon the which there must be put frankincense, mastic, and aloes, all having been previously conjured and exorcised as shall hereafter be told thee. Thou must also be thyself pure, clean, and washed, as thou shalt find given in the proper place. Furthermore, thou shouldest have the Sickle or

* *i.e.* in Gemini, Libra, Aquarius, Taurus, Virgo, or Capricorn.

Knife of Magical Art, with the which thou shalt make a Circle, and trace within it an inner circle, and in the space between the two thou shalt write the Names of God,* which thou shalt think fit and proper. It is necessary after this that thou shouldest have within the Circle a vessel of earth with burning coals and odoriferous perfumes thereon; with the which thou shalt fumigate the aforesaid Pentacles; and, having turned thy face towards the East, thou shalt hold the said Pentacles over the smoke of the Incense, and shalt repeat devoutly the following Psalms of David my Father: Psalms viii., xxi., xxvii., xxix., xxxii., li., lxxii., cxxxiv.†

(For a convenient form of Circle which may be used for preparing Instruments and other things of the same kind, as well as for consecrating the Pentacles, *see Figure* 3.)

After this thou shalt repeat the following Oration:—

The Oration.

O Adonai most powerful, El most strong, Agla most holy, On most righteous, the Aleph‡ and the Tau, the Beginning and the End; Thou Who hast established all things in Thy Wisdom; Thou Who has chosen Abraham Thy faithful servant, and hast promised that in his seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed, which seed Thou hast multiplied as the Stars of Heaven; Thou Who hast appeared unto Thy servant Moses in flame in the midst of the Burning Bush, and hast made him walk with dry feet through the Red Sea; Thou Who gavest the Law to him upon Mount Sinai; Thou Who hast granted unto Solomon Thy Servant these Pentacles by Thy great Mercy, for the preservation of Soul and of Body; we most humbly implore and supplicate Thy Holy Majesty, that these Pentacles may be consecrated by Thy power, and prepared in such manner that they may obtain virtue and strength against all Spirits, through Thee, O Most Holy Adonai, Whose Kingdom, Empire, and principality, remaineth and endureth without end.

These words being said, thou shalt perfume the Pentacles with the same sweet scents and perfumes, and afterwards having wrapped them in a piece of prepared silk cloth, thou shalt put them in a place fit and clean, which thou mayest open whenever it shall please thee, and close it again, at thy pleasure and according unto thy will. We will hereafter show thee the method and manner of preparing the aforesaid place, of perfuming it with scents and sweet odours, and of sprinkling it with the Water and Water-Sprinkler of Magical Art; for all these things contain many good properties, and innumerable virtues, as experience will easily teach thee.

We have already said sufficient regarding the Solemn Conjuration of Spirits.

We have also spoken enough in our present Key, regarding the manner in which it is necessary to attract the Spirits so as to make them speak. Now, by Divine aid, I will teach thee how to perform certain experiments with success.

* Preferably those having some reference to the work in hand.

† I have given the numbers of the Psalms according to the *English*, not the *Hebrew* numbers.

‡ The Qabalistic word Azoth may be substituted for "the Aleph and the Tau."

Know,* O my Son Roboam, that all the Divine Sigils, Characters, and Names (which are the most precious and excellent things in Nature, whether Terrestrial or Celestial), should be written by thee each separately, when thou art in a state of grace and purity, upon Virgin parchment, with ordinary ink, in the beginning of the month† of August before sunrise, raising thine eyes unto heaven, and turning towards the east. Thou shalt preserve them to suspend from thy neck, whichever thou wilt, on the day and hour wherein thou wast born, after which thou shalt take heed to name every day ten times, the Name which is hung from thy neck, turning towards the East, and thou mayest be assured that no enchantment or any other danger shall have power to harm thee.

Furthermore thou shalt vanquish all adversities, and shalt be cherished and loved by the Angels and Spirits, provided that thou hast made their characters and that thou hast them upon thee; I assure thee that this is the true way to succeed with ease in all thine operations, for being fortified with a Divine Name, and the Letters, Characters, and Sigils, applicable unto the operation, thou shalt discover with what supernatural exactitude and very great promptitude, both Terrestrial and Celestial things will be obedient unto thee. But all this will only be true, when accompanied by the Pentacles which hereinafter follow, seeing that the Seals, Characters, and Divine Names, serve only to fortify the work, to preserve from unforeseen accidents, and to attract the familiarity of the Angels and Spirits; which is one reason, my Son, that before making any experiment, I order thee to read and re-read my Testament, not once only but many times, so that being perfectly instructed in the several Ceremonies thou mayest in no way fail, and that thus what shall have previously appeared to thee difficult and lengthy, may become in process of time easy and of very great use.

I am about to endow thee with many secrets, which I charge thee never to employ for an evil purpose, for ACCURSED BE HE WHO TAKETH THE NAME OF ALMIGHTY GOD IN VAIN; but thou mayest without any other ceremonies make use of them, provided that, as I have already said, thou hast only the Glory of Eternal God for thine object. Thus, after having taught thee all the Ceremonies which concern the manner of performing the Operations, I am at length determined to make thee a partaker in the secrets of which I have particular knowledge, unknown to this day unto the generality of men; but, nevertheless, only on the condition that thou attemptest not the ruin and destruction of thy neighbour, for his blood will cry for vengeance unto God, and in the end thou and thine shall feel the just wrath of an offended Deity. However, God not having forbidden honest and lawful pleasures, thou mayest perform boldly the Operations which follow, it being always especially necessary to distinguish between the good and the evil, so as to choose the former and avoid the latter, which is why I command thee to be attentive to all that is contained in this my Testament.

* From here to the end of the Chapter is only given in Lansdowne MSS. 1203.

† *i.e.* When the Sun is in the Sign Leo.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Experiment concerning Things Stolen, and how it should be performed.

My beloved Son, if thou findest any Theft, thou shalt do as is hereinafter ordained, and with the help of God thou shalt find that which hath been taken away.

If the hours and days be not otherwise ordained in this operation, thou must refer to what hath already been said. But before commencing any operation whatsoever for the recovery of things stolen, after having made all necessary preparations, thou shalt say the following Oration :—

The Oration.

Ateh* Adonai Elohim Asher Ha-Shamain Ve-Ha-Aretz, &c.

Thou, O Lord, Who hast made both Heaven and Earth, and hast measured them in the hollow of Thy hand; Thou Who art seated upon the Kerubim and the Seraphim, in the high places, whereunto human understanding cannot penetrate; Thou Who hast created all things by Thine agency, in Whose Presence are the Living Creatures, of which four are marvellously volatile, which have six wings, and who incessantly cry aloud: "Qadosch, Qadosch, Qadosch, Adonai Elohim Tzabaoth, Heaven and Earth are full of Thy Glory;" O Lord God, Thou Who hast expelled Adam from the Terrestrial Paradise, and Who hast placed the Kerubim to guard the Tree of Life, Thou art the Lord Who alone doest wonders; show forth I pray Thee Thy Great Mercy, by the Holy City of Jerusalem, by Thy wonderful Name of four letters which are Yod, He, Vau, He, and by Thy Holy and Admirable Name, give unto me the power and virtue to enable me to accomplish this experiment, and to come unto the desired end of this operation; through Thee Who art Life, and unto Whom Life belongeth unto the eternal ages. Amen.

After this perfume and cense the place with good scents and sweet odours. This aforesaid place should be pure, clean, safe from interruption or disturbance, and proper to the work, as we shall hereafter show. Then sprinkle the aforesaid place with consecrated Water, as is laid down in the Chapter concerning Circles.

The Operation being in such wise prepared, thou shalt rehearse the Conjuration necessary for this experiment, at the end of which Thou shalt say as follows :—

* This is simply the Hebrew of the prayer which follows; but in the MS. Codices it is so mutilated as to be worthless.

O Almighty Father and Lord, Who regardest the Heavens, the Earth, and the Abyss, mercifully grant unto me by Thy Holy Name written with four letters, Yod, He, Vau, He, that by this exorcism I may obtain virtue, Thou Who art Iah, Iah, Iah, grant that by Thy power these Spirits may discover that which we require and which we hope to find, and may they show and declare unto us the persons who have committed the theft, and where they are to be found.

I conjure ye anew, ye Spirits above named, by all the aforesaid Names, through which all things created tremble, that ye show openly unto me (or unto this child here present with us*) those things which we seek.

These things being accomplished they will make thee to see plainly that which thou seekest. Take note that the Exorcist, or Master of the Art, should be such as is ordained in the Chapter concerning the Exorcist and his Companions; and if in this experiment it should be necessary to write down characters or Names, thou shalt do that which it is necessary to observe regarding the pen, ink, and paper, as is duly prescribed in the chapters concerning them.

For if thou dost not regard these things, thou wilt neither accomplish that which thou desirest, nor arrive at thy desired end.

How to know who has committed a theft.†

Take a Sieve and suspend it by a piece of cord wherewith a man has been hung, which should be fastened round the circumference of the rim. Within the rim write with blood in the four divisions thereof the characters given in *Figure* 4. After this take a basin of brass perfectly clean which thou shalt fill with water from a fountain, and having pronounced these words: Dies mies yes-chet bene done fet Donnima Metemauz, make the sieve spin round with thy left hand, and at the same time turn with thy right hand the water in the basin in a contrary direction, by stirring it with a twig of green laurel. When the water becometh still and the sieve no longer whirls, gaze fixedly into the water, and thou shalt see the form of him who hath committed the theft; and in order that thou mayest the more easily recognize him, thou shalt mark him in some part of his face with the Magical Sword of Art; for that sign which thou shalt have cut therewith in the water, shall be really found thereafter upon his own person.

The Manner of causing the Sieve to turn, that thou mayest know who has committed the Theft.‡

Take a Sieve and stick into the outside of the rim the open points of a pair of scissors, and having rested the rings of the said opened scissors on the thumb-nails of two persons, let one of them say the following Prayer :—

* A child employed as a clairvoyant in the operation; as is still the custom in some places in the East.

† The rest of this Chapter is from 1203 Lansdowne MSS.

‡ This is the ancient divination by the sieve and shears, and from St. Peter and St. Paul being mentioned in it, has evidently undergone a mediæval reconstruction.

Prayer.

Dies mies yes-chet bene done fet Donnima Metemauz; O Lord, Who liberatedst the holy Susanna from a false accusation of crime; O Lord, Who liberatedst the holy Thekla; O Lord, Who rescuedst the holy Daniel from the den of lions, and the Three Children from the burning fiery furnace, free the innocent and reveal the guilty.

After this let him or her pronounce aloud the names and surnames of all the persons living in the house where the theft hast been committed, who may be suspected of having stolen the things in question, saying :—

"By Saint Peter and Saint Paul, such a person hath not done this thing."

And let the other reply :—

"By Saint Peter and Saint Paul, he (or she) hath not done it."

Let this be repeated thrice for each person named and suspected, and it is certain that on naming the person who hath committed the theft or done the crime, the sieve will turn of itself without its being able to stop it, and by this thou shalt know the evil doer.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Experiment of Invisibility, and how it should be performed.

If thou wishest to perform the Experiment of Invisibility, thou shalt follow the instructions for the same. If it be necessary to observe the day and the hour, thou shalt do as is said in their Chapters. But if thou needest not observe the day and the hour as marked in the Chapter thereon, thou shalt do as taught in the Chapter which precedeth it. If in the course of the experiment it be necessary to write anything, it should be done as is described in the Chapters pertaining thereto, with the proper pen, paper, and ink, or blood. But if the matter is to be accomplished by invocation, before thy conjurations, thou shalt say devoutly in thine heart :—

Sceaboles, Arbaron, Elohi, Elimigith, Herenobulcule, Methe, Baluth, Timayal, Villaquiel, Teveni, Yevie, Ferete, Bacuhaba, Guvarin ; through Him by Whom ye have empire and power over men, ye must accomplish this work so that I may go and remain invisible.

And if it be necessary in this operation to trace a Circle, thou shalt do as is ordained in the Chapter concerning Circles ; and if it be necessary to write Characters, &c., thou shalt follow the instructions given in the respective Chapters.

This operation being thus prepared, if there be an especial Conjuration to perform, thou shalt repeat it in the proper manner ; if not, thou shalt say the general Conjuration, at the end of which thou shalt add the following words :

O thou Almiras, Master of Invisibility, with thy Ministers Cheros, Maitor, Tangedem, Transidim, Suvantos, Abelaios, Bored, Belamith, Castumi, Dabuel ; I conjure ye by Him Who maketh Earth and Heaven to tremble, Who is seated upon the Throne of His Majesty, that this operation may be perfectly accomplished according to my will, so that at whatsoever time it may please me, I may be able to be invisible.

I conjure thee anew, O Almiras, Chief of Invisibility, both thee and thy Ministers, by Him through Whom all things have their being, and by Saturiel, Harchiel, Daniel, Beniel, Assimonem, that thou immediately comest hither with all thy Ministers, and achievest this operation, as thou knowest it ought to be accomplished, and that by the same operation thou render me invisible, so that none may be able to see me.

In order then to accomplish this aforesaid operation, thou must prepare all things necessary with requisite care and diligence, and put them in practice with all the general and particular ceremonies laid down for these experiments ;

and with all the conditions contained in our first and second Books. Thou shalt also in the same operations duly repeat the appropriate Conjurations, with all the solemnities marked in the respective Chapters. Thus shalt thou accomplish the experiment surely and without hindrance, and thus shalt thou find it true.

But, on the contrary, if thou lettest any of these things escape thee, or if thou despiseth them, never shalt thou be able to arrive at thy proposed end; as, for example, we enter not easily into a fenced city over its walls but through its gates.

How* to render oneself Invisible.

Make a small image of yellow wax, in the form of a man, in the month January and in the day and hour of Saturn, and at that time write with a needle above the crown of its head and upon its skull which thou shalt have adroitly raised, the character following. (*See Figure* 5.) After which thou shalt re-place the skull in proper position. Thou shalt then write upon a small strip of the skin of a frog or toad which thou shalt have killed, the following words and characters. (*See Figure* 6.) Thou shalt then go and suspend the said figure by one of thy hairs from the vault of a cavern at the hour of midnight, and perfuming it with the proper incense thou shalt say:—

Metatron, Melekh, Beroth, Noth, Venibbeth, Mach, and all ye, I conjure thee O Figure of wax, by the Living God, that by the virtue of these Characters and words, thou render me invisible, wherever I may bear thee with me. Amen.

And after having censed it anew, thou shalt bury it in the same place in a small deal box, and every time that thou wishest to pass or enter into any place without being seen, thou shalt say these words, bearing the aforesaid figure in thy left pocket:—

Come unto me and never quit me whithersoever I shall go.

Afterwards thou shalt take it carefully back unto the before-mentioned place and cover it with earth until thou shalt need it again.

* The rest of this Chapter is from 1203 Lansdowne MSS.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER XI.

To hinder a Sportsman from Killing any Game.*

TAKE a stick of green elder, from the two ends of which thou shalt clean out the pith. In each end place a strip of parchment of hare-skin, having written thereon with the blood of a black hen the following character and word. (*See Figure 7.*) Having made two of these slips, place one in each end of the stick and close the apertures up with pith, afterwards on a Friday in the month of February thou shalt fumigate the aforesaid stick with suitable incense thrice in the air, and having taken it thence thou shalt bury it in the earth under an elder tree. Afterwards thou shalt expose it in the pathway by which the Sportsman will pass, and once he has passed by it, he need not hope to kill any game during that day. If thou shalt wish a second time to lay a spell upon him in like manner, thou needest but to expose the stick again in his path; but take care to bury it again in the earth under an elder-tree, so as to be able to take it from thence each time that thou shalt have need of it; and to take it up each time as soon as the sportsman shall have passed.

* This Chapter is taken from 1203 Lansdowne MSS.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER XII.

How* to make the Magic Garters.

TAKE enough of the skin of a stag to make two hollow tubular Garters, but before stitching them up thou shalt write on the side of the skin which was next the flesh the words and characters shown in *Figure* 8, with the blood of a hare killed on the 25th of June, and having filled the said Garters with green mugwort gathered also on the 25th of June before sunrise, thou shalt put in the two ends of each the eye of the fish called barbel; and when thou shalt wish to use them thou shalt get up before sunrise and wash them in a brook of running water, and place them one on each leg above the knee. After this thou shalt take a short rod of holm-oak cut on the same 25th of June, turn in the direction thou wishest to go, write upon the ground the name of the place, and commencing thy journey thou wilt find it accomplished in a few days and without fatigue. When thou wishest to stop thou hast only to say AMECH and beat the air with the aforesaid wand, and incontinently thou shalt be on firm ground.

* This Chapter is also taken from 1203 Lansdowne MSS.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER XIII.*

How to make the Magic Carpet proper for interrogating the Intelligences, so as to obtain an answer regarding whatsoever matter one may wish to learn.

MAKE a Carpet of white and new wool, and when the Moon shall be at her full, in the Sign of Capricorn and in the hour of the Sun, thou shalt go into the country away from any habitation of man, in a place free from all impurity, and shalt spread out thy Carpet so that one of its points shall be towards the east, and another towards the west, and having made a Circle without it and enclosing it, thou shalt remain within upon the point towards the east, and holding thy wand in the air for every operation, thou shalt call upon MICHAEL,† towards the north upon RAPHAEL, towards the west upon GABRIEL, and towards the south upon MURIEL. After this thou shalt return unto the point of the East and devoutly invoke the Great Name AGLA, and take this point of the Carpet in thy left hand; turning then towards the North thou shalt do the same, and so continuing to the other points of the Carpet, thou shalt raise them so that they touch not the ground, and holding them up thus, and turning anew towards the East thou shalt say with great veneration the following Prayer:—

PRAYER.

AGLA, AGLA, AGLA, AGLA; O God Almighty Who art the Life of the Universe and Who rulest over the four divisions of its vast form by the strength and virtue of the Four Letters of Thy Holy Name Tetragrammaton, YOD, HE, VAU, HE, bless in Thy Name this covering which I hold as Thou hast blessed the Mantle of Elijah in the hands of Elisha, so that being covered by Thy Wings, nothing may be able to injure me, even as it is said:—"He shall hide thee under His Wings and beneath His feathers shall thou trust, His truth shall be thy shield and buckler."

After this thou shalt fold it up, saying these words following:—RECABUSTIRA, CABUSTIRA, BUSTIRA, TIRA, RA, A; and shall keep it carefully to serve thee at need.

When thou shalt be desirous to make thine interrogations, choose the night of full or of new moon, and from midnight until daybreak. Thou shalt transport thyself unto the appointed spot if it be for the purpose of discovering

* This Chapter is also taken from 1203 Lansdowne MSS.

† I have usually found Michael attributed to the South; Raphael to the East; Gabriel to the West; and Auriel to the North. Likewise I think the operator should turn following the course of the Sun, and not contrariwise as in the text.

a treasure; if not, any place will serve provided it be clean and pure. Having had the precaution on the preceding evening to write upon a slip of virgin parchment coloured azure-blue, with a pen made from the feather of a dove, this Character and Name (*see Figure 9*); taking thy carpet, thou shalt cover thy head and body therewith, and taking the censer, with new fire therein, thou shalt place it in or upon the proper place, and cast thereon some incense. Then shalt thou prostrate thyself upon the ground, with thy face towards the earth, before the incense beginneth to fume, keeping the fire of the same beneath the carpet, holding thy wand upright, against which to rest thy chin; thou shalt hold with thy right hand the aforesaid strip of parchment against thy forehead, and thou shalt say the following words:—

VEGALE, HAMICATA, UMSA, TERATA, YEH, DAH, MA, BAXASOXA, UN, HORAH, HIMESERE;* O God the Vast One send unto me the Inspiration of Thy Light, make me to discover the secret thing which I ask of Thee, whatsoever such or such a thing may be, make me to search it out by the aid of Thy holy Ministers RAZIEL, TZAPHNIEL, MATMONIEL; Lo, Thou hast desired truth in the young, and in the hidden thing shalt Thou make me know wisdom. RECABUSTIRA, CABUSTIRA, BUSTIRA, TIRA, RA, A, KARKAHITA, KAHITA, HITA, TA.

And thou shalt hear distinctly the answer which thou shalt have sought.

* These are probably corrupted Hebrew words derived from the prayer itself.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER XIV.*

How to render Thyself Master of a Treasure possessed by the Spirits.

THE Earth being inhabited, as I have before said unto thee, by a great number of Celestial Beings and Spirits, who by their subtilty and prevision know the places wherein treasures are hidden, and seeing that it often happenneth that those men who undertake a search for these said treasures are molested and sometimes put to death by the aforesaid Spirits, which are called Gnomes; which, however, is not done through the Avarice of these said Gnomes, a Spirit being incapable of possessing anything, having no material senses wherewith to bring it into use, but because these Spirits, who are enemies of the passions, are equally so of Avarice, unto which men are so much inclined; and foreseeing the evil ends for which these treasures will be employed have some interest and aim in maintaining the earth in its condition of price and value, seeing that they are its inhabitants, and when they slightly disturb the workers in such kind of treasures, it is a warning which they give them to cease from the work, and if it happen that the greedy importunity of the aforesaid workers oblige them to continue, notwithstanding the aforesaid warnings, the Spirits, irritated by their despising the same, frequently put the workmen to death. But know, O my Son, that from the time that thou shalt have the good fortune to be familiar with such kinds of Spirits, and that thou shalt be able by means of what I have taught thee to make them submit unto thine orders, they will be happy to give thee, and to make thee partaker in that which they uselessly possess, provided that thine object and end shall be to make a good use thereof.

THE MANNER OF PERFORMING THE OPERATION.

On a Sunday before sunrise, between the 10th of July and the 20th of August, when the moon is in the Sign of the Lion, thou shalt go unto the place where thou shalt know either by interrogation of the Intelligences, or otherwise, that there is a treasure; there thou shalt describe a Circle of sufficient size with the Sword of Magical Art wherein to open up the earth, as the nature of the ground will allow; thrice during the day shalt thou cense it with the incense proper for the day, after which being clothed in the raiment proper for the Operation thou shalt suspend in some way by a machine immediately above the opening a lamp, whose oil should be mingled with the fat of a man who has died in the month of July, and the wick being

* This is also taken from 1203 Lansdowne MSS.

made from the cloth wherein he has been buried. Having kindled this with fresh fire, thou shalt fortify the workmen with a girdle of the skin of a goat newly slain, whereon shall be written with the blood of the dead man from whom thou shalt have taken the fat these words and characters (*see Figure* 10); and thou shalt set them to work in safety, warning them not to be at all disturbed at the Spectres which they will see, but to work away boldly. In case they cannot finish the work in a single day, every time they shall have to leave it thou shalt cause them to put a covering of wood over the opening, and above the covering about six inches of earth; and thus shalt thou continue unto the end, being all the time present in the raiment of the Art, and with the Magic Sword, during the operation. After which thou shalt repeat this prayer:—

Prayer.

Adonai, Elohim, El, Eheieh Asher Eheieh, Prince of Princes, Existence of Existences, have mercy upon me, and cast Thine eyes upon Thy Servant (N.), who invokes Thee most devoutedly, and supplicates Thee by Thy Holy and tremendous Name Tetragrammaton to be propitious, and to order Thine Angels and Spirits to come and take up their abode in this place; O ye Angels and Spirits of the Stars, O all ye Angels and Elementary Spirits, O all ye Spirits present before the Face of God, I the Minister and faithful Servant of the Most High conjure ye, let God Himself, the Existence of Existences, conjure ye to come and be present at this Operation, I, the Servant of God, most humbly entreat ye. Amen.

Having then caused the workmen to fill in the hole, thou shalt license the Spirits to depart, thanking them for the favour they have shown unto thee, and saying:—

The License to Depart.

O ye good and happy Spirits, we thank ye for the benefits which we have just received from your liberal bounty; depart ye in peace to govern the Element which God hath destined for your habitation. Amen.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the Experiment of Seeking Favour and Love.*

If thou wishest to perform the Experiment of seeking favour and love, observe in what manner the Experiment is to be carried out, and if it be dependent upon the day and the hour, perform it in the day and the hour required, as thou wilt find it in the chapter concerning the hours; and if the Experiment be one that requireth writing, thou shalt write as it is said in the chapter concerning the same; and if it be with penal bonds, pacts, and fumigations, then thou shalt cense with a fit perfume as is said in the chapter concerning suffumigations; and if it be necessary to sprinkle it with water and hyssop, then let it be as in the chapter concerning the same; similarly if such Experiment require characters, names, or the like, let such names be written as the chapter concerning the writing of characters, and place the same in a clean place as hath been said. Then thou shalt repeat over it the following Oration:—

The Oration.

O Adonai, most Holy, Most Righteous, and most Mighty God, Who hast made all things through Thy Mercy and Righteousness wherewith Thou art filled, grant unto us that we may be found worthy that this Experiment may be found consecrated and perfect, so that the Light may issue from Thy Most Holy Seat, O Adonai, which may obtain for us favour and love. Amen.

This being said, thou shalt place it in clean silk, and bury it for a day and a night at the junction of four cross-roads; and whensoever thou wishest to obtain any grace or favour from any, take it, having first properly consecrated it according to the rule, and place it in thy right hand, and seek thou what thou wilt it shall not be denied thee. But if thou doest not the Experiment carefully and rightly, assuredly thou shalt not succeed in any manner.

For obtaining grace and love write down the following words:—

Sator,† Arepo, Tenet, Opera, Rotas, Iah, Iah, Iah, Enam, Iah, Iah, Iah, Kether, Chokmah, Binah, Gedulah, Geburah, Tiphereth, Netzach, Hod, Yesod, Malkuth, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, be ye all present in my aid and for whatsoever I shall desire to obtain.

Which words being properly written as above, thou shalt also find thy desire brought to pass.

* This Chapter is taken from 10,862 Add. MSS.

† This Incantation is also given in 1307 Sloane MSS., page 76.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER XVI.*

How Operations of Mockery, Invisibility, and Deceit should be prepared.

EXPERIMENTS relating to tricks, mockeries, and deceits, may be performed in many ways. When thou shalt wish to practise these experiments with regard to any person, thou shalt observe the day and the hour as we have already said. Should it be necessary to write Characters or Words, it should be done upon virgin paper, as we shall show farther on. As for the ink, if it be not specially ordained in this operation, it is advisable to use the blood of a bat with the pen and the needle of art. But before describing or writing the Characters or Names, all the necessary rules should be observed as given in the proper Chapters, and having carefully followed out all these, thou shalt pronounce with a loud voice the following words :—

ABAC, ALDAL, IAT, HUDAC, GUTHAC, GUTHOR, GOMEH, TISTATOR, DERISOR, DESTATUR, come hither all ye who love the times and places wherein all kinds of mockeries and deceits are practised. And ye who make things disappear and who render them invisible, come hither to deceive all those who regard these things, so that they may be deceived, and that they may seem to see that which they see not and hear that which they hear not, so that their senses may be deceived, and that they may behold that which is not true.

Come ye then hither and remain, and consecrate this enchantment, seeing that God the Almighty Lord hath destined ye for such.

When this Experiment is completed in this manner in the hour and time which we have shown and taught, also the foregoing words ABAC, ALDAL, &c., should be written with the pen as hereinafter ordained; but if the Experiment be performed in a different way, yet shalt thou always say the aforesaid words, and they should be repeated as before given.

If thou practisest these things in this manner correctly, thou shalt arrive at the effect of thine operations and experiments, by the which thou mayest easily deceive the senses.

* This Chapter is given in 10862 Add. MSS., 3981 Harleian MSS., 288 King's MSS., 3091 Sloane MSS., and 1307 Sloane MSS., but is wanting in 1202 Lansdowne MSS., as are all the Chapters of the First Book after Chap. 8.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER XVII.

How Extraordinary Experiments and Operations should be prepared.

We have spoken in the preceding Chapters of common experiments and operations, which it is more usual to practise and put in operation, and therein thou mayest easily see that we have told thee sufficient for their perfection. In this Chapter we treat of extraordinary and unusual experiments, which can also be done in many ways.

None the less should those who wish to put in practice the like experiments and operations observe the days and hours as is laid down in the proper Chapters, and should be provided with virgin paper and other necessary things. Having prepared a similar experiment thou shalt say:—

PRAYER.

O God Who hast created all things, and hast given unto us discernment to understand the good and the evil; through thy Holy Name, and through these Holy Names;—IOD, IAH, VAU, DALETH, VAU, TZABAOTH, ZIO, AMATOR, CREATOR, do Thou, O Lord, grant that this experiment may become true and veritable in my hands through Thy Holy Seal, O ADONAI, Whose reign and empire remaineth eternally and unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

This being done, thou shalt perform the experiment, observing its hour, and thou shalt perfume and incense as is laid down in the proper Chapter; sprinkling with exorcised water, and performing all the ceremonies and solemnities as we shall instruct thee in the Second Book of our Key.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Concerning the Holy Pentacles or Medals.

The Medals or Pentacles, which we make for the purpose of striking terror into the Spirits and reducing them to obedience, have besides this wonderful and excellent virtue. If thou invokest the Spirits by virtue of these Pentacles, they will obey thee without repugnance, and having considered them they will be struck with astonishment, and will fear them, and thou shalt see them so surprised by fear and terror, that none of them will be sufficiently bold to wish to oppose thy will. They are also of great virtue and efficacy against all perils of Earth, of Air, of Water, and of Fire, against poison which hath been drunk, against all kinds of infirmities and necessities, against binding, sortilege, and sorcery, against all terror and fear, and wheresoever thou shalt find thyself, if armed with them, thou shalt be in safety all the days of thy life.

Through them do we acquire grace and good-will from man and woman, fire is extinguished, water is stayed, and all Creatures fear at the sight of the Names which are therein, and obey through that fear.

These Pentacles are usually made of the metal the most suitable to the nature of the Planet; and then there is no occasion to observe the rule of particular colours. They should be engraved with the instrument of Art in the days and hours proper to the Planet.

Saturn ruleth over Lead; Jupiter over Tin; Mars over Iron; the Sun over Gold; Venus over Copper; Mercury over the mixture of Metals; and the Moon over Silver.

They may also be made with exorcised Virgin paper, writing thereon with the colours adopted for each Planet, referring to the rules already laid down in the proper Chapters, and according to the Planet with which the Pentacle is in sympathy.

Wherefore unto Saturn the colour of Black is appropriated; Jupiter ruleth over Celestial Blue; Mars over Red; the Sun over Gold, or the colour of Yellow or Citron; Venus over Green; Mercury over Mixed Colours; the Moon over Silver, or the colour of Argentine Earth.

The Matter of which the Pentacle is constructed should be Virgin, never having been used for any other purpose; or if it be metal it should be purified by fire.

As regards the size of the Pentacles it is arbitrary, so long as they are made according to the rules, and with the requisite solemnities, as hath been ordained.

The* virtues of the Holy Pentacles are no less advantageous unto thee than the knowledge of the secrets which I have already given unto thee; and

* This and the four following paragraphs are from 1203 Lansdowne MSS.

thou shouldest take particular care if thou makest them upon virgin parchment to use the proper colours; and if thou engravest them upon metal, to do so in the manner taught thee; and so shalt thou have the satisfaction of seeing them produce the promised effect. But seeing that this Science is not a Science of argument and open reasoning, but that, on the contrary, it is entirely mysterious and occult, we should not argue and deliberate over these matters, and it is sufficient to believe firmly to enable us to bring into operation that which hath already been taught.

When thou shalt construct these Pentacles and Characters, it is necessary never to forget the Incense, nor to employ anything beyond that of which mention is made.

It is necessary, above all things, to be attentive to the operation, and never to forget or omit those things which contribute to the success which the Pentacles and Experiments promise, having ever in thy mind no other intention than the Glory of God, the accomplishment of thy desires, and loving-kindness towards thy neighbour.

Furthermore, my beloved Son, I order thee not to bury this Science, but to make thy friends partakers in the same, subject however to the strict command never to profane the things which are Divine, for if thou doest this, far from rendering thee a friend of the Spirits, it will but be the means of bringing thee unto destruction.

But never must thou lavish these things among the ignorant, for that would be as blameable as to cast precious gems before swine; on the contrary, from one Sage the secret knowledge should pass unto another Sage, for in this manner shall the Treasure of Treasures never descend into oblivion.

Adore* and revere the Most Holy Names of God which are found in these Pentacles and Characters, for without this never shalt thou be able to come to the end of any enterprise, nor to accomplish the Mystery of Mysteries.

Above all things, remember that to perform any of these operations thou must be pure in body and in mind, and without blemish, and omit not any of the preparations.

This Key, full of Mysteries, hath been revealed unto me by an Angel.

Accursed be he who undertaketh our Art without having the qualities requisite to thoroughly understand our Key, accursed be he who invoketh the Name of God in vain, for such an one prepareth for himself the punishments which await the unbelievers, for God shall abandon them and relegate them unto the depths of Hell amongst the impure Spirits.

For God is great and Immutable, He hath been for ever, and He shall remain even unto the end of the Ages.

ACCURSED BE HE WHO TAKETH THE NAME OF GOD IN VAIN! ACCURSED BE HE WHO USETH THIS KNOWLEDGE UNTO AN EVIL END, BE HE ACCURSED IN THIS WORLD AND IN THE WORLD TO COME. AMEN. BE HE ACCURSED IN THE NAME WHICH HE HATH BLASPHEMED!

* The rest of the Chapter is from 1202 Lansdowne MSS., except the last sentence.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

HERE FOLLOW THE HOLY PENTACLES, EXPRESSED IN THEIR PROPER FIGURES AND CHARACTERS, TOGETHER WITH THEIR ESPECIAL VIRTUES; FOR THE USE OF THE MASTER OF ART.

THE ORDER OF THE PENTACLES.

(1.) Seven Pentacles consecrated to Saturn=Black.
(2.) Seven Pentacles consecrated to Jupiter=Blue.
(3.) Seven Pentacles consecrated to Mars=Red.
(4.) Seven Pentacles consecrated to the Sun=Yellow.
(5.) Five Pentacles consecrated to Venus=Green.
(6.) Five Pentacles consecrated to Mercury=Mixed Colours.
(7.) Six Pentacles consecrated to the Moon=Silver.

Editor's Note on Figure 1.—The Mystical Figure of Solomon.—This is only given in the two MSS., Lansdowne 1202 and 1203. It was given by Lévi in his "Dogme et Rituel de la Haute Magie," and by Tycho Brahé in his "Calendarium Naturale Magicum," but in each instance without the Hebrew words and letters, probably because these were so mangled by illiterate transcribers as to be unrecognisable. After much labour and study of the figure, I believe the words in the body of the symbol to be intended for the Ten Sephiroth arranged in the form of the Tree of Life, with the Name of Solomon to the right and to the left; while the surrounding characters are intended for the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew Alphabet. I have, therefore, thus restored them. This Figure forms in each instance the frontispiece of the MS. referred to.

SATURN.

Figure 11.—The First Pentacle of Saturn.—This Pentacle is of great value and utility for striking terror into the Spirits. Wherefore, upon its being shown to them they submit, and kneeling upon the earth before it, they obey.

Editor's Note.—The Hebrew letters within the square are the four great Names of God which are written with four letters:—IHVH, Yod, He, Vau,

Fig. 6.

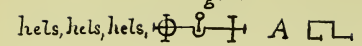


Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.

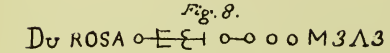


Fig. 9.

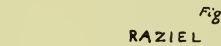
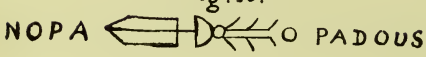


Fig. 10.



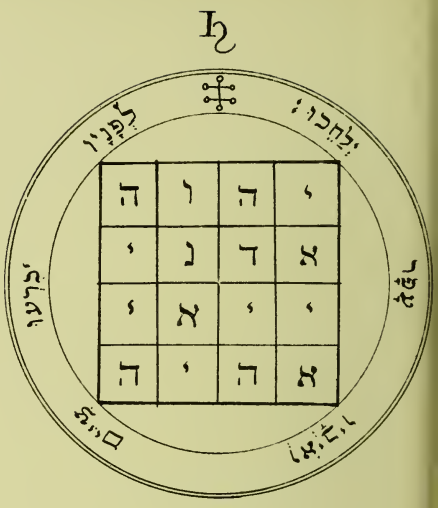


Fig. 11.

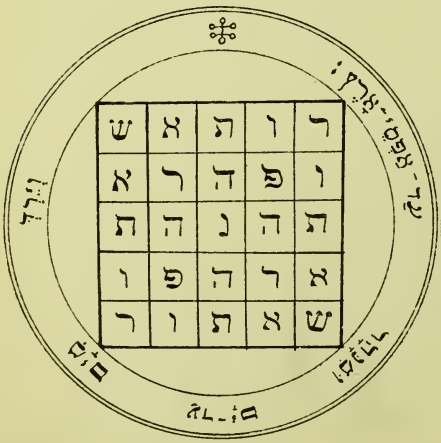


Fig. 12.

Fig. 13.

He; ADNI, Adonai; IIAI, Yiai (this Name has the same Numerical value in Hebrew as the Name EL); and AHIH, Eheieh. The Hebrew versicle which surrounds it is from Psalm lxxii. 9; "The Ethiopians shall kneel before Him, His enemies shall lick the dust."

Figure 12.—The Second Pentacle of Saturn.—This Pentacle is of great value against adversities; and of especial use in repressing the pride of the Spirits.

Editor's Note.—This is the celebrated

SATOR
AREPO
TENET
OPERA
ROTAS,

the most perfect existing form of double acrostic, as far as the arrangement of the letters is concerned; it is repeatedly mentioned in the records of mediæval Magic; and, save to very few, its derivation from the present Pentacle has been unknown. It will be seen at a glance that it is a square of five, giving twenty-five letters, which, added to the unity, gives twenty-six, the numerical value of IHVH. The Hebrew versicle surrounding it is taken from Psalm lxxii. 8, "His dominion shall be also from the one sea to the other, and from the flood unto the world's end." This passage consists also of exactly twenty-five letters, and its total numerical value (considering the final letters with increased numbers), added to that of the Name Elohim, is exactly equal to the total numerical value of the twenty-five letters in the Square.

Figure 13.—The Third Pentacle of Saturn.—This should be made within the Magical Circle, and it is good for use at night when thou invokest the Spirits of the nature of Saturn.

Editor's Note.—The characters at the ends of the rays of the Mystic Wheel are Magical Characters of Saturn. Surrounding it are the Names of the Angels:—Omeliel, Anachiel, Arauchiah, and Anazachia, written in Hebrew.

Figure 14.—The Fourth Pentacle of Saturn.—This Pentacle serveth principally for executing all the experiments and operations of ruin, destruction,

and death. And when it is made in full perfection, it serveth also for those Spirits which bring news, when thou invokest them from the side of the South.

Editor's Note.—The Hebrew words around the sides of the triangle are from Deut. vi. 4:—"Hear, O Israel, IHVH ALHINV is IHVH AChD." The surrounding versicle is from Psalm cix. 18:—"As he clothed himself with cursing like as with a garment, so let it come into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones." In the centre of the Pentacle is the mystic letter Yod.

Figure 15.—The Fifth Pentacle of Saturn.—This Pentacle defendeth those who invoke the Spirits of Saturn during the night; and chaseth away the Spirits which guard treasures.

Editor's Note.—The Hebrew letters in the angles of the Cross are those of the Name IHVH. Those in the Angles of the Square form ALVH, Eloah. Round the four sides of the Square are the Names of the Angels:—Arehanah, Rakhaniel, Roelhaiphar, and Noaphiel. The versicle is:—"A Great God, a Mighty, and a Terrible."—Deut. x. 17.

Figure 16.—The Sixth Pentacle of Saturn.—Around this Pentacle is each Name symbolised as it should be. The person against whom thou shalt pronounce it shall be obsessed by Demons.

Editor's Note.—It is formed from Mystical Characters of Saturn. Around it is written in Hebrew: "Set thou a wicked one to be ruler over him, and let Satan stand at his right hand."

Figure 17.—The Seventh and Last Pentacle of Saturn.—This Pentacle is fit for exciting earthquakes, seeing that the power of each order of Angels herein invoked is sufficient to make the whole Universe tremble.

Editor's Note.—Within the Pentacle are the Names of the Nine Orders of Angels, those of six of them in ordinary Hebrew Characters, and the remainder in the letters which are known as "The Passing of the River." These Nine Orders are:—1. CHAIOTH HA-QADESCH, Holy Living Creatures; 2. AUPHANIM, Wheels; 3. ARALIM, Thrones; 4. CHASCHMALIM, Brilliant Ones; 5. SERAPHIM, Fiery Ones; 6. MELAKIM, Kings; 7. ELOHIM, Gods;

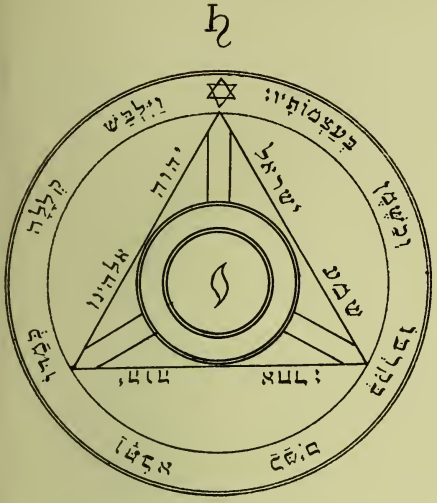


Fig. 14.

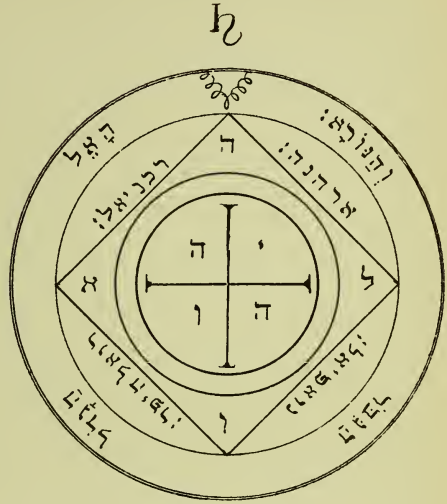


Fig. 15.

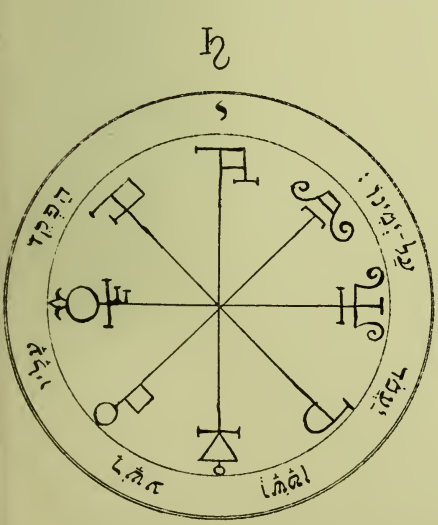


Fig. 16.

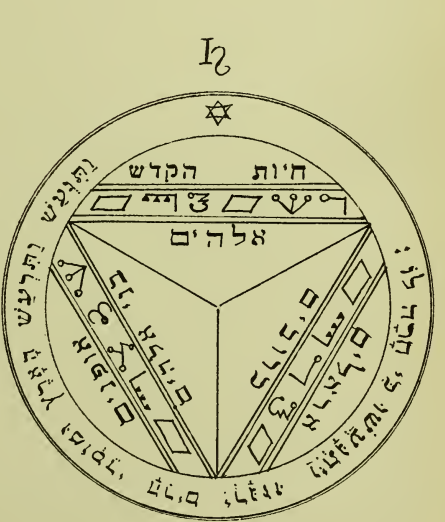
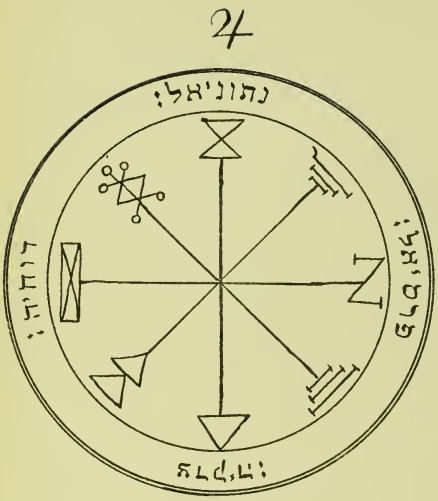


Fig. 17.



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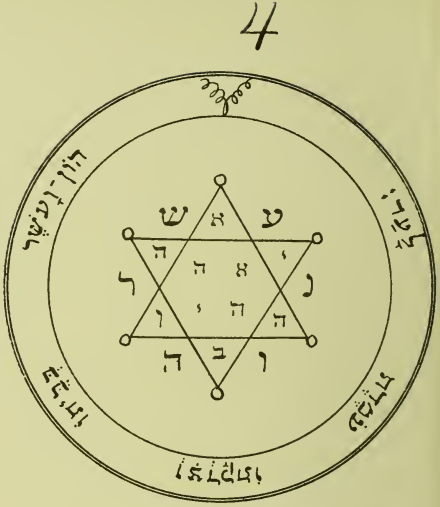


Fig. 19.

Fig. 20.

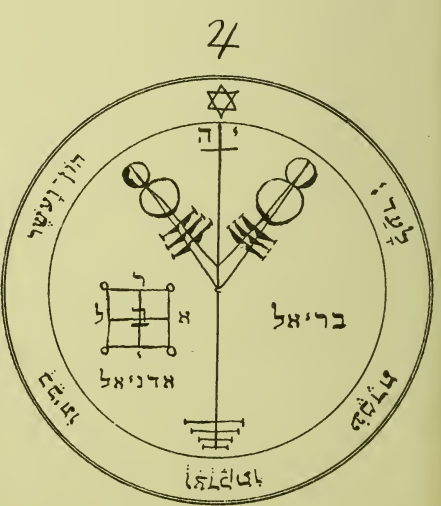


Fig. 21.

8. Beni Elohim, Sons of the Elohim; 9. Kerubim, Kerubim. The versicle is from Psalm xviii. 7:—"Then the earth shook and trembled, the foundations of the hills also moved and were shaken, because He was wroth."

JUPITER.

Figure 18.—The First Pentacle of Jupiter.—This serveth to invoke the Spirits of Jupiter, and especially those whose Names are written around the Pentacle, among whom Parasiel is the Lord and Master of Treasures, and teacheth how to become possessor of places wherein they are.

Editor's Note.—This Pentacle is composed of Mystical Characters of Jupiter. Around it are the Names of the Angels:—Netoniel, Devachiah, Tzedeqiah, and Parasiel, written in Hebrew.

Figure 19.—The Second Pentacle of Jupiter.—This is proper for acquiring glory, honours, dignities, riches, and all kinds of good, together with great tranquillity of mind; also to discover Treasures and chase away the Spirits who preside over them. It should be written upon virgin paper or parchment, with the pen of the swallow and the blood of the screech-owl.

Editor's Note.—In the centre of the Hexagram are the letters of the Name AHIH, Eheieh; in the upper and lower angles of the same, those of the Name AB, the Father; in the remaining angles those of the Name IHVH. I believe the letters outside the Hexagram in the re-entering angles to be intended for those of the first two words of the Versicle, which is taken from Psalm cxii. 3:—"Wealth and Riches are in his house, and his righteousness endureth for ever."

Figure 20.—The Third Pentacle of Jupiter.—This defendeth and protecteth those who invoke and cause the Spirits to come. When they appear show unto them this Pentacle and immediately they will obey.

Editor's Note.—In the upper left corner is the Magical Seal of Jupiter with the letters of the Name IHVH. In the others are the Seal of the Intelligence of Jupiter, and the Names Adonai and IHVH.—Around it is the Versicle from Psalm cxxv. 1:—"A Song of degrees. They that trust in IHVH shall be as Mount Zion, which cannot be removed, but abideth for ever."

Figure 21.—The Fourth Pentacle of Jupiter.—It serveth to acquire riches and honour, and to possess much wealth. Its Angel is Bariel. It should be engraved upon silver in the day and hour of Jupiter when he is in the Sign Cancer.

Editor's Note.—Above the Magical sigil is the Name IH, Iah. Below it are the Names of the Angels Adoniel and Bariel, the letters of the latter being arranged about a square of four compartments. Around is the Versicle from Psalm cxii. 3 :—"Wealth and Riches are in his house, and his righteousness endureth for ever."

Figure 22.—The Fifth Pentacle of Jupiter.—This hath great power. It serveth for assured visions. Jacob being armed with this Pentacle beheld the ladder which reached unto heaven.

Editor's Note.—The Hebrew letters within the Pentacle are taken from the five last words of the versicle which surrounds it, each of which contains five letters. These are, then, recombined so as to form certain Mystical Names. The versicle is taken from Ezekiel i. 1 :—"As I was among the captives by the river of Chebar, the heavens were opened, and I saw visions of Elohim." In my opinion the versicle should only consist of the five last words thereof, when the anachronism of Jacob using a Pentacle with a sentence from Ezekiel will no longer exist.

Figure 23.—The Sixth Pentacle of Jupiter.—It serveth for protection against all earthly dangers, by regarding it each day devoutedly, and repeating the versicle which surroundeth it. Thus shalt thou never perish.

Editor's Note.—The four Names in the Arms of the Cross are:—Seraph, Kerub, Ariel, and Tharsis; the four rulers of the Elements. The versicle is from Psalm xxii. 16, 17 :—"They pierced my hands and my feet, I may tell all my bones."

Figure 24.—The Seventh and last Pentacle of Jupiter.—It hath great power against poverty, if thou considerest it with devotion, repeating the versicle. It serveth furthermore to drive away those Spirits who guard treasures, and to discover the same.

Editor's Note.—Mystical Characters of Jupiter with the verse:—

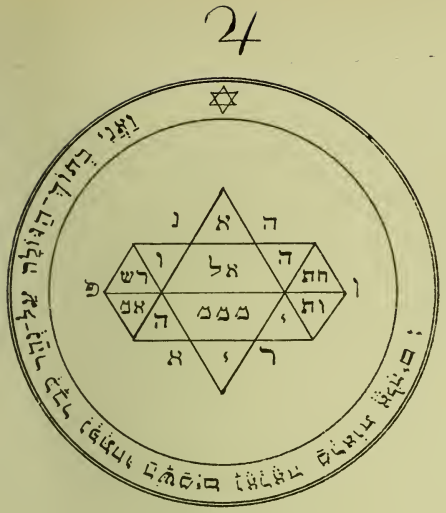


Fig. 22.

Fig. 23.

Fig. 24.

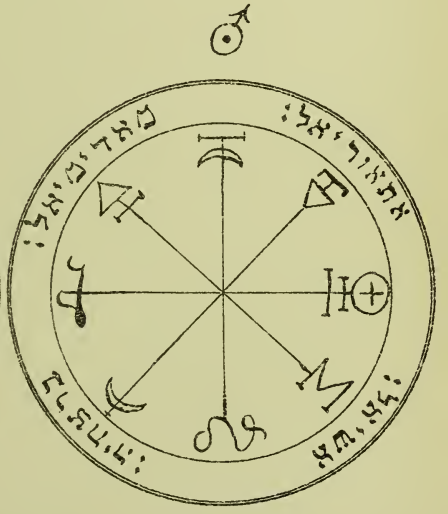


Fig. 25.

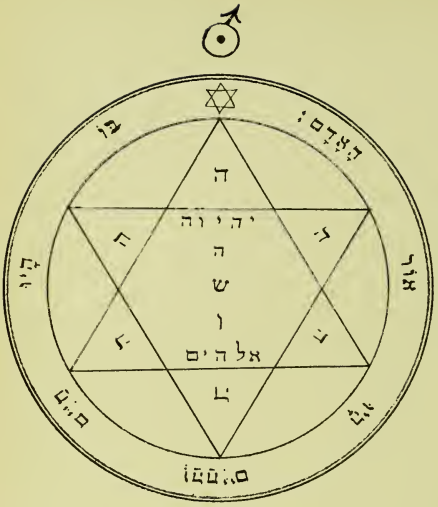


Fig. 26.

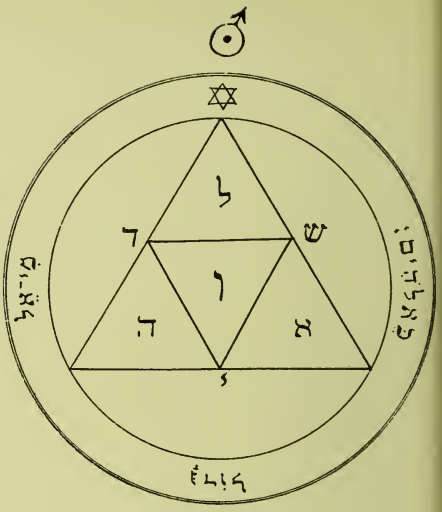


Fig. 27.

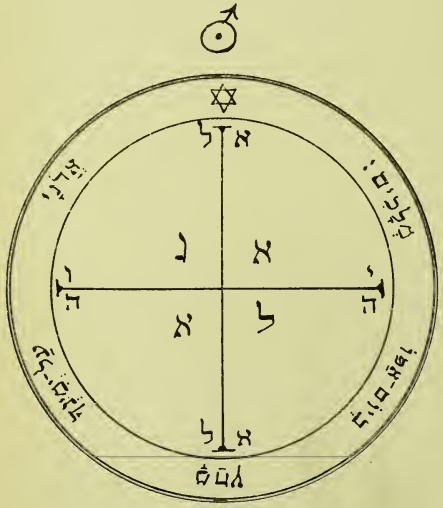


Fig. 28.

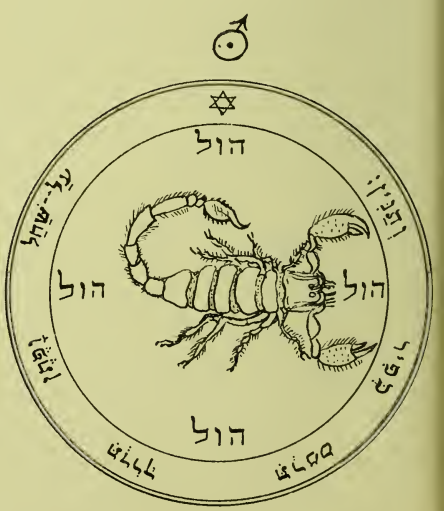


Fig. 29.

"Lifting up the poor out of the mire, and raising the needy from the dunghill, that he may set him with princes, even with the princes of his people."—Psalm cxiii. 7.

MARS.

Figure 25.—The first Pentacle of Mars.—It is proper for invoking Spirits of the Nature of Mars, especially those which are written in the Pentacle.

Editor's Note.—Mystical Characters of Mars, and the Names of the four Angels:—Madimiel, Bartzachiah, Eschiel, and Ithuriel written in Hebrew around the Pentacle.

Figure 26.—The Second Pentacle of Mars.—This Pentacle serveth with great success against all kinds of diseases, if it be applied unto the afflicted part.

Editor's Note.—The letter Hé, in the angles of the Hexagram. Within the same the Names IHVH, IHSHVH Yeheshuah (the mystic Hebrew Name for Joshua or Jesus, formed of the ordinary IHVH with the letter SH placed therein as emblematical of the Spirit), and Elohim. Around it is the sentence, John i. 4:—"In Him was life, and the life was the light of man." This *may* be adduced as an argument of the greater antiquity of the first few mystical verses of the Gospel of St. John.

Figure 27—The Third Pentacle of Mars.—It is of great value for exciting war, wrath, discord, and hostility; also for resisting enemies, and striking terror into rebellious Spirits; the Names of God the All Powerful are therein expressly marked.

Editor's Note.—The Letters of the Names Eloah and Shaddaï. In the Centre is the great letter Vau, the signature of the Qabalistic Microprosopus. Around is the versicle from Psalm lxxvii. 13:—"Who is so great a God as our Elohim?"

Figure 28.—The Fourth Pentacle of Mars.—It is of great virtue and power in war, wherefore without doubt it will give thee victory.

Editor's Note.—In the Centre is the great Name Agla; right and left, the letters of the Name IHVH; above and below, El. Round it is the versicle from Psalm cx. 5:—"The Lord at thy right hand shall wound even Kings in the day of His Wrath."

Figure 29.—The Fifth Pentacle of Mars.—Write thou this Pentacle upon virgin parchment or paper, because it is terrible unto the Demons, and at its sight and aspect they will obey thee, for they cannot resist its presence.

Editor's Note.—Around the figure of the Scorpion is the word HVL. The versicle is from Psalm xci. 13:—"Thou shalt go upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet."

Figure 30.—The Sixth Pentacle of Mars.—It hath so great virtue that being armed therewith, if thou art attacked by any one, thou shalt neither be injured nor wounded when thou fightest with him, and his own weapons shall turn against him.

Editor's Note.—Around the eight points of the radii of the Pentacle are the words "Elohim qeber, Elohim hath covered (or protected)," written in the Secret Alphabet of Malachim, or the writing of the Angels. The versicle is from Psalm xxxvii. 15:—"Their sword shall enter into their own heart, and their bow shall be broken."

Figure 31.—The Seventh and last Pentacle of Mars.—Write thou this upon virgin parchment or paper with the blood of a bat, in the day and hour of Mars; and uncover it within the Circle, invoking the Demons whose Names are therein written; and thou shalt immediately see hail and tempest.

Editor's Note.—In the centre of the Pentacle are the Divine Names, El and Yiai, which have the same numerical value when written in Hebrew. The Letters in Hebrew, and in the Secret Alphabet called the Celestial, compose the Names of Spirits. Round the Pentacle is:—"He gave them hail for rain, and flaming fire in their land. He smote their vines also, and their fig-trees."—Psalm cv. 32, 33.

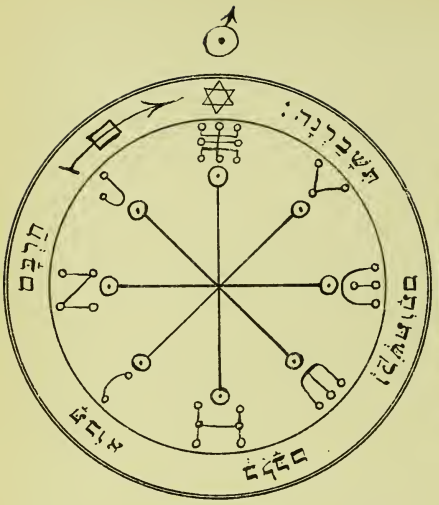


Fig. 30.

Fig. 31.

Fig. 32.

Fig. 33.

THE SUN.

Figure 32.—The First Pentacle of the Sun.—The Countenance of Shaddaï the Almighty, at Whose aspect all creatures obey, and the Angelic Spirits do reverence on bended knees.

Editor's Note.—This singular Pentacle contains the head of the great Angel Methraton or Metatron, the vice-gerent and representative of Shaddaï, who is called the Prince of Countenances, and the right-hand masculine Cherub of the Ark, as Sandalphon is the left and feminine. On either side is the Name "El Shaddaï." Around is written in Latin:—"Behold His face and form by Whom all things were made, and Whom all creatures obey."

Figure 33.—The Second Pentacle of the Sun.—This Pentacle, and the preceding and following, belong to the nature of the Sun. They serve to repress the pride and arrogance of the Solar Spirits, which are altogether proud and arrogant by their nature.

Editor's Note.—Mystical characters of the Sun and the Names of the Angels:—Shemeshiel, Paimoniah, Rekhodiah, and Malkhiel.

Figure 34.—The Third Pentacle of the Sun.—This serveth in addition (to the effects of the two preceding) to acquire Kingdom and Empire, to inflict loss, and to acquire renown and glory, especially through the Name of God, Tetragrammaton, which therein is twelve times contained.

Editor's Note.—The Name IHVH, twelve times repeated; and a versicle somewhat similar to Daniel iv. 34:—"My Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom, and my dominion endureth from age unto age."

Figure 35.—The Fourth Pentacle of the Sun.—This serveth to enable thee to see the Spirits when they appear invisible unto those who invoke them; because, when thou hast uncovered it, they will immediately appear visible.

Editor's Note.—The Names IHVH, Adonai, are written in the centre in Hebrew; and round the radii in the mystical characters of the "Passing of the River." The versicle is from Psalm xiii. 3, 4:—"Lighten mine eyes that I sleep not in death, lest mine enemy say, I have prevailed against him."

Figure 36.—The Fifth Pentacle of the Sun.—It serveth to invoke those Spirits who can transport thee from one place unto another, over a long distance and in short time.

Editor's Note.—Characters in the "Passing of the River" Alphabet, forming Spirit's Names. The Versicle is from Psalm xci. 11, 12 :—"He shall give His Angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee up in their hands."

Figure 37.—The Sixth Pentacle of the Sun.—It serveth excellently for the operation of invisibility, when correctly made.

Editor's Note.—In the centre is the Mystical letter Yod, in the Celestial Alphabet. The three letters in the "Passing of the River" writing, in the Angles of the triangle, form the great Name Shaddai. The words in the same characters round its three sides are, in my opinion, from Genesis i. 1 :—"In the beginning the Elohim created, &c.;" but the characters are sadly mangled in the MSS. The versicle is from Psalms lxix. 23, and cxxxv. 16 :—"Let their eyes be darkened that they see not; and make their loins continually to shake. They have eyes and see not."

Figure 38.—The Seventh and Last Pentacle of the Sun.—If any be by chance imprisoned or detained in fetters of iron, at the presence of this Pentacle, which should be engraved in Gold on the day and hour of the Sun, he will be immediately delivered and set at liberty.

Editor's Note.—On the Arms of the Cross are written the Names of Chasan, Angel of Air; Arel, Angel of Fire; Phorlakh, Angel of Earth; and Taliahad, Angel of Water. Between the four Arms of the Cross are written the names of the Four Rulers of the Elements; Ariel, Seraph, Tharshis, and Cherub. The versicle is from Psalm cxvi. 16, 17 :—"Thou hast broken my bonds in sunder. I will will offer unto thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and will call upon the Name of IHVH."

VENUS.

Figure 39.—The First Pentacle of Venus.—This and those following serve to control the Spirits of Venus, and especially those herein written.

Fig. 34.

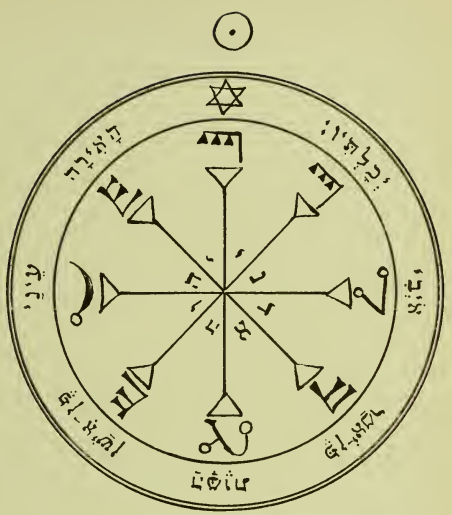


Fig. 35.

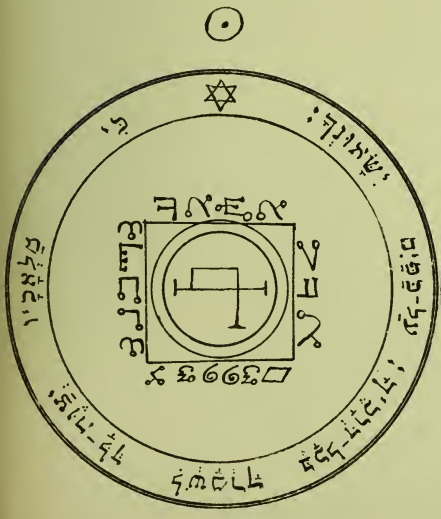


Fig. 36.

Fig. 37.

Fig. 38.

Fig. 39.

Fig. 40.

Fig. 41.

Editor's Note.—Mystical Characters of Venus, and the Names of the Angels Nogahiel, Acheliah, Socodiah (or Socohiah) and Nangariel.

Figure 40.—The Second Pentacle of Venus.—These Pentacles are also proper for obtaining grace and honour, and for all things which belong unto Venus, and for accomplishing all thy desires herein.

Editor's Note.—The letters round and within the Pentagram form the Names of Spirits of Venus. The versicle is from Canticles viii. 6:—"Place me as a signet upon thine heart, as a signet upon thine arm, for love is strong as death."

Figure 41.—The Third Pentacle of Venus.—This, if it be only shown unto any person, serveth to attract love. Its Angel Monachiel should be invoked in the day and hour of Venus, at one o'clock or at eight.

Editor's Note.—The following Names are written within the Figure:—IHVH, Adonai, Ruach, Achides, Ægalmiel, Monachiel, and Degaliel. The versicle is from Genesis i. 28:—"And the Elohim blessed them, and the Elohim said unto them, Be ye fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it."

Figure 42.—The Fourth Pentacle of Venus.—It is of great power, since it compels the Spirits of Venus to obey, and to force on the instant any person thou wishest to come unto thee.

Editor's Note.—At the four Angles of the Figure are the four letters of the Name IHVH. The other letters form the Names of Spirits of Venus, *e.g.*:—Schii, Eli, Ayib, &c. The versicle is from Genesis ii. 23, 24:—"This is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh. And they two were one flesh."

Figure 43.—The Fifth and last Pentacle of Venus.—When it is only showed unto any person soever, it inciteth and exciteth wonderfully unto love.

Editor's Note.—Around the central Square are the Names Elohim, El Gebil, and two other Names which I cannot decipher, and have, therefore, given them as they stand. The characters are those of the "Passing of the River." The surrounding versicle is from Psalm xxii. 14:—"My heart is like wax, it is melted in the midst of my bowels."

MERCURY.

Figure 44.—The First Pentacle of Mercury.—It serveth to invoke the Spirits who are under the Firmament.

Editor's Note.—Letters forming the Names of the Spirits Yekahel and Agiel.

Figure 45.—The Second Pentacle of Mercury.—The Spirits herein written serve to bring to effect and to grant things which are contrary unto the order of Nature; and which are not contained under any other head. They easily give answer, but they can with difficulty be seen.

Editor's Note.—The Letters form the Names of Böel and other Spirits.

Figure 46.—The Third Pentacle of Mercury.—This and the following serve to invoke the Spirits subject unto Mercury; and especially those who are written in this Pentacle.

Editor's Note.—Mystical Characters of Mercury, and the Names of the Angels: Kokaviel, Ghedoriah, Savaniah, and Chokmahiel.

Figure 47.—The Fourth Pentacle of Mercury.—This is further proper to acquire the understanding and Knowledge of all things created, and to seek out and penetrate into hidden things; and to command those Spirits which are called Allatori to perform embassies. They obey very readily.

Editor's Note.—In the centre is the Name of God, El. The Hebrew letters inscribed about the dodecagram make the sentence, "IHVH, fix Thou the Volatile, and let there be unto the void restriction." The versicle is:—"Wisdom and virtue are in his house, and the Knowledge of all things remaineth with him for ever."

Figure 48.—The Fifth and Last Pentacle of Mercury.—This commandeth the Spirits of Mercury, and serveth to open doors in whatever way they may be closed, and nothing it may encounter can resist it.

Fig. 42.

Fig. 43.

Fig. 44.

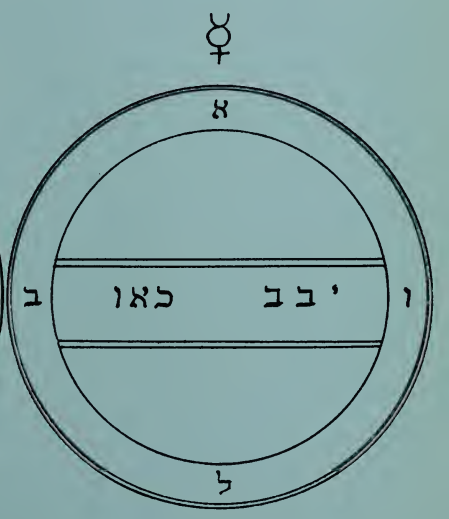


Fig. 45.

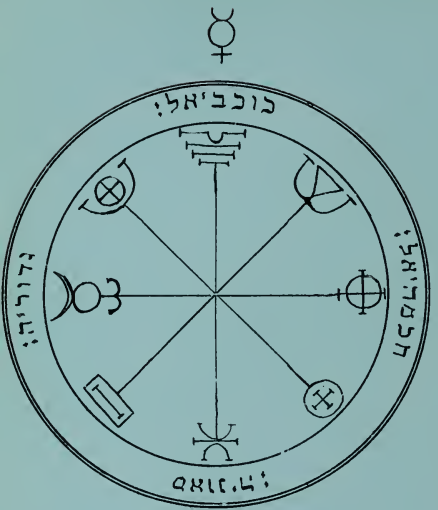


Fig. 46.

Fig. 47.

Fig. 48.

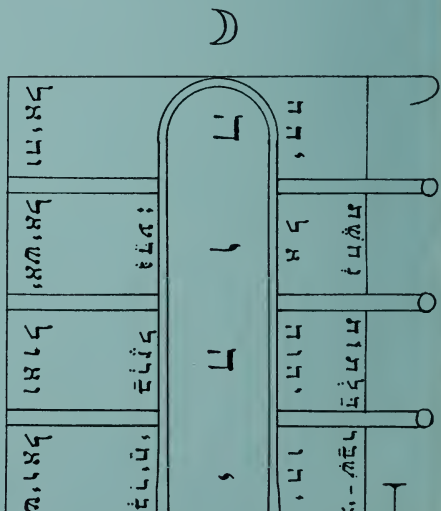


Fig. 49.

Editor's Note.—Within the Pentacle are the Names El Ab, and IHVH. The versicle is from Psalm xxiv. 7 :—"Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in."

THE MOON.

Figure 49.—The First Pentacle of the Moon.—This and the following serve to call forth and invoke the Spirits of the Moon; and it further serveth to open doors, in whatever way they may be fastened.

Editor's Note.—The Pentacle is a species of hieroglyphic representation of a door or gate. In the centre is written the Name IHVH. On the right hand are the Names IHV, IHVH, AL, and IHH. On the left hand are the Names of the Angels: Schioel, Vaol, Yashiel, and Vehiel. The versicle above the Names on either side, is from Psalm cvii. 16 :—"He hath broken the Gates of brass, and smitten the bars of iron in sunder."

Figure 50.—The Second Pentacle of the Moon.—This serveth against all perils and dangers by water, and if it should chance that the Spirits of the Moon should excite and cause great rain and exceeding tempests about the Circle, in order to astonish and terrify thee; on showing unto them this Pentacle, it will all speedily cease.

Editor's Note.—A hand pointing to the Name El, and to that of the Angel Abariel. The versicle is from Psalm lvi. 11 :—"In Elohim have I put my trust, I will not fear, what can man do unto me?"

Figure 51.—The third Pentacle of the Moon.—This being duly borne with thee when upon a journey, if it be properly made, serveth against all attacks by night, and against every kind of danger and peril by Water.

Editor's Note.—The Names Aub and Vevaphel. The versicle is from Psalm xl. 13 :—"Be pleased O IHVH to deliver me, O IHVH make haste to help me."

Figure 52.—The Fourth Pentacle of the Moon.—This defendeth thee from all evil sorceries, and from all injury unto soul or body. Its Angel,

Sophiel, giveth the knowledge of the virtue of all herbs and stones; and unto whomsoever shall name him, he will procure the knowledge of all.

Editor's Note.—The Divine Name Eheieh Asher Eheieh, and the Names of the Angels Yahel and Sophiel. The versicle is :—"Let them be confounded who persecute me, and let me not be confounded; let them fear, and not I."

Figure 53.—The Fifth Pentacle of the Moon.—It serveth to have answers in sleep. Its Angel Iachadiel serveth unto destruction and loss, as well as unto the destruction of enemies. Thou mayest also call upon him by Abdon and Dalé against all Phantoms of the night, and to summon the souls of the departed from Hades.

Editor's Note.—The Divine Names IHVH and Elohim, a mystical character of the Moon, and the Names of the Angels Iachadiel and Azarel. The versicle is from Psalm lxviii. 1 :—"Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered; let them also who hate Him flee before Him."

Figure 54.—The Sixth and Last Pentacle of the Moon.—This is wonderfully good, and serveth excellently to excite and cause heavy rains, if it be engraved upon a plate of silver; and if it be placed under water, as long as it remaineth there, there will be rain. It should be engraved, drawn, or written in the day and hour of the Moon.

Editor's Note.—The Pentacle is composed of mystical characters of the Moon, surrounded by a versicle from Genesis vii. 11, 12 :—"All the fountains of the great deep were broken up . . . and the rain was upon the earth."

[This is the end of the Holy Pentacles, in all which I have, to the best of my power, restored the Hebrew letters and mystical characters correctly. I have further given nearly every versicle in pointed Hebrew, instead of in the Latin; so that the Occult student might not be inconvenienced by having to search out the same in a Hebrew Bible. The restoration of the Hebrew letters in the body of the Pentacles has been a work of immense difficulty, and has extended over several years.]

Fig. 50.

Fig. 51.

Fig. 52.

Fig. 53.

THE KEY OF SOLOMON.

BOOK II.

PREFATORY NOTE.*

THIS Work of Solomon is divided into two books. In the first thou mayest see and know how to avoid errors in Experiments, Operations, and in the Spirits themselves. In the second thou art taught in what manner Magical Arts may be reduced to the proposed object and end.

It is for this reason that thou shouldest take great heed and care that this Key of Secrets fall not into the hands of the foolish, the stupid, and the ignorant. For he who is the possessor hereof, and who availeth himself hereof according to the ordinances herein contained, will not only be able to reduce the Magical Arts herein unto their proposed end, but will, even if he findeth certain errors herein, be able to correct them.

Any Art or Operation of this kind will not be able to attain its end, unless the Master of the Art, or Exorcist, shall have this Work completely in his power, that is to say, unless he thoroughly understand it, for without this he will never attain the effect of any operation.

For this reason I earnestly pray and conjure the person into whose hands this Key of Secrets may fall, neither to communicate it, nor to make any one a partaker in this knowledge, if he be not faithful, nor capable of keeping a secret, nor expert in the Arts. And I most humbly entreat the possessor of this, by the Ineffable Name of God in Four Letters, YOD, HE, VAU, HE, and by the Name ADONAI, and by all the other Most High and Holy Names of God, that he values this work as dearly as his own soul, and that he makes no foolish or ignorant man a partaker therein.

* This Prefatory Note is only found in 3981 Harleian MSS., 3091 Sloane MSS., and 288 King's MSS.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

At what hour after the preparation of all things necessary, we should bring the Exercise of the Art to Perfection.

THE Days and Hours have already been treated of, in general, in the First Book. It is now necessary to notice in particular at what hour accomplishment and perfection should be given to the Arts, all things necessary having been previously prepared.

Should it then happen that thou hast undertaken any secret operation for conversing with or conjuring Spirits, in which the day and the hour are not marked, thou shalt put it in execution on the days and hours of Mercury, at the sixteenth or twenty-third hour, but it will be still better at the eighth, which is the third* of the same night, which is called and means before the morning, for then thou shalt be able to put in practice all the Arts and Operations which should be performed, according as it shall please thee by day or by night, provided that they have been prepared at the hours suitable to them, as hath been already said. But when neither hour nor time of operation or invocation is specified, it is then much better to perform these experiments at night, seeing that it is more easy to the Spirits to appear in the peaceful silence of night than during the day. And thou shouldest inviolably observe, that wishing to invoke the Spirits, either by day or by night, it is necessary that it should be done in a place hidden, removed, secret, convenient, and proper for such Art, where no man frequenteth or inhabiteth, as we shall relate more fully in its place.

If then thou shouldest operate touching anything which hath been stolen, in whatever way it be performed and whatever way it may have been prepared, it is necessary to practise it on the days and hours of the Moon, being if possible in her increase, and from the first unto the eighth hour of the day.

But if it be by night, then it should be at the fifth or at the third hour; but it is better by day than by the night, for the light justifieth them, and maketh them much more fit for publication.

But if the Operations be regarding Invisibility, they should be put in practice at the first, second, and third hour of Mars by day. But if by night, until the third hour.

If they be Operations of seeking love, grace, or favour, they should be performed until the eighth hour of the same day, commencing with the first hour of the Sun; and from the first hour of Venus unto the first hour of the same day of Venus.

* In 10862 Add. MSS. it says "the second."

As for Operations of destruction and desolation, we should practise and put them into execution on the day of Saturn at the first hour, or rather at the eighth or fifteenth of the day; and from the first until the eighth hour of the night.

Experiments of games, raillery, deceit, illusion, and invisibility, ought to be done at the first hour of Venus, and at the eighth hour of the day; but by night at the third and at the seventh.

At all times of practising and putting into execution Magical Arts, the Moon should be increasing in light, and in an equal number of degrees with the Sun; and it is much better from the first quarter to the Opposition, and the Moon should be in a fiery Sign, and notably in that of the Ram or of the Lion.

Therefore, to execute these Experiments in any manner whatsoever, it should be done when the Moon is clear, and when she is increasing in light.

In order to put in execution those of Invisibility after everything is properly prepared, the Moon should be in the Sign of the Fishes, in the hours proper and fitting, and she should be increasing in light.

For experiments of seeking love and favour, in whatever way it may be desired, they will succeed, provided that they have been prepared at the proper hours, and that the Moon be increasing in light and in the Sign of the Twins.

So exact a preparation of days and hours is not necessary for those who are Adepts in the Art, but it is extremely necessary for apprentices and beginners, seeing that those who have been little or not at all instructed herein, and who only begin to apply themselves to this Art, do not have as much faith in the experiments as those who are adepts therein, and who have practised them. But as regards beginners, they should always have the days and hours well disposed and appropriate unto the Art. And the Wise should only observe the precepts of the Art which are necessary, and in observing the other solemnities necessary they will operate with a perfect assurance.

It is, nevertheless, necessary to take care that when thou shalt have prepared any experiment thyself for the days and hours ordained, that it should be performed in clear, serene, mild, and pleasant weather, without any great tempest or agitation of the air, which should not be troubled by winds. For when thou shalt have conjured any Spirits in any art or experiment, they will not come when the Air is troubled or agitated by winds, seeing that Spirits have neither flesh nor bones, and are created of different substances.

Some are created from Water.

Others from Wind, unto which they are like.

Some from Earth.

Some from Clouds.

Others from Solar Vapours.

Others from the keenness and strength of Fire; and when they are invoked or summoned, they come always with great noise, and with the terrible nature of fire.

When the Spirits which are created of Water are invoked, they come with great rains, thunder, hail, lightning, thunder-bolts, and the like.

When the Spirits which are created of Clouds are invoked, they come with great deformity, in a horrible form, to strike fear into the Invocator, and with an exceeding great noise.

Others* which are formed from wind appear like thereunto and with exceeding swift motion, and whensoever those which are created from Beauty† appear, they will show themselves in a fair and agreeable form; moreover, whensoever thou shalt call the Spirits created from Air, they will come with a kind of gentle breeze.

When the Spirits which are created from the Vapours of the Sun are invoked, they come under a very beautiful and excellent form, but filled with pride, vanity, and conceit. They are clever, whence it comes that these last are all specified by Solomon in his book of ornament, or of beauty. They show great ostentation and vainglory in their dress, and they rejoice in many ornaments; they boast of possessing mundane beauty, and all sorts of ornaments and decorations. Thou shalt only invoke them in serene, mild, and pleasant weather.

The Spirits‡ which are created of Fire reside in the east, those created of Wind in the south.

Note then that it will be much better to perform the experiments or operations in the direction of the East, putting everything necessary in practice towards that point.

But for all other operations or extraordinary experiments, and for those of love, they will be much more efficacious directed towards the north.

Take heed further, that every time that thou performest any experiment, to reduce it unto perfection with the requisite solemnities, thou shalt recommence the former experiment if interrupted therein, without the preparation of hours or other solemnities.

If by chance it should happen that having performed an experiment with due observance of days, hours, and requisite solemnities, thou shalt find it unsuccessful, it must be in some manner false, ill-arranged and defective, and thou must assuredly have failed in some matter; for if thou doest ill in one single point, these experiments or these Arts will not be verified.

Thus upon this Chapter dependeth this whole Key of Arts, Experiments, and Operations, and although every solemnity be rightly observed, no experiment will be verified, unless thou canst penetrate the meaning of this Chapter.

* This paragraph is only found in 10862 Add. MSS.

† The Name of the Sixth Qabalistical Sephira or Emanation from the Deity, which is called Tiphereth, or Beauty.

‡ I have usually found it said exactly *vice versâ*.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER II.

In what manner the Master of the Art should keep, rule, and govern himself.

He who wisheth to apply himself unto so great and so difficult a Science should have his mind free from all business, and from all extraneous ideas of whatever nature they may be.

He should then thoroughly examine the Art or Operation which he should undertake, and write it regularly out on paper, particularly set aside for that purpose, with the appropriate conjurations and exorcisms. If there be anything to mark or write down, it should be performed in the manner specified regarding the paper, ink, and pen. He should also observe at what day and at what hour this Experiment should be undertaken, and what things are necessary to prepare for it, what should be added, and what can be dispensed with.

The which matters being prepared, it is necessary for thee to search out and arrange some fitting place wherein the Magical Art and its Experiments can be put in practice. All these things being thus arranged and disposed, let the Master of the Art go into a proper and fitting place, or into his Cabinet or Secret Chamber if it be convenient for the purpose, and he can there dispose and set in order the whole operation; or he can use any other convenient secret place for the purpose, provided that no one knoweth where it is, and that no man can see him when there.

After this he must strip himself entirely naked, and let him have a bath ready prepared, wherein is water exorcised, after the manner which we shall describe, so that he may bathe and purify himself therein from the crown of his head unto the sole of his foot, saying:—

O Lord Adonai, Who hast formed me Thine unworthy servant in Thine Image and resemblance of vile and of abject earth; deign to bless and to sanctify this Water, so that it may be for the health and purification of my soul, and of my body, so that no foolishness or deceitfulness may therein in any way have place.

O Most Powerful and Ineffable God, Who madest Thy people pass dryshod through the Red Sea when they came up out of the Land of Egypt, grant unto me grace that I may be purified and regenerated from all my past sins by this Water, that so no uncleanness may appear upon me in Thy Presence.

After this thou shalt entirely immerse thyself in the Water, and thou shalt dry thyself with a towel of clean white linen, and then thou shalt put upon thy flesh the garments of pure white linen whereof we shall speak hereafter.

Hereafter, for three days at least, thou shalt abstain from all idle, vain, and impure reasonings, and from every kind of impurity and sin, as will be shown in the Chapter of fast and of vigil. Each day shalt thou recite the following prayer, at least once in the morning, twice about noon, thrice in the afternoon, four times in the evening, and five times before lying down to sleep; this shalt thou do on the three ensuing days :—

The Prayer.

Herachio, Asac, Asacro, Bedrimulael, Tilath, Arabonas, Ierahlem, Ideodoc, Archarzel, Zophiel, Blautel, Baracata, Edoniel, Elohim, Emagro, Abragateh, Samoel, Geburahel, Cadato, Era, Elohi, Achsah, Ebmisha, Imachedel, Daniel, Dama, Elamos, Izachel, Bael, Segon, Gemon, Demas.

O Lord God, Who art seated upon the Heavens, and Who regardest the Abysses beneath, grant unto me Thy Grace I beseech Thee, so that what I conceive in my mind I may accomplish in my work, through Thee, O God, the Sovereign Ruler of all, Who livest and reignest unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

These three days having passed, thou must have all things in readiness, as hath been said, and after this a day appointed and set apart. It will be necessary for thee to wait for the hour in which thou shouldest commence the Operation; but when once it shall be commenced at this hour, thou shalt be able to continue it unto the end, seeing that it deriveth its force and virtue from its beginning, which extendeth to and spreadeth over the succeeding hours, so that the Master of the Art will be enabled to complete his work so as to arrive at the desired result.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER III.

How the Companions or Disciples of the Master of the Art ought to regulate and govern themselves.

When the Master of the Art wisheth to put in practice any Operation or Experiment, especially one of importance, he should first consider of what Companions he should avail himself. This is the reason why in every Operation whose Experience should be carried out in the Circle, it is well to have three Companions. And if he cannot have Companions, he should at least have with him a faithful and attached dog. But if it be absolutely necessary for him to have Companions, these Companions should be obligated and bound by oath to do all that the Master shall order and prescribe them, and they should study, observe, and carefully retain, and be attentive unto all which they shall hear. For those who shall act otherwise shall suffer and endure many pains and labours, and run into many dangers, which the Spirits will cause and procure for them, and for this cause sometimes they shall even die.

The Disciples then, being well and thoroughly instructed, and fortified with a wise and understanding heart, the Master shall take exorcised Water, and he shall enter with his Disciples into a secret place purified and clean, where he must strip them entirely naked; after this, let him pour exorcised water upon their heads, which he should cause to flow from the crown of their head unto the sole of their foot, so as to bathe them entirely therewith; and while bathing them thus, he should say:—

Be ye regenerate, cleansed, and purified, in the Name of the Ineffable, Great, and Eternal God, from all your iniquities, and may the virtue of the Most High descend upon you and abide with you always, so that ye may have the power and strength to accomplish the desires of your heart. Amen.

After this let the Disciples robe themselves as the Master hath done, and fast like him for three days, repeating the same prayer; let them act like him, and in the work let them implicitly follow and obey him in all things.

But if the Master of the Art wisheth to have a dog for his Companion, he must bathe him thoroughly with the exorcised water in the same manner as the Disciples, and let him perfume him with the odours and incense of Art, and let him repeat the following Conjuration over him:—

I conjure thee, O thou Creature, being a Dog, by Him Who hath created thee, I bathe and I perfume thee in the Name of the Most High, Most Powerful, and Eternal God, so that thou mayest be my true Companion in this operation, and that thou mayest be also my faithful friend in whatsoever Operation I may hereafter perform.

But if he wisheth to have for his companion a little boy or girl, which will be still better, he must ordain them as he hath ordained the dog; and he must pare and cut the nails of their hands and of their feet, saying:—

I conjure thee, O thou Creature, being a young girl (or boy), by the Most High God, the Father of all Creatures, by the Father ADONAI ELOHIM, and by the Father ELION, that thou shalt have neither will nor power to hide from me anything, nor yet to keep back from me the truth in all which I shall demand of thee, and that thou be obedient and faithful unto me. Amen.

Let him purify, cleanse, and wash this young child anew, with the Water of Art, saying:—

Be thou regenerate, cleansed, and purified, so that the Spirits may neither harm thee nor abide in thee. Amen.

Then perfume the child with odours as above.

When the Companions shall be thus ordained and disposed, the Master shalt be able to operate in surety together with them, every time that it shall please him; and he shall perform his operation happily, and shall attain his end.

But for the safety both of soul and of body, the Master and the Companions should have the Pentacles before their breasts, consecrated, and covered with a silken veil, and perfumed with the proper fumigations. By the which being assured and encouraged, they may enter into the matter without fear or terror, and they shall be exempt and free from all perils and dangers, provided that they obey the commands of the Master and do all that he ordain them. If they shall act thus, all things shall go according unto their desires.

All being thus arranged, the Master should take heed that His Disciples are perfectly instructed in those things which they have to perform.

These Companions or Disciples should be three in number, without including the Master. They may also be of the number of five, of seven, or of nine; but so that they ever implicitly obey the orders of their Master; for thus only shall all things come to a successful issue.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the Fasting, Care, and Things to be observed.

When the Master of the Art shall wish to perform his operations, having previously arranged all things which it is necessary to observe and practise; from the first day of the Experiment, it is absolutely necessary to ordain and to prescribe care and observation, to abstain from all things unlawful, and from every kind of impiety, impurity, wickedness, or immodesty, as well of body as of soul; as, for example, eating and drinking superabundantly, and all sorts of vain words, buffooneries, slanders, calumnies, and other useless discourse; but instead to do good deeds, speak honestly, keep a strict decency in all things, never lose sight of modesty in walking, in conversation, in eating and drinking, and in all things; the which should be principally done and observed for nine days, before the commencement of the Operation. The Disciples should do the same, and should equally put in practice all things necessary to be observed, if they wish to make use of all these operations and experiments.

But before the commencement of the work, it is absolutely necessary that the Master with his Disciples repeat the following Conjuration once in the morning, and twice in the evening:—

The Conjuration.

O Lord God Almighty, be propitious unto me a miserable sinner, for I am not worthy to raise mine eyes unto heaven, because of the iniquity of my sins and the multitude of my faults. O pitying and merciful Father, who wouldest not the death of a sinner but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live, O God have mercy upon me and pardon all my sins; for I unworthy entreat Thee, O Father of all Creatures, Thou Who art full of mercy and of compassion, by Thy great goodness, that Thou deign to grant unto me power to see and know these Spirits which I desire to behold and to invoke to appear before me and to accomplish my will. Through Thee Who art Conqueror, and Who art Blessed unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

O Lord God the Father Eternal, Who art seated upon the Kerubim and the Seraphim, Who lookest upon Earth and upon Sea; unto Thee do I raise my hands and implore thine aid alone, Thou Who alone art the accomplishment of good works, Thou Who givest rest unto those who labour, Who humblest the proud, Who art the Author of Life and the Destroyer of Death; Thou art our rest, Thou art the Protector of those who invoke Thee; protect, guard, and defend me in this matter, and in this enterprise which I propose to carry out, O Thou Who livest, reignest, and abidest unto the Eternal Ages. Amen.

During the three last days before the commencement of this action, thou shalt content thyself with only eating fasting diet, and that only once in the day; and it will be better still if thou only partakest of bread and water. Thou shalt also abstain from every impure thing; reciting the prayer above written. And on the last day, when thou shalt wish to commence the Operation, thou shalt remain all day without eating, and later on thou shalt go into a secret place, where thou shalt confess all thy sins unto God with a contrite heart. The Disciples also, together with the Master, shall recite the same Confession with a low but distinct voice, as hath been already said in the First Book.

This having been done thrice with a devout, pure, and contrite heart, in a place withdrawn from men, cleansed, and pure, where thou canst not be seen, taking the water and the hyssop, thou shalt say:—

Purify me, O Lord, with hyssop, and I shall be pure; wash me and I shall be whiter than snow.

After this, bathe thyself with the exorcised water, and clothe thyself again with the consecrated garment which thou hast taken off; cense thyself, and surround thyself with odours, as will be told farther on, when we speak of perfumes and suffumigations.

The which being done, thou shalt go unto the ordained place with thy Companions, and all things being prepared, thou shalt make the Circle, as hath been already said, with all other necessary ceremonies; then shalt thou commence to invoke the Spirits by the Exorcisms; thou shalt also repeat anew the foregoing Confession as hath been already said in the First Book. After which, in sign of amendment and of repentance, each shall mutually kiss the other.

Mark well, that up to this point, the Disciples should do the same things as the Master.

Let the Master now give his commands unto his Disciples, and pursue the course of the Experiment, and work with all diligence to bring it unto perfection.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Baths, and how they are to be arranged.

The Bath is necessary for all Magical and Necromantic Arts; wherefore, if thou wishest to perform any experiment or operation, having arranged all things necessary thereunto according to the proper days and hours, thou shalt go unto a river or running stream, or thou shalt have warm water ready in some large vessel or tub in thy secret cabinet, and while disrobing thyself of thy raiment thou shalt repeat the following Psalms:—Psalms xiv. or liii.; xvii.; liv.; lxxxi.; cv.

And when the Master shall be entirely disrobed let him enter into the water or into the Bath, and let him say:—

The Exorcism of the Water.

I exorcise Thee, O Creature of Water, by Him Who hath created thee and gathered thee together into one place so that the dry land appeared, that thou uncover all the deceits of the Enemy, and that thou cast out from thee all the impurities and uncleannesses of the Spirits of the World of Phantasm, so they may harm me not, through the virtue of God Almighty who liveth and reigneth unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

Then shalt thou begin to wash thyself thoroughly in the Bath, saying:—

Mertalia, Musalia, Dophalia, Onemalia, Zitanseia, Goldaphaira, Dedulsaira, Ghevialaira, Gheminaira, Gegropheira, Cedahi, Gilthar, Godieb, Ezoiil, Musil, Grassil, Tamen, Pueri, Godu, Huznoth, Astachoth, Tzabaoth, Adonai, Agla, On, El, Tetragrammaton, Shema, Aresion, Anaphaxeton, Segilaton, Primeumaton.

All the which Names thou shalt repeat twice or thrice, until thou art completely washed and clean, and when thou art perfectly pure thou shalt quit the Bath, and sprinkle thyself with exorcised water, in the manner described later on, and thou shalt say:—

Purge me, O Lord, with hyssop, and I shall be clean; wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.

Whilst again clothing thyself, thou shalt recite the following Psalms:—Psalms cii.; li.; iv.; xxx.; cxix., *Mem.*, v. 97.; cxiv.; cxxvi., cxxxix.

After which thou shalt recite the following Prayer:—

Prayer.

El Strong and Wonderful, I bless Thee, I adore Thee, I glorify Thee, I invoke Thee, I render Thee thanks from this Bath, so that this Water may

be able to cast from me all impurity and concupiscence of heart, through Thee, O Holy Adonai; and may I accomplish all things through Thee Who livest and reignest unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

After this take the Salt and bless it in this manner:—

The Benediction of the Salt.

The Blessing of the Father Almighty be upon this Creature of Salt, and let all malignity and hindrance be cast forth hencefrom, and let all good enter herein, for without Thee man cannot live, wherefore I bless thee and invoke thee, that thou mayest aid me.

Then thou shalt recite over the Salt, Psalm ciii.

Then taking the grains of the exorcised Salt thou shalt cast them into the aforesaid Bath; and thou shalt again disrobe thyself, pronouncing the following words:—

Imanel, Arnamon, Imato, Memeon, Rectacon, Muoboii, Paltellon, Decaion, Yamenton, Yaron, Tatonon, Vaphoron, Gardon, Existon, Zagveron, Momerton, Zarmesiton, Tileion, Tixmion.

After this thou shalt enter a second time into the Bath and recite Psalms civ. and lxxxi.

Then thou shalt quit the Bath and clothe thyself as before in linen garments clean and white, and over them thou shalt put the garments, of which we shall speak in the proper Chapter, and thus clothed thou shalt go to finish thy work.

The Disciples should wash themselves in like manner, and with like solemnities.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Garments and Shoes of the Art.

THE exterior habiliments which the Master of the Art should wear ought to be of linen, as well as those which he weareth beneath them; and if he hath the means they should be of Silk. If they be of linen the thread of which they are made should have been spun by a young maiden.

The characters shown in *Figure 55* should be embroidered on the breast with the needle of Art in red silk.

The shoes should also be White, upon the which the characters in *Figure 56* should be traced in the same way.

The shoes or boots should be made of white leather, on the which should be marked the Signs and Characters of Art. These shoes should be made during the days of fast and abstinence, namely, during the nine days set apart before the beginning of the Operation, during which the necessary instruments also should be prepared, polished, brightened, and cleaned.

Besides this, the Master of the Art should have a Crown made of Virgin paper, upon the which should be written these four Names:—YOD, HE, VAU, HE, in front; ADONAI behind; EL on the right; and ELOHIM on the left. (*See Figure 57.*) These Names should be written with the ink and pen of the Art, whereof we shall speak in the proper Chapter. The Disciples should also each have a Crown of Virgin paper whereon these Divine symbols should be marked in scarlet. (*See Figure 58.*)

Take heed also that in clothing thyself with these aforesaid habiliments, that thou recite these Psalms:—Psalms xv.; cxxxi.; cxxxvii.; cxvii.; lxvii.; lxviii.; and cxxvii.

After this perfume the vestments with the perfumes and suffumigations of the Art, and sprinkle them with the water and hyssop of the Art.

But when the Master and His Disciples shall commence to robe themselves after the first Psalm, and before continuing with the others, he should pronounce these words:—

AMOR, AMATOR, AMIDES, IDEODANIACH, PAMOR, PLAIOR, ANITOR; through the merits of these holy Angels will I robe and indue myself with the Vestments of Power, through which may I conduct unto the desired end those things which I ardently wish, through Thee, O Most Holy ADONAI, Whose Kingdom and Empire endureth for ever. Amen.

Take notice that if the linen garments were vestments of the Levites or of the Priests, and had been used for holy things, that they would be all the better.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER VII.

Of places wherein we may conveniently execute the Experiments and Operations of the Art.

THE places best fitted for exercising and accomplishing Magical Arts and Operations are those which are concealed, removed, and separated from the habitations of men. Wherefore desolate and uninhabited regions are most appropriate, such as the borders of lakes, forests, dark and obscure places, old and deserted houses, whither rarely and scarce ever men do come, mountains, caves, caverns, grottos, gardens, orchards; but best of all are cross-roads, and where four roads meet, during the depth and silence of night. But if thou canst not conveniently go unto any of these places, thy house, and even thine own chamber, or, indeed, any place, provided it hath been purified and consecrated with the necessary ceremonies, will be found fit and convenient for the convocation and assembling of the Spirits.

These Arts or Operations should be carried out at the prescribed time, but if there be no time specially appointed it will be always better to perform them at night, which is the most fit and proper time for the Operations of Necromancy; this is also a symbol that it is just and right to hide them from the sight of the foolish, the ignorant, and the profane.

But when thou shalt have selected a place fitting, thou mayest perform thine experiments by day or by night. It should be spacious, clear, and bounded on all sides by hedges, shrubs, trees, or walls. Thou shalt thyself cleanse it thoroughly and render it neat and pure, and while doing this thou shalt recite Psalms ii.; lxvii.; and liv.

After this thou shalt perfume it with the odours and suffumigations of the Art, and shalt sprinkle it with the water and the hyssop; and after this thou mayest in this place make all the necessary preparations for an operation.

But when, later on, thou shalt go unto this place, to complete and accomplish the operation, thou shalt repeat on the way thither the following Prayer in a low and distinct voice:—

THE PRAYER.

ZAZAII, ZAMAII, PUIDAMON Most Powerful, SEDON Most Strong, EL, YOD HE VAU HE, IAH, AGLA, assist me an unworthy sinner who have had the boldness to pronounce these Holy Names which no man should name and invoke save in very great danger. Therefore have I recourse unto these Most Holy Names, being in great peril both of soul and of body. Pardon me if I have sinned in any manner, for I trust in Thy protection alone, especially on this journey.

Let the Master as he goeth sprinkle the path with the water and hyssop

of the Art, while each of his Disciples shall repeat in a low voice the Prayer which we have enjoined for the days of fasting and preparation.

Furthermore, let the Master appoint his Disciples to carry the things necessary for the Art.

The first shall bear the Censer, the Fire, and the Incense.

The Second; the Book, the Paper, the Pens, the Ink, and the various Perfumes.

The Third; the Knife, and the Sickle.

The Master; the Staff, and the Wand.

But if there be more Disciples present, the Master shall distribute the things for each to carry, according to their number.

When they shall have arrived at the place, and all things being disposed in their proper order, the Master shall take the Knife or other convenient consecrated Magical implement of Steel, wherewith to form the Circle of Art which he intends to construct. This being done, he must perfume it, and sprinkle it with water; and having warned and exhorted his Disciples, he shall work thus:—

First let him have a Trumpet made of new wood, on the one side of which shall be written in Hebrew with the pen and ink of the Art these Names of God, ELOHIM GIBOR, ELOHIM TZABAOTH (*see Figure* 59); and on the other side these characters (*see Figure* 60).

Having entered into the Circle to perform the Experiment, he should sound this Trumpet towards the four quarters of the Universe, first towards the East, then towards the South, then towards the West, and lastly towards the North. Then let him say:—

Hear ye, and be ye ready, in whatever part of the Universe ye may be, to obey the Voice of God the Mighty One, and the Names of the Creator. We let you know by this signal and sound that ye will be convoked hither, wherefore hold ye yourselves in readiness to obey our commands.

This being done let the Master complete his work, renew the Circle, and make the incensements and fumigations.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Knife, Sword, Sickle, Poniard, Dagger, Lance, Wand, Staff, and other instruments of Magical Art.

In order to properly carry out the greatest and most important Operations of the Art, various Instruments are necessary, as a Knife with a white hilt, another with a black hilt, a short Lance, wherewith to trace Circles, Characters, and other things.

The Knife with the white hilt (*see Figure 61*) should be made in the day and hour of Mercury, when Mars is in the Sign of the Ram or of the Scorpion. It should be dipped in the blood of a gosling and in the juice of the pimpernel, the Moon being at her full or increasing in light. Dip therein also the white hilt, upon the which thou shalt have engraved the Characters shown. Afterwards perfume it with the perfumes of the Art.

With this Knife thou mayest perform all the necessary Operations of the Art, except the Circles. But if it seemeth unto thee too troublesome to make a similar Knife, have one made in the same fashion; and thou shalt place it thrice in the fire until it becometh red-hot, and each time thou shalt immerse it in the aforesaid blood and juice, fasten thereunto the white hilt having engraved thereon the aforesaid characters, and upon the hilt thou shalt write with the pen of Art, commencing from the point and going towards the hilt, these Names Agla, On, as shown in *Figure 61*. Afterwards thou shalt perfume and sprinkle it, and shalt wrap it in a piece of silken cloth.

But as for the Knife with the black hilt (*see Figure 62*) for making the Circle, wherewith to strike terror and fear into the Spirits, it should be made in the same manner, except that it should be done in the day and hour of Saturn, and dipped in the blood of a black cat and in the juice of hemlock, the Characters and Names shown in *Figure 62* being written thereon, from the point towards the hilt. Which being completed, thou shalt wrap it in a black silk cloth.

The Scimitar (*Figure 63*), and the Sickle (*Figure 64*), are made in the same way, as also the Dagger (*Figure 65*), the Poniard (*Figure 66*), and the short Lance (*Figure 67*), in the day and hour of Mercury, and they should be dipped in the blood of a magpie and the juice of the herb Mercury. Thou must make for them handles of white boxwood cut at a single stroke from the tree, at the rising of the Sun, with a new knife, or with any other convenient instrument. The characters shown should be traced thereon. Thou shalt perfume them according to the rules of Art; and wrap them in silk cloth like the others.

Fig. 55.

Fig. 56.

Fig. 57.

יהוה אדני אל אלהים
MIHLA LA INDA HVHI

Fig. 59.

אלהים צבאות אלהים גבור
TAVABTA MIHLA RVBG MIHLA

Fig. 60.

Fig. 54.

Fig. 61.

The Knife with the White Hilt.

Fig. 62.

The Knife with the Black Hilt.

Fig. 58.

Fig. 63.

The Scimitar.

Fig. 64.

The Sickle.

Fig. 65.

The Dagger.

Fig. 66.

The Poniard.

Fig. 67.

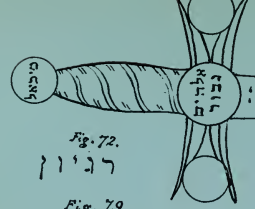
The Short Lance.

Fig. 68.

The Staff.

Fig. 69.

The Wand.



The Magical Sword.

Fig. 70.

Fig. 71.
כרדיא or גבריאל

Fig. 72.
רגיון

Fig. 73.
פנוראים ✝ היאמשין

Fig. 74.
אוריאל

Fig. 75.
סריון

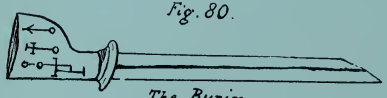
Fig. 76.
גמורין ✝ דבלין

Fig. 77.
דמיאל or רפאל

Fig. 78.
צמטון

Fig. 79.
למדין ✝ ערדים

Fig. 80.



The Burin.

Fig. 82.

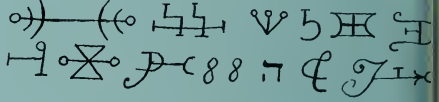


Fig. 83.

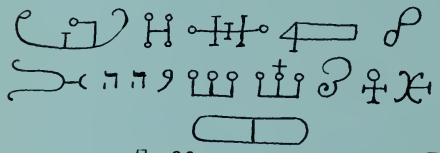


Fig. 84.

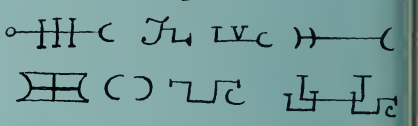


Fig. 85.
יהוה: מטטרון: יה יה יה: קדוש: אלהים צבאות:

Fig. 86.
אנאירשון:

Fig. 87.
אגלא: אדני: אלהי:

Fig. 88.

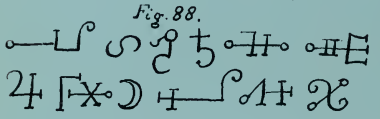


Fig. 91.
אהיה אשר אהיה:

Fig. 92.
אין סוף:

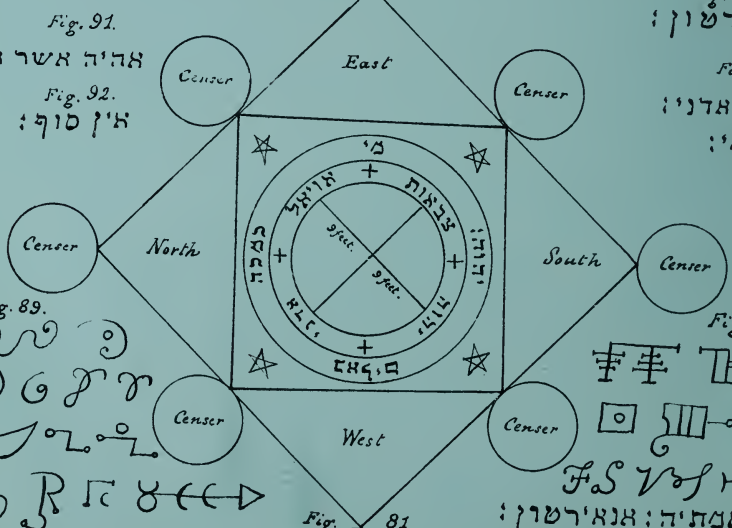


Fig. 89.

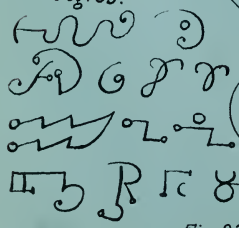
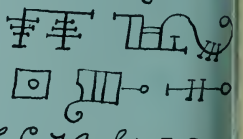


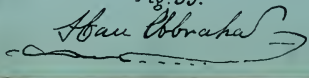
Fig. 90.



אדני: אמתיה: אנאירשון:
פרימותון: אגלא: אין סוף:
קדוש: שמהמפורש:

Fig. 81.

Fig. 93.



The Staff (*see Figure* 68) should be of elderwood, or cane, or rosewood; and the Wand (*Figure* 69) of hazel or nut tree, in all cases the wood being virgin, that is of one year's growth only. They should each be cut from the tree at a single stroke, on the day of Mercury, at sunrise. The characters shown should be written or engraved thereon in the day and hour of Mercury.

This being done, thou shalt say:—

Adonai, Most Holy, deign to bless and to consecrate this Wand, and this Staff, that they may obtain the necessary virtue, through Thee, O Most Holy Adonai, whose kingdom endureth unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

After having perfumed and consecrated them, put them aside in a pure and clean place for use when required.

Swords are also frequently necessary for use in Magical Arts. Thou shalt therefore take a new Sword which thou shalt clean and polish on the day of Mercury, and at the first or the fifteenth hour, and after this thou shalt write on one side these Divine Names in Hebrew, Yod He Vau He, Adonai, Eheieh, Yayai; and on the other side Elohim Gibor (*see Figure* 70); sprinkle and cense it and repeat over it the following conjuration:—

The Conjuration of the Sword.

I conjure thee, O Sword, by these Names, Abrahach, Abrach, Abracadabra, Yod He Vau He, that thou serve me for a strength and defence in all Magical Operations, against all mine Enemies, visible and invisible.

I conjure thee anew by the Holy and Indivisible Name of El strong and wonderful; by the Name Shaddai Almighty; and by these Names Qadosch, Qadosch, Qadosch, Adonai Elohim Tzabaoth, Emanuel, the First and the Last, Wisdom, Way, Life, Truth, Chief, Speech, Word, Splendour, Light, Sun, Fountain, Glory, the Stone of the Wise, Virtue, Shepherd, Priest, Messiach Immortal; by these Names then, and by the other Names, I conjure thee, O Sword, that thou servest me for a Protection in all adversities. Amen.

This being finished thou shalt wrap it also in silk like all the other Instruments, being duly purified and consecrated by the Ceremonies requisite for the perfection of all Magical Arts and Operations.

Three* other Swords should be made for the use of the Disciples.

The first one should have on the pommel the Name Cardiel or Gabriel (*see Figure* 71); on the Lamen of the Guard, Region (*Figure* 72); on the Blade, Panoraim Heamesin (*Figure* 73).

The Second should have on the pommel the Name Auriel (*Figure* 74); on the Lamen of the Guard, Sarion (*Figure* 75); on the Blade, Gamorin Debalin (*Figure* 76).

The third should have on the pommel the Name Damiel or Raphael (*Figure* 77); on the Lamen of the Guard, Yemeton (*Figure* 78); on the Blade, Lamedin Eradim (*Figure* 79).

* The description of these three Swords for the Disciples is only given in 1307 Sloane MSS.

The Burin* (*Figure* 80) or Graver is useful for engraving or incising characters. In the day and hour either of Mars or of Venus thou shalt engrave thereon the characters shown, and having sprinkled and censed it thou shalt repeat over it the following Prayer:—

Prayer.

Asophiel, Asophiel, Asophiel, Pentagrammaton, Athanatos, Eheieh Asher Eheieh, Qadosch, Qadosch, Qadosch; O God Eternal, and my Father, bless this Instrument prepared in Thine honour, so that it may only serve for a good use and end, for Thy Glory. Amen.

Having again perfumed, thou shalt put it aside for use. The Needle may be consecrated in the same way.

* From here to the end of the Chapter is from 1203 Lansdowne MSS.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER IX.

Of* the Formation of the Circle.

HAVING chosen a place for preparing and constructing the Circle, and all things necessary being prepared for the perfection of the Operations, take thou the Sickle or Scimitar of Art and stick it into the centre of the place where the Circle is to be made; then take a cord of nine feet in length, fasten one end thereof unto the Sickle and with the other end trace out the circumference of the Circle, which may be marked either with the Sword or with the Knife with the Black hilt. Then within the Circle mark out four regions, namely, towards the East, West, South, and North, wherein place Symbols; and beyond the limits of this Circle describe with the Consecrated Knife or Sword another Circle, but leaving an open space therein towards the North whereby thou mayest enter and depart beyond the Circle of Art. Beyond this again thou shalt describe another Circle at a foot distance with the aforesaid Instrument, yet ever leaving therein an open space for entrance and egress corresponding to the open space already left in the other. Beyond this again make another Circle at another foot distance, and beyond these two Circles, which are beyond the Circle of Art yet upon the same Centre, thou shalt describe Pentagrams with the Symbols and Names of the Creator therein so that they may surround the Circle already described. Without these Circles shalt thou circumscribe a Square, and beyond that another Square, so that the Angles of the former may touch the centres of the sides of the latter, and that the Angles of the latter may stretch towards the four quarters of the Universe, East, West, North, and South; and at the four Angles of each square, and touching them, thou shalt describe lesser Circles wherein let there be placed standing censers with lighted charcoal and sweet odours.

These things being done, let the Magus of Art† assemble his Disciples, exhort, confirm, and cheer them; lead them into the Circle of Art and station them therein towards the Four Quarters of the Universe, exhort them to fear nothing, and to abide in their assigned places. Furthermore let each of the Companions have a Sword besides the Sword of the Art, which he must hold naked in his hand. Then let the Magus quit the Circle, and Kindle the Censers, and place thereon exorcised Incense, as is said in the Chapter of Fumigations; and let him have the Censer in his hand and kindle it, and then place it in the part prepared. Let him now enter within the Circle and

* This Chapter is only given in 10,862 Add. MSS.

† "Maghus" in MS. not "Magister."

carefully close the openings left in the same, and let him again warn his Disciples, and take the Trumpet of Art prepared as is said in the Chapter concerning the same, and let him incense the Circle towards the Four Quarters of the Universe.

After this let the Magus commence his Incantations, having placed the Sickle, Sword, or other Implement of Art upright in the ground at his feet. Having sounded the trumpet as before taught let him invoke the Spirits, and if need be conjure them, as is said in the First Book, and having attained his desired effect, let him license them to depart.

Here followeth the Form of the Circle (*see Figure* 81), wherein whosoever entereth he shall be at safety as within a fortified Castle, and nothing shall be able to harm him.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER X.

Concerning Incense, Suffumigations, Perfumes, Odours, and similar things which are used in Magical Arts.

THERE are many kinds of Incense, Suffumigations, and Perfumes, which are made for and offered unto the Spirits; those which are of sweet odour are for the good, those which are of evil savour are for the evil.

For perfumes of good odour, take thou, incense, aloes, nutmeg, gum benjamin, musk, and other fragrant spices, over the which thou shalt say:—

THE EXORCISM OF THE INCENSE.

O God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, deign to bless these odoriferous spices so that they may receive strength, virtue, and power to attract the Good Spirits, and to banish and cause to retire all hostile Phantoms. Through Thee, O Most Holy ADONAI, Who livest and reignest unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

I exorcise thee, O Spirit impure and unclean, thou who art a hostile Phantom, in the Name of God, that thou quit this Perfume, thou and all thy deceits, that it may be consecrated and sanctified in the name of God Almighty. May the Holy Spirit of God grant protection and virtue unto those who use these Perfumes; and may the hostile and evil Spirit and Phantom never be able to enter therein, through the Ineffable Name of God Almighty. Amen.

O Lord, deign to bless and to sanctify this Creature of Perfume so that it may be a remedy unto mankind for the health of body and of soul, through the Invocation of Thy Holy Name. May all Creatures who receive the odour of this incense and of these spices receive health of body and of soul, through Him Who hath formed the Ages. Amen.

After this thou shalt sprinkle the various Spices with the Water of the Art, and thou shalt place them aside in a piece of silk as in other cases, or in a box destined for the purpose, so that thou mayest have them ready prepared for use when necessary.

When thou wishest to use the incense, thou shalt kindle a fire of fresh charcoal, in earthen vessels newly glazed within and without, and thou shalt kindle fire fresh with flint and steel, and the fire being lighted thou shalt say over it as follows, before putting the Spices thereon:—

THE EXORCISM OF THE FIRE.

I exorcise thee, O Creature of Fire, by Him through Whom all things

have been made, so that every kind of Phantasm may retire from thee, and be unable to harm or deceive in any way, through the Invocation of the Most High Creator of all. Amen.

Bless, O Lord All-Powerful, and All-Merciful, this Creature of Fire, so that being blessed by Thee, it may be for the honour and glory of Thy Most Holy Name, so that it may work no hindrance or evil unto those who use it. Through Thee, O Eternal and Almighty Lord, and through Thy Most Holy Name. Amen.

This being done, thou shalt put the Spices upon the Fire, and make what perfumes and suffumigations thou requirest.

Over Fumigations of evil odour thou shalt say:—

Adonai, Lazai, Dalmai, Aima, Elohi, O Holy Father, grant unto us succour, favour, and grace, by the Invocation of thy Holy Name, so that these things may serve us for aid in all that we wish to perform therewith, that all deceit may quit them, and that they may be blessed and sanctified through Thy Name. Amen.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the Water, and of the Hyssop.

If it be necessary to sprinkle with water anything required in the Art it should be done with a Sprinkler.

Prepare a Censer in the day and hour of Mercury, with the odoriferous Spices of the Art. After this thou shalt take a vessel of brass, of lead varnished within and without, or of earth, which thou shalt fill with most clear spring water, and thou shalt have salt, and say these words over the salt:—

Tzabaoth, Messiach, Emanuel, Elohim Gibor, Yod He Vau He; O God, Who art the Truth and the Life, deign to bless and sanctify this Creature of Salt, to serve unto us for help, protection, and assistance in this Art, experiment, and operation, and may it be a succour unto us.

After this cast the salt into the vessel wherein is the Water, and say the following Psalms: cii.; liv.; vi.; lxvii.

Thou shalt then make unto thyself a Sprinkler of vervain, fennel, lavender, sage, valerian, mint, garden-basil, rosemary, and hyssop, gathered in the day and hour of Mercury, the moon being in her increase. Bind together these herbs with a thread spun by a young maiden, and engrave upon the handle on the one side the characters shown in *Figure* 82, and on the other side those given in *Figure* 83.

After this thou mayest use the Water, using the Sprinkler whenever it is necessary; and know that wheresoever thou shalt sprinkle this Water, it will chase away all Phantoms, and they shall be unable to hinder or annoy any. With this same Water thou shalt make all the preparations of the Art.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the Light, and of the Fire.

It hath been ever the custom among all nations to use fire and light in sacred things. For this reason the Master of the Art should also employ them in sacred rites, and besides those for reading the Conjurations by, and for the incense, in all operations Lights are necessary in the Circle.

For this reason he should make candles of virgin wax in the day and hour of Mercury; the wicks should have been made by a young girl; and the Candles should be made when the moon is in her increase, of the weight of half a pound each, and on them thou shalt engrave these characters with the Dagger, or the Burin of Art. (*See Figure* 84.)

After this thou shalt repeat over the Candles, Psalms cli.; ciii.; cvii., and shalt say:—

O Lord God, Who governest all things by Thine Almighty Power, give unto me, a poor sinner, understanding and knowledge to do only that which is agreeable unto Thee; grant unto me to fear, adore, love, praise, and give thanks unto Thee with true and sincere faith and perfect charity. Grant, O Lord, before I die, and descend into the realms beneath, and before the fiery flame shall devour me, that Thy Grace may not leave me, O Lord of my Soul. Amen.

After this thou shalt add:—

I exorcise thee, O Creature of wax, by Him Who alone hath created all things by His Word, and by the virtue of Him Who is pure truth, that thou cast out from thee every Phantasm, Perversion, and Deceit of the Enemy, and may the Virtue and Power of God enter into thee, so that thou mayest give us light, and chase far from us all fear or terror.

After this thou shalt sprinkle them with the Water of the Art, and incense them with the usual perfumes.

And when thou shalt wish to kindle them thou shalt say:—

I exorcise thee, O Creature of Fire, in the Name of the Sovereign and Eternal Lord, by His Ineffable Name, which is Yod, He, Vau, He; by the Name Iah; and by the Name of Power El; that thou mayest enlighten the heart of all the Spirits which we shall call unto this Circle, so that they may appear before us without fraud and deceit through Him Who hath created all things.

Then thou shalt take a square Lantern, with panes of Crystal glass, and thou shalt fit therein the Candle lighted, to read by, to form the Circle, or any other purpose for which thou shalt require it.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XIII.

Concerning* the Precepts of the Art.

He who hath attained the rank or degree of Exorcist, which we are usually accustomed to call Magus or Master according to grade, whensoever he desireth to undertake any operation, for the nine days immediately preceding the commencement of the work, should put aside from him all uncleanness, and prepare himself in secret during these days, and prepare all the things necessary, and in the space of these days all these should be made, consecrated, and exorcised.

The which being duly completed, let him go on the day and hour of the commencement of the work, unto the place set apart for the same, as hath been said, in the place concerning the formation of the Circle. Let him instruct his Disciples on no cause whatsoever to move from their assigned places. And the Magus should exhort them with a bold and confident voice as follows:—

The Exhortation of the Companions.

Fear ye not, my beloved Companions, seeing that we draw near unto the desired end; therefore, all things being rightly done and the Conjurations and Exorcisms diligently performed, ye shall behold Kings of Kings, and Emperors of Emperors, and other Kings, Princes, and Majesties with them, and a great crowd of followers, together with all sorts of musical instruments, yet nothing should either the Magus or his Disciples fear.

And then let the Magus say:—

I exhort you by these Holy Names of God, Elohim, Adonai, Agla, that none of you now presume to move or cross over from your appointed stations.

This being said, let the Magus and his Disciples uncover the Holy Pentacles and show them towards each quarter, and they being shown in each place, there shall be noises and rushings.

Then shall the Emperor of (the Spirits) say unto you:—From the time of the Great Addus until now, there hath not been an Exorciser who could behold my person, and unless those things† which ye have showed unto us

* This Chapter is only given in 10,862 Add. MSS.

† The Pentacles.

had been made, ye would not now have seen me. But seeing that ye have powerfully called us, as I believe, by the rites derived from Solomon, and which but few of your comrades, or Exorcisers, possess, also they compel us against our will, and I therefore say unto thee that we wish to be obedient in all matters.

Then shall the Magus place the petitions of himself and his companions, which should be written down clearly on virgin card, or paper, beyond the Circle towards the King or Prince of the Spirits, and he will receive it and take counsel with his Chiefs. After this he will return the Card, saying :— That which thou desirest is accomplished, be thy will performed, and all thy demands fulfilled.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the Pen, Ink, and Colours.

All things employed for writing, &c., in this Art, should be prepared in the following manner.

Thou shalt take a male gosling, from which thou shalt pluck the third feather of the right wing, and in plucking it thou shalt say:—

Adrai, Hahlii, Tamaii, Tilonas, Athamas, Zianor, Adonai, banish from this pen all deceit and error, so that it may be of virtue and efficacy to write all that I desire. Amen.

After this thou shalt sharpen it with the penknife of the Art, perfume it, sprinkle it, and place it aside in a silken cloth.

Thou shalt have an Inkstand made of earth or any convenient matter, and in the day and hour of Mercury thou shalt engrave thereon with the Burin of Art these Names:—Yod, He, Vau, He, Metatron, Iah Iah Iah, Qadosch, Elohim Tzabaoth (*see Figure* 85); and in putting the ink therein thou shalt say:—

I exorcise thee, O Creature of Ink, by Anaireton, by Simulator, and by the Name Adonai, and by the Name of Him through Whom all things were made, that thou be unto me an aid and succour in all things which I wish to perform by thine aid.

As it sometimes happeneth that it is necessary to write with some noble colour, it is well to have a new and clean box wherein to keep them. The principal colours will be Yellow or Gold, Red, Celestial or Azure Blue, Green, and Brown; and any other colours that may be requisite. Thou shalt exorcise, perfume, and sprinkle them in the usual manner.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the Pen of the Swallow and of the Crow.

TAKE the feather of a Swallow or of a Crow, and before plucking it thou shalt say :—

May Holy MICHAEL the Archangel of God, and MIDAEL and MIRAEL, the Chiefs and Captains of the Celestial Army, be my aid in the operation I am about to perform, so that I may write herewith all things which are necessary, and that all the experiments which I commence herewith may through you and through your Names be perfected by the power of the Most High Creator. Amen.

After this thou shalt point and complete the pen with the Knife of the Art, and with the pen and ink of the art thou shalt write upon its side the Name, ANAIRETON (*see Figure* 86), and thou shalt say over it the following Psalms: cxxxiii.; cxvii.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the Blood of the Bat, Pigeon, and other Animals.

Take a living Bat and exorcise it thus :—

The Exorcism of the Bat.

Camiach, Eomiahe, Emial, Macbal, Emoii, Zazean, Maiphiat, Zacrath, Tendac, Vulamahi; by these Most Holy Names, and the other Names of Angels which are written in the Book Assamaian,* I conjure thee O Bat (or whatever animal it may be) that thou assist me in this operation, by God the True, God the Holy, the God Who hath created thee, and by Adam, Who hath imposed thy true name upon thee and upon all other animated beings.

After this, take the Needle or other convenient Instrument of Art, as will be said later on, and pierce the bat in the vein which is in the right wing; and collect the blood in a small vessel over the which thou shalt say :—

Almighty Adonai, Arathron, Ashai, Elohim, Elohi, Elion, Asher Eheieh, Shaddai, O God the Lord, immaculate, immutable, Emanuel, Messiach, Yod, He, Vau, He, be my aid, so that this blood may have power and efficacy in all wherein I shall wish, and in all that I shall demand.

Perfume it and keep it for use.

The blood of other winged animals may be taken in the same manner, with the proper solemnities.

* The "Sepher Ha-Shamaiim," or "Book of the Heavens."

Note by Editor.—I cannot too strongly impress on the readers of this volume that the use of blood is more or less connected with Black Magic; and that it should be avoided as much as possible.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of Virgin Parchment, or Virgin Paper, and how it should be prepared.

VIRGIN paper, or card, is that which is new, pure, clean, and exorcised, never having served for any other purpose.

Virgin parchment is necessary in many Magical Operations, and should be properly prepared and consecrated. There are two kinds, one called Virgin, the other Unborn. Virgin parchment is that which is taken from an Animal which hath not attained the age of generation, whether it be ram, or kid, or other animal.

Unborn parchment is taken from an animal which hath been taken before its time from the uterus of its mother.

Take whichsoever of these two classes of animals thou pleasest, provided only that it be male, and in the day and hour of Mercury; and take it to a secret place where no man may see thee at work. Thou shalt have a marsh-reed cut at a single stroke with a new knife, and thou shalt strip from it the leaves, repeating this Conjuration:—

THE CONJURATION OF THE REED.

I conjure thee by the Creator of all things, and by the King of Angels, Whose Name is EL SHADDAI, that thou receivest strength and virtue to flay this animal and to construct the parchment whereon I may write the Holy Names of God, and that it may acquire so great virtue that all which I shall write or do may obtain its effect, through Him who liveth unto the Eternal Ages. Amen.

Before cutting the Reed recite Psalm lxxii.:—

After this, with the Knife of the Art, thou shalt fashion the Reed into the shape of a Knife, and upon it thou shalt write these Names: AGLA, ADONAI, ELOHI (*see Figure* 87), through Whom be the work of this Knife accomplished. Then thou shalt say:—

O God, Who drewest Moses, Thy well-beloved and Thine elect, from among the Reeds on the marshy banks of the Nile, and from the Waters, he being yet but a child, grant unto me through Thy great mercy and compassion that this Reed may receive Power and Virtue to effect that which I desire through Thy Holy Name and the Names of Thy Holy Angels. Amen.

This being done, thou shalt commence with this Knife to flay the Animal, whether it be Virgin or Unborn, saying:—

ZOHAR, ZIO, TALMAÏ, ADONAI, SHADDAI, TETRAGRAMMATON, and ye

Holy Angels of God; be present, and grant power and virtue unto this parchment, and may it be consecrated by you, so that all things which I shall write thereon shall obtain their effect. Amen.

The Animal being flayed, take Salt, and say thus over it:—

God of Gods, and Lord of Lords, Who hast created all things from Negative Existence, deign to bless and sanctify this Salt, so that in placing it upon this parchment which I wish to make, it may have such virtue that whatsoever I may write on it hereafter may attain its desired end. Amen.

Afterwards rub the said parchment with the exorcised salt, and leave it in the Sun, to imbibe this salt for the space of an entire day. Then take a large earthen vessel glazed within and without, round the outside of which thou shalt write the characters in *Figure* 88.

After this thou shalt put powdered lime into the vessel, saying:—

Oroii, Zaron, Zainon, Zevaron, Zahiphil, Elion, be ye present and bless this work so that it may attain the desired effect, through the King of the Heavens, and the God of the Angels. Amen.

Take then exorcised Water and pour it upon the said lime, and place the skin therein for three days, after which thou shalt take it thence, and scrape therefrom the lime and flesh adhering, with the Knife of Reed.

After this thou shalt cut, with a single stroke, a Wand of Hazel, long enough for thee to form a Circle therewith; take also a cord spun by a young maiden, and small stones or pebbles from a brook, pronouncing these words:—

O God Adonai, Holy and Powerful Father, put virtue into these stones, that they may serve to stretch this parchment, and to chase therefrom all fraud, and may it obtain virtue by Thine Almighty Power.

After this, having stretched the said parchment upon the Circle and bound it with the cord and stones, thou shalt say:—

Agla, Yod, He, Vau, He, Iah, Emanuel, bless and preserve this parchment, so that no Phantasm may enter therein.

Let it dry thus for three days in a dark and shady place, then cut the cord with the Knife of Art, and detach the Parchment from the Circle, saying:—

Antor, Ancor, Turlos, Beodonos, Phaiar, Apharcar, be present for a guard unto this Parchment.

Then perfume it, and keep it in silk ready for use.

No woman, if her flowers be upon her, should be permitted to see this parchment; otherwise it will lose its virtue. He who maketh it should be pure, clean, and prepared.

But if the preparation of the aforesaid parchment seemeth too tedious, thou mayest make it in the following manner, but it is not so good.

Take any Parchment, and exorcise it; prepare a censer with perfumes; write upon the parchment the characters in *Figure* 89, hold it over the Incense, and say:—

Be ye present to aid me, and may my operation be acomplished through you; Zazaii, Zalmaii, Dalmaii, Adonai, Anaphaxeton, Cedrion,

Cripon, Prion, Anaireton, Elion, Octinomon, Zevanion, Alazaion, Zideon, Agla, On, Yod He Vau He, Artor, Dinotor, Holy Angels of God; be present and infuse virtue into this Parchment, so that it may obtain such power through you that all Names or Characters thereon written may receive due power, and that all deceit and hindrance may depart therefrom, through God the Lord merciful and gracious, Who liveth and reigneth through all the Ages. Amen.

Then shalt thou recite over the parchment Psalms lxxii.; cxvii.; and cxxxiv.; and the "*Benedicite Omnia Opera.*" Then say:—

I conjure thee, O parchment by all the Holy Names, that thou obtainest efficacy and strength, and becomest exorcised and consecrated, so that none of the things which may be written upon thee shall be effaced from the Book of Truth. Amen.

Then sprinkle it, and keep it as before said.

The Cauls of newly-born children, duly consecrated, may also be used instead of virgin parchment. Also paper, satin, silk, and the like substances, may be employed in operations of less importance if duly exorcised and consecrated.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of Wax and Virgin Earth.

Wax and Virgin Earth are also employed in many Magical Operations, whether to make Images, or Candles, or other things; therefore they should never have been put to any other use. The Earth should be dug up with thine own hands, and reduced to a paste, without touching it with any instrument whatever, so that it be not defiled thereby.

The Wax should be taken from bees which have only made it for the first time, and it should never have been employed for any other purpose; and when thou shalt wish it to avail thyself of the one or the other, thou shalt before commencing the work repeat the following conjuration:—

Conjuration.

Extabor, Hetabor, Sittacibor, Adonai, Onzo, Zomen, Menor, Asmodal, Ascobai, Comatos, Erionas, Profas, Alkomas, Conamas, Papuendos, Osiandos, Espiacent, Damnath, Eheres, Golades, Telantes, Cophi, Zades, ye Angels of God be present, for I invoke ye in my work, so that through you it may find virtue and accomplishment. Amen.

After this repeat Psalms cxxxi.; xv.; cii.; viii.; lxxxiv.; lxviii.; lxxii.; cxxxiii.; cxiii.; cxxvi.; xlvi.; xlvii.; xxii.; li.; cxxx.; cxxxix.; xlix.; cx.; liii.; and say:—

I exorcise thee, O Creature of Wax (or of Earth), that through the Holy Name of God and His Holy Angels thou receive blessing, so that thou mayest be sanctified and blessed, and obtain the virtue which we desire, through the Most Holy Name of Adonai. Amen.

Sprinkle the wax and put it aside for use; but take note that the Earth which should be dug up with thy hands should be prepared every time thou hast need thereof.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XIX.

Concerning the Needle and other Iron Instruments.

THERE are several steel instruments necessary in various Operations, as a Needle to prick or to sew; a Burin, or instrument wherewith to engrave, &c.

Thou shalt make such instruments in the day and hour of Jupiter, and when it is finished thou shalt say:—

I conjure thee, O Instrument of Steel, by God the Father Almighty, by the Virtue of the Heavens, of the Stars, and of the Angels who preside over them; by the virtue of stones, herbs, and animals; by the virtue of hail, snow, and wind; that thou receivest such virtue that thou mayest obtain without deceit the end which I desire in all things wherein I shall use thee; through God the Creator of the Ages, and Emperor of the Angels. Amen.

Afterwards repeat Psalms iii.; ix.; xxxi.; xlii.; lx.; li.; cxxx.

Perfume it with the perfumes of the Art, and sprinkle it with exorcised water, wrap it in silk and say:—

DANI, ZUMECH, AGALMATUROD, GADIEL, PANI, CANELOAS, MEROD, GAMIDOI, BALDOI, METRATOR, Angels most holy, be present for a guard unto this instrument.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XX.

Concerning the Silken Cloth.

When any Instrument of the Art is properly consecrated, it should be wrapped in silk and put away, as we have said.

Take, then, silk of any colour except black or grey, whereon write the words and Characters in *Figure* 90.

Perfume it with incense of good odour, sprinkle it, and recite Psalms lxxxii.; lxxii.; cxxxiv.; lxiv.

After this thou shalt put it aside for seven days with sweet spices; and thou shalt use this silk to wrap all the instruments of the Art.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XXI.

Concerning Characters, and the Consecration of the Magical Book.

WHENSOEVER in any Operation it is necessary to write Characters, and thou fearest that thou wilt fail, do this: Write at the beginning the Name EHEIEH ASHER EHEIEH (*Figure* 91), and at the end the name AIN SOPH (*Figure* 92); between these Names write what thou wishest, and if thou hast anything especial to do bear the said written Names upon the wrapper in silk, and thou shalt say over them:—

Most Wise and Most High Creator of all things, I pray Thee for Thy grace and mercy that Thou mayest grant such virtue and power unto these Holy Names, that Thou mayest keep these characters from all deceit and error, through Thee, O Most Holy ADONAI. Amen.

After having repeated this thou shalt write the requisite Characters, and thou shalt not fail, but shalt attain thy desired end.

THE CONSECRATION OF THE BOOK.*

Make a small Book containing the Prayers for all the Operations, the Names of the Angels in the form of Litanies, their Seals and Characters; the which being done thou shalt consecrate the same unto God and unto the pure Spirits in the manner following:—

Thou shalt set in the destined place a small table covered with a white cloth, whereon thou shalt lay the Book opened at the Great Pentacle which should be drawn on the first leaf of the said Book; and having kindled a lamp which should be suspended above the centre of the table, thou shalt surround the said table with a white curtain; clothe thyself in the proper vestments, and holding the Book open, repeat upon thy knees the following prayer with great humility:—

(For the Prayer beginning "Adonai Elohim," &c., see Book I., Chapter XIV., where it is given in full.)

After which thou shalt incense it with the incense proper to the Planet and the day, and thou shalt replace the Book on the aforesaid Table, taking heed that the fire of the lamp be kept up continually during the operation, and keeping the curtains closed. Repeat the same ceremony for seven days, beginning with Saturday, and perfuming the Book each day with the Incense proper to the Planet ruling the day and hour, and taking heed that the lamp shall burn both day and night; after the which thou shalt shut up the Book in a small drawer under the table, made expressly for it, until thou shalt have

* The rest of this Chapter is from 1203 Lansdowne MSS.

occasion to use it; and every time that thou wishest to use it, clothe thyself with thy vestments, kindle the lamp, and repeat upon thy knees the aforesaid prayer, "Adonai Elohim," &c.

It is necessary also, in the Consecration of the Book, to summon all the Angels whose Names are written therein in the form of Litanies, the which thou shalt do with devotion; and even if the Angels and Spirits appear not in the Consecration of the Book, be not thou astonished thereat, seeing that they are of a pure nature, and consequently have much difficulty in familiarising themselves with men who are inconstant and impure, but the Ceremonies and Characters being correctly carried out devoutedly and with perseverance, they will be constrained to come, and it will at length happen that at thy first invocation thou wilt be able to see and communicate with them. But I advise thee to undertake nothing unclean or impure, for then thy importunity, far from attracting them, will only serve to chase them from thee; and it will be thereafter exceedingly difficult for thee to attract them for use for pure ends.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XXII.

Concerning Sacrifices to the Spirits, and how they should be made.

In many operations it is necessary to make some sort of sacrifice unto the Demons, and in various ways. Sometimes white animals are sacrificed to the good Spirits and black to the evil. Such sacrifices consist of the blood and sometimes of the flesh.

They who sacrifice animals, of whatsoever kind they be, should select those which are virgin, as being more agreeable unto the Spirits, and rendering them more obedient.

When blood is to be sacrificed it should be drawn also from virgin quadrupeds or birds, but before offering the oblation, say :—

May this Sacrifice which we find it proper to offer unto ye, noble and lofty Beings, be agreeable and pleasing unto your desires; be ye ready to obey us, and ye shall receive greater ones.

Then perfume and sprinkle it according to the rules of Art.

When it is necessary, with all the proper Ceremonies, to make Sacrifices of fire, they should be made of wood which hath some quality referring especially unto the Spirits invoked; as juniper of pine unto the Spirits of Saturn; box, or oak, unto those of Jupiter; cornel, or cedar, unto those of Mars; laurel unto those of the Sun; myrtle unto those of Venus; hazel unto those of Mercury; and willow unto those of the Moon.

But when we make sacrifices of food and drink, everything necessary should be prepared without the circle, and the meats should be covered with some fine clean cloth, and have also a clean white cloth spread beneath them; with new bread and good and sparkling wine, but in all things those which refer to the nature of the Planet. Animals, such as fowls or pigeons, should be roasted. Especially shouldest thou have a vessel of clear and pure fountain water, and before thou enterest into the Circle, thou shalt summon the Spirits by their proper Names, or at least those chief among them, saying :—

In whatsoever place ye may be, ye Spirits, who are invited to this feast, come ye and be ready to receive our offerings, presents, and sacrifices, and ye shall have hereafter yet more agreeable oblations.

Perfume the viands with sweet incense, and sprinkle them with exorcised water; then commence to conjure the Spirits until they shall come.

This is the manner of making sacrifices in all arts and operations wherein it is necessary, and acting thus, the Spirits will be prompt to serve thee.

Here endeth our Key, the which if thou thoroughly instillest into thy memory, thou shalt be able, if it pleaseth thee, even to fly with the wings of the wind. But if thou takest little heed hereof, and despiseth this Book, never shalt thou attain unto the desired end in any Magical experiment or operation whatsoever.

For in this Book is comprised all science of Magical Art, and it should be strictly kept by thee. And hereunto is the end of our Key, in the Name of God the righteous, the merciful, and the eternal, Who liveth and reigneth throughout the Ages. Amen.

THE END OF THE KEY OF SOLOMON THE KING.

ANCIENT FRAGMENT OF THE KEY OF SOLOMON,

TRANSLATED FROM THE HEBREW BY ELIPHAZ LEVI; *and given in his "Philosophe Occulte."—Serie II., page* 136.

I will now give unto thee the Key of the Kingdom of the Spirits.

This Key is the same as that of the Mysterious Numbers of Yetzirah.*

The Spirits are governed by the natural and universal Hierarchy of things.

Three command Three through the medium of Three.

There are the Spirits of Above, those of Below, and those of the Centre; then if thou invertest the Sacred Ladder, if thou descendest instead of ascending, thou wilt discover the Counter-Hierarchy of the Shells, or of the Dead Spirits.

Know thou only that the Principalities of Heaven, the Virtues, and the Powers, are not Persons, but dignities.

They are the Degrees of the Sacred Ladder upon which the Spirits ascend and descend.

Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and the others, are not Names but Titles.

The First of the Numbers is the Unity.

The First of the Divine Conceptions called the *Sephiroth* is Kether or the Crown.

The First Category of the Spirits is that of Chaioth Ha-Qadesh or the Intelligences of the Divine Tetragram, whose Letters are symbolised by the Mysterious Animals in the Prophecy of Ezekiel.

Their empire is that of unity and synthesis. They correspond to the Intelligence.

They have for adversaries the *Thamiel* or Double-Headed Ones, the Demons of revolt and of anarchy, whose two Chiefs, ever at War with each other, are *Satan* and *Moloch*.

The Second Number is two; the second Sephira is Chokmah or Wisdom.

The Spirits of Wisdom are the Auphanim, a Name which signifieth the Wheels, because all acts in Heaven like immense Wheels spangled with Stars. Their Empire is that of Harmony. They correspond to the Reason.

They have for Adversaries the *Chaigidel*, or the Shells which attach themselves to Material and Lying Appearances. Their Chief, or rather their

* The "Sepher Yetzirah," or "Book of Formation," one of the most ancient Books of the Qabalah.

Guide, for Evil Spirits obey no one, is *Beelzebub*, whose Name signifieth the God of Flies, because Flies haunt putrefying corpses.

The third Number is three. The third Sephira is Binah or Understanding.

The Spirits of Binah are Aralim, or the Strong. Their empire is the creation of ideas; they correspond to activity and energy of thought.

They have for adversaries the *Satariel*, or concealers, the Demons of absurdity, of intellectual inertia, and of Mystery. The Chief of the *Satariel* is *Lucifuge*, called falsely and by anti-phrase *Lucifer* (as the Eumenides, who are the Furies, are called in Greek the Gracious Ones).

The fourth Number is four. The fourth Sephira is Gedulah or Chesed, Magnificence or Mercy.

The Spirits of Gedulah are the Chaschmalim, or the Lucid Ones. Their empire is that of beneficence; they correspond to the imagination.

They have for adversaries the *Gamchicoth* or the Disturbers of Souls. The Chief or Guide of these Demons is *Ashtaroth* or *Astarte*, the impure Venus of the Syrians, whom they represent with the head of an ass or of a bull, and the breasts of a woman.

The fifth Number is five. The fifth Sephira is Geburah or Justice.

The Spirits of Geburah are the Seraphim, or the Spirits burning with zeal. Their empire is that of the chastisement of crimes. They correspond to the faculty of comparing and of choosing.

They have for adversaries the *Golab* or incendiaries, Genii of wrath and sedition, whose Chief is *Asmodeus*, whom they call also Samael the Black.

The sixth Number is six. The sixth Sephira is Tiphereth the Supreme Beauty.

The Spirits of Tiphereth are the Malachim, or the Kings. Their empire is that of the Universal Harmony. They correspond to the judgment.

They have for adversaries the *Tagaririm*, or Disputers, whose Chief is *Belphegor*.

The seventh Number is seven. The seventh Sephira is Netzach, or Victory.

The Spirits of Netzach are the Elohim or the Gods, that is to say the representatives of God. Their empire is that of progress and of life; they correspond to the *Sensorium* or to sensibility.

They have for adversaries the *Harab-Serapel*, or the Ravens of Death, whose Chief is Baal.

The eighth Number is eight. The eighth Sephira is Hod or eternal order.

The Spirits of Hod are the Beni-Elohim or Sons of the Gods. Their empire is that of order; they correspond to the inner sense.

They have for adversaries the *Samael* or jugglers, whose Chief is *Adramelech*.

The ninth Number is nine. The ninth Sephira is Yesod, or the fundamental principle.

The Spirits of Yesod are the Cherubim or Angels, those powers which

fecundate the earth, and which are represented in Hebrew symbolism under the form of bulls. Their empire is that of fecundity. They correspond to true ideas.

They have for adversaries the *Gamaliel* or obscene, whose Queen is *Lilith* the Demon of debaucheries.

The tenth Number is ten. The tenth Sephira is Malkuth, or the kingdom of Forms.

The Spirits of Malkuth are the Ischim, or the virile ones; they are the souls of the Saints whose Chief is Moses. (Let us not forget that it is Solomon who speaks.—Eliphaz Lévi.)

They have for adversaries the wicked ones who obey *Nahema*, the Demon of Impurity.

The wicked are symbolised by the five accursed nations whom Joshua was to destroy.

Joshua, or Jehoshua the Saviour, is a symbol of the Messiach.

His Name is composed of the letters of the Divine Tetragram changed into the Pentagram by the addition of the Letter Schin (*see Figure* 94).

Each letter of this Pentagram represents a power of good attacked by the five accursed nations.

For the real history of the people of God is the allegorical legend of Humanity.

The five accursed nations are:—

1. The Amalekites or Aggressors;
2. The Geburim or Violent Ones;
3. The Raphaim or Cowards;
4. The Nephilim or Voluptuous Ones;
5. The Anakim or Anarchists.

The Anarchists are vanquished by the Yod, which is the Sceptre of the Father.

The Violent are vanquished by the Hé, which is the Gentleness of the Mother.

The Cowards are vanquished by the Vau, which is the Sword of Michael, and Generation by travail and pain.

The Voluptuous are vanquished by the second Hé, which is the painful bringing forth of the Mother.

Lastly, the Aggressors are vanquished by the Schin, which is the Fire of the Lord and the equilibrating Law of Justice.

The Princes of the Perverse Spirits are the False Gods whom they adore.

Hell has then no other government than that fatal law which punishes perversity and corrects error, for the false Gods only exist in the false opinion of their adorers.

Baal, Belphegor, Moloch, Adramelech, have been the idols of the Syrians; idols without soul, idols now destroyed, and of whom the Name alone remaineth.

The True God hath vanquished all the Demons as Truth triumphs over Error. That is past in the opinions of men, and the Wars of Michael against Satan are the symbols of movement, and of the progress of Spirits.

The Devil is ever a God of refusal.

Accredited idolatries are religions in their time.

Superannuated idolatries are Superstitions and Sacrileges.

The Pantheon of Phantoms, which are then in vogue, is the Heaven of the Ignorant.

The Receptacle of Phantoms, whom Folly even wisheth for no longer, is the Hell.

But all this existeth only in the Imagination of the Vulgar.

For the Wise, Heaven is the Supreme Reason, and Hell is Folly.

But it must be understood that we here employ the word Heaven in the Mystical sense which we give it in opposing to it the word Hell.

In order to evoke Phantoms it is sufficient to intoxicate oneself or to render oneself mad; for Phantoms are ever the companions of drunkenness and of vertigo.

The Phosphorus of the imagination, abandoned to all the caprices of over-excited and diseased nerves, fills itself with Monsters and absurd visions.

We can also arrive at hallucination by mingling together wakefulness and sleep by the graduated use of narcotics; but such actions are crimes against nature.

Wisdom chaseth away Phantoms, and enables us to communicate with the Superior Spirits by the contemplation of the Laws of Nature and the study of the Holy Numbers.

(Here King Solomon addresseth himself to his son, Roboam):—

Do thou, O my son Roboam, remember, that the Fear of Adonai is only the beginning of Wisdom.

Keep and preserve those who have not Understanding in the Fear of Adonai, which will give and will preserve unto thee my crown.

But learn to triumph thyself over Fear by Wisdom, and the Spirits will descend from Heaven to serve thee.

I, Solomon, thy father, King of Israel and of Palmyra, I have sought out and obtained in my lot the Holy Chokmah, which is the Wisdom of Adonai.

And I have become King of the Spirits as well of Heaven as of Earth, Master of the Dwellers of the Air, and of the Living Souls of the Sea, because I was in possession of the Key of the Hidden Gates of Light.

I have done great things by the virtue of the Schema Hamphorasch, and by the Thirty-two Paths of Yetzirah.

Number, weight, and measure determine the form of things; the substance is one, and God createth it eternally.

Happy is he who comprehendeth the Letters and the Numbers.

The Letters are from the Numbers, and the Numbers from the Ideas, and the Ideas from the Forces, and the Forces from the Elohim. The Synthesis of the Elohim is the Schema.

The Schema is one, its columns are two, its power is three, its form is

four, its reflection giveth eight, which multiplied by three giveth unto thee the twenty-four Thrones of Wisdom.

Upon each Throne reposeth a Crown with three Rays, each Ray beareth a Name, each Name is an Absolute Idea. There are Seventy-Two Names upon the Twenty-four Crowns of the Schema.

Thou shalt write these Names upon Thirty-Six Talismans, two upon each Talisman, one on each side.

Thou shalt divide these Talismans into four series of nine each, according to the number of the Letters of the Schema.

Upon the first Series thou shalt engrave the Letter Yod, symbolised by the Flowering Rod of Aaron.

Upon the Second the Letter Hé, symbolised by the Cup of Joseph.

Upon the third the Letter Vau, symbolised by the Sword of David my father.

And upon the fourth the Hé final, symbolised by the Shekel of Gold.

These thirty-six Talismans will be a Book which will contain all the Secrets of Nature. And by their diverse combinations thou shalt make the Genii and Angels speak.

(HERE ENDETH THE FRAGMENT OF THE KEY OF SOLOMON.)

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א	ס									*Aleph*	*Samekh*	*a'*	*s*
ב	ע									*Beth*	*Ayin*	*b* *bh* *v*	*o* *aa* *ng*
ג	פ									*Gimel*	*Pé'*	*g* *gh*	*p* *ph*
ד	צ									*Daleth*	*Tzaddi*	*d* *dh* *th*	*tz*
ה	ק									*Hé'*	*Qoph*	*h*	*q* *qh*
ו	ר									*Vau*	*Resh*	*v* *u* *o*	*r*
ז	ש									*Zaïn*	*Schin*	*z*	*s* *sh*
ח	ת									*Cheth*	*Tau*	*ch* *guttural*	*t* *th*
ט	*Finals.*									*Teth*		*t*	
י							*Another form of Samekh*			*Yod*	*Final Kaph*	*i* *y*	*k*
כ										*Kaph*	*Final Mem*	*k* *kh*	*m*
ל										*Lamed*	*Final Nun*	*l*	*n*
מ										*Mem*	*Final Pé'*	*m*	*p*
נ										*Nun*	*Final Tzaddi*	*n*	*tz*

THE QABALISTICAL INVOCATION OF SOLOMON.

Given by Eliphaz Lévi in "Rituel de la Haute Magie," Chapter xiii.

Powers of the Kingdom, be beneath my left foot, and within my right hand.

Glory and Eternity touch my shoulders, and guide me in the Paths of Victory.

Mercy and Justice be ye the Equilibrium and splendour of my life.

Understanding and Wisdom give unto me the Crown.

Spirits of Malkuth conduct me between the two columns whereon is supported the whole edifice of the Temple.

Angels of Netzach and of Hod strengthen me upon the Cubical Stone of Yesod.

O Gedulahel! O Geburahel! O Tiphereth!

Binahel, be Thou my Love!

Ruach Chokmahel, be Thou my Light!

Be that which Thou art, and that which Thou willest to be, O Ketheriel!

Ishim, assist me in the Name of Shaddai.

Cherubim, be my strength in the Name of Adonai.

Beni Elohim, be ye my brethren in the Name of the Son, and by the virtues of Tzabaoth.

Elohim, fight for me in the Name of Tetragrammaton.

Malachim, protect me in the Name of Yod He Vau He.

Seraphim, purify my love in the Name of Eloah.

Chaschmalim, enlighten me with the splendours of Elohi, and of Schechinah

Aralim, act ye; *Auphanim*, revolve and shine.

Chaioth Ha-Qadosch, cry aloud, speak, roar, and groan; Qadosch, Qadosch, Qadosch, Shaddai, Adonai, Yod Chavah, Eheieh Asher Eheieh!

Halelu-Yah! Halelu-Yah! Halelu-Yah. Amen.

THE END.

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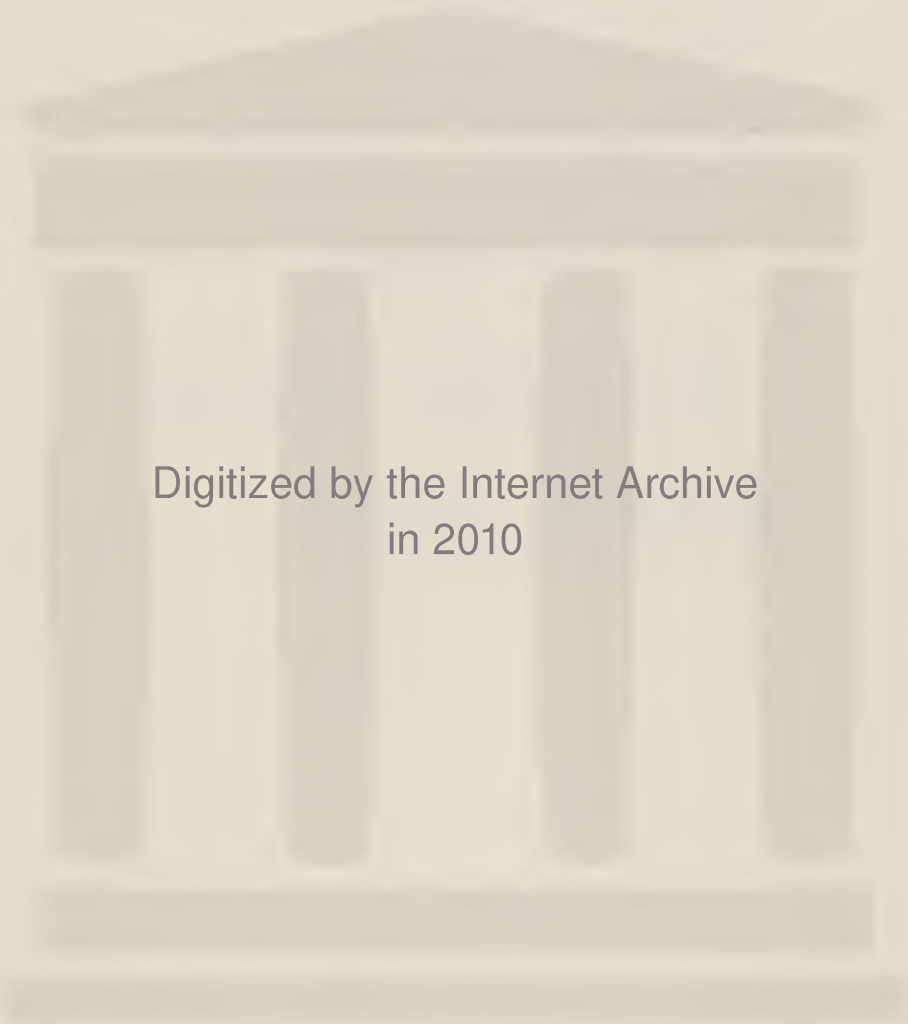
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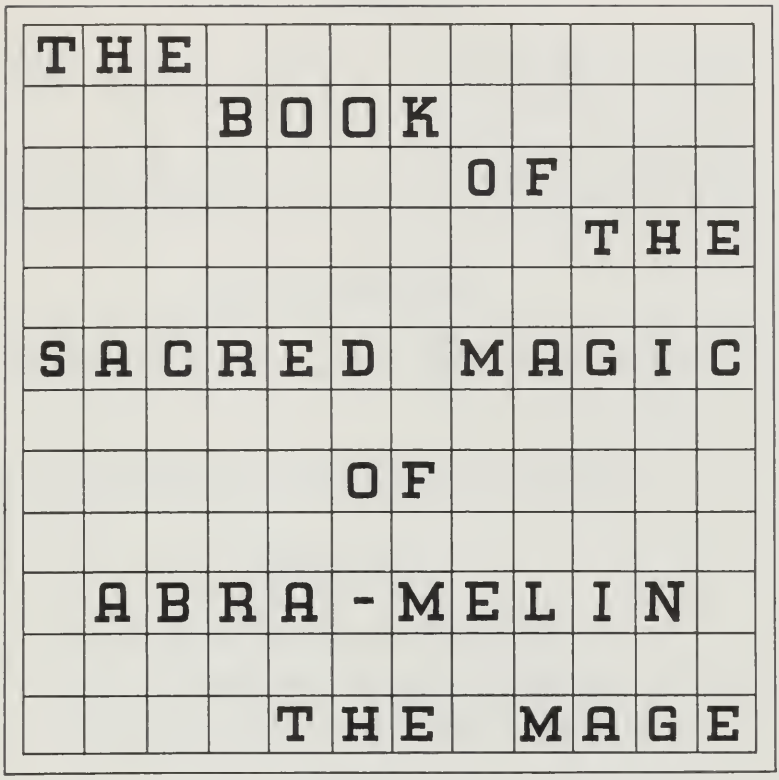
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Greece, arriving at length at Constantinople, where they stop two years, and Samuel dies.—Abraham the Jew then travels into Egypt, where he remains four years, afterwards going into the Holy Land, where he remains a twelvemonth.—He there meets a Christian student of Magic with whom he passes on into the wilds of Arabia; but finding no Adept there, Abraham thinks of returning home) . . . . . *page* 7

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(He commences his return journey, travelling by Arabia Deserta and Palestine into Egypt.—Here he lodges with an old Jew named Aaron, in a small town called Arachi, situated on the banks of the Nile.—He tells Aaron of his numerous and fruitless travels in search of some Great Adept in Magic.—Aaron informs him that in the desert, not very far from Arachi, there dwells a very learned and pious Mage called Abra-Melin; and that he will find him a guide to shew him the route thither.—Abraham visits Abra-Melin, and finds in him at length the Great and Wise Magician he has so long sought.—He remains with him and studies under him.—Abra-Melin gives him two Books on Magic to copy, which form the basis of the Second and Third Books of this work.—Abra-Melin implies that this true Sacred Magical Science will only remain among the Jews seventy-two years longer.—At length Abraham quits Abra-Melin, and goes to Constantinople, where he is detained by illness for two months.—He returns home by ship to Trieste, and thence through Dalmatia) . . . . . *page* 10

THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

(Concerning the various Professors of Magical Art, whom Abraham had found in the course of his travels.—Of Rabbin Moses of Mayence.—Of James a Christian of Argentine, and a juggler.—Of a Black Magician called Antony of Prague in Bohemia, and his fearful end.—Of the Magicians in Austria.—Of the Magicians in Greece.—Of a Magician of Ephiba, near Constantinople, who wrote certain numbers on the ground.—Of the Magicians, Simon, and Rabbin Abraham of Constantinople.—Of the Egyptian Magicians, Horay, Abimech, Alcaon, Orilach, and Abimelec.—Of the Arabian Magicians.—Abra-Melin the only truly Great

Adept.—Of a Magician, Joseph of Paris, a Christian who had become converted to the Jewish faith, and whose Magic was after the nature of that of Abra-Melin.—Abraham warns Lamech of the error of renouncing the religion in which a man is brought up) . . . . . *page* 15

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INTRODUCTION,

BY

S. L. MAC GREGOR-MATHERS.

OWING perhaps to the circumstance that the indispensable "Bædecker" accords only a three or four line notice to the "Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal"; but few English or American visitors to Paris are acquainted with its name, situation, or contents, though nearly all know at least by sight the "Bibliothèque Nationale" and the "Bibliothèque Mazarin".

This "Library of the Arsenal," as it is now called, was founded as a private collection by Antoine René Voyer D'Argenson, Marquis de Paulny; and was first opened to the public on the 9th Floréal, in the fifth year of the French Republic (that is to say, on 28th April, 1797), or just a century ago. This Marquis de Paulny was born in the year 1722, died in 1787, and was successively Minister of War, and Ambassador to Switzerland, to Poland, and to the Venetian Republic. His later years were devoted to the formation of this Library, said to be one of the richest private collections known. It was acquired in 1785 by the Comte D'Artois, and to-day belongs to the State. It is situated on the right bank of the Seine, in the Rue de Sully, near the river, and not far from the Place de la Bastille, and is known as the "Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal". In round numbers it now possesses 700,000 printed books, and about 8000 manuscripts, many of them being of considerable value.

Among the latter is this Book of the Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin, as delivered by Abraham the Jew unto his son Lamech; which I now give to the public in printed form for the first time.

Many years ago I heard of the existence of this manuscript from a celebrated occultist, since dead; and more recently my attention was again called to it by my personal friend, the well-known French author, lecturer and poet, Jules Bois, whose attention has been for some time turned to occult subjects. My first-mentioned informant told me that it was known both to Bulwer Lytton and Éliphas Lévi, that the former had based part of his description of the Sage Rosicrucian Mejnour on that of Abra-Melin, while the account of the so-called Observatory of Sir Philip Derval in the "Strange Story" was to an extent copied from and suggested by that of the Magical Oratory and Terrace, given in the Eleventh Chapter of the Second Book of this present work. Certainly also the manner of instruction applied by Mejnour in "Zanoni" to the Neophyte Glyndon, together with the test of leaving him alone in his abode to go on a short journey and then returning unexpectedly, is closely similar to that employed by Abra-Melin to Abraham, with this difference, that the latter successfully passed through that test, while Glyndon failed. It would also be especially such experiments as those described at length in the Third Book, which the author of the "Strange Story" had in view when he makes Sir Philip Derval in the MS. history of his life speak of certain books describing occult experiments, some of which he had tried and to his surprise found succeed.

This rare and unique manuscript of the Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin, from which the present work is translated, is a French translation from the original Hebrew of Abraham the Jew. It is in the style of script usual at about the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, and is apparently by the same hand as another MS. of the Magic of Picatrix also in the "Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal". I know of no other existing copy or replica of this Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin, not even in the British Museum, whose enormous collection of Occult Manuscripts I have very thoroughly studied.*

** Probably the same as Gio Peccatrix the Magician, the author of many Manuscripts on Magic.*

Neither have I ever heard by traditional report of the existence of any other copy. In giving it now to the Public, I feel, therefore, that I am conferring a real benefit upon English and American students of Occultism, by placing within their reach for the first time a Magical work of such importance from the Occult standpoint.

The Manuscript is divided into three Books, each with its separate Title Page, surrounded by an ornamental border of simple design, in red and black ink, and which is evidently not intended to be symbolical in the slightest degree, but is simply the work of a conscientious caligraphist wishing to give an appearance of cleanness and completeness to the Title Page. The wording of each is the same : " Livre Premier (Second *or* Troisieme, *as the case may be*) de la Sacree Magie que Dieu donna à Moyse, Aaron, David, Salomon et à d'autres Saints Patriarches et Prophetes qui enseigne la vraye sapience Divine laissée par Abraham a Lamech son Fils traduite de l'hébreu 1458 ". *I give the translated title at the commencement of each of the Three Books.*

On the fly-leaf of the original MS. is the following note in the handwriting of the end of the eighteenth century :—

" *This Volume contains* 3 *Books, of which here is the first.—The Abraham and the Lamech, of whom there is here made question, were Jews of the fifteenth century, and it is well known that the Jews of that period possessing the Cabala of Solomon passed for being the best Sorcerers and Astrologers.*" *Then follows in another and recent hand :—*

" *Volume composed of three parts—*

1*st part*		102	*pages.*
2*nd*	,,	194	,,
3*rd*	,,	117	,,
		413	,,

June, 1883."

The style of the French employed in the text of the MS. is somewhat vague and obscure, two qualities unhappily heightened by the almost entire absence of any attempt at punctuation, and the comparative rarity of paragraphic arrangement. Even the full stop at the close of a sentence is usually omitted, neither is the commencement of a fresh one marked by a capital letter. The following example is taken from near the end of the Third Book : " Cest pourquoy la premiere chose que tu dois faire principalement ates esprits familiers sera de leur commander de ne tedire jamais aucune chose deuxmemes que lorsque tu les interrogeras amoins queles fut pour tavertir des choses qui concerne ton utilite outon prejudice parceque situ ne leur limite pas leparler ils tediront tant etdesi grandes choses quils tofusquiront lentendement et tu ne scaurois aquoy tentenir desorte que dans la confusion des choses ils pourroient te faire prevariquer ettefaire tomber dans des erreurs irreparables ne te fais jamais prier en aucune chose ou tu pourras aider et seccourir tonprochain et nattends pas quil tele demande mais tache descavoir afond," *etc. This extract may be said to give a fair idea of the average quality of the French. The style, however, of the First Book is much more colloquial than that of the Second and Third, it being especially addressed by Abraham to Lamech, his son, and the second person singular being employed throughout it. As some English readers may be ignorant of the fact, it is perhaps as well here to remark that in French* "tu," *thou, is only used between very intimate friends and relations, between husband and wife, lovers, etc. ; while* "vous," *you, is the more usual mode of address to the world in general. Again, in sacred books, in prayers, etc.,* "vous" *is used, where we employ " thou " as having a more solemn sound than* "tu". *Hence the French verb* "tutoyer," = "*to be very familiar with, to be on extremely friendly terms with any one, and even to be insolently familiar*". *This First Book contains advice concerning Magic, and a description of Abraham's Travels and experiences, as well as a mention of the many*

marvellous works he had been able to accomplish by means of this system of Sacred Magic. The Second and Third Books (which really contain the Magic of Abra-Melin, and are practically based on the two MSS. entrusted by him to Abraham, the Jew, but with additional comments by the latter) differ in style from the former, the phraseology is quaint and at times vague, and the second person plural, "vous," *is employed for the most part instead of* "tu".

The work may then be thus roughly classified :—

First Book := Advice and Autobiography ; both addressed by the Author to his son Lamech.

Second Book := General and complete description of the means of obtaining the Magical Powers desired.

Third Book := The application of these Powers to produce an immense number of Magical results.

Though the chapters of the Second and Third Books have special headings in the actual text, those of the First Book have none ; wherefore in the "Table of Contents" I have supplemented this defect by a careful analysis of their subject matter.

This system of Sacred Magic Abraham acknowledges to have received from the Mage Abra-Melin ; and claims to have himself personally and actually wrought most of the wonderful effects described in the Third Book, and many others besides.

Who then was this Abraham the Jew ? It is possible, though there is no mention of this in the MS., that he was a descendant of that Abraham the Jew who wrote the celebrated Alchemical work on twenty-one pages of bark or papyrus, which came into the hands of Nicholas Flamel, and by whose study the latter is said eventually to have attained the possession of the "Stone of the Wise". The only remains of the Church of Saint Jacques de la Boucherie which exists at the present day, is the tower, which stands near the Place du Châtelet, about ten minutes' walk from the Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal ; and there is yet a street near this tower which bears the title of " Rue

Nicolas Flamel," so that his memory still survives in Paris, together with that of the Church close to which he lived, and to which, after the attainment of the Philosopher's Stone, he and his wife Pernelle caused a handsome peristyle to be erected.

From his own account, the author of the present work appears to have been born in A.D. 1362, and to have written this manuscript for his son, Lamech, in 1458, being then in his ninety-sixth year. That is to say, that he was the contemporary both of Nicholas Flamel and Pernelle, and also of the mystical Christian Rosenkreutz, the founder of the celebrated Rosicrucian Order or Fraternity in Europe. Like the latter, he appears to have been very early seized with the desire of obtaining Magical Knowledge; like him and Flamel, he left his home and travelled in search of the Initiated Wisdom; like them both, he returned to become a worker of wonders. At this period, it was almost universally believed that the Secret Knowledge was only really obtainable by those who were willing to quit their home and their country to undergo dangers and hardships in its quest; and this idea even obtains to an extent in the present day. The life of the late Madame Blavatsky is an example in point.

This period in which Abraham the Jew lived was one in which Magic was almost universally believed in, and in which its Professors were held in honour; Faust (who was probably also a contemporary of our author), Cornelius Agrippa, Sir Michael Scott, and many others I could name, are examples of this, not to mention the celebrated Dr. Dee in a later age. The history of this latter Sage, his association with Sir Edward Kelly, and the part he took in the European politics of his time are too well known to need description here.

That Abraham the Jew was not one whit behind any of these Magicians in political influence, is evident to any one who peruses this work. He stands a dim and shadowy figure behind the tremendous complication of central European upheaval at that terrible and instructive epoch; as Adepts of his type always appear and always have appeared upon the theatre of history in great crises of nations. The age which could boast simul-

taneously three rival claimants to the direction of two of the greatest levers of the society of that era—the Papacy and the Germanic Empire—when the jealousies of rival Bishoprics, the overthrow of Dynasties, the Roman Church shaken to her foundations, sounded in Europe the tocsin of that fearful struggle which invariably precedes social reorganisation, that wild whirlwind of national convulsion which engulfs in its vortex the civilisation of a yesterday, but to prepare the reconstitution of a morrow. The enormous historical importance of such men as our Author is always underrated, generally doubted; notwithstanding that like the writing on the wall at Belshazzar's feast, their manifestation in the political and historical arena is like the warning of a MENE, MENE TEKEL, UPHARSIN, *to a foolish and undiscerning world.*

The full and true history of any Adept could only be written by himself, and even then, if brought before the eyes of the world at large, how many persons would lend credence to it? and even the short and incomplete statement of the notable events of our Author's life contained in the First Book, will be to most readers utterly incredible of belief. But what must strike all alike is the tremendous faith of the man himself, as witnessed by his many and dangerous journeyings for so many years through wild and savage regions and places difficult of access even in our own day with all the increased facilities of transit which we enjoy. This faith at length brought him its reward, though only at the moment when even he *was becoming discouraged and sick at heart with disappointed hope. Like his great namesake, the forefather of the Hebrew race, he had not in vain left his home, his "Ur of the Chaldees," that he might at length discover that Light of Initiated Wisdom, for which his soul had cried aloud within him for so many years. This culmination of his wanderings was his meeting with Abra-Melin, the Egyptian Mage. From him he received that system of Magical instruction and practice which forms the body of the Second and Third Books of this work.*

In the Manuscript original this name is spelt in several

different ways, I have noted this in the text wherever it occurs. The variations are : Abra-Melin, Abramelin, Abramelim, and Abraha-Melin. From these I have selected the orthography Abra-Melin to place on the title page, and I have adhered to the same in this Introduction.

As far as can be gathered from the text, the chief place of residence of Abraham the Jew after his travels was Würzburg, or, as it was called in the Middle Ages, " Herbipolis ". He appears to have married his cousin, and by her to have had two sons, the elder, named Joseph, whom he instructed in the Mysteries of the Holy Qabalah, and Lamech, the younger, to whom he bequeaths this system of Sacred Magic as a legacy, and to whom the whole of the First Book is addressed. He speaks further of three daughters, to each of whom he gave 100,000 *golden florins as a dowry. He expressly states that he obtained both his wife, and a treasure of* 3,000,000 *golden florins, by means of some of the Magical Operations described in the Third Book. He further admits that his first inclination to Qabalistical and Magical studies was owing to certain instructions in the Secrets of the Qabalah, which he received when young from his father, Simon ; so that after the death of the latter his most earnest desire was to travel in search of an Initiated Master.*

To the sincere and earnest student of Occultism this work cannot fail to be of value, whether as an encouragement to that most rare and necessary quality, unshaken faith ; as an aid to his discrimination between true and false systems of Magic ; or as presenting an assemblage of directions for the production of Magical effects, which the Author of the book affirms to have tried with success.

Especially valuable are the remarks of Abraham the Jew on the various Professors of the " Art which none may name " in the course of his wanderings and travels ; the account of the many wonders he worked ; and, above all, the careful classification of the Magical Experiments in the Third Book, together with his observations and advice thereon.

Not least in interest are the many notable persons of that age for or against whom he performed marvels : The Emperor Sigismund of Germany : Count Frederic the Quarreller : the Bishop of his city (probably either John I., who began the foundation of the Würzburg University in 1403 *with the authorisation of Pope Boniface IX., or else Echter von Mespelbrunn, who completed the same noble work) : the Count of Warwick : Henry VI. of England : the rival Popes—John XXIII., Martin V., Gregory XII., and Benedict XIII.: the Council of Constance : the Duke of Bavaria : Duke Leopold of Saxony : the Greek Emperor, Constantine Palæologos : and probably the Archbishop Albert of Magdeburg : and also some of the Hussite Leaders—a roll of names celebrated in the history of that stirring time.*

Considering the era in which our Author lived, and the nation to which he belonged, he appears to have been somewhat broad in his religious views ; for not only does he insist that this Sacred system of Magic may be attained by any one, whether Jew, Christian, Mahometan, or Pagan, but he also continually warns Lamech against the error of changing the religion in which one has been brought up ; and he alleges this circumstance as the reason of the occasional failures of the Magician Joseph of Paris (the only other person he mentions besides himself and Abra-Melin who was acquainted with this particular system of Magic), namely that having been brought up a Christian, he had renounced that faith and become a Jew. At first sight it does not seem clear from the Occult point of view what particular Occult disadvantage should be attached to such a line of action. But we must remember, that in his age, the conversion to another religion invariably meant an absolute, solemn and thorough renunciation and denial of any truth in the religion previously professed by the convert. *Herein would be the danger, because whatever the errors, corruption, or mistakes in any particular form of religion, all are based on and descended from the acknowledgment of Supreme Divine Powers. Therefore to deny any religion*

(*instead of only abjuring the mistaken or erroneous parts thereof*) *would be equivalent to denying* formally and ceremonially *the truths on which it was originally founded; so that whenever a person having once done this should begin to practise the Operations of the Sacred Magic, he would find himself compelled to affirm with his whole will-force those very formulas which he had at one time* magically and ceremonially (*though ignorantly*) *denied; and whenever he attempted to do this, the occult Law of Reaction would raise as a Ceremonial Obstacle against the effect which he should wish to produce, the memory of that Ceremonial Denial which his previous renunciation had firmly sealed in his atmosphere. And the force of this would be in exact proportion to the manner and degree in which he had renounced his former creed. For of all hindrances to Magical action, the very greatest and most fatal is unbelief, for it checks and stops the action of the Will. Even in the commonest natural operations we see this. No child could learn to walk, no student could assimilate the formulas of any science, were the impracticability and impossibility of so doing the first thing in his mind. Wherefore it is that all Adepts and Great Teachers of Religion and of Magic have invariably insisted on the necessity of faith.*

But though apparently more broad in view in admitting the excellence of every religion, unfortunately he shows the usual injustice to and jealousy of women which has distinguished men for so many ages, and which as far as I can see arises purely and simply from an innate consciousness that were women once admitted to compete with them on any plane without being handicapped as they have been for so many centuries, the former would speedily prove their superiority, as the Amazons of old did; which latter (as the writings even of their especial enemies, the Greeks, unwillingly admit) when overcome, were conquered by superior numbers, not by superior valour. However, Abraham the Jew grudgingly admits that the Sacred Magic may be attained by a virgin, while at the same time dissuading any one from teaching it to her! The numerous advanced female occult students of the present day are the best answer to this.

But notwithstanding the forementioned shortcomings, his advice on the manner of using Magical Power, when acquired, to the honour of God, the welfare and relief of our neighbour, and for the benefit of the whole Animate Creation, is worthy of the highest respect; and no one can peruse it without feeling that his highest wish was to act up to his belief.

His counsel, however, of a retired life after attaining Magical Power by his system (I do not speak of the retirement during the six months' preparation for the same) is not borne out by his own account of his life, wherein we find him so constantly involved in the contests and convulsions of the time. Also, however much the life of a hermit or anchorite may appear to be advocated, we rarely, if ever, find it followed by those Adepts whom I may perhaps call the initiated and wonder-working medium between the Great Concealed Adepts and the Outer World. An example of the former class we may find in our Author, an example of the latter in Abra-Melin.

The particular scheme or system of Magic advocated in the present work is to an extent "sui generis," *but to an extent only. It is rather the manner of its application which makes it unique. In Magic, that is to say, the Science of the Control of the Secret Forces of Nature, there have always been two great schools, the one great in Good, the other in Evil; the former the Magic of Light, the latter that of Darkness; the former usually depending on the knowledge and invocation of the Angelic natures, the latter on the method of evocation of the Demonic races. Usually the former is termed White Magic, as opposed to the latter, or Black Magic.*

The invocation of Angelic Forces, then, is an idea common in works of Magic, as also are the Ceremonies of Pact with and submission to the Evil Spirits. The system, however, taught in the present work is based on the following conception: (α) *That the Good Spirits and Angelic Powers of Light are superior in power to the Fallen Spirits of Darkness.* (β) *That these latter as a punishment have been condemned to the service of the Initiates of the Magic of Light.* (*This Idea is to be found*

also in the Kôran ; or, as it is frequently and perhaps more correctly written, "Qûr-an".) (γ) *As a consequence of this doctrine, all* ordinary material effects and phenomena *are produced by the labour of the Evil Spirits under the command usually of the Good.* (δ) *That consequently whenever the Evil Demons can escape from the control of the Good, there is no evil that they will not work by way of vengeance.* (ε) *That therefore sooner than obey man, they will try to make him their servant, by inducing him to conclude Pacts and Agreements with them.* (ζ) *That to further this project, they will use every means that offers to obsess him.* (η) *That in order to become an Adept, therefore, and dominate them ; the greatest possible firmness of will, purity of soul and intent, and power of self-control is necessary.* (θ) *That this is only to be attained by self-abnegation on every plane.* (ι) *That man, therefore, is the middle nature, and natural controller of the middle nature between the Angels and the Demons, and that therefore to each man is attached naturally both a Guardian Angel and a Malevolent Demon, and also certain Spirits that may become Familiars, so that with him it rests to give the victory unto the which he will.* (κ) *That, therefore, in order to control and make service of the Lower and Evil, the knowledge of the Higher and Good is requisite (i.e., in the language of the Theosophy of the present day, the knowledge of the Higher Self).*

From this it results that the magnum opus *propounded in this work is : by purity and self-denial to obtain the knowledge of and conversation with one's Guardian Angel, so that thereby and thereafter we may obtain the right of using the Evil Spirits for our servants in all material matters.*

This, then, is the system of the Secret Magic of Abra-Melin, the Mage, as taught by his disciple Abraham the Jew; and elaborated down to the smallest points.

Except in the professed Black Magic Grimoires, the necessity of the invocation of the Divine and Angelic Forces to control the Demons is invariably insisted upon in the operations

of evocation described and taught in Mediæval Magical Manuscripts and published works. So that it is not so much, as I have before said, this circumstance, as the mode of its development by the Six Moons' preparation, which is unusual; while again, the thorough and complete classification of the Demons with their offices, and of the effects to be produced by their services, is not to be found elsewhere.

Apart from the interest attaching to the description of his travels, the careful manner in which Abraham has made note of the various persons he had met professing to be in the possession of Magical powers, what they really could do and could not do, and the reasons of the success or failure of their experiments, has a particular value of its own.

The idea of the employment of a Child as Clairvoyant in the invocation of the Guardian Angel is not unusual; for example, in the "Mendal," a style of Oriental Divination familiar to all readers of Wilkie Collins' novel, "The Moonstone," ink is poured into the palm of a Child's hand, who, after certain mystical words being recited by the Operator, beholds visions clairvoyantly therein. The celebrated evocation at which the great Mediæval Sculptor, Benvenuto Cellini, is said to have assisted, also was in part worked by the aid of a Child as Seer. Cagliostro also is said to have availed himself of the services of Children in this particular. But for my part I cannot understand the imperative necessity of the employment of a Child in the Angelic evocation, if the Operator be pure in mind, and has developed the clairvoyant faculty which is latent in every human being, and which is based on the utilisation of the thought-vision. This thought-vision is exercised almost unconsciously by every one in thinking of either a place, person, or thing, which they know well; immediately, coincident with the thought, the image springs before the mental sight; and it is but the conscious and voluntary development of this which is the basis of what is commonly called clairvoyance. Among the Highlanders of Scotland, the faculty, as is well known, is of common*

* *See Appendix B.*

manifestation ; and by the English it is usually spoken of as "Second-Sight".

Unfortunately, like far too many modern Occultists, Abraham the Jew shows a marked intolerance of Magical systems differing from his own ; even the renowned name of Petrus di Abano is not sufficient to save the "Heptameron or Magical Elements" from condemnation in the concluding part of the Third Book. Works on Magic, Written Conjurations, Pentacles, Seals, and Symbols, the employment of Magical Circles, the use of any language but one's mother tongue, appear at first sight to be damned wholesale, though on a more careful examination of the text I think we shall find that it is rather their abuse through ignorance of their meaning which he intends to decry, than their intelligent and properly regulated use.*

It will be well here to carefully examine these points from the occult standpoint of an Initiate, and for the benefit of real students.

Abraham in several places insists that the basis of this system of Sacred Magic is to be found in the Qabalah. Now, he expressly states that he has instructed his eldest son, Joseph, herein as being his right by primogeniture, even as he himself had received somewhat of Qabalistic instruction from his father, Simon. But this system of Magic he bequeaths to his younger son, Lamech, expressly as a species of recompense to him for not being taught the Qabalah, *his status as a younger son being apparently a serious traditional disqualification. This being so, the reason is evident why he warns Lamech against the use of certain Seals, Pentacles, incomprehensible words, etc. ; because most of these being based on the secrets of the Qabalah, their use by a person ignorant hereof might be excessively dangerous through the not only possible but probable perversion of the Secret Formulas therein contained. Any advanced student of Occultism who is conversant with Mediæval works on Magic, whether MS. or printed, knows the enormous and incredible number of errors in the Sigils, Pentacles, and Hebrew or*

* *Born about* 1250.

Chaldee Names, which have arisen from ignorant transcription and reproduction; this being carried to such an extent that in some cases the use of the distorted formulas given would actually have the effect of producing the very opposite *result to that expected from them. (I have commented at length on this subject in my notes to the "Key of Solomon," published by me a few years ago.) Wherefore Abraham the Jew it appears to me, in his anxiety to save his son from dangerous errors in Magical working, has preferred to endeavour to fill him with contempt for any other systems and methods of operation than the one here laid down. For also besides the unintentional perversions of Magical Symbols I have above mentioned, there was further the circumstance not only possible but probable of the many Black Magic Grimoires falling into his hands, as they evidently had into Abraham's, the Symbols in which are in many cases* intentional *perversions of Divine Names and Seals, so as to attract the Evil Spirits and repel the Good.*

For the Third Book of this work is crowded with Qabalistic Squares of Letters, which are simply so many Pentacles, and in which the Names employed are the very factors which make them of value. Among them we find a form of the celebrated SATOR, AREPO, TENET, OPERA, ROTAS, *which is one of the Pentacles in the "Key of Solomon". Abraham's formula is slightly different:—*

S	A	L	O	M
A	R	E	P	O
L	E	M	E	L
O	P	E	R	A
M	O	L	A	S

and is to be used for obtaining the love of a maiden.

The Pentacle in my "Key of Solomon the King" is classed under Saturn, while the above is applied to the nature of Venus.

I give the Hebrew form (see Appendix A, Table of Hebrew and Chaldee Letters) of Equivalents :—

Sh	A	Th	V	R
A	R	H	P	V
Th	H	N	H	Th
V	P	H	R	A
R	V	Th	A	Sh

Or in Latin Letters :—

S	A	T	O	R
A	R	E	P	O
T	E	N	E	T
O	P	E	R	A
R	O	T	A	S

In the "Key of Solomon" it is (as being a Pentacle) inscribed within a double circle, wherein is written the following versicle from Psalm lxxii., v. 8 : "His dominion shall be also from the one sea unto the other, and from the flood unto the world's end". In the Hebrew, this versicle consists of exactly twenty-five letters, the number of the letters of the square. It will be at once noticed that both this form and that given by Abraham the Jew are perfect examples of double Acrostics, *that is, that they read in every direction, whether horizontal or perpendicular, whether backwards or forwards. But the form given as a Pentacle in the "Key of Solomon the King" is there said to be of value in adversity, and for repressing the pride of the Spirits.*

This example therefore shows clearly that it is not so much the use of Symbolic Pentacles that Abraham is opposed to, as their ignorant perversions and inappropriate use.

It is also to be observed, that while many of the Symbolic Squares of Letters of the Third Book present the nature of the double Acrostic, there are also many which do not, and in the case of a great number the letters do not fill up the square entirely, but are arranged somewhat in the form of a gnomon, etc. Others again leave the centre part of the square blank.

In Appendix C to the Introduction I will, for the sake of comparison, give some examples of Angelic invocation taken from other sources.*

Abraham the Jew repeatedly admits, as I have before urged, that this particular System of the Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin has its Basis in the Qabalah. It is well to examine what is here meant. The Qabalah itself is divided into many parts; the great bulk of it is of a mystic doctrinal nature, giving the inner Occult meaning of the Jewish Sacred Writings. Also it employs the numerical values of the Hebrew Letters, to draw analogies between words, the total numerical value of whose letters is the same; this branch alone is a most complicated study, and it will be foreign to our purpose to go into it here; the more so as my work, the "Kabbalah Unveiled," treats at length of all these points. The so-called Practical Qabalah is the application of the mystic teachings to the production of Magical effects. For the classification of Divine and Angelic Names; of Hosts and Orders of Angels, Spirits, and Demons; of particular Names of Archangels, Angels, Intelligences, and Demons, is to be found carried out even to minute detail in the Qabalah, so that the knowledge hereof can give a critical appreciation of the correspondences, sympathies, and antipathies obtaining in the Invisible World. Therefore what Abraham means is, that this system of Sacred Magic is thoroughly reliable, because correct in all its attributions, and that this being so, there is no chance of the Operator using Names and Formulas on wrong occasions and in error.

But also it is notable that Abraham the Jew (probably again with the intent of confusing Lamech as little as possible)

* *See Appendix C, "Examples of Angelic Invocation".*

speaks only of two great classes of Spirits: the Angels and the Devils; the former to control, the latter to be controlled; and leaves entirely out of consideration, or rather does not describe that vast race of beings, the Elemental Spirits, who in themselves comprise an infinitude of various divisions of classification, some of these being good, some evil, and a great proportion neither the one nor the other. Evidently, also, many of the results proposed to be attained in the Third Book, would imply the use of the Elemental Spirits rather than that of the Demons. No advanced Adept, such as Abraham evidently was, could possibly be ignorant of their existence, power, and value; and we are therefore forced to conclude either that he was unwilling to reveal this knowledge to Lamech; or, which is infinitely more probable, that he feared to confuse him by the large amount of additional instruction which would be necessary to make him thoroughly understand their classification, nature, and offices. This latter line of action would be the less imperative, as the correctness of the symbols of the Third Book would minimise chances of error; and what Abraham is undertaking to teach Lamech, is how to arrive at practical Magical results; rather than the Secret Wisdom of the Qabalah.

It is entirely beyond the scope of this Introduction for me to give here any lengthy dissertation on the natures, good or evil, of Spiritual beings. I will, therefore, only state briefly and concisely the principal differences between Angels, Elementals, and Devils.

We may then conclude that Angels, though themselves divided into numerous orders and classes, possess generally the following characteristics: That they are entirely good in nature and operation, the conscient administrators of the Divine Will upon the plane of the material universe; that they are responsible, not irresponsible agents, and therefore capable of fall; and that they are independent of the currents of the infinite Secret Forces of Nature, and can therefore act beyond them, though their classification and qualities will cause them to be more sympathetic with certain among these forces than

with the rest, and this in varying degree. Also that they are superior in power to Men, Spirits, Elementals, and Devils.

The Elementals on the other hand, though consisting of an infinitude of classes, are the Forces of the Elements of Nature, the administrators of the currents thereof; and can therefore never act beyond and independently of their own particular currents. In a sense, therefore, they are irresponsible for the action of a current as a whole, *though responsible for the* part *thereof in which they immediately act. Therefore also they are at the same time subject to the general current of the Force, wherein they live, move, and have their being; though superior to the immediate and particular part of it which they direct. Such races, superior to man in intuition, and magical powers; inferior to him in other ways; superior to him in their power in a particular current of an Element; inferior to him in only partaking of the nature of that one Element; are of necessity to be found constantly recurring in all the Mythologies of Antiquity. The Dwarfs and Elves of the Scandinavians; the Nymphs, Hamadryads, and Nature Spirits of the Greeks; the Fairies good and bad of the legends dear to our childish days; the host of Mermaids, Satyrs, Fauns, Sylphs, and Fays; the Forces intended to be attracted and propitiated by the Fetishes of the Negro-Race; are for the most part no other thing than the ill-understood manifestations of this great class, the Elementals. Among these, some, as I have before observed, are good; such are the Salamanders, Undines, Sylphs, and Gnomes, of the Rosicrucian Philosophy; many are* frightfully *malignant, delighting in every kind of evil, and might easily be mistaken for Devils by the uninitiated, save that their power is less; a great proportion are neither good nor evil, irrationally working either; just as a monkey or a parrot might act; in fact such closely resemble animals in their nature, and especially* combinations *of animals, in which forms distorted and mingled, would lie their symbolic manifestation. Another very large class, would not act* irrationally *in this manner; but with* intent, *only always following the predominant force either good*

or evil in their then entourage ; *a spirit of this kind, for example, attracted into an assembly of good persons would endeavour to excite their ideas towards good ; attracted among evil-minded persons would incite them mentally to crime. Among how many criminals is not their only excuse that* " they thought they kept hearing something telling them to commit the crime " ! *Yet these suggestions would not always arise from Elementals alone, but frequently from the depraved astral remnants of deceased evil persons.*

Devils, on the other hand, are far more powerful than Elementals, but their action for Evil is parallel to that of the Good Angels for Good ; and their malignancy is far more terrible than that of the Evil Elementals, for not being, like them, subjected to the limits of a certain current, their sphere of operation extends over a far greater area ; while the Evil they commit is never irrational or mechanical, but worked with full consciousness and intent.

I do not agree entirely with the manner of behaviour, advised by Abraham towards the Spirits ; on the contrary, the true Initiates have always maintained that the very greatest courtesy should be manifested by the Exorciser, and that it is only when they are obstinate and recalcitrant that severer measures should be resorted to ; and that even with the Devils we should not reproach them for their condition ; *seeing that a contrary line of action is certain to lead the Magician into error. But, perhaps, Abraham has rather intended to warn Lamech against the danger of yielding to them in an Exorcism even in the slightest degree.*

The word " Demon " is evidently employed in this work almost as a synonym of Devil ; but, as most educated people are aware, it is derived from the Greek " Daimon," *which anciently simply meant* any Spirit, good or bad.

A work filled with suggestive Magical references is the well-known " Arabian Nights," and it is interesting to notice the number of directions in the Third Book of this work for producing similar effects to those there celebrated.

For example, the ninth chapter of the Third Book gives the symbols to be employed for changing human beings into animals, one of the commonest incidents in the "Arabian Nights," as in the story of the "first old man and the hind," that of the "three Calendars and the five ladies of Bagdad," that of "Beder and Giauhare," etc., etc.; as distinct from the voluntary transformation of the Magician into another form, *as exemplified in the "story of the Second Calendar," the symbols for which are given in the twenty-first chapter of our Third Book.*

Again these chapters will recall to many of my readers the extraordinary magical effects which Faust is said to have produced; who, by the way, as I have before remarked, was in all probability contemporary with Abraham the Jew.

But the mode of their production as given in this work is not the Black Magic of Pact and Devil-worship, against which our Author so constantly inveighs, but instead a system of Qabalistic Magic, similar to that of the "Key of Solomon the King" and the "Clavicles of Rabbi Solomon," though differing in the circumstance of the prior invocation of the Guardian Angel once for all, while in the works I have just mentioned the Angels are invoked in each *Evocation by means of the Magical Circle. Such works as these, then, and their like, it could not be the intention of Abraham to decry, seeing that like his system they are founded on the Secret Knowledge of the Qabalah; as this in its turn was derived from that mighty scheme of Ancient Wisdom, the Initiated Magic of Egypt. For to any deep student at the same time of the Qabalah and of modern Egyptology, the root and origin of the former is evidently to be sought in that country of Mysteries, the home of the Gods whose symbols and classification formed so conspicuous a part of the Sacred Rites; and from which even to the present day, so many recipes of Magic have descended. For we must make a very careful distinction between the really Ancient Egyptian Magic, and the Arabian ideas and traditions prevailing in Egypt in recent times. I think it is the learned*

Lenormant who points out in his work on Chaldean Magic, that the great difference between this and the Egyptian was that the Magician of the former School indeed invoked the Spirits, but that the latter allied himself with and took upon himself the characters and names of the Gods to command the Spirits by, in his Exorcism; which latter mode of working would not only imply on his part a critical knowledge of the nature and power of the Gods; but also the affirmation of his reliance upon them, and his appeal to them for aid to control the forces evoked; in other words, the most profound system of White Magic which it is possible to conceive.

The next point worthy of notice is what Abraham urges regarding the preferability of employing one's mother tongue both in prayer and evocation; his chief reason being the absolute necessity of comprehending utterly and thoroughly with the whole soul and heart, that which the lips are formulating. While fully admitting the necessity of this, I yet wish to state some reasons in favour of the employment of a language other than one's own. Chief, and first, that it aids the mind to conceive the higher aspect of the Operation; when a different language and one looked upon as sacred is employed, and the phrases in which do not therefore suggest matters of ordinary life. Next, that Hebrew, Chaldee, Egyptian, Greek, Latin, etc., if properly pronounced are more sonorous in vibration than most modern languages, and from that circumstance can suggest greater solemnity. Also that the farther a Magical Operation is removed from the commonplace, the better. But I perfectly agree with Abraham, that it is before all things imperative that the Operator should thoroughly comprehend the import of his Prayer or Conjuration. Furthermore the words in these ancient languages imply "formulas of correspondences" with more ease than those of the modern ones.

Pentacles and Symbols are valuable as an equilibrated and fitting basis for the reception of Magical force: but unless the Operator can really *attract that force to them, they are nothing but so many dead, and to him worthless, diagrams.*

But used by the Initiate who fully comprehends their meaning, they become to him a powerful protection and aid, seconding and focussing the workings of his Will.

At the risk of repeating what I have elsewhere said, I must caution the Occult student against forming a mistaken judgment from what Abraham the Jew says regarding the use of Magic Circles and of Licensing the Spirits to Depart. It is true that in the Convocation of the Spirits as laid down by him, it is not necessary to form a Magic Circle for defence and protection; but why?—Because the whole group of the Bedchamber, Oratory, and Terrace, are consecrated by the preparatory Ceremonies of the previous Six Moons; *so that the whole place is protected, and the Magician is, as it were,* residing constantly within a Magic Circle. *Therefore also the Licensing to Depart may be to a great extent dispensed with because the Spirits cannot break into the consecrated limit of the periphery of the walls of the house. But let the worker of ordinary Evocations be assured that were this not so, and the Convocation was performed in an unconsecrated place, without any Magical Circle having been traced for defence, the invocation to visible appearance of such fearful potencies as Amaymon, Egyn, and Beelzebub, would probably result in the death of the Exorcist on the spot; such death presenting the symptoms of one arising from Epilepsy, Apoplexy, or Strangulation, varying with the conditions obtaining at the time. Also the Circle having been once formed, let the Evocator guard carefully against either passing, or* stooping, *or* leaning *beyond, its limits during the progress of the Exorcism, before the license to depart has been given. Because that, even apart from other causes, the whole object and effect of the Circle working, is to create abnormal atmospheric conditions, by exciting a different status of force within the Circle to that which exists without it; so that even without any malignant occult action of the Spirits, the sudden and unprepared change of atmosphere will seriously affect the Exorciser in the intensely strained state of nervous tension he will then be in. Also the License to Depart should*

not be omitted, because the Evil Forces will be only too glad to revenge themselves on the Operator for having disturbed them, should he incautiously quit the Circle without having previously sent them away, and if necessary even forced them to go by contrary conjurations.

I do not share Abraham's opinion as to the necessity of withholding the Operation of this Sacred Magic from a Prince or Potentate. Every great system of Occultism has its own Occult Guards, who will know how to avenge mistaken tampering therewith.

At the risk of repeating myself I will once more earnestly caution the Student against the dangerous automatic nature of certain of the Magical Squares of the Third Book; for, if left carelessly about, they are very liable to obsess sensitive persons, children, or even animals.

Abraham's remarks concerning the errors of Astrology in the common sense, and of the attribution of the Planetary Hours are worthy of careful note. Yet I have found the ordinary *attribution of the Planetary Hours effective to an extent.*

In all cases where there is anything difficult or obscure in the text, I have added copious explanatory notes; so many indeed as to form a species of commentary in parts. Especially have those on the Names of the Spirits cost me incredible labour, from the difficulty of identifying their root-forms. The same may be said of those on the Symbols of the Third Book.

Wherever I have employed parentheses in the actual text, they shew certain words or phrases supplied to make the meaning clearer.

In conclusion I will only say that I have written this explanatory Introduction purely and solely as a help to genuine Occult students; and that for the opinion of the ordinary literary critic who neither understands nor believes in Occultism, I care nothing.

87 RUE MOZART, AUTEUIL, PARIS.

APPENDICES.

(APPENDIX C.)

EXAMPLES OF OTHER METHODS OF ANGELIC EVOCATION.

FOR the benefit of the Occult Student I here give two other systems of Angelic Evocation. The first is taken from that part of the Book called "Barrett's Magus" (1801), which is entitled "the Key to Ceremonial Magic". The second is copied from my "Key of Solomon the King".

From
"The Perfection and Key of . . . Ceremonial Magic";
being
the second part of the second Book of
"The Magus
or
Celestial Intelligencer"; *
by
Francis Barrett, F.R.C.

"The good Spirits may be invocated of us, or by us, divers ways, and they in sundry shapes and manners offer themselves to us, for they openly speak to those that watch, and do offer themselves to our sight, or do inform us by dreams and by oracle of those things which we have a great desire to know. Whoever therefore would call any good Spirit to speak or appear in sight, he must particularly observe two things; one whereof is about the *disposition* of the invocant, the other concerning those things which are outwardly to be adhibited to the invocation for the conformity of the Spirit to be called.

"It is necessary therefore that the invocant religiously dispose himself for the space of many days to such a mystery, and to conserve himself during the time chaste, abstinent, and to abstract himself as much as he can from all manner of foreign and secular business; likewise he should observe fasting, as much as shall seem convenient to him, and let him daily, between sun-

* Published originally by Lackington & Allen, London, 1801; but reprinted and re-issued by Bernard Quaritch, Piccadilly, some years since.

rising and setting, being clothed in pure white linen, seven times call upon God, and make a deprecation unto the Angels to be called and invocated, according to the rule which we have before taught. Now the number of days of fasting and preparation is commonly one month, *i.e.*, the time of a whole lunation. Now, in the Cabala, we generally prepare ourselves forty days before.

"Now concerning the place, it must be chosen clean, pure, close, quiet, free from all manner of noise, and not subject to any stranger's sight. This place must first of all be exorcised and consecrated; and let there be a Table or Altar placed therein, covered with a clean white linen cloth, and set towards the east: and on each side thereof place two consecrated wax-lights burning, the flame thereof ought not to go out all these days. In the middle of the Altar let there be placed lamens, or the holy paper we have before described, covered with fine linen, which is not to be opened until the end of the days of consecration. You shall also have in readiness a *precious perfume* and a *pure anointing oil*. And let them both be kept consecrated. Then set a censer on the head of the Altar, wherein you shall kindle the *holy fire*, and make a precious perfume every day that you pray.

"Now for your habit, you shall have a long garment of white linen, close before and behind, which may come down quite over the feet, and gird yourself about the loins with a girdle. You shall likewise have a veil made of pure white linen on which must be wrote in a gilt lamen, the name *Tetragrammaton*; all which things are to be consecrated and sanctified in order. But you must not go into this holy place till it be first washed and covered with a cloth new and clean, and then you may enter, but with your feet naked and bare; and when you enter therein you shall sprinkle with holy water, then make a perfume upon the altar; and then on your knees pray before the altar as we have directed.

"Now when the time is expired, on the last day, you shall fast more strictly; and fasting on the day following, at the rising of the sun, enter the holy place, using the ceremonies before spoken of, first by sprinkling thyself, then, making a perfume, you shall sign the cross with holy oil on the forehead, and anoint your eyes, using prayer in all these consecrations. Then open the lamen and pray before the Altar upon your knees; and then an invocation may be made as follows:—

AN INVOCATION OF THE GOOD SPIRITS.

"In the Name of the Blessed and Holy Trinity, I do desire ye, strong and mighty Angels (*here name the Spirit or Spirits you would have appear*), that if it be the Divine Will of Him Who is called Tetragrammaton, *etc.*, the Holy God, the Father, that ye take upon ye some shape as best becometh your celestial nature, and appear to us visibly here in this place, and answer our demands, in as far as we shall not transgress the bounds of the Divine mercy and goodness, by requesting unlawful knowledge; but that thou wilt graciously shew us what things are most profitable for us to know and do, to the glory and honour of His Divine Majesty Who liveth and reigneth world without end. *Amen.*

"Lord, Thy Will be done on earth as it is in heaven—make clean our hearts within us, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from us. O Lord, by Thy Name we have called them, suffer them to administer unto us.

"And that all things may work together for Thy Honour and Glory, to Whom with Thee, the Son and blessed Spirit, be ascribed all might, majesty, and dominion, world without end. *Amen.*

"The Invocation being made, the Good Angels will appear unto you which you desire, which you shall entertain with a chaste communication, and licence them to depart.

"Now the Lamen which is used to invoke any Good Spirit must be made after the following manner: either in metal conformable or in new wax mixed with convenient spices and colours; or it may be made with pure white paper with convenient colours, and the outward form of it may be either square, circular, or triangular, or of the like sort, according to the rule of the numbers; in which there must be written the Divine Names, as well general as special. And in the centre of the Lamen draw a hexagon * or character of six corners; in the middle thereof write the Name and Character of the Star, or of the Spirit his Governor, to whom the Good Spirit that is to be called is subject. And about this Character let there be placed so many Characters of five corners, or pentacles,† as the Spirits we

* Probably an error for "hexagram," or "hexangle".

† Probably an error for "pentagrams," or "pentangles".

would call together at once. But if we should call only one, nevertheless there must be made four pentagons, wherein the name of the Spirit or Spirits with their characters are to be written. Now this Lamen ought to be composed when the Moon is in her increase, on those days and hours which agree to the Spirit ; and if we take a fortunate planet therewith, it will be the better for the producing the effect ; which Table or Lamen being rightly made in the manner we have fully described, must be consecrated according to the rules above delivered.

"And this is the way of making the general Table or Lamen for the invocating of all Spirits whatever ; the form whereof you may see in plates of pentacles, seals, and lamens.

"We will yet declare unto you another rite more easy to perform this thing : Let the Man who wishes to receive an oracle from a Spirit, be chaste, pure, and sanctified ; then a place being chosen pure, clean, and covered everywhere with clean and white linen, on the Lord's-day in the new of the Moon, let him enter into that place clothed with white linen ; let him exorcise the place, bless it, and make a circle therein with a consecrated coal ; let there be written in the outer part of the Circle the Names of the Angels ; in the inner part thereof write the Mighty Names of God ; and let be placed within the Circle, at the Four Parts of the World,* the vessels for the perfumes. Then being washed and fasting, let him enter the place, and pray towards the East this whole Psalm :—"Blessed are the undefiled in the way, etc.". Psalm cix. Then make a fumigation, and deprecate the Angels by the said Divine Names, that they will appear unto you, and reveal or discover that which you so earnestly desire ; and do this continually for six days washed, and fasting. On the seventh day being washed and fasting, enter the Circle, perfume it, and anoint thyself with holy oil upon the forehead, eyes, and in the palms of both hands, and upon the feet ; then with bended knees, say the Psalm aforesaid, with Divine and Angelical Names. Which being said, arise, and walk round the Circle *from East to West*, until thou shalt be wearied with a giddiness of thy head and brain, then straightway fall down in the Circle, where thou mayest rest, and thou wilt be wrapped up in an ecstasy ; and a Spirit will appear and inform thee of all things necessary to be known. We must observe also, that in the Circle there ought to be four holy

* *I.e.*, The Cardinal Points, or Quarters.

candles burning at the Four Parts of the World, which ought not to want light for the space of a week.

"And the manner of fasting is this: to abstain from all things having a life of sense, and from those which do proceed from them, let him drink only pure running water; neither is there any food or wine to be taken till the going down of the Sun.

"Let the perfume and the holy anointing oil be made as is set forth in Exodus, and other holy books of the Bible. It is also to be observed, that as often as he enters the Circle he has upon his forehead a golden lamen, upon which must be written the Name *Tetragrammaton*, in the manner we have before mentioned."

In "The Key of Solomon the King" * (Book II.—Chapter XXI.) will be found other directions for invoking spirits as follows:—

"Make a small Book containing the Prayers for all the Operations, the Names of the Angels in the form of Litanies, their Seals and Characters; the which being done thou shalt consecrate the same unto God and unto the pure Spirits in the manner following:—

"Thou shalt set in the destined place a small table covered with a white cloth, whereon thou shalt lay the Book opened at the Great Pentacle which should be drawn on the first leaf of the said Book; and having kindled a lamp which should be suspended above the centre of the table, thou shalt surround the said table with a white curtain; † clothe thyself in the proper vestments, and holding the Book open, repeat upon thy knees the following prayer with great humility:—

The Prayer.

"Adonai, Elohim, El, Eheieh Asher Eheieh, Prince of Princes, Existence of Existences, have mercy upon me, and cast Thine eyes upon Thy servant (N.) who invoketh Thee most devoutly, and supplicateth Thee by Thy Holy and tremendous Name, Tetragrammaton, to be propitious and to order Thine Angels and Spirits to come and take up their abode in this place; O ye Angels and Spirits of the Stars, O all ye Angels and Elementary Spirits, O all ye Spirits present before the Face of

* Published by G. Redway, London, 1889.

† So as to make a species of small tabernacle around the altar.

God, I the Minister and faithful Servant of the Most High conjure ye, let God Himself, the Existence of Existences, conjure ye to come and be present at this Operation ; I the Servant of God, most humbly entreat ye. Amen.

" After which thou shalt incense it with the incense proper to the Planet and the Day, and thou shalt replace the Book on the aforesaid table, taking heed that the Fire of the Lamp be kept up continually during the operation, and keeping the curtains closed. Repeat the same Ceremony for seven days, beginning with Saturday, and perfuming the Book each day with the Incense proper to the Planet ruling the day and hour, and taking heed that the Lamp shall burn both day and night ; after the which thou shalt shut up the Book in a small Drawer under the table, made expressly for it, until thou shalt have occasion to use it ; and every time that thou wishest to use it, clothe thyself with thy vestments, kindle the lamp, and repeat upon thy knees the aforesaid prayer, 'ADONAI, ELOHIM,' etc.

" It is necessary also in the Consecration of the Book, to summon all the Angels whose Names are written therein in the form of Litanies, the which thou shalt do with devotion ; and even if the Angels and Spirits appear not in the Consecration of the Book, be not thou astonished thereat, seeing that they are of a pure nature, and consequently have much difficulty in familiarising themselves with men who are inconstant and impure, but the Ceremonies and Characters being correctly carried out, devoutly, and with perseverance, they will be constrained to come, and it will at length happen that at thy first invocation thou wilt be able to see and communicate with them. But I advise thee to undertake nothing unclean or impure, for then thy importunity, far from attracting them will only serve to chase them from thee ; and it will be thereafter exceedingly difficult for thee to attract them for use for pure ends."

THE FIRST BOOK

OF THE

HOLY MAGIC,

WHICH GOD GAVE UNTO MOSES, AARON, DAVID, SOLOMON, AND OTHER SAINTS, PATRIARCHS AND PROPHETS; WHICH TEACHETH THE TRUE DIVINE WISDOM.

BEQUEATHED BY ABRAHAM UNTO LAMECH HIS SON.

TRANSLATED FROM THE HEBREW.

1458.

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE HOLY MAGIC.

ALTHOUGH this First Book serveth rather for prologue than for the actual rules to acquire this Divine and Sacred Magic; nevertheless, O! Lamech, my son, thou wilt therein find certain examples and other matters* which will be none the less useful and profitable unto thee than the precepts and dogmas which I shall give thee in the Second and Third Books. Wherefore thou shalt not neglect the study of this First Book, which shall serve thee for an introduction† unto the Veritable and Sacred Magic, and unto the practice of that which I, ABRAHAM, THE SON OF SIMON, have learned, in part from my father, and in part also from other Wise and faithful Men, and which I have found true and real, having submitted it unto proof and experiment. And having written this with mine own hand, I have placed it within this casket, and locked it up, as a most precious treasure; in order that when thou hast arrived at a proper age thou mayest be able to admire, to consider, and to enjoy the marvels of the Lord; as well as thine elder brother Joseph, who, as the first-born, hath received from me the Holy Tradition of the Qabalah.‡

* *Des exemples et des circonstances.* † *D'acheminement.*

‡ I consider this a truer orthography of the word than the usual rendering of "Cabala".

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

AMECH, if thou wishest to know the reason wherefore I give unto thee this Book, it is that if thou considerest thy condition, which is that of being a last-born Son, thou shalt know wherefore it appertaineth unto thee ; and I should commit a great error should I deprive thee of that grace which God hath given unto me with so much profusion and liberality. I will then make every effort to avoid and to fly prolixity of words in this First Book ; having alone in view the ancientness of this Venerable and Indubitable Science. And seeing that TRUTH hath no need of enlightenment and of exposition, she being simple and right ; be thou only obedient unto all that I shall say unto thee, contenting thyself with the simplicity thereof, be thou good and upright,* and thou shalt acquire more wealth than I could know how to promise unto thee. May the Only and Most Holy God grant unto all, the grace necessary to be able to comprehend and penetrate the high Mysteries of the Qabalah and of the Law ; but they should content themselves with that which the Lord accordeth unto them ; seeing that if against His Divine Will they wish to fly yet higher, even as did Lucifer, this will but procure for them a most shameful and fatal fall. Wherefore it is necessary to be extremely prudent, and to consider the INTENTION which I have had in describing this method of operation ; because in consideration of thy great youth I attempt no other thing but to excite thee unto the research of this Sacred Magic. But the manner of acquiring the same will come later, in all its perfection, and in its proper time ; for it will be taught thee by better Masters than I, that is to say, by those same Holy Angels of God. No man

* *Réel.*

is born into the World a Master, and for that reason are we obliged to learn. He who applieth himself thereunto, and studieth, learneth ; and a man can have no more shameful and evil title* than that of being an Ignorant person.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

THEREFORE do I confess, that I, even I also, am not born a MASTER ; neither have I invented this science of my own proper Genius ; but I have learned it from others in the manner which I will hereafter tell thee, and in truth.

My father, SIMON, shortly before his death, gave me certain signs and instructions concerning the way in which it is necessary to acquire the Holy Qabalah ; but it is however true that he did not enter into the Holy Mystery by the true Path, and I could not know how to understand the same sufficiently and perfectly as Reason demanded. My father was always contented and satisfied with such a method of understanding the same, and he sought out no further the Veritable Science and Magical Art, which I undertake to teach thee and to expound unto thee.

After his death, finding myself twenty years of age, I had a very great passion to understand the True Mysteries of the Lord ; but of mine own strength I could not arrive at the end which I intended to attain.

I learned that at Mayence there was a Rabbi who was a notable Sage, and the report went that he possessed in full the Divine Wisdom. The great desire

* This is identical with the Oriental doctrine that Ignorance is in itself evil and unhappiness.

which I had to study induced me to go to seek him in order to learn from him. But this man also had not received from the Lord the GIFT, and a perfect grace ; because, although he forced himself to manifest unto me certain deep Mysteries of the Holy Qabalah, he by no means arrived at the goal ; and in his Magic he did not in any way make use of the Wisdom of the Lord, but instead availed himself of certain arts and superstitions of infidel and idolatrous nations, in part derived from the Egyptians,* together with images of the Medes and of the Persians, with herbs of the Arabians, together with the power of the Stars and Constellations ; and, finally, he had drawn from every people and nation, and even from the Christians, some diabolical Art. And in everything the Spirits blinded him to such an extent, even while obeying him in some ridiculous and inconsequent matter, that he actually believed that his blindness and error were the Veritable Magic, and he therefore pushed no further his research into the True and Sacred Magic. I also learned his extravagant experiments, and for ten years did I remain buried in so great an error, until that after the ten years I arrived in Egypt at the house of an Ancient Sage who was called ABRAMELIM, who put me into the true Path as I will declare it unto thee hereafter, and he gave me better instruction and doctrine than all the others ; but this particular grace was granted me by the Almighty Father of all Mercy, that is to say, ALMIGHTY GOD, who little by little illuminated mine understanding and opened mine eyes to see and admire, to contemplate, and search out His Divine Wisdom, in such a manner that it became possible unto me to further and further understand and comprehend the Sacred Mystery by which I entered into the knowledge of the Holy Angels, enjoying

* Yet the true Qabalah is undoubtedly derived from the Egyptian and Eastern Wisdom.

their sight and their sacred conversation, from whom* at length I received afterwards the foundation of the Veritable Magic, and how to command and dominate the Evil Spirits. So that by way of conclusion unto this chapter I cannot say that I have otherwise received the True Instruction save from ABRAMELIM,† and the True and Incorruptible Magic save from the Holy Angels of God.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

HAVE already said in the preceding chapter that shortly after the death of my father, I attached myself unto the research of the True Wisdom, and of the Mystery of the Lord. Now in this chapter I will briefly mention the places and countries by which I have passed in order to endeavour to learn those things which are good. And I do this in order that it may serve thee for a rule and example not to waste thy youth in petty and useless pursuits, like little girls sitting round the fireplace. For there is nothing more deplorable and more unworthy in a man than to find himself ignorant in all circumstances. He who worketh and travelleth learneth much; and he who knoweth not how to conduct and govern himself when far from his native land, will know still less in his own house how to do so. I dwelt then, after the death of my father, for four years with my brothers and sisters, and I studied with care how to put to a profitable use what my father had left me after his death; and seeing that my means were insufficient to counterbalance

* *I.e.* from the Angels.

† This name is spelt "Abramelin" in some places, and "Abramelim" in others. I have consequently carefully in all cases put the orthography as it there occurs in the MS.

the expenses which I was compelled to be at, after having set in order all my affairs and business as well as my strength permitted ; I set out, and I went into Vormatia* to Mayence, in order to find there a very aged Rabbi named Moses, in the hope that I had found in him that which I sought. As I have said in the preceding chapter, his Science had no foundation such as that of the True Divine Wisdom. I remained with him for four years, miserably wasting all that time there, and persuading myself that I had learned all that I wished to know,† and I was only thinking of returning to my paternal home, when I casually met a young man of our sect, named SAMUEL, a native of Bohemia, whose manners and mode of life showed me that he wished to live, walk, and die in the Way of the Lord and in His Holy Law ; and I contracted so strong a bond of friendship with him that I showed him all my feelings and intentions. As he had resolved to make a journey to Constantinople, in order to there join a brother of his father, and thence to pass into the Holy Land wherein our forefathers had dwelt, and from the which for our very great errors and misdeeds we had been chased and cast forth by God. He,‡ having so willed it, the moment that he§ had made me acquainted with his design, I felt an extraordinary desire to accompany him in his journey, and I believe that Almighty God wished by this means to awaken me, for I could take no rest until the moment that we mutually and reciprocally passed our word to each other and swore to make the voyage together.

On the 13th day of February, in the year 1397, we commenced our journey, passing through Germany,

* "*Vormatie*" ; that is to say, the district under the government of the town of Worms, called in Latin "Vormatia" anciently.

† In the previous chapter he says that he remained in this path of study for ten years.

‡ *I.e.*, God.

§ Samuel.

Bohemia, Austria, and thence by Hungary and Greece unto Constantinople, where we remained two years, and I should never have quitted it, had not death taken Samuel from me at length through a sudden illness. Finding myself alone, a fresh desire for travel seized me, and so much was my heart given thereto, that I kept wandering from one place to another, until at length I arrived in Egypt, where constantly travelling for the space of four years in one direction and another, the more I practised the experiments of the magic of RABBIN MOSES, the less did it please me. I pursued my voyage towards our ancient country, where I fixed my residence for a year, and neither saw nor heard of any other thing but misery, calamity, and unhappiness. After this period of time, I there found a Christian who also was travelling in order to find that which I was seeking also myself. Having made an agreement together, we resolved to go into the desert parts of Arabia for the search for that which we ardently desired ; feeling sure that, as we had been told, there were in those places many just and very learned men, who dwelt there in order to be able to study without any hindrance, and to devote themselves unto that Art for which we ourselves were seeking ; but as we there found nothing equivalent to the trouble we had taken, or which was worthy of our attention, there came into my head the extravagant idea to advance no farther but to return to my own home. I communicated my intention to my companion, but he for his part wished to follow out his enterprise and seek his good fortune ; so I prepared to return.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

N my return journey I began to reflect on the time which I had lost in travelling, and on the great expense which I had been at without any return, and without having made any acquisition of that which I wished for and which had caused me to undertake the voyage. I had, however, taken the resolution of returning to my home on quitting Arabia Deserta by way of Palestine, and so into Egypt; and I was six months on the way. I at length arrived at a little town called ARACHI, situated on the bank of the Nile, where I lodged with an old Jew named AARON, where indeed I had already lodged before in my journey; and I communicated unto him my sentiments. He asked me how I had succeeded, and whether I had found that which I wished. I answered mournfully that I had done absolutely nothing, and I made him an exact recital of the labours and troubles which I had undergone, and my recital was accompanied by my tears which I could not help shedding in abundance, so that I attracted the compassion of the old man, and he began to try to comfort me by telling me that during my journey he had heard say that in a desert place not far from the aforesaid town of ARACHI dwelt a very learned and pious man whose name was ABRAMELINO,* and he† exhorted me that as I had already done so much, not to fail to visit him, that perhaps the Most Merciful God might regard me with pity, and grant me that which I righteously wished for. It seemed to me as though I was listening to a Voice, not human but celestial, and I felt a joy in mine heart such as I could not express; and I had neither rest nor intermission until AARON found me a man who conducted me

* Thus spelt here. † Aaron the Jew.

to the nearest route, by which walking upon fine sand during the space of three days and a half without seeing any human habitation I at length arrived at the foot of a hill of no great height, and which was entirely surrounded by trees. My Guide then said: "In this small wood dwelleth the man whom you seek;" and having showed me the direction to take he wished to accompany me no further, and having taken his leave of me he returned home by the same route by which we had come, together with his mule which had served to carry our food. Finding myself in this situation I could think of no other thing to do than to submit myself to the help of the Divine Providence by invoking His very holy Name, Who then granted unto me His most holy Grace, for in turning my eyes in the aforementioned direction, I beheld coming towards me a venerable aged Man, who saluted me in the Chaldean language in a loving manner, inviting me to go with him into his habitation; the which courtesy I accepted with an extreme pleasure, realising in that moment how great is the Providence of the Lord. The good old Man was very courteous to me and treated me very kindly, and during an infinitude of days he never spake unto me of any other matter than of the Fear of God, exhorting me to lead ever a well-regulated life, and from time to time warned me of certain errors which man commits through human frailty, and, further, he made me understand that he detested the acquisition of riches and goods which we were constantly employed in gaining in our towns through so severe usury exacted from, and harm wrought to, our neighbour. He required from me a very solemn and precise promise to change my manner of life, and to live not according to our false dogmas, but in the Way and Law of the Lord. The which promise I having ever after inviolably observed, and being later on again among my relatives and other Jews, I passed among them for a wicked and foolish man;

but I said in myself: "Let the Will of God be done, and let not respect of persons turn us aside from the right path, seeing that man is a deceiver".

The aforesaid ABRAMELIN, knowing the ardent desire which I had to learn, he gave me two manuscript books, very similar in form unto these which I now bequeath unto thee, O Lamech, my son; but very obscure: and he told me to copy them for myself with care, which I did, and carefully examined both the one and the other. And he asked me if I had any money, I answered unto him "Yes". He said unto me that he required ten golden florins, which he must himself, according to the order which the Lord had given unto him, distribute by way of alms among seventy-two poor persons, who were obliged to repeat certain Psalms;* and having kept the feast of Saturday, which is the day of the Sabbath, he set out to go to ARACHI, because it was requisite that he

* The Qabalistical reader will at once remark the symbolism of the numbers "ten" and "seventy-two," the first being the Number of the *Sephiroth*, and the second that of the *Schemahamphorasch*. But as many readers may be ignorant of the meaning and reference of these terms, I will briefly explain them. The Ten Sephiroth are the most abstract ideas and conceptions of the ten numbers of the ordinary Decimal Scale, and are employed in the Qabalah as an ideal means of explaining the different Emanations or Attributes of the Deity. It was thus that Pythagoras employed the abstract ideas of Numbers as a means of metaphysical instruction. The Schemahamphorasch or "Divided Name" is a Qabalistical method of investigating the natures of the Name of four letters I H V H (Jehovah), which is considered to contain all the Forces of Nature. There are in the Book of Exodus three verses in the fourteenth chapter, describing the pillars of fire and of cloud forming a defence unto the children of Israel against the Egyptians. Each of these three verses consists in the Hebrew of seventy-two letters, and by writing them in a certain manner one above another, seventy-two columns of three letters each are obtained; each column is then treated as a Name of Three Letters, and the explanation of these is sought for in certain verses of the Psalms which contain these Names; and these latter would be the verses of the Psalms alluded to in the text, which the seventy-two poor persons were told to recite.

should himself distribute the money. And he ordered me to fast for three days, that is to say, the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday following ; contenting myself with only a single repast in the day, wherein was to be neither blood nor dead things ;* also he commanded me to make this commencement with exactness, and not to fail in the least thing, for in order to operate well it is very necessary to begin well, and he instructed me to repeat all the seven † psalms of David one single time in these three days ; and not to do or practise any servile operation. The day being come he set out, and took with him the money which I had given him. I faithfully obeyed him, executing from point to point that which he had ordered me to do. His return was fifteen days later, and being at last arrived he ordered me the day following (which was a Tuesday), before the rising of the Sun, to make with great humility and devotion a general confession of all my life unto the Lord, with a true and firm proposal and resolution to serve and fear Him otherwise than I had done in the past, and to wish to live and die in His most Holy Law, and in obedience unto Him. I performed my confession with all the attention and exactitude necessary. It lasted until the going down of the Sun ; and the day following I presented myself unto ABRAMELIN, who with a smiling countenance said unto me : "It is thus I would ever have you". He then conducted me into his own apartment where I took the two little manuscripts which I had copied ; and he asked of me whether truly, and without fear, I wished for the Divine Science and for the True Magic. I answered unto him that it was the only end and unique motive which had induced me to undertake a so long and troublesome voyage, with the view of receiving this

* This would not necessarily exclude eggs or milk.

† So in the MS.

special grace from the Lord. "And I," said ABRAMELIN, "trusting in the mercy of the Lord, I grant and accord unto thee this Holy Science, which thou must acquire in the manner which is prescribed unto thee in the two little manuscript books, without omitting the least imaginable thing of their contents; and not in any way to gloss or comment upon that which may be or may not be, seeing that the Artist who hath made that work is the same God Who from Nothingness hath created all things. Thou shalt in no way use this Sacred Science to offend the Great God, and to work ill unto thy neighbour; thou shalt communicate it unto no living person whom thou dost not thoroughly know by long practice and conversation, examining well whether such a person really intendeth to work for the Good or for the Evil. And if thou shalt wish to grant it unto him, thou shalt well observe and punctually, the same fashion and manner, which I have made use of with thee. And if thou doest otherwise, he who shall receive it shall draw no fruit therefrom. Keep thyself as thou wouldst from a Serpent from selling this Science, and from making merchandise of it; because the Grace of the Lord is given unto us free and gratis, and we ought in no wise to sell the same. This Veritable Science shall remain in thee and thy generation for the space of seventy-two * years, and will not remain longer in our Sect. Let not thy curiosity push thee on to understand the cause of this, but figure to thyself that we are so good † that our Sect hath become insupportable not only to the whole human race, but even to God Himself!" I wished in receiving these two small manuscript books to throw myself on my knees before him, but he rebuked me, saying that we ought only to bend the knee before God.

* Note again the number of seventy-two.

† This is evidently said ironically.

I avow that these two books* were so exactly written, that thou, O Lamech my son, mayest see them after my death, and thou shalt thus recognise how much respect I have for thee.† It is true that before my departure I well read and studied them, and when I found anything difficult or obscure I had recourse unto ABRA-MELIN, who with charity and patience explained it unto me. Being thoroughly instructed, I took leave of him, and having received his paternal blessing ; a symbol which is not only in use among the Christians, but which was also the custom with our forefathers ; I also departed, and I took the route to Constantinople, whither having arrived I fell sick, and my malady lasted for the space of two months ; but the Lord in His Mercy delivered me therefrom, so that I soon regained my strength, and finding a vessel ready to depart for Venice I embarked thereon, and I arrived there, and having rested some days I set out to go unto Trieste, where having landed, I took the road through the country of Dalmatia, and arrived at length at my paternal home, where I lived among my relatives and my brothers.

THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

IT is not sufficient to travel and journey abroad and see many lands, if one does not draw some useful experience therefrom. Wherefore, in order to show unto thee a good example, I will in this chapter speak of the Mysteries‡ of this Art which I discovered in one way

* He probably means the copies he himself had been ordered by Abramelin to make, and not the originals.

† "*Et tu connoiteras la deference dont je me sers avec toy.*"

‡ *Mistères*, evidently a slip for *Maistres*, Masters.

and another while travelling in the world, and also of the measure and understanding of their various sciences ; while, in the Sixth Chapter following, I will recount the things which I have learned and seen with some among them, and whether in actual practice I found them true or false. I have already before told you that my first Master had been the RABBIN MOSES at MAYENCE, who was indeed a good man, but entirely ignorant of the True Mystery and of the Veritable Magic. He only devoted himself to certain superstitious secrets which he had collected from various infidels, and which were full of the nonsense and foolishness of Pagans and Idolaters ; to such an extent that the Good Angels and Holy Spirits judged him unworthy of their visits and conversation ; and the Evil Spirits mocked him to a ridiculous extent. At times, indeed, they spake to him voluntarily and by caprice, and obeyed him in matters vile, profane, and of no account, in order the better to entrap, deceive and hinder him from searching further for the true and certain Foundation of this Great Science.

At ARGENTINE I found a Christian called JAMES, who was reputed as a learned and very skilful man ; but his Art was the Art of the Juggler, or Cup and Balls Player ; and not that of the Magician.

In the town of PRAGUE I found a wicked man named ANTONY, aged twenty-five years, who in truth showed me wonderful and supernatural things, but may God preserve us from falling into so great an error, for the infamous wretch avowed to me that he had made a Pact with the DEMON, and had given himself over to him in body and in soul, and that he had renounced God and all the Saints ; while, on the other hand, the deceitful LEVIATHAN had promised him forty years of life to do his pleasure. He made every effort, as he was obliged to by the Pact, to persuade me and drag me to the precipice of the same error and misery ; but at first I kept myself

apart from him, and at last I took flight. Unto this day do they sing in the streets of the terrible end which befel him, may the Lord God of His Mercy preserve us from such a misfortune. This should serve us as a mirror of warning to keep far from us all evil undertakings and pernicious curiosity.

In AUSTRIA I found an infinitude, but all were either ignorant, or like unto the Bohemians.

In the Kingdom of HUNGARY I found but persons knowing neither God nor Devil, and who were worse than the beasts.

In GREECE I found many wise and prudent men, but, however, all of them were infidels, among whom there were three who principally dwelt in desert places, who showed unto me great things, such as how to raise tempests in a moment, how to make the Sun appear in the night, how to stop the course of rivers, and how to make night appear at mid-day, the whole by the power of their enchantments, and by applying superstitious ceremonies.

Near CONSTANTINOPLE, in a place called EPHIHA, there was a certain man, who, instead of Enchantments, made use of certain numbers which he wrote upon the earth ; and by means of these he caused certain extravagant and terrifying visions to appear ; but in all these Arts there was no practical use, but only the loss of soul and of body, because all these only worked by particular Pacts, which had no true foundation ; also all these Arts demanded a very long space of time, and they were very false, and when these men were unsuccessful they had always ready a thousand lies and excuses.

In the same city of CONSTANTINOPLE I found two men of our Law, namely, SIMON and the RABBIN ABRAHAME, whom we may class with RABBIN MOSES of Mayence.

In EGYPT the first time I found five persons who

were esteemed and reputed as wise men, among whom were four, namely, HORAY, ABIMECH, ALCAON, and ORILACH, who performed their operations by the means of the course of the Stars and of the Constellations, adding many Diabolical Conjurations and impious and profane prayers, and performing the whole with great difficulty. The fifth, named ABIMELU, operated by the means and aid of Demons, to whom he prepared statues, and sacrificed, and thus they served him with their abominable arts.

In ARABIA they made use of plants, of herbs, and of stones as well precious as common. The Divine Mercy inspired me to return thence, and led me to ABRAMELIN, who was he who declared unto me the Secret, and opened unto me the fountain and true source of the Sacred Mystery, and of the Veritable and Ancient Magic which God had given unto our forefathers.

Also at PARIS I found a wise man called JOSEPH, who, having denied the Christian faith, had made himself a Jew. This man truly practised Magic in the same manner as ABRAMELIN, but he was very far from arriving at perfection therein ; because God, Who is just, never granteth the perfect, veritable and fundamental treasure unto those who deny Him ; notwithstanding that in the rest of their life they might be the most holy and perfect men in the world. I am astonished when I consider the blindness of many persons who let themselves be led by Evil Masters, who take pleasure in falsehood, and, we may rather say, in the DEMON himself ; giving themselves over unto Sorceries and Idolatries, one in one manner, another in another manner, with the result of losing their souls. But the Truth is so great, the Devil is so deceitful and malicious, and the World so frail and so infamous that I must admit that things cannot be otherwise. Let us then open our eyes, and follow that which I shall lay down in the following chapters ; and let us not walk

in another Path, whether of the Devil, or of men, or of Books which boast of their Magic ; for in truth I declare unto thee that I had so great a quantity of such matters written out with so much Art, that had I not had these of ABRAMELIN, I could herein have given thee those. However, it is true that just as there is only one God, that not one of these Books is worth an obolus.* Yet with all this there are men so blind that they buy them at exorbitant prices, and they lose their money, their time, and their pains, and which is worse, very often their souls as well.

THE SIXTH CHAPTER.

HE Fear of the Lord is the True Wisdom, and he who hath it not can in no way penetrate the True Secrets of Magic, and he but buildeth upon a foundation of sand, and his building can in no way last. The RABBIN MOSES persuaded me to be wise, while he himself, with words which neither he himself nor any other person understood, and with extravagant symbols made bells to sound, and while with execrable conjurations he made appear in glasses him who had committed a theft, and while he made a water causing an old man to appear young (and that only for the space of two hours and no longer). All the which things he indeed taught me, but the whole was but vanity, low curiosity, and a pure deception of the DEMON, leading to no useful end imaginable, and tending to the loss of the Soul. And when I had the Veritable Knowledge of the Sacred Magic, I both forgot them, and banished them from mine heart.

* A coin of base money formerly in use, its value being about a halfpenny.

That impious Bohemian,* with the aid and assistance of his Associate, performed astounding feats. He rendered himself invisible, he used to fly in the air, he used to enter through the keyholes into locked-up rooms, he knew our greatest secrets, and once he told me things which God alone could know. But his Art cost him too dear, for the Devil had made him swear in the Pact that he would use all his secrets to the dishonour of God, and to the prejudice of his neighbour. Ultimately his body was found dragged through the streets, and his head without any tongue therein, lying in a drain. And this was all the profit he drew from his Diabolical Science and Magic.

In AUSTRIA I found an infinitude of Magicians who only occupied themselves in killing and maiming men, in putting discord among married people, in causing divorces, in tying witch-knots in osier or willow branches to stop the flow of milk in the breasts of nursing women, and similar infamies. But these miserable wretches had made a Pact with the Devil, and had become his slaves, having sworn unto him that they would work without cessation to destroy all living creatures. Some of these had two years (for their Pact) to run, some three, and after that time they underwent the same fate as the Bohemian.

At LINTZ I worked with a young woman, who one evening invited me to go with her, assuring me that without any risk she would conduct me to a place where I greatly desired to find myself. I allowed myself to be persuaded by her promises. She then gave unto me an unguent, with which I rubbed the principal pulses of my feet and hands ; the which she did also ; and at first it appeared to me that I was flying in the air in the place which I wished, and which I had in no way mentioned to her.

* *I.e.* Antony, of whom he makes mention in the preceding chapter.

I pass over in silence and out of respect, that which I saw, which was admirable, and appearing to myself to have remained there a long while, I felt as if I were just awakening from a profound sleep, and I had great pain in my head and deep melancholy. I turned round and saw that she was seated at my side. She began to recount to me what she had seen, but that which I had seen was entirely different. I was, however, much astonished, because it appeared to me as if I had been really and corporeally in the place, and there in reality to have seen that which had happened. However, I asked her one day to go alone to that same place, and to bring me back news of a friend whom I knew for certain was distant 200 leagues. She promised to do so in the space of an hour. She rubbed herself with the same unguent, and I was very expectant to see her fly away ; but she fell to the ground and remained there about three hours as if she were dead, so that I began to think that she really was dead. At last she began to stir like a person who is waking, then she rose to an upright position, and with much pleasure began to give me the account of her expedition, saying that she had been in the place where my friend was, and all that he was doing ; the which was entirely contrary to his profession. Whence I concluded that what she had just told me was a simple dream, and that this unguent was a causer of a phantastic sleep ; whereon she confessed to me that this unguent had been given to her by the Devil.

All the Arts of the Greeks are Enchantments and Fascinations, and the Demons hold them enchained in these accursed arts so that the Foundation of the True Magic may be unknown to them which would render them more powerful than they ; and I was the more confirmed in this opinion because their operations were of no practical use whatever, and caused injury unto him who put them into practice, as in fact many of them

avowed plainly to me, when I had the True and Sacred Magic. There are also many operations which they say are handed down from the Ancient Sibyls. There is an Art called White and Black ;* another Angelical, TEATIM ; in which I avow that I have seen orations so learned and beautiful, that had I not known the venom therein hidden, I would have given them herein. I say all this because it is very easy to him who is not constantly upon his guard to err.

One old scribbler of symbols † gave me many enchantments which only tended to work evil. He performed other operations by means of numbers, which were all odd, and of a triple proportion, in no way similar to the other, and for proof of this, he caused by such means in my presence a very fine tree which was near my house to fall to the ground, and all the leaves and fruits were consumed in a very short time. And he told me that in Numbers there was hidden a very Great Mystery, because that by the means of numbers one can perform all the operations for friendships, riches, honours, and all sorts of things, good and evil ; and he assured me that he had tried them, but that yet some that he knew to be very true had not yet succeeded with him. With regard to this particular, I found out the reason through the Wise ABRAMELIN, who told me that this came and depended from a Divine Ministry, that is to say, from the Qabalah, and that without that, one could not succeed. All these things have I beheld, and many others, and those who possessed these secrets gave them to me out of friendship. I burned these recipes afterwards in the house of ABRAMELIN, they being absolutely things very far removed from the Will of God, and contrary to the charity which we owe unto our neighbour. Every

* ? the Book " Ambrosius ".

† Evidently the man mentioned in Chapter V., as living at Ephiha, near Constantinople. The word I have rendered by " scribbler of symbols " is *grifas*.

learned and prudent man may fall if he be not defended and guided by the Angel of the Lord, who aided me, and prevented me from falling into such a state of wretchedness, and who led me undeserving from the mire of darkness unto the Light of the Truth. I have known and felt the effects of the goodness of the Wise ABRAHA MELIN,* who of his own free will, and before I had asked him so to do, accepted me for his disciple. And before that I had declared my wish unto him he would accomplish and fulfil my desire ; and all that I wished to obtain from him he knew before I could open my mouth. Also he recounted to me all that I had seen, done, and suffered from the time of my father's death down to this moment ; and this in words obscure and as it were prophetic, which I did not then comprehend, but which I understood later. He told me many things touching my good fortune, but, which was the principal thing, he discovered to me the Source of the Veritable Qabalah, the which according to our custom, I have in turn communicated unto thine elder brother JOSEPH, after that he had fulfilled the requisite conditions without the accomplishment of which the Qabalah and this Sacred Magic cannot be exercised, and which I will recount in the two following books. Afterwards he did manifest unto me the Regimen of the Mystery of that Sacred Magic which was exercised and put into practice by our forefathers and progenitors, NOAH, ABRAHAM, JACOB, MOSES, DAVID, and SOLOMON, among whom the last misused it, and he received the punishment thereof during his life.

In the Second Book I will describe the whole faithfully and clearly, in order that if the Lord God should wish to dispose of me before that thou shalt have attained a competent age, thou shalt find these three small manuscript books as forming at the same time both an inestim-

* So written here in the MS.

able treasure and a faithful master and teacher ; because there are very many secrets in the Symbols of the Third Book which I have seen made experiment of with mine own eyes by ABRAMELIM,* and to be perfectly true, and which afterwards I myself have performed. And after him I found no one who worked these things truly ; and although JOSEPH at Paris walked in the same Path, nevertheless God, as a just Judge, did not in any way wish to grant unto him the Sacred Magic in its entirety, because he had despised the Christian Law. For it is an indubitable and evident thing that he who is born Christian, Jew, Pagan, Turk, Infidel, or whatever religion it may be, can arrive at the perfection of this Work or Art and become a Master, but he who hath abandoned his natural Law, and embraced another religion opposed to his own, can never arrive at the summit of this Sacred Science.†

THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

OD, the Father of Mercy, having granted unto me the grace to return safe and sound into my country ; I paid unto Him according to my small power, some little portion of that which I owed Him ; thanking Him for so many benefits which I had received from Him, and in particular for the acquisition of the Qabalah which I had made at the house of ABRAMELIM.‡ It now only remained for me to reduce to Practice this Sacred

* Thus spelt here.

† Many Occultists will doubtless not be of this opinion. It is one thing to simply quit one debased and materialised form or sect of religion for another, which is perhaps little if any better ; and quite another thing to seek out the true religion which is at the basis of all, and which could not be entirely true, were it not free from Sect.

‡ Thus spelt here.

Magic, but many things of importance and hindrances presented themselves ; among the which my marriage was one of the greatest. I therfore judged it fitting to defer putting it in practice, and a principal obstacle was the inconvenience of the place in which I dwelt. I resolved to absent myself suddenly, and go away into the Hercynian Forests, and there remain during the time necessary for this operation, and lead a solitary life. It was not possible for me to do it sooner for many reasons and dangers of which latter I ran a risk in that place, besides which it would be necessary to leave my wife, who was young and now *enceinte*. Finally, I resolved to follow the example of ABRAMELIN,* and I divided my house† into two parts ; I took another house at rent, which I in part furnished, and I gave over to one of my uncles the care of providing the necessaries of life and the needs thereof. Meanwhile I with my wife and a servant remained in my own house, and I began to accustom myself to the solitary life, which it was to me extremely difficult to support, because of the melancholic humour which dominated me, and I lived thus till the season of Easter which I celebrated with all the family according to custom. Then first, on the following day, in the Name and to the honour of God Almighty the Creator of Heaven and of Earth, I commenced this holy operation, and I continued it for Six Moons without omitting the slightest detail, as thou wilt understand later. And the period of the Six Moons being expired, the Lord granted unto me His Grace by His Mercy ; according to the promise made unto our forefathers, since while I was making my prayer unto Him He deigned to grant unto me the vision and apparition of His holy Angels, together with which I experienced so great joy, consolation and contentment of soul, that I could neither

* *D'embrasser le parti d'Abramelin.*

† Probably meaning "household".

express it nor put it into writing. And during the three days, while I was enjoying this sweet and delightful presence with an indicible contentment, my holy Angel, whom God the Most Merciful had destined from my creation for my Guardian, spake unto me with the greatest goodness and affection ; who not only manifested unto me the Veritable Magic but even made easier for me the means of obtaining it. He confirmed as being true the Symbols of the Qabalah which I had received from ABRAMELIN ; and he gave me the fundamental means by which I could have an infinitude of others in my operations according to my pleasure, assuring me that he would instruct me fully thereon. (These Symbols are all like those of the Third Book.) He gave me further very useful advice and admonition, such as an Angel could give ; how I should govern myself the following days with the Evil Spirits so as to constrain them to obey me ; the which I duly followed out fulfilling always from point to point his instructions very faithfully, and by the Grace of God I constrained them to obey me and to appear in the place destined for this operation ; and they obligated themselves to obey me, and to be subject unto me. And since then even until now, without offending God and the Holy Angels I have held them in my power and command, always assisted by the power of God and of His Holy Angels. And this with so great a prosperity of our house, that I confess that I held myself back from the vast riches which I could have accumulated ; although I possess enough to be counted among the number of the rich, as thou wilt know when thou shalt be more advanced in age. May the Grace of the Lord, and the defence and protection of His Holy Angels never then depart from me, ABRAHAM, nor from my two sons JOSEPH and LAMECH ; nor from all those who by your means and by the Will of God, shall receive this operation ! So be it !

THE EIGHTH CHAPTER.

IN order to show that Man ought to make use of the good things of the Lord by applying them unto a good end, that is to say, unto His honour and glory, both for his own use and that of his neighbour ; I will describe in a few words in this present chapter many and the most considerable operations which I have carried out ; and the which, with the aid of the All-Powerful Lord and of the Holy Angels, by the means of this Art I have easily conducted unto the desired end. And I write not this description in any way to vaunt myself, nor out of vain glory, the which would be a great sin against God, because it is He Who hath done the whole, and not I ; but only do I write this that it may serve for instruction unto others, so that they may know wherein they ought to avail themselves of this Art, as also that they may use it to the honour of Him Who hath given this wisdom unto men, and glorify Him ; and in order that each one may know how great and inexhaustible are the treasures of the Lord, and render unto Him particular thanks for so precious a gift. And especially (do I thank Him) for having granted unto me, who am but a little worm of Earth, through the means of ABRAMELIN the power to give and communicate unto others this Sacred Science. After my death a book will be found, which I commenced to write at the time when I was beginning to put in practice this Art, which, reckoning the number of the years, was in 1409, until to-day on which I am arrived at the 96th* year of mine age, with all honour and augmentation of fortune ; and in this book can be read in detail even to the very least thing which I have

* As this MS. bears the date of 1458, Abraham must have been born in 1362, and was consequently 47 years old in 1409.

done. But here, as I have aforesaid, I will describe only the most remarkable.

Up till now I have healed of persons of all conditions, bewitched unto death, no less than 8413, and belonging unto all religions, without making an exception in any case.

I gave unto mine Emperor SIGISMOND,* a very

* Sigismond, Emperor of Germany, was born the 14th February, 1368, and died at Znaïm on the 9th December, 1437. Son of the Emperor Charles IV. and of Anne of Silesia, he received an excellent education. At ten years of age his father gave him the Margravate of Brandenburg, and two years later he was betrothed to Mary, the daughter of Louis the Great of Hungary, whom he afterwards married. He was nominated by his father-in-law his successor on the throne of Poland. But the nobles preferred Ladislaus, the nephew of Casimir the Great. However, in 1386, he took possession of Hungary, repulsed the Poles, overcame the rebellious nobles; and then marched against the Wallachians and Turks, but he was beaten, and later, notwithstanding the help of France and England, he lost the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396. He escaped on board a vessel in the Black Sea, and for eighteen months was a fugitive from his Kingdom; and at the moment of his re-entering Hungary he was made prisoner by the discontented nobles, and shut up in the citadel of Ziklos. Escaping thence into Bohemia, he, however, reconquered his throne, and in 1410 was raised to the Empire by one party among the Electors, while Josse, Marquis of Moravia, and Wenceslaus were elected by other factions. A remarkable coincidence, seeing that at this moment when three Emperors possessed the Empire, the Papacy had also three Popes, *viz.:* John XXIII. (Balthazar Cossa), a Neapolitan; Gregory XII. (Ange Conrario), a Venetian; and Benedict XIII. (Pierre de Lune), a Spaniard. The death of Josse, and the resignation of Wenceslaus, left Sigismond sole master of the Empire. After having received the Silver Crown at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1414, he went to preside at the Council of Constance, where John Huss was condemned, notwithstanding the safe conduct which he had obtained from the Emperor. He endeavoured to end the differences between the Roman and Greek Churches, visited France and England under pretext of reconciling Charles VI. and Henry V., but, as some say, in order to form a league with the latter against France, so as to recover the ancient Kingdom of Arles. The death of his brother, Wenceslaus, in 1419, rendered him Master of Bohemia, at the moment when the revolt of the Hussites was at its height. He commenced a war of extermination against them, but was defeated by Ziska in 1420,

clement Prince, a Familiar Spirit of the Second Hierarchy, even as he commanded me, and he availed himself of its services with prudence. He wished also to possess the secret of the whole operation, but as I was warned by the Lord that it was not His Will, he contented himself with what was permitted, not as Emperor, but as a private person; and I even by means of mine Art facilitated his marriage with his wife; and I caused him to overcome the great difficulties which opposed his marriage.

I delivered also the Count FREDERICK* by the means

and a war of fifteen years' duration ensued. In 1431, whilst he was being crowned King of Italy at Milan, his troops experienced such severe defeats that he was forced to concede advantageous terms to the rebels. But dissensions arose among them, and Sigismond profited by this to completely crush them at length and make Bohemia submit. He reigned twenty-seven years as Emperor of Germany, eighteen years as King of Bohemia, and fifty-one years as King of Hungary. His second wife, Barbe, has been called by some, *the Messalina of Germany*.

* Frederick I., surnamed the Quarreller, Duke and Elector of Saxony, was born at Altenburg in 1369, and died in 1428. He was son of the Landgrave and Margrave Frederick the Severe, and of Catherine, Countess of Henneberg. At only four years of age, Frederick had been betrothed to Anne, daughter of the Emperor Charles IV.; later on he had serious disputes concerning this matter with the Emperor Wenceslaus (the brother of Anne), who had disposed of her hand to another, but who ultimately consented, in 1397, to pay Frederick a considerable sum by way of damages. In 1388 he fought as ally of the Burgrave of Nuremberg in the war of the German towns; and gained his knightly spurs in 1391, in the war which he, in concert with the Teutonic Knights, waged against the Lithuanians. Next, he fought against Wenceslaus. He married Catherine of Brunswick in 1402, and after various wars and quarrels, the University of Leipzig was founded in 1409. The indefatigable activity which this Prince displayed from 1420 against the movements of the Hussites, who were directly menacing his possessions, pointed him out as a valuable auxiliary to the Emperor Sigismond, who was then in a very critical position. In order to assure himself definitely of the alliance of Frederick the Quarreller, the Emperor conferred upon him the Electorate and Duchy of Saxony; but the former could not long enjoy his new found dignities in peace, for the Emperor shifted the whole weight of the war with the Hussites on to his shoulders. As the other German Princes did not respond readily to the Elector's appeal, the latter had the misfortune to lose the greater part of his

of 2000 artificial cavalry (the which I by mine Art caused to appear according unto the tenor of the Twenty-ninth Chapter of the Third Book here following), free out of the hands of the Duke Leopold of Saxonia ; the which Count Frederick without me would have lost both his own life, and his estate as well (which latter would not have descended) unto his heirs.

Unto the BISHOP OF OUR CITY also, I showed the betrayal of his government at Orembergh, one year before the same occurred ; and I say no more concerning this because he is an Ecclesiastic* passing over in silence all that I have further done to render unto him service.

The COUNT OF VARVICH† was delivered by me from

Army near Brux in 1425. But his wife, Catherine, summoned the whole of Catholic Germany to unite in a Crusade against the innovating Hussites ; *while* 20,000 *strange and foreign Warriors came unexpectedly to range themselves under the Standard of Frederick.* It is to be noted that Abraham the Jew puts the Artificial Cavalry he supplied at 2000 (though this may easily be a slip for 20,000) and rumour would of course soon magnify the number. But the Elector was at length defeated at the disastrous battle of Aussig in 1426, where the *élite* of the German Warriors fell. The following year again witnessed a fresh defeat of the Elector, and the chagrin which this excited, ultimately led to his death. He was succeeded by his son, Frederick II., called "the Good" born in 1411, who began to reign in 1428, and died in 1464 (see *Dict. Larousse*).

* The same ambiguity exists in the French as in the translation, as to whether it is Abraham or the Bishop who passes over the matter in silence. *Et je n'en dis pas davantage acause quil est un eclesiastique passant sous silence ceque joy fait deplus pour luy rendre service.* (I preserve the orthography of the French original.)

† By "Count of Varvich," Abraham evidently means "Count of Warwick," as throughout the MS. a w is never used, but always a v, wherever the former occurs in a proper name. This Count of Warwick is probably Henri de Beauchamp, the brother-in-law of Warwick the "King-Maker," and son of that Richard de Beauchamp, so infamous for his instrumentality in bringing about the torture and burning of the heroic Joan of Arc. Henri de Beauchamp was at first deprived of his goods by Henry VI. ; but in 1444 that Monarch created him Duke of Warwick, and later, King of the islands of Wight, Jersey, and Guernsey. He did not long survive to enjoy these honours (*Dict. Larousse*).

prison in England the night before he was to have been beheaded.

I aided the flight of the DUKE,* and of his POPE JOHN,† from the Council of Constance, who would other-

* Probably Albert V. of Austria.

† Pope John XXIII. (Balthazar Cossa), Pope from 1410 to 1415, was born at Naples. He had been a corsair in his youth, and at first, after his entry into holy orders, was only notable for his debauches, his exactions, and his violence. Pope Boniface IX. nevertheless appointed him Cardinal in 1402, and afterwards Legate of Bologna, where he is said to have given himself up to such excesses that Gregory XII. thought it necessary to excommunicate him. Notwithstanding this Cossa was elected to the Papacy at the time when the Church was shaken by internal dissension. He promised at first to renounce the Pontificate, if on their side Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. would abandon their claims. However, he mounted the Papal Throne, and declared for the side of Louis d'Anjou in the war between the latter and Ladislaus regarding the Throne of Naples. At length, after the taking of Rome by Ladislaus, he was forced to implore the support of the Emperor Sigismond. The latter consented to grant him his protection, but on the sole condition of the convocation of the Council of Constance. After much hesitation, and after having taken every possible precaution to ensure his personal safety, John XXIII. consented to the assembling of the Council, which he opened 7th November, 1414. Being then summoned to lay aside the Papal Mitre, he judged it prudent to consent; but a few days later, he succeeded in escaping in disguise, during a tournament given by the Duke of Austria. He retired to Lauffembourg, and protested against the abdication, which he declared to have been obtained from him by force. The Council was for a moment struck with fear and consternation, but the firmness of the Emperor Sigismond, coupled with the effect of the declaration of J. Gerson that the General Councils had higher authority than the Papacy, prevailed. John XXIII. was summoned to appear before the Council, but refused; and soon after, being abandoned by the Duke of Austria, who was too weak to resist the power of the Emperor, he was arrested at Fribourg, and conducted to Rudolfcell. On the 29th May, 1415, this Pontiff was solemnly deposed by the Council of Constance as being given to simony, impudent, a secret poisoner, and a spendthrift of the wealth of the Church; and was imprisoned in the Castle of Heidelberg. At the end of four years he recovered his liberty, on payment of 30,000 golden crowns, and went to Rome, where he made his submission to Martin V., and was by him appointed Cardinal-Bishop of Frascati, and Senior of the Sacred College. He died a few months later at Florence, either of anxiety or by poison.

wise have fallen into the hands of the enraged Emperor ; and the latter having asked me to predict unto him which one of the two Popes, John XXIII. and Martin V., should gain in the end, my prophecy was verified ; that fortune befalling which I had predicted unto him at Ratisbon.

At the time when I was lodged at the house of the DUKE OF BAVARIA,* my Lord, for matters of the greatest importance ; the door of my room was forced, and I had the value of 83,000 Hungarian pieces stolen from me in jewels and money. As soon as I returned, the thief (although he was a Bishop !) was forced to himself bring it back to me in person and to return with his own hands to me the money, jewels, and account books, and to give me the principal reasons which had forced him to commit the theft, rather than any other person.

Six months ago I did write unto the GRECIAN EMPEROR,† and I warned him that the affairs of his Empire were in a very bad condition, and that his Empire itself was on the brink of ruin,‡ unless he could appease the Anger of God. As there only remaineth unto me but a little while to live, those who remain after me will receive the news of the result of this prophecy.

The Operation of the thirteenth chapter§ of the Second Book, I have twice performed ; once in the house

* Either Ernest or William I. of Bavaria. They were brothers, and reigned conjointly. From his calling the Duke of Bavaria, his Lord, it would appear that he was living under his dominion, but it is curious that up to this point Abraham has never mentioned the name of his own town.

† Constantine Palæologos, who was the thirteenth and last Greek Emperor. He was killed, and Constantinople taken by the Turks under Mahomet II. The direct descendant of Constantine Palæologos to-day, is the Princess Eugénie di Cristoforo-Palæologæ-Nicephoræ-Comnenæ.

‡ *A deux doigts de sa perte.*

§ This chapter is entitled : " Concerning the Convocation of the Good Spirits ".

of Savonia;* and another time in the MARQUISATE OF MAGDEBURGH, and I was the cause that their estates were handed down unto their children.

Now when once the faculty of being able to avail oneself of the Sacred Magic hath been obtained, it is permissible to demand from the Angel a sum of coined money proportionate unto thy birth, quality and capacity, the which without difficulty will be granted unto thee. Such money is taken from the Hidden Treasures. It is, however, necessary to note that in all Treasures one is allowed to take the fifth part, God permitting the same, although some braggart chatterers† do say that there be an infinitude hereof which be destined and reserved unto Anti-Christ, I do not for a moment say that this may not be true; but undoubtedly from the same Treasures one may also take the fifth part. There are yet more which be destined unto others. Mine own particular treasure was assigned unto me at Herbipolis;‡ and I performed the Operation of the eighth chapter§ of the Third Book; it was not in any way guarded, and was very ancient. It was of gold, which had never been struck into ingots; and which I afterwards caused to be beaten out and converted into its equivalent weight of golden florins, by the Spirits; the which was done in a few hours; (and I did this operation seeing that) mine own possessions were

* Thus in MS.—? Saxonia. † *Quelques hableurs.*

‡ Herbipolis is the Latin mediæval name of the town of Wurtzbourg in Bavaria. It seems from this passage that it was probably the city of Abraham the Jew, and therefore the one intended a few paragraphs before where he speaks of the "Bishop of our town". Wurzbourg and the surrounding district formed a Bishopric, and in the time of Abraham it was the scene of constant struggles between the Bishop and his party, and the burghers. Later, formidable persecutions against the Jews took place there, and many edicts were promulgated against witchcraft.

§ This is evidently an error for either the sixth, the sixteenth, or the twenty-eighth chapter; probably the latter.

few and of little worth ; and so poor was I that in order to marry a person who had a considerable dowry, I was forced to make use of mine Art, and I employed the Fourth Sign of the Third Book and the Third Sign * of the nineteenth chapter ; and I married my cousin with 40,000 golden florins as a dowry, the which sum served as a cover to my fortune.

All the Signs which are in the Eighteenth Chapter † have been made use of by me so many times that I could not count them. However, they are all given in the Book ‡ already mentioned.

I made great and wonderful experiments with the Signs of the second § and eighth || chapters of the Third Book. The First Sign ¶ of the first chapter of the Third Book is the most perfect.

It is necessary to be prompt and adroit in all these operations, seeing that in the things which belong unto God we can easily commit still greater errors than those into which SOLOMON fell.

All these Signs have I worked with great ease and pleasure, and with very great utility (unto myself and others). All these operations and others in infinite number have I performed by the Signs which be in the Third Book, and never have I failed in attaining mine end, I have always been obeyed (by the Spirits), and everything hath succeeded with me because I have myself obeyed the Commandments of God. Also I have

* To make oneself loved by a relation.

† The Eighteenth Chapter is entitled : " How to heal divers maladies ".

‡ *I.e.* the Third Book.

§ The Second Chapter is entitled : " How to obtain information and be enlightened concerning every kind of proposition and all doubtful sciences ".

|| The Eighth Chapter is entitled : " How to excite Tempests ".

¶ " To know all sorts of matters past and to come, which are, however, not opposed to God and to His Holy Will."

from point to point followed out that which mine Angel hath counselled and prescribed unto me ; following out also exactly that which ABRA-MELIN* had taught me, the which is the same that I shall write in the Two following Books, and which I shall exemplify and explain more clearly ; because the instructions which I received, although in very obscure words and Hieroglyphics, have caused me to attain mine object, and have never permitted me to err and fall into pagan, strange, and superstitious idolatries ; I being always kept in the Way of the Lord, Who is the True, the Only, the Infallible End, for arriving at the possession of this Sacred Magic.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

THE infamous BELIAL hath no other desire than that of obtaining the power of hiding and obscuring the True Divine Wisdom, so that he may have more means of blinding simple men and of leading them by the nose ; so that they may always remain in their simplicity, and in their error, and that they may not discover the Way which leadeth unto the True Wisdom ; seeing that otherwise it is certain that both he and his Kingdom would remain bound and that he would lose the title which he giveth himself of "Prince of this World," having become the slave of man. This is wherefore he seeketh to annul and destroy utterly this Sacred Wisdom. I, however, do pray all and singular to be upon their guard, and in no way to despise the Way and Wisdom of the Lord, nor to allow themselves to be seduced by the DEMON and his adherents ; for he is a liar and will be so

* Thus spelt here.

eternally ; and may the Truth for ever flourish ; for in following out and obeying with fidelity that which I have written in these Three Books, not only shall we arrive at the desired end, but we shall sensibly know and feel the Grace of the Lord, and the actual assistance of His Holy Angels, who take an incredible pleasure in seeing that they are obeyed and that you intend to follow out the Commandments of God, and that their instructions are observed. Such then are the particular points upon which I insist.

This Wisdom hath its foundation in the High and Holy Qabalah* which is not granted unto any other than unto the First-Born, even as God hath ordained, and as it was observed by our predecessors. Thence arose the difference, and the truck† or exchange between JACOB and ESAU ; the primogeniture being the Qabalah, which is much nobler and greater than the Sacred Magic.‡ And by the Qabalah we can arrive at the Sacred Magic, but by the latter we cannot have the Qabalah. Unto the Child of a Servant, or of an Adulterer, the Qabalah is not granted, but only unto a Legitimate Child ; as occurred in the case of ISAAC and ISHMAEL ; but the Sacred Wisdom through the Mercy of God all can acquire, provided that they walk in the right Path ; and each one should content himself with the Gift and Grace of the Lord. And this must not be done out of curiosity, and with extravagant and ridiculous scruples, wishing to know and understand more than is right ; seeing that temerity is certainly punished by God, Who then permitteth him who is presumptuous not only to be turned aside out of

* As I have pointed out in my " Kabbalah Unveiled," I consider this a truer orthography than " Cabala," or " Kabbalah ".

† *Troque ou change.*

‡ That is to say the True and Unwritten Qabalah, which is the Ancient Egyptian Magical Wisdom ; and not later Hebrew perversions thereof.

the True Way by the Second Causes,* but also the DEMON hath power over him, and he ruineth and exterminateth him in such a manner, that we can only say that he himself is the sole cause of his own ruin and misery. It is certain that the OLD SERPENT will attempt to contaminate the present Book with his venom, and even to destroy and lose it utterly, but O LAMECH ! as a faithful father I entreat thee by the True God Who hath created thee and all things, and I entreat every other person who by thy means shall receive this method of operating, not to be induced or persuaded to have any other sentiment or opinion, or to believe the contrary. Pray unto God and ask Him for His assistance, and place all thy confidence in Him alone. And although thou canst not have the understanding of the Qabalah, nevertheless the Holy Guardian Angels at the end of the Six Moons or Months† will manifest unto thee that which is sufficient for the possession of this Sacred Magic.

Wherefore all the Signs and Symbols given in the Third Book, are written with Letters of the Fourth Hierarchy ;‡ but the Mysterious Words wherein consisteth the Secret§ have their origin in and are drawn from the Hebrew, Latin, Greek, Chaldean, Persian, and Arabian languages by a singular Mystery and according unto the Will of the Most Wise Architect and Fabricator of the Universe, Who alone dominateth and governeth it by His All-Power ; all the Monarchies and Kingdoms of the World are submitted unto His Infinite Power, and unto this Sacred Magic and Divine Wisdom.

* That is to say the Administrators of the First Cause, *i.e.* the various Divine Powers, or Gods and Goddesses, who act more directly on matter.

† Abraham here alludes to the period of preparation required from the Neophyte, as described later.

‡ Regarding the Hierarchies, see end of Third Book.

§ Thus in the Indian "Mantras" the force and mystery of the Words themselves is especially insisted on.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

IT being understood that in this operation we have to do with a Great and Powerful Enemy, whom through our own weakness and human strength or science we cannot resist without particular aid and assistance from the Holy Angels, and from the Lord of the Good Spirits ; it is necessary that each one should always have God before his eyes, and in no way offend Him. On the other hand, he must always be upon his guard, and abstain as from a mortal sin from flattering, obeying, regarding, or having respect to the DEMON, and to his Viperine Race ; neither must he submit himself unto him in the slightest thing, for that would be his ruin and the fatal loss of his soul. As it happened unto all the seed descended from NOAH, LOT, ISHMAEL, and others who did possess the blessed land (before our forefathers) who inherited this Wisdom from father to son, from family to family ; but in the course of time having lent an ear unto the Treacherous Enemy, they let themselves be turned away from the Veritable Path, and did lose the True Science which they had received from God by the means of their fathers, and gave themselves over unto Superstitious Sciences, and unto Diabolical Enchantments, and unto Abominable Idolatries, the which was the cause that thereafter God did chastise them, defy* them, and chase them from their country ; and did introduce in their stead our predecessors ; from which same errors again later came the cause of our present misery and servitude, the which will last even unto the end of the world ; since they in no way wished to know the Gift which God had given unto them, but instead abandoned it to embrace and follow the deceits of the DEMON.

* *Les deffit.*

This is wherefore each one should take care to submit himself unto him* neither by acts, nor by words, nor by thoughts, because he is so adroit and prompt that he can seize one unexpectedly ; just as a Spider may take a Bird.† Let that miserable Bohemian and the others whom I have before mentioned, serve thee for an example to avoid (even as they did unto me).

In the commencement of the Operation there appeareth a Man of Majestic Appearance, who with great affability doth promise unto thee marvellous things. Consider all this as pure vanity, for without the permission of God he can give nothing ; but he will do it unto the damage and prejudice, ruin and eternal damnation of whomsoever putteth faith in him, and believeth in him ; as we may see in the Holy Scripture in the matter of PHARAOH and his adherents, the which despised the Veritable and certain Wisdom of MOSES and AARON, and were in the beginning backed up by the Devil who showed them by the means of Enchantments that he could both do and put in practice all the works of the aforesaid holy men, whence he ultimately did reduce them to such a condition of obstinacy and blindness, that without perceiving their own error and the deceit of the DEMON, they were cruelly chastised by God with divers plagues, and were at last all drowned in the Red Sea. This is wherefore in conclusion I say unto thee in few words, that we must rely upon God alone, and put all our confidence in Him.

* *I.e.*, the Demon.

† There is a very large species of Spider, which can even capture and kill small birds, but it is only met with in tropical regions, especially in Central America and Martinique ; the zoological name of this species is *Mygalé*.

THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

GOD be my witness that I have not learned this Science out of curiosity, nor in order to avail myself of it for an evil purpose, but rather to use it for the honour and glory of my,* for mine own use, and for that of my neighbour; and I have never wished to employ it for vain and vile things, but I have always laboured with all my strength to aid *all* creatures, friends and enemies, faithful and unfaithful, as well the one as the other, with a perfect will and a good heart, and I have also made use of it for the animals.

I have before cited certain examples in order to show unto thee that God Almighty doth not in any way grant the Art or the Science unto a person in order that he may use it for himself alone, but in order that he may provide for the needs of others, and of those who do not possess this Sacred Science. This is why I pray every one to follow mine example, and if he doeth otherwise the Malediction of the Lord will fall upon him, and as for myself I shall be excusable and innocent before God, and before all men.

In the Third Book there will be found a very beautiful garden,† the like of which assuredly no one hath ever made, and which no King nor Emperor hath ever possessed. He who shall wish to be as an industrious Bee therein, can there suck the honey which it containeth in abundance; but if he shall maliciously wish to transform himself into a Spider, he can also draw poison from thence. God, however, accordeth and giveth His Grace,

* Here a word is evidently omitted in the MS. by a slip. It should probably read "of my God".

† This is a very usual expression in Qabalistic Books to denote a valuable collection of Occult or Magical information.

not unto the Evil, but unto the Good ; and if it seemeth unto thee that some chapters of the Third Book can be rather applied unto Evil and unto the hurt of our neighbour, than unto a useful end ; each one shall know that I have so placed them, in order that we may understand that this Science can be applied alike for Evil or for Good, as I will show thee more fully in the other Books. We must then study to flee the Evil and to obtain all the Forces of Good. He who shall act thus all the days of his life shall have the succour and assistance of the faithful, benign and holy Angels ; and he who shall use it for Evil shall be abandoned by the same Angels, and shall be in the power of the Treacherous Enemy, who never faileth to obey the commands of such an one to work Evil, in order to render him his slave. It is necessary to have as a general rule and maxim which never faileth, that whenever thou shalt see a man filled with an extraordinary desire to procure this operation for himself, if thou wishest to give it unto him, it is necessary to test his sincerity and his intentions, and delay him, according to the instructions which I give unto thee in these three Books. And if he seeketh to obtain it by indiscreet methods, and sayeth unto thee that this operation may be true or not true, feigning doubts in order to compel thee to give it unto him, or that he maketh use of other stratagems, thou mayest then conclude that such a man walketh not in the Way of the Lord. If any person wisheth it in a way opposed to that which God employeth to grant it, this would be presumptuous.

And if any person seeketh to obtain it not for himself, (but for either) a child or a relative, who is not such as he should be who receiveth so great a treasure ; he who shall grant it unto him shall be culpable of a great evil, and shall himself lose the Grace and Wisdom of the Lord, and shall deprive his heirs of the same eternally.

If a man of evil life, whom one shall feel by means

of this Sacred Science will persist in his evil way of life, shall come unto thee to seek this Sacred Science, it is probable that such a man doth not desire to use it for good and in a right intention, but that having received it, he will use it for evil. I have also in such case myself, however, seen and felt that God, Who penetrateth the secret of our hearts, hath put by indirect means obstacles in the way of such an one's success, causing difficulties to arise of one kind and another. So that he who at the first wisheth to possess this Science in order to use it against his neighbour, and to commit all sorts of abominations, manifesteth himself as an unworthy person unto him who had resolved to give it unto him.

Shun Commerce, and the converse of those who actually in the search for this Science shall do and say all things which tend to Evil; seeing that such men can become the Enchanters of the Devil. Thou shalt know the rest hereafter in the other Books. Here I am very prolix upon this point, and I am exaggerating much, because it is certain that once the Operation is given in due form, it is AN IRREVOCABLE ACT.

But if, on the other hand, after an exact examination and inquisition thou shalt find a person tranquil and sincere, thou must aid him, because God Who hath aided thee wisheth also to aid him; unto this end hath He put into thine hands this Sacred Science.

Thou must make every effort to procure peace amongst those who are at discord, and sworn enemies among themselves; and it is imperative to do good unto every one, this being the sole and true means of rendering favourable unto thee, God, the Angels, and Men; and of making the DEMON thy slave, and obedient in all and through all. And such an one shall pass the rest of his life with a good and right conscience, in honour and peace, with contentment, and useful unto all beings. I entreat those who shall be possessors of a so great treasure

to employ it in the proper manner, and never to cast it before swine.

Thou shalt use it for thyself, O LAMECH, my son, but of the fruit which thou shalt draw therefrom, thou shalt make partakers those who have need, and the more thou shalt give, the more shall thy means increase. The same shall happen unto him to whom thou shalt give it.

In these regions and countries we are slaves, and justly afflicted for our sins and those of our fathers ; however, we ought to serve the Lord in the best manner which shall be possible unto us.

And by such an one shall the Treasure be kept secret, and shall be given unto his heirs as far as he can, being ware of disinheriting them in order to give it unto others, and of causing it to fall into the hands of the Infidels, or of rendering the Wicked possessors thereof.

THE TWELFTH CHAPTER.

INE intention was in no way to be so prolix in this First Book ; but what will not paternal love do ? and the importance of the matter permitteth it.

Let each one who will carry out this glorious enterprise rest in peace and surety, because in these Three Books is comprised all that can be necessary for this operation. For I have written it with much care, attention, and exactitude ; so that there is no phrase which doth not give thee some instruction or advice. However, I pray such an one for the love of God, Who reigneth and will reign eternally, to commence no operation unless beforehand for the space of Six Months he hath read and re-read this Book with care and attention, considering all points in detail ; for I am more than sure that he will

not encounter any doubtful matter which he will not be able to solve himself, but further day by day will he assume unto himself a great and ardent desire, pleasure, and will, to undertake this so glorious operation; the which can be effected by any person of any religion soever,* provided, however, that during the Six Moons he hath not committed any sin against the Law and Commandments of God.

Now it remaineth unto me, O LAMECH, my son, to show unto thee the marks of my extreme paternal tenderness, by giving thee two principal pieces of advice, by the means of which, and observing all the other particulars which I shall describe, thou (and any person unto whom thou shalt accord this Sacred Science) mayest indubitably arrive at the perfection of this same Wisdom. It is necessary, however, to understand that many have undertaken this operation; and that some have obtained their wish; but that there are others who have not succeeded, and the reason of this hath been because their Good Angel hath not appeared unto them in the day of the Conjuration, their Angel being by its nature Amphiteron,† because the Angelic nature differeth to so great an extent from that of men, that no understanding nor science could express or describe it, as regardeth that great purity wherewith they‡ be invested.

I do not wish that thou, LAMECH, my son, and thy successor, and friends, should be deprived of a so great treasure. I in no way wish to abandon thee in so essential a matter. The other point is the Psalm which I will tell thee also; and though thou givest the operation unto another person, although he be a friend, thou shalt in no

* It is noticeable how constantly Abraham the Jew insists upon this point.

† This word in Greek would mean "exhausted in every way," or "hemmed in and hindered on every side".

‡ *I.e.*, the Angels.

wise communicate this unto him, because this Psalm is the preservative against all those to whom thou shalt have given the Holy Magic, should they wish to make use of it against thee ; and thou shalt be able thyself to make excellent use of it against them. This was granted by the Lord unto DAVID for his own preservation.

For the first point : the day being come when it is necessary to perform the Orations, Prayers, and Convocations of thy Guardian Angel, thou shalt have a little Child* of the age of six, seven, or eight years at the most, who shall be clothed in white, the which child thou shalt have washed from head to foot, and thou shalt place upon his forehead a veil of white silk very fine and transparent, which covereth the forehead even unto the eyes ; and upon the veil it is necessary to write beforehand in gold with a brush a certain Sign made and marked in the manner and order as it will be shown in the Third Book ; the which doth serve to conciliate and to give grace unto the mortal and human creature to behold the face of the Angel. He who operateth shall do the same thing, but upon a veil of black silk, and shall put it on in the same manner as the Child. After this thou shalt make the Child enter into the Oratory and thou shalt cause him to place the fire and the perfume in the censer, then he shall kneel before the Altar ; and he who performeth the operation shall be at the door and prostrate upon the ground, making his Oration, and supplicating his Holy Angel that he will deign to appear and show himself unto this innocent being,† giving unto him another Sign if it be necessary in order to see him himself‡ on the two following days.

It is requisite that he who shall operate shall take heed to in no wise regard the Altar, but having his face

* The following instructions recall some of Cagliostro's methods of magical working.

† *I.e.*, the Child. ‡ *I.e.*, the Operator.

towards the ground let him continue his Orations, and as soon as the child shall have seen the Angel thou shalt command him to tell thee, and to look upon the Altar and take the lamen or plate of silver which thou shalt have placed there for this purpose, in order to bring it unto thee if it be necessary, and whatever other thing the Holy Angel shall have written thereon, wherewith thou oughtest to work on the two following days. The which being done he will disappear. Which being carefully done, the Child will tell thee (for this, it is necessary to have instructed him beforehand), and thou shalt command him to bring unto thee the little plate,* by the which when thou hast received it thou shalt know what the Angel hath ordered thee to do. And thou shalt cause it to be replaced upon the Altar, and thou shalt quit the Oratory, thou shalt close it, and thou shalt in no wise enter therein during the first day, and thou shalt be able to send away the Child. And he who shall perform the Operation shall prepare himself during the rest of the day for the morrow following, to enjoy the admirable presence of the Holy Guardian Angel, in order to obtain the end so earnestly desired, and which shall not fail thee if thou followest the Path which He shall show unto thee. And these two Signs are the Key of the whole Operation. Unto the Glory of the Most Holy Name of God and of His Holy Angels !

* *I.e.*, the lamen of silver, previously alluded to.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

THE SECOND BOOK

OF THE

HOLY MAGIC,

WHICH GOD GAVE UNTO MOSES, AARON, DAVID, SOLOMON, AND OTHER HOLY PATRIARCHS AND PROPHETS; WHICH TEACHETH THE TRUE DIVINE WISDOM.

BEQUEATHED BY ABRAHAM UNTO LAMECH HIS SON.

TRANSLATED FROM THE HEBREW.

1458.

THE SECOND BOOK OF THE SACRED MAGIC.

PROLOGUE.

THE Wisdom of the Lord is an inexhaustible fountain, neither hath there ever been a man born who could penetrate its veritable origin and foundation. The Sages and Holy Fathers have drunk long draughts thereof, and have been fully satisfied therewith. But with all this, not one among them hath been able to comprehend or know the Radical Principles, because the Creator of all things reserveth that unto Himself; and, like a jealous God, He hath indeed wished that we should enjoy the fruit thereof, but He hath not wished to permit us to touch either the Tree or its Root. It is then not only proper, but further also we are compelled to conform ourselves unto the Will of the Lord, walking in that Path, by the which also our predecessors went, without seeking out through a vain curiosity how it is that God reigneth and governeth in His Divine Wisdom; because such would be a very great presumption and a bestial conceit. Let us then content ourselves with only knowing how many blessings He hath granted unto us Sinners, and what extent of power He hath given unto us mortals over all things, and in what way it is permitted unto us to use them. Let us then content ourselves with this, laying aside all other curiosity, observing without any comment that which shall be set down in this Book with fidelity. And if ye do follow my advice, ye shall be infallibly comforted thereby.*

* The style of the writing here is much more quaint and obscure than that of the First Book; and is evidently the translation of Abraham the Jew from a more ancient writer.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

WHAT AND HOW MANY BE THE FORMS OF VERITABLE MAGIC.

WHOSO should wish to recount all the Arts and Operations which in our times be reputed and preached abroad as Wisdom and Magical Secrets ; he should as well undertake to count the waves and the sands of the Sea ; seeing that the matter hath come to such a pass that every trick of a buffoon is believed to be Magic, that all the abominations of impious Enchanters, all Diabolical Illusions, all Pagan Idolatries, all Superstitions, Fascinations, Diabolical Pacts, and lastly all that the gross blindness of the World can touch with its hands and feet is reckoned as Wisdom and Magic ! The Physician, the Astrologer, the Enchanter, the Sorceress, the Idolater, and the Sacrilegious, is called of the common People a Magician ! Also he who draweth his Magic whether from the Sun, whether from the Moon, whether from the Evil Spirits, whether from Stones, Herbs, Animals, Brutes, or lastly from thousand divers sources, so that the Heaven itself is astonished thereat. There be certain who draw their Magic from Air, from Earth, from Fire, from Water, from Physiognomy, from the Hand, from Mirrors, from Glasses, from Birds, from Bread, from Wine, and even from the very excrements themselves ; and yet, however, all this is reputed as Science !

I exhort you, ye who read, to have the Fear of God, and to study Justice, because infallibly unto you shall be opened the Gate of the True Wisdom which God gave unto NOAH and unto his descendants JAPHET, ABRAHAM, and ISHMAEL ; and it was His Wisdom that delivered LOT

from the burning of Sodom. MOSES learned the same Wisdom in the desert, from the Burning Bush, and he taught it unto AARON his brother. JOSEPH, SAMUEL, DAVID, SOLOMON, ELIJAH, and the Apostles, and Saint JOHN particularly (from whom we hold a most excellent book of Prophecy*) possessed it. Let every one then know that this, this which I teach, is that same Wisdom and Magic, and which is in this same Book, and independent of any other Science, or Wisdom, or Magic, soever. It is, however, certainly true that these miraculous operations have much in common with the Qabalah ; it is also true that there be other Arts which have some stamp of Wisdom ; the which alone would be nothing worth were they not mingled with the foundation of the Sacred Ministry, whence later arose the Mixed Qabalah. The Arts are principally twelve. Four in number, 3, 5, 7, 9, among the numbers in the Mixed Qabalah. The second is the most perfect one, the which operateth by Sign and Visions. Two of the even numbers, namely 6 and 2, which operate with the Stars and the Celestial Courses which we call Astronomy. Three consisteth in the Metals, and 2 in the Planets.† As to all

* *I.e.*, the Revelation, or Apocalypse.

† This whole passage about the signification of these numbers is very obscurely worded in the original. I take the meaning to be the following: The Arts or methods of Magical working are twelve, if we class them under the twelve Signs of the Zodiac. The second number mentioned above, 5, is perfect because of its analogy with the Pentagram that potent Symbol of the Spirit and the Four Elements ; 6 is the number of the Planets (as known to the Ancients, without the recently discovered Herschel and Neptune). As the Chaldean Oracles of Zoroaster say: " He made them Six, and for the Seventh, He cast into the midst thereof the Fire of the Sun ". 2 operates in the Stars and Planets as representing their Good or Evil influence in the Heavens, in other words their dual nature. 3 consists in the Metals because, the ancient Alchemists considered their bases to be found in the three principles which *they called* Sulphur, Mercury, and Salt ; but by which they did not mean the substance which we know under these names.

these Arts, the which be conjoined and mingled together with the Sacred Qabalah ; both he who maketh use of these same, either alone, or mingled with other things which be in no way from the Qabalah ; and he who seeketh to exercise himself in performing operations with these Arts ; is alike liable to be deceived by the DEMON ; seeing that of themselves they possess no other virtue than a natural property ; and they can produce no other thing than *probable** effects, and they have absolutely no power in spiritual and supernatural things ; but if, however, on certain occasions they† cause you to behold any extraordinary effect, such is only produced by impious and diabolical Pacts and Conjurations, the which form of Science ought to be called Sorcery.

Finally, let us conclude that from the Divine Mystery are derived these three kinds of Qabalah, *viz.:* the Mixed Qabalah, and the True Wisdom, and the (True) Magic. We will, therefore, show forth this last, and the manner of becoming its possessors in the Name of God and of His Celestial Court !

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

WHAT WE SHOULD CONSIDER BEFORE UNDERTAKING THIS OPERATION.

E‡ have already said what is the Science which I§ am to teach you, that is to say, that it is neither in any way human nor diabolical, but (that it is) the True and Divine Wisdom and Magic, which has

* *I.e.*, "probable" as opposed to "certain".

† *I.e.*, professing Magicians.

‡ In the original MS.: "*Nous avons deja dit quelle est la science que je dois vous enseigner cest adire quelle nest point humaine*," etc.

§ *Ibid.*

been handed down by our predecessors unto their successors as a hereditary treasure. In like manner as I myself at present, so even should ye think, before entering into this matter,* and before taking possession of so great a treasure, how much this Gift is sublime and precious, and how vile and base are ye yourselves who be about to receive it. This is wherefore I say unto ye that the beginning of this Wisdom is the Fear of God and of Justice. These be the Tables of the Law, the Qabalah, and the Magic ; they should serve unto ye for a rule. It is necessary that ye should begin to attach yourselves unto the very beginning, if ye truly do wish to have the Veritable Wisdom ; and thus shall ye walk in the right Path, and be able to work ; all the which is contained in this Book, and all the which is therein prescribed. For to undertake this Operation with the simple intention of using it unto dishonest, impious, and wicked ends, is neither just nor reasonable ; for it is absolutely necessary to perform this Operation unto the praise, honour, and glory of God ; unto the use, health, and well-being of your neighbour, whether friend or enemy ; and generally for that of the whole earth. Furthermore, it is also necessary to take into consideration other matters, which though less important be still necessary ; namely, whether ye be capable, not only of *commencing*, but also of *carrying through the Operation unto its end ;* this being a necessary point to consider before coming unto a final determination upon the matter ; because in this case we are not negotiating with men, but with God, by the intermediation of His Holy Angels, and with all Spirits, both good and evil.

I am not here intending to play the Saint and Hypocrite, but it is necessary to have a true and loyal heart. Ye have here to do with the Lord, Who not only be-

* In the original : " *Comme je suis apresent vous devez donc penser avant que d'entrer dans ce bal,*" etc.

holdeth the outer man, but Who also penetrateth the inmost recesses of the heart. But having taken a true, firm, and determined resolution, relying upon the Will of the Lord, ye shall arrive at your desired end, and shall encounter no difficulty. Often also man is changeable, and while beginning a thing well, finisheth it badly, being in no way firm and stable in resolution. Ponder the matter then well before commencing, and only begin this Operation with the firm intention of carrying it out unto the end, for no man can make a mock of the Lord with impunity.

Furthermore it is likewise necessary to think and consider whether your goods and revenue be sufficient for this matter ; and, further, whether if your quality or estate be subject unto others, ye may have time and convenience to undertake it ; also whether wife or children may hinder you herein ; these being all matters worthy of observation, so as not to commence the matter blindly.

The chief thing that ye should consider is whether ye be in good health, because the body being feeble and unhealthy, it is subject to divers infirmities, whence at length result impatience and want of power to operate and pursue the Operation ; and a sick man can neither be clean and pure, nor enjoy solitude ; and in such a case it is better to cease.

Consider then the safety of your person, commencing this Operation in a place of safety, whence neither enemies nor any disgrace can drive you out before the end ; because ye must finish where ye begin.

But the first part of this chapter is the most important, and see that ye keep well in mind the necessity of observing the same, because as regardeth the other disadvantages, they may perhaps be remedied. And be ye sure that God doth aid all those who put their confidence in Him and in His Wisdom, and such as wish to live rightly, making use with honour of the deceitful world,

which ye shall hold in abomination, and see that ye make no account of its opinion when ye shall be arrived at the perfection of the work, and that ye shall be possessors of this Sacred Magic.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

OF THE AGE AND QUALITY OF THE PERSON WHO WISHETH TO UNDERTAKE THIS OPERATION.

IN order to describe the aforesaid and other considerations in the best possible manner; I will here make a general recapitulation; mentioning also first what may bring hindrance unto the matter.

It is, then, necessary that such a man* give himself up unto a tranquil life, and that his habits be temperate; that he should love retirement; that he should be given neither unto avarice nor usury (that he should be the legitimate child of his parents is a good thing, but not as necessary as for the Qabalah, unto which no man born of a clandestine marriage† can attain); his age ought not to be less than twenty-five years nor more than fifty; he should have no hereditary disease, such as virulent leprosy; whether he be free or married importeth little; a valet, lackey, or other domestic servant, can with difficulty arrive at the end required, being bound unto others and not having the conveniences at disposal which are necessary, and which this Operation demandeth. Among women, there be only Virgins who are suitable; but I‡

* *I.e.*, he who intends to undertake the Operation.

† I doubt this assertion very much.

‡ Here comes another touch of prejudice. In the present day many of the profoundest students of the Qabalah are women, both married and single.

strongly advise that so important a matter should not be communicated to them, because of the accidents that they might cause by their curiosity and love of talk.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

THAT THE GREATER NUMBER OF MAGICAL BOOKS ARE FALSE AND VAIN.

LL the Books which treat of Characters, Extravagant Figures, Circles, Convocations, Conjurations, Invocations, and other like matters, even although any one may see some effect thereby, should be rejected, being works full of Diabolical Inventions;* and ye should know that the DEMON maketh use of an infinitude of methods to entrap and deceive mankind. This I have myself proved, because when I have operated with the Veritable Wisdom, all the other enchantments which I had learned have ceased, and I could no longer operate with them, and I made a very careful trial of those which I had learned with the RABBIN MOSES; the cause of which is that the deceit and fraud of the DEMON can never appear where the Divine Wisdom is. Furthermore, the most certain mark of their falsity is the election of certain days; since there be those which God hath expressly commanded to sanctify, we can freely operate

* It is necessary that the reader should not misunderstand this passage. What are meant are those Black Magic works containing garbled and perverted words and characters; and which teach nothing but hurtful and selfish practices; the great point in which is generally the forming of a Pact with an Evil Spirit. Because true Characters represent the Formulas of the Currents of the Hidden Forces of Nature; and true Ceremonies are the Keys of bringing the same into action.

on all other days, and at all times. And whenever ye shall see tables which do mark the days and their differences, the Celestial Signs, and other like matters,* pay no attention thereto, because herein is a very great sin† hidden, and a deceit of the DEMON ; it being one of his many methods of endeavouring to confound the True Wisdom of the Lord with evil matters. Because this True Wisdom of the Lord can operate and perform its effects every day, and at any moment and second. The Gates of His Grace are daily open, He wisheth, and it is pleasing unto Him to aid us, as well on this day as on the morrow ; and in no way could it be true that He desireth to be subjected to the day and hour which men would wish to prescribe for Him ; seeing that He is the Master to elect such days as He Himself wisheth, and also may they be sanctified ! Flee also all such Books

* It seems again to me here that Abraham the Jew stretches the matter too far. It is perfectly and utterly true without doubt that Angelic Magic is higher than that form of Talismanic Magic which has its basis in the Astrological positions of the Heavenly Bodies ; and can therefore do more, and be also independent of Astrological considerations, because the matter is relegated to a higher plane than this, and one wherein the laws of Physical Nature do not obtain. But certainly when working with the rays of the Sun, we shall more easily find his *occult* force of heat attainable when he himself is producing that effect upon the earth, *i.e.*, when he is in the Sign of the Lion ; while when he is in that of the Bull, his force will be rather that of Germination, etc., when in the Northern Hemisphere. And the same with the other Planets. Also if working by the Indian Tatwas, we shall find it necessary to consider the position of the Moon, the time in the day, and the course of the Tatwa in the period of five Gharis. Of course Abraham could not make the experiments of Rabbin Moses succeed if he substituted the laws of another plane for their own.

† So it would be if he applied it to the Angelic working ; but equally it would be an error which, though not so great, would still entail failure, to apply laws exclusively of the Angelic plane to those experiments which would mainly depend on the physical rays of the Planets ; though undoubtedly the Angels of a Planet govern its rays. But the Angels of Mars do not govern the rays of Jupiter, nor those of the latter the rays of Mars.

as those whose Conjurations include extravagant, inexplicable, and unheard-of words,* and which be impossible to understand, and which be truly the inventions of the Devil and of wicked men.

It is well also to recall that which I have said in the First Book, *viz.*, that in the greater part of their Conjurations there was not the slightest mention made of God Almighty, but only of Invocations of the Devil, together with very obscure Chaldean words. Surely it would be a rash thing of a man who should deal with God by the intermediary of His Holy Angels, to think that he ought to address Him in a jargon, neither knowing what he saith nor what he demandeth. Is it not an act of madness to wish to offend God and His Holy Angels! Let us then walk in the right way, let us speak before God with heart and mouth alike opened, in our own maternal language,† since how can ye pretend to obtain any Grace from the Lord, if ye yourselves know not what ye ask? Yet, however, the number of those who lose themselves utterly in this vanity is infinite; many say that the Grecian language is more agreeable unto God, it may be true that it was perhaps at one time, but how many among us to-day understand it perfectly, this is the reason why it would be the most senseless thing to employ it.

* The Grimoires of Black Magic would usually come under this head. But, nevertheless, the extravagant words therein will be usually found to be corruptions and perversions of Hebrew, Chaldee, and Egyptian titles of Gods and Angels. But it is undoubtedly evil to use caricatures of Holy Names; and these for evil purposes also. Yet it is written in the Oracles of Zoroaster: "Change not barbarous Names of Evocation, for they are Names Divine, having in the Sacred Rites a Power Ineffable!"

† Yet, notwithstanding, it is well in a Sacred Magical Operation to employ a language which does not to our minds convey so much the commonplace ideas of everyday life, so as the better to exalt our thoughts. But, as Abraham says, we should before all things *understand* what we are repeating.

I repeat then :—Let each one speak his own language, because thus understanding what it is that ye are demanding of the Lord, ye will obtain all Grace. And if ye demand a thing which is unjust, it will be refused unto you, and ye will never obtain it.

THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

THAT IN THIS OPERATION IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO REGARD THE TIME, NOR THE DAY, NOR THE HOURS.

THERE be no other days (to be observed) than those which God hath ordained unto our Fathers, *viz.*, All Saturdays, which be the days of the Sabbath ; Passover ; and the Feast of Tabernacles ; of which the former is the Fifteenth Day of the First of our Months, and the latter (beginneth on) the Fifteenth Day of the Seventh Month.* Now for this Operation, any person of whatever Law† he may be, provided that he confesseth that there is One God,‡ may observe these feasts. However, the true time of commencing this Operation is the first day after the Celebration of the Feasts of Easter, and this was ordained unto Noah, being the most convenient time, and the end falleth just at the (Feast of) Tabernacles.§ Our predecessors have thus observed it, and the Angel‖ also

* The Passover is about the Vernal Equinox and nearly corresponds to our Easter; it begins on the 15th or 16th of the Jewish First Month = Nisan or Abib. The Feast of Tabernacles begins about the middle of their Seventh Month = Tisri.

† *I.e.*, religious denomination.

‡ It is immaterial whether the religious conception be Theistic or Pantheistic.

§ The Initiates of the True Rosicrucian Wisdom, know that there is a certain force in the observance of the Equinoxes.

‖ Abraham evidently means his Guardian Angel.

hath approved it ; and also it is more advisable to follow good counsel and example, than to be obstinate and follow one's own caprice ; and also to treat the election of a particular day as a Pagan idea, paying no regard whatever either to Time nor to the Elements ; but only (having respect) unto Him Who granteth such a period. Thus then will we be found men in the fittest condition of Grace and reconciled with God, and purer than at another period ; and this being an essential point ye ought well to consider the same.

It is, however, quite true that the Elements and the Constellations do perform of themselves certain operations* but this is to be understood of natural things, as it happeneth that one day is different unto another ; but such a difference hath not operation in things Spiritual and Supernatural, being thus useless for (higher) Magical Operations. The Election of Days is still more useless, the Election of Hours and Minutes whereof the ignorant make so much, is further a very great error.

Wherefore I have resolved to write this particular chapter, in order that this error might appear more plainly evident unto him who readeth it, and that he may draw profit therefrom so as to operate with judgment.

THE SIXTH CHAPTER.

CONCERNING THE PLANETARY HOURS AND OTHER ERRORS OF THE ASTROLOGERS.

IT is true that the Wise in Astrology do write of the Stars and of their movements, and that these attaining thereto do produce divers effects in inferior and elemental things ; and such are, as we have already

* Here Abraham admits to an extent what I have urged in my previous notes.

said, natural operations of the Elements; but that they should have power over the Spirits, or force in all supernatural things, that is not, neither can ever be. But it will instead be found that by the permission of the Great God it is the Spirits who govern the firmament. What foolishness then would it be to implore the favour of the Sun, of the Moon, and of the Stars, when the object would be to have converse with Angels and with Spirits. Would it not be an extravagant idea to demand from the wild beasts the permission to go hunting? But what else is it, when they* have elected a certain day, when they have divided it up into many false divisions such as hours, minutes, etc. "Here," they say, "we have the Planetary Hours, and the Planet appropriate to each Hour." O what Planets! O what fine order! Tell me, I pray you, what advantage you get by this division. You will reply: "A very great one, because it shows us in all things, either good or bad fortune!" I tell you, and I repeat absolutely, that this is in no way true; that they produce thus a change of the time and of the Air, I in part concede; but do me the grace to tell me how ye do divide the Planetary Hours. I know that ye begin the first hour of the day with the Planet which itself giveth the name unto the day, as Sunday is ascribed to the Sun, Monday to the Moon, Tuesday to Mars, Wednesday to Mercury, Thursday to Jupiter, Friday to Venus, and Saturday to Saturn; then ye divide the length of the Day into twelve equal portions which ye call Hours, and to each Hour ye assign its planet; and ye do the same thing with the Night, according to whether the days be long or short. Thus do the Hours become long or short. As for example, suppose that on a Sunday the Sun riseth at 7 o'clock and setteth at 5 o'clock in the evening, its course will be ten Hours, the which ye divide up into

* *I.e.*, the Astrologers to whom Abraham refers in the first sentence of the chapter.

twelve equal parts, so that each Hour is of fifty minutes' length. I say, therefore, that the first Planetary Hour is of the Sun, and is fifty minutes long ; that the second is of Venus ; the third of Mercury ; and so on of the others ; at last the eighth Hour returneth unto the Sun ; the ninth unto Venus ; the tenth unto Mercury ; and so the Day finisheth. Then cometh the Night, which is longer, that is to say, fourteen Hours, and each Planetary Hour of this Night will be seventy minutes, and in order to continue the regular succession as we have begun, the first Hour of the Night will be of Jupiter ; the second of Mars ; the third of the Sun ; and so on until Monday, whose first Hour will be (according to this rule) of the Moon. Now tell me, I pray you, doth it always happen that when the Day of Monday commenceth, that is to say, when the Sun riseth in its horizon, that the Moon riseth also together with him, and that she setteth also together with him ? They cannot answer this. Wherefore then do they apportion unto the second day of the week and unto its first hour the Moon ? They can tell you no reason, except a likeness to the name (of the Day).*

O ! how gross an error ! Hear and tell me when it is that a Planet hath the greatest force in the Elements ; whether when it is *above* or when it is *below* your Horizon or Hemisphere ? We must however avow that it is more powerful when it is above, because being below it hath no power save according unto the Will of God. Why then, even further than this, should we attribute unto a Planet a Day and Hour, if during the whole period of such Day it appeareth not above the Horizon !

ABRAMELIN as a most excellent MASTER in natural things taught unto me a very different form of classifi-

* *I.e.*, the Moon and Monday ; Sun and Sunday ; Mars and Tuesday (Tuisco is a name of Mars) ; Venus and Friday (Freya's day, after Freya, the Scandinavian Goddess), etc.

cation (which also well examine, and see whether it be not more surely founded than the aforesaid rule of the Astrologers), and made me to comprehend what should be the true Planetary Hours. When the Planet beginneth to appear upon the Horizon then doth *its Day* begin (whether it be Light or Dark, Black or White), and until it hath passed its elevation* *its Day* lasteth until it riseth anew, and after that it hath set *its Night* endureth ; so that as well in the Days of the Sun as in those of the Moon and of the others, *the Days of all the Planets be mingled*, only that one commenceth sooner than another, according to which nature they be mingled together in the Celestial Signs. Now it is requisite that I should tell unto you what be the Planetary Hours ! Know then that each Planet hath only an hour during the which it is very powerful, being over you and above your head, that is to say when it is in the Meridian. Then, naturally, will sometimes arrive the Hours of two Planets together and beginning at the same moment ; they then produce an effect according unto the nature, quality, and complexion of these stars.† But all this only hath power in natural things. Here have I declared and proved unto you the errors of the (common) Astrologers ; keep yourselves carefully from the insensate follies of their Days and Hours, because if ye make use of these as do the false Magicians and Enchanters, God will chastise you ; and in order to chastise you will pay but little attention unto the awaiting of the Hour of Saturn or of Mars.

I therefore now conclude this chapter, having sufficiently treated of the false and useless method employed by the Astrologers in the Election of Days and of Hours.

* " *Et jusqua cequil tremonte son jour dure jusqua cequil se leve derechef.*"

† This is the initiated Rosicrucian teaching, which is very different to that of the outer and unitiated World.

THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

REGARDING WHAT IT IS NECESSARY TO ACCOMPLISH DURING THE FIRST TWO MOONS OF THE BEGINNING OF THIS VERITABLE AND SACRED MAGIC.

E who commenceth this Operation should consider with care that which we have before said, and should pay attention unto that which followeth; and the thing being of importance, I shall leave alone for the present all other considerations, so that we may begin with the Operation which we should perform on the first morning after the celebration of the Feast of Easter (or Passover).

Firstly: Having carefully washed one's whole body and having put on fresh clothing: precisely a quarter of an hour before Sunrise ye shall enter into your Oratory, open the window, and place yourselves upon your knees before the Altar, turning your faces towards the window; and devoutly and with boldness ye shall invoke the Name of the Lord, thanking Him for all the grace which He hath given and granted unto you from your infancy until now; then with humility shall ye humble yourselves unto Him, and confess unto Him entirely all your sins; supplicating Him to be willing to pardon you and remit them. Ye shall also supplicate Him that in the time to come He may be willing and pleased to regard you with pity and grant you His grace and goodness to send unto you His Holy Angel, who shall serve unto you as a Guide, and lead you ever in His Holy Way and Will; so that ye fall not into sin through inadvertence, through ignorance, or through human frailty.

In this manner shall ye commence your Oration, and continue thus every morning during the first two Moons or Months.

Meseemeth here that now some may say : " Wherefore dost thou not write down the words or form of prayer the which I should employ, seeing that, as for me, I am neither sufficiently learned, nor devout, nor wise ? "

Know ye that although in the beginning your prayer be but feeble, it will suffice, provided that ye understand how to demand the Grace of the Lord with love and a true heart, whence it must be that such a prayer cometh forth. Also it serveth nothing to speak without devotion, without attention, and without intelligence ; nor yet to pronounce it with the mouth alone, without a true intent ; nor yet to read it as do the ignorant and the impious. But it is absolutely necessary that your prayer should issue from the midst of your heart, because simply setting down prayers in writing, the hearing of them will in no way explain unto you how really to pray.* This is the reason that I have not wished to give unto you any special form of prayers and orations, so that ye yourselves may learn from and of yourselves how to pray, and how to invoke the Holy Name of God, our Lord ; and for that reason I have not been willing that ye should rely upon *me* in order to pray. Ye have the Holy and Sacred Scripture, the which is filled with very beautiful and potent prayers and actions of grace. Study then herein, and learn herefrom, and ye shall have no lack of instructions how to pray with fruit. And although in the commencement your prayer may be weak, it sufficeth that your heart be true and loyal towards God, Who little by little will kindle in you His Holy Spirit, Who will so teach you and enlighten your Spirit, that ye shall both know and have the power to pray.

When ye shall have performed your orations, close

* This is the great point to be studied in all Magical Operations soever, and unless the whole heart and soul and faith go with the ceremony, there can be no reliable result produced.

the window, and go forth from the Oratory ; so that no one may be able therein to enter ; and ye shall not yourselves enter again until the evening when the Sun shall be set. Then shall ye enter therein afresh, and shall perform your prayers in the same manner as in the morning.

For the rest, ye shall govern yourselves each day as I shall tell you in the following instructions.

Concerning the Bed Chamber and the Oratory, and how they should be arranged, I will tell hereafter in the Eleventh Chapter.*

It is requisite that ye shall have a Bed Chamber near the Oratory or else your ordinary habitation, which it is necessary first to thoroughly clean out and perfume, and see that the Bed be both new and clean. Your whole attention must be given to purity in all things ; because the Lord hath in abomination all that is impure. You shall sleep in this said Chamber, and you shall continue therein during the day, there transacting the matters which belong unto your business ; and those which you can dispense with, leave alone. You may sleep with your Wife in the bed when she is pure and clean ; but when she hath her monthly courses you shall not allow her to enter the bed, nor even the Chamber. Every Sabbath-eve it is necessary to change the sheets of the bed, and all the linen. Every Saturday you shall perfume the Chamber. And ye shall not allow any dog, cat, or other animal to enter into nor dwell therein ; so that they may in no way be able to render it unclean. As regardeth the matrimonial obligation, it is chastity, and the duty that of engendering children ; but the whole should be done in the Fear of God, and, above all things, in such case see that your Wife be not impure. But during the following four Moons ye shall flee sexual intercourse as ye would

* The title of the Eleventh Chapter of the Second Book is : "Concerning the Selection of the Place".

the Plague. Even if ye have children, endeavour to send them away unto another place before (commencing the Operation), so that they may not be an hindrance from being about you; except the eldest-born of the family, and infants at the breast.

As regardeth the regimen of your life and actions, ye shall have regard unto your status and condition. If you be your own Master, as far as lieth in your power, free yourself from all your business, and quit all mundane and vain company and conversation; leading a life tranquil, solitary and honest. If aforetime you have been a wicked, debauched, avaricious, luxurious and proud man, leave and flee from all these Vices. Consider that this was one of the principal reasons why ABRAHAM, MOSES, DAVID, ELIJAH, JOHN, and other holy men retired into desert places, until that they had acquired this Holy Science and Magic; because where there are many people, many scandals do arise; and where scandal is, Sin cometh; the which at length offendeth and driveth away the Angel of God, and the Way which leadeth unto Wisdom becometh closed unto ye. Fly as far as you can the conversation of men, and especially of such as in the past have been the companions of your debauches; or who have led you into sin. Ye shall therefore seek retirement as far as possible; until that ye shall have received that Grace of the Lord which ye ask. But a Domestic Servant* who is compelled to serve a Master cannot well have these conveniences (for working and performing the Operation).

Take well heed in treating of business, in selling or buying, that it shall be requisite that you never give way unto anger, but be modest and patient in your actions.

You shall set apart two hours each day after having dined, during the which you shall read with care the Holy Scripture and other Holy Books, because they will

* Meaning in the case where the Aspirant unto the Sacred Magic is a Servant actually then serving a Master.

teach you to be good at praying, and how to fear the Lord ; and thus day by day shall ye better know your Creator. The other exercises which be free and permitted unto you, are hereafter set forth and principally in the Eleventh Chapter.

As for eating, drinking and sleeping, such should be in moderation and never superfluous. It is especially necessary to shun drunkenness, and flee public dinners. Content yourself with eating at your own house, with your family, in the peace and quiet which God hath granted unto you. You should never sleep during the day, but you may in the morning, for after that you have performed your devotions you may if you wish again go to bed to rest yourself. And if it happeneth by chance that you do not rise sufficiently early, that is to say before sunrise, it doth not greatly matter (provided that it be not done of evil intent), and you shall perform your ordinary morning prayer;* but you should not accustom yourself to be slothful, it being always better to pray unto God at an early hour.

CONCERNING CLOTHING AND FAMILY.

Your dress should be clean but moderate, and according to custom. Flee all vanity. You shall have two dresses, in order that you may be able to change them ; and you shall change them the eve of each Sabbath, wearing the one one week, and the other the next ; brushing and perfuming them always beforehand.

As for that which regardeth the family, the fewer in

* The object of most of these instructions is of course to keep the Astral Sphere of the Aspirant free from evil influences, and accustom him to pure and holy thoughts and to the exercise of Will power and Self-control. The student of the Indian Tatwas will know the value of active meditation at Sunrise because that moment is the Akâsic commencement of the Tatwic course in the day, and of the power of the Swara.

number, the better ; also act so that the servants may be modest and tranquil. All these pieces of advice be principal points which it is well to observe. As for the rest, you have only to keep before your eyes the Tables of the Law during all this time, and also afterwards ; because these Tables should be the rule of your life.

Let your hand be ever ready to give alms and other benefits to your neighbour ; and let your heart be ever open unto the poor, whom God so loveth that one cannot express the same.

And in the case that during this period you should be attacked by some illness, which would not permit you to go unto the Oratory, this need not oblige you to abandon your enterprise at once ; but you should govern yourself to the best of your ability ; and in such case you shall perform your orations in your bed, entreating God to restore you to health, so that you may be enabled to continue your undertaking, and make the sacrifices which be due, and so with the greater strength be able to work to obtain His Wisdom.

And this is all that we should do and observe during these two Moons.

THE EIGHTH CHAPTER.

CONCERNING THE TWO SECOND MOONS.

THE two first Moons being finished ; the two second Moons follow, during the which ye shall make your prayer, morning and evening at the hour accustomed ; but before entering into the Oratory ye shall wash your hands and face thoroughly with pure water. And you shall prolong your prayer with the greatest possible affection, devotion and submission ; humbly entreating the Lord God that He would deign to command His Holy

Angels to lead you in the True Way, and Wisdom, and Knowledge, by studying the which assiduously in the Sacred Writings there will arise more and more (Wisdom) in your heart.

The use of the rights of Marriage is permitted, but should scarcely if at all be made use of (during this period).

You shall also wash your whole body every Sabbath Eve.

As to what regardeth commerce and manner of living, I have already given unto you sufficient instruction.

Only it is absolutely necessary to retire from the world and seek retreat; and ye shall lengthen your prayers to the utmost of your ability.

As for eating, drinking and clothing, ye shall govern yourselves in exactly the same manner as in the two first Moons; except that ye shall fast (the Qabalistical fast) every Sabbath Eve.

NOTE WELL: The Sabbath is for the Jews, who are accustomed to observe the same every Saturday, but for Christians the Sabbath is the Sunday, and they* ought to consider the Saturday as its Eve.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

CONCERNING THE TWO LAST MOONS WHICH MUST BE THUS COMMENCED.

ORNING and Noon ye shall wash your hands and your face on entering the Oratory;† and firstly ye shall make Confession of all your sins; after this, with a very ardent prayer, ye shall entreat the

* *I.e.*, the Christians.

† This probably means in the bed-chamber *before entering* the Oratory.

Lord to accord unto you this particular grace, which is, that you may enjoy and be able to endure* the presence and conversation of His Holy Angels, and that He may deign by their intermission to grant unto you the Secret Wisdom, so that you may be able to have dominion over the Spirits and over all creatures.

Ye shall do this same at midday before dining, and also in the evening ; so that during these two last Moons ye shall perform the prayer three times a day, and during this time ye shall ever keep the Perfume upon the Altar. Also towards the end of your Oration, ye shall pray unto the Holy Angels, supplicating them to bear your sacrifice before the Face of God, in order to intercede for you, and that they shall assist you in all your operations during these two Moons.

The man who is his own master† shall leave all business alone, except works of charity towards his neighbour. You shall shun all society except that of your Wife and of your Servants. Ye shall employ the greatest part of your time in speaking of the Law of God, and in reading such works as treat wisely thereof ; so that your eyes may be opened unto that which from past time even unto the present ye have not as yet seen, nor thought of, nor believed.

Every Sabbath Eve shall ye fast, and wash your whole body, and change your garment.

Furthermore, ye shall have a Vest and Tunic of linen, which ye shall put on every time that ye enter into the Oratory, before ye commence to put the Perfume in the Censer, as I shall tell ye more fully hereafter

Also ye shall have a basket or other convenient vessel of copper filled with Charcoal to put inside the Censer when necessary, and which ye can take outside the Ora-

* *Que vous puissiez jouir et résister à la présence*, etc.

† *I.e.*, independent.

tory, because the Censer itself should never be taken away from the place. Note well that after having performed your prayer, you ought to take it* out of the Oratory, especially during the Two last Moons, and ye should inter it in a place which cannot well be made unclean, such as a garden.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

CONCERNING WHAT THINGS A MAN MAY LEARN AND STUDY DURING THESE TWO MOONS.

ALTHOUGH the best counsel which I can give is that a man should go into retirement in some desert or solitude, until the time of the Six Moons destined unto this Operation be fulfilled, and that he shall have obtained that which he wisheth ; as the Ancients used to do ; nevertheless now this is hardly possible ; and we must accommodate ourselves unto the era (in which we live) ; and being unable to carry it out in one way, we should endeavour to do so in another ; and attach ourselves only unto Divine Things.

But there be certain who cannot even do this thoroughly, notwithstanding they may honestly wish the same ; and this because of their divers employments and positions which will not permit them to act in accordance with their desires, so that they are compelled to carry on their worldly occupations.

In order then that such may know what occupations and business they can follow out without prejudice to this Operation, I will here state the same in few words.

We may then exercise the profession of Medicine, and all arts connected with the same ; and we may per-

* *I.e.*, the ashes of the charcoal and incense.

form all operations which tend unto charity and mercy towards our neighbour purely and simply. As for what concerneth the liberal arts ye may interest yourselves in Astronomy, etc., but flee all arts and operations which have the least tincture of Magic and Sorcery, seeing that we must not confound together God and Belial : God wisheth to be alone ; unto Him pertain all honour and glory. All the above matters are however permitted during the two first and the two second Moons.

You may walk in a garden for recreation ; but you shall do no servile work ; and amidst the flowers and the fruits you can also meditate upon the greatness* of God. But during the two third and last Moons ye shall quit every other matter only permitting your recreation to consist in things Spiritual and Divine. If ye wish to be participators in the Conversation of the Angels, and in the Divine Wisdom, lay aside all indiscreet† things, and regard it as a pleasure when ye can spare two or three hours to study the Holy Scripture, because hencefrom ye shall derive incredible profit ; and even the less ye are learned, so much the more will ye become wise and clever. It sufficeth that in the performance of your Orisons ye shall not give way unto sleep, and that ye shall fail in nowise in this operation through negligence and voluntarily.

* In the text evidently by a slip the word *grandeur* is repeated *la grandeur la grandeur de Dieu.*

† "*Laissez apart touttes les choses curieuses.*"

THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER.*

CONCERNING THE SELECTION OF THE PLACE.

E should make the Selection of the Place (for the Operation) before commencing it, and prior to the celebration of the Passover, in order that we may decide upon the same without hindrance, and it is necessary that all things should be prepared.

He who commenceth this Operation in solitude can elect a place according unto his pleasure ; where there is a small wood, in the midst of which you shall make a small Altar, and you shall cover the same with a hut (or shelter) of fine branches, so that the rain may not fall thereon and extinguish the Lamp and the Censer. Around the Altar at the distance of seven paces you shall prepare a hedge of flowers, plants, and green shrubs, so that it may divide the entrance† into two parts ; that is to say, the Interior where the Altar and Tabernacle will be placed after the manner of a Temple ; and the part Exterior, which with the rest of the place will be as a Portico thereunto.

Now if you commence not this Operation in the Country, but perform it in a Town, or in some dwelling-place, I will show unto ye what shall be necessary herein.‡

Ye shall choose an Apartment which hath a Window, joined unto the which shall be an uncovered Terrace (or

* This chapter is previously referred to in the Seventh Chapter in speaking of the Bed-chamber and the Oratory.

† "*L'avenue*"; the modern sense of this word is, of course, a road or path bordered by trees.

‡ Compare the following description with that of Sir Philip Derval's so-called Observatory, in the *Strange Story*, by Bulwer Lytton.

Balcony), and a Lodge (or small room or hut) covered with a roof, but so that there may be on every side windows whence you may be able to see in every direction, and whence you may enter into the Oratory. In the which place* the Evil Spirits shall be able to appear, since they cannot appear within the Oratory itself. In the which place, beside the Oratory towards the quarter of the North, you shall have a roofed or covered Lodge, in the which and from whence one may be able to see the Oratory. I myself also had two large windows made in my Oratory, and at the time of the Convocation of the Spirits, I used to open them and remove both the shutters and the door, so that I could easily see on every side and constrain them† to obey me.

The Oratory should always be clear and clean swept, and the flooring should be of wood, of white pine ; in fine, this place should be so well and carefully prepared, that one may judge it to be a place destined unto prayer.

The Terrace and the contiguous Lodge where we are to invoke the Spirits we should cover with river sand to the depth of two fingers at the least.

The Altar should be erected in the midst of the Oratory ; and if any one maketh his Oratory in desert places, he should build it‡ of stones which have never been worked or hewn, or even touched by the hammer.

The Chamber§ should be boarded with pine wood, and a Lamp full of Oil Olive should be suspended therein, the which every time that ye shall have burned your perfume and finished your orison, ye shall extinguish. A handsome Censer of bronze, or of silver if one hath the means, must be placed upon the Altar, the which should in no wise be removed from its place until the Operation

* *I.e.*, the Terrace or Balcony. † *I.e.*, the Spirits.

‡ *I.e.*, the Altar.

§ He here evidently means the Oratory, and not the Bed-chamber described in Chapter VII.

be finished, if one performeth it in a dwelling-house ; for in the open country one cannot do this. Thus in this point as in all the others, we should rule and govern ourselves according unto the means at our disposal.

The Altar, which should be made of wood, ought to be hollow within after the manner of a cupboard, wherein you shall keep all the necessary things, such as the two Robes, the Crown or Mitre, the Wand, the Holy Oils, the Girdle or Belt, the Perfume ; and any other things which may be necessary.

*The second habiliments will be a Shirt or Tunic of linen, large and white, with well and properly made sleeves. The other Robe will be of Crimson or Scarlet Silk with Gold, and it should not be longer than just unto the knees, with sleeves of similar stuff. As for these vestments, there is no particular rule for them ; nor any especial instructions to be followed ; but the more resplendent, clean, and brilliant they are the better will it be. You shall also make a Girdle of Silk of the same colour as the Tunic, wherewithal you shall be girded. You shall have upon your head a beautiful Crown or woven Fillet of Silk and Gold. You shall prepare the Sacred Oil in this manner : Take of myrrh† in tears, one part ; of fine cinnamon, two parts ; of galangal‡ half a part ; and the half of the total weight of these drugs of the best oil olive. The which aromatics you shall mix together according unto the Art of the Apothecary, and shall make thereof a Balsam, the which you shall keep in a glass vial which you shall put within the cupboard (formed by the interior) of the Altar. The Perfume

* The Rosicrucian Initiate will note the description of these vestments.

† "*Mirrhe en larmes*".

‡ ? Galanca, or galanga, an Indian root, used for medicinal purposes. See description of Holy Anointing Oil and Perfume in Exodus xxx.

shall be made thus : Take of Incense in tears* one part ; of Stacte† half a part ; of Lign Aloes a quarter of a part ; and not being able to get this wood you shall take that of cedar, or of rose, or of citron, or any other odoriferous wood. You shall reduce all these ingredients into a very fine powder, mix them well together and keep the same in a box or other convenient vessel. As you will consume a great deal of this perfume, it will be advisable to mix enough on the eve of the Sabbath to last the whole week.

You shall also have a Wand of Almond-tree wood, smooth and straight, of the length of about from half an ell to six feet.‡ And ye shall keep the aforesaid things in good order in the cupboard§ of the Altar, ready for use in the proper time and place.

Here followeth the manner of ordering oneself and of operating.

THE TWELFTH CHAPTER.

HOW ONE SHOULD KEEP ONESELF IN ORDER TO CARRY OUT THIS OPERATION WELL.

THIS Operation being truly Divine, it is necessary once more to treat of and distinguish the present Consecration into different periods of time.

You shall then understand that during the two first and two second Moons, no other Consecration must be performed, than that of which we have already spoken in the Seventh and Eighth foregoing

* Olibanum. † Or storax.

‡ A "brasse" is a fathom ; but here perhaps implies rather an arm's length : "*Lune brasse enveron ou demi aulne*".

§ *I.e.*, in the hollow interior of the Altar.

Chapters,* unto the which I refer you, so as not to be too prolix. And I only say unto you, that during the course of the two first and two second Moons, every Saturday when ye perform the Orison, ye shall also burn the Perfume as well in the morning as in the evening ; and in the two third and last Moons ye shall make the Prayer and the Perfume thrice daily.

Now here hath the last part of the time arrived ; here therefore open ye your eyes and be attentive, and govern yourselves in everything and every place in the way which I have written unto you. Have confidence in God, because if even until then ye have faithfully observed mine instructions which I have given unto you, and if your Orisons shall have been made with a righteous heart and with devotion, there is no manner of doubt that all things will appear easy unto you, and your own spirit and your understanding will teach you the manner in which you should conduct yourself in all points ; because your Guardian Angel is already about you, though Invisible, and conducteth and governeth your heart, so that you shall not err. The two Moons being finished, in the morning ye shall commence all that is commanded in the Ninth Chapter,† and further observe this present Chapter.

When first ye shall enter into the Oratory, leave your shoes without,‡ and having opened the window,§ ye shall place the lighted coals in the Censer which‖ you shall have brought with you, you shall light the Lamp, and take from the Cupboard of the Altar your two Vest-

* Which give the instructions for these periods.

† Concerning the two last Moons.

‡ "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."

§ It will be remarked how this point is insisted on.

‖ "Which," apparently, should refer to the coals, and not to the censer.

ments, the Crown, the Girdle and the Wand, placing them upon the Altar. Then take the Sacred Oil in your left hand, cast some of the Perfume upon the Fire, and place yourself upon your knees,* praying unto the Lord with fervour.

THE ORISON.

"O LORD GOD of Mercy ; God, Patient, Most Benign and Liberal ; Who grantest Thy Grace in a thousand ways, and unto a thousand generations ; Who forgettest the iniquities, the sins, and the transgressions of men ; in Whose Presence none is found innocent ; Who visitest the transgressions of the father upon the children and nephews unto the third and fourth generation ; I know my wretchedness, and that I am not worthy to appear before Thy Divine Majesty, nor even to implore and beseech Thy Goodness and Mercy for the least Grace. But, O Lord of Lords, the Source of Thy Bounty is so great, that of Itself It calleth those who are ashamed by reason of their sins and dare not approach, and inviteth them to drink of Thy Grace. Wherefore, O Lord my God, have pity upon me, and take away from me all iniquity and malice ; cleanse my soul from all the uncleanness of sin ; renew within me my Spirit, and comfort it, so that it may become strong and able to comprehend the Mystery of Thy Grace, and the Treasures of Thy Divine Wisdom. Sanctify me also with the Oil of Thy Sanctification, wherewith Thou hast sanctified all Thy Prophets ; and purify in me therewith all that appertaineth unto me, so that I may become worthy of the Conversation of Thy Holy Angels and of Thy Divine Wisdom, and grant unto me the Power which Thou

* Preferably I should advise upon the Western side of the Altar, and facing therefore the East ; also I would have the cupboard opening upon the Western side, for certain mystical reasons.

hast given unto Thy Prophets over all the Evil Spirits. Amen. Amen."

This is the Prayer which I myself made use of in my Consecration ; the which I give not here to confine you (to a certain form), nor to oblige you to employ the same, nor to tell it you over as I would to a parrot whom I should wish to teach to talk ; but only and solely to give unto you an idea of the manner in which we should pray.

Having finished your Orison, rise from your knees, and anoint the centre* of your forehead with a little of the Sacred Oil ; after this dip your finger into the same Oil, and anoint therewith the four upper corners of the Altar. Touch also with this Holy Oil the Vestments, the Girdle, the Crown, and the Wand, on both sides. You shall also touch the Doors and the Windows of the Oratory. Then with your finger dipped in the Oil you shall write upon the four sides of the Altar these words, so that they may be perfectly clearly written on each side :—

"In whatever place it may be wherein Commemoration of My Name shall be made, I will come unto you and I will bless you."

This being done the Consecration is finished, and then ye shall put the White Tunic and all the other things into the Cupboard of the Altar. Then kneel down and make your ordinary prayer, as is laid down in the Third Chapter ;† and be well ware to take no consecrated thing out of the Oratory ; and during the whole of the ensuing period ye shall enter the Oratory and celebrate the Office with naked feet.

* The place of the third eye in the Indian figures of Gods.

† This is apparently a slip for "the Seventh Chapter"; as the Third Chapter is only a short one regarding those who are fitted to undertake the Operation.

THE THIRTEENTH CHAPTER.

CONCERNING THE CONVOCATION OF THE GOOD SPIRITS.

WE are now arrived at a point at which ye shall be able to see clearly, having duly followed out and observed the instructions which I have given unto you, and having during all this time served God your Creator with a perfect heart. We are now arrived at the term, wherefore the following morning rise betimes, neither wash yourselves at all nor dress yourselves at all in your ordinary clothes ; but take a Robe of Mourning ; enter the Oratory with bare feet ; go unto the side of the Censer, take the ashes therefrom and place them upon your head ; light the Lamp ; and put the hot coals into the Censer ; and having opened the windows, return unto the door. There prostrate yourself with your face against the ground, and order the Child* to put the Perfume upon the Censer, after which he is to place himself upon his knees before the Altar ; following in all things and throughout the instructions which I have given unto you in the last chapter of the First Book, to which I am here referring.† Humiliate yourself before God and His Celestial Court, and commence your Prayer with fervour, for then it is that you will begin to enflame yourself in praying, and you will see appear an extraordinary and supernatural Splendour which will fill the whole apartment, and will surround you with an inexpressible odour, and this alone will console you and comfort your heart so that you shall call for ever happy the Day of the Lord. Also

* See Book I., Chapter XII.

† Because previously when he has mentioned a foregoing chapter, it has been one of those in this Second Book to which he has referred.

the Child* will experience an admirable feeling of contentment in the presence of the Angel. And you shall continue always your Prayer redoubling your ardour and fervour, and shall pray the Holy Angel that he may deign to Sign, and write upon a small square plate of silver (which you shall have had made for this purpose and which you shall have placed upon the Altar) another Sign if you shall have need of it in order to see him ; and everything which you are to do. As soon as the Angel shall have made the Sign by writing, and that he shall have written down some other counsel which may be necessary unto you, he will disappear, but the splendour will remain. The which the Child having observed, and made the sign thereof unto you, you shall command him to bring you quickly the little plate of silver, and that which you find written thereon you shall at once copy, and order the Child to replace it upon the Altar. Then you shall go forth from the Oratory and leave the Window open, and the Lamp alight, and during this whole day you shall not enter into the Oratory ; but shall make preparation for the day following ; and during the day you shall speak to none, nor make answer, even were it your own wife or children or servants ; except to the Child whom you can send away. Also you shall beforehand have set your affairs in order, and so arranged them that no embarrassment may be caused you thereby, which might distract your attention. In the evening when the Sun shall be set, you shall eat but soberly ; and then you shall go to rest alone ; and you shall live separated from your wife during these days.

During Seven Days shall you perform the Ceremonies without failing therein in any way ; namely, the Day of

* If the Operator himself has developed the clairvoyant faculty ; which the training he has subjected himself to for six months ought to have greatly aided, and be pure in mind, I can see no necessity for the employment of a Child as Seer.

the Consecration, the Three Days of the Convocation of the Good and Holy Spirits, and the Three other Days of the Convocation of the Evil Spirits.

Now the second morning after, you are to be prepared to follow the counsel which the Angel will have given you. You will go early unto the Oratory, you will place the lighted charcoal and perfumes in the Censer, you are to relight the Lamp if it be (by that time) extinguished ; and wearing the same Robe of Mourning as of the day before, prostrate with your face towards the ground, you shall humbly pray unto and supplicate the Lord that He may have pity on you, and that He may deign to fulfil your prayer ; that He will grant unto you the vision of His Holy Angels, and that the Elect Spirits may deign to grant unto you their familiar converse. And thus shall ye pray unto the utmost degree that shall be possible unto you, and with the greatest fervour that you can bring into action from your heart, and this during the space of two or three hours. Then quit the Oratory, returning thither at midday for another hour, and equally again in the evening ; then you shall eat after the manner aforesaid, and go to rest. Understand also that the odour and the splendour will in nowise quit the Oratory.

The third day being now arrived, you shall act thus. The evening (before) you shall wash your whole body thoroughly ; and in the morning, being dressed in your ordinary garments, you shall enter into the Oratory, but with naked feet. Having placed the Fire and the Perfumes in the Censer, and lighted the Lamp, you shall put on the White Vestment, and place yourself on your knees before the Altar, to render thanks to God for all His benefits, and firstly for having granted unto you a Treasure so great and so precious. You shall render thanks also unto the Holy Guardian Angels, praying unto them that henceforward they will have you in their care for

the whole period of your life ; also that he* will never abandon you, that he will lead you in the Way of the Lord, and that he will watch carefully over you to assist you, and consent unto the present Operation of the Sacred Magic, so that you shall have such Force and Virtue that you may be able to constrain the Spirits accursed of God, unto the Honour of your Creator, and for your own good and that of your neighbour.

And then shall you first be able to put to the test whether you shall have well employed the period of your Six Moons, and how well and worthily you shall have laboured in the quest of the Wisdom of the Lord ; since you shall see your Guardian Angel appear unto you in unequalled beauty ; who also will converse with you, and speak in words so full of affection and of goodness, and with such sweetness, that no human tongue could express the same. He will animate you unto your great content in the fear of God, making you a recital of the blessings which you have received from God ; and bringing unto your remembrance the sins by which you have offended Him during the whole period of your life, will instruct you and give unto you the manner in which you shall be able to appease Him by a pure, devout, and regulated life, and by honest and meritorious actions, and such things as God shall ordain unto you. After this he will show unto you the True Wisdom and Holy Magic, and also wherein you have erred in your Operation, and how thenceforward you should proceed in order to overcome the Evil Spirits, and finally arrive at your desired ends. He will promise never to abandon you, but to defend and assist you during the whole period of your life ; on condition that you shall obey his commands, and that you shall not voluntarily offend your Creator. In one word, you shall be received by him with such affection that

* *I.e.*, your special and particular Guardian Angel.

this description which I here give unto you shall appear a mere nothing in comparison.

Now at this point I commence to restrict myself in my writing, seeing that by the Grace of the Lord I have submitted and consigned you unto a MASTER so great that he will never let you err.

Observe that on the third day you should remain in familiar conversation* with your Guardian Angel. You should quit the Oratory for a short time in the afternoon, remaining without about an hour ; then for the rest of the day you shall remain therein, receiving from the Holy Angel distinct and ample information regarding the Evil Spirits and the manner of bringing them into submission, carefully writing down and taking notes of all these matters. Now, the Sun being set, you shall perform the Evening Orison with the ordinary Perfume, giving thanks unto God in particular for the very great Grace that He hath granted unto you in that day, there also supplicating Him to be propitious unto you and to aid you during your whole life, so that you shall never be able to offend Him. You shall also render thanks unto your Guardian Angel and beseech him not to abandon you.

The Prayer being finished you will see that the Splendour will disappear. Then shall you quit the Oratory, closing the door, but leaving the windows open and the Lamp alight. You shall return as on the preceding days unto your apartment where you shall modestly recreate yourself, and eat your necessary food, then you shall go to rest until the following morning.

* "*En la familiarité et conversation delange.*"

THE FOURTEENTH CHAPTER.

CONCERNING THE CONVOCATION OF THE SPIRITS.*

HOUGH the following advice may be scarcely necessary for the most part, since I have already explained unto you all things necessary to be done; and also seeing that your Guardian Angel will have sufficiently instructed you in all that you should do; yet nevertheless I will here declare plainly certain matters unto you, with the idea rather of making the account of the Operation complete in this Book,† and also to give you every opportunity of possessing the matter thoroughly through reading these things many times; so that having received the Vision of the Angel, you may find yourself thoroughly instructed in all the essential points.

Having then reposed yourself during the night, you shall rise in the morning before dawn, and shall enter into the Oratory; and having placed the lighted Charcoal in the Censer, light the Lamp also. You shall then robe yourself, taking first the White Vestment, and over this you shall put on that‡ of Silk and Gold, then the Girdle, and upon your head you shall place the Crown, and you shall lay the Wand upon the Altar. Then, having put the Perfume in the Censer you shall fall upon your knees, and pray unto Almighty God to grant you the Grace to finish your Operation unto the Praise and Glory of His Holy Name, and for your own use and that of your neighbour. Also you shall supplicate your Guardian

* *I.e.*, those of a material force; many being evil, some few inclined to good, most of a mixed nature somewhat good yet the evil predominating in their dispositions.

† *I.e.*, this Second Book of the three constituting the treatise.

‡ *I.e.*, the Red Robe, or Mantle.

Angel to aid you, and to govern your heart with his counsel, and all your senses. After this you shall take the Wand in your right hand, and pray unto God to give unto this Wand as much virtue, force, and power as He gave unto those of MOSES, of AARON, of ELIJAH, and of the other Prophets whose number is infinite.

Now place yourself beside the Altar looking towards the Door and the open Terrace ; or if you be in the Country place yourself at the Western* side, and commence by summoning the Chief Spirits and Princes.

But your Angel will already have instructed you how to convoke them, and will have sufficiently impressed it on your heart.

And as well in this as in the Orison, we should never proceed and act by the mouth only or by written Conjurations alone ; but with a free heart and intrepid courage ; because it is certain that there is more difficulty in convoking the Evil Spirits† than the Good, which latter usually appear more readily when they are first called if it be by persons of good intent ; while the Evil Spirits flee as much as possible all occasion of submitting themselves to man. This is wherefore he who wisheth to constrain them should be upon his guard, and follow out faithfully from point to point the instructions which his Guardian Angel will have given him, and that he im-

* "*Ou si vous estez en Campagne mettes vous ducosté du ponant.*" This word "*ponant*" is almost obsolete in modern French, being only employed in a nautical sense, and even then but rarely. It implies the "West," or rather the part of the "Ocean towards the West". Even in the middle ages this expression was not in wide use. The Occult student will remark here the idea of "turning to the East to pray, and to the West to invoke". But usually in Magic it is advisable to turn towards the quarter sympathetic in nature with that of the Spirit you wish to summon.

† That is if you convoke them to *serve you*. But all mediæval tradition implies that they are ready enough to come if you are an evil-minded person wishing to make a pact with them to obtain magical force, *i.e.* a Goetic Magician as opposed to an Initiate Adept.

presseth them well upon his memory following them from point to point ; seeing that while no Spirit Good or Evil can know the secrets of your heart before you yourself bring the same to light, unless God Who alone knoweth all things should manifest them ; they (the Spirits) nevertheless can penetrate into and understand that which you are thinking by means of your actions and your words.* This is the reason why he who wisheth properly to convoke and conjure the Spirits, should first well consider the following Conjuration ; and afterward perform it with feeling and freely by heart ; and not by writing, because in using that composed by others, the Spirits thence judge that we ourselves are ignorant, and render themselves straightway more intractable and stubborn.† The Evil Spirits be about you, though invisible, and they keenly examine whether he who conjureth them is courageous or timid, whether he is prudent, and whether he hath a true faith in God Who can perform all things with ease. We can constrain them (the Spirits), and force them to appear ; but a few words ill pronounced by an ill-intentioned person only produce an effect against the person himself who ignorantly pronounceth them ; and an individual of such a character should in no way undertake this Operation, for such would be the true way to make a mock of God and to tempt Him.

* This is why in religious and magical writings such stress is laid on the importance of controlling the *thoughts;* which are as it were our prototypical speech and action in all matters of importance. Modern thought-reading would alone suggest this to persons unskilled in Occultism.

† "*Les Esprits jugent parla denostre ignoranse et serendent plus reveches et ostinez.*" The Initiate knows the value of an Invocation written by himself, in harmony with and expressing exactly his will and idea. But this does not deny the utility of many of the Conjurations handed down by tradition.

OF THE CONJURATIONS.

I have many times repeated unto you that the Fear of God is the principal subject of the instruction of your Guardian Angel, against which you should never commit any fault, even if it be but slight.

Firstly : You should perform the Conjuration in your mother tongue,* or in a language that you well understand, and conjure the Spirits by the authority of and their obedience to the Holy Patriarchs, rehearsing unto them examples of their ruin and fall, of the sentence which God hath pronounced against them, and of their obligation unto servitude ; and how on one side and on another they have been vanquished by the Good Angels and by Wise Men ; all which points you will have had plenty of opportunity to study in the Sacred Writings during the Six Moons (of preparation). Also you shall menace them, in case they are unwilling to obey, with calling unto your aid the Power of the Holy Angels over them. Your Guardian Angel will also have instructed you to perform this Convocation with modesty, and in no wise to be timid, but courageous, yet in moderation, however, without too overbearing hardiness and bravery. And in case of their being inclined to resist, and unwilling to obey you, you must not on that account give way to anger, because thus you will only do injury to yourself ; and they will ask nothing better, it being exactly what they would be endeavouring to do ; but (on the contrary) with an intrepid heart, and putting your whole trust in God, with a tranquil heart you shall exhort them to yield, letting them see that you have put all your confidence in the Living and Only God, reminding them how

* Yet the advantage of its being in a language which you do not immediately associate with the things of every-day life is great, *provided always that you understand the words and repeat them and pronounce them correctly.*

powerful and potent He is ; thus, therefore, govern yourself, using prudence towards them.

And communicate unto them also the Form* in the which you wish them to appear ; the which you can not determine, nor even themselves, but you ought the evening before to have demanded this from your Guardian Angel, who knoweth better than you your nature and constitution, and who understandeth the forms which can terrify you, and those of which you can support the sight.†

And you must not think that this can be done otherwise, as certain Accursed Persons write; that is to say, by means of Seals, and Conjurations, and Superstitious Figures, and Pentacles, and other Abominations, written by Diabolical Enchanters ;‡ for this would be the coin wherewith the Hideous SATAN would buy you for his slave.

But let your whole trust be in the Arm, the Power, and the Force of God Almighty ; then shall you be in all safety, and the Guard of your Angel will defend you from all dangers. This is why you should have good courage, and have confidence that no adversity can happen unto you. Observing then the doctrine that your Angel will have given unto you, and persevering in placing all your trust in God, at length they will appear in the form commanded upon the Terrace, upon the sand ; when, according to the advice and doctrine received from your

* This recalls the phrase so frequent in Conjurations, in which the Spirits are commanded to appear "in human form without any *deformity or tortuosity*".

† Because some of the Demonic forms are so terrible that the shock of their sight might cause a person of a nervous temperament to lose his reason.

‡ I must again repeat that it is only evil and perverted symbols which come under this denunciation of Abraham the Jew ; for nearly all Pentacles and Seals are the Symbols and Sigils of Divine and Angelic Names.

Holy Angel, and as I will clearly teach you in the following Chapter, you shall propound your demand, and you shall receive from them their oath.*

The Spirits which we should convoke on the first day are the Four Superior Princes,† whose Names will be written in the Nineteenth Chapter, and this is the Conjuration of the First Day.

THE CONJURATION OF THE SECOND DAY.

On the following day, having performed the ordinary Orison, and the aforesaid Ceremonies, you shall briefly repeat the aforesaid Conjuration unto the said Spirits, bringing to their remembrance their promises and Oaths made on the preceding day to send unto you the Eight Sub-Princes ;‡ and address the Conjuration unto all the Twelve together, and in a little while they will appear visibly, the Eight Sub-Princes in the form which hath been commanded them; and they will promise and swear unto you (allegiance), as will be more fully shown in the following Chapter.

The Names of the Eight Sub-Princes are described hereafter in the Nineteenth§ Chapter.

THE CONJURATION OF THE THIRD DAY.

The Conjuration of the Third Day is the same as that of the Second Day, seeing that we are then to remind the Eight Sub-Princes of their Promises and Oaths (of Allegiance) ; and we are to call and convoke them with all their adherents, and then they do appear once

* *I.e.*, of allegiance to you.

† The four Superior Spirits and Princes are: Lucifer, Leviathan, Satan, and Belial.

‡ The Eight Sub-Princes are: Astaroth, Magoth, Asmodeus, Beelzebuth ; Oriens, Païmon, Ariton, and Amaymon.

§ By a very evident slip, "*Chapitre* IX." is written in the MS. instead of XIX.

more in visible forms, the whole particular cohorts of each will appear also invisibly, surrounding the Eight Sub-Princes. But while invoking God your Lord for strength and surety, and your Holy Angel for counsel and assistance, never forget what the latter will have taught you, for it is a necessary point.

Here followeth the Fifteenth Chapter which teacheth what we should demand from the Spirits, who are divided into three classes.

THE FIFTEENTH CHAPTER.

CONCERNING WHAT YOU SHOULD DEMAND OF THE SPIRITS WHO ARE DIVIDED INTO THREE DIFFERENT TROOPS AND CONVOKED ON THREE SEPARATE DAYS.

THE Demands we should make to the Spirits are of three different kinds.

THE FIRST DEMAND.

The Demand of the First Day when the Four Superior Princes shall have visibly appeared, you shall make according unto the Order of the Angel :—

Firstly : The Proposition by what Virtue, Power and Authority you make your demands unto them ; that is to say by the Virtue of God our Lord Who hath made them subject unto all His creatures, and brought them to your feet.*

Secondly :† That your object is not at all a malign curiosity, but (one tending) unto the Honour and Glory

* "*Qui les asoumis atouttes ses Creatures et avos pieds.*"

† This whole paragraph is difficult of clear translation by literal rendering, so I give the MS. text : "*Secondement que vostre fin nest point curiosité maligne mais alhonneur et gloire de Dieu et alutilité propre et acelle de tout le genre humain etpourtant toutte ces fois que*

of God, and to your own good and that of all the Human Race. That further, every time that you shall summon them, by whatever Sign or Word, and in whatever Time and Place, and for whatever occasion and service, they shall have to appear immediately without any delay, and obey your commands. And that in case they shall have some legitimate hindrance hereto, they are to send unto you some other Spirits assigning then and there such as shall be capable and potent to accomplish and obey your will and your demand in their place. And that they shall promise and swear to observe this by the most rigorous Judgment of God, and by the most severe punishment and chastisement of the Holy Angels, inflicted upon them. And that they will consent to obey, and that the Four Sovereign Princes will name unto you the Eight Sub-Princes, whom they will send in their place to take the Oath as I have already said, to appear at once on the following morning when commanded by you ; and that they will duly send the Eight Sub-Princes.

For greater certainty, quit the Altar now, and go towards the Door which openeth on to the Terrace, advancing your right hand beyond.* Make each one of them touch the Wand, and take the Oath upon that Wand.

vous les appellerez avec quelquesoit signe ou parole etenquelquesoit temps et Lieu etpourquelle soit occasion etservile dabort sans aucunement retarder ayent aparoitre etobeissent avos commandemens etaucas quils eussent un empechemen Legitime quils ayent avous envoyer dautres esprits enles nommant presentement ceux quiseront capable etpuissan pourobeir etaccomplir vostre volonte et vostre demande en leur place etquils vous promeltent et jurent dobserver cela par le tresrigoureux jugement de Dieu etpar latres grande peine et chatiment dessts anges sur eux ils consentiront dobeir et Les 4 princes souverains vous nommeront les 8 sousprinces quils vous enveront enleurplase aleurfaire preter le serment comme jelay deja dit deparoitre dabort," etc. The writer of this manuscript never uses the slightest punctuation, and paragraphs are infrequent.

* *I.e.*, beyond the Door, but being careful not to go out on to the Terrace yourself.

THE DEMAND OF THE SECOND DAY.

THE Eight Sub-Princes being invoked, you shall make unto them the same demand and the same admonition which you have (already) made unto the Four Sovereign Princes. And further you shall request from these four, that is to say, from ORIENS, PAIMON, ARITON, and AMAIMON ; that each of them shall assign and consign unto you your Familiar Spirit, which from the day of your birth they are compelled to give unto you. These will be given and furnished unto you with their dependants and will afterwards obey you. It is for you to demand from these the other Spirits which you may wish to have ; but seeing that they be infinite in number, and one more skilful in service than another, one for one matter, another for another ; you shall make a selection of the Spirits whom you wish, and you shall put outside upon the Terrace a written list of their names for the Eight Sub-Princes (to see), and you shall require from these (latter) the Oath, as you did from the Four Superior Princes, that the following morning they shall have to appear before you together with all the Spirits whose names you shall have given in writing, and also your Familiar Spirits.

THE DEMAND OF THE THIRD DAY.

THE Eight Sub-Princes having presented all the Spirits as you have directed them, you shall command that ASTAROT* with all his following shall appear visibly in the Form which the Angel shall have prescribed unto you ; and immediately you shall see a Great Army, and all under the same Form. You shall propound unto them the same demand, which you have already made unto the Princes, and you shall cause them to take Oath

* Written "*Atarot*" by a slip in the MS.

to observe the same ; that is to say, that every time that you shall call one of them by his name, that he shall at once appear in such Form and Place as shall please you, and that he shall punctually execute that which you shall have commanded him. All having sworn, you shall put outside the entry* of the Door, all the Signs of the Third Book which belong unto ASTAROT† *alone*, and make him swear thereon, also ordaining unto them‡ that in cases when it may not seem fit unto you to command them verbally, that as soon as you shall take one of these Signs in your hand and move it from its place that the Spirit marked in the Sign shall do and execute that which the Sign beareth, and that which your intimation§ joined thereto shall indicate ; also that in the case that in the Sign‖ none of them shall be specially named, that all in general shall be obliged promptly and readily to perform the Operation commanded ; and that if also in the time to come, other (Signs or) Symbols be made by you which be not here¶ included, that then also they (the Spirits under Astarot) shall be equally bound to observe and execute them also. And when the Oath hath been taken, cause the Prince in the Name of the rest to touch the Wand.

After this, remove those Symbols from the Doorway ; and call MAGOT, and after him ASMODEE, and lastly BELZEBUD ; and act with all these as you have done with

* *I.e.*, upon the sand on the Terrace.

† Again erroneously "*Atarot*".

‡ *I.e.*, unto the subservient Spirits of Astaroth.

§ *I.e.*, whether Verbal, or Mental, or by Gesture.

‖ Again note that the whole of the operations of this Magic of Abra-Melin and of Abraham the Jew depends on these Symbols, so that it is not the true and sacred pentacles and symbols which he condemns ; but erroneous and corrupted ones made use of ignorantly.

¶ *I.e.*, in those which the Operator has written down from the Third Book, and placed at the entry of the Door for Astaroth to take oath upon.

ASTAROT; and all their Symbols having been sworn unto, put them aside in order in a certain place, so arranged that you can easily distinguish one from another, as regards the subject, operation, or effect, for which they have been made, and unto which they belong.

This being done, you shall call ASTAROT and ASMODEE together, with their common Servitors,* and shall propound unto them their Symbols; and having made them swear in the forementioned manner, you shall call in similar fashion ASMODEE and MAGOT, with their Servitors, and shall make them take oath upon their Signs in the aforesaid manner.

And thus shall you observe this method with the Four other Sub-Princes;† but first of all convoke them with their common Servitors, and make them swear upon the common Signs, then AMAIMON and ARITON together, and finally each one apart, as in the first case.‡

And when you have put back all the Symbols into their proper place, request from *each* of these last Four§ your Familiar Spirit, and make them repeat its Name, which you shall at once write down, together with the time during which they shall be obliged to serve you. Then you shall propound unto them the Signs of the Fifth Chapter of the Third Book;‖ and shall make them not only swear upon these Symbols (collectively), but also each one (separately), that from this time forward he will

* *I.e.*, Servitors belonging equally to these two Sub-Princes together.

† *I.e.*, Oriens, Paimon, Ariton, and Amaimon. Ariton is often called Egin or Egyn in other works on Magic.

‡ *I.e.*, following the order of the classification in the Nineteenth Chapter of this Second Book.

§ *I.e.*, Oriens, Paimon, Ariton, and Amaimon; one Spirit from each for a Familiar.

‖ Entitled: "How one may retain the Familiar Spirits, bound or free, in whatsoever form".

observe duly and with diligence the six hours destined ;* and you shall cause them to promise to serve you with fidelity, performing all which they are obliged to do, and that you shall command their (services) ; and that they shall not in the slightest degree be false and lying as regardeth you ; also, that if by chance you should assign over one of them unto another person, that he shall act as faithfully by him as by yourself ; and, lastly, that they are to fulfil, perform, and execute, that which God for their Chastisement hath destined unto them for Sentence (of Judgment).

You shall then observe this form with all the Princes, and until all the Symbols shall be sworn to, with the Four Familiar Spirits and the others dominating (them).

THE SIXTEENTH CHAPTER

CONCERNING THE SENDING THEM AWAY.

CONCERNING the sending away of the Spirits as well during the Three Days, as hereafter :—

It is not necessary to observe many Ceremonies in order to send away the Spirits,† because they themselves are only too glad to be

* *I.e.*, so that each of the four Familiars shall serve a fourth part of the twenty-four hours of the day, that is six hours.

† However in all Magical Works great stress is laid on the importance of licensing a Spirit invoked in the Operation to depart, and if he be unwilling, of even compelling him against his will to return to his place. It must be remembered here, in this Operation of Abraham the Jew, that not only his Oratory but his Bed-chamber also is kept pure and consecrated, and therefore it would be next to impossible for an Evil Spirit to break through to attack him. But in all Magical Evocations by the Circle, the Magician should never quit the same, without having licensed and even forced the Evil Spirits to depart; as cases are on record of the Operator experiencing sudden

far away from you. This is wherefore you need not otherwise license them to depart; that is to say that during the Three Days, having finished speaking with the Four Sovereign Princes, and afterwards with the Eight Sub-Princes, and received their Oath (of allegiance), you shall say unto them that for the present they can go unto their destined place; and that every time that they shall be summoned, let them remember their Oath made upon the Symbols.

(And you shall send away) the Familiar Spirits and all other Spirits with the aforesaid words.

It is true, however, that as regardeth the Familiar Spirits you shall tell them that at the time when they are on guard-duty they shall remain near you visible or invisible, in whatever form shall please you, in order to serve you during the destined Six Hours.

THE SEVENTEENTH CHAPTER.

WHAT WE SHOULD ANSWER UNTO THE INTERROGATIONS OF THE SPIRITS, AND HOW WE SHOULD RESIST THEIR DEMANDS.

THE Wicked Devil knoweth full well that you are in no way obliged unto him, nd that you have commenced this Operation under the Grace and Mercy of God, and under the protection and defence of the Holy Angels; nevertheless, he will not fail to try his

death. I myself was present on an occasion when in the Evocation by the Circle, the Magician incautiously having stooped forward and *outward* just over the limit of the Circle, received a shock like that from a powerful electric battery, which nearly threw him down, struck the Magical Sword from his hand, and sent him staggering back to the centre of the Circle. Compare also with this incident Allan Fenwick's experience in the *Strange Story*, when his hand accidentally went beyond the limits of the Circle when he was replenishing the Lamps during the Evocation.

fortune, and he will seek to turn you aside from the Veritable Path ; but be you constant and courageous, and swerve not in any way, either to the right hand or to the left. If he showeth himself proud with you, render unto him the like, and in your turn show him your pride. If he be humble, be in no wise too rude and severe toward him, but be moderate in all things. If he asketh you some matter, you shall make answer unto him according to the instruction which the Guardian Angel shall have given you ; and understand that the Four Princes,* more than all the rest, will powerfully tempt you, saying unto you : "*Who is he who hath given thee* so great authority?" They will reproach you with your hardihood and presumption in summoning them, knowing how powerful they are, and contrariwise, how weak and sinful you yourself are. They will reproach you with your sins, and will especially seek to dispute with you concerning your religion and your faith in God : if you be a Jew they will tell you that your faith and your religion have been refuted by God Himself, and that you observe not the True Law as it should be (observed) : also if you be a Pagan they will say, What hath God to do with you or His Creatures either, seeing that you know not God ? if you be a Christian they will say unto you, What business is it of yours to have to do with Hebrew Ceremonies which are tainted with idolatry, and the like ? But let none of this disquiet you in the least ; answer them in few words, and laughingly, that it is none of their business to discuss these matters with you, and to deliver their opinions concerning them ; and that although you may be a worthless wretch and a great sinner, you will yet hope that the True and Only God, Who hath created the Heaven and the Earth, and Who hath condemned them† and brought them into submission under

* *Viz.:* Lucifer, Leviathan, Satan, and Belial.

† *I.e.*, the Demons and Evil Spirits generally.

your feet, will forgive you your sins, both now and in future, whatever may be the religion which you profess. (Further that) you wish to know, understand, confess, and honour no other than the Great and Only God, the Lord of Light, by Whose Power, Virtue, and Authority you command them to obey you.

When you shall have spoken unto them thus, then will they sing another song, telling you that if you wish them to serve and to be obedient unto you, that you must first come to terms with them. Then shall you answer them on this wise :—

" God our Lord hath condemned and sentenced you* to serve me, and I do not treat as an equal with those who are accustomed to obey ".

Then will they demand of you some sacrifice or courtesy if you wish to be served and obeyed promptly. You shall reply that sacrifice is not to be made unto them, but rather unto the only God.

They will then entreat you not to hinder or bring to shame by means of this Wisdom any of their Devotees and Enchanters in their operations and enchantments. You shall then make answer that you are obliged to pursue the Enemies of God and the Lord, and to repress their malice, and also to save and defend your neighbour, and any who are offended and hurt by them.

Then with much verbiage, and an infinitude of different ways will they make severe attacks upon you, and even the Familiar Spirits will rise up against you in their turn. These latter will demand and beseech of you that you will in no way give them over unto others (to serve them). Hold firm, however, and promise nothing either to one class (of Spirits) or another ; but reply to them that every true and brave man is obliged to aid and serve his friends to the best of his ability, and with all his

* The Demons generally.

possessions, among the which they must assuredly also be comprised.

When at length they see that they have lost all hope of making you prevaricate, and that they can obtain nothing notwithstanding all their requests ; they will definitely surrender, and will ask nothing else of you unless it be that you shall not be too rude and insulting in commanding them. You shall make answer to this, that if they prove themselves to be obedient and prompt in serving you, that it may be that your Angel, by whose instruction and command you are governing yourself, may instruct you not to be so rigid and severe with them if they shall obey, and that in such case you will act as may be right.

THE EIGHTEENTH CHAPTER.

HOW HE WHO OPERATETH SHOULD BEHAVE AS REGARDETH THE SPIRITS.

E have already seen how one should constrain the Spirits, and what one should ask of them ; also how to dismiss them without hurt, and how we should make answer unto their demands and presentiments.*

All that I am about to say unto you now is superfluous, because it is certain that any one who shall have observed with a true heart and firm resolution the advice which I have given regarding the Six Moons, will be instructed with so much thoroughness and clearness by his Guardian Angel, that no doubtful point will present itself which he will not be able easily to clear up of himself.

We have also already sufficiently shown how on every or any occasion, he who operateth should comport

* In the original : " *demandes etapparitions* ".

himself as regardeth the Spirits ; that is to say as their Lord, and not as their Servitor. Yet in all matters there should be a reasonable mean, seeing that we are not treating with men, but with Spirits, of whom each one knoweth more than the whole Universe together.

Now if you shall make some demand unto a Spirit, and he shall refuse to execute it ; first well and carefully examine and consider whether it be in the power and nature of the Spirit to whom you make such demand, to fulfil the same. For one Spirit knoweth not all things, and that which appertaineth unto the one, another knoweth not. For this reason, see that ye well take heed before endeavouring to force them to perform a matter. Yet if, however, the Inferior Spirits be disobedient, you shall call their Superiors, and remind them of the oaths which they have taken unto you, and of the chastisement which awaiteth the breaking of such vows.

And immediately, on beholding your steadfastness, they will obey you ; but should they not, you ought then to invoke your Guardian Angel, whose chastisement they will quickly feel.

Yet, notwithstanding, we should never employ harsh means, in order to have that which we can obtain by gentleness and courtesy.*

If during the Invocation they should appear with tumult and insolence, fear nothing ; neither give way to anger ; but appear to make no account thereof. Only show them the Consecrated Wand, and if they continue to make a disturbance, smite upon the Altar twice or thrice therewith, and all will be still.

It should be noted, that after you shall have licensed

* Let me here once again insist on the absolute necessity in Occult working of being courteous, *even to the Evil Spirits ;* for the Operator who is insolent and overbearing will speedily lay himself open to obsession by a Spirit of like nature, the which will bring about his ultimate downfall.

them to depart, and they shall have disappeared, you shall take the Censer from the top of the Altar, and having put perfume therein, take it out of the Oratory on to the Terrace whereon the Spirits shall have appeared, and you shall perfume the place all round ; for otherwise the Spirits might work some evil unto persons entering by chance therein.

Now should you be willing to content yourself with the Symbols which be in the Third Book here following ; you shall the day after take away all the Sand from the Terrace and cast it into a secret place ; but above all things take care not to throw it either into a river or into the navigable sea.

But should you desire to procure for yourself various other Symbols and Secrets, leave the Sand and all things in place, as we shall also describe more particularly in the last chapter.

Also, should you wish it, you can retain your arrangements in place, and keep the Apartment of the Oratory proper and clean, as well as the Altar; which latter you may place in a corner, should it incommode you in the centre of the room. For in this Apartment, if it be not contaminated nor profaned, you may every Saturday enjoy the presence of your Guardian Angel ; the which is one of the most sublime things which you can desire in this Sacred Art.

THE NINETEENTH CHAPTER.

A DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE NAMES OF THE SPIRITS WHOM WE MAY SUMMON TO OBTAIN THAT WHICH WE DESIRE.

WILL here give a very exact description of many Spirits, the which (names) either altogether or in part, or else as many of them as you may wish, you should give written upon paper unto the Eight Sub-Princes, on the Second Day of the Conjuration. Now all these (Spirits) be those who will appear on the Third Day, together with their Princes. And these (Spirits) be not vile, base, and common, but of rank, industrious, and very prompt unto an infinitude of things. Now their Names have been manifested and discovered by the Angels, and if you should wish for more the Angel will augment them for you as far as you shall wish; seeing that their number is infinite.

The Four Princes and Superior Spirits be :—

LUCIFER. LEVIATAN. SATAN. BELIAL.

The Eight Sub-Princes be :—

ASTAROT. MAGOT. ASMODEE. BELZEBUD.
ORIENS. PAIMON. ARITON. AMAIMON.

The Spirits common unto these Four Sub-Princes, namely :—

ORIENS.	PAIMON.	ARITON.	AMAIMON.
	be :—		
HOSEN.	SARAPH.	PROXOSOS.	HABHI.
ACUAR.	TIRANA.	ALLUPH.	NERCAMAY.
NILEN.	MOREL.	TRACI.	ENAIA.
MULACH.	MALUTENS.	IPARKAS.	NUDITON.
MELNA.	MELHAER.	RUACH.	APOLHUN.
SCHABUACH.	MERMO.	MELAMUD.	POTER.
SCHED.	EKDULON.	MANTIENS.	OBEDAMA.
SACHIEL.	MOSCHEL.	PEREUCH.	DECCAL.
ASPERIM.	KATINI.	TORFORA.	BADAD.
COELEN.	CHUSCHI.	TASMA.	PACHID.
PAREK.	RACHIAR.	NOGAR.	ADON.
TRAPIS.	NAGID.	ETHANIM.	PATID.
PAREHT.	EMPHASTISON.	PARASEH.	GEREVIL.
ELMIS.	ASMIEL.	IRMINON.	ASTUREL.
NUTHON.	LOMIOL.	IMINK.	PLIROK.
TAGNON.	PARMATUS.	IARESIN.	GORILON.
LIRION.	PLEGIT.	OGILEN.	TARADOS.
LOSIMON.	RAGARAS.	IGILON.	GOSEGAS.
ASTREGA.	PARUSUR.	IGIS.	AHEROM.
IGARAK.	GELOMA.	KILIK.	REMORON.
EKALIKE.	ISEKEL.	ELZEGAN.	IPAKOL.
HARIL.	KADOLON.	IOGION.	ZARAGIL.
IRRORON.	ILAGAS.	BALALOS.	OROIA.
LAGASUF.	ALAGAS.	ALPAS.	SOTERION.
ROMAGES.	PROMAKOS.	METAFEL.	DARASCON.
KELEN.	ERENUTES.	NAJIN.	TULOT.
PLATIEN.	ATLOTON.	AFARORP.	MORILEN.
RAMARATZ.	NOGEN.	MOLIN.	

(= 111 Spirits Servient.)

These be the Spirits common unto

ASTAROT and ASMODEE,

viz. :—

AMANIEL.	ORINEL.	TIMIRA.	DRAMAS.
AMALIN.	KIRIK.	BUBANA.	BUK.
RANER.	SEMLIN.	AMBOLIN	ABUTES.
EXTERON.	LABOUX.	CORCARON.	ETHAN.

TARET.	DABLAT.	BURIUL.*	OMAN.
CARASCH.	DIMURGOS.	ROGGIOL.	LORIOL.
ISIGI.	TIORON.	DAROKIN.	HORANAR.
ABAHIN.	GOLEG.	GUAGAMON.	LAGINX.
ETALIZ.	AGEI.	LEMEL.	UDAMAN.
BIALOT.	GAGALOS.	RAGALIM.	FINAXOS.
AKANEF.	OMAGES.	AGRAX.	SAGARES.
AFRAY.	UGALES.	HERMIALA.	HALIGAX.
GUGONIX.	OPILM.	DAGULER.	PACHEI.
NIMALON.			

(= 53 Spirits Servient.)

These be the Spirits common unto

AMAIMON and ARITON,

viz. :—

HAUGES.	AGIBOL.	RIGOLEN.	GRASEMIN.
ELAFON.	TRISAGA.	GAGALIN.	CLERACA.
ELATON.	PAFESLA.		

(= 10 Spirits Servient.)

These be the Spirits in common between

ASMODEE and MAGOT,

viz. :—

TOUN.	MAGOG.	DIOPOS.	DISOLEL.
BIRIEL.	SIFON.	KELE.	MAGIROS.
SARTABAKIM.	LUNDO.	SOBE.	INOKOS.
MABAKIEL.	APOT.	OPUN.	

(= 15 Spirits Servient.)

The following be those of

ASTAROT,

viz. :—

AMAN.	CAMAL.	TOXAI.	KATARON.
RAX.	GONOGIN.	SCHELAGON.	GINAR.
ISIAMON.	BAHAL.	DAREK.	ISCHIGAS.
GOLEN.	GROMENIS.	RIGIOS.	NIMERIX.
HERG.	ARGILON.	OKIRI.	FAGANI.
HIPOLOS.	ILESON.	CAMONIX.	BAFAMAL.
ALAN.	APORMENOS.	OMBALAT.	QUARTAS.
UGIRPEN.	ARAEX.	LEPACA.	KOLOFE.

(= 32 Spirits Servient.)

* A similar name, "Buriol," is given under the Spirits subservient to Amaymon.

These be those of

MAGOT and KORE,

viz. :—

Nacheran.	Katolin.	Luesaf.	Masaub.
Urigo.	Faturab.	Fersebus.	Baruel.
Ubarin.	Butarab.	Ischiron.	Odax.
Roler.	Arotor.	Hemis.	Arpikon.
Arrabin.	Supipas.	Forteson.	Dulid.
Sorriolenen.	Megalak.	Anagotos.	Sikastin.
Petunof	Mantan.	Meklboc.	Tigrafon.
Tagora.	Debam.	Tiraim.	Irix.
Madail.	Abagiron.	Pandoli.	Nenisem.
Cobel.	Sobel.	Laboneton.	Arioth.
Marag.	Kamusil.	Kaitar.	Scharak.
Maisadul.	Agilas.	Kolam.	Kiligil.
Corodon.	Hepogon.	Daglas.	Hagion.
Egakireh.	Paramor.	Olisermon.	Rimog.
Horminos.	Hagog.	Mimosa.	Amchison.
Ilarax.	Makalos.	Locater.	Colvam.
Batternis.			

(= 65 Spirits Servient.)

Those of

ASMODEE

be :—

Onei.	Ormion.	Preches.	Maggid.
Sclavak.	Mebbesser.	Bacaron.	Holba.
Hifarion.	Gilarion.	Eniuri.	Abadir.
Sbarionat.	Utifa.	Omet.	Sarra.

(= 16 Spirits Servient.)

These be those of

BELZEBUD,

viz. :—

Alcanor.	Amatia.	Bilifares.	Lamarion.
Diralisen.	Licanen.	Dimirag.	Elponen.
Ergamen.	Gotifan.	Nimorup.	Carelena.
Lamalon.	Igurim.	Akium.	Dorak.
Tachan.	Ikonok.	Kemal.	Bilico.
Tromes.	Balfori.	Arolen,	Lirochi.
Nominon.	Iamai.	Arogor,	Holastri.

HACAMULI.	SAMALO.	PLISON.	RADERAF.
BOROL.	*SOROSMA.	CORILON.	GRAMON.
MAGALAST.	ZAGALO.	PELLIPIS.	NATALIS.
NAMIROS.	ADIRAEL.	KABADA.	KIPOKIS.
ORGOSIL.	ARCON.	AMBOLON.	LAMOLON.
BILIFOR.			

(= 49 Spirits Servient.)

These be of

ORIENS,

viz. :—

SARISEL.	GASARONS.	†SOROSMA.	TURITEL.
BALAKEN.	GAGISON.	MAFALAC.	AGAB.

(= 8 Spirits Servient.)

These be of

PAIMON,

viz. :—

AGLAFOS.	AGAFALI.	DISON.	ACHANIEL.
SUDORON.	KABERSA.	EBARON.	ZALANES.
UGOLA.	CAME.	ROFFLES.	MENOLIK.
TACAROS.	ASTOLIT.	RUKUM.	

(= 15 Spirits Servient.)

These be of

ARITON,

viz. :—

ANADER.	EKOROK.	SIBOLAS.	SARIS.
SEKABIN.	CAROMOS.	ROSARAN.	SAPASON.
NOTISER.	FLAXON.	HAROMBRUB.	MEGALOSIN.
MILIOM.	ILEMLIS.	GALAK.	ANDROCOS.
MARANTON.	CARON.	REGINON.	ELERION.
SERMEOT.	IRMENOS.		

(= 22 Spirits Servient.)

* See same Name under Oriens.

† See same Name under Belzebud.

These be those of

AMAIMON,

viz. :—

ROMEROC.	RAMISON.	SCRILIS.	BURIOL.
TARALIM.	BURASEN.	AKESOLI.	EREKIA.
ILLIRIKIM.	LABISI.	AKOROS.	MAMES.
GLESI.	VISION.	EFFRIGIS.	APELKI.
DALEP.	DRESOP.	HERGOTIS.	NILIMA.

(= 20 Spirits Servient.)

UNDER WHAT RULERS.	TOTAL OF SPIRITS SERVIENT.
Oriens, Paimon, Ariton, Amaymon -	= 111
Ashtaroth and Asmodeus - - -	= 53
Amaymon and Ariton - - -	= 10
Asmodeus and Magoth - - -	= 15
Ashtaroth - - - - - -	= 32
Magoth and Koré - - - -	= 65
Asmodeus - - - - - -	= 16
Beelzebub - - - - - -	= 49
Oriens - - - - - -	= 8
Paymon - - - - - -	= 15
Ariton - - - - - -	= 22
Amaymon - - - - - -	= 20
Total of Names of Servient Spirits -	= 316

Infinite be the Spirits which I could have here set down, but in order not to make any confusion, I have thought fit to put only those whom I have myself employed, and whom I have found good and faithful in all the Operations wherein I have availed myself of them.

Also it is true that he who shall perform this Operation will be able thereafter, according to his need, to obtain (the names of) more.

NOTES TO THE FOREGOING LISTS OF NAMES OF SPIRITS.

BY

S. L. MAC GREGOR-MATHERS.

I have thought it advisable to give as far as possible some idea of the Significations of these names of Spirits, which are for the most part derived from the Hebrew or Chaldee, and also from Greek and Latin and Coptic, etc.

THE CHIEF SPIRITS.

LUCIFER :—From Latin, *Lux*, Light, and *Fero*, to bear, = A Light Bearer. There is a name "Lucifuge" also employed occasionally, from *Lux*, Light, and *Fugio*, to fly from, = He who shuns the Light.

LEVIATAN :—From Hebrew, LVIThN (usually written Leviathan instead of Leviatan), = the Crooked or Piercing Serpent or Dragon.

SATAN :—From Hebrew, ShTN, = an Adversary.

BELIAL :—From Hebrew, BLIOL, = a Wicked One.

THE EIGHT SUB-PRINCES.

ASTAROT :—From Hebrew, OShThRVTh, = flocks, crowds or assemblies. Usually written "Ashtaroth". Also a name of the Goddess Astarté ; Esther is derived from the same root.

MAGOT :—*May* be from Hebrew, MOVTh, = small stones or pebbles ; or from MG, = a changing of camp or place ; or from Greek, MAGOS, a magician. Usually written Maguth. Compare the French word "*Magot*," meaning "a sort of baboon," and also "a hideous dwarfish man" ; this expression is often used in fairy-tales to denote a spiteful dwarf or elf. This Spirit has also been credited with presiding over hidden treasure. Larousse derives the name either from ancient French or German.

ASMODEE :—Usually written "Asmodeus," and sometimes "Chashmodai". Derived by some from the Hebrew word "*ASAMOD*," = to destroy or exterminate ; and by others from the Persian verb "AZMONDEN," = to tempt, to try or prove. Some Rabbins say that Asmodeus was the child of the incest of Tubal-Cain and his sister Naamah. Others say that he was the Demon of impurity. Others again relate that he was employed by Solomon in the building of the Temple at Jerusalem ; that he then attempted to dethrone Solomon, to put himself in his place ; but that the King vanquished him, and the Angel Gabriel chased him into Egypt, and there bound him in a Grotto. The Rabbins say that when Asmodeus was working at the building of the Temple, he made use of no metal tool ; but instead of a certain stone which cut ordinary stone as a diamond will glass.

BELZEBUD :—Also written frequently "Beelzebub," "Baalzebub," "Beelzebuth," and "Beelzeboul". From Hebrew, BOL, = Lord, and ZBVB, = Fly or Flies ; Lord of Flies. Some derive the name from the Syriac "BEEL D'BOBO," = Master of Calumny, or nearly the same signification as the Greek word DIABOLOS, whence are derived the modern French and English "Diable" and "Devil".

ORIENS :—These four names of Oriens, Païmon, Ariton and Amaymon, are usually allotted to the Evil Kings of the four quarters of the World. Oriens, from Latin, *ORIENS*, = rising or Eastern. This

name is also written Uriens, from Latin, *URO*, = to burn, or devour with flame. It is probably from Uriens that a mediæval title of the Devil, *viz.*, "Sir Urien," is derived. The Name is also sometimes written "Urieus," from Latin, "*URIOS*," a title given to Jupiter as presiding over the Wind. Urieus is also derivable from the Greek Adj. "*EURUS, EUREIA, EURU*," meaning vast or extensive. By the Rabbins he is also called SMAL, *Samael*, which is derived from the Hebrew root SML, which means "a figure, image, or idol". It is a name given in the Qabalah to one of the Chief Evil Spirits.

PAIMON :—Is also frequently written "Paymon," and sometimes "Paimonia". Probably from Hebrew, POMN, = a tinkling sound or small bell. This is again derived from the Hebrew root POM, = to agitate, impel, or strike forward. The word POMN is employed in Exodus 28, 34; 28, 33; and 39, 25. Paimon is also called by the Rabbins by the title of OZAZL, *Azazel*, which is a name used in Leviticus with reference to the Scape-Goat. Its derivation is from OZ, = a Goat; and AZL, = to go away. It has frequently been warmly discussed whether the word in question means simply the Scape-Goat, or whether it signifies a Demon to whom that animal was dedicated. But in Rabbinic Demonology it is always used to mean one of the Chief Demons.

ARITON :—It is also often called "Egyn," or "Egin". This name *may* be derived from the Hebrew root ORH, = to lay bare, to make naked. It may also be derived from the Greek word ARHRETON, = secret, or mysterious, in any sense good or bad. Egin, may be derivable from Hebrew, OGN, = to delay, hinder, or retard. There may also be a connection with the Greek AIX, AIGOS, = a Goat. This Spirit is also called by the Rabbins OZAL, *Azael*, from the root OZ, which means both a Goat, and also vigour, vehemence of force; thus having partly the same root as "Azazel".

AMAIMON :—Also written frequently "Amaymon"; perhaps from the Greek word MAIMON, present participle of MAIMAO; and A as an enforcing particle; hence AMAIMON would mean "terrible violence and vehemence". This Spirit is also called by the Rabbins MHZAL, Mahazael, perhaps from the root MZ, = to consume, or devour. Amaymon is spoken of in the various mediæval Magical works as being a very potent Spirit, and the use of a ring, with Magical characters to hold before the mouth while conversing with him, is recommended as a protection against his deadly, fiery, and poisonous breath.

THE SERVITORS OF ORIENS, PAYMON, ARITON AND AMAYMON.

HOSEN :—From Chaldaic, CHVSN, *chosen*, = Strong, Vigorous, Powerful.

SARAPH :—From Hebrew, SHRP, = to burn, or devour with fire.

PROXOSOS :—Perhaps from Greek, PROX, PROXOKOS, = a Kid.

HABHI :—From Chaldee, CHBA, or Hebrew, CHBH, = Hidden.

ACUAR :—From Hebrew, AKR, = a tiller of the earth.

TIRANA :—Perhaps from Hebrew, THRN, = the Mast of a Ship, also an Apple Tree.

ALLUPH :—From Hebrew, ALVP, = a Leader, a Duke; also a Bull, from his leading the herd.

NERCAMAY :—Perhaps from Hebrew, NOR, = a boy, and CHMH = a companion.

NILEN :—*Perhaps* from *NILUS*, Latin, or NEILOS, Greek, = the River Nile.

MOREL :—Perhaps from Hebrew, MRH, = to rebel.

TRACI :—From Greek, TRACHUS, etc., = harsh, rude.

ENAIA :—Perhaps from Hebrew, ONIH, = Poor, afflicted.

MULACH :—Probably the same as "Moloch," from Hebrew, MLK, = to rule.

MALUTENS :—Perhaps from Hebrew, MOL, = to lie, or deceive, or prevaricate.

IPARKAS :—Probably from Greek, HIPPARCHES, = a commander of cavalry, or leader of horse.

NUDITON :—Apparently from the Latin, NUDITAS, = nakedness, derived in its turn from NUDATUS.

MELNA :—Perhaps from Hebrew, LN, to abide or rest.

MELHAER :—Perhaps from Hebrew, ML, to cut off, or divide, and CHR, whiteness, purity.

RUACH :—From Hebrew, RVCH = Spirit.

APOLHUN :—From Greek, APOLLUON, Apollyon, = the Destroyer.

SCHABUACH :—From Arabic = to calm or assuage.

MERMO :—From Coptic, MER, Across, and MOOU, Water, = Across Water.

MELAMUD :—From Hebrew, MLMD, = stimulus to exertion.

POTER :—From Greek, POTER, = a drinking cup, or vase.

SCHED :—From Hebrew, SHDD, the Hebrew name for a devastating demon. But the Hebrew root SHD implies the same idea as the English words "To Shed"; and signifies a female breast.

EKDULON :—Probably from Greek, EKDUO, = to despoil.

MANTIENS :—From Latin, MANTIENS, and Greek, MANTEIA, = Prophesying, Divining.

OBEDAMA :—From Hebrew, OBD, = a servant. AMA = mother. But AMH = a maid-servant, whence Obedama should signify a woman-servant.

SACHIEL :—Is a name frequently given in Magical works to an Angel of the Planet Jupiter. SKK = to cover or protect, but SCHH = to trample down.

MOSCHEL :—From Hebrew, MVSH, = to move oneself about.
PEREUCH :—Perhaps from Greek, PER and EUCHE, = concerning prayer, or given unto prayer.
DECCAL :—From Hebrew, DCHL, = to fear.
ASPERIM :—Perhaps from Latin, "ASPERA," = Rude, Rigorous, Perilous, Dangerous.
KATINI :—From Hebrew, KTHN, = a tunic, whence the Greek word CHITON.
TORFORA :—From Hebrew, THOR, = a small knife, or lancet.
BADAD :—From Hebrew, BDD, = solitary.

I have thus far given the probable derivations at length ; but I shall, for the sake of brevity, here continue them without giving their roots and remarks thereon :—

COELEN.—Latin. Heavens.
CHUSCHI.—Hebrew. Silent.
TASMA.—Hebrew and Chaldaic. Weak.
PACHID.—Hebrew. Fear.
PAREK.—Hebrew. Roughness, Savage.
RACHIAR.—Greek. Sea breaking on rocks.
NOGAR.—Hebrew. Flowing.
ADON.—Hebrew. Lord.
TRAPIS.—Greek. Turning.
NAGID.—Hebrew. A Leader.
ETHANIM.—Hebrew. An Ass ; a furnace.
PATID.—Hebrew. Topaz.
PAREHT.—Hebrew. Fruit.
EMPHASTISON.—Greek. Image, Representation.
PARASEH.—Chaldaic. Divided.
GEREVIL.—Hebrew. Divining Lot, Sortilege.
ELMIS.—Coptic. Flying.
ASMIEL.—Hebrew. Storing up.
IRMINON.—Greek. Supporting.
ASTUREL.—Hebrew. Bearing authority.
NUTHON.—Perhaps Coptic, Godlike ; or Greek, piercing.
LOMIOL.—Perhaps Hebrew. Binding, Bitter.
IMINK.—Perhaps Coptic. Devouring.
PLIROK.—Perhaps Coptic. Burning up.
TAGNON.—Perhaps Greek. Heating.
PARMATUS.—Greek and Latin. Shield-bearing.
IARESIN.—Hebrew. Possessing.
GORILON.—Coptic. Axe ; Cleaving either to, or asunder ; Bones.
LIRION.—Greek. A lily.
PLEGIT.—Perhaps Greek. Smiting, Smitten.
OGILEN.—Hebrew. Round, Wheel.

TARADOS.—Perhaps Coptic. Dispersion.
LOSIMON.—Perhaps Coptic. Understanding of restriction.
RAGARAS.—Perhaps Coptic. To incline, or bow the head.
IGILON.—Perhaps Greek. After the fashion of EIKELOS.
GOSEGAS.—Probably Hebrew and Chaldaic. Shaking strongly.
ASTREGA.—Perhaps Coptic. Expeditious.
PARUSUR.—Perhaps Greek. Present to assist.
IGIS.—Perhaps from Greek HIKO, root of HIKNEOMAI. Coming.
AHEROM.—Hebrew. Separation, from CHRM.
IGARAK.—Perhaps Celtic, from CARAC. Terrible.
GELOMA.—Hebrew, GLM, and Latin, *GLOMUS*. Wrapped, or wound together.
KILIK.—Hebrew. Wrinkled with age.
REMORON.—Latin. Hindering, staying.
EKALIKE.—Perhaps Greek. At rest, or quiet.
ISEKEL.—Hebrew. Anointing, or Anointed.
ELZEGAN.—Perhaps Hebrew = Turning aside.
IPAKOL.—Hebrew. Breathing forth.
HARIL.—Hebrew. Thorny.
KADOLON.—Perhaps Greek. A small vase, or urn.
IOGION.—Perhaps Greek. Noise of battle.
ZARAGIL.—Perhaps Hebrew. Scattering.
IRRORON.—Latin. Sprinkling with dew.
ILAGAS.—Greek. Obtaining; having obtained.
BALALOS.—Perhaps Greek, from BALLO, to throw.
OROIA.—Probably Greek. Returning in due season.
LAGASUF.—Perhaps Hebrew. In paleness, pining away.
ALAGAS.—Perhaps Greek. Wandering.
ALPAS.—Probably Greek. Yielding.
SOTERION.—Greek. Saving, Delivering.
ROMAGES.—Perhaps Hebrew. To throw and to touch.
PROMAKOS.—Greek. A fighter in the front of a conflict.
METAFEL.—Hebrew. To fasten.
DARASCON.—Perhaps Celtic. Turbulent.
KELEN.—Greek. Going swiftly, as in a race.
ERENUTES.—Perhaps Greek. Receiving.
NAJIN.—Hebrew. Propagating.
TULOT.—Chaldaic. Triple.
PLATIEN.—Greek. Flat, broad.
ATLOTON.—Greek. Insufferable.
AFARORP.—Perhaps Hebrew. Breaking, rending.
MORILEN.—Perhaps Greek. Foolish speaking.
RAMARATZ.—Hebrew. Raised ground, or earth.
NOGEN.—Hebrew. To strike a musical instrument.
MOLIN.—Hebrew. Abiding in a place.

THE SERVITORS OF ASHTAROTH AND ASMODEUS.

AMANIEL.—Hebrew. Nourishment of God.*

ORINEL.—Hebrew. Ornament of God; also Tree of God; also Elm Tree.

TIMIRA.—Hebrew. Palm.

DRAMAS.—Greek. Action.

AMALIN.—Chaldaic. Languidness.

KIRIK.—Hebrew. A Stole, or Mantle.

BUBANA.—Perhaps Hebrew. Emptiness.

BUK.—Hebrew. Perplexity.

RANER.—Perhaps Hebrew, Singing; or Greek, Watering.

SEMLIN.—Hebrew. Simulacra; Appearances.

AMBOLIN.—Perhaps Hebrew. Tending unto nothingness.

ABUTES.—Perhaps Greek. Bottomless, Measureless.

EXTERON.—Latin. Without, Foreign, Distant.

LABOUX.—Perhaps Latin, and conveying the sense of "Laborious".

CORCARON.—Perhaps Greek. Tumultuous, noisy.

ETHAN.—Hebrew. An Ass.

TARET.—Perhaps Hebrew. Dampness, tending to corruption.

TABLAT.—Perhaps Hebrew. Immersions.

BURIUL.—Hebrew. In terror and trembling.

OMAN.—Perhaps Chaldaic. To cover, or obscure.

CARASCH.—Hebrew. Voracity.

DIMURGOS.—Greek. A fabricator, Artisan, or Workman.

ROGGIOL.—Perhaps Hebrew. To drag down; the feet.

LORIOL.—Perhaps Hebrew. Unto horror.

ISIGI.—Perhaps from Hebrew, and implying "Error," or "to err".

DIORON.—Greek. Delay.

DAROKIN.—Probably Chaldaic. Paths or Ways.

HORANAR.—? ?

ABAHIN.—Perhaps Hebrew, and signifying "terrible".

GOLEG.—Probably Hebrew. Whirling.

GUAGAMON.—Greek. A net.

LAGINX.—? ?

ETALIZ.—Hebrew. The furrow of a plough. Hence agriculture.

AGEI.—Probably Hebrew. Meditation.

LEMEL.—Perhaps Hebrew. For speech—?.

UDAMAN.—Perhaps a corruption of Greek, EUDAIMON, = Fortunate.

* Frequently in Qabalistic Magic "El," the Name of God, is joined to the Names even of Evil Spirits, to intimate that even these have no power except by His permission.

BIALOT.—Perhaps Hebrew. Absorption.
GAGALOS.*—Perhaps Greek. A tumour.
RAGALIM.—Hebrew. Feet.
FINAXOS.—Perhaps Greek. Worthy in appearance—?.
AKANEF.—Hebrew. A Wing.
OMAGES.—Greek—? for HO MAGOS, = the Magician.
AGRAX.—Perhaps Hebrew. Bone.
SAGARES.—Greek. A double-headed battle-axe, especially that used by the Amazons.
AFRAY.—Perhaps Hebrew. Dust.
UGALES.—Probably Greek. Calm.
HERMIALA.—? ?
HALIGAX.—? ? } Perhaps traceable to Celtic roots.
GUGONIX.—? ?
OPILM.—Hebrew. Citadels; eminences.
DAGULER.—? ?
PACHEI.—Probably Greek. Thick, coarse.
NIMALON.—Perhaps from Hebrew, relating to "circumcision".

THE SERVITORS OF AMAIMON AND ARITON.

HAUGES.—Apparently from the Greek "AUGE". Brilliance.
AGIBOL.—Hebrew. Forcible Love.
RIGOLEN.—Perhaps from Hebrew, = to drag down. The same root also is that of the word "*Regel*," = "foot".
GRASEMIN.—Perhaps from Hebrew, GRS, = a bone.
ELAFON.—Probably from the Greek ELAPHOS, = a stag.
TRISAGA.—Greek. Directing by Triads.
GAGALIN.—Perhaps Greek. Tumour, Swelling, Ganglion.
CLERACA.—Perhaps from Greek and Latin, "KLERIKOS," and "CLERICUS," = clerical.
ELATON.—Probably Latin. Sublime; borne away.
PAFESLA.—Perhaps from Hebrew—? a sculptured Image.

THE SERVITORS OF ASMODEUS AND MAGOTH.

TOUN.—Perhaps from Hebrew. THNH, = Hire, Price.
MAGOG.—Hebrew. The well-known Biblical name for a powerful Gentile nation.
DIOPOS.—Greek. An overseer.
DISOLEL.—? ?
BIRIEL.—Hebrew. Stronghold of God.
SIFON.—{Greek. A Siphon or Tube for raising fluids. / Hebrew. To cover over.

* See somewhat similar name, "Gagalin," in the Spirits under Amaimon and Ariton.

KELE.—Hebrew. To consume.
MAGIROS.—Greek. A cook.
SARTABAKIM.—? ? SRTN in Hebrew = the Sign Cancer.
LUNDO.—? ?
SOBE.—Greek. The tail of a horse; also a fly-flap.
INOKOS.—Perhaps from Latin, "INOCCO," = to rake the earth over the newly sown seed.
MABAKIEL.—Hebrew. Weeping, Lamentation.
APOT.—Hebrew = A Treasure; a Tribute.
OPUN.—Perhaps from Hebrew. A Wheel.

THE SERVITORS OF ASHTAROTH.

AMAN.—Hebrew. To nourish.
CAMAL.—Hebrew. To desire God; the name of one of the Archangels in the Qabalah.
TOXAL.—From Greek, TOXEIA, = Archery; or Latin, TOXICUM, = Poison.
KATARON.—Greek. Casting down.
RAX.—Greek. A grape-seed.
GONOGIN.—Hebrew. Pleasures, Delights.
SCHELAGON.—Hebrew. Like Snow.
GINAR.—? ? Perhaps Chaldaic—? To perfect, or finish.
ISIAMON.—Hebrew = Solitude, Desolation.
BAHAL.—Hebrew = To disturb.
DAREK.—Hebrew = a way, or path.
ISCHIGAS.—Perhaps from Hebrew, ISHO, = To save, or aid.
GOLEN.—Greek. A cavern.
GROMENIS.—Perhaps Latin or Greek—? to mark out.
RIGIOS.—Greek. Horrible, Terrible.
NIMERIX.—? ? Perhaps Celtic.
HERG.—Hebrew. To slay.
ARGILON.—Greek. Clay.
OKIRI.—Perhaps Greek—? To cause to sink or fail.
FAGANI.—Perhaps Greek—? Devourers.
HIPOLOS.—Greek. A Goat herd.
ILESON.—Greek. Enveloping.
CAMONIX.—? Greek—? Perseverance in combat.
BAFAMAL.—? ?
ALAN.—Chaldaic. A Tree.
APORMENOS.—Greek. Uncertain.
OMBALAT.—? ?
QUARTAS.—Latin. Fourth.
UGIRPEN.—? ?
ARAEX.—? Greek. ? Shock.
LEPACA.—Hebrew. For opening or disclosing.
KOLOFE.—Greek. Summit, or height of achievement.

THE SERVITORS OF MAGOTH AND KORE.

NACHERAN.—Probably Hebrew. Nostrils.
KATOLIN.—Hebrew. Walls.
LUESAF.—Perhaps Hebrew. Unto Loss or Destruction.
MASAUB.—Hebrew. Circuit.
URIGO.—Latin. Spoiled; unfit for food.
FATURAB.—Perhaps Hebrew—? Interpretation.
FERSEBUS.—Perhaps Greek—? A bringer of veneration.
BARUEL.—Hebrew. Food or nourishment from God.
UBARIN.—Greek. Insult, Outrage.
BUTARAB.—? ?
ISCHIRON.—Greek. Strong, Mighty.
ODAX.—Greek. Biting.
ROLER.—? ?
AROTOR.—Greek and Latin. A ploughman or husbandman.
HEMIS.—Greek. Half, half-way.
ARPIRON.—Perhaps Greek—? Attempting straightway.
ARRABIN.—Greek. Pledge, caution money.
SUPIPAS.—Perhaps Greek—? relating to swine.
FORTESON.—Greek. Burdened.
DULID.—? ?
SORRIOLENEN.—? ?
MEGALAK.—Hebrew. Cutting off.
ANAGOTOS.—Perhaps Greek—? Conducting.
SIKASTIN.—? ?
PETUNOF.—Coptic. Exciting.
MANTAN.—Hebrew. A gift.
MEKLBOC.—Perhaps Hebrew—? Like a dog.
TIGRAFON.—Perhaps Greek—? Capable of writing any matter.
TAGORA.—Coptic. Assembly.
DEBAM.—Perhaps Hebrew. Strength.
TIRAIM.—Hebrew. Filling up.
IRIX.—Greek. A hawk or falcon.
MADAIL.—Perhaps Hebrew. Drawing out from, consuming.
ABAGIRON.—Perhaps Greek—? Gathering together.
PANDOLI.—Greek. Altogether a slave; or perhaps from Greek and Latin—Possessing all wiles.
NENISEM.—Perhaps Hebrew—? Wavings, Displayings.
COBEL.—Hebrew. A Chain.
SOBEL.—Hebrew. A Burden.
LABONETON.—Perhaps from Greek, LAMBANO, = to grasp, or seize.
ARIOTH.—Hebrew. Lioness.
MARAG.—Hebrew. To drive forward.
KAMUSIL.—Hebrew. Like a rising or elevation.

KAITAR.—Perhaps from Hebrew, KTHR, = a crown or summit.
SCHARAK.—Hebrew. To wind or twine about.
MAISADUL.—? ?
AGILAS.—Perhaps Greek—? Sullen.
KOLAM.—Hebrew. Shame; to be ashamed.
KILIGIL.—? ?
CORODON.—Perhaps Greek—? a lark.
HEPOGON.—Perhaps Greek—? a saddle-cloth.
DAGLAS.—? ?
HAGION.—Greek. Sacred.
EGAKIREH.—? ?
PARAMOR.—Perhaps the same as the modern word Paramour:—a Lover.
OLISERMON.—Perhaps Greek and Latin—? Of short speech.
RIMOG.—Perhaps from Hebrew, RMK, = a Mare.
HORMINOS.—Greek. A stirrer up.
HAGOG.—Hebrew. The name of Gog, with the definite prefix "Ha".
MIMOSA.—Perhaps Greek. Meaning Imitator. "Mimosa" is also the name of a Shrub.
AMCHISON.—? ?
ILARAX.—Perhaps Greek—? Cheerful; gay.
MAKALOS.—Perhaps Chaldaic—? Attenuated, Wasted.
LOCATER.—? ?
COLVAM.—Perhaps from a Hebrew root, signifying "shame".
BATTERNIS.—? ? Perhaps derived from Greek, BATTARIZO, = to use vain repetitions, to babble.

THE SERVITORS OF ASMODEUS.

ONEI.—Greek, ONE. Purchase; buying.
ORMION.—Perhaps Greek—? Moored, fastened securely.
PRECHES.—Perhaps Greek, from PRETHO, "to swell out".
MAGGID.—Hebrew. Precious things.
SCLAVAK.—Perhaps from Coptic, SZLAK, = Torture, Pain.
MEBBESSER.—Either from Hebrew, BSHR, = flesh, or Chaldee, BSR, = to reject.
BACARON.—Hebrew. Firstborn.
HOLBA.—Hebrew. Fatness.
HIPARION.—Greek. A Pony or little horse.
GILARION.—? ?
ENIURI.—Perhaps Greek. Found in.
ABADIR.—Hebrew. Scattered.
SBARIONAT.—Perhaps Coptic—? a little friend.
UTIFA.—? ?
OMET.—Hebrew. A neighbour.
SARRA.—Coptic. To strike.

THE SERVITORS OF BEELZEBUB.

ALCANOR.—Probably Hebrew and Arabic—? a harp.
AMATIA.—Greek. Ignorance.
BILIFARES.—Hebrew. Lord of Division.
LAMARION.—? ?
DIRALISEN.—Greek. The ridge of a rock.
LICANEN.—Perhaps from Greek, LIKNON, = a winnowing fan.
DIMIRAG.—Chaldaic. Impulsion, Driving forward.
ELPONEN.—Perhaps Greek—? Force of hope.
ERGAMEN.—Greek. Busy.
GOTIFAN.—Probably Hebrew, expressing the idea of crushing, and turning over.
NIMORUP.—? ?
CARELENA.—Perhaps Greek, from KAR, = Hair, and LAMBANO, = to seize.
LAMALON.—Perhaps Hebrew. Declining, turning aside.
IGURIM.—Hebrew. Fears.
AKIUM.—Hebrew. Sure.
DORAK.—Hebrew. Proceeding, Walking forward.
TACHAN.—Hebrew. Grinding to powder.
IKONOK.—Greek. Phantasmal.
KEMAL.—Hebrew. Desire of God.
BILICO.—Perhaps Hebrew—? Lord of manifestation.
TROMES.—Greek. Wound or disaster.
BALFORI.—Hebrew. Lord of producing.
AROLEN.—Perhaps Hebrew—? Strongly agitated.
LIROCHI.—Hebrew. In tenderness.
NOMINON.—Greek. Conventional.
IAMAI.—Hebrew—? Days, periods.
AROGOR.—Probably Greek—? a helper.
HOLASTRI.—Perhaps from Coptic, HOLSZ, = to surround.
HACAMULI.—Hebrew. Withering, fading.
SAMALO.—Probably Hebrew. His image.
PLISON.—Perhaps Greek, from PLEO, to swim.
RADERAF.—Perhaps Greek—? a rose-bearer.
BOROL.—Probably from Hebrew, BVR, = a pit, to bury.
SOROSMA.—Perhaps Greek. A funeral urn.
CORILON.—? ?
GRAMON.—Greek, from GRAMMA, = Writing.
MAGALAST.—Greek. Greatly, hugely.
ZAGALO.—Perhaps Greek, from ZAGKLON, = a reaping-hook.
PELLIPIS.—Perhaps Greek—? Oppressing.
NATALIS.—Latin. A birthday, nativity, natal.
NAMIROS.—Perhaps Coptico-Greek—? Naval, Nautical.
ADIRAEL.—Hebrew. Magnificence of God.

KABADA.—Hebrew. Dulness, heaviness.
KIPOKIS.—Hebrew. Like Overflowing.
ORGOSIL.—Hebrew. Tumultuous.
ARCON.—Greek. A Ruler.
AMBOLON.—Greek. Earth thrown up, or fresh turned.
LAMOLON.—Hebrew. With detestation.
BILIFOR.—Perhaps Hebrew—? Lord of Glory.

THE SERVITORS OF ORIENS.

SARISEL.—Hebrew. Minister of God.
GASARONS.—? ?
SOROSMA*.

* See same name under Beelzebub.

TURITEL.—Hebrew. Mountain cast down.
BALAKEN.—Chaldaic. Ravagers.
GAGISON.—Hebrew. Spread out flat.
MAFALAC.—Hebrew. A fragment.
AGAB.—Hebrew. Beloved.

THE SERVITORS OF PAYMON.

AGLAFOS.—Greek. Bright light.
AGAFALI.—Perhaps from Greek, AGE, reverence.
DISON.—Greek. Divided.
ACHANIEL.—Hebrew. Truth of God.
SUDORON.—Greek. Probably a false gift.
KABERSA.—Hebrew. Wide measure.
EBARON.—Greek. Not burdensome.
ZALANES.—Greek. Trouble-bringer.
UGOLA.—? Greek. Perhaps = Fluent in speech.
CAME.—Greek. Tired.
ROFFLES.—Hebrew. The Lion trembling.
MENOLIK.—Perhaps Greek—? Winnowing with fury.
TACAROS.—Greek. Soft or tender.
ASTOLIT.—Probably Greek—? Without Garment.
RUKUM.—Hebrew. Diversified.

THE SERVITORS OF ARITON.

ANADER.—Greek. A flayer.
EKOROK.—Hebrew. Thy breaking, Thy barrenness.
SIBOLAS.—Hebrew. A rushing Lion.
SARIS.—Greek. A pike or spear.
SEKABIN.—Chaldee. Casters down.
CAROMOS.—Perhaps from Greek, CHARMA, = joy.
ROSARAN.—? Hebrew—? Evil and wicked.

SAPASON.—Perhaps from Greek, SEPO, to putrefy.
NOTISER.—Perhaps Greek, = Putter to flight.
FLAXON.—Greek. About to rend, or to be rent asunder.
HAROMBRUB.—Hebrew. Exalted in greatness.
MEGALOSIN.—Greek. In great things.
MILIOM.—Hebrew. The ender or destroyer of day.
ILEMLIS.—Hebrew. The silent Lion.
GALAK.—Greek. Milky.
ANDROCOS.—Perhaps Greek—? Arranger or orderer of men.
MARANTON.—Greek. Quenched, having extinguished.
CARON.—Greek. The name of Charon, the ferryman of the souls of the dead in Hades.
REGINON.—Hebrew. Vigorous ones.
ELERION.—Perhaps Greek. A Laugher or Mocker.
SERMEOT.—Hebrew. Death of the flesh.
IRMENOS.—Perhaps from Greek, HERMENEUS, = an Expounder.

THE SERVITORS OF AMAYMON.

ROMERAC.—Hebrew. Violent thunder.
RAMISON.—Hebrew. The movers with a particular creeping motion.
SCRILIS.—Probably Latin, from Sacrilegium, = a sacrilegious offence.
BURIOL.—Hebrew. Devouring fire of God.
TARALIM.—Hebrew. Mighty strongholds.
BURASEN.—Hebrew. Destroyers by stifling smoky breath.
AKESOLI.—Greek—? the distressful, or pain-bringing ones.
EREKIA.—Greek probably. One who tears asunder.
ILLIRIKIM.—Hebrew. They who shriek with a long drawn cry.
LABISI.—Hebrew. The flesh inclothed.
AKOROS.—Greek. Overthrowers of authority.
MAMES.—Hebrew. They who move by backward motion.
GLESI.—Hebrew. One who glistens horribly, like an insect.
VISION.—Latin. An apparition.
EFFRIGIS.—Greek. One who quivers in a horrible manner.
APELKI.—Greek. The misleaders or turners aside.
DALEP.—Hebrew. Decaying in liquid putrefaction.
DRESOP.—Hebrew. They who attack their prey by tremulous motion.
HERGOTIS.—Greek. A labourer.
NILIMA.—Hebrew. The evil questioners.

(End of Notes on Names of Spirits.)

THE TWENTIETH CHAPTER.

HOW THE OPERATIONS SHOULD BE PERFORMED.

THE aforesaid Operation being finished, it is necessary, in order to render this instruction complete, to say how we should manage the Operations which he who operateth wisheth to put into practice.

Firstly, then, having come unto the end, and having obtained all that is necessary; you cannot sufficiently praise and honour God, and His Most Holy Name, even although you had a thousand tongues ; neither also can you sufficiently magnify and thank your Holy Angel Guardian as he meriteth. However, you ought to render thanks proportionate to your estate and to the Great Treasure which you have received. It is necessary also that you should fully understand how you ought to enjoy these immense riches, so that they may not be in your hands unfruitful, or even harmful. Because this Art is like a Sword in your hand, capable of serving for all kinds of evil and for hurt unto your neighbour. But in putting it into practice for that sole end for which it hath been made, namely for vanquishing therewith the DEMON and Enemies, then shall you be making a good use hereof. I wish also further to give you some instruction upon certain necessary and principal points.

The Operation of the Spirits being finished, you shall continue a whole week to praise God ; and as regardeth yourself personally, you shall do no servile work during the Seven Days, neither shall you make any Convocation of the Spirits in general, nor of the Familiars ; and afterwards, when the Seven Days be passed, you shall commence to exercise your power, as shall be hereafter said :—

(1) Take heed before all things to perform no Magical Operation soever, or Invocations of the Spirits on the Sabbath Day, during the whole period of your life, seeing that that day is consecrated unto God, and is the day on which you should repose and sanctify yourself, and you should solemnise it by prayers.

(2) Keep yourself as you would from the Eternal Fire, from manifesting unto any living being that which your Guardian Angel shall have confided unto you ; excepting unto him who hath given unto you the Operation, unto whom you have as it were a greater obligation than unto your own father.

(3) As far as lieth in your power take heed in no way to make use of this Art against your neighbour ; except for a just Vengeance ; although I counsel you even in this particular to imitate God, who pardoneth even you yourself, and there is not in the world a more meritorious action than to pardon.

(4) In the case of your Angel dissuading you from some Operation, and forbidding you to do the same, keep well from becoming obstinate therein, for you would in such a case ever repent it.

(5) Fly all kinds of (Evil) Science, Magic, and Enchantments, because they be all Diabolical Inventions ; also put no trust in books which teach them, though in appearance they may seem reliable to you, for these be nets which the perfidious BELIAL stretcheth out to take you.

(6) In conversing with Spirits Good or Evil, never employ words which you do not understand, because even so will you have shame and hurt.

(7) You shall never demand of your Guardian Angel any Symbol wherewith to operate for an Evil end, seeing that you would grieve him. You will find only too many persons who will beseech you to do thus ; see that you do it not !

(8) Accustom yourself as much as possible to purity of body and cleanliness of raiment, seeing that this is very necessary ; for the Spirits, both Good and Evil alike, love purity.

(9) As far as possible shun the employment of your Wisdom for others in evil things ; but first well consider him to whom you would render a service ; because it often happeneth, that in doing service unto another one worketh evil for oneself.

(10) In no way attempt to procure the Operation of the Holy Angels unless you have extreme need thereof, seeing that these Holy Angels be so far above you that it is useless for you to wish to compare yourself unto Them, you being nothing in comparison of Them Who are the Angels of God.

(11) If the Operations can be performed by the Familiar Spirits, it is not necessary to employ others therein.

(12) Though it should be an easy matter for you to employ your Familiars to annoy your neighbour, seek to abstain therefrom, unless it were to repress the insolence of such as might attempt aught against you personally. Never keep the Familiar Spirits in idleness, and should you wish to give one over unto any person, see that such person be distinguished and meritorious, for they love not to serve those of base and common condition. But should

such person unto whom you give them have made some express Pact (with Spirits) in such case the Familiar Spirits will fly in haste to serve him.

(13) These three Books of this present Operation ought to be read and re-read an infinitude of times; so that in the space of Six Months before commencing, he who operateth should be fully instructed and informed therein; and if he be not a Jew, he should further be conversant with many of the customs and ceremonies which this Operation demandeth, so as to become accustomed unto that retirement which is so necessary and useful.

(14) Should he who performeth this Operation during the Six Months or Moons commit voluntarily any mortal sin prohibited by the Tables of the Law, be certain that he will never receive this Wisdom.

(15) Sleep in the day-time is entirely forbidden, unless absolutely requisite, owing to some infirmity, or to old age, or to debility of constitution; for God is always willing to employ mercy* towards mankind, because of their infirmities.

(16) If you have not the fixed intention of continuing the Operation, I counsel you on no account to commence it; because the Lord doth not care to be mocked, and He chastiseth with corporal maladies those who make a mock of Him. Howbeit, he who is hindered from continuing through some unforeseen accident, sinneth in no way.

(17) It is impossible for him who hath passed fifty years of age to undertake this Operation. Thus also was

* In MS., "*User d'humanité*".

it the custom in the true and ancient Jewish Law concerning the Priesthood. Also, he should not be less than twenty-five years of age.

(18) You shall not permit the Familiar Spirits to familiarise themselves too much with you, through your disputing and arguing with them ; because they will propound so many affairs and things at once as to confound and trouble the mind.

(19) With the Familiar Spirits you should not make use of the Symbols of the Third Book, unless it be those of the Fifth Chapter thereof ;* but if you desire anything, command them aloud to perform it. Never commence many Operations at once and in the same time, but when you have finished one then begin another, until you are perfect in the practice ; for an Apprentice Artist doth not become a Master suddenly, but little by little.

(20) Without reasons of the very last importance, the Four Princes † or the Eight Sub-Princes ‡ should never be summoned, because we must make a great distinction between these and the others (who are inferior to them).

(21) In operating, as rarely as possible insist upon the Spirits appearing visibly ;‖ and thus you will work

* Entitled: "How we may retain the Familiar Spirits bond or free, in whatsoever form".

† *Viz.:* Lucifer, Leviathan, Satan, and Belial.

‡ *Viz.:* Ashtaroth, Maguth, Asmodeus, and Beelzebub; Oriens, Paymon, Ariton or Egyn, and Amaymon.

§ For not only does constraining them to visible appearance require reiterated conjurations, but also they must be in some way provided with the necessary elements wherefrom to build up a body to manifest in.

all the better, for it should suffice you for them to say and do what you wish.

(22) All Prayers, Orations, Invocations, and Conjurations, and in fact everything you have to say, should be pronounced aloud and clearly, without however shouting like a madman,* but speaking clearly and naturally, and pronouncing distinctly.

(23) During the Six Moons, you shall sweep the Oratory every Sabbath Eve, and keep it strictly clean, for it is a place dedicated unto the Holy and Pure Angels.

(24) Take heed that you commence no Operation at night if it be important, unless the need be very pressing.

(25) Your only object during your whole life should be to shun as far as possible an ill-regulated life, and especially the vices of debauchery, gluttony, and drunkenness.†

(26) Having completed the Operation, and being now the Possessor of the True Wisdom, you shall fast three days before commencing to put it in practice.

(27) Every year you should make a commemoration of the Signal benefit which the Lord hath conferred upon you ; at such time feasting, praying, and honouring your Guardian Angel that day with your whole strength.

* In the Original : "*Sanspourtant crier comme unfou*".

† I have by this phrase translated the expression in the Original : "*Le vice de crapule*".

(28) During the Three Days on which you constrain the Spirits you shall fast, for this is essential, so that when you are working you may find yourself freer and more tranquil both in body and mind.

(29) Note that the fasts are to be understood as commencing always from the first nocturnal Star, and not otherwise.

(30) Keep as an indubitable precept never to give this Operation unto a Monarch,* because Solomon was the first who abused it; and if you should do the contrary, both you and your successors would alike lose the Grace hereof. With regard to this command, I myself having been sought by the Emperor Sigismond, gave him willingly the best Familiar Spirit which I had; but I steadily refused to give him the Operation; and it should not be given unto Emperors, Kings, or other Sovereigns.

(31) You may assuredly give, but it is not permissible to sell, this (Operation), for this would be to abuse the Grace of the Lord who hath given it unto you, and should you act contrariwise unto this, you would lose its control.

(32) Should you perform this Operation in a town, you should take a house which is not at all overlooked by any one; seeing that in this present day† Curiosity is so strong that you ought to be upon your guard; and there ought to be a garden (adjoining the house) wherein you can take exercise.

* This also seems like mere prejudice on the part of Abraham.

† Remember that "this present day" means of course the period when Abraham was writing this work, *i.e.*, 1458. In this particular of curiosity the world has doubtless changed little since.

(33) Take well heed during the Six Moons or Months to lose no blood from your body, except that which the expulsive Virtue in you may expel naturally of its own accord.

(34) Finally, during that whole time, you shall touch no dead body of any description soever.

(35) You shall eat during this whole period neither the flesh nor the blood of any dead animal ; and this you shall do for a certain particular reason.*

(36) You shall bind by an Oath him unto whom you shall give this Operation, neither to give nor sell it unto any avowed Atheist or Blasphemer of God.

(37) You shall fast for three days before giving the Operation unto any ; and he who shall receive it shall do likewise ; and he also shall hand over unto you at the same time the sum of Ten Golden Florins, or their value, the which you should with your own hand distribute unto poor persons whom you shall charge to repeat the Psalms, *Miserere Mei Deus*, etc., "Have mercy upon me, O God" ; and the *De Profundis*, etc., "Out of the Depths".

(38) It will be a good thing, and one which will facilitate the Operation, for you to repeat all the Psalms of David, seeing that they contain great power and virtue ; and to say them at least twice in the week.

Also you shall shun gaming as you would the plague ; because it ever is an occasion of Blasphemy.

* Probably implying that the Evil Spirits could easily obsess such animal, so as to act upon the Operator through whatever he might eat of it.

Also during this time prayer, and the study of the Sacred Books, should take the place of gaming with you.*

All this advice, and much more which you would be certain to receive from your Angel Guardian, I have here set down, so that by observing the same perfectly, without failing in the slightest particular, you shall at the end of the Operation find the value thereof. I am now, therefore, about to give you distinct and sufficient information how to employ the Symbols,† and how to proceed if you wish to acquire others.

You are then to understand that once he who operateth hath the power, it is not necessary (in all cases‡) to use written Symbols, but it may suffice to name aloud the Name of the Spirit, and the form in which you wish him to appear visibly ; because once they§ have taken Oath, this sufficeth. These Symbols, then, be made for you to avail yourself of them when you be in the company of other persons ; also you must have them upon you, so that in touching or handling them simply, they may represent your wish. Immediately then he‖ unto whom the Symbol appertaineth will serve you punctually ; but if you should desire something special which is in no way connected with or named in the Symbol, it will be

* In the Original MS.: "*Vous fuirez lejeu comme la peste parcequiloccasionne toujours du blaspheme outreque dans ce temps la leveritable jeu est loraison et la lecture des livres sacrez*".

By "jeu," here is evidently meant gaming or gambling, and not simple recreation and amusement, which latter would be almost a necessity during this period, to prevent the brain giving way from the intense nervous strain.

† *I.e.*, those of the Third Book.

‡ I have here interpolated "in all cases," as otherwise this passage would clash with remarks elsewhere.

§ *I.e.*, the Spirits, who have sworn allegiance to the Operator at his convocations of them.

‖ *I.e.*, that Spirit.

necessary to signify the same at least by showing your desire by two or three words. And here it is well to observe, that if you use prudence, you can often reason with those persons who be with you in such a manner that the Spirits, having however been beforehand invoked by you, will understand what they are to do ; but it is necessary to discover your intent unto them by words. For they be of such great intelligence, that from a single word or a single motive, they can draw the construction of the whole matter ; and although they cannot penetrate into the inmost parts of the human mind, yet nevertheless by their astuteness and subtlety they be so adroit that they comprehend by perceptible signs the wish of the person in question.

But when it is a grave and important matter, you should retire into a secret place apart, provided it be appropriate, for any place is good to invoke the Spirits proper unto the Operation. There give them their commission regarding that which you wish them to perform, the which they will either execute then or in the days following. But always give them the signal by word of mouth, or in any other manner that may be pleasing unto you, whenever you wish them to begin to operate. Thus did ABRAMELIN in Egypt, JOSEPH in Paris, and as for myself, I have always acted in the same manner. I have also made myself a very great man, and especially one who hath been of service unto Princes and great Lords.

I will hereafter tell clearly what Operations belong unto this or unto that Spirit, and how it is necessary to act.

Now will I teach you how all those (Symbols) which be in this Book, as well as those which you will (hereafter) receive from the Spirits (themselves), ought to be written down and acquired. For the number of Operations is infinite, and it would be an impossibility to set them all down in this work. If therefore you should

wish to perform certain fresh Operations by the use of a Symbol not set down in any way in the Third Book [I am speaking of good and permissible Operations],* you shall make the demand thereof from your Guardian Angel in this manner :—

Fast the day before, and on the following morning you, being well washed, shall enter into the Oratory, put on the White Tunic, illumine the Lamp, and put the Perfume in the Censer. Then lay the Lamen of Silver upon the Altar, whereof the two Angles shall be touched with the Holy Anointing Oil ; fall upon your knees and make your Orison unto the Lord, rendering unto Him grace for the benefits which you have received in general.

Then shall you supplicate Him to be willing to send unto you your Holy Angel, that he may instruct you in your ignorance, and that he may deign to grant your demand. After this, invoke your Holy Guardian Angel, and pray him to favour you with his vision, and to instruct you how you should design and prepare the Symbol of the Operation desired. Also you shall remain in prayer until you shall see appear in the room the Splendour of your Angel. Then wait to see if he shall expound or command anything touching the form of the Symbol demanded. And when you have finished your supplication, arise and go to the Plate of Silver, whereon you shall find written as it were in drops of dew, like a sweat exuding therefrom, the Symbol as you ought to make it, together with the Name of the Spirit who should serve you for this Operation, or else that of his Prince. And without touching or moving the Lamen, copy at once the Symbol just as it appeareth, and leave the Plate of Metal upon the Altar until the even ; at the which time, after having made your ordinary Orison, and returned your thanks, you shall put it away in a piece of clean silk.

* This Parenthesis is Abraham's.

The most convenient Day for procuring these Symbols is the Sabbath ; because by such an Operation, we do not in any way violate (its sanctity), neither do we injure the same at all. Also we can prepare all things necessary the day before. But if the Angel should not appear, and should not in any way manifest unto you the Symbol, then may you be certain that the pretended Operation, although it may appear good in your eyes, is not so considered by God and by your Guardian Angel ; and in such case you shall change your demands.

Now, as regardeth the Symbols for Evil Operations, these shall you obtain more easily ; seeing that after (putting on) the Perfume, there is nothing else to do but to make your Orisons. Then being clad in your White Tunic, you shall put on over it the Silken Vestment and the Girdle, and after that the Crown, taking the Wand in your hand, and placing yourself at the side of the Altar towards the Terrace. Then, holding the Wand, conjure in the same manner as you did on the Second Day. And when the Spirits shall have appeared, you shall command them in no way to quit the place, until they shall have manifested unto you the Symbol of the Operation which you desire, together with the Names of the Spirits capable of putting the same into execution, together with their Symbols. And then you shall see the Prince unto whom the Operation appertaineth avow, write, and sign upon the Sand the Symbol, together with the Name of the Spirit who is to serve for this Operation. Then shall you take the Surety and Oath of the Prince upon the Symbol, and also of his Ministers, as you will have previously done in accordance with the (directions given in the) Fourteenth Chapter.* And should several Symbols be given, make them take Oath upon them all. This being done, you can dismiss them

* *I.e.*, of this Second Book. The Chapter is entitled : "Concerning the Convocation of the Spirits".

in the manner we have already described, taking heed before this to copy the Symbols which they shall have traced upon the Sand, because in departing they will destroy the same. And when they have gone, take the Censer and perfume the place, as before said.

I do not however write this, so that you may hereby, as well as by the use of certain of the Symbols described in the Third Book, work Evil; I have in no way written them down for such an end; but only that you may understand the full perfection of this Art, and what we can herewith perform. For the Evil Spirits be exceeding prompt and exceeding obedient in the working of Evil; it is to be wished that they were as much so for the Good. However, take heed that you be upon your guard.

And remember, that as there is a God to write these aforesaid Symbols, there is no particular preparation necessary of Pens, of Ink, and of Paper; nor yet of elections of particular Days, nor other things to be observed, which the False Magicians and Enchanters of the Devil would have you believe. It sufficeth that the Symbols should be clearly written with any kind of Ink and Pen, provided that we may easily discern unto what Operation each Sign appertaineth, the which also you can easily do by means of a properly arranged and drawn up Register of them. But the greatest part of the Symbols of the Third Book I counsel you to make before commencing the Operation, keeping them until that time in the interior of the Altar. And after that the Spirits shall have taken Oath thereupon, you shall carefully keep (the Symbols) in a safe place, where they can neither be seen nor touched by any other person, because thus great harm might befal such person.

Now will we declare unto you what Symbols be manifested by the Good Angels and what by the Evil, and unto what Prince each Operation is subject, and lastly, what should be observed as regardeth each Symbol.

BY WHOM THE SYMBOLS OF THE CHAPTERS OF THE THIRD BOOK BE MANIFESTED.*

The Symbols of the Chapters of the Third Book, which be manifested only by the Angels, or by the Guardian Angel, be these, namely :—

Chapter I. (To know all manner of things Past and Future, which be not however directly opposed to God, and to His Most Holy Will.)

Chapter III. (To cause any Spirit to appear, and take any form, such as of man, animal, bird, etc.)

Chapter IV. (For divers Visions.)

Chapter V. (How we may retain the Familiar Spirits bond or free in whatsoever form.)

Chapter VI. (To cause Mines to be pointed out, and to help forward all kinds of work connected therewith.)

Chapter VII. (To cause the Spirits to perform with facility and promptitude all necessary chemical labours and Operations, as regardeth Metals especially.)

Chapter X. (To hinder any Necromantic or Magical Operations from taking effect, except those of the Qabalah, or of this Sacred Magic.)

Chapter XI. (To cause all kinds of Books to be brought to one, and whether lost or stolen.)

Chapter XVI. (To find and take possession of all kinds of Treasures, provided that they be not at all magically guarded.)

Chapter XVIII. (To heal divers Maladies.)

Chapter XXV. (To walk upon, and operate under, Water.)

Chapter XXVIII. (To have as much gold and silver as one may wish, both to provide for one's necessities, and to live in opulence.)

* I have thought it advisable to add here the headings of these chapters at length.

The following (Symbols) be manifested in part by the Angels and in part by the Evil Spirits, which is why we must not avail ourselves hereof without the permission of the Holy Angel. They are those of :—

Chapter II. (To obtain information concerning, and to be enlightened upon, all sorts of Propositions, and all doubtful Sciences.)

Chapter VIII. (To excite Tempests.)

Chapter XII. (To know the Secrets of any person.)

Chapter XIII. (To cause a Dead Body to revive, and perform all the functions which a Living Person would do, and this during a space of Seven Years by means of the Spirits.)

Chapter XIV. (The Twelve Symbols for the Twelve Hours of the Day and of the Night, to render oneself Invisible unto every person.)

Chapter XV. (For the Spirits to bring us anything we may wish to eat or to drink, and even all (kinds of food) that we can imagine.)

Chapter XVII. (To fly in the Air, and travel any whither.)

Chapter XIX. (For every description of Affection and Love.)

Chapter XX. (To excite every description of Hatred and Enmity, Discords, Quarrels, Contentions, Combats, Battles, Loss, and Damage.)

Chapter XXIV. (To discover any Theft that hath occurred.)

Chapter XXVI. (To open every kind of Lock without a Key, and without making any noise.)

Chapter XXIX. (To cause Armed Men to appear.)

The following (Symbols) be only manifested by the Evil Spirits, namely :—

Chapter IX. (To transform Animals into Men, and Men into Animals, etc.)

Chapter XXI. (To transform oneself, and take different Faces and Forms.)

Chapter XXII. (This Chapter is only for Evil, for with the Symbols herein we can cast Spells, and work every kind of Evil ; we should not avail ourselves hereof.)

Chapter XXIII. (To demolish Buildings and Strongholds.)

Chapter XXVII. (To cause Visions to appear.)

Chapter XXX. (To cause Comedies, Operas, and every kind of Music and Dances to appear.)

UNTO WHAT PRINCE THE OPERATIONS OF EACH CHAPTER ARE SUBMITTED.*

ASTAROT and ASMODEE do together execute the Symbols and Operations of :—

Chapter VI. (To cause Mines to be pointed out, and to help forward all kinds of work connected therewith.)

Chapter VII. (To cause the Spirits to perform with facility and promptitude all necessary Chemical labours and operations, as regardeth Metals especially.)

Chapter IX. (To transform Animals into Men, and Men into Animals, etc.)

ASMODEE and MAGOT together do execute the Operations of :—

Chapter XV. (For the Spirits to bring us anything we may wish to eat or to drink, and even all (kinds of food) that we can imagine.)

ASTAROT and ARITON both do execute the following

* Here again I am giving the headings of the Chapters of the Third Book at length ; as by so doing they form a species of Key to the character, nature and offices of the Prince who governs their Operations.

Chapter by their Ministers, yet not together, but each separately :—

Chapter XVI. (To find and take possession of all kinds of Treasures, provided that they be not at all magically guarded.)

ORIENS, PAIMON, ARITON, and AMAIMON will execute by means of the Ministering Spirits common unto them, the following, namely :—

Chapter I. (To know all manner of things Past and Future, which be not however directly opposed to God, and to His Most Holy Will.)

Chapter II. (To obtain information concerning, and to be enlightened upon all sorts of Propositions, and all doubtful Sciences.)

Chapter III. (To cause any Spirit to appear, and take any form, such as of Man, Animal, Bird, etc.)

Chapter IV. (For divers Visions.)

Chapters V. (How we may retain the Familiar Spirits bond or free, in whatsoever form.)

Chapter XIII. (To cause a Dead Body to revive, and perform all the functions which a Living Person would do, and this during a space of Seven Years, by means of the Spirits.)

Chapter XVII. (To fly in the Air, and travel any whither.)

Chapter XXVII. (To cause Visions to appear.)

Chapter XXIX. (To cause Armed Men to appear.)

AMAIMON and ARITON together perform :—

Chapter XXVI. (To open every kind of Lock without Key, and without making any noise.)

ORIENS alone performeth :—

Chapter XXVIII. (To have as much Gold and Silver as one may wish, both to provide for one's necessities, and to live in Opulence.)

PAIMON (alone) performeth :—

Chapter XXIX. (To cause Armed Men to appear.) (It is to be noted that this chapter has already been classed under those performed by Oriens, Paimon, Ariton, and Amaimon, together.)

ARITON performeth :—

Chapter XXIV. (To discover any Theft that hath occurred.)

AMAIMON (performeth) :—

Chapter XVIII. (To heal divers Maladies.)

ASTAROT (performeth) :—

Chapter VIII. (To excite Tempests.)

Chapter XXIII. (To demolish Buildings and Strongholds.)

MAGOT (performeth) :— *

Chapter X. (To hinder any Necromantic or Magical Operations from taking effect, except those of the Qabalah, or of this Sacred Magic.)

Chapter XI. (To cause all kinds of Books to be brought to one, and whether lost or stolen.)

Chapter XXI. (To transform oneself, and take different Faces and Forms.)

Chapter XXIV. (To discover any Theft that hath occurred.)

Chapter XXX. (To cause Comedies, Operas, and every kind of Music and Dances to appear.)

ASMODEE (performeth) :—

Chapter XII. (To know the Secrets of any person.)

* In addition to the chapters here given, Magoth is said to rule the operations of Chapter XIV. (Invisibility), in the special instructions of Abraham, the Jew, concerning that chapter.

BELZEBUD (performeth) :—

Chapter IX. (To transform Animals into Men, and Men into Animals, etc.)

Chapter XX. (To excite every description of Hatred and Enmity, Discords, Quarrels, Contentions, Combats, Battles, Loss, and Damage.)

Chapter XXII. (This Chapter is only for Evil, for with the Symbols herein we can cast Spells, and work every kind of Evil ; we should not avail ourselves hereof.)

The Operations of the following Chapters can also (to a great extent) be administered by the Familiar Spirits, namely :—

Chapter II. (Scientific Information.)
Chapter IV. (Visions.)
Chapter XII. (Secrets of other persons.)
Chapter XVIII. (Healing of Maladies.)
Chapter XIX. (Affection and Love.)
Chapter XXIII. (Demolishing Buildings.)
Chapter XXIV. (Discovery of Theft.)
Chapter XXVII. (Causing Visions to appear.)
Chapter XXVIII. (Obtaining Money.)
Chapter XXX. (Visions of Operas, Comedies, etc.)

If at the beginning they excuse themselves from the performance, there is probably some hindering cause, and in this case you should make use of other Spirits ; but otherwise they must obey you in and throughout everything that you shall command them.

INSTRUCTIONS AND EXPLANATIONS CONCERNING WHAT POINTS WE SHOULD PARTICULARLY OBSERVE WITH REGARD TO EACH CHAPTER OF THE THIRD BOOK, AND ESPECIALLY CHAPTERS I., II., IV., VI., VII., X., XXIII., XXV., XXVII., XXIX., XXX.*

Chapter I. (To know all manner of things Past and Future, which be not however directly opposed to God, and to His Most Holy Will.)

First take the Symbol in your hand, place it (upon the top of your head) under your hat, and either you will be secretly warned by the Spirit, or he will execute that which you have the intention of commanding him to do.

(This next instruction is given in the MS. as relating to Chapter II., but it evidently is more appropriate to :—)

Chapter III. (To cause any Spirit to appear, and take any form, such as of Man, Animal, Bird, etc.)

Take in your hand the Symbol, and name the Spirit, who will appear in the form commanded.

(The next following information evidently has reference to the Symbols of the Fifth Chapter, but there is no number subjoined as in the other cases in the original MS. :—)

Chapter V. (How we may retain the Familiar Spirits bond or free, in whatsoever form.)

We must understand that every man may have Four Familiar or Domestic Spirits, and no more. These Spirits can serve you in many ways, and they are granted unto you by the Sub-Princes.

The First hath his period of power from Sunrise until Noon.

The Second, from Noon until the Setting of the Sun.

* Notwithstanding these Numbers are here given, it will be found that the Instructions do not include all these Chapters, and, on the contrary, give information concerning some of those not here specially mentioned.

The Third, from the Setting of the Sun until Midnight.

And the Fourth, from Midnight even unto the Sunrising of the following Day.

He who possesseth them is free to avail himself of their services under whatever form may be pleasing unto him.

Of this kind of Spirits there is an infinite number, who at the time of their fall were condemned to serve man ; and to each man there be four of them destined ; and each one is obliged to serve during a period of Six Hours, and in the case of your giving one over unto some other person, you can no longer avail yourself of his services, but in order to replace him during his time of service, you may call upon some other Spirit. And should you wish to send away one of the said Spirits before the Six Hours during which he is on Guard be expired, it sufficeth for you to make him some sign that he can go, and at once he will obey. But when the Six Hours of their Guard be expired, the aforesaid Spirits will depart of their own accord without demanding your permission, and the next in rotation will successively take the place (of his predecessor). But if you have given one away (unto another person), you will employ one of the common kind in his place.*

Chapter VIII. (To excite Tempests.)

If you should wish to excite Tempests, give the Signal above your head (and touch the Symbol on the top) ; and when you wish to make them cease, you shall touch it on the underneath side.

Chapter IX. (To transform Animals into Men, and Men into Animals, etc.)

* It is of course evident that the number Four of the Familiar Spirits = one for each of the Four Elements of which Man is composed, ruled by the Holy Name of Four Letters, IHYH, Tetragrammaton.

Let the being, whether Man or Animal, see the Symbol, and then touch them suddenly with it, when they will appear transformed ; but this will be only a species of Fascination. When you wish to make it cease, you shall put the Symbol upon the head (of the being) and strike it with the Wand, and the Spirit will then restore matters to their former condition.

Chapter XI. (To cause all kinds of Books to be brought to one, and whether lost or stolen.)

Our predecessors, from the commencement of the World, have written many and divers excellent Books of the Qabalah, whose value surpasseth that of all the riches of the World. These Books have been for the most part lost by the Providence or Command of God, who hath not been willing that His High Mysteries should be made public by such means ; seeing that hereby through such Books the Worthy and Unworthy can equally arrive at the enjoyment and possession of the Secret things of the Lord. Some also have been burned in fires, or swept away by the Waters, and other similar accidents (have occurred) through the Evil Spirits, who are jealous of Man's possessing such great treasures, and of being obliged to obey him. But this Third Part (of this Book), that is to say the Sacred Magic, is that which hath not been entirely lost, but the greater part hath been hidden and built up within a wall, and this hath happened by order of the Good Spirits, who have not permitted this Art to altogether perish, being willing that he who should (desire the same) should employ honourable means to obtain the same from the True and only God, and not from that Perfidious One and Deceiver, the Devil, and his following.

This Operation being completed in the proper manner, you will be able to see and to read these Books ; but it is not permitted unto you to copy them, nor to keep them in your memory more than once. As for myself, I have made every effort to copy them, but as

fast as I wrote, the writing used to disappear from the page; whence you may conclude that the Lord knowing our nature, which is inclined unto Evil, doth not wish that such great Treasures should be employed to serve unto that end,* and unto the destruction of the Human Race.

Chapter XII. (To know the Secrets of any person.)

For this Operation it sufficeth to touch the Symbol, for at once the Spirit doth whisper the reply in your ear; but should you comprehend by such a means anything vile, whatever it may be, as you love the Grace of the Lord, see that you keep yourself from making manifest that which (you have obtained by the use of) the Symbol, seeing that by so doing you might work harm unto your neighbour. Every time that you touch the Symbol you should mention by name the person whose Secrets you desire to know.

Chapter XIII. (To cause a dead body to revive, and perform all the functions which a living person would do, and this during a space of Seven Years, by means of the Spirits.)

I can in truth both say and affirm that a man who hath just died is divided into Three Parts, *viz.:* Body, Soul, and Spirit. The Body returneth unto the Earth, the Soul unto God or unto the Devil, and the Spirit hath its period determined by its Creator, that is to say, the Sacred Number of Seven Years, during the which it is permitted to wander hither and thither in any direction; at length it taketh its decision,† and goeth straightway

* *I.e.*, the Evil.

† "*Se resout*," in the MS. "Resoudre," like our word "resolve," also may imply to reduce to its chemical constituents. These three parts of the person, which Abraham calls Body, Soul, and Spirit, are designated in the Qabalah by the respective terms of "Nephesch," *i.e.*, the animal part; "Neschamah," or the Soul, that is to say, the Higher Aspirations, and "Ruach," *i.e.*, the Mind or Spirit. But besides these, the Qabalists also recognise certain higher principles,

unto the place whence it came forth (at the beginning). To change the condition of the Soul is impossible, but the Grace of the Lord, for many causes and reasons which it is not here permitted unto me to make manifest, hath been willing to permit that, with the aid of the Spirits, we may force the Spirit to return and to conjoin itself again with the Body, so that for the space of Seven Years it can operate any matter. And although this Spirit and the Body joined together can perform all the functions and exercises which they used to execute when the Body, the Soul and the Spirit were together, yet is it only an imperfect Body, being in this case without the Soul.

This Operation is, however, one of the greatest, and one which we should only perform in extraordinarily important cases; seeing that in order to accomplish it the Chief Spirits have to operate.

Nothing else is necessary than to be attentive to the moment when the Man is just dead, and then to place the Symbol upon him towards the Four Quarters of the World;* and at once he will lift himself up and begin to move himself. He should then be dressed; and a Symbol similar to that which hath been placed upon him should be sewn into his garment. Know also that when the Seven Years be expired, the Spirit which was conjoined with the Body will at once depart, and that we cannot further prolong the period of the aforesaid Seven Years. I made proof of this Operation in the Morea for the Duke of Saxonia, who had only children who were minors, and the eldest was between twelve and thirteen

of which Abraham the Jew does not here speak, nor yet of the faculty of reincarnation of those principles. Reincarnation is a subject much treated of by the Oriental Sacred writings, and was undoubtedly a fundamental doctrine of the Ancient Egyptian Magic, from which, be it well remembered, the Hebrew Qabalah has been derived. The Esoteric Buddhists divide the personality into Seven Principles, instead of the Three given above.

* *I.e.*, The Four Cardinal Points.

years of age, unfit for the government and management of his estate, the which his own relatives would have seized upon and appropriated unto themselves ; and by this means I provided (against the contingency), and prevented that estate from falling into other hands.

Chapter XIV. (The Twelve Symbols for the Twelve Hours of the Day and of the Night, to render oneself Invisible unto every person.)

To render oneself invisible is a very easy matter, but it is not altogether permissible, because that by such a means we can annoy our neighbour in his (daily) life, for we can easily employ the same for producing various effects, and we can also work an infinitude of evils (herewith). But, honestly speaking, we must not do the latter, such being expressly forbidden by God. This is wherefore I entreat you to avail yourself hereof always for a good and never for an evil end ! You have in this Chapter Twelve Symbols, for Twelve different Spirits submitted unto Prince MAGOT, who are all of the same force. You should put the Symbol (upon the top of your head) under the hat or bonnet, and then you will become invisible ; while on taking it away, you will appear visible again.

Chapter XV. (For the Spirits to bring us anything we may wish to eat or to drink, and even all kinds of food that we can imagine.)

As for this Symbol, and all like ones appertaining unto this Chapter, when you shall wish to make use of them, you shall put them between two plates, dishes, or jugs, closed together, on the outside of a window, and before a quarter of an hour shall have passed, you will find and will have that which you have demanded. But you must clearly understand that with such kind of viands you cannot nourish men for more than two days only ; for this food, although it be appreciable by the eyes and by the mouth, doth not long nourish the body,

which hath soon hunger again, seeing that this (food) giveth no strength to the stomach. Know also that none of these (viands) can remain visible for more than twenty-four hours, the which period being passed, fresh ones will be requisite.

Chapter XVI. (To find and take possession of all kinds of Treasures, provided that they be not at all magically guarded.)

Should you wish to discover or to take possession of Treasure, you must select the Symbol which you wish, whether it be of a common or of a particular Operation, and the Spirit will at once show it unto you, of whatsoever kind, or after whatsoever fashion, it may be. Then shall you place the Symbol which is referable unto it thereon, and it will no longer be possible for it to disappear into the ground, nor for it to be carried away. Furthermore, the Spirits destined unto the Guard of this Treasure will flee, and you can then dispose of it as you wish, and take it away.

Chapter XVII. (To fly in the Air and travel anywhere.)

Name the place whitherunto you wish to travel, and place the Symbol upon your head, under the bonnet or the hat; but take well heed lest the Symbol fall from off you through negligence or want of caution. Do not journey at night-time unless necessity or some pressing reason thereto compelleth you, but select the day-time, and that serene and calm.

Chapter XVIII. (To heal divers Maladies.)

Undo the bandages of the sick person, and clean them, and having applied the unguent and the compresses, put them again upon the sick person; and place the Symbol upon them,* and leave it thus for about a quarter of an hour, then take it away and keep it (for

* *I.e.*, the bandages.

use on another occasion). But if it be an internal malady, you shall place the Symbol upon the bare head of the patient. These Symbols may be seen and examined without any danger, howbeit it is always better that they should neither be seen nor handled by any other person than yourself.

Chapter XIX. (For every description of Affection and Love.)

And

Chapter XX. (To excite every description of Hatred and Enmity, Discords, Quarrels, Contentions, Combats, Battles, Loss, and Damage.)

On request, and by the intermediary of the Spirits, we can obtain love, goodwill, and the favour of Princes and Sovereigns, on this wise : Name aloud the person or persons by whom you wish to be loved, and move the Symbol answering to the class under which they fall ; because if you be operating for yourself in matters falling under the heads of love, friendship, etc., you should absolutely name aloud the person, and move the Symbol. But if you name or operate for two other persons, whether it be for love or for hatred, you should expressly name both, and move the Symbols answering to the classes under which they fall. Also, if it be possible, you can touch them with the Symbol, whether it be general or particular. Under this heading are included all classes of goodwill, among the which the most difficult by far is to make yourself beloved by religious persons. *

Chapter XXI. (To transform oneself, and take different Faces and Forms.)

In this Transmutation, which is rather a Fascination, the method of operating is as follows : Take the Symbol in your left hand, and with it stroke your face. Now

* In the Original MS., "*despersonnes religieuses*". This expression would include monks, nuns, and also people bigoted in religion.

were it some (ordinary) Necromancer who was transformed by the working of some Diabolical Art, he would soon be discovered (by you). It is certain, however, that if he who operateth be instructed in the True and Sacred Magic, like yourself, that he * could produce no effect upon you ; because against the Grace of the Lord, by whomsoever received, no Operation can take effect, whether for Good or for Evil ; but should such be Diabolical Operations by express pacts and similar Sorceries, it is certain that you would soon bring them to shame.

Chapter XXII. (This Chapter is only for Evil, for with the Symbols herein we can cast Spells, and work every kind of Evil ; we should not avail ourselves hereof.)

All these Symbols are to be either buried in the ground, or placed under doors, steps, or buried under paths and other places by which people do pass, or whereon they lean ; in this latter case it is sufficient merely to touch (such places) with the Symbol. It must be here remarked that we can work much evil against our enemies, and if you know for a certain fact that they are attempting your life, there is no imaginable sin in availing yourself of (these Symbols for protection). But should you do this to please some friend, you would not escape easily with impunity from (the disapproval of) your Guardian Angel. Use then this Knowledge as a Sword against your Enemies, but never against your neighbour, which would be without any result but that of bringing hurt to yourself.

Chapter XXVI. (To open every kind of Lock, without Key, and without making any noise.)

Should you wish to open anything locked, such as ordinary Locks (Bolts),† Padlocks, Coffers, Cupboards,

* *I.e.*, such Evil Magician.

† "*Serrures*," which implies bolts as well as locks.

Boxes, and Doors, you shall touch them with the side of the Symbol which is written upon, and immediately they will open without any noise, without being in any way damaged, and without exciting any suspicion of their having been broken open. When you wish to again close them, you shall touch them with the back of the Symbol, that is to say, with the part thereof not written upon, and at once they will refasten of their own accord. And in no way should this Operation be employed in Churches, or for the committing of Murder. Also (remember) that this Operation can be used for all manner of wicked ends ; wherefore we should obtain (permission) first from our Guardian Angel, so as not to irritate him, and abuse the Grace of God, which we have received. Neither should this (Operation) be employed to aid in the commission of Rapes and Violation of Women ; but only for (laudable) effects, and other (permissible) ends.

The Child of whose services you avail yourself for the conclusion of this Operation should not be more than Seven Years of age ; it should be able to speak clearly, it should be active, and should comprehend what you teach it to do, in order to serve you. And fear not that this Child may be able to reveal and tell unto others anything of what he doeth ; also he will not in the least remember that which he shall have done, and you can make trial thereof yourself by interrogating him after the seven days be past, and you will find that he will be able to tell you nothing of that which hath passed ; the which is a very remarkable thing.

When you shall have thoroughly decided to give this present Operation unto any, and which should only be given as a free gift, as I have already said ; remember to make such person give you Seven Florins, the which you shall distribute unto Seven poor persons with your own hand, and such poor persons must genuinely be in want. Them shall you straitly charge, to repeat for

Seven days the Seven penitential Psalms, or the Pater and Ave seven times a day, praying unto the Lord for the person who hath given (the florins) unto you to distribute unto them, that He would deign to come unto his assistance, and to grant unto him for ever such strength that he may never transgress His Holy Commandments.

While in the performance of the Operation, be certain that each person (undertaking the same) is subject unto very great temptations to prevarication, and in particular unto great disquietudes of mind, to force the abandonment of the Operation. For the Mortal Enemy of Man is grieved that he should make the acquisition of this Sacred Science, the which also he receiveth from God Himself, Who hath by this means closed the way against the DEMON, this being the only object and end of this Sacred Science. For the Enchantments whereof the Evil Enchanters and Sorcerers make employ, are in no way wrought by the true method, and they only have power to execute their end in proportion to the Tributes, Sacrifices, and Pacts, rendered in return, which latter evidently bring about the loss of the Soul, and very frequently that of the Body as well.

Consider that it is the pride of (the DEMON) which hath chased him out of Heaven, and think what a heart-breaking thing it is for him to see a Man, made of vile earth, command him who is a Spirit, and who was created noble, and an Angel (as well) ; and also that it is necessary that he should submit himself unto Man, and obey him, not of his own free will, but by force, and by a power of command which God hath given unto Man, to whom he is forced to humiliate himself, and to obey, he, who had the greatest difficulty in submitting himself unto his Creator. And yet, notwithstanding all this, he is obliged by his most profound humiliation, and by his most severe suffering, to submit himself unto Man, for

whom further is destined that Heaven which he himself hath lost for an Eternity.

Wherefore you should continue the Operation, and have recourse unto the Lord, and in no way be troubled, for you shall vanquish every difficulty, seeing that the Lord never faileth those who put all their confidence in Him.

You may only give this Sacred Operation unto two persons ; and in the case of your giving it unto a third, it would hold good for him, but you yourself would be for ever deprived of it. I beseech you in grace to well open your eyes, and thoroughly examine him unto whom you shall give so great a Treasure, so that he be not one who will make use of the same to make a mock of God, which is a sin so great, that we Jews are a living proof thereof. For since our predecessors began to make use of this Sacred Magic for Evil, God hath granted it unto so few among us, that in my whole lifetime, ourselves included, we be but the number of Seven persons who by the Grace of God possess the same.

When the Child shall warn you that your Guardian Angel hath appeared, then shall you, without moving from your place, repeat in a low voice Psalm CXXXVII., which beginneth : "*Confitebor Tibi Domine, in toto corde meo*," "I will give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, with mine whole heart," etc. And, on the contrary, when you shall convoke for the first time the Four Chief Spirits, you shall say Psalm XC. : "*Qui habitat in adjutorio Altissimi*," "Whoso dwelleth in the defence of the Most High," etc.; and this not in a low voice as in the preceding case, but (aloud) as you usually speak, and standing where you happen to be.

Chapter XXVIII. (To have as much Gold and Silver as one may wish, both to provide for one's necessities, and to live in opulence.)

And whereas I have allowed the Twenty-eighth

Chapter to pass without notice, I now refer hereto. Place the Symbol of the Money you require in your purse, let it remain there for a short time, then put your right hand in your purse, and you will there find Seven pieces of the class of Money which you have intended to obtain. But take heed to perform this Operation only thrice in the day. And the pieces of Money whereof you have no longer need will disappear at once. This is why when you have need of small change you should take heed at the same time not to ask for large pieces. I could have here set down other values and Symbols, but I have only given those which I have found the most necessary for a beginner, and partly also to avoid confusing you. And also it is not right that I who am only a mortal man should give further instructions hereon unto you who are about to have an Angel for Master and for Guide.

We have already said that providing he recogniseth a God, any Man, of any Religion soever, may arrive at the possession of this Veritable Wisdom and Magic, if he employ right and proper ways and means. Now I say further that unto whatever Law* he who operateth may pertain, he can observe the feasts, etc., thereof, provided that they hinder not the Operation, with a firm and true conviction that he shall have from his Angel greater lights as to the points wherein he may be liable to err. Wherefore you shall be ready and willing to correct your faults, obedient in all things, and on all occasions, unto his precepts. And you should observe exactly and inviolably from point to point, everything touching the regimen of life, the practice, and other counsels given in this Book.

As we have already said, if by chance some slight indisposition should overtake you after the commence-

* *I.e.*, Religious denomination.

ment of the Operation, you shall observe that hereinbefore laid down ; but should the illness become very much worse, so that remedies become necessary unto the health of the body, and that you have to undergo blood-letting ; then do not harden yourself against the Will of the Lord, but having made a brief prayer, thank Him for having visited you in this manner. And having made use of remedies which oblige you to leave off the Operation already begun, so as not to become as it were your own murderer, and notwithstanding that it grieveth you to the heart to be forced so to do, yet nevertheless conform yourself unto His Holy Will. And when you shall have regained your accustomed health, in His own good time shall you return unto the Operation, feeling sure that He will grant you His aid. Such a forced desistance doth not hinder you from awaiting a fitting time, when you may recommence ; seeing that such interruption is not in any way voluntary, but forced by necessity. Whereas, had this interruption occurred through pure caprice, you ought never to think further of (recommencing), because we must not make a Mock of God.

There be two kinds of sins which are infinitely displeasing unto God. One is Ingratitude, and the other Incredulity. I say this cursorily, because the Devil will not fail to insinuate a thousand ideas into your head (such as) that this Operation may perhaps be (a real thing) and perhaps not ; that the symbols are badly drawn, etc., so as to make you comment upon the subject. This is why you must have Faith, and that you must believe. Neither should you dispute concerning that which you understand not ; remember that God out of nothingness hath created all things, and that all things have their being in Him ; watch, work, and you will see.

In the Name of the Most Holy ADONAI, the True and Only God, we have finished this Book in the best

order and with the best instruction which has been possible to me. Know also that it is only in God that you will find the sole and certain Way to arrive at the True Wisdom and Magic, but yet also by following out that which I have written down in this Book with such exactitude. Still, however, when you shall have put anything into practice, you shall manifestly know how great and immeasurable hath been my paternal affection ;* and in truth I dare to say that I have done for love of you what no one in our times hath undertaken, and in especial in that I have declared unto you the two Symbols, that of the Child, and your own particular one,† without the which I swear unto you by the True God that out of an hundred persons who might undertake this Operation, there would be only two or three who would actually attain unto it. I have, however, removed most of the difficulties, (therefore) be now tranquil, and despise not my counsel.

It need not appear strange unto you that this Book is not at all like unto so many others which I have, and which are composed in a lofty and subtle style ; because I have composed this (work) expressly in order to spare you so much labour, and to enlighten therein the difficulties which you might (otherwise) have encountered in order to comprehend its meaning. And so that it might not be at all necessary for it to pass into other hands (than your own), in making this Book I have in no way availed myself of eloquent but peculiar expressions, which those who write such works usually make use of, and even then

* Here Abraham the Jew is evidently especially addressing himself to his son Lamech.

† These two Symbols are probably those which are placed at the extreme end of the Third Book, *i.e.*, the Magical Squares with the Names ADAM and URIEL returned therein, and of which the Squares of numbers above are evidently intended for the reverse sides ; ADAM being applied to the Child, and URIEL to the Guardian Angel of Lamech.

not without mystifications. But I have employed a certain manner of arrangement, making a mixture of the subject matter, and dispersing it here and there in the Chapters so that you may be forced to read and re-read the Book many times, and also the better so to do, to transcribe and imprint it in your memory. Render then your thanks unto the Lord God Almighty, and never forget my faithful advice, even unto the day of your death. Thus will the Divine Wisdom and Magic be your wealth, and never can you find a greater Treasure in the World. Obey promptly him who teacheth you that which he hath learned by his own experience; and I pray and conjure you by that God Who is my God, to observe summarily and inviolably the three following heads which should serve you as guides and limitations until you shall pass the gulf of this Miserable World :—

(1) Let God, His Word, all His Commandments, and the Counsel of your Angel, never depart from your heart and from your mind !

(2) Be the declared enemy of all the Evil Spirits, their Vassals, and Adherents, during the whole period of your life. Dominate them, and regard them as your Servitors.* If they make propositions to you, demanding from you pacts, or sacrifices, or obedience, or servitude, refuse them with disdain and menaces.

(3) It is more than evident that God can know the heart of men, the which none else can do. You should therefore force yourself to test severely for some time him to whom you intend to give this (knowledge). You shall closely note his method of life and habits; you

* Again let the practical Occultist remember that this counsel applies principally to Adepts; for the ordinary man can not command the Demons, seeing that he has not yet learned to understand and control even all his thoughts; and the Adept can only command such beings through the knowledge of his Higher Self, and of his Guardian Angel.

shall discuss the subject with him, seeking to discover in the clearest way and as far as possible, whether he would use it for Good or for Evil. Also in giving this Operation you shall fast, eating only once a day, and he who shall receive it shall do the same ; see also what we have said in the Third Chapter,* and elsewhere. It is also true that one who would suffer much in health by fasting in such a manner, may if absolutely necessary supplement the same by paying one or several persons to fast in his stead and to intercede for him.† (The whole object and end of) this should be both to give and receive this operation unto the Glory of the Great God, and unto one's own good and that of one's neighbour, whether friend or enemy, and unto that of all things created.

The Ten Florins of Gold ‡ shall be distributed by your own hands when you shall have received the money, unto Seventy-two poor persons who know the Psalms, as mentioned in a preceding Chapter ; and see also that you fail not in this, for it is an essential point.

Furthermore you shall demand from him to whom you shall give the Operation, some pleasurable gratification which is in harmony with the Operation, at your choice. But see that you demand not money, for for this you would be deprived entirely of the Holy Wisdom.

Every time that you shall desire to make a fresh command,§ you shall thrice repeat the Psalm XC., "*Qui habitat in adjutorium Altissimi*," etc., "Whoso dwelleth in the aid of the Most High," etc.—because this Psalm

* *I.e.* of the Second Book.

† I think this system of substitution should be very rarely practised. He must be a very spiritless person who would be dissuaded by the prospect of fasting for a day or two.

‡ Before alluded to in several places.

§ This would apparently apply to a command given to the Demons, and not to an Aspirant for the Sacred Wisdom.

possesseth so great a virtue that you will be astonished when you comprehend it.

If you know that you, as a man, have offended your Creator, in anything regarding the Tables of the Law; perform no operation until after having made a general confession of your sins unto God; the which you shall observe unto the day of your death. By thus acting the Mercy of the Lord will never depart from you.

Unto the which Lord be Praise, and Glory, and Honour, for the Gifts which He hath granted unto us.

So be it!

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

THE THIRD BOOK

OF THE

SACRED MAGIC,

WHICH GOD GAVE UNTO MOSES, AARON, DAVID, SOLOMON, AND OTHER SAINTS, PATRIARCHS AND PROPHETS; WHICH TEACHETH THE TRUE DIVINE WISDOM.

BEQUEATHED BY ABRAHAM UNTO LAMECH HIS SON.

TRANSLATED FROM THE HEBREW.

1458.

THE THIRD BOOK.

(THE PROLOGUE.)

HE who shall have faithfully observed that which hath been taught unto him, and shall have with a good will obeyed the Commandments of God, let him, I say, be certain that this Veritable and Loyal Wisdom shall be accorded unto him ; and also that the Perfidious BELIAL can do no otherwise than become his slave, together with all his Pestiferous Generation.

However I pray the True God who governeth, ruleth over, and maintaineth all that He hath created ; that thou, O Lamech, my son, or whomsoever he may be unto whom thou shalt have granted this Sacred Operation, mayest work it out, having always before thee the Fear of God, and in no way use it for Evil, because God the Eternal hath wished herein to leave us our free will, but woe unto him who shall abuse His Divine Grace. Yet I say not but that if an enemy should attempt thy life, that it is permissible unto thee if necessary to destroy him ; but in any other case lay not thine hand unto the sword, but use gentler methods. Be kind and affable unto every one. One may also serve a friend without harm unto oneself.

David and King Solomon could have destroyed their enemies in an instant, but they did not so ; in imitation

of God Himself who chastiseth not unless He is outraged.

If thou shalt perfectly observe these rules, all the following Symbols and an infinitude of others will be granted unto thee by thy Holy Guardian Angel ; thou thus living for the Honour and Glory of the True and only God, for thine own good, and that of thy neighbour.

Let the Fear of God be ever before the eyes and the heart of him who shall possess this Divine Wisdom and Sacred Magic.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

TO know all manner of things Past and Future, which be not however directly opposed to God, and to His Most Holy Will.

(1) To know all things Past and Future in general.
(2)
(3) } To know things appertaining unto the Future.
(4) Things to happen in War.
(5) Things past and forgotten.
(6) Tribulations to come.
(7) Things propitious to come.
(8) Things past regarding Enemies.
(9) To know the Signs of Tempests.
(10) To know the Secrets of War.
(11) To know true and false Friends.

(1)

M	I	L	O	N
I	R	A	G	O
L	A	M	A	L
O	G	A	R	I
N	O	L	I	M

(2)

T	H	I	R	A	M	A
H	I	G	A	N	A	M
I	G	O	G	A	N	A
R	A	G	I	G	A	R
A	N	A	G	O	G	I
M	A	N	A	G	I	H
A	M	A	R	I	H	T

(3)

D	O	R	E	H
O	R	I	R	E
R	I	N	I	R
E	R	I	R	O
H	E	R	O	D

(4)

N	A	B	H	I
A	D	A	I	H
B	A	K	A	B
H	I	A	D	A
I	H	B	A	N

(5)

N	V	D	E	T	O	N
V	S	I	L	A	R	O
D	I	R	E	M	A	T
E	L	E	M	E	L	E
T	A	M	E	R	I	D
O	R	A	L	I	S	V
N	O	T	E	D	V	N

(6)

S	A	R	A	P	I
A	R	A	I	R	P
R	A	K	K	I	A
A	I	K	K	A	R
P	R	I	A	R	A
I	P	A	R	A	S

(7)

M	A	L	A	C	H
A	M	A	N	E	C
L	A	N	A	N	A
A	N	A	N	A	L
C	E	N	A	M	A
H	C	A	L	A	M

(8)

K	O	S	E	M
O	B	O	D	E
S	O	F	O	S
E	D	O	B	O
M	E	S	O	K

(9)

R	O	T	H	E	R
O	R	O	R	I	E
T	O	A	R	A	H
H	A	R	A	O	T
E	I	R	O	R	O
R	E	H	T	O	R

(10)

M	E	L	A	B	B	E	D
E	L	I	N	A	L	S	E
L	I	N	A	K	I	L	B
A	N	A	K	A	K	A	B
B	A	K	A	K	A	N	A
B	L	I	K	A	N	I	L
E	S	L	A	N	I	L	E
D	E	B	B	A	L	E	M

(11)

M	E	B	H	A	E	R
E	L	I	A	I	L	E
B	I	K	O	S	I	A
H	A	O	R	O	A	H
A	I	S	O	K	I	B
E	L	I	A	I	L	E
R	E	A	H	B	E	M

NOTES TO THE CHAPTERS OF MAGICAL SYMBOLS,

BY

S. L. MACGREGOR-MATHERS.

THE following Notes to these Chapters I have classed under various heads for greater convenience of reference, thinking that besides the explanations of most of the Magical Names employed in the Symbols, it would also be of assistance to the Occult student to be able to see at a glance briefly stated at the end of each Chapter, the substance of the information especially referring thereto, given by Abraham the Jew in other parts of the work, notably towards the end of the Second Book :—

Under (*a*) therefore I have stated by what Powers the Symbols of each particular Chapter are manifested.

Under (*b*) the Names of the Sub-Princes of the Evil Spirits who are the especial overseers of the execution of the effect desired.

Under (*c*) whether the Operations of the Chapter in question can be to an extent performed by the "Familiar Spirits," or not.

Under (*d*) an abridgment of any especial instructions given by Abraham in other parts of the work.

Under (*e*) I have given the meanings of most of the Names employed in the Squares, as far as possible, and also any additional remarks which seemed necessary.

These Magical Symbols of this Third Book consist solely of Squares of Letters, which may be roughly divided into four distinct classes.

(1) Those in which the whole of the Square is occupied by Letters. In this form the double Acrostic arrangement is especially marked ; though in some few cases it is slightly varied by the introduction of a different name.

(2) Those in which part of the Square is left vacant, the Letters being arranged in the form of what is called in Geometry, a Gnomon.

(3) Those in which the central part of the Square is left vacant, the Letters forming a border round the void part.

(4) Those of more irregular disposition, and in which in some instances single Letters are placed separately in the vacant part of the Square.

It will be remarked that in nearly all cases these Names arranged in the Squares represent generally the effect to be produced, or in other words are simply the Hebrew or other appellations of the result to which the Square is to be applied. At the beginning of each Chapter is placed a numbered list of the effects to be obtained by the use of each Symbol there given. Then follow the Squares themselves.

In the Original MS. these Squares have been also numbered to correspond with the list at the beginning of each Chapter, but from the evident difference in the ink this has been done later, though the handwriting is the same. I think also that in several cases the numbers to the Squares have been misplaced; and though usually the natural Sequence of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 is adhered to, yet occasionally they are in a more irregular order, as in the 5th Chapter, for example, where they run thus :—3, 4, 5, 6, 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

The Squares in the Original MS. are all of the same size, subdivided according to the exigences of the case, though convenience of printing has prevented this equality of size being adhered to in the present work. In most instances the Gnomons and Borders are ruled off from the vacant part, but this rule is not adhered to in all cases in the Original MS. The Letters in the Squares are Roman Capitals. In some few instances two letters are placed in the same small Square, or subdivision, of the larger Square.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested only by the Angels or by the Guardian Angel.

(*b*) ORIENS, PAYMON, ARITON, and AMAYMON execute the Operations hereof by means of their Common Ministers.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits cannot well execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) Take the Symbol in your hand, place it under your hat or cap, upon the top of your head, and you will be secretly answered by the Spirit who will execute that which you wish. (This mode of operation will evidently be applicable to many of the Chapters.)

(*e*) No. 1 is a Square of 25 Squares, and is a complete specimen of double Acrostic arrangement. MILON, though Greek-sounding, has here hardly a meaning if derived from either MILOS, a fruit or other tree; or from MEILON, a precious thing, or article of value.—It seems rather derived from the Hebrew MLVN = a diversity of things, or matters.—IRAGO is perhaps from Greek EIRA a question, or inquiry, and AGO to conduct or decide. Hebrew RGO = to disrupt or analyse.—LAMAL, probably from Chaldaic MLA = fulness, entirety. OGARI from Hebrew OGR = a swallow or swiftly-flying thing. NOLIM from Hebrew, NOLIM = hidden or covered things. Whence we may extract the following as the formula of this Square : " Various questions fully examined and analysed, and that quickly, and even things carefully hidden and concealed ". This rule we can apply to discover the formulas of other Squares.

No. 2 is a Square of 49 Squares, and is also a complete Specimen

of double Acrostic.—THIRAMA from Chaldee TIRM = strongly-defended places, or Citadels.—HIGANAM from Hebrew or Chaldee GNN or GNM = to defend.—IGOGANA, perhaps from Hebrew GG = a roof or covering or protection from above.—RAGIGAR, perhaps from Chaldaic ROO (it must be remembered that, though I here transliterate the letter Ayin by O, it has really the power of a GH as well; it is a sound difficult of comprehension by a non-Orientalist); = to break up, or breach.—ANAGOGI probably from Greek ANAGOGE = the act of raising or elevating.—MANAGIH from Hebrew MNO = to restrain; stop, put a barrier to, or contain by a barrier.—AMARIHT from Hebrew AMRTH = Word or Speech.—The whole idea of this Formula seems to be the making forcible way into a defended place or matter.

No. 3 is a Square of 25 Squares, and again a perfect form of double Acrostic. DOREH, from DVR Hebrew = a habitation.—ORIRE perhaps from Latin ORIOR = to rise or be born.—RINIR perhaps from Hebrew NIR = to renew.—ERIRO perhaps from ARR = to curse.—HEROD from Hebrew CHRD = shaking, trembling.

No. 4 is a Square of 25 Squares, and again a perfect double Acrostic.—NABHI from Hebrew NBA = to prophesy.—ADAIH perhaps from Heb. DIH. = a bird of omen. BAKAB from Heb. KAB = in trouble. HIADA from Hebrew IDH = sent forward, or thrown. IHBAN from IHB Hebrew = to give or bring. Hence the formula would be somewhat "To prophesy by omens the troubles to come"; the which is much more applicable to No. 6, "The Tribulations to come"; than to No. 4, which is for "The Things to happen in War".

No. 5 is a double Acrostic of 49 Squares.—NVDETON from Hebrew ND = to remove, and ATHN = strongly.—VSILARO from Hebrew BSHL = to ripen, and Chaldaic ARO = the Earth.—DIREMAT from Hebrew DR = to encompass or include, and MT = things forgotten or slipped aside. ELEMELE from Hebrew ALIM and ALH = God of the Mighty Ones.—TAMERID from Hebrew THMR = straight like a palm-tree, and ID = put forward.—ORALISV = from Hebrew = ORL = superfluous, and ISH = the substance.—NOTEDVN, from NTH = to stretch out and DN = to contend or rule.

No. 6 is a double Acrostic of 36 Squares.—SARAPI from Hebrew SHRP = to burn.—ARAIRP from Hebrew AR = a river, and RPH = to abate or slacken.—RAKKIA from Hebrew RKK = to become faint, to become softened.—AIKKAR from Hebrew OKR = to trouble or disturb.—PRIARA from PRR = to shatter or break up.—IPARAS from Hebrew PRS = to break in pieces, to divide, or part in sunder. This will give a formula of trouble.

No. 7 is a double Acrostic of 36 Squares.—MALACH from Hebrew MLCH = Salt; also that which is easily dissolved; to

dissolve.—AMANEC from MNK = a chain, or from AMN = stability.—LANANA from LNN = to lodge, or take up one's abode.—ANANAL from AN = labour, and NLH, to complete or finish.—CENAMA *perhaps* from QNM = odoriferous. HCALAM *perhaps* from HCL = spacious (as a palace).

No. 8 is a double Acrostic of 25 Squares.—KOSEM, from Hebrew QSM = to divine or prognosticate.—OBODE, from Hebrew OBD = a servant.—SOFOS from Greek SOPHOS = wise, learned, skilful.—EDOBO, perhaps from DB = to murmur.—MESOK from Hebrew MSK = to mingle or intermix.

No. 9 is a double Acrostic of 36 Squares.—ROTHER is perhaps from RTT, Trembling, Dread ; and HRR to conceive or bring forth.—ORORIE from Hebrew OROR = laying bare, disclosing.—TOARAH from Hebrew THVRH = Law, Reason, or Order of.—HARAOT from Hebrew HRH to bring forth, or from CHRTH = To inscribe or mark down.—REHTOR from RTT and THVR = reason for dread.—The whole formula will represent the disclosing of the reasons for dreading any terrible effect.

No. 10 is another double Acrostic of 64 Squares, and No. 11 one of 49 Squares. I have here given a sufficiently careful analysis of the meanings of the combinations formed by the letters in the preceding Squares to give the Reader a general idea of the formulas involved. To avoid an undue extension of these notes, I shall not usually analyse every name contained in each Square, but shall confine myself in most cases to giving sufficient indications of the meanings of the principal words or words only, which are therein employed. The Reader must remember also that in such an Acrostic arrangement of the letters of words, half of those therein contained will simply be inversions of the principal word or words therein contained. For example, in No. 11, REAHBEM is of course MEBHAER written backwards.—ELIAILE reads the same way backwards or forwards, and so does HAOROAH ; and BIKOSIA written backwards gives AISOKIB. Yet undoubtedly some of these words are to an extent translatable also, and in this case will be found to have a bearing on the subject-matter of the Square. Hebrew especially is a language in which this method will be found to work with a readiness unattainable in ordinary European languages, from the fact that its Alphabet may be said to be entirely Consonantal in character, even such letters as Aleph, Vau, and Yōd, being rather respectively, a drawing in of the breath than the letter A ; V rather than U ; and Y rather than I. Also in common with all really ancient languages the system of Verbal Roots from which all the words of the language are derived, has this effect, *viz.*, that the majority of combinations of two or three letters will be found to be a Verbal Root, bearing a definite meaning. Besides all this, in the Qabalah each letter of the Hebrew Alphabet is treated as having a complete sphere

of hieroglyphic meanings of its own ; whence the most important ancient Hebrew Names and Words can be treated by the Qabalistic Initiate as in fact so many formulas of Spiritual force. I have been thus lengthy in explanation in order that the Reader may have some idea of the reason of the construction and use of these Magic Squares.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

TO obtain information concerning, and to be enlightened upon all sorts of propositions and all doubtful Sciences.

(1)
(2) } Generally for the above effect.
(3)

(1)

A	L	L	U	P
L	E	I	R	U
L	I	G	I	L
U	R	I	E	L
P	U	L	L	A

(2)

M	E	L	A	M	M	E	D
E	R	I	F	O	I	S	E
L	I	S	I	L	L	I	M
A	F	I	R	E	L	O	M
M	O	L	E	R	I	F	A
M	I	L	L	I	S	I	L
E	S	I	O	F	I	R	E
D	E	M	M	A	L	E	M

(3)

E	K	D	I	L	U	N
K	L	I	S	A	T	U
D	I	N	A	N	A	L
I	S	A	G	A	S	I
L	A	N	A	N	I	D
U	T	A	S	I	L	K
N	U	L	I	D	K	E

NOTES TO CHAPTER II.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested partly by the Angels, and partly by the Evil Spirits.

(*b*) ORIENS, PAYMON, ARITON, and AMAYMON execute the Operations hereof by the means of their common Ministers.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits can to an extent execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) Take the Symbol in your hand, and name what information you require. (In the Second Book, the remarks given concerning this Chapter are evidently far more applicable to the Third Chapter, and I have therefore given them there instead of here.)

(*e*) No. 1 is an Acrostic of 25 Squares.—ALLUP from Hebrew ALUP = a Doctor, Teacher, Leader, *i.e.*, a person who at the same time leads and instructs his following. Hence also this word means a Bull as the Leader of the herd.—URIEL, Hebrew AURIEL = Light of God, is the well-known name of one of the Archangels. Pulla in Latin means both a fowl, and also light friable earth; but is probably here derivable rather from the Hebrew PLH, meaning to classify or arrange.

No. 2 is an Acrostic of 64 Squares.—MELAMMED is evidently from Hebrew MLMD = a stimulus or spur to exertion.

No. 3 is an Acrostic of 49 Squares.—EKDILUN *may* be from the Greek EKDEILON, which means, "not afraid of"; from EK in composition, and DEILON, frightened, cowardly.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

TO cause any Spirit to appear, and take any form, such as of Man, Animal, Bird, etc.

(1) It will appear in the form of a Serpent.
(2) To make them appear in the shape of any Animal.
(3) In Human form.
(4) In the form of a Bird.

(1)

U	R	I	E	L
R	A	M	I	E
I	M	I	M	I
E	I	M	A	R
L	E	I	R	U

(2)

L	U	C	I	F	E	R
U	N	A	N	I	M	E
C	A	T	O	N	I	F
I	N	O	N	O	N	I
F	I	N	O	T	A	C
E	M	I	N	A	N	U
R	E	F	I	C	U	L

(3)

L	E	V	I	A	T	A	N
E	R	M	O	G	A	S	A
V	M	I	R	T	E	A	T
I	O	R	A	N	T	G	A
A	G	T	N	A	R	O	I
T	A	E	T	R	I	M	V
A	S	A	G	O	M	R	E
N	A	T	A	I	V	E	L

(4)

S	A	T	A	N
A	D	A	M	A
T	A	B	A	T
A	M	A	D	A
N	A	T	A	S

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested only by the Angel or by the Guardian Angel.

(*b*) ORIENS, PAYMON, ARITON, and AMAYMON execute the operations hereof by means of their common Ministers.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits do not execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) Take the Symbol in the hand, and name the Spirit desired, who will appear in the form commanded.

(*e*) It will be noticed at once that of the four Symbols of this Chapter, the first has the name of the Archangel Uriel, and the three others those of three of the Chief Princes of the Demons, *viz.* :— Lucifer, Leviathan, and Satan.

No 1 is an Acrostic of 25 Squares.—URIEL from Hebrew AURIEL = Light of God.—RAMIE from Hebrew RMIH = Deceit. IMIMI is either from IMM = the Sea, or great waters, or from IMIM = Mules.—EIMAR is probably from AMR or IMR = To speak.—LEIRU is the reverse of URIEL, *i.e.*, Uriel written backwards.—This formula seems to show that the Symbol should be numbered 2 instead of 1.

No. 2 is an Acrostic of 49 Squares.—LUCIFER from Lucifer (Latin) = Light bearer. This Square should probably be numbered 3.

No. 3 is an Acrostic of 64 Squares.—LEVIATAN from Hebrew, = the piercing or twisting Serpent. This Square should probably be numbered 1.

No. 4 is an Acrostic of 25 Squares.—SATAN from Hebrew SHTN = an Adversary.—ADAMA from Hebrew ADMH = reddish earth.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

FOR divers Visions.

(1) For Mirrors of Glass and Crystal.
(2) In Caverns and Subterranean Places.
(3) In the Air.
(4) In Rings and Circlets.
(5) In Wax.
(6) In Fire.
(7) In the Moon.
(8) In the Water.
(9) In the Hand.

(1)

G	I	L	I	O	N	I	N
I							
L							
I							
O							
N							
I							
N							

(2)

E	T	H	A	N	I	M
T						
H						
A						
N						
I						
M						

(3)

A	P	P	A	R	E	T
P						
P						
A						
R						
E						
T						

(4)

B	E	D	S	E	R
E	L	I	E	L	E
D	I	A	P	I	S
S	E	P	P	E	D
E	L	I	E	L	E
R	E	S	D	E	B

(5)

N	E	G	O	T
E	R	A	S	O
G	A	R	A	G
O	M	A	R	E
T	O	G	E	N

(6)

N	A	S	I
A	P	I	S
S	I	P	A
I	S	A	N

(7)

G	O	H	E	N
O	R	A	R	E
H	A	S	A	H
E	R	A	R	O
N	E	H	O	G

(8)

A	D	M	O	N
D				
M				
O				
N				

(9)

L	E	L	E	H
E				
L				
E				
H				

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested only by the Angels or by the Guardian Angel.

(*b*) ORIENS, PAIMON, ARITON, AMAYMON execute the Operations hereof by means of their Common Ministers.

(*c*) The Operations of this Chapter can also be to an extent performed by the Familiar Spirits.

(*d*) No especial instructions are given regarding this Chapter in the Second Book.

(*e*) No. 1 is a Gnomonic Square of 15 Squares taken from a Square of 64 Squares.—GILIONIN = Chaldaic GLIVNIM = Mirrors.

No. 2 is a Gnomonic Square of 13 Squares out of a Square of 49 Squares.—ETHANIM = ATHVNIM, Heb. = Vaults, Ovens.

No. 3 is a Gnomonic Square of 13 Squares out of a Square of 49 Squares.—APPARET, Latin = Let it appear.

No. 4 is a Square of 36 Squares.—BEDSER = Hebrew BTzR a Gold Ornament.—ELIELE = ALI ALI Hebrew = Towards me.—

SEPPED Hebrew SPD = He struck.—RES DEB = perhaps Hebrew, RSH DB head or chief point of a discourse.

No. 5 is a Square of 25 Squares.—NEGOT = perhaps Heb. NHG, He leads.—ERASO = probably Greek, sec. pers. sing. from EROMAI for EIROMAI, to demand or interrogate. GARAG = perhaps from Heb. GRO, to diminish. OMARE = perhaps Greek, an Assembly or Synthesis.—TOGEN = perhaps from Greek TOGE = Why or Wherefore when used in an adverbial sense.

No. 6 is a Square of 16 Squares.—NASI = Hebrew NSI = My Banner or Symbol.—APIS = the Egyptian sacred bull. SIPA = perhaps from SPH = Hebrew to consume.—ISAN = perhaps from Heb. ISHN = To sleep.

No. 7 is a Square of 25 Squares.—GOHEN should perhaps be COHEN = a Jewish priest.—ORARE, Latin = to pray.—HASAH, Heb. HSH = to keep silence. ERARO perhaps from Heb. ARR = to curse. NEHOG = perhaps Heb. NHG = to lead.

No. 8 is a Gnomonic Square of 9 Squares out of 25 Squares.—ADMON = perhaps from Heb. DMO = Tears but also Liquids or fluids.

No. 9 is a Gnomonic Square of 9 Squares out of 25 Squares.—LELEH = Hebrew LILH = Night, Darkness.

THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

OW we may retain the Familiar Spirits bond or free in whatsoever form.

(1) In the form of a Lion.
(2) In the form of a Page.
(3) In the form of a Flower.
(4) In the form of a Horseman.
(5) In the form of an Eagle.
(6) In the form of a Dog.
(7) In the form of a Bear.
(8) In the form of a Soldier.
(9) In the form of an Old Man.
(10) In the form of a Moor.
(11) In the form of a Serpent.
(12) In the form of an Ape.

(3)

O	I	K	E	T	I	S
I						
K						
E						
T						
I						
S						

(4)

P	A	R	A	S
A				
R				
A				
S				

(5)

R	A	C	A	H
A				
C				
A				
H				

(6)

C	U	S	I	S
U				
S				
I				
S				

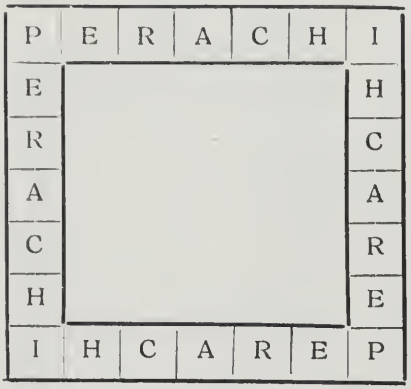
(1)

A	N	A	K	I	M
N					
A					
K					
I					
M					

(2)

C	E	P	H	I	R
E					
P					
H					
I					
R					

(7)



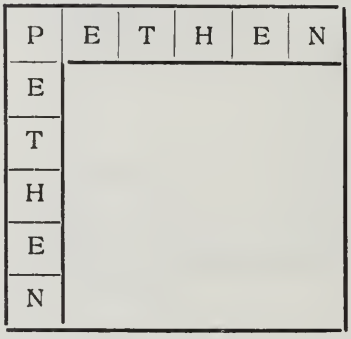
(8)

R	I	S	I	R
I	S	E	R	I
S	E	K	E	S
I	R	E	P	I
R	I	S	I	R

(9)

N	E	S	E	R
E	L	E	H	E
S	E	P	E	S
E	H	E	L	E
R	E	S	E	N

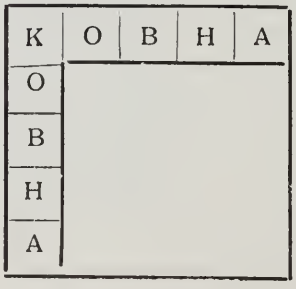
(10)



(11)

K	A	L	E	F
A	R	A	R	E
L	A	M	A	L
E	R	A	R	A
F	E	L	A	K

(12)



NOTES TO CHAPTER V

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested only by the Angels or by the Guardian Angel.

(*b*) ORIENS, PAIMON, ARITON, and AMAYMON execute the Operations hereof by means of their Common Ministers.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits can hardly be said so much of themselves to be able to execute the Operations of this Chapter, as under the rule of the aforementioned Spirits.

(*d*) Each person can have four Familiar Spirits and no more: the first working from Sunrise to Midday; the second from Midday till Sunset; the third from Sunset to Midnight; and the fourth from Midnight till Sunrise. Such Spirits may also be loaned to friends, in which case you can avail yourself of another ordinary Spirit in place.

(*e*) The Square numbered 1 is not however placed first in Order in the MS., but fifth. It is a Gnomon of 11 Squares taken from a Square of 36 Squares. ANAKIM = Hebrew ONQIM = Giants; the root ONQ also = a necklace or torque. This word "Anakim" hardly appears to have any reference to the form of a lion.—No. 2 is a Gnomon of 11 Squares again, taken from a Square of 36 Squares, and is in the MS. placed sixth in order.—CEPHIR in Hebrew means KPIR a young Lion; and this Square should probably therefore be numbered 1.—No. 3 is a Gnomon of 13 Squares taken from a Square of 49 Squares; and in the MS. occupies the first place in order. OIKETIS, Greek, means a maid-servant or feminine page. This Square therefore should probably be numbered 2.—No. 4 is a Gnomon of 9 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. PARAS = Hebrew PRSH, a horse, or horseman, while PRS = an ossifrage, a bird of the hawk or eagle kind. This Square is apparently correctly numbered, though in the MS. it is in the second place.—No. 5 is a Gnomon of 9 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. RACAH is apparently from the Hebrew RQH meaning vain, empty; and does not seem to have any particular reference to any of the forms mentioned for the Symbols.—No. 6 is again a Gnomon of 9 Squares, taken from a Square of 25 Squares. It is placed fourth in order in the MS.—CUSIS may be from the dative plural of the Greek word KUON = a dog, but in Hebrew it would mean numbering, computing.—No. 7 is a border of 24 Squares taken from a Square of 49 Squares. PERACHI, perhaps from PRK, Savagery. DB is a Bear in Hebrew. —No. 8 is a Square of 25 Squares. RISIR, *perhaps* from Latin "RISOR," a mocker or jester. ISERI, perhaps from Hebrew or Chaldaic Root, ISR, to punish or whip. SEKES, perhaps from SCHSH = reborn by hope.—No. 9 is again a Square of 25 Squares. NESER = Hebrew, NSHR, an Eagle; which seems to shew that this Square should be numbered 5. ELEHE is probably ALHI, Hebrew = My God. SEPES ? SHPS = the hair on the lip, the moustache.

RESEN = RSN Heb., = a bridle, or bit.—No. 10 is a Gnomon of 11 Squares taken from a Square of 36 Squares. PETHEN = Hebrew, PThN, an Asp or venomous Serpent, whence this Square should probably be numbered 11.—No. 11 is a Square of 25 Squares. KALEF, = KLP, Hebrew, a hammer. ARARE from Hebrew ARR to curse, cursed. LAMAL perhaps means "in speaking" from MLL, Hebrew, to speak.—No. 12 is a Gnomon of 9 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. KOBHA = perhaps Hebrew KBH = to extinguish.

THE SIXTH CHAPTER.

TO cause Mines to be pointed out, and to help forward all kinds of work connected therewith.

(1) To prevent Caves from falling in.
(2) To shew a Gold Mine.
(3) To cause work to be done in Mines.
(4) To make work done in inaccessible places.
(5) To make them tunnel Mountains.
(6) To cause all water to be withdrawn from the Mines.
(7) To make the Spirits bring Timber.
(8) To make them found and purge Metals and separate Gold and Silver.

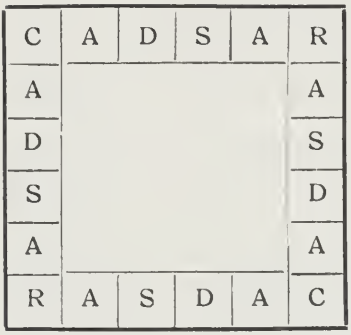
(1)

T	E	L	A	A	H
E					A
L					L
A					A
A					A
H	A	A	L	E	T

(2)

A	L	C	A	B	R	U	S	I
L								S
C								U
A								R
B								B
R								A
U								C
S								L
I	S	U	R	B	A	C	L	A

(3)



C	A	D	S	A	R
A					A
D					S
S					D
A					A
R	A	S	D	A	C

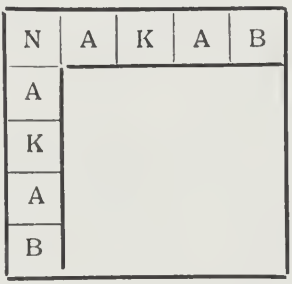
(4)

P	E	L	A	G	I	M
E	R	E	N	O	S	I
L	E	R	E	M	O	G
A	N	E	M	A	L	A
G	O	M	A	R	E	L
I	S	O	L	E	I	E
M	I	G	A	L	E	P

(5)

K	I	L	O	I	N
I	S	E	R	P	I
L	E	N	I	R	O
O	R	I	N	E	L
I	P	R	E	S	I
N	I	O	L	I	K

(6)

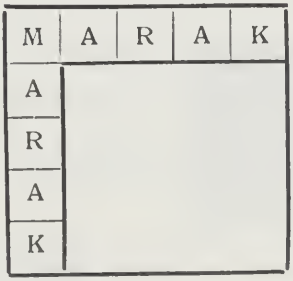


N	A	K	A	B
A				
K				
A				
B				

(7)

K	I	T	T	I	K
I	S	I	A	D	I
T	I	N	N	A	T
T	A	N	N	I	T
I	D	A	I	S	I
K	I	T	T	I	K

(8)



M	A	R	A	K
A				
R				
A				
K				

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested only by the Angels or by the Guardian Angel.

(*b*) ASTAROTH and ASMODEUS execute together the Operations of this Chapter.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits cannot well execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) No especial instructions are given regarding this Chapter in the Second Book.

(*e*) No. 1 is a border of 20 Squares taken from a Square of 36 Squares.—TELAAH = perhaps from THVLOH, = a Worm which pierces holes in the ground.

No. 2 is a border of 32 Squares taken from a Square of 81 Squares.—ALCABRUSI may mean "supported by planks or props, or beams". If so, probably this Square should be numbered 1.

No. 3 is a border of 20 Squares taken from a Square of 36 Squares. CADSAR perhaps from QTzR = to shorten or abbreviate a matter or work.

No. 4 is a Square of 49 Squares. PELAGIM, Hebrew PLGIM = Divisions, strata, etc.

No. 5 is a Square of 36 Squares. KILOIN = Hebrew QLOIM, Excavations.

No. 6 is a Gnomon of 9 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. NAKAB = Hebrew, NQB = Piercing. Perforation.

No. 7 is a Square of 36 Squares. KITTIK may mean = "To arrange in a store-place". TINNAT recalls a name used on some of the Gnostic Magical Gems. TANNIT is the name of a Tyrian goddess.

No. 8 is a Gnomon of 9 Squares out of a Square of 25 Squares. MARAK, from Hebrew MRQ = To cleanse, purge, or refine.

THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

O cause the Spirits to perform with facility and promptitude all necessary Chemical labours and Operations, as regardeth Metals especially.

(1) To make all Metals.
(2) To make them perform the Operations.
(3) To make them teach Chemistry.

(1)

M	E	T	A	L	O
E					
T					
A					
L					
O					

(2)

T	A	B	B	A	T
A	R	U	U	C	A
B	U	I	R	U	B
B	U	R	I	U	B
A	C	U	U	R	A
T	A	B	B	A	T

(3)

I	P	O	M	A	N	O
P	A	M	E	R	A	M
O	M	A	L	O	M	I
M	E	L	A	C	A	H
A	R	O	C	U	M	I
N	A	M	A	M	O	N
O	M	I	H	I	N	I

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested only by the Angels, or by the Guardian Angel.

(*b*) ASHTAROTH and ASMODEUS together execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits cannot well execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) No especial instructions are given regarding this Chapter in the Second Book.

(*e*) No. 1 is a Gnomon of 11 Squares taken from a Square of 36 Squares. METALO from Greek METALLON = in metal, mineral, or mining work.

No. 2 is a Square of 36 Squares. TABBAT, Chaldaic THIBVTH = Heads or Sections of classification of operations. ARUUCA perhaps from ARUQ, adhering to.

No. 3 is a Square of 49 Squares.—IPOMANO, probably from Greek HIPPOMANES, an ingredient used in philtres, etc., perhaps put here for chemical drugs in general.

THE EIGHTH CHAPTER.

TO excite Tempests.

(1) To cause Hail.
(2) To cause Snow.
(3) To cause Rain.
(4) To cause Thunder.

(1)

C	A	N	A	M	A	L
A	M	A	D	A	M	A
N	A	D	A	D	A	M
A	D	A	N	A	D	A
M	A	D	A	D	A	N
A	M	A	D	A	M	A
L	A	M	A	N	A	C

(2)

T	A	K	A	T
A				A
K				K
A				A
T	A	K	A	T

(3)

S	A	G	R	I	R
A					
G					
R					
I					
R					

(4)

H	A	M	A	G
A	B	A	L	A
M	A	H	A	M
A	L	A	B	A
G	A	M	A	H

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested partly by the Angels and partly by the Evil Spirits.

(*b*) ASHTAROTH executes the Operations of this Chapter.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits cannot execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) To excite a Tempest, give the Signal above you, and touch the Symbol on the top. To make it cease, touch it underneath.

(*e*) No. 1 is a Square of 49 Squares. CANAMAL = Hebrew CHNML, *i.e.*, Hailstones of great size.

No. 2 is a border of 16 taken from a Square of 25 Squares TAKAT, TKO, Hebrew, has the sense of "immersed in, overflowed by".

No. 3. A Gnomon of 11 Squares taken from a Square of 36 Squares. SAGRIR, Hebrew SGRIR = "a most vehement rain and tempest".

No. 4. A Square of 25 Squares. HAMAG, perhaps from Hebrew, MOK, "to compress, or crush, or press".

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

TO transform Animals into Men, and Men into Animals ; etc.

(1) To transform Men into Asses.
(2) Into Stags or Deer.
(3) Into Elephants.
(4) Into Wild Boars.
(5) Into Dogs.
(6) Into Wolves.
(7) Animals into Stones.

(1)

I	E	M	I	M	E	I
E	R	I	O	N	T	E
M	I	R	T	I	N	M
I	O	T	I	T	O	I
M	N	I	T	R	I	M
E	T	N	O	I	R	E
I	E	M	I	M	E	I

(2)

A	I	A	C	I	L	A
I	S	I	O	R	E	L
A	I	E	R	I	R	A
C	O	R	I	L	O	N
I	R	I	L	E	I	A
L	R	R	O	I	S	I
A	L	A	N	A	I	A

(3)

C	H	A	D	S	I	R
H						I
A						S
D						D
S						A
I						H
R	I	S	D	A	H	C

(4)

B	E	D	A	S	E	K
E						E
D						S
A	R	A	M	A	SI	A
S						D
E						E
K						B

(5)

K	A	L	T	E	P	H
A	P	I	E	R	I	P
L	I	L	M	O	R	E
T	E	M	U	M	E	T
E	R	O	M	L	I	L
P	I	E	R	I	P	A
H	P	E	T	L	A	K

(6)

D	I	S	E	E	B	E	H
I	S	A	R	T	R	I	E
S	A	R	G	E	I	R	B
E	R	B	O	N	E	T	E
E	T	O	N	O	G	R	E
B	A	R	O	B	R	A	S
E	R	A	T	R	A	S	I
H	E	B	E	E	S	I	D

(7)

I	S	I	C	H	A	D	A	M	I	O	N
S	E	R	R	A	R	E	P	I	N	T	O
I	R	A	A	S	I	M	E	L	E	I	S
C	R	A	T	I	B	A	R	I	N	S	I
H	A	S	I	N	A	S	U	O	T	I	R
A	R	I	B	A	T	I	N	T	I	R	A
D	E	M	A	S	I	C	O	A	N	O	C
A	P	E	R	U	N	O	I	B	E	M	I
M	I	L	I	O	T	A	B	U	L	E	L
I	N	E	N	T	I	N	E	L	E	L	A
O	T	I	S	I	R	O	M	E	L	I	R
N	O	S	I	R	A	C	I	L	A	R	I

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are only manifested by the Evil Spirits.

(*b*) ASHTAROTH and ASMODEUS together execute the Signs and Operations of this Chapter.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits cannot execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) Let the being, whether man or animal, see the Symbol, and then touch them suddenly with it; when they will appear transformed; but this is only a kind of fascination. When you wish to make it cease, place the Symbol upon the head and strike it sharply with the Wand, and the Spirit will make things resume their ordinary condition.

(*e*) No. 1 is a Square of 49 Squares. IEMIMEI is evidently from Hebrew IMIM = Mules. A very perfect Acrostic.

No. 2 is a Square of 49 Squares also. AIACILA, Hebrew AILH = a deer.

No. 3 is a border of 24 taken from a Square of 49 Squares.—CHADSIR; Hebrew KZR = Fierce, Savage. CHTZR = *perhaps*, "the

tusk of an Elephant". But CHZR = a wild boar, whence this Square should perhaps be numbered 4.

No. 4 consists of 24 Squares taken from a Square of 49 Squares; two letters SI are allotted to one Square. BEDASEK is perhaps from BD, a limb, and SK, covered or protected, as with a strong skin. It may thus stand for the Elephant as having powerful and thick-skinned limbs. If so, this Square should be numbered 3.

No. 5 is a Square of 49 Squares. KALTEPH. The Hebrew word for Dog is KLB. This Square it will be noted is not a perfect Acrostic.

No. 6 is a Square of 64 Squares.—DISEEBEH is probably from ZABH = a wolf.—This Square also is not at all perfect as an Acrostic.

No. 7 is a Square of 144 Squares.—ISICHADAMION, probably from DMIVN = Similitude of; and SIG, Scoria or Lava, or SQ, stone; root of SQL, to stone.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

TO hinder any Necromantic or Magical Operations from taking effect, except those of the Qabalah and of this Sacred Magic.

(1) To undo any Magic soever.
(2) To heal the bewitched.
(3) To make Magical Storms cease.
(4) To discover any Magic.
(5) To hinder Sorcerers from Operating.

(1)

C	O	D	S	E	LI	M
O						
H						
A						
B						
I						O
M					O	C

(2)

L	A	C	H	A	T
A					A
C					H
H					C
A					A
T	A	H	C	A	L

(3)

P	A	R	A	D	I	L	O	N
A	R	I	N	O	M	I	S	O
R	I	L	O	R	A	E	I	K
A	N	O	T	A	L	A	M	I
D	O	R	A	F	A	C	O	L
I	M	A	L	A	T	O	N	A
L	I	E	A	C	O	R	I	T
O	S	I	M	O	N	I	R	A
N	O	K	I	L	A	T	A	N

(4)

H	O	R	A	H
O	S	O	M	A
R	O	T	O	R
A	M	O	S	O
H	A	R	O	H

(5)

M	A	C	A	N	E	H
A	R	O	L	U	S	E
D	I	R	U	C	U	N
A	L	U	H	U	L	A
S	E	R	U	R	O	C
U	N	E	L	I	R	A
L	U	S	A	D	A	M

NOTES TO CHAPTER X.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested only by the Angels, or by the Guardian Angel.

(*b*) MAGOTH executes the Operations of this Chapter.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits cannot well execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) No especial instructions are given concerning this Chapter.

(*e*) No. 1 consists of 17 Squares containing 18 letters (LI of "Codselim" occupying 1 Square) taken from a Square of 49 Squares. —CODSELIM and COHABIM *may* be from KSILIM, the foolish ones, and KABIM, the mourning ones (Hebrew).

No. 2. A border of 20 Squares taken from a Square of 36 Squares.—LACHAT, perhaps from Hebrew LCHSH = to enchant.

No. 3. A Square of 81 Squares.—PARADILON, probably from Greek PARA, against, and DEILON, perverse, or miserable, or unfortunate.

No. 4. A Square of 25 Squares.—HORAH, from Hebrew CHRH, To be enraged ; or HRH. to conceive, or bring forth.

No. 5. A Square of 49 Squares.—MACANEH from Hebrew MCHNH, = a fortification, castle, or defence. MADASUL, from MATzL, = about me, before me, at my side.

THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

TO cause all kinds of Books to be brought to one, and whether lost or stolen.

(1) For Books of Astrology.
(2) For Books of Magic.
(3) For Books of Chemistry.

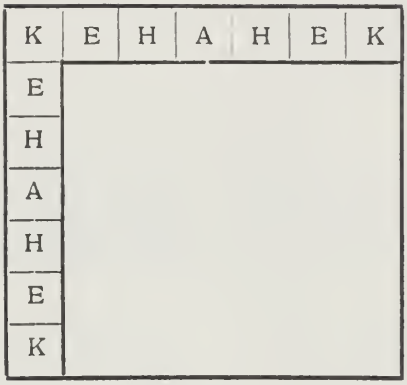
(1)

C	O	L	I
O	D	A	C
L	A	C	A
I	C	A	R

(2)

S	E	A	R	A	H
E	L	L	O	P	A
A	L	A	T	I	M
R	O	T	A	R	A
A	P	I	R	A	C
H	A	M	A	C	S

(3)



NOTES TO CHAPTER XI.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested only by the Angels, or by the Guardian Angel.

(*b*) MAGOTH alone executes the Operations of this Chapter.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits cannot execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) Many ancient Books of Magic, etc., have been lost or destroyed, in some cases by the wish of the Good Spirits, in others by the machinations of the Evil Spirits. By these Symbols you can have many supposed extinct works brought to you, Abraham states; but adds that he could never copy them, because the writing disappeared as fast as he wrote it; notwithstanding this he was permitted to read some of them.

(*e*) No. 1 is a Square of 16 Squares. COLI, probably from Hebrew KLI, meaning the whole, in the sense of the whole Universe.

No. 2 is a Square of 36 Squares.—SEARAH, perhaps from Hebrew SORH, a whirlwind; or perhaps from SHORH = terrible, and is also used to express a Kid, or a species of shaggy Satyr-like Demon, from the word being used to signify hair.

No. 3 is a Gnomon of 13 Squares taken from a Square of 49 Squares.—KEHAHEK is probably from Hebrew KHCH, meaning to conceal, obscure, or shut up.

THE TWELFTH CHAPTER.

TO know the Secrets of any person.

(1) To know the Secret of Letters.
(2) To know the Secret of Words.
(3) To know Secret Operations.
(4) For the Military Counsels of a Captain.
(5) To know the Secrets of Love.
(6) To know what riches a person possesseth.
(7) To know the Secret of all Arts.

(1)

M	E	G	I	L	L	A
E						
G						
I						
L						
L						
A						M

(2)

S	I	M	B	A	S	I
I						
M	A	R	C	A	R	A
B						
A						
S						
I						

(3)

M	A	A	B	H	A	D
A						
A						
B						
H						
A						
D						

(4)

M	I	L	C	H	A	M	A	H
I								
L								
C								
H								
A	D	I	R	A	C	H	I	
M								
A								I
H				E	L	I	M	

(5)

C	E	D	I	D	A	H
E						
D						
I						
D	E	R	A	R	I	D
A						
H	A	D	I	D	E	C

(6)

A	S	A	M	I	M
S					
A					
M	A	P	I	D	E
I					
M					

(7)

M	E	L	A	B	A	H
E						
L						
A						
B						
A						
H						

NOTES TO CHAPTER XII.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested in part by the Angels, and in part also by the Evil Spirits.

(*b*) ASMODEUS alone executes the Operations of this Chapter.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits can to an extent execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) Touch the Symbol, and name aloud the person whose Secret you desire to know, and the Spirit will whisper the answer into your ear.

(*e*) No. 1 consists of 14 Squares from a Square of 49 Squares. —MEGILLA, from Hebrew MGLH = to reveal or disclose.

No. 2 consists of 19 Squares taken from a Square of 49 Squares. —MARCARA, perhaps from KRH to appear ; Hebrew SIMBASI, perhaps from BASH, evil, and ZMH, thought.

No. 3 consists of a Gnomon of 13 from a Square of 49 Squares. —MAABHAD, from Hebrew MOBD = a deed or act.

No. 4 consists of 29 Squares from a Square of 81 Squares. MILCHAMAH, from Hebrew MLCHMH = War.—ADIRACHI from DRK (Hebrew) = Way, Plan, Idea.—ELIM (Heb.) = Mighty Ones.

No. 5 consists of 25 taken from a Square of 49 Squares. CEDIDAH is either from KDID = a Spark, or from DID, the root of the words; love, delights, breasts.—DERARID from Hebrew DRR = liberty.—HADIDEC from DDIK = thy loves or delights.

No. 6 consists of 16 from a Square of 36 Squares.—ASAMIN from Hebrew ASMIM = treasure houses, garners.—MAPIDE *perhaps* from PID = oppression, misfortune.

No. 7. A Gnomon of 13 from a Square of 49 Squares.—MELABAH from MLABH = Art or Science.

THE THIRTEENTH CHAPTER.

TO cause a Dead Body to revive, and perform all the functions which a living person would do, and this during a space of Seven Years, by means of the Spirits.

(1) From the Rising of the Sun until Mid-Day.
(2) From Mid-Day until the Setting of the Sun.
(3) From the Setting of the Sun until Mid-Night.
(4) From Mid-Night until the Rising of the Sun.

(1)

E	Z	E	C	H	I	E	L
Z	E	O	F	R	A	S	E
E	O	R	I	A	L	A	I
C	F	I	R	T	A	R	H
H	R	A	T	R	I	F	C
I	A	L	A	I	R	O	E
E	S	A	R	F	O	E	Z
L	E	I	H	C	E	Z	E

(2)

A	M	I	G	D	E	Lo
M	O	R	B	R	I	Eo
I	R	I	D	E	R	Do
G	B	D	O	D	B	Go
D	R	E	D	I	R	Io
E	I	R	B	R	O	Mo
L	E	D	G	I	M	Ao

(3)

I	O	S	U	A
O	R	I	L	U
S	I	S	I	S
U	L	I	R	O
A	U	S	O	I

(4)

P	E	G	E	R
E	T	I	A	E
G	I	S	I	G
E	A	I	T	E
R	E	G	E	P

NOTES TO CHAPTER XIII.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested in part by the Angels and in part by the Evil Spirits.

(*b*) ORIENS, PAYMON, ARITON, and AMAYMON, execute by means of their Servitors the Operations of this Chapter.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits cannot execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) In several places Abraham warns the reader that this is the most difficult Operation of any, because for it to be brought about, the concurrence of all the Chief Spirits must be obtained. Watch for the moment when the person dies, and then at once place upon his body towards the 4 cardinal points the Symbol required. Similar Symbols are to be sewn into the garments he wears. Abraham moreover adds that by this means, one can however only prolong the life for 7 years, and no more.

(*e*) No. 1 is a Square of 64 Squares. EZECHIEL is from Hebrew ICHZQAL, the well-known name of the Prophet, derived from CHZQ, to bind.

No. 2 is a Square of 49 Squares, it will be noticed that a small O is placed at the end of each word in the last square towards the right hand. AMIGDEL is from MGDL, a strong tower.

No. 3 is a Square of 25 Squares. IOSUA, the well-known Hebrew name, signifies "he shall save".

No. 4 is also a Square of 25 Squares. PEGER is from PGR = a dead inactive carcase whether of man or of beast.

THE FOURTEENTH CHAPTER.

THE Twelve Symbols for the Twelve Hours of the Day and of the Night, to render oneself Invisible unto every person.

(1)

A	L	A	M	A	L	A
L						
A						
M	A	T	A	T	A	N
A						
L						
A						

(2)

T	S	A	P	H	A	H
S						
A						
P						
H	I	T	N	E	R	A
A	N	A	O	R	I	S
H						

(3)

C	A	S	A	H
A	D	O	D	A
S	O	M	O	S
A	D	O	P	A
H	A	S	A	C

(4)

A	L	A	T	A	H
L					
A	R	O	G	A	T
T					
A					
H					

(5)

C	O	D	E	R
O				
D				
E				
R				

(6)

S	I	M	L	A	H
I					
M					
L					
A	S	I	I	R	I
H					S

(7)

C	E	H	A	H
E				
H				
A				
H				

(8)

A	N	A	N	A
N				
A				
N				
A				

(9)

T	A	M	A	N
A	P	A	T	E
M				D
A				E
N	E	D	A	C

(10)

B	E	R	O	M	I	N
E						
R						
O						
M						
I						
N						

(11)

T	A	L	A	C
A				A
L				L
A				A
C	A	L	A	T

(12)

A	L	A	M	P	I	S
L						
A						
M						
P						
I	S	I	L			
S						

NOTES TO CHAPTER XIV.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter be manifested in part by the Evil Spirits, and in part by the Good Angels.

(*b*) MAGOT is said to rule the Operations of this Chapter.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits do not execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) To render oneself invisible is said by Abraham to be a very easy matter. This Chapter contains Twelve Symbols for Twelve different Spirits submitted unto the Prince MAGOT, who are all of the same force. Place the Symbol upon the top of your head (under your head covering) and then you will become invisible, while on taking it away you will appear visible again.

(*e*) No. 1 is a Square of 49 Squares, whence 19 Squares are taken which are arranged somewhat in the form of a capital F. ALAMALA is probably from the Greek, ALE wandering, and MELAS = black, darkness ; *i.e.*, wandering darkness.

No. 2 consists of 25 Squares arranged somewhat in an F form, and taken from the Square of 49 Squares.—TSAPHAH is from TZPH = a covering or shroud.

No. 3 is a Square of 25 Squares. CASAH implies "formed by coagulation".

No. 4 consists of 16 Squares in an F form, taken from a Square of 36 Squares.—ALATAH signifies "adhering closely".

No. 5 is a GNOMON of 9 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares.—CODER = Darkness and Obscurity.

No. 6 consists of 17 Squares, somewhat irregularly disposed, taken from a Square of 36 Squares.—SIMLAH = "involved, to clothe or surround on all sides".

No. 7 is a Gnomon of 9 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares.—CEHAH = Restriction, and compression.

No. 8 is a Gnomon of 9 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares.—ANANA is a word expressing earnest desire for some then defect to be supplied.

No. 9 consists of 19 taken from a Square of 25 Squares.—TAMAN = "to hide or conceal," and recalls the Biblical name of "Teman". NEDAC means "accumulated darkness".

No. 10 is a Gnomon of 13 Squares from a Square of 49 Squares.—BEROMIN signifies "coverings or shrouds of concealment".

No. 11 is a border of 16 Squares from a Square of 25 Squares.—TALAC = signifies "thy mists".

No. 12 consists of 16 Squares taken from a Square of 49 Squares.—ALAMPIS is the Greek adjective ALAMPÊS, meaning "without the light of the Sun". ISIL is Hebrew and means "he will dissolve".

It will be remarked that all these names distinctly express some idea relating to Invisibility.

THE FIFTEENTH CHAPTER.

FOR the Spirits to bring us anything we may wish to eat or to drink, and even all (kinds of food) that we can imagine.

(1) For them to bring us Bread.
(2) Meat.
(3) Wine of all kinds.
(4) Fish.
(5) Cheese.

(1)

I	A	I	I	N
A				
I				
I				
N				

(2)

B	A	S	A	R
A				
S				
A				
R				B

(3)

L	E	C	H	E	M
E					
C	N	O	H	A	H
H					
E					
M	E	C	H	E	L

(4)

D	A	C	A	D
A	R	A	F	A
C	A	M	A	C
A	F	A	R	A
D	A	C	A	D

(5)

L	E	B	H	I	N	A	H
							A
							N
							I
							H
							B
A							E
H	A						L

NOTES TO CHAPTER XV.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested in part by the Angels, and in part also by the Evil Spirits.

(*b*) ASMODEE and MAGOT together execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits cannot well execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) As for these Symbols and all like ones appertaining unto this Chapter, when you shall wish to make use of them, you shall put them between two plates, dishes, or jugs, closed together on the outside of a window; and before a quarter of an hour shall have passed you will find and will have that which you have demanded;

but you must clearly understand that with such kinds of viands you cannot nourish men for more than two days. For this food although it be appreciable by the eyes, and by the mouth, doth not long nourish the body, which hath soon hunger again, seeing that this food gives no strength to the stomach. Know also that none of these viands can remain visible for more than 24 hours, the which period being passed, fresh ones will be requisite.

(*e*) This Chapter naturally brings to one's mind the descriptions of the Magic feasts in the "Arabian Nights" and elsewhere.

No. 1 is a Gnomon of 9 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. IAIIN means "Let there be wine". Evidently therefore this Square should be numbered 3, instead of 1.

No. 2 consists of 10 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. BASAR means "flesh".

No. 3 consists of 21 Squares in the form of the Roman Capital Letter E, taken from a Square of 36 Squares.—LECHEM means "bread," CNOHAH implies "corn," and MECHEL means "a cake". Therefore this should evidently be numbered 1, instead of 3. MECHEL also means "a window".

No. 4 is a Square of 25 Squares.—DACAD should be spelt with a G instead of a C; the meaning is "bring forth fish". CAMAC means "meal, or flour". AFARA may be from the Greek adverb APHAR = "straightway or forthwith"; but if taken as a Hebrew root may mean "bring forth fruit".

No. 5 is a Gnomon of 15 Squares and 3 other supplementary ones taken from a Square of 64 Squares. LEBHINAH is from LBA = "milk," and INH "to squeeze".

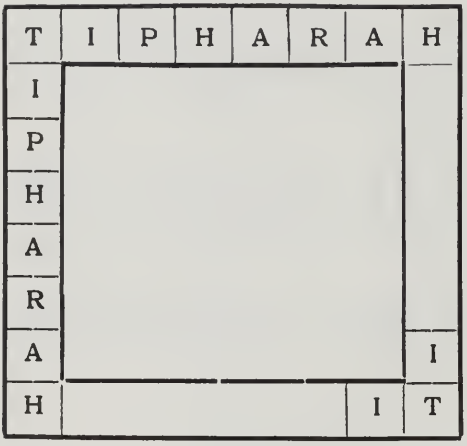
THE SIXTEENTH CHAPTER.

TO find and take possession of all kinds of Treasures, provided that they be not at all (Magically) guarded.

(1) For Treasure of Silver (or Silver Money).
(2) For Gold Money.
(3) For a great Treasure.
(4) For a small Treasure.
(5) For an unguarded Treasure.
(6) For Copper Money.
(7) For Gold in Ingots.
(8) For Silver in Ingots.
(9) For Jewels.

(10) For Ancient Medals (and Coins).
(11) For a Treasure hidden by a particular Person.
(12) For Pearls.
(13) For Diamonds.
(14) For Rubies.
(15) For Balassius Rubies.
(16) For Emeralds.
(17) For worked Gold.
(18) For Silver Plate.
(19) For Statues.
(20) For Specimens of Ancient Art.

(1)



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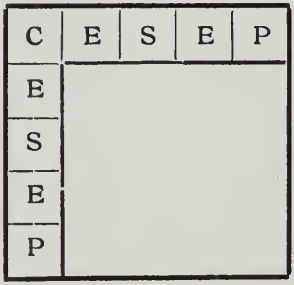

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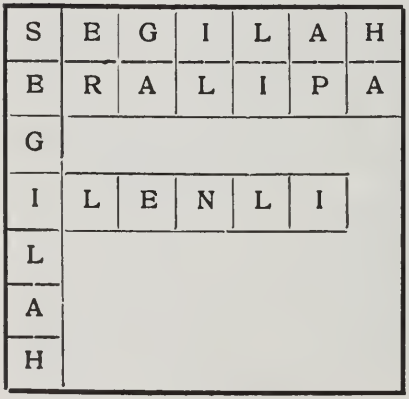

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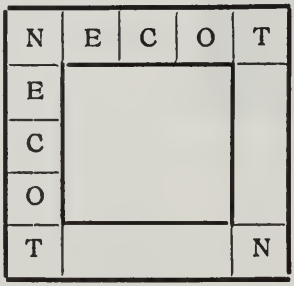


(5)

M	A	G	O	T
A	R	A	T	O
G	A	L	A	G
O	T	A	R	A
T	O	G	A	M

(6)

A	G	I	L
N	I	L	I
A			
K			

(7)

C	O	S	E	N
O				
S				
E				
N				

(8)

O	T	S	A	R
T				
S				
A				
R				

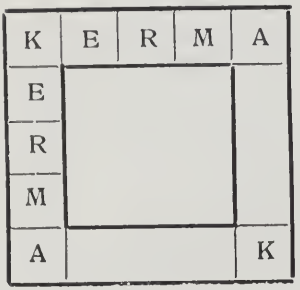
(9)

B	E	L	I	A	L
E	B	O	R	U	A
L	O	V	A	R	I
I	R	A	V	O	L
A	V	R	O	B	E
L	A	I	L	E	B

(10)

O	R	I	O	N
R	A	V	R	O
I	V	A	V	I
O	R	V	A	R
N	O	I	R	O

(11)



K	E	R	M	A
E				
R				
M				
A				K

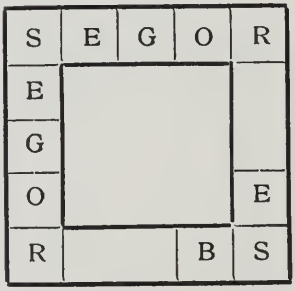
(12)

I	A	N	A
A	M	E	N
N	E	M	A
A	N	A	I

(13)

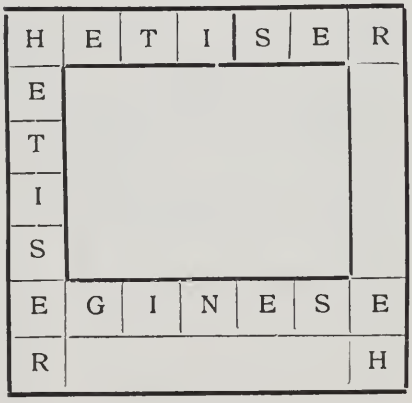
B	I	C	E	L	O	N
I	R	O	L	A	T	O
C	O	R	A	M	A	L
E	L	A	M	A	L	E
L	A	M	A	R	O	C
O	T	A	L	O	R	I
N	O	L	E	C	I	B

(14)



S	E	G	O	R
E				
G				
O				E
R			B	S

(15)



H	E	T	I	S	E	R
E						
T						
I						
S						
E	G	I	N	E	S	E
R						H

(16)

A	S	T	A	R	O	T
S	A	L	I	S	T	O
T	L	A	N	B	S	R
A	I	N	O	N	I	A
R	S	B	N	A	L	T
O	T	S	I	L	A	S
T	O	R	A	T	S	A

(17)

K	O	N	E	H
O				
N				
E				
H				K

(18)

C	A	H	I	L
A				
H				
I				
L				

(19)

A	R	I	T	O	N
R	O	C	A	R	O
I	C	L	O	A	T
T	A	O	L	O	R
O	R	A	C	O	R
N	O	T	I	R	A

(20)

O	R	I	M	E	L
R	E	M	O	R	E
I	M	O	N	O	N
N	O	N	O	M	I
E	R	O	M	E	R
L	E	I	N	R	O

NOTES TO CHAPTER XVI.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested only by the Angels or by the Guardian Angel.

(*b*) ASTAROT and ARITON both execute the Operations hereof by their Ministers, yet not together, but each separately.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits cannot well execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) Select the Symbol of the Treasure desired, and the Spirit will then shew it to you. Then place the Symbol at once upon the Treasure, and it will no longer be possible for it to disappear into the ground, nor for it to be carried away. Furthermore any Spirits which may be guarding it will thus be put to flight, and you can then dispose of the Treasure as you wish.

(*e*) No. 1 is a species of border of 28 Squares of which 18 are occupied by letters, taken from a Square of 64 Squares.—TIPHARAH means "Glory, beauty, a shining thing". ITI is the Chaldaic for "is, are".

No. 2 is a Gnomon of 9 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. CESEP means "Silver". This Square should therefore probably be numbered 1, or 8, or 18.

No. 3 consists of 24 Squares from a Square of 49 Squares. SEGILAH means "Treasure".

No. 4 consists of 10 Squares from a Square of 25.—NECOT means probably stamped money.

No. 5 is a Square of 25 Squares. MAGOT is the name of one of the Sub-Princes.

No. 6 is a Gnomon of 10 from a Square of 16 Squares. AGIL may mean "a heap," but also "a globular drop of dew".

No. 7 is a Gnomon of 9 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. COSEN perhaps means "a golden cup".

No. 8 is a Gnomon also of 9 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares.—OTSAR means "restraint".

No. 9 is a Square of 36 Squares. BELIAL is the name of one of the four great chiefs of the Evil Spirits.

No. 10 is a Square of 25 Squares.—ORION, the celebrated mythological name of the Greek hunter, and of the constellation, is perhaps used here as the name of a Spirit.

No. 11 is a border of 10 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares.—KERMA means either "a cutting off" or else "a superinducing".

No. 12 is a Square of 16 Squares.

No. 13 is a Square of 49 Squares.—BICELON is perhaps from IHLM = Diamonds. The root ICHL means "abiding strength and hardness".

No. 14 is a border of 12 Squares from a Square of 25 Squares. SEGOR means respectively "to break forth" and "to shut in," according as the root begins with S or SH.

No. 15 consists of 20 Squares from a Square of 49.

No. 16 is a Square of 49 Squares. ASTAROT is one of the 8 Sub-Princes of the Evil Spirits.

No. 17 consists of 10 Squares from a Square of 25 Squares. KONEH means "possessions".

No. 18 is a Gnomon of 9 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. CAHIL means "gathered together".

No. 19 is a Square of 36 Squares. ARITON is one of the 8 Sub-Princes of the Evil Spirits.

No. 20 is a Square of 36 Squares. ORIMEL is evidently here used as the name of a Spirit. OIRIN is a Chaldaic word meaning Angelic Watchers over the Kingdoms of the Earth. ORION may also come from this word.

THE SEVENTEENTH CHAPTER.

TO fly in the Air and travel any whither.

(1) In a black Cloud.
(2) In a white Cloud.
(3) In the form of an Eagle.
(5)* In the form of a Crow (or Raven).
(4) In the form of a Vulture.
(6) In the form of a Crane.

(1)

T	A	S	M	A
A	G	E	I	M
S	E	V	E	S
M	I	E	G	A
A	M	S	A	T

(2)

A	N	A	N
N			
A			
N			A

(3)

H	O	L	O	P
O	P	O	L	O
L	O	B	O	L
O	L	O	P	O
P	O	L	O	H

(4)

O	D	A	C
D	A	R	A
A	R	A	D
C	A	D	O

* Numbered in this Order in the Original MS.

(5)

R	O	L	O	R
O	B	U	F	O
L	U	A	U	L
O	F	U	B	O
R	O	L	O	R

(6)

N	A	T	S	A
A	R	O	I	S
T	O	L	O	T
S	I	O	R	A
A	S	T	A	N

NOTES TO CHAPTER XVII.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested in part by the Angels, and in part also by the Evil Spirits.

(*b*) ORIENS, PAIMON, ARITON, and AMAIMON execute the Operations hereof by means of their common Ministers.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits cannot well execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) Name the place aloud to which you wish to travel, and place the Symbol upon your head under the bonnet or the hat; but take well heed that it does not fall from you, which would be very dangerous. Do not as a rule travel by night; and select a calm and serene day for the Operation.

(*e*) No. 1 is a Square of 25 Squares. TASMA implies protection. TRMS is the Hebrew word used in the verse, "Thou shalt go upon the Lion and the Adder".

No. 2 consists of 8 Squares taken from a Square of 16. ANAN means "great labour".

No. 3 is a Square of 25 Squares. HOLOP means "to travel".

No. 4 is a Square of 16 Squares. ODAC means "to pass on from one place to another".

No. 5 is a Square of 25 Squares. ROLOR is perhaps from ROL "to move hurriedly".

No. 6 is a Square of 25 Squares. NATSA means "to flee or fly quickly".

THE EIGHTEENTH CHAPTER.

TO heal divers Maladies.

(1) To heal Leprosy.
(2) For chapped hands, etc.
(3) For old Ulcers.
(4) For pestilential diseases.
(5) For inveterate Paralysis.
(6) For Malignant Fevers.
(7) For bodily pains.
(8) For Sea Sickness.
(9) For Vertigo (and Giddiness).
(10) For the "*Miserere*" * (a most violent and dangerous kind of colic), accompanied by dreadful vomiting.
(11) For Dropsy.
(12) For all kinds of Wounds.

(1)

T	S	A	R	A	A	T
S	I	R	A	P	L	A
A						
R						
A						
A						
T						G

(2)

B	U	A	H

* So called from the Latin word "to have pity," because the Psalm "*Miserere Mei Domine*," "Lord, have mercy upon me," is supposed to be a charm against it.

(3)

M	E	T	S	O	R	A	H
E	L	M	I	N	I	M	A
T	M	A	R	O	M	I	R
S	I	R	G	I	O	N	O
O	N	O	I	G	R	I	S
R	I	M	O	R	A	M	T
A	M	I	N	I	M	L	E
H	A	R	O	S	T	E	M

(4)

R	E	C	H	E	M
E	R	H	A	S	E
C	H	A	I	A	H
H	A	I	A	H	C
E	S	A	H	R	E
M	E	H	C	E	R

(5)

R	O	K	E	A
O	G	I	R	E
K	I	L	I	K
E	R	I	G	O
A	E	K	O	R

(6)

B	E	T	E	M
E	M	E	R	E
T	E	N	E	T
E	R	E	M	E
M	E	T	E	B

(7)

B	E	B	H	E	R
E	R	A	O	S	E
B	A	R	I	O	H
H	O	I	R	A	B
E	S	O	A	R	E
R	E	H	B	E	D

(8)

E	L	E	O	S
L	A	B	I	O
E	B	I	B	E
O	I	B	A	L
S	O	E	L	E

(9)

K	A	D	A	K	A	T
A	R	A	K	A	D	A
D	A	R	E	M	A	K
A	K	E	S	E	K	A
K	A	M	E	R	A	D
A	D	A	K	A	R	A
T	A	K	A	D	A	K

(10)

R	O	G	A	M	O	S
O	R	I	K	A	M	O
G	I	R	O	R	A	M
A	K	O	R	O	K	A
M	A	R	O	R	I	K
O	M	A	K	I	R	O
S	O	M	A	G	O	R

(11)

S	I	T	U	R
I	R	A	P	E
T	A	R	A	G
U	P	A	L	A
R	E	G	A	N

(12)

H	A	P	P	I	R
A	M	A	O	S	I
P	A	R	A	O	P
P	O	A	R	A	P
I	S	O	A	M	A
R	I	P	P	A	H

NOTES TO CHAPTER XVIII.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested only by the Angels or by the Guardian Angel.

(*b*) AMAIMON performs the Operations hereof.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits can to an extent perform the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) The bandages of the sick person having been undone and cleaned, and the unguent, the compresses, and the bandages having been replaced, put the Symbol upon them and leave it for about a quarter of an hour, then take it away, and keep it for use upon another occasion. But if it be an internal malady, you must place the Symbol (the written part downwards) upon the bare head of the patient.—

These Symbols may be seen and examined without any danger, yet it is always better that they should neither be seen nor handled by any other person than yourself.

(*e*) No. 1 consists of 20 Squares taken from a Square of 49 Squares.—TSARAAT = "a stroke or plague; the leprosy".

No. 2 consists of 4 Squares from a Square of 16.—BUAH signifies to clear away.

No. 3, a Square of 64 Squares.—METSORAH signifies "flowing sores or ulcers".

No. 4 is a Square of 36 Squares.—RECHEM means "closely seizing".

No. 5 is a Square of 25 Squares.—ROKEA signifies general evil.

No. 6 is a Square of 25 Squares.—BETEM = "the internal parts".

No. 7 is a Square of 36 Squares.—BEBHER = "in purifying or cleansing".

No. 8 is a Square of 25 Squares.—ELEOS, the Greek word HALS = "the Sea from its saltness".—ELOS means "calm still water".

No. 9 is a Square of 49 Squares.—KADAKAT means "vertigo, turning of the head".

No. 10 is a Square of 49 Squares.—ROGAMOS from Latin Rogamus, "we pray".

No. 11 is a Square of 25 Squares.—SITUR means "secret".

No. 12 is a Square of 36 Squares.—HAPPIR means "to shatter or break".

THE NINETEENTH CHAPTER.

OR every description of Affection and Love.

(1) To be beloved by one's Wife (or Husband).
(2) For some especial Love.
(3) To be beloved by a Relation.
(4) For a Maiden in particular.
(5) To acquire the affection of a Judge.
(6) To make oneself beloved by a Married person.
(7) To make oneself beloved by a Widow.
(8) By a girl already promised in Marriage.
(9) By a Maiden in general.
(10) By some especial Prince.
(11) By some especial King.

(12) To obtain the friendship of some particular person.
(13) To have that of a Great Man.
(14) To be beloved by a Woman.
(15) To make oneself beloved by Ecclesiastics.
(16) To make oneself beloved by a Master.
(17) To make oneself beloved by a Mistress.
(18) To make oneself beloved by Infidels.
(19) By the Pope, by an Emperor,* or by Kings.
(20) For Adulteries in general.

(1)

D	O	D	I	M
O				
D				
I				
M				

(2)

R	A	I	A	H
A				
I	G	O	G	I
A				
H	A	I	A	H

(3)

M	O	D	A	H
O	K	O	R	A
D				
A				
H				

(4)

S	I	C	O	F	E	T
I						
C	E	N	A	L	I	F
O	R	A	M	A	R	O
F						
E						
T						

* In the Original, it is "by *the* Emperor," *i.e.* the Emperor of Germany.

(5)

A	L	M	A	N	A	H
L						
M	A	R	E			
A	A	L	B	E	H	A
N						
A	R	E	H	A	I	L
H						A

(6)

C	A	L	L	A	H
A					
L	O	R	A	I	L
L					
A	G	O	U	P	A
H	A	L	L	A	C

(7)

E	L	E	M
L			
E			
M			

(8)

N	A	Q	I	D
A	Q	O	R	I
Q	O	R	O	Q
I	R	O	Q	A
D	I	Q	A	N

(9)

S	A	L	O	M
A	R	E	P	O
L	E	M	E	L
O	P	E	R	A
M	O	L	A	S

(10)

D	E	B	A	M
E	R	E	R	A
B	E	R	E	B
A	R	E	R	E
M	A	B	E	D

(11)

A	H	H	B
			E
			A
B			R

(12)

I	A	L	D	A	H
A	Q	O	R	I	A
L	O	Q	I	R	E
D	R	I	I	D	E
A	I	R	D	R	O
H	A	F	E	O	N

(13)

B	E	T	U	L	A	H
E						
T						
U						
L	O	S	A	N	I	T
A						
H						

(14)

I	E	D	I	D	A	H
E						
D	I	L	O	Q	A	H
I						
D	O	Q	A	R	C	A
A						
H						

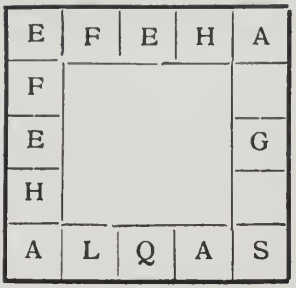
(15)

S	A	Q	A	L
A				
Q				Q
A				
L		Q		S

(16)

Q	E	B	H	I	R
E	R	A	I	S	A
B	A	Q	O	L	I
H	I	O	L	I	A
I	S	L	I	A	C
R	A	I	A	C	A

(17)



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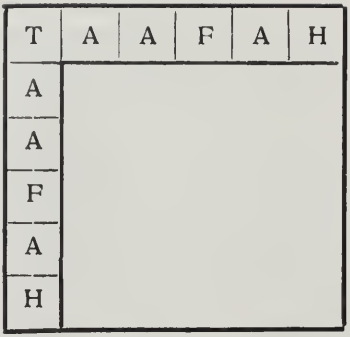

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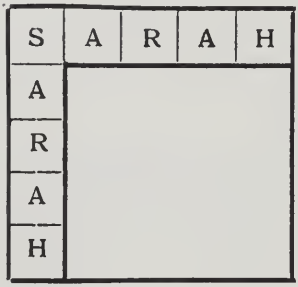

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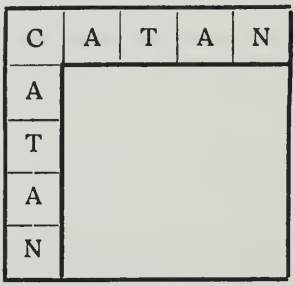


NOTES TO CHAPTER XIX.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested in part by the Angels, and in part also by the Evil Spirits.

(*b*) Probably BELZEBUD performs this Operation ; as those of the Twentieth Chapter are submitted to him ; and these two Chapters are classed together by Abraham the Jew in his special instructions, the one being the exact reverse of the other.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits can to an extent perform the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) Name aloud the person or persons by whom you wish to be loved, and move the Symbol under whose class they come. But if it be not for yourself that you are operating, but for two or more other persons, whether for love or for hatred, you should. still name such persons aloud, and move the Symbols of the class or classes under which they come. Also, if possible, it is a good thing to touch them with the Symbol, on the bare skin, if you can. Under this heading

are included all classes of good-will and affection, among the which Abraham says that the most difficult thing is to make oneself or others beloved by religious persons.

(*e*) No. 1 is a Gnomon of 9 Squares taken from a Square of 25. DODIM means "loves, pleasures".

No. 2 consists of 17 Squares arranged like a capital letter E taken from a Square of 25 Squares. RAIAH means "a female companion".

No. 3 consists of 13 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. MODAH = "Adorned as for a bridal".

No. 4 consists of 25 Squares from a Square of 49.

No. 5 consists of 29 Squares taken from 49. ALMANAH = "A virgin"; hence evidently this should be numbered 4 and not 5, while probably No. 4 should be here placed.

No. 6 consists of 26 Squares taken from a Square of 36 Squares. CALLAH means "a married woman, but especially a bride".

No. 7. A Gnomon of 7 from a Square of 16. ELEM means "a widow".

No. 8. A Square of 25 Squares. NAQID = "Remote offspring".

No. 9. This has a strong likeness to the well-known SATOR, AREPO, TENET, OPERA, ROTAS. It is a Square of 25 Squares. SALOM = "Peace". AREPO = "he distils". LEMEL = "unto fulness". OPERA, "upon the dry ground". MOLAS = "in quick motion," or perhaps better "stirring it up into quickness, *i.e.*, life". The former sentence is capable of a rather free Latin translation, thus:—

SATOR = The Creator.
AREPO = Slow-moving.
TENET = Maintains.
OPERA = his creations.
ROTAS = As vortices.

No. 10 is a Square of 25 Squares. DEBAM signifies "influential persons".

No. 11. 8 Squares from a Square of 16. AHHB signifies "to love". BEAR signifies in Hebrew "to waste or consume".

No. 12. A Square of 36 Squares. IALDAH signifies "a girl".

No. 13 consists of 19 Squares arranged like the capital letter F, and taken from a Square of 49 Squares. BETULAH = a virgin.

No. 14 consists of 25 Squares from a Square of 49. IEDIDAH is from a Hebrew Root, signifying objects of Love. DILOQAH means "to eagerly pursue, or to burn as with a fever". DOQARCA = "pierced".

No. 15. 12 Squares from a Square of 25. SAQAL means "a wise person".

No. 16. A Square of 36 Squares. QEBHIR = "a protector".

No. 17. 14 Squares from a Square of 25. EFEHA means "passionate".

No. 18. A Gnomon of 11 from a Square of 36. TAAFAH = "to join together, to connect".

No. 19 is a Gnomon of 9 Squares from one of 25 Squares. SARAH means "powerful, high in authority".

No. 20 is also a Gnomon of 9 Squares from a Square of 25 Squares. CATAN = "to adhere closely".

THE TWENTIETH CHAPTER.

TO excite every Description of Hatred and Enmity, Discords, Quarrels, Contentions, Combats, Battles, Loss, and Damage.

(1) To excite Quarrels and Fights.
(2) For Enmity in general.
(3) For Enmities of Kings and of the Great.
(4) For particular Enmities.
(5) For Enmities among Women.
(6) To cause a General War.
(7) To render any one unfortunate in Combat.
(8) To put Discord in an Army.
(9) For a particular Discord.
(10) To sow Discord among Ecclesiastics.
(11) For every description of Vengeance.
(12) To cause Battles, Losses, etc.

(1)

K	A	N	N	A
A	Q	A	I	
N	A	T	A	
N	I	A	Q	A
A				

(2)

S	E	L	A	K
E				
L				
A	I	A	R	E
K				

(3)

R	O	Q	E	N
O		O		
Q	O	I	O	R
E				
N	E	Q	O	R

(4)

A	T	L	I	T	I	S
T						
L	O	Q	O	S	A	T
I						
T	A	S	O	Q	O	L
I						
S						

(5)

O	T	S	A	M	A	H
T						
S						
A						
M	A	K	A	R	O	S
A						
H						

(6)

S	I	N	A	H
I	R	A	T	A
N				
A	X	I	R	O
H	A	R	O	Q

(7)

S	A	T	A	N
A				
T				
A				
N				

(8)

L	O	F	I	T	O	S
O						
F						
I	K	O	N	O	K	I
T						
O						
S						

(9)

G	I	B	O	R
I				
B	I	L	E	T
O				
R				

(10)

N	O	K	A	M
O	R	O	T	A
K	O	B	A	K
A	T	A	M	O
M	A	K	O	N

(11)

K	E	L	I	M
E	Q	I	S	A
L	I	V	O	K
I	S	O	G	A
M	A	K	A	M

(12)

K	E	R	A	B	A	H
E	M	I	R	U	T	A
R						
A	R	O	Q	O	R	A
B						
A						
H						

NOTES TO CHAPTER XX.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested in part by the Angels, and in part also by the Evil Spirits.

(*b*) BELZEBUD performs the Operations hereof.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits cannot well execute the Operations of this chapter.

(*d*) See instructions for Chapter XIX., which serve equally for that, and the present Operation.

(*e*) No. 1 consists of 19 Squares irregularly arranged, and taken from a Square of 25 Squares.—KANNA means "jealous".

No. 2 consists of 13 Squares from a Square of 25 Squares. —SELAK = "to cast down or prostrate".

No. 3 consists of 18 Squares from a Square of 25.—ROQEN = implies "persons in power".

No. 4 consists of 25 Squares from a Square of 49.—ATLITIS is a corruption of the Greek adjective ATLETOS = "insufferable, not to be borne".

No. 5 consists of 19 Squares from a Square of 49.—OTSAMAH = "bodily strength".

No. 6 consists of 21 from a Square of 25.—SINAH = "Hatred".

No. 7 is a Gnomon of 9 Squares from a Square of 25. SATAN is the Name of one of the Chief Evil Spirits and has been elsewhere explained.

No. 8 consists of 19 Squares in the form of a capital F, taken from a Square of 49 Squares.—LOFITOS is evidently from the Greek LOPHESIS, meaning "rest, cessation from action (*i.e.* in this case military action)".

No. 9 consists of 13 Squares arranged in the form of an F, and taken from a Square of 25 Squares.—GIBOR = "strength, might, severity".

No. 10 is a Square of 25 Squares.—NOKAM = "vengeance".

No. 11 is also a Square of 25 Squares.—KELIM = "for all kinds of things".

No. 12 consists of 25 Squares from a Square of 49.—KERABAH = "assault, attack".

THE TWENTY-FIRST CHAPTER.

TO transform oneself, and take different Faces and Forms.

(1) To appear old.
(2) To take on the appearance of an Old Woman.
(3) To appear young.
(4) To transform oneself into a Girl.
(5) To appear like a young Child.

(1)

Z	A	K	E	N
A			Q	I
K	O	L	A	N
E	Q			
N				

(2)

D	I	S	K	E	N	A	H
I							
S							
E							
K			Q				
E							
N							
A							
H							

(3)

D	I	S	A	K	A	N
I	R	O	Q			
S				Q		
A	Q					
K	U	Q				
A						
N						

(4)

I	O	N	E	K
O				
N				
E		Q		
K				

(5)

B	A	C	U	R
A	Q			
C	O	R	E	C
			Q	A
			A	B

NOTES TO CHAPTER XXI.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested only by the Evil Spirits.

(*b*) MAGOT performs the Operations hereof.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits cannot well execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) This is rather a fascination than anything else. Take the Symbol desired in your left hand and stroke the face therewith. Abraham further observes that such an Operation performed by an ordinary Magician would be easily seen through by the possessor of the Sacred Magic ; while on the contrary this latter would be safe from detection by ordinary Sorcerers.

(*e*) The Student will note in these Squares the marked position of the Letter Q, as in many other cases where the effect aimed at seems to be rather a deception of the senses of others.

No. 1 consists of 16 Squares from a Square of 25. ZAKEN means " old ".

No. 2 is a Gnomon of 16 Squares with the Letter Q added ; from a Square of 72 Squares.—DISKENAH = " in the likeness of an old woman ". It is to be remarked that this Square is rather oblong, 8 Squares long by 9 deep.

No. 3 consists of 20 Squares from a Square of 49.—DISAKAN means " to cover up or hide," but were it DISAKAR it would mean " as one young ".

No. 4 consists of 10 Squares from a Square of 25 Squares.—IONEK means " thy dove ".

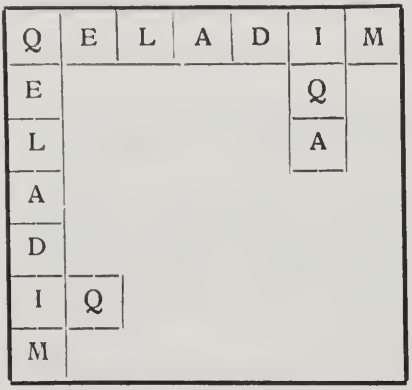
No. 5 consists of 16 Squares from a Square of 25.—BACUR= " a firstborn ".

THE TWENTY-SECOND CHAPTER.

HIS Chapter is only for Evil, for with the Symbols herein we can cast Spells, and work every kind of Evil ; we should not avail ourselves hereof.

(1) To cast Spells upon Men.
(2) To bewitch Beasts.
(3) To cast a Spell upon the Liver.
(4) This Symbol should never be made use of.
(5) To cast a Spell upon the Heart.
(6) Upon the Head and other parts of the Body.

(1)



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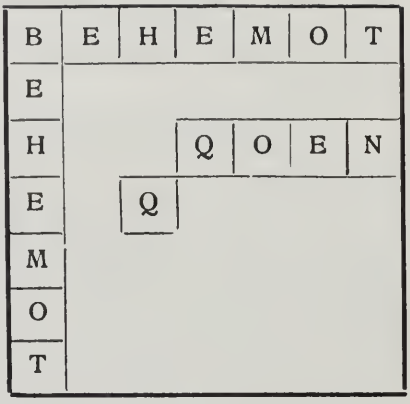

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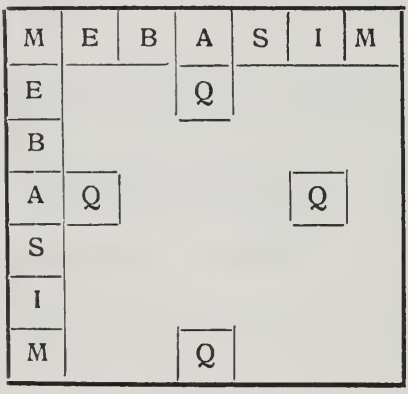


(4)

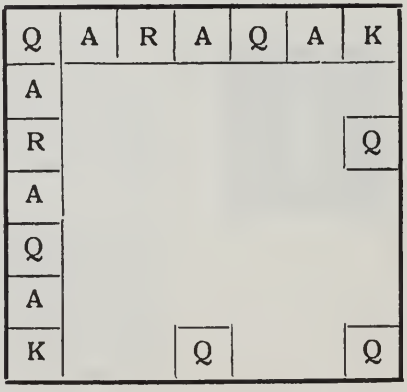
C	A	S	E	D
A	Z	O	T	E
B	O	R	O	S
E	T	O	S	A
D	E	B	A	C

(5)

L	E	B	H	A	H
E	M	A	U	S	A

B
H
A
H

(6)



NOTES TO CHAPTER XXII.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested only by the Evil Spirits.

(*b*) BELZEBUD performs the Operations hereof.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits cannot well execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) Abraham warns strongly against use being made of this Operation. The Symbols should be either buried or concealed in places where the persons we wish to harm are likely to pass by; or, if possible, we can touch them with the Symbol.

(*e*) No. 1 consists of 17 from a Square of 49 Squares. QELA-DIM means "those who creep in insidiously".

No. 2 consists of 19 Squares from a Square of 49 Squares. BEHEMOT = "Beasts".

No. 3 consists of 18 Squares from a Square of 49. MEBA-SIM = "those that stamp down violently".

No. 4 is a Square of 25 Squares.

CASED, Hebrew (if used in a bad sense) = "overflowing of unrestrained lust".

AZOTE, Hebrew = "enduring".

BOROS, = Greek = "Devouring, gluttonous".

ETOSA, = Greek = "idle, useless".

DEBAC, = Hebrew = "to overtake and stick close".

No. 5 consists of 14 Squares from a Square of 36. LEBHAH implies, "Agony at the heart".

No. 6 consists of 17 Squares. QARAQAK = "thy baldness," also "thy rending asunder".

THE TWENTY-THIRD CHAPTER.

TO demolish Buildings and Strongholds.

(1) To make a House fall to the ground.
(2) To destroy a Town.
(3) To demolish Strongholds.
(4) To ruin possessions (and Estates).

(1)

N	A	V	E	H
A		Q		
V	Q			
E				
H				D

(2)

Q	A	Q	A	H
A				
Q				Q
A				
H			Q	Q

(3)

C	O	M	A	H	O	N
O						
M			Q			
A		Q				
H						
O						
N						

(4)

B	I	N	I	A	M
I	N	U	U	S	I
N					
I					
A					
M					

NOTES TO CHAPTER XXIII.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested by the Evil Spirits only.

(*b*) ASTAROT performs the Operations hereof.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits can to an extent perform the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) No especial instructions are given regarding this Chapter by Abraham the Jew.

(*e*) No. 1 consists of 12 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. NAVEH means "a house or habitation".

No. 2 consists of 12 Squares from a Square of 25. QAQAH = "to make void or empty".

No. 3 consists of 15 Squares from a Square of 49 Squares. COMAHON means "a stronghold".

No. 4 consists of a Gnomon of 16 Squares from a Square of 36 Squares. BINIAM means "in affliction".

THE TWENTY-FOURTH CHAPTER.

TO discover any Thefts that hath occurred.

(1) Jewels stolen.
(2) Money.
(3) Worked Gold.
(4) Silver Workmanship.
(5) Effects, such as Furniture.
(6) Horses, and other Animals.

(1)

K	I	X	A	L	I	S
I	R	I	N	E	Q	I
X						
A						
L				M		
I	Q					
S						K

(2)

Q	E	N	E	B	A	H
E			Q			
N						Q
E						
B						
A						
H			Q			

(3)

Q	E	D	E	S	E	L	A	N
E								
D								
E	M	A	Q	A	Q	A	L	A
S								
E	N	A	Q	I	R	I	Q	A
L								
A							Q	
N								N

(6)

M	O	R	E	H
O				
R	O	S	O	R
E	I			
H				

(5)

C	A	R	A	C
A	R	I	O	A
R	I	R	I	R
A	O	I	R	A
C	A	R	A	C

(4) *

T	A	L	A	H
A	N	I	M	A
L				
A				
H				

NOTES TO CHAPTER XXIV.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested in part by the Angels, and in part also by the Evil Spirits.

(*b*) ARITON performs the Operations hereof; and MAGOT also; but separately.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits can to an extent perform the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) No especial instructions are given by Abraham regarding this Chapter.

(*e*) No. 1 consists of 22 Squares taken from a Square of 49 Squares. The meaning of KIXALIS is not apparent.

No. 2 consists of 16 Squares from a Square of 49. QENEBAH probably conveys the idea of gain or possession.

No. 3 consists of 35 Squares from a Square of 81 Squares. QEDESELAN may signify things of value set apart.

No. 6 (the succession of numbers here is irregular) consists of 14 Squares from a Square of 25 Squares. MOREH means "to rebel against, to disobey".

No. 5 consists of a Square of 25 Squares. CARAC means "to involve or wrap up," also "garments, etc.".

No. 4 is a Gnomon of 13 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. TALAH means "a young lamb," or "kid," according to whether its root terminates with Aleph or He.

* The Squares are numbered in the above Order in the Original MS.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH CHAPTER.

TO walk upon, and operate under, Water.

(1) To swim for 24 hours without becoming wearied.
(2) To remain under Water for 2 hours.
(3) To rest upon the Water for 24 hours.

(1)

N	A	H	A	R	I	A	M	A
A			Q					
H							E	
A		Q						
R								
I								
A							Q	
M						Q	A	
A								

(2)

B	U	R	N	A	H	E	U
U	L	O	R	I	P	T	E
R	O	M	I	L	A	P	H
N	R	I	T	I	L	I	A
A	I	L	I	T	I	R	N
H	P	A	L	I	M	O	R
E	T	P	I	R	O	L	U
U	E	H	A	N	R	U	B

(3)

M	A	I	A	M
A				
I				
A				
M				

NOTES TO CHAPTER XXV.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested only by the Angel, or by the Guardian Angel.

(*b*) Abraham does not state to what Prince this Operation is submitted.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits cannot well execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) No especial instructions are given by Abraham regarding this Chapter.

(*e*) No. 1 consists of 23 Squares taken from a Square of 81 Squares. NAHARIAMA means "a river of waters".

No. 2 is a Square of 64 Squares.

No. 3 is a Gnomon of 9 Squares from a Square of 25 Squares. MAIAM = "Abundant waters such as the sea".

THE TWENTY-SIXTH CHAPTER.

TO open every Kind of Lock, without a Key, and without making any noise.

(1) To open Doors.
(2) To open Padlocks.
(3) To open Larders (or Charnel-Houses).
(4) To open Strong-boxes (or Caskets).
(5) To open Prisons.

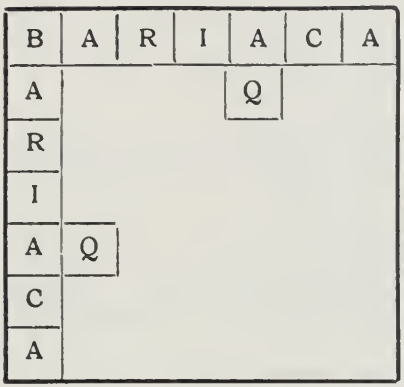
(1)

S	A	G	U	B
A				
G	O	R		
U			D	O
B				S

(2)

R	A	T	O	K
A	K			
T				
O			Q	U
K				R

(3)



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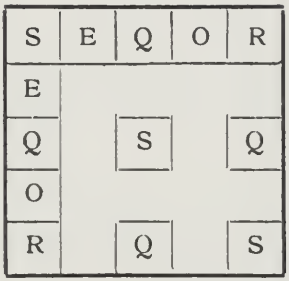

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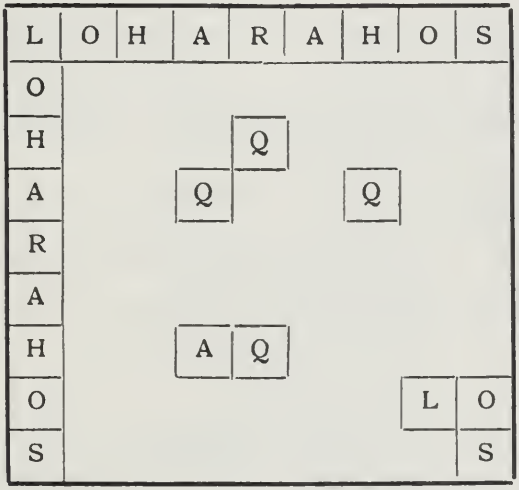


NOTES TO CHAPTER XXVI.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested in part by the Angels, and in part also by the Evil Spirits.

(*b*) AMAIMON and ARITON together perform the Operations of this Chapter.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits cannot well execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) Touch the lock you wish to open with the side of the Symbol which is written upon, and it will immediately open without

noise or injury. When you wish to reclose it touch it with the side of the Symbol not written upon, and it will refasten and shew no trace of having been opened.

(*e*) No. 1 consists of 14 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. SAGUB signifies "exalted" or "lifted up" (as an ancient portcullis might be).

No. 2 consists of 13 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. RATOK means "a confining chain wreathed or fastened round anything".

No. 3 consists of 15 Squares taken from a Square of 49 Squares. BARIACA = "a place for food to be put".

No. 4 consists of 13 Squares from a Square of 25. SEQOR may mean either "to satisfy" or "to deal falsely," according as it is spelt with Q or K.

No. 5 consists of 25 Squares from a Square of 81.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH CHAPTER.

O cause Visions to appear.

(1) To make trellis-work to be seen.
(2) A Superb Palace.
(3) Flowering Meadows.
(4) Lakes and Rivers.
(5) Vines with their Grapes.
(6) Great Fires.
(7) Divers Mountains.
(8) Bridges and Rivers.
(9) Woods and various Kinds of Trees.
(10) Cranes.
(11) Giants.
(12) Peacocks.
(13) Gardens.
(14) Wild Boars.
(15) Unicorns.
(16) Beautiful Country.
(17) A fruit Garden (or Orchard).
(18) A Garden with all kinds of Flowers.
(19) To cause Snow to appear.
(20) Different kinds of Wild Animals.
(21) Towns and Castles.

(22) Various flowers.
(23) Fountains and clear Springs (of Water).
(24) Lions.
(25) Singing Birds.
(26) Horses.
(27) Eagles.
(28) Buffaloes.
(29) Dragons.
(30) Hawks and Falcons.
(31) Foxes.
(32) Hares.
(33) Dogs.
(34) Gryphons.
(35) Stags.

(1)

S	E	L	A	C
E				
L				
A	R	I	N	E
C				

(2)

H	E	S	E	B
E	Q	A	L	
S				
E		G		
B				

(3)

A	O	D	O	N	I	A
O			Q			
D						
O	Q		L		Q	O
N						
I			Q			
A						

(4)

A	T	S	A	R	A	H
T	O	A	L	I	S	A
S	A	D	O	R	I	R
A	L	O	T	O	L	A
R	I	R	O	D	A	S
A	S	I	L	A	O	T
H	A	R	A	S	T	A

(8)

A	K	R	O	P	O	L	I	S
K								
R								
O				Q				
P								
O					Q			
L								
I								
S								

(7)

S	O	R	E	K
O				
R				
E			Q	
K				

(5) *

A	G	A	M	A	G	A
G						
A						A
M						
A						
G					A	
A						

(6)

S	E	L	E	G
E			Q	
L				
E	Q	A	Q	E
G	E	L	E	S

(9)

C	A	I	O	T
A				
I		Q		
O				
T				

(10)

I	A	Q	E	B
A				
Q				Q
E				
B		Q		

* Numbered in this Order in the Original MS.

(11)

M	E	L	U	N	A	C
E			Q			
L						
U	Q					
N						
A					G	E
C						

(12)

P	E	R	A	C
E	Q			
R				
A			Q	
C				

(15)

D	O	B	E	R	A	H
O	R	A				
B						
E						
R						
A				C		
H						

(14)

O	L	E	L	A	H
L					
E					
L					
A					
H					

(13)*

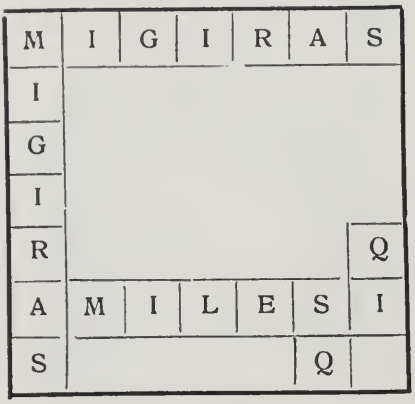
K	I	K	A	I	O	N
I				O		
K						
A						
I						
O						
N						

(16)

M	A	K	O	R
A				
K				
O				
R				

* Numbered in this Order in the Original MS.

(17)



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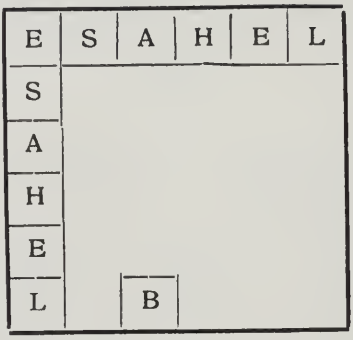

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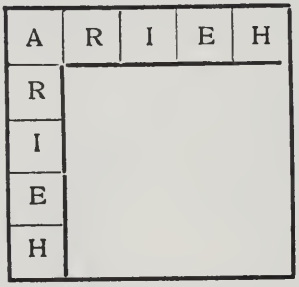

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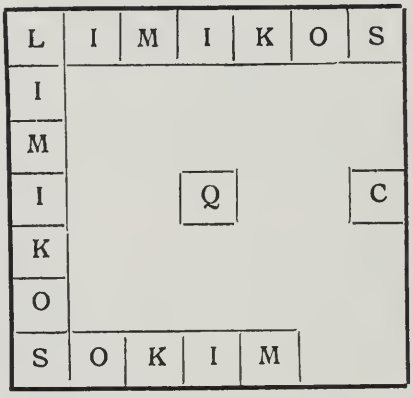

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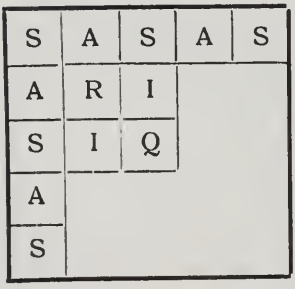

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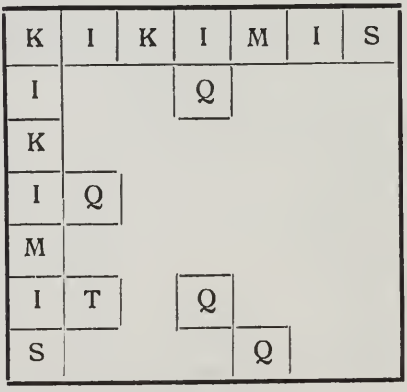

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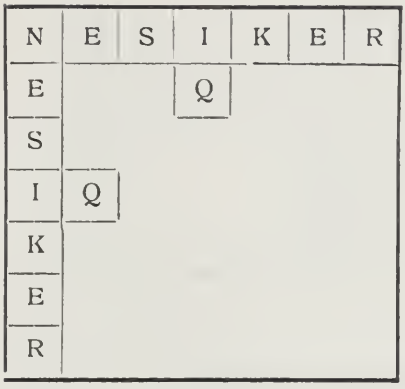

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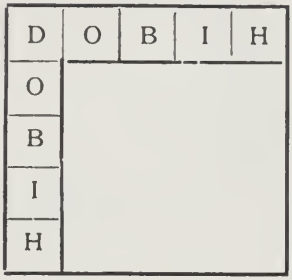

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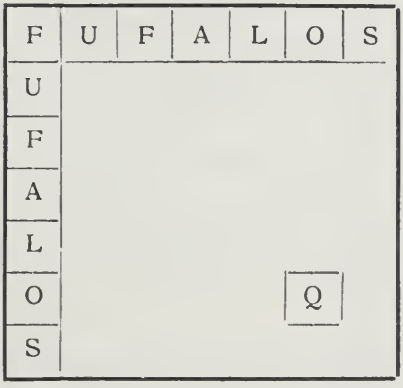

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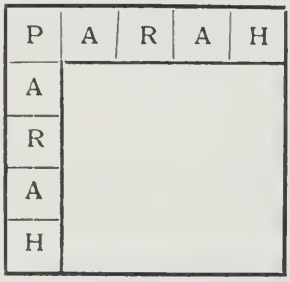

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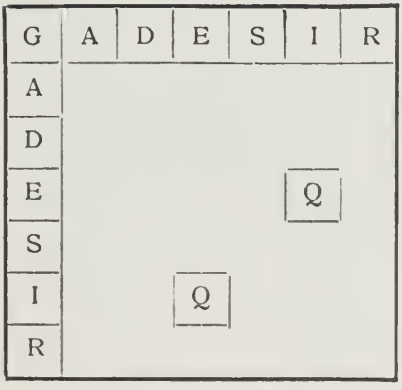

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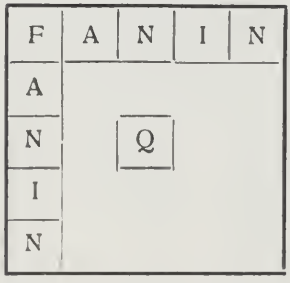

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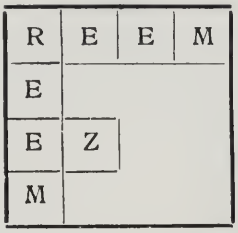

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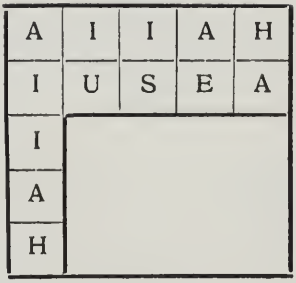

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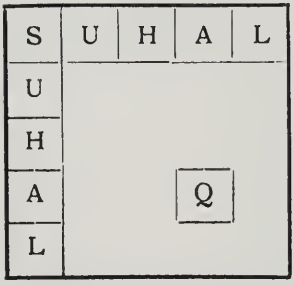

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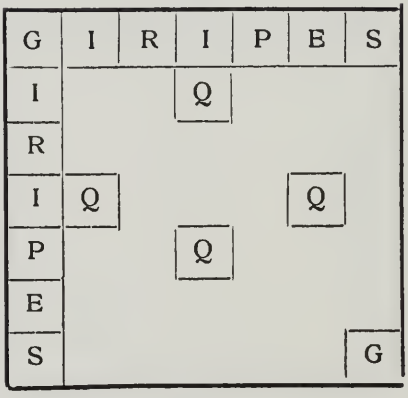

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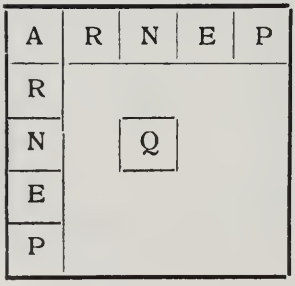

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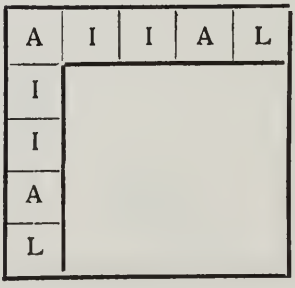

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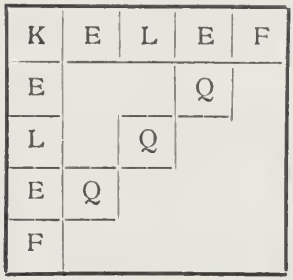

NOTES TO CHAPTER XXVII.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are only manifested by the Evil Spirits.

(*b*) ORIENS, PAIMON, ARITON, and AMAIMON, execute the Operations hereof by the means of their common Ministers.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits can to an extent perform the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) No especial instructions are given by Abraham regarding this Chapter.

(*e*) No. 1 consists of 13 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. SELAC means "to cast down," "to cut down or fell" (as trees). Perhaps thus signifying the cut wood with which a trellis is made.

No. 2 consists of 13 Squares from a Square of 25 Squares. HESEB may mean the environs of a place.

No. 3 consists of 19 Squares from a Square of 49 Squares. AODONIA, from Hebrew root ODN = "Eden, a delightful place, etc.".

No. 4 is a Square of 49 Squares. ATSARAH = either "a store-house or treasury" or "to flow," according to its derivation.

No. 7 (the order of the numbering of the Squares is here changed) consists of 10 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. SOREK means "to wind about".

No. 8 consists of 19 Squares from a Square of 81 Squares. AKROPOLIS is a Greek word signifying "citadel".

No. 6 consists of 18 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. SELEG = "Snow," whence perhaps this should be numbered 19 instead of 6.

No. 5 consists of 15 Squares from a Square of 49. AGAMA-GA = "pools of water," whence this should probably be numbered 4 instead of 5.

No. 9 consists of 10 Squares from a Square of 25 Squares. CAIOT is probably from CHAIOTH = "Living creatures". It may also mean covert, where living creatures abide. Perhaps it should be numbered 20.

No. 10 consists of 11 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. IAQEB probably means a bird of the crane species.

No. 11 consists of 17 Squares taken from a Square of 49 Squares. MELUNAC = "Thy dwelling-place," and perhaps this should be numbered 21.

No. 12 consists of 11 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. PERAC may mean "flowering gardens". Perhaps this should be numbered 13.

No. 15 consists of 16 Squares taken from a Square of 49 Squares.

No. 14 is a Gnomon of 11 Squares from a Square of 36 Squares. OLELAH may mean "horned animals" or "tusked animals".

No. 13 consists of 14 Squares taken from a Square of 49 Squares. KIKAION = a place where gourds grow.

No. 16 is a Gnomon of 9 Squares taken from a Square of 25 Squares. MAKOR = "places digged".

No. 17 consists of 21 Squares taken from a Square of 49 Squares. MIGIRAS = "a place where productive plants grow".

No. 18 consists of 12 Squares from a Square of 36 Squares. ESAHEL = "rich".

No. 19 should probably be numbered 24. It is a Gnomon of 9 from a Square of 25 Squares. ARIEH = "a lion".

No. 20 consists of 19 from a Square of 49 Squares. LIMIKOS = "savage (animals)".

No. 21 consists of 13 Squares from a Square of 25 Squares. SASAS probably means "Horses," and this Square should probably be numbered 26 instead of 21.

No. 22 consists of 18 Squares taken from a Square of 49 Squares. KIKIMIS = "thistles," and also "some kinds of flowers".

No. 23 consists of 15 Squares from a Square of 49 Squares. NESIKER signifies fluids of various kinds.

No. 24 consists of 9 Squares from a Square of 25. DOBIH = "a bear," and should evidently be otherwise numbered.

No. 25 consists of 14 Squares from a Square of 49 Squares.

No. 26 is a Gnomon of 9 Squares from a Square of 25 Squares. PARAH = "a heifer," but also "fruit, produce".

No. 27 consists of 15 Squares from a Square of 49.

No. 28 consists of 10 Squares from a Square of 25. FANIN is probably from BN, and meaning "Towns and Villages," whence this should probably be numbered 21.

No. 29 consists of 8 Squares from a Square of 16. REEM =

"Unicorns," and also beasts of the beeve kind, Buffaloes, etc. Perhaps this Square answers for 15 as well.

No. 30 consists of a Gnomon of 13 Squares from a Square of 25 Squares. AIIAH = rapacious birds.

No. 31 consists of 10 Squares from a Square of 25. SUHAL means "a blackish lion," whence this Square should be numbered 24 probably.

No. 32 consists of 18 Squares from a Square of 49. GIRIPES *may* mean "small beasts that run swiftly".

No. 33 consists of 10 Squares from a Square of 25. ARNEP should probably be ARNEB. It means "a Hare," whence this Square should perhaps be numbered 32.

No. 34 is a Gnomon of 9 Squares from a Square of 25. AIIAL probably means "wild goats".

No. 35 consists of 12 Squares from 25. KELEF = "a Dog," whence this Square should probably be numbered 33.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH CHAPTER.

TO have as much Gold and Silver as one may wish, both to provide for one's necessities, and to live in opulence.

(1) To have coined Gold.
(2) To have coined Silver.
(3) To have Silver in small coins.
(4) To have small change in Copper (or Bronze).

(1)

S	E	Q	O	R
E	Q	A	M	O
Q		S		Q
O			Q	
R		Q		

(2)

K	E	S	E	R
E				
S				
E				
R				K

(3)

P	E	S	E	P
E	Q			
S	O	R	O	S
E	M	O	Q	
P	E	S		

(4)

M	A	T	B	A
A				
T				
B				
A				

NOTES TO CHAPTER XXVIII.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested only by the Angels or by the Guardian Angel.

(*b*) ORIENS alone performs this Operation.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits can to an extent perform the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) Place the Symbol of the Money you require in your purse, let it remain there for a short time, then put your right hand into your purse, and you will there find seven pieces of the class of money you have wished for. This Operation should not be performed more than three times in the day. The pieces of money you do not use will disappear, which is why you should not ask for several kinds of money at the same time. And if you spend it, both you and those into whose hands it passes will find it genuine.

In another place Abraham says, that once only in your life you may ask your Guardian Angel for a large sum of money sufficient to represent a fortune ; and that he himself had done so and obtained his request.

(*e*) No. 1 consists of 17 from a Square of 25 Squares. SEQOR perhaps here means money.

No. 2 consists of 10 Squares from a Square of 25. KESER *may* mean a " collection or heap ".

No. 3 consists of 19 Squares from a Square of 25. PESEP should be probably BESPR = " much, many ".

No. 4 is a Gnomon of 9 Squares from 25. MATBA probably means " let it be forthcoming, bring forth ".

THE TWENTY-NINTH CHAPTER.

TO cause Armed Men to appear.

(1) To cause an Army to appear.
(2) Armed Men for one's defence.
(3) To cause a Siege to appear.

(1)

M	A	C	A	N	E	H
A						
C						
A						
N						
E						
H						

(2)

M	A	H	A	R	A	C	A	H
A								
H								
A								
R								
A			Q					
C					Q			
A								
H								

(3)

M	E	T	I	S	U	R	A	H
E			Q					
T								
I	Q							
S								
U							Q	
R								
A					Q			
H								

NOTES TO CHAPTER XXIX.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested in part by the Angels, and in part also by the Evil Spirits.

(*b*) ORIENS, PAIMON, ARITON, and AMAIMON, execute the Operations hereof by the means of their common Ministers. PAIMON also performs this Operation alone.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits cannot well execute the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) No especial instructions are given by Abraham regarding this Chapter, by which Abraham says (in the First Book) that he himself had caused armed men to appear.

(*e*) No. 1 is a Gnomon of 13 Squares from a Square of 49 Squares. MACANEH = "an encampment".

No. 2 consists of 19 Squares from a Square of 81. MAHARACAH perhaps means "an ambuscade".

No. 3 consists of 21 Squares from a Square of 81 Squares.

THE THIRTIETH CHAPTER.

TO cause Comedies, Operas, and every kind of Music and Dances to appear.

(1) To cause all kinds of Music to be heard.
(2) Music and extravagant Balls.
(3) For all kinds of Instruments to be played.
(4) For Comedies, Farces and Operas.

(1)

N	A	G	I	N	A	H
A					M	
G				G		
I						
N		Q				G
A						
H				Q		

(2)

M	E	K	O	L	A	H
E						
K						
O						
L						
A						
H						

(3)

N	I	G	I	G	I	N
I						
G						
I						
G						
I		END OF THE				
N						

(4)

M	E	C	A	S	E	F
E	F	A	R	U	S	E
C	A	L				
A						
S						
E		* SYMBOLS.				
F						

NOTES TO CHAPTER XXX.

(*a*) The Symbols of this Chapter are manifested only by the Evil Spirits.

(*b*) MAGOT performs the Operations hereof.

(*c*) The Familiar Spirits can to an extent perform the Operations of this Chapter.

(*d*) No especial instructions are given by Abraham regarding this Chapter.

(*e*) No. 1 consists of 18 Squares from a Square of 49 Squares. NAGINAH = "a stringed instrument".

No. 2 consists of a Gnomon of 13 Squares from a Square of 49 Squares. MEKOLAH = "Singing".

No. 3 is a Gnomon of 13 Squares from a Square of 49 Squares. NIGIGIN = "musical instruments," probably.

No. 4 consists of 21 Squares from a Square of 49 Squares. MECASEF means "enchantment".

This finishes the list of Symbols set down by Abraham the Jew, the which I have given in their entirety; but I must of my own initiative warn any who may endeavour to use these Signs, that unless animated by the purest and best motives they will find them react terribly against them; and that, if the preliminary period of Six Months' preparation advocated by Abra-Melin be not observed, the Symbols will be practically worthless in their hands; for, as will be observed, the Names in the Squares for the most part are simply the statement of the ends desired to be accomplished thereby.

* In the Original MS. these words "*Fin des Signes*" are written in this manner across and within the two last Squares.

Finally, I will quote the following passage from the "Key of Solomon the King":—

"ACCURSED BE HE WHO TAKETH THE NAME OF GOD IN VAIN! ACCURSED BE HE WHO USETH THIS KNOWLEDGE UNTO AN EVIL END. BE HE ACCURSED IN THIS WORLD AND IN THE WORLD TO COME. AMEN. BE HE ACCURSED IN THE NAME WHICH HE HATH BLASPHEMED!"

ESSENTIAL REMARKS UPON THE FOREGOING SYMBOLS.

IT is certain that among all the Symbols which I have hereinbefore written down there be many which one can employ for evil (purposes); and I avow that (at first) I intended not to give them here at all; but thereafter I did make reflection in myself that I was working no evil; for often the secret judgments of God permit disgrace, hindrances, infirmities, and other vexing accidents to happen unto Mortals, either to awake them from the lethargy wherein they be sunk so that they recognise not their Creator, or else to give them an opportunity by their afflictions of increasing their merit. And although God can in no way do evil, but always good, nevertheless we cannot deny that occasionally He permitteth the Secondary Causes to act. Now the Executioners and Executors of the Divine Justice be the Evil Spirits. Whence I conclude that although it may be in no sense advisable to work Operations for Evil, yet that there may arise, however, certain cases which do admit of and permit the same; as (for example) when it is necessary to save and defend one's own life, or to avert some great scandal or evil, or to prevent offensive acts which might be done against oneself, or to displease God and hurt one's neighbour, as well as in just Wars, and other like cases. Yet it is always best in such instances to govern yourself according to the counsel of your Holy Guardian Angel. I

have also written these for the reason that God hath given unto Man free Will both in merit and demerit; for, further, having finished the Operation, if thou shouldest wish (which I pray God not to permit)* to operate for Evil and to abuse the Grace which God hath granted thee, the Spirits would be only too ready to give and manifest unto thee the Symbols, and will grant willingly unto thee all that thou shalt demand of them. Concerning this matter I repeat unto thee,—Fear the Lord, love Him, and respect His Commandments with a good heart, and thou shalt live happy and contented upon Earth.

If thou considerest maturely what be the essential points of this Operation, thou shalt find that the first point is to make a firm, veritable, and real resolution to live in a truly edifying condition of modesty, and in retirement, as far as it shall be possible for thee so to do. For Solitude is the source of many blessings, such as, to give oneself up to prayer, and unto the contemplation of things Divine; to flee evil conversations and occasions of sin; to live in oneself; and to accustom oneself to continuing a life of such regularity. For if one were to go to present oneself before a King, what would one not do to appear before him with splendour and magnificence; and what diligence and care would not one put in practice to prepare oneself hereunto. Now we must understand that the enjoyment and vision of the Angels of the Lord be infinitely above the Princes of Earth, who in fact are but a vanity, a shadow, and vile dust of Earth. Now if to please these Mortal Princes one would almost commit idolatries; what ought one not to do to appear before the Holy Angels of God who represent the Grandeur of the Majesty of God. Let each one hold for a thing, sure and certain that the

* In the Original *Qua Dieu neplaise.* The Parenthesis is put by Abraham the Jew.

Grace which the Lord granteth unto us in giving us this Sacred Science by the means and intermediation of His Holy Angels is so great that none can fitly express it.

It is certain that having obtained this Sacred Wisdom thou mayest dispose of it and communicate it unto three friends; but thou must not exceed this Sacred Number of the Ternary, for in such case thou wouldest be altogether deprived of it. One of the most meritorious deeds in the sight of the Lord, is to share with one's neighbour the goods which God hath given unto us; yet must we take note of that which God commanded unto MOSES, when He ordered him to give the Operation unto AARON his brother, namely that he should receive as the Symbol of an Offering Ten Golden Florins, the which he should distribute unto Seventy-Two poor persons with his own hands, obliging them to repeat the Psalms which I have already mentioned in the Second Book, and which should be of the number of Seventy-Two. For if he who receiveth this Operation should not perform this Alms, the Operation would be void of value for him. Thou, not yet having the Authority to give it, without having received the Ten Golden Florins, thou must act like MOSES, unto whom the Lord granted it on this condition, for him to give it unto his brother AARON.

I have also described the precautions which we must take before granting this Sacred Science unto any; and I repeat here that at least Six Months should transpire during which we should frequently test, and seek by conversations to sound, the inclinations of him unto whom we may be willing to give it; so as to know whether he be a reliable person, and also the object for which he demandeth and is anxious to obtain this Science. Now shouldest thou perceive that such an one is light and inconstant, and that he hath only vague ideas, and habits and manners which be not good, then

shalt thou temporise with him for a time, so as to bring up causes, occasions, or pretexts, so as not to give it unto him, *even shouldest thou already have promised it to him.* For it is better to undergo the displeasure of a Mortal Man than that of an Eternal God, from Whom thou hast received so great a Grace. I have, however, myself made trial hereof, for to my great wonderment (once upon a time) when I was thinking that I was putting it to good use in giving it unto a certain person for whom I had great respect; God Himself intervened and did not permit my intention to be carried out, for that person began of his own accord to wonder whether the matter were true or no, and he doubted it much, believing that it was a fable, and did not have an entire faith therein; and he made me comprehend by his discourse that he was not such an one as I had thought. Furthermore it happened that he fell dangerously ill, and I in my turn was reprimanded by my Angel who blamed me for the choice I had made. The whole machinery of the Universe is maintained by Faith; and he who believeth not, suffereth the chastisement of his perfidy both in this World and in the next. I could here say much more relating to our own selves, but as thou wilt have to pass under the influence * of thy Holy Guardian Angel, thou wilt be sufficiently instructed in his own good time, and by himself, concerning these matters which be both delicate and to be jealously guarded.†

The Evil Spirit is so subtle, so keen, and so cunning, that that which he cannot obtain at the time of the Conjuration, he will seek to have on other occasions in offering thee his services. This is why the very first action to take especially with thy Familiar Spirits, should

* In the Original "*Passer par les mains de*"; = "pass through the hands of"; but this translation would sound somewhat undignified.

† In the Original "*Qui sont jalouses et delicates*".

be to command them, never to say anything unto thee of themselves, but only to speak when thou shalt interrogate them, unless it were to warn thee of matters which concern either thine advantage or thine hurt. For if thou dost not limit their liberty of speech they will tell thee so many and so important things, that they will completely overcloud * thine understanding, and thou wilt not know what to believe, so that in the confusion of ideas they could make thee prevaricate, and perhaps fall into irretrievable error. Never make thyself to be greatly entreated in any matter wherein thou canst aid and succour thy neighbour, and do not wait until he demandeth assistance from thee, but seek to know to the full his need even though it be concealed, and give him prompt aid. Also trouble not thyself as to whether he be Turk, Pagan, or Idolater, but do good unto all those who believe in a God. Be especially charitable towards those who are in extreme want, prisoners, or sick, and let thine heart be touched, and succour them generously ; for God taketh pleasure in beholding the poor succoured.

In the Twenty-Eighth Chapter where it is treated of the way to have Silver and Gold sufficient to supply one's needs on occasion ; thou must know that the quantity of Gold or of Silver of which thou hast then actually need, will be at once brought unto thee, and thou canst use it for this occasion only. And if thou usest it not within the twenty-four hours, this sum will disappear and thou wilt no longer be able to avail thyself of it. Think not, however, that this Gold is but a phantasy, for if thou effectually expendest it, and dost not endeavour to hoard the same, he who shall receive it from thine hands can enjoy the same and expend it according unto his

* In the Original "*Quils tofusqueront Lentendement*," literally, "they will obfuscate thine understanding".

desire, and the money will be real both for him and for others.

For once only mayest thou demand of thine Holy Angel the amount of Gold and of Silver which thou shalt judge suitable unto thine estate and conditions. My possessions were few, and I demanded of mine Angel Three Thousand Thousand Golden Florins,* and they were granted unto me. Later I made such good use of the Sacred Science, and I understood so well how to augment my goods, that at the present time, after having married three Daughters unto each of whom I gave a hundred thousand (golden florins), as thou wilt see by the testament which I have made, I am leaving in current money more than a Million Golden Florins, besides a large quantity of very valuable furniture. Had I been of noble birth I might have demanded much more and have profited less. When any one demanded of me: "Eh! How have you managed to gain so much?" I would reply thereto that it is a fine thing to know by certain Knowledge how much such or such a thing is worth here, and how much it is worth elsewhere, that this year, wheat, barley, and other crops, will be cheap in Italy, and dear in France, etc., etc.; and that commerce well managed, enricheth any one.

As for what concerneth the manner of treating and commanding the Spirits, it is an easy thing unto whomsoever walketh by the proper paths; and it is a very difficult thing for whomsoever through ignorance submitteth himself unto them. I have heard say that there be some men who pass for being famous herein, such as a certain blind man D'ACALI, a certain BEARLI, a PETER D'ABANO,† and many others. Ah! how many of them do but deceive themselves! I do not say that

* In the Original: "*3000 mil florins dor*".

† Yet Peter of Abano or Apona is always considered to have been a great and powerful Magician.

these men did not perform extraordinary things; but it is necessary to note their manner of working, for their Science is imperfect, and their Authority proceedeth not from God by the intermediation of His Holy Angels, but proceedeth directly from express Pacts made with the Devil,* and (acteth) by means of Consecrated Books full of thousands of Diabolical Conjurations and impious Exorcisms; in one word things which be contrary unto the Commandments of God and the peace of men. And with all this their Operations be destined for certain times and hours, and finally the Demon carrieth away with him their miserable Souls, which thing arriveth only too often. And yet it is the Science of these persons which causeth them to pass for famous Wise Men.

In the First Book I have made mention of those whom I had encountered in my journeyings in Europe. The true Commandment is that which dependeth from God, and in which there is no dependence placed on any Spirit imaginable, for in employing them, if you make unto them the least submission, the slightest prayer, or honour, you are rendering yourselves their slaves, and they are in no way submitted unto you. The Spirits have so great knowledge that they comprehend very well by our actions what dispositions we have, and understand our inclinations, so that from the very beginning they prepare the way to make us to fail. If they know that a man is inclined unto Vanity and Pride, they will humiliate themselves before him, and push that humility unto excess, and even unto idolatry, and this man will glory herein and become intoxicated with conceit, and the matter will not end without his commanding them some pernicious thing of such a nature that ultimately thence-

* I cannot possibly see that the well-known "Heptameron" or "Magical Elements" of Peter of Abano in any way counsels Pacts, or deserves the above severe speeches of Abraham the Jew.

from will be derived that sin which will make the Man the Slave of the Demon. Another man will be easily accessible to Avarice, and then if he take not heed the Malignant Spirits will propose unto him thousands of ways of accumulating wealth, and of rendering himself rich by indirect and unjust ways and means, whence total restitution is afterwards difficult and even impossible, so that he who is in such case findeth himself ever the Slave of the Spirits. Another will be a man of Letters ; the Spirits will inspire him with presumption, and he will then believe himself to be wiser even than the Prophets, furthermore they will endeavour to lead him astray in subtle points in matters appertaining unto God, and will make (that man) fall into a thousand errors, the which afterwards when he wisheth to support he will very frequently deny God, and His high Mysteries. The causes and matters whereof (the Spirits) will make use to cause a man to waver are infinite, especially when the man attempteth to make them submit to his commands, and this is why it is most necessary to be upon one's guard and to distrust oneself. The true Commandment will be that which will be given when he who commandeth shall have maturely reflected and considered who he is in himself, and who he is who should serve and obey him. And if a Mortal Man not having on his side the support of the Power and Will of the Lord shall have sufficient force to command the Spirits and to constrain them to obey him ; (they, namely) who have the same virtue and power, which God hath granted unto them, they having lost nothing hereof ; and they also being Spirits from God and herein differing from thee who art drawn from the mire, as Gold is from Lead ; and that their sin is notorious, for the which they were chased from Heaven ; figure also unto thyself, that a Spirit which of his own nature is all vanity, would not be likely to submit himself unto thee without a superior

force (compelling him), neither would he wish to obey thee nor to serve thee.* He who shall reflect and reason upon these particulars will know that all things come unto us from God, and that it is He Who wisheth and commandeth that the Evil Spirits should be submitted unto us. If then all things depend from the Lord, upon whom wilt thou, O Man, base thyself so as to be capable of thyself (alone) to dominate the Spirits? It is certain that such an enterprise cannot succeed without the loss of thine own soul. Then it is by the virtue of that God Who hath submitted them under thy feet, that thou shalt command them, as will be precisely ordained unto thee by thy Holy Angel. "*Donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum.*" "Until I shall make thy foes thy footstool." Also do not familiarise thyself with them; for they be not little pet dogs. Adopt a serious tone and an air of authority, make them obey thee, and be well ware of accepting the least offer which they shall make unto thee of themselves; and treat them as their Master, also without occasion thou shalt never molest them, and order them to execute thy commands from point to point without adding or diminishing in any way imaginable. And when thou canst employ Inferior Spirits (in a matter), thou shalt in no way make thy requests unto the Superiors. Also seeing that all have not the same powers, thou shalt take heed not to command unto one (Spirit) a thing appertaining unto (the office of) another; and because it would be impossible for me to here write down in full the quality, virtue, and office of each Spirit, thou shouldest search this out for thyself and sharpen thy faculties; and in the first demand which thou shalt make unto the Four Spirits (who are) the Supreme Princes, and unto the Eight Sub-

* This whole sentence is most confusedly worded in the Original, and I have endeavoured to render it as literally as circumstances would allow.

Princes; thou shalt demand the most skilful of the Spirits, of whom thou shalt make a register for convenience of the practice which I describe unto thee in this Third Book where also thou wilt find the Symbols of many Spirits. But seeing that the subjects of various erring humours (of mind) and other occasions which arise daily be diverse, each man will procure for himself those (Spirits) which be of his nature and genius and fit for that wherein thou wouldest employ them.* And when thou shalt find an extreme resistance unto operating, on the part of any Spirit, after that thou shalt have given him the necessary instructions, and that he cannot execute that which thou hast commanded him; in such case thou shalt convoke the Superior Spirits and demand of them others which may be better capable of serving thee in thy need. And in all cases thou shalt avail thyself of the power and command of thy Holy Angel. Keep ever continually before thine eyes the Fear of God; and seek to obey His Commandments, and those of thy Holy Angel, ever retain in thine heart his holy instructions; never submit thyself unto the Evil Spirits in the slightest degree even should it seem to be to thine own advantage and unto that of thy neighbour (so to do). For the rest, be certain that they will obey thee so perfectly and really, that there will be no operation however great or difficult it may be, that thou shalt not bring unto a glorious termination; the which I myself also have done. As regardeth the service which thou shouldest render unto thy neighbour in his necessities, thou shouldest perform it with zeal, and in no sense wait for him to ask it of thee, and seek also to comprehend his needs unto the uttermost, so as to be able to take sound action (therein). Thou shalt take heed to succour the infirm and the sick and to work for their healing; and see that thou dost

* This whole sentence is very badly worded in the Original, but I have endeavoured to render it as literally as possible.

not good works to attract praises and to make thyself talked of in the world. Also thou mayest make semblance of performing (thy cures) by prayers, or by ordinary remedies, or by (the recital of) some psalm, or by other like means.

Thou shouldest be especially circumspect not to discover the like matters unto reigning Princes; and in this particular thou shalt do nothing without consulting thy Good Angel; for there is a certain generation which is never contented, and besides that which ariseth from simple curiosity, these Princes regard such (action) as a duty and obligation. Also it is a certain fact that he who possesseth this Sacred Magic, hath no need whatever of them. Further they are naturally inclined to ask of thee always things prejudicial, the which if granted by thee would offend the Lord, and if not they become your declared enemies. Now my opinion (is that it) would be always (preferable) to render them what services you can from a distance.

There is nothing which is so pleasing unto the Angels as to demand knowledge from them, and for my part I think there is no greater pleasure than that of becoming wise when one learneth from such masters.

I both have exhorted, and do exhort unto a solitary life,* which is the source of all good; it is true that it is difficult to accustom oneself thereunto; but once thou shalt have obtained the Sacred Science and Magic the love for retirement will come unto thee of thine own accord, and thou wilt voluntarily shun the commerce with and conversation of men; for the pleasure and contentment thou wilt enjoy when thou shalt be the possessor of this Science will be so great that thou wilt despise

* Yet apparently Abraham himself led anything but a retired life, being mixed up in most of the leading political events of his time.

all amusements, excursions, riches, and every other thing however attractive such may be.

For once only will it be permissible to obtain property and goods proportionate unto thy degree and estate; the which afterwards are to be used by spending them liberally for thine own needs and those of thy neighbour, sharing with him in his necessity the good things which God shall have given (unto thee); for he who should employ these for evil ends shall render himself incapable of obtaining from God any other grace and benefit.

The Child which one should choose for greater surety and success in (the acquisition of) this Sacred Science should be born of a legitimate marriage, and its father and mother should be also legitimate. It should be from six to seven years of age, vivacious, and witty; it should have a clear speech and pronounce well. Thou shalt prepare it some time before commencing the Operation and have it ready when the time requireth. I myself am of opinion that there should be two (children) in case of any accident which might happen, through sickness, or death, or other like (hindrance). Thou shalt gain it over to thee by giving it puerile things to amuse it, and have it ready when necessary, but in no way tell it anything of what it is to serve for, so that if it be questioned by its parents it can tell them nothing. And if it be a well-behaved Child, it is all the better. We may be certain that by this means we can arrive at the possession of the Sacred Science; for where he who operateth faileth, the innocence of the Child supplieth (that which is wanting); and the Holy Angels are much pleased with its purity. We should not admit women into this Operation.*

All the clothes and other things which have been

* Abraham here means apparently, not to use a woman in place of the child.

used during the period of the Six Moons, you should preserve, if you intend to continue in the same house wherein thou hast performed the Operation, because they be always good. But if thou dost not intend to use them more, nor yet the Oratory, thou shalt burn them all, and bury the ashes in a secret place.

It is now necessary to give unto thee a little light, and declare unto thee the quality and value of the Spirits, and in what thou canst exactly employ them with surety of success. Thou must however take note that each Spirit hath a great quantity of Inferior Spirits which be submitted unto him. Also I wish to say that as regardeth things base, vile, and of little importance the Superior Spirit will not execute them, but will cause them to be executed by his Inferiors with all punctuality. And this mattereth not unto him who operateth provided that his commands be fulfilled, and that he be punctually obeyed.

THE ORDER OF THE FIRST HIERARCHY.

(SERAPHIM, CHERUBIM, THRONES.*)

THE Spirits of the Seraphim serve to make thee respected and loved for works of Charity, for that which regardeth honours and other similar things. In matters of great importance they themselves act; but for matters base and carnal, it is their subjects who do serve and operate.

THE ORDER OF THE SECOND HIERARCHY.

DOMINIONS, VIRTUES, AND POWERS.

THE property of the Dominions is to dominate; to procure liberty; to vanquish enemies; to give authority

* These and the following Titles of the Hierarchies are usually ascribed to the Good Angels; but sometimes are also employed to designate grades of the Evil and Fallen Angels as well.

over Princes, and over all kinds of persons, even Ecclesiastics.

The Virtues are proper to give strength and force in all matters whether of War or Peace; and in all Operations concerning the health of men, and in all maladies for which the fatal hour hath not yet been written.

The Powers have the dominion over all the Inferior Spirits; and this is why they can serve in all things in general, good or evil, and they are devoted unto all things in general, good or evil; and they be straight and right in execution, very punctual, very prompt, and exact in their Operations.

THE ORDER OF THE THIRD HIERARCHY.

PRINCES, ARCHANGELS, AND ANGELS.

THE Princes comprise Spirits capable of giving Treasures and Riches, and they or their dependants serve in all the Operations, being a mass composed of different Orders, and they are sufficiently truthful.

The Archangels be proper to reveal all Occult matters, and all kinds of secret things, such as obscure points in Theology and the Law. They serve with great diligence.

The Angels in general do operate each one according unto his quality. There be an infinite number of them. They command the Four Princes and the Eight Sub-Princes in all kinds of Operations. These latter* having taken their oath, observe that which they have promised, provided that the Operation one demandeth of them be in their power.

* Meaning apparently the Four Princes and Eight Sub-Princes of the Demons, before so often alluded to.

To cause the Spirit to re-enter a dead body is a very great and difficult Operation, because in order to accomplish it the Four Sovereign Princes* have to operate. Also it is necessary to take great care, and to pay heed unto this warning, namely that we should not commence this Operation until the sick person is really at the point of death, so that his life is absolutely despaired of. It should be so timed as to take place a little while before the sick person giveth up the ghost; and thou shalt carry out all that we have said hereon in the Second Book. But on no account should we perform this Operation to divert ourselves, nor for every class of person; but only on occasions of the very utmost and most absolute necessity. This Operation I myself have performed but twice in my life, namely once for the Duke of Saxonia, and on another occasion in the case of a lady whom the Emperor Sigismond loved passionately.

THE Familiar Spirits are very prompt, and they are able to execute in most minute detail all matters of a mechanical nature, with the which therefore it is well to occupy them; as in historical painting; in making statues; clocks; weapons; and other like matters; also in chemistry; and in causing them to carry out commercial and business transactions under the form of other persons; in making them transport merchandise and other goods from one place to another; also to employ them in causing quarrels, fights, homicides, and all kinds of evils, and malefic acts; also to convey letters and messages of all kinds from one country to another; to deliver prisoners; and in a thousand other ways which I have frequently experimented.

These Spirits should be treated according to their quality, and a distinction should be made between a

* *Viz.:* LUCIFER, LEVIATHAN, SATAN, and BELIAL.

great Spirit and one of a vile or insignificant nature, but thou shouldest nevertheless alway conserve over them that domination which is proper unto him who operateth. In speaking unto them thou shalt give them no title; but shalt address them sometimes as "you," sometimes as "thou"; and thou shalt never seek out expressions to please them, and thou shalt always have with them a proud and imperious air.*

There be certain little terrestrial Spirits that are simply detestable; Sorcerers and Necromantic Magicians generally avail themselves of their services, for they operate only for evil, and in wicked and pernicious things, and they be of no use soever. He who operateth could, should he so wish, have a million such, but the Sacred Science which worketh otherwise than Necromancy in no way permitteth you to employ such as be not constrained by an Oath to obey you.

ALL that hath hitherto been said and laid down should suffice, and it is in no wise to be doubted that he who executeth all these matters from point to point, and who shall have the right intention to use this Sacred Science unto the honour and glory of God Almighty for his own good, and for that of his neighbour, shall arrive with ease at the possession thereof; and even matters the most difficult shall appear easy unto him. But Human Nature is so depraved and corrupted, and so different from that which the Lord hath created, that few persons, if any, do walk in the right way; and it is so easy to prevaricate, and so difficult not to fail in an Operation which demandeth the whole (soul of a) man in (its) entirety. And in order not to intimidate in any way him who shall resolve to undertake this Operation, I am about here to

* In spite of what Abraham here says, I must reiterate, that the *greatest* courtesy should always be used towards Spirits, otherwise the Operator will speedily be led into error.

set down in writing the difficulties, temptations, and hindrances which will be caused him by his own relatives; and all this will be occasioned by the Evil Spirits so as to avoid having to submit themselves, and humiliate themselves, and subject themselves unto Man, their greatest enemy, seeing that they behold him in powerful condition arriving at the enjoyment of that Eternal Glory which they themselves have foolishly lost; and their rage is so great and their grief so poignant, that there is in the world no evil which they be not ready to work, if God were to permit them, they being always attracted by the idea of the destruction of the Human Race. Therefore is it necessary to take courage and make a constant resolution to resist in all things with intrepidity, and to earnestly desire to obtain from God so great a Grace in despite of men and of the Demon. Also beforehand thou shouldest arrange thine affairs in such wise that they can in no way hinder thee, nor bring thee any disquietude in the period of the Six Moons, during which time there will occur the greatest possible attempts at assault and damage unto thee which the keen and subtle Enemy will bring to bear upon thee. He will cause thee to come in contact with evil books, and wicked persons, who by Diabolic methods and tricks will seek to turn thee aside from this enterprise, even though it be already commenced, by bringing before thee matters which in appearance will seem of the greatest importance, but which really be only built up on false (and evil) foundations. To such annoying accidents thou shouldest steadily oppose thyself, by following out carefully the ample instructions which I have given thee, thus banishing them from thee with calmness and tranquillity so as to give no chance to the Enemy of exercising his fraudulent tricks to interrupt thee.

Thy relations also, astonished at thy manner of life and thy retirement, will make every effort to attempt to

find out the reasons thereof. It will be necessary to satisfy them by words full of affection, and to make them think that time which engendereth change, also causeth men who are not altogether ignorant persons to resolve at times to live by themselves. This hath been the cause why so great a number of good and learned men have retired into desert places, so that being separated from their own relatives and from the world they might live tranquilly in prayer and orisons to render themselves more worthy to obtain through the Grace of the Lord a Gift so great and so perfect.

I FURTHER approve of thy possessing a Bible in the vulgar language, and also the Psalms of David, for thine own use. Some person may here reply: "I understand the Latin, and I have no need of the common language". I answer him that when we pray we ought not in any way to embarrass the Mind by having to interpret the Psalms; for at such a moment we should be as much united as possible to God; and even the Psalms being in the vulgar tongue when one readeth them they imprint themselves better on the memory; and this is the true manner of particular prayer, if the person praying be illiterate, for in saying the Psalms in Latin he would not know what he was asking of God.

IN these Three Books we shall not find the slightest thing which hath not a true and necessary foundation. And we should take the greatest care, and keep ourselves as we would from a deadly poison, from commencing this Operation at all, if we have not made a firm resolution to carry it through unto the end. Because (in the contrary case) some notable evil would befal him who had (carelessly) commenced the Operation, and who would then only too well comprehend that we may not make a mock of the Lord. Should it happen that God by

His Will and Commandment should visit thee and afflict thee with some malady which should render thee incapable of finishing the Operation according unto thy wish, thou having already commenced it; then shouldest thou like an obedient servant submit thyself humbly unto His Holy Will and Commandment, reserving His Grace unto the time pleasing unto His Divine Majesty to grant it thee. And thou shalt cease from thine Operation, so as to finish it on another more favourable occasion, and meanwhile thou shalt devote thyself unto the cure of thy body. And such a case ought in no way to afflict thee, for the Secrets of God are impenetrable, and He performeth, permitteth, and operateth all things for the best and for our good, although it may be not understanded of us.

HEREINAFTER will I set down the Key of this Operation, which is the only thing which facilitateth this Operation to enjoy the Vision of the Holy Angels, by placing the Symbols* given hereafter upon the brow of the Child and of him who performeth the Operation, as I have said in the First Book, to which one can easily refer.

I will say even as much as this, that out of an hundred scarcely five or six persons can attain unto the possession of this Sacred Magic without this Key; for reasons which one can in no way disclose.

Also we should repeat the Psalm VI.—"*Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me*," etc. ("O Lord, afflict me not in Thine Anger").

THERE is nothing in the World which we should so much desire as a true Science, neither is there any more difficult to obtain than this one, because often one dieth before attaining unto it in its entirety.

* See the Squares with the Names of ADAM and URIEL given at the end of the work.

This is the true and only Way of this Sacred Science and Magic which the Lord hath granted unto us by His pure mercy; and is that which in Six Months maketh us attain unto the most high and Occult gifts of the Lord which we can think of.

This is the True Science which comprehendeth all other Sciences once one is in possession thereof.

Oh! how many books be read among us which *seem* wonderful!

It is not fitting for me even to reveal a part of this Science and its properties; and to appropriate unto myself that which appertaineth unto a person of a great mind and so far above me.* In teaching it even, I have far exceeded that which I should have done, in having given unto thee the two last Symbols, but what will not paternal love and affection do? Endeavour only to obey me and to follow out my precepts from point to point, according to the manner in which I have given them unto thee in writing; keeping alway the Fear of God before thine eyes. Also forget not the slightest thing which I have said unto thee in these Three Books, for with the help of God Who ruleth and governeth all things, and reigneth gloriously in Heaven and upon Earth, and Whose Divine Justice shineth in Hell; if thou hast recourse unto Him and puttest all thy confidence in His Divine Mercy, thou shalt obtain this Holy Science and Magic whose power is inexpressible. Then, O my Son! and Whosoever may attain thereunto; remember to praise and glorify the Lord, and to pray unto Him that He may be willing to deign and accord unto me His Holy Glory, the place of veritable rest, whereof to me while yet in this Valley of Misery He hath granted a large share through His Goodness and Mercy; and

* This whole passage is awkwardly and obscurely worded in the French. By the "person of great mind," I suppose that Abraham intends to designate Abra-Melin.

I pray the Lord also that He may be willing to grant it unto thee also with His Holy Benediction, and unto all those who by thy means will arrive at the possession of this Sacred Magic, and who will use it according unto His Holy Will.

May God deign, say I, to grant unto such all temporal goods, and a good Death in His Holy Kingdom!

SO MAY IT BE!

12	13	4	6	148
13	9	148	12	6
4	148	8	148	33
16	23	148	9	15
148	27	4	21	31

20	1	24	3
1	20	13	24
37	15	20	1
26	40	63	48

U	R	I	E	L
R	I	L	U	E
I	L	I	L	I
E	U	L	I	R
L	E	I	R	U

A	D	A	M
D	A	R	A
A	R	A	D
M	A	D	A
H	O	M	O

E N D.

Note.—The above set of four Squares evidently represent the Symbols already referred to in the Second Book (Chap. xx.), and in the concluding pages of this Third Book; as being those to be placed on the head of the Operator and of the Child during the Angelic Invocation. The Name URIEL for the former, the Name ADAM for the latter. But evidently, also, the Squares of numbers above are intended as the reverse sides of the two lower ones. The Latin word HOMO is the translation of ADAM in the sense of Man. The Squares of numbers are not of the ordinary magical class.

The Sworn Book of HONORIUS

Liber Iuratus Honorii

Honorius of Thebes

With Text, Translation, and Commentary by

Joseph Peterson

As the title of this mysterious grimoire testifies, students were sworn to secrecy before being given access to this text, and only a few manuscripts survive. Nevertheless, *The Sworn Book of Honorius* is considered one of the most influential magic texts ever discovered. Bits of its teachings are alluded to in other texts: like the use of the magic whistle for summoning spirits. Another key element of its ritual, the elaborate "Seal of God," has been found in texts and amulets throughout Europe.

Interest in *The Sworn Book of Honorius* has grown in recent years. It has been discussed at length in several recent books. Yet no modern translations have been attempted. A critical edition of the Latin text by Gösta Hedegård (2002), has already become somewhat dated by new research.

Purporting to preserve the magic of Solomon in the face of intense persecution by religious authorities, this text includes one of the oldest, most detailed, and complete magic rituals. It is aggressively pro-magic, countering that persecution and anti-magic hysteria were themselves inspired by demons seeking to suppress the divine art.

The Sworn Book of Honorius

Liber Iuratus Honorii

by

Honorius of Thebes

With Text, Translation, and Commentary by

Joseph Peterson

Original Sourcebook of Medieval Magic

Ibis Press
Lake Worth, FL

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INTRODUCTION

EUROPEAN HISTORY IS PEPPERED with accounts of a mysterious book of magic called the *Sworn Book of Honorius*. It was so-called because its owners were sworn to secrecy by one of the most severe oaths ever recorded. They evidently took the oath quite seriously, for only a few manuscripts are known to survive, and only one is complete. Its actual contents have remained almost completely unknown, and no complete translation has been published until the present.

It is not surprising then that scholars and historians have only recently started to recognize its exceptional importance. In fact it is now recognized as one of the oldest and most important texts of Medieval magic. The text teaches a highly religious magic, or magic religion, but acutely at odds with the established church authorities. Religious historian Claire Fanger called it a "key text, in the sense that it stands at a crossroads for many areas and disciplines."[1] Robert Mathiesen notes that it provides important evidence for the flow of esoteric teachings between through Europe, and between Christian, Jewish, and Arab communities.[2] University of Hertfordshire historian Owen Davis lists it as one of the "top ten grimoires," stating the writings of Honorius were "second only to those of Solomon in notoriety in the medieval period."[3]

Although little known today, this text must have been widely known in Medieval times and beyond. References to it appear in notices and legal proceedings throughout the period. Jean-Patrice Boudet provides details of the major references, which I will only list:

- –(circa 1230) Possible mention by William of Auvergne condemning the text;
- –(circa 1347) clear description in a trial record of Olivier Pépin from Mende France;
- –(late 14th century) inventory of the library of the Augustinian friars of York;
- –(1376) a reference in Eymerich's *Directorium inquisitorum*;

- –(1389) possible mention by Mézières in his *Dream of the Old Pilgrim*;
- –(1398) various condemnations by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris likely referred to the text;
- –(1397) reference by John Gower in *Confessio Amantis*;
- –(1400) Jean d'Astarac possessing a copy of *Liber sacratus*, which seems very likely that of Honorius;
- –(circa 1494) the colophon in Italian magic manuscript Florence, Laurent., Plut. 89 sup. 38;
- –(1518) Trithemius references the magic of Honorius of Thebes in *Polygraphia*;
- –(1582) references in the secret writings of John Dee;
- –(1583–1585) possible allusion by Giordano Bruno in his *Cabala of Pegasus*.[4]

To this can be added

- –(1623) a condemned sorcerer, Jean Michel Menuisier used a book titled *Philippus Attinius onorius*, likely *Liber Iuratus Honorii* to judge by the details of its contents.[5]

In spite of its importance, these references reveal almost nothing of its actual contents. Better known than the text is the Sigil or Seal of God – a central component of Honorius's magic. It was apparently part of "a magical tradition that must have spread from the Mediterranean region across Europe."[6] Besides examples on metal, it can be found in manuscripts and at least one printed edition of the *Key of Solomon*. The later examples exhibit considerable divergence from the earliest ones, and its barely recognizable state in *La Véritable Magie Noire* (1750)[7] testifies to a long and elaborate transmission.

Seal of God from La Véritable Magie Noire *(1750) p. 69.*

The title "*Sworn book of Honorius*" came to be adopted in English literature based on the catalog entry for the 16th century English translation in London, brought to a wider audience's attention by influential occultist A. E. Waite (1898).[8] Waite judged the text important, but "unaccountably overlooked by writers on ceremonial magic."[9] Ironically, he himself didn't go into details on the contents of the text, only describing the prologue, which gives the text's own account of its origin. Waite was aware of two manuscripts, only one of which he identified—Sloane 313 in the British Library.

The great pioneer on the history of magic, Lynn Thorndike, refers to the text as *Liber Sacratus* in his 1923–1958 monumental survey of magic

literature. He translated the entire prologue, and went on to briefly survey the contents of the text, identifying five manuscripts.[10]

Butler mentions it only briefly in her 1949 *Ritual Magic*, apparently based solely on Waite's references. Shah also mentions it in his 1956 *Oriental Magic*, but again showed no knowledge of its actual contents, almost certainly having seen the references only in Waite's books.

Intrigued by these references, I took a summer in the Seventies to examine the manuscripts firsthand, and order microfilms for further study. It proved to be every bit as fascinating as hoped. The other purpose of my visit was to study the manuscripts and magic artifacts of Elizabethan polymath John Dee, and I was surprised to discover his connection to the *Sworn Book* (on which see below).

In 1977, Daniel Driscoll published a hybrid version of the text, based on the two manuscripts described by Waite. This was limited to only 450 signed and hand-numbered copies, beautifully printed in red, blue, and black ink. Although it was missing much of the text found in other manuscripts, it provided a fuller account of the contents than Waite and Thorndike, and has come to be a valuable collectible.[11]

In spite of the taboo, the *Sworn Book* was one of the first texts I published on the Internet in 1998, on what was later to become esotericarchives.com.[12] That version was based largely on the English manuscript, Royal 17 A XLII, which omits much of the later material, but it finally made the bulk of the text accessible to a wider audience.[13]

Since then, scholarly interest has exploded. Recent detailed studies have been published by Mathiesen, Kieckhefer, Klaassen, Boudet, Jan Veenstra, Mesler, and Chardonnens, as well as abundant references in literature.[14] A critical edition of the Latin text was published by Göste Hedegård in 2002, and another critical edition of much of the text was published by Boudet in the same year. An alternate version of the text has recently been recognized from extensive passages in Berengar Ganell's *Summa Sacre Magice*, virtually revolutionizing our understanding of this text.[15] In particular, some of Ganell's Honorius material appears to be older than that of the better-known northern European manuscripts. For more on this topic, see below.

Title

The title in the Latin manuscripts is variously given as *Liber sacer sive iuratus* ("the Sacred or Sworn Book" I.18), *Liber Sacer* ("the Sacred Book", CIII.1), and "*liber sacer vel liber angelorum vel liber iuratus ... quem fecit Honorius, magister Thebarum*" ("the Sacred Book, or the Book of the Angels, or the Sworn Book, which was made by Honorius, the master of Thebes," CXLI.1).

The title *Liber sacratus* ("consecrated book"), in the possible references by William of Auverne, is not actually found in the text, although the word *sacratus* is used descriptively in chapter I.19, saying it is called "*Sacred*, as it acts through the sacred, or because sacred things emerge from it, or because it is *consecrated* through the angels, and because the angel Hocrohel called it *consecrated before the Lord*." Note too that Ganell does in fact refer to it as *Liber Sacratus*.[16]

Date

Hedegård has established a date of between 1100-1350 A.D. for the text. Varying attempts have been made to narrow it further. In 1998, Mathiesen proposed a date of the first half of the 13th century, while Kieckhefer proposed a date a century later.[17] The main argument for the earlier date is that the brief references to a *Liber Sacratus* by William of Auvergne (circa 1230) are temptingly close to our text. On the other hand, he may be referring to some other magic text.

Thorndike favored the earlier date on the basis of William's statements. Lawrence-Mathers and Escobar-Vargas also favor the identification of William's text with the *Sworn Book*.[18]

The main argument for the latter date is the observation that the prologue most likely refers to the actions of John XXII, pope from 1316-1334, to persecute heretics. In fact the wording in the prologue comes very close to some of his sermons. Both Kieckhefer and Hedegård thus favor the early 14th century. Of course the persecution passage could be a later insertion, as we now know the text has been redacted. It could also refer to another, less notorious papal action. This view is supported by the fact that this

persecution/origin myth is missing from Ganell's text, as noted by Veenstra.[19]

The possibility that these were later insertions also fits nicely with a theory raised by Boudet, that an earlier version circulated in the time of William, and was known as *Liber Sacratus*. This would also explain the use of the title *Liber Sacratus* by Ganell, and not by the northern manuscripts. It would also explain the absence of persecution statements in the *Summa Sacre Magice*. Let me point out that there is also a logical inconsistency in the persecution story, which a late insertion might explain: If the magic was revealed to Honorius by the angel Hocroel, there would be no reason to assemble experts from all over to preserve their traditions from such Church actions.

Another problem with the fourteenth century date, is that the oldest manuscript, Sloane 3854, dates to then. This would not allow much time to develop such a complicated manuscript tradition and stemma as demonstrated by Hedegård and others.[20]

One further argument for the fourteenth century date is the inclusion of prayers from the "glossed version" of *Ars Notoria*, which has been dated to the fourteenth century.[21] The importance of this as evidence is lessened however by the discovery that Ganell's Honorius does not include that material, but rather demonstrates that the text underwent a later revision.[22]

Author

As mentioned, the prologue gives an intriguing account of the text's origin, which smacks of fiction: A council of eighty-nine magicians assembled, choosing one of their own, Honorius, to preserve the sacred magic from the attacks of the church. The experts were assembled from Naples, Athens, and Toledo. Honorius was said to be from Thebes—in this case probably not Egypt,[23] but Thebes Greece was intended. This may be pure fiction of course, but that city did in fact have a large Jewish population, and saw much turmoil during medieval times between the Eastern and Western Christian churches. In many ways Thebes was at the crossroads. Interestingly, Thebes Greece (now called Thiva) was referred to as "Thebes of the seven gates" to distinguish it from the city in Egypt. These seven city gates were associated with the seven planets—might these have inspired

Honorius to design his magic circle with a sword for each planet, stationed at seven directions around the perimeter?

The name Honorius, son of Euclid, has been largely dismissed as a pseudonym. Aside from *Liber Iuratus*, the only independent reference to Honorius of Thebes is possibly Trithemius (1462–1516), who attributes a magic alphabet to him: "Here follows another alphabet of Honorius surnamed the Theban, and the use thereof is for hiding the foolishness of his magic, such as Petrus de Abano testifies in his greater fourth book."[24] I have not been able to identify any such passage in the many voluminous works of De Abano (c. 1257–1316). Since pseudo-de Abano writings are not unknown, the evidence this provides for a historical Honorius is shaky at best. The only manuscript of Honorius which actually includes the alphabet is Sloane 3853, where it is clearly identified as having been taken from Trithemius's student Agrippa,[25] thus making a remarkable round-trip back to Honorius. This so-called Theban alphabet is clearly based on the Latin alphabet, not Greek. This magical alphabet incidentally has seen widespread popularity by modern practitioners of magic, Wicca, and other forms of witchcraft.

Magic alphabet of Honorius

Contents

I will not recount the contents in depth, since the translation makes that redundant, but only make a few observations. Seemingly the work of a single author, the *Sworn Book* has an internal coherence based on medieval science and theology. In short, it is a comprehensive method of magical attainment, not a collection of unrelated spells like most magic texts that have come down to us.

The centerpiece of the text is the ritual to attain nothing less than the beatific vision. Subsequent rituals use the same framework for both spiritual and material benefits, using prayers, conjurations, seals, swords, a wand, circles, and names of God, as well as names of angels and demons. A long list of various practical uses that can be obtained appears at the beginning of the book. It seems this was copied from material later in the text, making it appear to be a list of chapters or table of contents. This is unfortunately not the case, and a source of some confusion.[26]

Although the method of Honorius is distinctly Christian, it directly attacks church authorities of the time, and teaches direct knowledge as opposed to relying on the Church. It has Jewish elements as well as we will see.

ORIGINS AND PARALLELS I:

Jewish and "Solomonic" magic

The *Sworn Book* shares some common concepts with medieval Jewish Byzantine magic texts from Spain, France, and Byzantium. These include conjunction with God by magical means (*devequt*), whereupon the angels and demons will bring one anything. Other key concepts are the powers of the seven planets, and the magical uses of names of God—the 72-letter name in particular.[27] One of the earliest Kabbalists, R. Abraham Abulafia, was known to have composed and disseminated his teachings in the 1270's in Greece, including Thebes.[28] Abulafia composed a treatise on the 72-letter divine name, although the details are different in Honorius and

Abulafia. The similarities suggest possible influence or fertilization in the development of Honorius's Christian art of magic.

Interestingly, *Hekalot Rabbati* (8th or 9th century), a core text of Jewish mystical literature, has a similar origin narrative: "when R. Nehunia ben ha-Kana heard that Rome was planning to destroy the sages, he gathered a company of rabbis together to 'reveal the nature (*midda*) of the secret of the world.'"[29]

Honorius claims his magic as coming from Solomon. The great seal is called the Seal of Solomon (as well as the Seal of God), famous from antiquity for controlling demons. Some of the prayers and magical essentials are also labeled with the name of that Jewish king. Honorius clearly saw himself as following in the tradition, and endowed with the authority of Solomon. Some elements of the method of Honorius indeed show familiarity with that tradition: The use of magic circles protected by sacred names, suffumigations and ink with familiar ingredients, and use of virgin parchment. Of the names of God and those of spirits, there is a mixture of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and others not identifiable. Some are well known in magical literature, and others otherwise unknown. One example, Corniger, sounds like it could be from some medieval popular drama.

Kieckhefer identifies sleep visions as an essentially Jewish element.[30] Another connection with Jewish mysticism may be found in chapter XCVIII, where the text refers to seeing the heavenly palace; this definitely is a concept found primarily in Hekaloth literature and Merkabah mysticism.

Honorius also recognizes the traditional Jewish concept of *Shem ha-Meforash*, but again differs in the details from Kabbalistic tradition. The use of this term, the planetary classification of spirits, and the concept of the heavenly throne, all suggest Jewish influence akin to *Sepher Raziel*. Some prayers, such as CXV.25, are very reminiscent of those found in *Raziel*, but don't match exactly. In at least one small instance, however, Honorius seems to have drawn on this mystical text more or less directly.[31] The text also uses the term *Shamayim*, which is the Hebrew word for heaven. In medieval Jewish Merkabah literature, it is the name of the First Heaven, found in *Raziel* and other sources.[32] Of the prayers, only one is labeled Hebrew (LXIII), though it doesn't seem to have any Hebrew content.

Besides these slender connections with *Liber Razielis* and *Liber Semiphoras*, very little of the method of Honorius appears to be directly related to other treatises on Solomonic magic, such as *Clavicula Salomonis, Ars Almadel, De officiis spirituum, De novem candariis*, or *De quattuor annulis*. The concept of angels and daemons associated with the days and hours is also found in the *Clavicula*, but details again differ. The use of prayers from *Ars Notoria* is the exception, but again these were evidently added later.

ORIGINS AND PARALLELS II:

Western/Latin Christianity

A major influence on the magic of Honorius is traditional devout Christian practice, with its common prayers (adapted in some cases), observance of liturgical hours, abstinence, use of the hair shirt, and enlisting the help of a priest. Honorius includes both the Apostle's Creed and the Athanasian Creed, both of which point to the influence of the Western or Latin (Catholic) church. Similarly, near the very end, the text quotes the blessing of salt, which is a traditional part of Western or Roman ritual. In this form it is not part of Byzantine or Orthodox tradition.

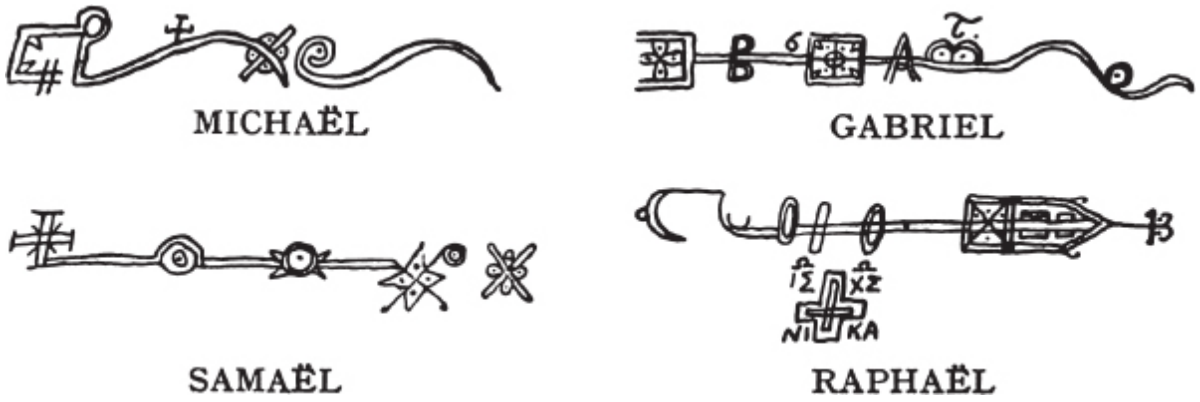
The text also recognizes the traditional Christian classification of angels, as codified by Pseudo-Dionysius (5th–6th century A.D.) and Gregory the Great (circa 540–604 A.D). Honorius differs however in the order, placing the Cherubim before Seraphim, and Principalities before Powers: Cherubim, Seraphim, Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Principalities, Powers, Archangels, and Angels.[33]

Many of the prayers are reminiscent of medieval Benedictine spiritual exercises, such as those of German mystic Saint Gertrude of Helfta (1256–ca. 1302). Gertrude also had special sympathy towards the souls in purgatory, a subject which is alluded to a couple of times in the *Sworn Book*.

ORIGINS AND PARALLELS III:

Eastern Christianity and Byzantium

As Mathiesen pointed out, the author of the *Sworn* Book clearly had "some knowledge of the liturgy of the Greek Orthodox Church."[34] In his edition of the Latin text, Hedegård suggested the planetary spirits chapters of the *Sworn Book* might be based on a Greek source.[35] Boudet too raised the possibility that the classification of aerial daemons might be of Byzantine origin. This is supported by the fact that many of them are found in a Byzantine manual of exorcism, published by Delatte. This manuscript was dated by the catalogers as 1735. The names of the demons and their controlling angels correspond closely with Honorius chapters CV-CXI. According to Delatte, "Each group of air demons and wind demons is under the authority of three angels who, under the direction of an archangel, impose his authority through a special seal." There are also parallels in Petrus de Abano's *Heptameron seu Elementa Magica,*[36] as well as the fifteenth-century *Book of Angels,*[37] and in the fifteenth-century necromancer's manual published by Richard Kieckhefer.[38]



Seals of the archangels from Byzantine exorcism manual / Delatte 1957 p. 98

The spirits associated with the Moon also occur in the *Astromagia* of Alfonso X (written circa 1280). This treatise is primarily about constructing astrological talismans; many of these are taken from *Picatrix*, but this one is attributed to Raziel. The text reads:

Engrave on the sigil the name of the angel and the wind serving the Moon, and commanding over its sign (which is Cancer), with his aides. The angel is Gabriel and his aides are Michael and Samiel. These are the names of the winds that command over Cancer: Hebetel and Halmitab [later spelled Almutab]; and their aides who are Bylol [later spelled Bibol], Milalu, and Abuzoba.[39]

Un office byzantin d'exorcisme f 15, 27, 36-36v, f99v	Heptameron	Honorius	Book of Angels
King: Maimon (Μαϋμών) Servants: Aboumaleth, Asaïbi, Balidet (’Αβουμαλήθ, ’Ασαϊβί, Βαλιδέτ) Ruling Angels: Kasiel, Machotan, Ourouel (Κασιήλ, Μαχωτάν, Ούρουήλ)	K: Maymon S: Abumalith, Assaibi, Balidet RA: Cassiel, Machatan, Vriel (Saturn)	K: Maymon S: Albunalich, Assaibi, Haibalidech, Yasfla RA: Bohel, Cafziel, Michrathon, Saterquiel (CV/Saturn)	K: Mayrion “the Black One will create the voids” Cassael, Maxtarcop, Stanalcon
K South (Σούθ) S: Magouth, Goutriz (Μαγούθ, Γουτρίζ) RA: Sakiel, Kastiel, Asasiel (Σακιήλ, Καστιήλ, ’Ασασιήλ)	K: Suth S: Maguth, Gutriz RA: Sachiel, Castiel, Asasiel (Jupiter)	K: Formione S: Guth, Maguth, Guthryn RA: Satquiel, Raphael, Pahamcocihel, Asassaiel (CVI/Jupiter)	K: Marastac S: Aycolaytoum, Lord of Torments RA: Sariel, Staus, Iucuciel [or Cricios, Faccas, Casfeel]
K: Samax (Σαμάξ) S: Carmax, Ismoli, Pafran (Καρμάξ, Ίσμολί, Παφράν)	K: Samax S: Carmax, Ismoli, Paffran RA: Samael, Satael, Amabiel (Mars)	K: Iammax S: Carmox, Ycanohl, Pasfran RA: Samahel, Satihel, Yturahihel,	Rubeus Pugnator (“Red Fighter”)* S: Karmal, Iobial, Yfasue Saliciel [aka Salatiel],

Un office byzantin d'exorcisme f 15, 27, 36-36v, f99v	Heptameron	Honorius	Book of Angels
RA: Samael, Satael, Amabiel (Σαμαήλ, Σαταήλ, Άμαβιήλ)		Amabiel (CVII/Mars)	Ycaachel [aka Taxael], Harmanel [aka Harnariel]
K: Barcan (Βαρκαν) S: Tous, Adas, Cunabal (Τούς, ’Αδάς, Κυναβάλ) RA: Michael, Dardiel, Khourataphel (Μιχαήλ, Δαρδιήλ, Χουρατα𐌡ήλ)	K: Varcan S: Tus, Andas, Cynabal RA: Michael, Dardiel, Huratapel	K: Barthan S: Thaadas, Chaudas, Ialchal RA: Raphael, Cafhael, Dardihel, Hurathaphel (CVIII/Sun)	Barchan Chatas, Hycandas, Yaciatal RA: Raphael, Dardaci [aka Daniel], Talanasiel [aka Caualasyel]
K: Sarabotres (Σαραβότρες) S: Amabiel, Aba, Abalidoth, Phlaeph (’Αμαβιήλ, ’Αβά, ’Αβαλιδώθ, Φλαέ) RA: Anael, Rakhiel, Sakhiel (’αναήλ, ’ραχιήλ, Σαχιήλ)	K: Sarabrotres S: Amabiel, Aba, Abalidoth, Flaëf RA: Anael, Rachiel, Sachiel (Venus)	K: Sarabocres S: Nassar, Cynassa RA: Hanahel, Raquiel, Salguyel (CIX/Venus)	
K: Modiath (or Mediath) (Μοδιαθ or Μεδιάθ) S: Soukinos, Sallales (Σουκίνος,	K: Modiat S: Suquinos, Sallales RA: Raphael, Miel, Saraphiel (Mercury)	K: Habaa S: Hyyci, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb RA: Mychael, Myhel, Sarapiel (CX/Mercury)	K: Zombar S: Darial, Faccas RA: Michael, Sariel, Miriel†

Un office byzantin d'exorcisme f 15, 27, 36-36v, f99v	Heptameron	Honorius	Book of Angels
Σαλλάλες) RA: Raphael, Miel, Saraphiel (’ραφαήλ, Μιήλ, Σαραφιήλ)			
K: Arcan (’Αρκαν) S: Bileth (Βιλέθ), Misabou (Μισσαβού), Abouzaba (or Abuzampa) (Αβουζαβα) RA: Gabriel, Michael, Samael (Γαβριήλ, Μιχαήλ, Σαμαήλ)	K: Arcan S: Bilet, Missabu, Abuzaha RA: Gabriel, Michael, Samael (Moon)	K: Harthan S: Bileth, Misabou, Abouzaba RA: Michael, Gabriel, Samyel, Atithael. (Moon) (CXI/Moon)	K: Abdalaa S: Baysul, Maylalu, Ebuzoba RA: Gabriel, Samayel, Michael

* On these seven kings addressed by colors, see Scholem 1965 p. 2.

† Planet is not identified, so correspondence is uncertain.

Another passage shows even more variations on these names:

> The angels who have power over (the Moon) are Gabriel, Szamahel [later spelled Esmahel], and Michael.... The king who rules over this image is the honored Abdala, and his servants are Baylul, Maylalu, and Ebuzoba. Over this talisman recite the following invocation: “I beseech you, angels in charge of the character of the Moon, by the name of Ilamos, Namoz, Heyeyl, Caffaa, Bassal, Nacha, Cana, swift Calta, Cahala.”[40]

It seems therefore that by 1280, the names had already been known long enough for significant variations to develop, and that some unknown Raziel text was the source.[41] Given how far these differ from Honorius, it seems

unlikely that Honorius was informed by Alfonso's Greek and Arabic translation activities.

We can also see from the above that Honorius is sometimes closer to the Byzantine text than are the other texts. For example, “H” in Harthan, “th” in Bileth, and “ou” in Abouzaba and Misabou reflect the Greek spellings more closely than the other texts. Incorporation of Byzantine material would also explain the puzzling variety of spellings by Honorius, for example, the seemingly arbitrary insertion of the letter “h.” This could reflect indecision on how to transliterate the Greek: A few examples should illustrate: Miel vs. Mihel (Gk. Μιήλ), Dardiel vs. Dardihel (Gk. Δαρδιήλ), and Harkan vs. Arcan (Gk. ’Αρκάν).

In other cases, Honorius differs where Petrus and the Greek agree. Honorius generally includes more names than the others. The ruling angel of Mercury is also interesting. In Petrus (similarly Cardanus and Michael Scotus), the ruling archangel is identified as Raphael, while *Liber Semiphoras* and Agrippa identify him as Michael.[42] Hence Honorius is closer to *Liber Semiphoras*.

In the great exorcism in the Byzantine manual only seals of four archangels are preserved, owing to damage at the bottom of folio 102. These four are similar to those in *Heptameron*, which has all seven. It has generally been assumed that the seals of the archangels found in the Royal manuscript are an insertion directly from *Heptameron*, but perhaps they were actually present in the original *Sworn Book* after all. *Heptameron* clearly labels the archangels associated with each seal, but the Royal manuscript just associates them with the planet, which is odd if the scribe took them directly from de Abano. Nothing resembling these appear in Ganell however.[43]

Another part of the Byzantine exorcism manual has parallels in Honorius: The “great exorcism” (f36v), parallels Honorius CXXXIII.38: “πάντατὰ πονηρὰ δαιμόνια Βεραλανεῦσις, Βαλδακιόνσης, Πανμαχιά, Άπολογίου καθέδραι, δοῦλοι τῆς ταρταρέας καθέδρας, Πριμάκ, Βαρκάν, Τούς....” (“the ever-evil demons Beralanysis, Baldakionsis, Panmachia, Apologias cathedrai, slaves of Tartar cathedra, Primak, Barkan, Tous...”)[44]

The concept of angels and daemons associated with the days, hours, and cardinal directions is also found in Byzantine sources, although the details differ.[45] Likewise with the use of magic circles with sacred names, and

features aligned to the compass, gloves and other apparel,[46] as well as incenses (*aromata*) used to attract and placate the daemons.[47]

Another puzzle is found in CXL.11 where we read the following: "Casziel, Satquiel, and so on. Furthermore, there are seven superiors, namely Barachiel, Uriel, and the rest." This is the only place that Barachiel is mentioned, so it is apparent the original reference has gotten lost, or was expected to be well known. Unfortunately, this doesn't help identify the provenance, since Uriel and Barachiel are both known as archangels from a variety of traditions, including Orthodox, Latin, the Sibylline Oracles, and ancient Jewish magic.[48]

In summary, it seems likely that all these sources descended from a common ancestor, likely a Byzantine one, and none of them are directly dependent on another.

Evolution of the text

As Frank Klaassen has pointed out, the literature of ritual magic often encourages the process of personalizing or transforming the text.[49] The Elizabethan magi John Dee and Edward Kelly clearly do this with Honorius material in their experiments with spirit communication.[50]

Although many minor differences occur in the manuscripts, only one (Sloane 3854) appears to contain the complete text. Moreover, recent studies have deduced some evolution of the text. This can be shown from the fact that large portions of the text are quoted in Ganell's *Summa Sacre Magice* (SSM), including apparently some original "Honorius" material which is not found in the other manuscripts. Ganell's text also shows differences in the order of the material. Analyzing these differences, researchers have found evidence that the better-known group of manuscripts has been redacted at some point. Thus scholars have started referring to this better-known material as the "London Honorius" or "Northwestern European" tradition. (The use of "London" is somewhat of a misnomer, since a German manuscript also exists.[51])

Veenstra has demonstrated that the "London Honorius" has adapted the text somewhat, such as likely moving the instructions on consecrating the Seal of God to the beginning.[52] Further evidence of this change is that the

German manuscript preserves the presumed original order: PART 1: To behold the face of the Deity; PART 2: Knowledge of the angels; PART 3: Knowledge of the spirits of the air, their binding and which spirits are under them; PART 4: Knowledge of the spirits of the earth; PART 5: Knowledge of the great name of God, in Hebrew *Shem ha-Meforash*, with instructions for constructing the Seal of God.

More evidence of the editorial process may be the unusual variation of the Tetragrammaton, "Ioth He Vau *Deleth*," found in two places in the text: CXXXIII.39 and CXXXVII.5. These may be mistakes, evidence of the compiler's unfamiliarity with Hebrew, a possibility suggested by both Mesler and Veenstra.[53] However this seems unlikely to me given the fact that the "mistake" recurs. Moreover, the form also occurs in other texts, such as *Vinculum Salomonis*, a text which does not appear to derive from Honorius.[54] The substitution of Deleth could also have been intentional to avoid writing the correct name (maybe clued by *deleth* = he deletes?).[55] However, since the text abounds in sacred names of God, that explanation seems unlikely to me too. A third possibility is that the compiler was simply preserving the form found in his source material, which had itself conservatively censored the correct form of the name. This is consistent with the eclectic nature of the text.

A comparison of the manuscripts shows other evidence of *transformations* aside from introducing minor errors. For example, the Royal manuscript in some instances preserves earlier readings; however, it also seems to have excised material on demons, leaving only the angels (which it also expanded upon). Some of the manuscripts altered the magic circle to have seven equal segments. To judge by comparison with Ganell's Honorius material, the northern European redactor may have removed material about the four demon kings (Amaymon, Oriens or Orienens, Paymon, and Egyn), seals of the spirits, and further instructions about ritual instruments.[56]

The psalter is another interesting case. These core prayers are essential to the magic of Honorius, yet they differ in the northern Honorius and in the Honorius quoted by Ganell. Perhaps they were originally a separate detached text, or possibly they got omitted at some point. In the northern European recension, the want was supplied by prayers taken from *Ars Notoria*. In Ganell's text, the core prayers are taken from a book called the

Liber Trium Animarum (LTA). It now seems certain that the use of *Ars Notoria* is a departure from the hypothetical Ur text, based on the dating of the specific variations of *Ars Notoria* used. The original version of Honorius may have included the LTA prayers, but it is of course possible the LTA was a different attempt to fill the gap left from the missing prayers. Curiously, Ganell's *Summa* also includes prayers from the *Ars Notoria*, which he refers to as the "old art."[57]

In conclusion, it seems likely that the compiler had some knowledge of Jewish Kabbalah and Merkabah traditions, and wanted to incorporate the concepts into his own system, based more on Christian elements, such as names of Christ, and traditional prayers. He also likely incorporated material from some Byzantine source, resulting in a method that was truly at the crossroads of various traditions.

Elements of magic as taught by Honorius

Vision of God, or the Beatific Vision

The key to the entire of system of magic taught by Honorius is the magical means for achieving the vision of God, even as the saints and prophets themselves knew God. This section of the text was probably the first part originally. Mathiesen singles out this as the most interesting and important historically, without parallel in magical literature.[58]

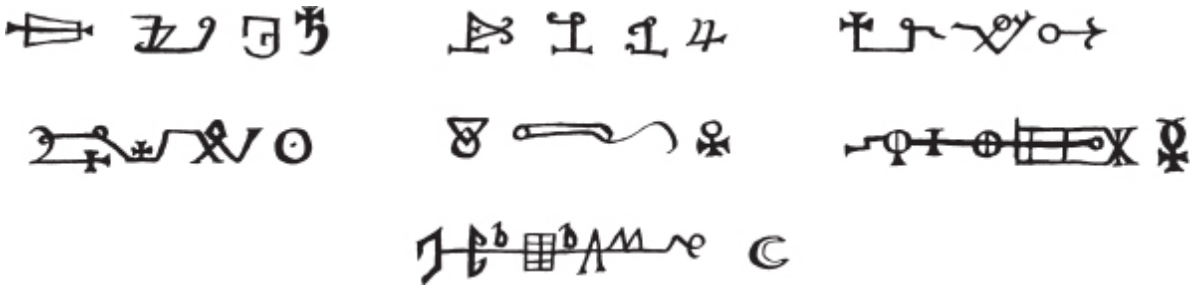
As mentioned above, this was a key element of Jewish Merkabah mysticism,[59] as well as various Christian authors such as Pseudo-Dionysius. Theodoric of Freiberg (ca. 1240–ca. 1320), a German Dominican theologian, wrote an influential treatise on the subject, called *Tractatus de visione beatifica*. The writings of Christian mystics, such as Saint Gertrude of Helfta, abound in visions of Jesus and Mary, so this may be a logical extension of those too.

Honorius professes to provide a practical way to achieve this, going far beyond anything the conventional church rituals could offer.

Seals of angels

The term seal (*sigilla*) is used in two different senses in the magic of Honorius. The first designates specific texts to be recited to bind the spirits.[60] It can also mean physical seals or sigils of angels or spirits that can be held in the hand.[61] Unfortunately, no examples of the second type are represented in the manuscripts.[62] Chapter CXXV.4 states these seals may be engraved on silver, and possibly tin or other metals. Ganell, who has a tendency to supplement Honorius, in some cases simply uses the written names of the spirits, sometimes in Hebrew.[63] One rare exception is the "seal of Amaymon" found in the *Summa* on L.3.f.22.

Seal of Amaymon, from Ganell



Seals of the archangels from Royal MS 17Axlii fols. 67v–70r

Given the parallel texts, perhaps something close to the seals found in the Royal manuscript were originally present in the lost Ur-text.

Other variations of these same seals are included in the fifteenth-century Munich handbook.[64]

Seal of God or Seal of Solomon: Signum Dei, Sigillum Dei

The concept of a great seal, commonly called the Seal of Solomon, is central to Solomonic magic. Early references can be found in the Greek Magical Papyri.[65] Duling mentions a second to third century metal-foil amulet which mentions it.[66] One of the oldest examples is found in the Testament of Solomon (1st to 3th CE), described as engraved on a precious stone, which some manuscripts expand on as being a pentalpha, or five-pointed star.[67] Many versions of the seal of Solomon can be found in magical literature, from the simple pentalpha to the extremely elaborate.[68] Many versions, including that in the *Sworn Book* contain the pentalpha as a central or key element.

The great seal as described by Honorius is likewise central to his magic. He refers to it variously as the Seal of the True and Living God, the Seal of the Eternal, Living, and True God, the Sign (or Seal) of God, the Sacrosanct Seal, the Seal of the Sacred Names of God, the Sacred (or Holy) Seal; the Sign of Solomon, the Seal of Solomon, the Sign (or Seal) of the Lord, the Sacred Seal, the Sacred [Seal] of God; the Sign of Solomon given by the Lord, or simply the Sign.[69] Ganell also refers to it at times as the Divine Sign.[70] Note, it is never referred to as the Seal of Truth (Heb. *Aemeth*), which John Dee uses.[71]

Jan Veenstra has shown that the example found in London manuscript Sloane 313 (see appendix II) does not actually agree with the description in the text, but the drawing in SSM is much closer.[72] For example, a passage in LIH IV.12 matches the drawing in SSM, but not Sloane 313.[73] For this edition, I have reconstructed the Seal based on the elaborate description in the text, as well as Ganell's drawing.

According to Veenstra, this seal was also “known independently as an amulet in Spain.” This is based on Athanasius Kircher's observations, as

detailed by Gilly.[74] Chardonnens and Veensstra published details on other exemplars from the Netherlands and Italy, both found in the walls of buildings.[75] The Dutch seal dates from the 15th or early 16th century, making it the earliest such artifact known.[76]

Chardonnens and Veenstra suggest the creator of the Dutch seal must have had access to the descriptive text. Another possibility is that they had access only to a similar seal, perhaps that of a practicing magician, which may have been properly prepared. This seems more likely to me than the possibility that it had been re-purposed or retired by its text-informed originator.

Many variants of this Seal of God occur, including many outside Honorius-related texts, exhibiting various states of divergence from the earliest exemplars. Some texts of the *Key of Solomon* contain versions of the Honorius seal. That in Aubrey 24 describes it as effective against a long list of physical dangers, as well as protection from ghosts or phantasms.[77] This might account for its use in protecting buildings. MS. Mich. 276, fol 13r describes its use similarly. A version found in *La véritable magie noire*[78] is barely recognizable, testifying to a long and complex transmission. This is further attested by the apparent mixture of lineages apparent in the Dutch seal.[79]

The magic circle and the magical seven-fold universe

The magic of Honorius is heavily structured around a seven-fold classification, including the seven classical planets (or "wandering stars"), cardinal directions and their associated winds, and the four elements and humors of the ancients. A representation of this "map of the universe" is the basis for the magic circle used for invoking spirits. This is not described in the text, but illustrated graphically. Variations exist in the manuscripts: The oldest manuscripts (Sloane 3854 133v and Sloane 313 24r) both show North as occupying 90 degrees of the compass. Leip. Cod. Mag. 16 (pp. 98 and 112, circa 1750) shows the West as occupying 90 degrees. Other manuscripts show the circle divided into seven *equal* segments (SSM L.3.f.29, Sloane 3853 fol. 150v). See appendix II.

Region	Humors	Element	Tetrabiblos ch 4	Planet	Angel	Name of God
East	warm and moist, [masculine]		Hot & dry, masculine	The Sun	Boon	Ysicres
Consol (Southeast)	hot, mixed moist dry [NOT DRY]		Hot & moist, masculine	Jupiter	Uriel	Zebedey
South	hot and dry	Fire	Very hot & dry, masculine	Mars	Karathiel	Eloy
Nogahel (Southwest)	warm, and feminine	Air	Warm & moist (similar to Mars, but not as hot or dry), feminine*	Venus	Uriel	Ienomei
West	cold and moist / feminine	Water	Cold & moist, feminine	The Moon	Hocroel	Theos
Frigicap (Northwest)	cold and damp, masculine		Sometimes dry, sometimes moist, uncertain gender†	Mercury	Vihel	Sother
Northern part	cold and dry	Earth	Very cold & dry, masculine	Saturn	Lanael	Christ
(Northeast is not included)						

* Note: "The Greeks considered Venus to be slightly warm and moist (fertile qualities); however, from the Arabic era onward, Venus is always called cold and moist." (The Well-Tempered Astrologer, by Dorian Gieseler Greenbaum, https://www.scribd.com/doc/182979617/welltemperedastrologer-pdf retrieved Oct 10, 2015.

† According to Grosseteste: cold & dry. See Matt Dowd, PhD Dissertation, Astronomy and Compotus at Oxford University in the Early Thirteenth Century: The Works of Robert Grosseteste, 2003, p. 120, http://www3.nd.edu/~mdowd1/disschapters/FullDiss.pdf, retrieved Oct 10, 2015.

The correspondence of the planets with the elements and humors seems to be based ultimately on the Ptolomaic model of the universe, as found in chapter 4 of *Tetrabiblos*. This explains the influences of the planets through their associations with the humors, namely the productive qualities of warmth and moisture, and the reductive qualities of cold and dryness.[80]

The magic circle is required for calling spirits, and is described as providing the "greatest fortification" against the spirits. This seems to be

mainly precautionary, because certain of them could potentially respond with malice (CXXVII.10).

In the manuscripts, the magic circle diagram is surrounded by descriptive passages, such as "East, warm and moist, where the angels of the Sun dominate." These passages are probably not intended to be part of the magic circle itself. In Sloane 3854, the descriptions are outside the three concentric circles. In Sloane 3853, SSM, and some of the others, the circles extend outside the descriptive material, likely in deviation from the original.

To call forth the planetary and aerial spirits, the text describes a second (double) circle, drawn a ways from the main circle. Around this second circle should be written "the names of the angels of the hour, day, month, time, and aspect" (CXIV.8, CXXVII.7). This is reminiscent of de Abano, but unfortunately, the text does not identify the corresponding names.

Names of God

The use of the names of God is central to the method of Honorius, as well as Solomonic and Jewish magic in general. Honorius uses prayers constructed around the hundred names of God listed in chapter CI. The names themselves are an eclectic mixture of Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and others of undetermined origin.

The text also uses the Hebrew term *Shem ha-Meforash*, probably meaning something like "explicit name" of God. Honorius uses the term to refer to the seventy-two letter name of God given in several places in the text, including the border of the Seal of God. Although the use of this term might lead us to suppose a Jewish connection, the name itself turns out to be derived from the initial letters of seventy-two names of God, a subset of the longer list.[81] They are as follows:

Seventy-two names comprising the Name of God – Shem ha-Meforash.[82]

Ha; 1. Theos; 2. Onay; 3. El; 4. Χρς;[83] 5. On; 6. Raby; 7. Alpha ω; 8. Baruch; 9. AGLA; 10. Letamynyn; 11. Adon, 12. Ioth, 13. Quyesteron, 14.

Tunayon, 15. Yalgal, 16. Ysyston, 17. Sampsoyny, 18. Thetebar, 19. Athyonodabazar, 20. Lauaquyryn, 21. Geuer, 22. Athedyon, 23. Onoytheon, 24. Nomyx, 25. Oristyon, 26. Sanathyel, 27. Vabalganarytyn, 28. Lauagelaguyn, 29. Araton, 30. Radix, 31. Yaua, 32. Capkyb, 33. Ely, 34. Kyryos, 35. Suparyas, 36. Pantheon, 37. Flemoyon, 38. Yuestre, 39. Onella, 40. Maniyas,[84] 41. Elgybor, 42. Maney, 43. Asmamyas, 44. Nathanathoy, 45. Abracalabrah,[85] 46. Romolyon, 47. Epafgricus, 48. Narach, 49. Vagalnarytyn, 50. Gofgamel, 51. Alla, 52. Rabur, 53. Eloon, 54. Lauazyryn, 55. Abracaleus, 56. Tantalatysten, 57. Eye, 58. Delectycon, 59. Ay, 60. Tunayon, 61. Occynomeryon, 62. Nomygon, 63. Oryona, 64. Nosulaseps, 65. Abryon, 66. Orlon, 67. Ye, 68. Layafalasyn, 69. Eye assereye, 70. Ydardycon, 71. Ocleyste, 72. Tucheon.[86]

This list is not found in the *Sworn Book*; although most of the names appear in CI.2-8, the order varies. The resulting series of seventy-two letters is divided into eight groups of nine letters:[87]

¶Toexoraba ¶Layqtiyst ¶Algaonosu ¶Laryceksp ¶Fyomemana ¶Renugarel ¶Atedatono ¶Naoyleyot

The result is not only an abbreviation, but in fact an acronym, pronounceable in its own right. This may be the motive for rearranging the list as found in CI.2.

In addition to the Seal of God, this 72-letter name is used on the bed of ashes, and according to Ganell, should be written on the swords as well.

An additional list of seven divine names are used in the Seal of God (IV.14-47, CXXVII.15): Layaly, Lialg, Veham, Yalgal, Narath, Libarre, Lybares.[88] These seem to derive from *Sepher Raziel*, fifth Semaforas: Lyaham, Lyalgana, Lyafar, Viahirab, lelara, lebaron, Laasasalos.[89] These seven names are also to be used in conjunction with the magic circle, as described in chapter CXXVII.15, where they are written on small pieces of parchment set around outside the circle, but later removed. Wellcome 110 (late 16th CE,) has a very similar procedure, instructing the operator to make an incense offering to the spirit, then write the seven [sic] sacred names around the circle, “hay + byalg + vehem + yasgal + Narath + libaree, but you must remove them when you wish to operate, for no spirit is able to operate while they are there, so they must be erased.”[90] Sloane

3885 32r (in a 17th ce section of the manuscript giving a version of the *Thesaurus Spirituum*) is almost identical, but the names read: "Hay + Lealge + Vehe + Valgah + Narach + Libarroe + Libaroes."

This process of writing these sacred names on pieces of parchment, and later erasing them is reminiscent of the changes against the Byzantine sorcerers Kappadokes and Tzerentzes, "for the former was said to have left his amulet lying beneath the stars all night, while the latter was alleged to have written, and then erased and trampled on, 'God's holy name.'"[91]

Names of Saints

Various saints are commemorated in the prayers. Most interestingly, the operator is instructed to use whichever saints resonate most for him or her (LII.7).

Spirits, Angels, and Demons in LIH

Honorius or his informants have categorized supernatural beings into logical categories, of which the traditional hierarchy of angels of Pseudo-Dionysius is only a part:

> There are three types of angels, the celestial, the aerial, and the earthly. There are two types of celestials, those who only serve God, and those are the nine orders of angels, namely, the Cherubim, Seraphim, Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Principalities, Powers, Archangels, and Angels, concerning whom it is spoken among mortals neither by forced power nor by artificial force, and therefore in nowise should they be invoked, because they always stand praising the divine majesty, and never separated from his presence. (III.9)

Thus the spirits are divided into four categories—celestial or higher angels, planetary or lower angels, aerial spirits or daemons, and terrestrial spirits (or daemons). The aerial spirits are also listed alongside with the planetary spirits, with the explanation that the planetary angels are used to control them.[92] The list is repeated later (with some variations) in the

catalog of aerial spirits. According to Honorius, "whenever good angels are called, you must not have the whistle, wand, nor the swords."

The table of topics or contents also refers to elemental spirits, namely those of the fire, water, air, and the earthly or infernal spirits. In the text, these are included in the sevenfold scheme, such that fire spirits are identified with those of Mars, and the South for example. See above discussion on the magic circle.

The text gives detailed signs that the spirits are there, such as the magicians breaking into a sweat, or the sound of thunder. These signs perhaps have an even more ancient origin.

Only a few of the spirits listed are well known in the literature. Asmodeus (CXXXV.10) is of course well known from Tobit, the Testament of Solomon, and the Babylonian Talmud. Bileth is another name well-known in the literature. Scholem has traced his origin to Bilar in apocryphal literature and the Dead Sea scrolls.[93]

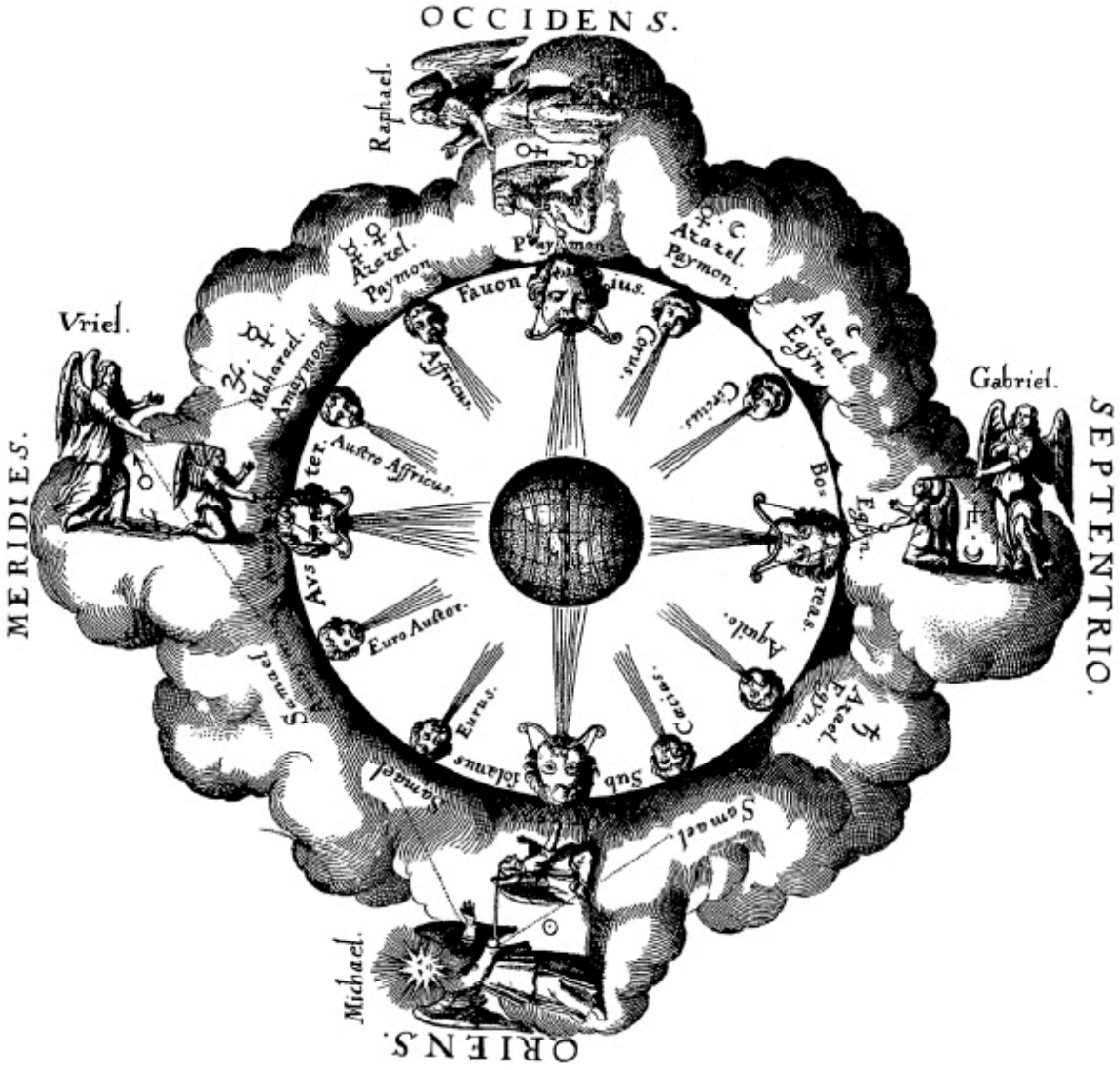
The concept of seven demon kings is also found in Arabic demonology, but "undoubtedly shows a connection with the much older ideas of planetary divinities."[94]

The Winds

Air, being invisible, can act as a bridge between the physical and spiritual world, and can be influenced by the magician to bring about physical changes in the world.[95] Winds and unexplained movements of vegetation are seen as evidence of the presence of spirits.

There is much wind lore going back to ancient times, and names assigned such as zephyr, "blowing from the west." The Greek *anemoi* are four wind gods ascribed to each cardinal direction, with lesser (minor) gods identified with the northeast, southeast, northwest, and southwest winds.[96] In the system of Honorius, these are syncretized with the seven-fold classifications based on the seven classical "planets." The result either drops one sector, or expands the remaining sectors as seen above.

Ganell's *Summa* includes both seven-fold and eight-fold classifications of the winds. In the latter the Northeast wind is given the well-known name Aquilo.[97]



Spirits associated with the Winds from Robert Fludd, Medicina, *1629*

The names of the diagonals in Honorius, Frigicap, Consol, and Nogahem, are of uncertain etymology, and otherwise unknown. Nogahem may be compared with Nogah, Hebrew for Venus, but none of the other winds show any resemblance to Hebrew words. In two places (CXXXII.11, CXL.4), the Nogahem sword is referred to as the Nogahel sword, which Agrippa (OP3.28) identifies as the spirit of Venus/Nogah. Consol (SSM: cosol), the southeast wind, may be compared with *subsolanus*, (literally "beneath the Sun" a common name for the east wind); *co-* and *con-* are

common enclitics, both meaning "with," or "alongside." Frigicap (the northwest wind) may be compared with Africus, a common name for the southwest wind. The winds and their associated humors play an important part in medicine from ancient times up to early modern times, as seen from the writings of Robert Fludd.[98]

Preparations

The preparations taught by Honorius are not arduous compared with the rituals themselves. They include a special diet, shaving the hair from your body, sexual abstinence, confession and contrition, observing physical and spiritual purity, giving alms to three poor persons, and especially frequent prayer. During the first purification, fasting on bread and water is required. In other cases meat, fish, water, and wine are acceptable under some circumstances. On the third day of preparation, an angel will reveal in a dream if the operator is worthy. If so, the ritual proper can commence, lasting 72 days.

Ritual implements

While it has been suggested that expensive ingredients are sometimes used as part of the sacrifice needed for magical achievement,[99] quite the contrary is the case according to Honorius.[100] Intentional destruction of wealth in the form of expensive ingredients, or use of expensive ritual garments, etc. is rejected "because neither God nor the blessed angel care anything about material things. From this it is seen that the poor labor more quickly and truly (in this art) than the rich." (Chapter V.4)

Requisites include:[101]

- Candle of virgin wax. It should be noted that wax was more expensive than tallow candles, but provided a much cleaner flame. (CXXIX.1, CXXXIX.2)
- Censer for burning incense, with charcoal. (CXXIX.1)
- Charcoal. Used in the censer for burning incense. Also used to write (on tiles) the petition or requests being made to the spirits.

- Circles. The rites are performed both inside and outside the main ritual circle. In addition, circles are constructed where the spirits appear. For aerial spirits, it is elevated, while for earth spirits, a pit is dug.
- Clay or earth: See stones.
- Garments of clean white hemp. For the divine vision the garments should be black (CI.20), but for calling forth spirits, they should be white (CXV.1).[102] They should be new, or *virtutes* ("of worth"), or at least very newly washed, and in no event should they be foul smelling.
- Gloves, new, made without whitening chalk.
- Incense: the Seal of God consecration specifies a mixture of amber, musk, aloe, white and red labdanum, mastic, frankincense, pearls, and "incense" (CXXIX.1).[103]
- Knife (new) (Lat. *cultello*) Ganell reads *culter* (knife), while Honorius reads *cultellus* ("small knife"). This is used for drawing the magic circles in the earth.
- Paper (*cedula*), Small pieces of paper with divine names are used in conjunction with the magic circle,
- Parchment, of calf, foal, or deer. Used for the Seal of God.
- Seal of God
- Seals of angels, not given in most manuscripts, but perhaps similar to those given above.
- Shirt, hair-, also known as a cilice. Because these are so uncomfortable, their use is associated with denial of the flesh, and a reminder of the suffering of Christ.
- Stole (*stolla*). From the instructions that it is worn around the neck (CXXXVII.22), it is clear that a priestly stole is intended. This is typically between two and four inches wide and around eighty inches long. Silk is commonly used by priests. A cross is generally embroidered mid way, and often at the ends as well.
- Stones (or tiles) and mortar. These are needed to prepare a flat surface on which to construct the magic circle. In cases of poverty, clay or even clean earth can be substituted.
- Stools: Wooden stools may be used to sit on during the rituals.
- Swords (called *gladius* or *ensis*). Seven are needed when calling forth spirits, but not the higher angels. The swords should all be equal in length, and if possible they should be lustrous or brightly polished (CXXIX.1, CXXXIX.2). Nothing is said about their consecration or

decoration, but Ganell includes instructions which he attributes to Honorius (L.2.f.13): On the haft should be attached a small clean piece of paper on which is written the "fourth ineffable name" of God "which is of seventy-two letters, namely H.t.oexoraba, ..."[104]

- Tiles, on which should be written the petition or requests being made to the spirits. Tiles can also be used to make a more uniform surface for the magic circle.
- Wand of laurel or hazel.[105] This is needed when calling forth spirits, but not the good angels. The text uses the terms *baculus* ("a stick or staff") and *virgula* ("small wand, rod, twig") synonymously. Ganell additionally uses the word *virga* ("a slender green branch or switch"). He further states the the hazel rod/switch (*virga avellane*) should be the length of the master's arm, extended (L.3.f.25). The wand cannot be too slender, as is clear from the instruction that it should have four sides on which are written figures and sacred names (CXXXIX.6–7). I thus have to interpret the phrase "from that year"[106] as meaning it should be cut fresh each year, not that it should be of the same year's growth, as the latter would be too small to meet the other requirements.
- Whistle: It is sounded and struck at various points in the ritual to call the spirits. It is not used with the higher angels. Its construction is detailed in chapter CXL. According to Honorius, it can be made of copper, silver, gold, or hazel wood. Ganell (L.2.f.9) states that Solomon in his "fifth book" commanded that it should be made. He adds that it can be made of copper, silver, or hazel ("*ere, argento, vel avellane*").
- Wine: Choice or "the finest" wine may be consumed during the ritual of calling forth the spirits, to help calm the nerves.[107]

Spirit thrones

The text refers to the thrones or seats (*sedes*) of the supernatural beings, such as the seat of Samaym, and the seats of Primachia and Apologia (CXXIII.38). According to Ganell (L.3.f.3), this is the second circle, placed next to the circle of the operator.[108]

The Rituals

The core ritual takes seventy-two days in the London Honorius, but forty days in SSM. Since the Seal of God (also called the Seal of Solomon) is needed in the other rituals, its preparation is described in great detail (LII, XCVIII-CI). Ganell's description is much simpler, but the accompanying diagram makes the details redundant anyway.

A twenty-day purification comes next, involving attending mass, and reciting certain prayers both before and during the service. This is followed by twelve days of fasting and prayer; for this stage of the operation, a discreet priest is enlisted to help with prayers and services. Near the end of the ritual, you prepare a bed surrounded by ashes with divine names written therein. This is the stage for critical sleep visions.

The process for calling the spirits commences similarly, followed by a four-part ritual: the "invocation," the "seal and binding," the "conjuration," and the "placation."[109] Placating involves offering the spirits a "small gift."[110] This is evidently the pleasing suffumigation offered.[111]

Note much of the work is performed outside the magic circle, including the excitations.[112]

Influence

As mentioned above, examples of the Seal of God and its variants are much more frequent and widespread than the text itself. The actual text of the *Sworn Book* seems to be little noticed by practitioners. The main legacy seems to have come to us in the form of the so-called Heptarchic and Enochian systems of magic which originated with John Dee and Edward Kelly.

In 1582, John Dee, one of the leading scientists and occultists of his age, undertook a series of "Mystical Experiments."[113] He quickly became convinced that he was communicating with supernatural creatures. One of the first instructions he received was to construct a Seal of God, based on one "already perfected" in his books. Dee consulted several manuscripts, one of which was apparently Sloane 313.[114] Another of his sources was Ganell's *Summa*, which contains annotations in his hand. With his shrewd eye he noticed discrepancies, and consulted the angels to help resolve them. This prompted them to reveal an almost totally new version of the

Sigillum Dei, but with elements from both manuscripts. The design is now widely known, with examples on coffee mugs and tee-shirts available.

As one last example of its influence, I think it quite likely that the name and reputation of Honorius "of Thebes" led to the creation of an unrelated text, the so-called *Grimoire of Pope Honorius*. Boudet noted the "huge success of the *Grimoire of Pope Honorius*, whose first edition dates from 1629 and is still republished regularly to the present, for the use of contemporary magicians." More than a few times that text has been confused the *Sworn Book*, including individuals making such uninformed assertions as the *Grimoire of Honorius* or even the *Grand Grimoire* being derived from it.[115]

Problems with the text

Here is a summary of some of the problems with the text as it has reached us:

- Names frequently have multiple spellings.
- Seals of angels, of the type that can be held in the hand during the rituals, are mentioned in the instructions, but never given.
- There are thirteen topics listed in chapter II, but never covered in the text, not counting 92 and 93, which are described as intentionally omitted: 36, 38, 39, 59–62, 76–78, 82, 86, and 87.
- Names of the angels of the months, hours, and decans are never identified.
- *Penatur, penantur.* In the descriptions of the daemons of the winds, the text says these spirits *penantur vel requiescunt* ("they ??? or they rest") The first word, *penantur*, (*pennor*) is uncommon, and generally means "they may have feathers (or wings)." This is perhaps not a very satisfactory reading of the text however, as Hedegård 2002 p. 50 points out. Manuscript C reads *ponantur* on two occasions ("they may be placed"), and *paenantur* twice, also not a convincing reading. Hedegård with much hesitation proposes a Latinized form of Greek πένομαι ("toil") on the theory that it might be based on a Greek source. Another possibility is that it is a unique verbal (subjunctive) form of *penator* ("one who carries provisions") meaning "they may carry provisions." A slightly more satisfactory reading is suggested by the

legal maxim *Clerici non penantur in officiia* "The clergy cannot be compelled to serve temporal offices," which is what I have based by translation on.[116]

Relation to other Solomonic manuscripts

In his prologue, Honorius states that the work is an arrangement of the "works of Solomon," and records the teachings of Solomon with "as much exactness as possible." Solomon is mentioned repeatedly in the text, and is quoted repeatedly. In some cases the quotes are otherwise unknown.[117]

Nevertheless, Honorius has only a few elements in common with other Solomonic magic texts. Aside from the prayers drawn from *Ars Notoria*, these include ink made from blood, a Seal of Solomon, names of God and angels (only some well known in Solomonic literature), hazel wand, seals of spirits, incense offerings, magic circles, swords, and whistle.

Many elements in Honorius are unknown in other texts: most of the names of angels and God are otherwise not known, as are specific design details of the wand, swords, whistle, and magic circle. As far as I know, the spirit throne being elevated or a depression according to the type of spirit is also otherwise unknown.

As mentioned above, another handbook of ritual magic popular in the Middle Ages, *Thesaurus Spirituum* (14th century or older),[118] makes use of the same seven sacred names as Honorius (IV.14–47, CXXVII.15). These appear to derive from *Razielis* (different sections ascribed to different Biblical authors, including Solomon.)

There are direct parallels between the *Sworn Book* and pseudo-Agrippa and pseudo-de Abano, but whether they drew on Honorius or some common ancestor is unclear.

Other magic texts have detailed instructions for specific practical benefits only briefly mentioned in the text. For example, operations to secure a magically-fast horse, or making a banquet appear, are frequent, including the Munich handbook published by Kieckhefer.[119] This may indicate some level of an awareness of these other texts.

Editions

Latin. A critical edition of the Latin text was published in 2002 by Gösta Hedegård. Hedegård's text was largely based on Sloane 3854, which is the most complete, most senior, and "least tampered with." Unfortunately, he did not make use of Sloane 3853, which is an important second witness to portions of the text. Also, as Claire Fanger noted in her 2006 review, some of his findings have been superseded due to the considerable amount of scholarly activity on the subject. His careful comparison of the text with *Ars Notoria*, for example, has been obsoleted by Véronèse's 2007 edition of that text.[120] In another review, Juris Lidaka checked thirteen samples from Hedegård's edition, and found "very few major errors." The only concrete example he gives is that 4.1 "diameter" should be "diametrus"—on which I disagree: The manuscript supports GH's reading, and the usage is not unknown.[121]

Boudet also provided a critical edition of much of the text in his 2002 article "Magie théurgique" etc. His readings vary slightly with Hedegård's, and his critical apparatus is conveniently placed with the text rather than as an appendix.

English. Driscoll 1977. The only attempt at publishing any significant portion of the English translation was Daniel Driscoll's *The Sworn Book of Honourius* (sic) *the Magician*, Heptangle Books, 1977. Unfortunately, Driscoll did not make use of the best manuscripts, omitted large portions, misread and misplaced angelic names and words from the prayers, and otherwise took serious liberties with the text.

Peterson 1998/2009. Edition on CD Rom and http://esotericarchives.com/juratus/juratus.htm. The earliest version of this covered only the chapters included in the Royal manuscript, but with alternate readings from the other manuscripts. This was later supplemented with the rest of the text, and has incorporated corrections pretty much continually to this date.

Blanchard, Robert. The supposed translation published by Blanchard proves to be entirely dependent on Driscoll, altered superficially to disguise the fact, but perpetuating all of his Driscoll's errors and his artwork.[122]

This edition

Publishing a new edition is a daunting task, given that "so much of interest hangs in the balance around this work."[123] My intent has not been to summarize all of the recent literature, but to provide a modern translation for those unwilling to tackle the difficult medieval Latin. I also wanted to offer some corrections and observations suggested by the literature, or by my own research.

Editorial principles

I have not tried to reproduce the critical apparatuses of Hedegård 2002 or Boudet 2002, but in some cases I supplement those in my footnotes. In the case of the magic circle, the text arranged around the diagram was not transcribed, or critical apparatus provided, by either of those publications, so I have taken the opportunity of providing it in this edition.

In order to facilitate reference to Hedegård's critical apparatus, I have included his paragraph numbers. For other corrections to his text, see Appendix I.

Hedegård used italics, and the notations $|^{a-}\ {}^{-a}|$, and $||^{a-}\ {}^{-a}||$ to indicate where LIH and *Ars Notoria* coincided; since this has been obsoleted by the critical edition of Julien Véronèse 2007, I have not tried to maintain the use of those notations. Instead, I have indicated the paragraphs of Ars Not. from that edition, abbreviated JV.

Abbreviations: Abbreviations in the manuscript have generally been expanded.

Chi Rho: The manuscripts generally uses this common practice of abbreviating the name Iesus Christus with Greek letters IHS XP (Ιης Χρ); these have been expanded to "Iesus Christus." Note particularly the frequent use of Greek "XP" or "χρ" for "Christ." In textual studies this is commonly referred to as "chi rho." Thus "XPus" (abbreviation for "Christus") looks like Latin "Xpus," Similarly the Greek "IHS" or "ιης," standing for the Latin "Iesus" ("Jesus") is found throughout the text.[124]

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1 Fanger 2006 p. 180.

2 Mathiesen 1998 p. 143.

3 *The Guardian*, April 8, 2009, http://www.theguardian.com/books/2009/apr/08/history, retrieved Sep 12, 2015. Skemer 2006 p. 118 also describes it as "one of the leading texts of ritual and ceremonial magic."

4 Jean-Patrice Boudet 2002 p. 853-855, 869–870. On the Pepin case, see also Bulman 2005 p. 4 ff. For details on Jean d'Astarac, see Jan Veenstra 1998 p. 84. For details of the library of the Augustinian friars of York, see Klaassen 1998 p. 29, and more detail in Klaassen 2013, pp. 69, 73, and 76. For Plut. 89 sup. 38 (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana), see also Véronèse 2012, p. 98. Most of these notices were also given by Mathiesen 1998 p. 158.

5 Davies 2009 pp. 64–65.

6 Chardonnens and Veenstra 2014 p. 130.

7 "Iroé-Grego" 1750

8 British Library Royal MS 17 A XLII (on which see below). The catalog entry actually reads "THE SWORNE BOOKE of Honoryus," even though the manuscript itself uses the spelling "Honorius."

9 Waite 1911 p. 20. He mentions it again in his translation of Levi's *History of Magic*, 1913.

10 Thorndike 1923, p. 284.

11 Driscoll's audience was contemporary magicians. His text was uncritical, with much tampering and insertions to best serve that intended audience. In spite of this, it is still relatively unnoticed by modern practitioners.

12 It was in fact only the second text on the website, after Bruno's *Umbris Idearum*.

13 As an example, a copy of my text was printed and displayed at the Museum of Witchcraft in Boscastle, UK.

14 See references.

15 Gilly, 2002. Damaris Gehr produced a critical edition for her Doctoral Thesis, and a forthcoming edition is in press.

16 L.1.f.23.

17 Matheisen 1998 pp. 145–147; Kieckhefer 1998 pp. 253–254; Hedegård 2002 pp. 11–12.

18 2014, pp. 38-39, 78.

19 Veenstra 2012 p. 155.

20 Hedegård 2002, especially p. 25.

21 Véronèse 2007 pp. 135 ff.

22 Actually, for the record, Ganell does include the *Ars Notoria* prayers, but later in his compilation.

23 Idries Shah, *Oriental Magic,* London: Octagon, 1992, p. 192, pronounced the work of Egyptian origin on the basis of this name.

24 "Sequitur aliud alphabetum Honorii cognomento Thebani, cuius ministerio suas in magicis fatuitates abscondit, sicut Petrus de Apono testatur in suo maiore libro quarto" Johannes Trithemius, *Polygraphia 6*, 1508, p. 579.

25 Fol. 49v: "De characteribus predict. ... in liber tercius Henr[icus] Cornelius" i.e. Agrippa, *de Occulta Philosophia* Liber III.29. The passage in question is not in the 1510 manuscript, but new to the 1533 edition. Agrippa does not actually identify his source, but it is certainly that of his old mentor Trithemius.

26 GH p. 27, Veenstra 2012 p. 174.

27 Schwartz 2003 pp. 196, 202–203.

28 Idel 2012 p. 663.

29 Michael D. Schwartz 2006, p. 404.

30 Kieckhefer 1998 p. 256. See also Veenstra 2012 p. 186 n. 27.

31 Namely, seven divine names used in the Seal of God (IV.14–47, CXXVII.15): Layaly, etc. See below.

32 See Raziel and *Liber Semiphoras,* 6/7Moses in Peterson 2008 p. 265.

33 Boudet 2002 p. 863.

34 Mathiesen 1998 p. 161 n34.

35 Hedegård 2002 p. 50.

36 The earliest edition of this concise handbook of ritual magic appears to be Venice, 1496 (Lynn Thorndike, *Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. II, p. 925.) The attribution of the text to the famous physician Petrus de Abano (1250–1316) "seems quite certainly spurious" according to Thorndike (*op. cit.*, p. 912). His reputation as a magician developed quite early however.

37 Boudet 2002 p. 867: "L. Delatte, *Un office byzantin d'exorcisme*. [Bruxelles]: [Palais des académies], 1957, p. 121–122, points out, among others, Arcan, called king of aerial spirits, then king of Zephyr (the West) and his servants Bileth, Misabou, and Abouzaba. They can be found with names distorted in § 23 (of the spirits of the Moon) and 28 (on Western spirits). But the same names also appear in the *Astromagia* of Alfonso X (see Alfonso el Sabio, cit., pp. 138–139 and 144–145) and in the *Liber de angelis* of Pseudo-Messahala, published by J.G. Lidaka, *The Book of angels*, cit., p. 64–65." (translation mine). The *Book of Angels* was published in Lidaka 1998.

38 Kieckhefer 1998 pp. 181, 303–305.

39 Alfonso X 1992 pp. 138–139 (my translation).

40 Alfonso X 1992 pp. 144–145.

41 The editor likewise comments (p. 383): "This talisman must derive from the *Book of Raziel*, but I have not tracked in ms. Reg. Lat. 1300." Since Damaris Gehr is working on these texts, hopefully she will shed more light on it in the future.

42 Peterson 2008 pp. 156, 165.

43 See also parallel seals in Kieckhefer 1998 pp. 303-305.

44 The "Exorcism of the Spirits of the Air" (f. 11–14v, 102v–104v) also closely parallels *Heptameron* "Exorcismus Spirituum Aereorum," pp. 112–120..

45 Greenfield 1988 pp. 338 ff. Marathakis 2011 pp. 55–74, pp. 101–106, pp. 285–291.

46 Greenfield 1995 p. 136; Marathakis p. 94–95.

47 Greenfield 1995 p. 135.

48 For Sibylline Oracles, see Charlesworth 1983 p. 350. For examples from Jewish magic see Bohak 2008 pp. 315, 318, and Casanowicz 1976 p. 162. Barachiel (also spelled Baruchiel, Barakiel, or Baraqiel) is one of the seven archangels in orthodox tradition (along with Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, Salathiel, Jegudiel) See St. Nikolai Velimirovic, *The Prologue of Ohrid—Volume One*. The Synaxis icon includes Jegudiel, Gabriel, Selaphiel, Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Barachiel. Images on the Basilica of St. Mary of the Angels and the Martyrs (16th century) testify to the Western tradition. (Mark Bredin, *Studies in the Book of Tobit: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, London [u.a.]: T & T Clark, 2006, p. 121.)

49 Klaassen 2014 p. 4.

50 Peterson 2008.

51 Leipzig Cod. Mag. 16.

52 Veenstra 2012 pp. 151 ff, and especially pp. 167–168.

53 Mesler 2012 p. 118, Veenstra 2012 pp. 172–173. There is a parallel passage to CXXXIII.39 in de Abano's text, *Heptameron* (H) pp. 120–122, which reads "per hoc nomen ineffabile, Tetragrammaton

IHVH Iehouah," but this may easily be a later editorial correction. Similarly SSM L.3.f.37.

54 For example, Wellcome 110 fol. 36r. This manuscript has been dated late 16th century: "et quod ex quatuor literis constat scilicet **Ioth he vahu deleth** et per novem celestia candelabra [sic], et per eorum virtutes quatenus etc."

55 Suggested by Mesler, p. 139.

56 Ganell goes into details of 4 kings of the N/S/E/W. In some cases he specifically states that Honorius does not provide instructions, so he will supplement the information, for example his chapter on the vestments. Ganell's text shows clear signs of redaction in some cases, such as crossing out words which are found in other manuscripts. There are many example where he uses th and t interchangeably, e.g. *thetragramaton* but elsewhere *tetragramathon*.

57 For example, L.4.f.9 "oracio quartus artis veretis: Helyscemath, hazaram, hemel" = Honorius chapter XVI = Ars Not. 7, JV p. 146.

58 Mathiesen, 1998 pp. 150 ff.

59 Michael D. Schwartz 2006, pp. 415.

60 See Veenstra 2012 p. 190 n 79.

61 CXXXI: magister habens signum Dei et sigilla in manu sua dextra. See also CXXXIX.2.

62 The exception is R, which may be an accretion derived from *Heptameron.*

63 For example, L.5.f.63.

64 Kieckhefer 1998 pp. 367–368.

65 PGM IV.3041. Betz, Hans Dieter. *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986, p. 96.

66 Duling 1983, p. 948.

67 For a recent translation, see Duling 1983 pp. 935 ff. On the seal, see p. 962 and note k. On later treatment of the *Testament*, see Sarah Iles Johnston, "The Testament of Solomon from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance" in Bremmer and Veenstra 2002. For bibliography, see also G. Fitzer, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* 7 (1971): 947, n. 72.

68 The version in *Grimorium Verum* (Peterson 2007, p. 80) is fairly simple. Jean-Patrice Boudet 2006 planche XIV shows a particularly elaborate example from an Italian edition of the *Key of Solomon* (1446). Paris, BnF, ms. Ital. 1524, fol. 186.

69 *Sigillum Dei*, III.7, IV.51, CXXXVII.15, 18, 21, CXL.5; *Sigillum Dei vivi et veri*, IV.1; *Sigillum Dei eterni, vivi, et veri*, CXXXVII.1; *Signum Dei*, CXV.7, CXXXI.1, CXXXIX.2. *Signum Domini*, CXV.2, CXXIX.4, CXXXIII.46, CXXXVII.22. *Sigillum Domini* CXXXIX.3; *Sacrosanctum Sigillum* IV.65; *Sigillum sanctorum nominum Dei*, CXV.14; *Sacrum Sigillum*, CXXXIII.13, CXXXVII.7; *Sacrum Sigillum Dei*, CXXXII.12; *Sanctum Sigillum*, CXXXIII.53, CXXXVII.12; *Sigillum Salomonis*, CXXXIII.37; *Signum Salomonis*, CXXVI.14, CXXXIII.30, 51; *Signum Salomonis a Domino datum*, CXXXIII.30; *Signum*, CXV.45, CXXXIII.37.

70 *Signum diuino*, e.g. SSM L.3.f.6.

71 Peterson 2003, especially pp. 22, 79.

72 Veenstra 2012 pp. 151 ff, especially p. 165.

73 See Veenstra 2012 p. 161, 186 n34.

74 Veenstra 2012 p. 161. Gilly 2002 p. 291.

75 Chardonnens and Veensstra 2014 p. 127, p. 137. See also Gilly 2002 p. 280.

76 Chardonnens and Veensstra 2014 p. 139.

77 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Aubrey 24, dated 1674 60r-v.

78 “Iroé-Grego,” “1750.”

79 As detailed so aptly by Chardonnens and Veensstra 2014, especially pp. 150–155. Perhaps future building demolitions will help clarify the picture.

80 Ptolomy and Robbins 1980 pp. 35 ff. The correspondence of the planets and elements is also recounted in the eleventh century Arabic magic text now generally known as *Picatrix*; see I.4, Greer and Warnock 2011 p. 31.

81 Veenstra 2012 pp. 168 ff. The more traditional Jewish name is based on Ex. 14:19-21.

82 SSM L.2.f.25 ll 5-26, which Ganell attributes to Tot Grecus. This important identification was made by Veenstra 2012 p. 172, and later corrected in Chardonnens and Veenstra 2014 pp. 142–143. With the availability of better photographs of the manuscript, I can propose two minor corrections to their transcript.

83 = Christus.

84 JV: Mamyas.

85 Skemer 2006 p. 120 notes the use of this name in thirteen century manuscript Sloane 1717.

86 JV: Tutheon.

87 SSM L.4.f.20. See Chardonnens and Veenstra 2014 p. 144 for variants.

88 SSM: Layaly, lyalg, vehem, yalgal, narach, lybarre, lybares.

89 *Book of Oberon* manuscript p. 44: uses a similar list in a conjuration to bind spirits: “by these seven names of God: Largia + Gaaghum + Levalogni lavafarim + Vbalgana + Haia + Layazogin + Layarosin + Layaschesyn + by which all things are bound.” Compare also Bodleian Rawlinson D252 51r: lyalth, lyalg, vehem, thalgal, narath, libarre, libares. Leipzig Cod. Mag, 16 p. 113: Lagaly, Vellim, Narach, Lyaeh, Yalgal, Librare, Librares.

90 45v: “scribantur ista septem nomina dei hay + byalg + vehem + yasgal + Narath + libaree+ et ponantur in septem mundi partibus iuxta circulum, et cum operari volueris, remove, quia in istorum presentia nullus spiritus potest operari, et ideo deleantur.”

91 Greenfield 1995 pp. 134–135.

92 e.g. “veniatis ... per istos sanctos angelos, Boel, caphzyel, mycraton, satryquiel, mychael, myel, sarypyel.” (SSM L.3.f.59).

93 Dan Ben-Amos “On Demons” in Dan 2005 p. 31.

94 Scholem 1965 p. 2.

95 See in particular, LIH CXVII.4. For discussion, see McGraw, 2013, pp. 51–52.

96 See for example, McCartney, 1930.

97 SSM L.2.f.15 has a diagram with the eight winds. SSM L5.f.11 has yet another *seven*-fold scheme: De ventis. Ventus qui flat ab Oriente dicitur Eurus. Et qui flat a meridie Auster. Et qui ab occidente zephyrus. Et qui a septentrione, Boreas. Et qui ab aquilone, Aquilo. Et qui a cosole, subsolanus. Et qui afrigicap, fauonius, vel circius. (“Concerning the winds. The wind which blows from the east is called Eurus, and that which blows from the south Auster, and which blows from the west the Zephyr, and which blows from the north, Boreas, and from the north, Aquilo, and that which blows from cosole, Subsolanus/eastern, and that which blows from Afrigicap, Favonius = the west wind, or Circius = the WNW wind.”)

98 Fludd 1629, p. 113.

99 McGraw, 2013, p. 28.

100 On which, see discussion in Gehr 2015.

101 Listed in CXXXIX.2.

102 Compare SSM L.2.f.2.

103 *Ambra, musco, aloe, lapdano albo et rubeo, mastice, olibano, margaritis et thure* (IV.57). The last word, *tus*, can be either generic for incense, or frankincense specifically, but since the more specific word for frankincense, *olibanum* (from the Hebrew הנבלח) is already listed, it is not clear what ninth ingredient is intended.

104 Which name of course is found in IV.4 and on the Seal of God. SSM L.2.f.13: *habere gladium vel ensem, in cuius manubrio in sedula munda sit in castratum quartum nomen ineffabile quod est 72 literarum, Que sunt iste, H.t.oexoraba ....*

105 *Baculum lauri vel coruli*, (CXXXII.2); *virgula coruli*, (CXXXIX.2).

106 *Illius anni* (CXXXII.2).

107 CXXIX.1, CXXXIX.2.

108 On this see also Veenstra 2012 p. 173–175.

109 Mesler 2012 p. 122.

110 *Munusculum*, (CXIV.7, CXV.16–17, 35, 41).

111 *Placatum suffumigium*, CXVIII.24.

112 Veenstra 2012 p. 176.

113 Peterson 2002, pp. 12, 70.

114 Roberts and Watson, in their 1990 *John Dee's Library Catalogue*, pg. 168, identify Sloane 313 as being one of Dee's manuscripts. They give it catalog number DM70, and note, "On fol.9 (originally the first leaf, fol.1–8 having been misbound) is [Dee's ladder symbol] and, very faint, 'Fragmentum Magicum', which may be in Dee's hand. At the foot is 'Sum Ben: Jonsonij liber'."

115 Boudet 2002 p. 870. Owen Davies 2009 pp. 34–35 discusses these later texts.

116 From Coke, *The First Part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England. Or, a Commentarie upon Littleton*, 1628, 96b, quoted in Peloubet, S. S. *A Collection of Legal Maxims in Law and Equity, with English Translations*. Littleton, Colo: F.B. Rothmann, 1985, pp. 29-30. https://books.google.com/books?id=4x5HAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA29&lpg=PA29&dq=penantur&source=bl&ots=KUr2RvLpWF&sig=bNbj3VD6L2UtYM746S_pT0NiHns&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CE4Q6AEwCGoVChMIt-_uu-TJyAIVk_WACh0uwgSq#v=onepage&q=penantur&f=false retrieved 10/17/2015.

117 III.3, IV.54, on which see Mesler 2012 p. 119 and 139 n 48.

118 Klaassen 2013 pp. 234–235 n 21.

119 E.g. Kieckhefer 1989 pp. 54, 208; Wellcome MS 110 87v; Rawlinson D 252 73r; Sloane 3885.

120 Fanger 2006 pp. 180–183.

121 Lidaka 2004. Boudet 2002 p. 876 also supports the reading of *diameter*.

122 Ironically, in promoting his publications, Blanchard wrote "Bad translations taken from bad sources mean failure for the practitioner."

123 Fanger 2006 p. 180.

124 GH expanded this as Ihesus Christus.

ACKNOWEDGMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

_ I use underlining in the footnotes to highlight differences the readings between source texts.

++ = text seems to be corrupt

<> = text that should be deleted

[] = text that should be added

[*] Corrected readings are indicated by * in front of the correct form.

{} = Text cannot be read because of physical damage.

A: MS Sloane 3854

B: MS Sloane 313

BoO: *Book of Oberon,* Harms, Clark, Peterson 2015

C: MS Sloane 3885

D: MS Sloane 3853

GH: Gösta Hedegård, also his critical edition (2002)

H: *Heptameron*, Petrus de Abano 1565

JV: Julien Véronèse 2007 critical edition of *Ars Notoria*

L: Leipzig Cod. Mag. 16

LIH: *Liber Iuratus Honorii*

LTA: *Liber Trium Animarum*, i.e. SSM IV.2.3

R: British Library MS Royal 17Axlii

Sl. London, British Library, Sloane manuscript collection

SSM: Ganell, *Summa Sacre Magice*, Kassel, Ms. 4° astron. 3.

Summa: Ganell, *Summa Sacre Magice*, Kassel, Ms. 4° astron. 3.

Liber Iuratus Honorii
Text

[Prologus]

Cum convenissent maligni spiritus demonia in cordibus hominum intonantes, cogitantes utilitatem fragilitatis humane +posse suo corrumpere et+ totam mundi machinam volentes suis viribus superare, (2) ypocrisim cum invidia seminantes, pontifices et prelatos in superbia radicantes, dominum papam cum cardinalibus in unum venire fecerunt, dicentes adinvicem que secuntur:

(3) “Salus, quam dedit Dominus plebi sue, modo per magos et nigromanticos in dampnacionem convertitur cuiuscumque. (4) Nam et ipsi magi potu diabolico inebriati et eciam excecati contra statuta sancte matris ecclesie procedentes ac preceptum Dominicum transgredientes, sic dicens: (5) ‘Non temptabis Dominum Deum tuum’ set ‘ei soli servies,’ ipsi Deo sacrificium abnegando et temptando nomina creatoris, demones invocando et eis sacrificia tribuendo, quod est contra baptismatis sacri preceptum, (6) nam ibi dicitur:

‘Abrenuncio Sathane et omnibus pompis eius;’ qui non tantum pompas et opera Sathane prosecuntur set universum populum in suis erroribus provocaverunt, (7) cum suis mirificis illusionibus attrahentes ignorantes pro huiusmodi anime et corporis dampnacionem optinere, et cum hoc nullum propositum aliud cogitantes, propter quod oportet omnes alias sciencias deperire.

(8) Dignum est ergo radicem mortis huius stipitis penitus exstirpare cum cultoribus seminum huius artis.”

(9) Ipsi vero Diabolo inspirante moti invidia et cupiditate sub similitudine veritatis falsitatem publicantes, quod falsum est dicere et absurdum, quia virum iniqum et immundum impossibile est per artem veraciter operari, (10) nec spiritibus aliquibus homo obligatur, set ipsi inviti coguntur mundatis hominibus respondere et sua beneplacita penitus adimplere. (11) Tamen nullo nostrum volente eis artis principia nec causam

ostendere veritatis, ob hoc nos et artem magicam morti suo iudicio tradiderunt.

The Sworn Book of Honorius
Translation

[Prologue]

When evil spirits had convened, intending to invoke demons into the hearts of men, thinking it possible to use human frailty <wishing> to spoil <their> and overcome the whole world order by force, (2) planting the seeds of hypocrisy and hatred, so that arrogance takes root in the bishops and prelates, they caused the Pope and cardinals to gather together, who said to each other as follows:

(3) “The salvation which the Lord has given to his people, has now been turned to their damnation, through magic and nigromancy. (4) For even the magicians themselves have intoxicated themselves with the devilish drink, and even blinded against the holy statutes of the mother Church, and transgressed against the Lord's teachings which say: (5) ‘You shall not test the Lord your God’;[1] but ‘you shall serve him alone,’[2] thus they deny the sacrifice due to God himself, and testing the names of the Creator, invoking demons, and giving them sacrifices, contrary to their baptismal vows, (6) for there it is said:

‘I renounce Satan and all his pomp;’ whereby not only do these (magicians) pursue the pomp and works of Satan, but they also draw all people into his errors (7) with their amazing illusions, thereby attracting the ignorant to the damnation of their bodies and souls, and they thinking this for no other reason, than that they ought to obliterate all other knowledge.

(8) It is therefore appropriate to root out this root of death, along with those who cultivate the seeds of this art.”

(9) So they, inspired by the Devil, and moved by hatred and greed, published falsehood disguised as truth, saying things which are false and absurd, because it is impossible that a wicked and impure man can operate truly in this art, (10) nor is a person bound to any spirits, but spirits are forced against their wills to answer pure men, and to thoroughly fulfill

their good pleasures. (11) Nevertheless, none of us was willing to reveal the principles nor causes of this truth, because they had handed down a judgment of death to us and this art of magic.

(12) Nos autem permissione divina illud iudicium prescientes, scientes eciam, quod inde possent accidere multa mala, (13) quoniam impossibile erat nos congregacionis populi corporis viribus manus evadere, nisi a spiritibus cepissemus auxilium, dubitantes inde maius periculum evenire, (14) quoniam hostilis demonum potencia per precepta nostra sola hora eos integre destruxisset, ob hoc unum consilium fecimus magistrorum generale, (15) in quo ex 89 magistris a Neapoli, Athenis et Tholeto congregatis elegimus unum nomine Honorium, filium Euclidis, magistrum Thebarum, ubi ars illa tunc legebatur, ut deberet super predictis pro nobis omnibus operari.

(16) Qui consulente angelo Hocrohel nomine 7 volumina artis magice deffloravit nobis florem accipiens et aliis cortices dimittendo. (17) De quibus voluminibus subtraxit 93 capitula cum omnibus virtutibus huius artis, que sub verbis brevibus continentur, (18) de quibus libellum composuit, quem sacrum sive iuratum vocamus hac de causa, quoniam 100 sacra Dei nomina sunt materia huius libri; (19) et ideo sacrum, quasi actus ex sacris, vel quod per istum exeunt sacra, vel quod ab angelis est sacratus, et quia cum hoc angelus Hocrohel eum sacratum a Domino appellavit.

(20) Tunc placatis principibus et prelatis contentis de combustione fabularum et destruccione scolarum—et credebant hanc artem penitus destruxisse—nos moti furore et iracundia ista fecimus iuramenta:

(21) Primo, quod nulli dabitur iste liber, donec magister fuerit in extremis; et quod nisi tribus tantum copietur; et quod nulli dabitur mulieri nec homini nisi maturo actu tantum et probissimo ac fideli, (22) et qui cognoverit per annum mores et condiciones; et quod de cetero non destruetur sed danti restituetur aut eius successoribus;

(23) et quod, si non inveniatur homo sufficiens, cui liber dari debeat, quod magister secum faciat in tumulo sepeliri executores per iuramenta fortissima constringendo (24) vel ipsum alicubi in vita sua sepeliat munde et honeste nec locum alicui per aliquas circumstancias revelabit; (25) et si magister ex discipulis aliquam necessitatem habeat aut velit eos aliqualiter probare, quod pro preceptis suis complendis mortem pati, si necesse fuerit, non timebunt; (26) et quod habens non inquiret de dictis vel factis magistri

sui, nec ipsum magistrum suum talia scire alicui revelabit, nec dabit ad hoc circumstancias declarantes; (27) et quod sicut pater alligat filios suos, ita magister discipulos suos alligabit in concordia et amore, (28) ita quod unus detrimentum alterius pacietur nec unus secretum alterius revelabit, sed erunt fideles, unanimes et concordes. (29) Nono iurabit recipiens—et post istud transsibit iuramentum—hec omnia predicta observare, et ob hanc causam librum hunc vocitamus iuratum.

(12) But we with divine permission, knowing about that judgment before-hand, knowing also that it would be the cause of great evils, (13) because it was impossible for us to evade the hands of a large body of people, except through the help of spirits we had captured, and fearing that a greater danger would result, (14) because the hostile force of the demons at our command would have destroyed them entirely in only an hour, on account of this we convened a general council of masters, (15) from which out of 89 masters gathered from Naples, Athens, and Toledo, we selected one named Honorius, son of Euclid, master of Thebes, where that art at the time was established, in order that he would labor on our behalf to this end.

(16) And he, with the consulting angel Hocrohel, named seven books of the magic art, plucking for us the flower and dismissing all the rest as bark. (17) From those books he extracted ninety-three chapters with all the worth of this art, which are succinctly captured, (18) from which he composed the short book which we call "Sacred" or "Sworn," so-called because the hundred sacred names of God are included in this book; (19) and therefore "Sacred" as it acts through the sacred, or because sacred things emerge from it, or because it is consecrated through the angels, and because the angel Hocrohel called it consecrated before the Lord.

[The Oath]

(20) Then the princes and prelates (secular and church authorities), contented with the burning of fables and the destruction of schools, believed this art to be utterly destroyed. We, being moved by their madness and rage, have made these oaths:

✠ (21) First, that nobody should be given this book, unless the master is at the point of death;

✠ [2] And that he should provide himself no more than three;

✠ [3] And that it will be given to no woman, nor to a man unless he is mature, and most upright and faithful, (22) both of which should be assessed by observing his mannerisms throughout an entire year;

✠ [4] And that otherwise it should not be destroyed, but returned to him or to his successors;

✠ (23) [5] And that, if no one sufficient is found to whom the book might be given, that the master must bind his executors with the strongest oaths to bury it in his tomb, (24) or he himself while living should bury it in some clean and honorable place, and not reveal the place under any circumstances;

✠ (25) [6] And if the master has a need for some students, or otherwise wishes to test them, that they promise they will not fear to suffer death, if necessary, for the sake of his teachings

✠ (26) [7] And that he will not investigate the teachings or doings of their master, nor will he reveal to anyone that his master himself knows such things, nor will he allow the circumstances for declaring it.

✠ (27) [8] And as a father binds his sons, so the master will bind his disciples in harmony and love, (28) so that each will bear the suffering of the others, nor will one reveal the secrets of another, but they will be faithful, harmonious, and in agreement.

✠ (29) [9] With the ninth he will swear on receiving the oath that he will pass on all of the preceding in turn, and for this reason we call this the *Sworn Book*.

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1 Deut. 6:16

2 Deut. 6:13

II Incipit liber.

In nomine igitur omnipotentis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, vivi et veri Dei, ego Honorius opera Salomonis in libro meo taliter ordinavi, quod premisi capitula, ut pateant clarius que secuntur.

(2) Capitula primi operis

Primum capitulum de composicione magni nominis Dei, quod apud Hebreos dicitur Semenphoras et est 72 literarum, quod est principium in hac arte.

(3) 2um de visione divina.

3um de cognicione potestatis divine.

4um de absolucione peccatorum.

5um ne homo incidat in peccatum mortale.

6um de redempcione trium animarum de purgatorio.

II. Beginning of the Book.

Therefore, in the name of our almighty Lord Jesus Christ, the living and true God, I Honorius have laid out the works of Solomon in such a manner in my book, which topics I have listed in advance, in order to more clearly show what follows.

(2) The Topics of the First Work.

1. The first topic, concerning the composition of the great name of God, which the Hebrews call “Shem Ha-Meforash,” and is of 72 letters, which is the beginning of this art.

(3) 2. Concerning the Divine vision.

3. Concerning the knowledge of Divine power.

4. Concerning the absolution of sins.

5. Lest one falls into mortal sin.

6. Concerning the redemption of three souls from Purgatory.

(4) Capitula secundi operis

Septimum de cognicione celorum.

8um de cognicione angelorum cuiuslibet celi.

9um de cognicione cuiuslibet angeli et nominis et potestatis eius.

(5) 10um de cognicione sigillorum cuiuslibet angeli et virtutis eorum.

11um de cognicione superiorum cuiuslibet angeli.

12um de cognicione officii cuiuslibet angeli.

(6) 13um de invocacione et associacione cuiuslibet angeli.

14um de impetracione voluntatis per quemlibet angelum.

15um de impetracione omnium scienciarum.

16um de hora mortis sienda.

(7) 17um de omnibus presentibus, preteritis et futuris sciendis.

18um de cognicione planetarum et stellarum.

19um de cognicione virtutum planetarum et stellarum et quid habent influere.

(8) 20um de influenciis planetarum et stellarum mutandis.

21um de mutacione diei in noctem et noctis in diem.

22um de cognicione spirituum et animalium aereorum.

(9) 23um de cognicione spirituum ignis et eorum nominum et superiorum et sigillorum et potestatum et virtutum eorum.

24um de cognicione nominum et virtutum superiorum spirituum.

(10) 25um de cognicione sigillorum et virtutum eorum.

26um de cognicione permixtionis et permutacionis elementorum et corporum ex hiis mixtorum.

(11) 27um de cognicione omnium herbarum, plantarum et omnium animalium existencium super terram et virtutum eorum.

(12) 28um de cognicione humane nature et omnium factorum hominis, que sunt cogitata et que sunt abscondita et ignota in ipsa.

(13) 29um de cognicione aquaticorum spirituum et virtutum [et] superiorum ipsorum.

30um de cognicione terrenorum et infernorum spirituum.

(14) 31um de visione purgatorii et inferni et animarum ibidem existencium.

32um de obligacione corporis et anime ad revertendum.

33um de sacracione huius libri.

(4) The Topics of the Second Work.

7. Concerning the knowledge of the Heavens.

8. Concerning the knowledge of the angels of each of the Heavens.

9. Concerning the knowledge of each angel's name and powers

(5) 10. Concerning the knowledge of the seals of each angel, and their virtues.

11. Concerning the knowledge of the superiors of each angel

12. To know the office of any angel.

(6) 13. Regarding the invocation of any angel, and associating with them.

14. To obtain your wishes through any angel.

15. To obtain all knowledge.

16. To know the hour of death.

(7) 17. To know all things past, present, and future.

18. To know the planets and stars.

19. To know the virtues of the planets and stars and their influences.

(8) 20. To change the influences of the planets and stars.

21. To change day into night, and night into day.

22. To know the spirits and creatures of the air.

(9) 23. To know the spirits of the fire, their names, superiors, seals, powers, and virtues.

24. To know the names and virtues of the higher spirits.

(10) 25. To know their seals and virtues.

26. To know the mixing and changing of elements, and of the bodies mixed from them.

(11) 27. To know all herbs, plants, and all animals which exist on the earth, and their virtues.

(12) 28. To understand human nature and all human achievements, and what are his hidden and unknown intentions.

(13) 29. To know the aquatic spirits, and their virtues and superiors.

30. To know all terrestrial and infernal spirits.

(14) 31. Concerning the vision of purgatory and hell, and of the souls abiding there.

32. Concerning the promise that the body and soul will be reunited.

33. Concerning the consecration of this book.

(15) Capitula tercii operis

Tricesimum quartum de constriccione spirituum per verba.

35um de constriccione spirituum per sigilla.

36um de constriccione spirituum per tabulas.

37um de forma cuilibet spiritui imponenda.

(16) 38um de inclusione spirituum.

39um de incluso spiritu ut respondeat vel non.

40um de fulgure et tonitruo provocando.

41um de combustione facienda.

42um de purificacione aeris.

(17) 43um de corrupcione aeris.

44um de nive et gelu facienda.

45um de rore et pluvia facienda.

46um de floribus et fructibus provocandis.
47um de invisibilitate.
48um de equo.
(18) 49um de absente quod veniat in hora sanus.
50um de re, que deferatur in momento ubicumque volueris.
51um de abstraccione rei.
52um de revocacione rei.
53um de transfiguracione cuiuscumque.
(19) 54um de flumine provocando in terra sicca.
55um de commocione regni contra dominum.
56um de regno vel imperio destruendo.
57um de habendo potestatem super quemlibet.
58um de mille militibus armatis habendis.
(20) 59um de formacione castri indestructibilis.
60um de speculo perverso componendo.
61um de destruccione loci vel inimici per speculum perversum.
62um de speculo aparicionis mundi.
(21) 63um de fure et furto revocando.

(15) The Topics of the Third Work.

34. Concerning the binding of spirits through words.
35. Concerning the binding of spirits through seals.
36. Concerning the binding of spirits through tables.
37. Concerning imposing a form to any spirit.
(16) 38. The confinement of spirits.
39. In order that a confined spirit will answer or not.
40. To call forth lightning and thunder.
41. Concerning suffumigations that must be made.
42. Concerning the purification of the air.

(17) 43. Concerning the corruption of the air.

44. To make snow and frost.

45. To make dew and rain.

46. To call forth flowers and fruit.

47. For invisibility.

48. Concerning a horse.[3]

(18) 49. To bring a missing person back safely in an hour.

50. To transport something wherever you wish, in a moment.

51. To have something removed.

52. To recall something.

53. To transfigure anything.

(19) 54. To cause a river on dry land.

55. To incite a kingdom against its ruler.

56. To destroy a kingdom or state.

57. To have power over anyone.

58. To have 1 thousand armed soldiers.

(20) 59. To form an indestructible fortress.

60. How to make a mirror of destruction.

61. How to destroy a place or an enemy using the mirror of destruction.

62. The apparition of the world in a mirror (or glass).

(21) 63. To return anything which a thief has stolen.

64um de seraturis aperiendis.

65um de discordia facienda.

66um de concordia provocanda.

67um de habenda gracia et benivolencia omnium personarum.

(22) [68um de mulieribus habendis ad libitum.]

69um de diviciis habendis.

70um de curacione cuiuslibet infirmitatis.

71um de dando infirmitatem cuilibet et qualemcumque placuerit operanti.

72um de interficiendo quemcumque.

(23) 73um de tempestate et periculo terre et maris faciendo.

74um de nave retenta in mari per adamantem vel aliter retrahenda.

75um de omni periculo evitando.

76um de congregacione et capcione avium.

(24) 77um de piscibus congregandis et capiendis.

78um de animalibus silvestribus congregandis et capiendis.

79um de bello faciendo inter aves vel pisces vel animalia.

(25) 80um de apparencia combustionis.

81um de apparencia ioculatorum et puellarum psallencium.

82um de apparencia gardinorum vel castrorum.

83um de apparencia militum pugnancium.

(26) 84um de apparencia griphonum et drachonum.

85um de apparencia omnium ferarum.

86um de apparencia venatoris et canum in venacione.

87um de apparencia hominis quod sit alibi quam est.

88um de apparencia tocius voluptatis.

(27) Capitula quarti operis

Octagesimum nonum de incarceratis habendis.

90um de seris et carceribus reserandis.

91um de thesauris, metallis et lapidibus preciosis et omnibus rebus absconditis in terra habendis.

64. To open locks.

65. To cause discord.

66. To cause agreement.

67. To have the good will and favor of all persons.

(22) [68. To have the desire of women.][4]

69. To have wealth.

70. To cure any sickness.

71. To make anyone sick, whenever you wish.

72. To kill anyone.

(23) 73. To hold back storms and dangers of the earth and sea.

74. To hold back a ship at sea using the adamant stone, or otherwise to bring it back again.

75. To avoid all danger.

76. To flock birds together, and collect them.

(24) 77. To cause fish to gather and be caught.

78. To cause woodland animals to gather and be caught.

79. To cause war between the birds, or fish, or animals.

(25) 80. To make burning appear.

81. To make appear jesters and girls singing Psalms.[5]

82. To make gardens or fortresses appear.

83. To make appear soldiers fighting.

(26) 84. To make griffins and dragons appear.

85. To make all wild beasts appear.

86. To make hunters and dogs appear hunting.

87. To make someone appear as if they were somewhere other than where they actually are.

88. To make all pleasures appear.

(27) The Topics of the Fourth Work.

89. To release someone who is imprisoned.

90. To unlock bars and prisons.

91. To obtain treasure, metals, and precious stones, and all things that are hidden in the earth.

(28) 92um de apparencia corporum mortuorum quod loquantur et resuscitata appareant.

93um ut animalia de terra creari appareant.

Set ista duo capitula subtraximus, quoniam erant contra Domini voluntatem.

III Incipit libero

Nos igitur cum divino adiutorio precepta Salomonis et vestigia sequi volentes tanteque subtilitatis vires recipere unum principium necessarium esse profitemur. (2) Nota, quod primum principium est divina maiestas, et est invocacio vera a fide cordis procedens et est opera iusta efficaciam ostendens. (3) Dixit Salomon: “Unus est et solus Deus, sola virtus, sola fides,” a quo unum opus, unum principium. Una perfeccio in arte consistit, quamvis in membris dividatur multiplicibus. (4) Et sicut partes integrales capiunt suum totum, licet fuerit imperfectum, similiter ex hiis nascitur tota virtus.

(5) In nomine igitur illius Dei vivi et veri, qui est Alpha et Ω, principium et finis, qui est Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, tres persone, unus deus, vite dator, mortis destructor, (6) unde dicitur: “ ... qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit et vitam resurgendo reparavit, qui Novum condidit Testamentum,”

(7) de composicione sigilli Dei ad noticiam prime partis, de visione divina ad noticiam secunde partis, de visione angelorum ad noticiam tercie partis, (8) de constriccione spirituum ad noticiam 4^{e} partis et de ligacione infernorum ad noticiam 5^{e} partis vere operantibus per hunc modum.

(9) Angelorum tres sunt modi, celestes, aerei, terrestres. Celestium duo sunt modi, quorum quidam serviunt Deo soli, (10) et isti sunt 9 ordines angelorum, videlicet cherubyn, seraphin, troni, dominaciones, virtutes, principatus, potestates, archangeli et angeli, (11) de quibus nec ex coacta virtute nec ex artificiali potencia inter mortales est loquendum, et isti nullatenus invocantur, (12) quia magestati divine continue laudantes assistunt et nuncquam ab eius presencia separantur.

(28) 92. Concerning the appearing of dead bodies which appear to rise again and speak.

93. In order that animals of the earth appear to be created.

But we have removed those two topics, because they were against the Lord's will.

III. Here begins the book.

We therefore, with divine help, wishing to record the teachings of Solomon, and to follow his footsteps with as much exactness as possible, we declare there to be one principle necessity. (2) Note, that the first principle is the Divine Majesty, and it is the true invocation proceeding from faith of the heart and just works, showing the effectiveness.

(3) Solomon said: “There is only one God, one power, one faith,” from which a single work, a single beginning. Perfection in the art consists of one, although it can be divided into multiple parts. (4) And just as the integral parts make up the whole, although it had been incomplete, similarly from these the whole power is born.

(5) Therefore, in the name of that living and true God, who is Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, who is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three persons, one God, the giver of life, and the destroyer of death, (6) of whom it is said: “... Who by dying has destroyed our death, and renewed our life with his resurrection, establishing a New Covenant.”[6]

(7) The First Part concerns the composition of the Seal of God; Part Two concerns the Divine Vision; Part Three concerns the vision of angels; (8) Part Four concerns the binding of spirits; and Part Five concerns binding the inhabitants of the underworld.

(9) There are three types of angels, the celestial, the aerial, and the earthly. There are two types of celestials, those who only serve God, (10) and those are the nine orders of angels, namely, the Cherubim, Seraphim, Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Principalities, Powers, Archangels, and Angels, (11) concerning whom it is spoken among mortals neither by forced power nor by artificial force, and therefore in nowise should they be invoked, (12) because they always stand praising the divine majesty, and never separated from his presence.

(13) Tamen quia humani generis anima cum ipsis formata, expectans cum ipsis feliciter coronari per donum et graciam Salvatoris, (14) potest suo vivente corpore eos presencialiter cum summa maiestate veraciter aspicere et cum ipsis Deum laudare et suum cognoscere creatorem. (15) Et ista cognicio non est cognoscere Deum in maiestate et potencia nisi illo modo, quo Adam et prophete cognoverunt.

(16) Set istud est principaliter notandum, quod operancium tres sunt modi, pagani, Iudei, Christiani. Pagani sacrificant spiritibus aereis et terreis et eos non constringunt, (17) set fingunt spiritus se constringi per verba

legis eorum, ut ydolis fidem adhibeant et ad veram fidem nullatenus convertantur. (18) Et quia fidem malam habent;opera eorum nulla. Et qui per talia experimenta operari voluerit, Dominum Deum suum dimittat et derelinquat et spiritibus sacrificet et ydolis fidem adhibeat, (19) quia fides operatur in homine, sive bona fuerit sive mala, unde in Evangelio: "Fides tua te salvam fecit."

(20) Iudei in hac visione nullatenus operantur, quia per adventum Christi donum amiserunt, nec possunt in celis collocari testante Domino, (21) qui dicit: "Qui baptizatus non fuerit condempnabitur," et sic in omnibus angelis operantur imperfecte. (22) Nec per invocaciones suas veniunt ad effectum, nisi Christo fidem adhibeant, quia dictum est eis per prophetam: (23) "Quando venit rex regum et dominus dominancium, cessabit unccio vestra," que nuncquam cessaret, si per hanc artem haberet efficaciam veram, et sic opera eorum nulla. (24) Et quamvis Iudei, in quantum Iudei, a Deo sunt condempnati, tamen summum adorant creatorem set indebito modo. (25) Tamen virtute sanctorum Dei nominum coguntur venire spiritus, set quia Iudei non signantur signo Domini, scilicet crucis et fidei, nolunt spiritus veraciter eis respondere.

(13) Yet because the soul of man was formed with the angels, awaiting with them to be happily rewarded by the gift and grace of the Saviour, (14) he is able to truly look at the most high Majesty face to face while alive and to praise God along with them (the angels), and recognize his Creator. (15) And that knowledge is not to recognize God in his greatness and might, except in that manner by which Adam and the prophets recognized him.

(16) But this should principally be observed, that there are three types of people who perform this art: pagans, Jews, and Christians.

The pagans sacrifice to the aerial and earthly spirits, and do not bind them, (17) but the spirits pretend themselves to be confined by the words of their law, in order that they have faith in idols, and never be converted to the true faith. (18) And because they adhere to a false faith, their works are invalid. And he that wishes to perform such experiments must abandon and forsake the Lord their God and sacrifice to the spirits and put faith in idols, (19) because faith works in man, whether good or evil, from which the Gospel says: "Your faith has made you well."[7]

(20) Jews can in nowise work to obtain this vision, because with the arrival of Christ they have lost the gift, nor can they be stationed in heaven as the Lord testified when he said: “Whomever has been baptized will not be condemned,”[8] and so they work imperfectly with all angels. (22) Nor will their invocations be effective, unless they put their faith in Christ, because it was said through the prophet: (23) “When the king of kings and lord of lords comes, your anointing will cease,”[9] which should never have ceased, if they could have true effectiveness through this art, and thus their works are null. (24) And although the Jews, as they are Jews, have been condemned by God, yet they honor the most high Creator, but in an improper manner. (25) Yet with the power of the holy names of God, the spirits are compelled to come, but because the Jews are marked not with the Sign of the Lord, namely of the cross and of the faith, the spirits are unwilling to answer them truly.

(26) Solus igitur Christianus potest in hac visione et in omnibus aliis veraciter operari. (27) Et quamvis per hanc artem magicam trium hominum genera operentur, non credendum est, quod in hoc nomine “magus” debeat malum includi. (28) Nam magus per se philosophus Grece, Hebraice scriba, Latine sapiens dicitur. Sic ars magica a “magos” dicitur, quod est “sapiens,” et “-ycos,” quod est “sciencia,” (29) quasi “sciencia sapientum,” cum in ipsa efficiatur homo sapiens, et per hanc sciuntur omnia presencia, preterita et futura.

Primum opus vel tractatus.

IV De composicione sigilli Dei vivi et veri.

Primo fac unum circulum, cuius diameter sit trium digitorum propter tres clavos Domini vel 5 propter quinque plagas vel 7 propter 7 sacramenta vel 9 propter 9 ordines angelorum; set communiter 5 digitorum fieri solet.

(2) Deinde infra illum circulum fac alium circulum a primo distantem duobus granis ordei propter duas tabulas Moysi vel distantem a primo tribus granis propter trinitatem personarum.

(3) Deinde infra illos duos circulos in superiori parte, que dicitur angulus meridiei, fac unam crucem, cuius tibia aliquantulum intret circulum interiorem.

(4) Deinde a parte dextra crucis scribe h—aspiracionem—deinde t, deinde o, deinde e. x. o. r. a. b. a. l. a. y. q. c. i. y. s. t. a. l. g. a. <a>. o. n. o. s. u. l. a. r. i. t. e. k. s. p. f. y. o. m. o. m. a. n. a. r. e. m. i. a. r. e. l. a. t. e. d. a. c. o. n. o. n. a. o. y. l. e. y. o. t.

(5) Et iste litere sint eque distantes et circumdent circulum. eo ordine, quo sunt prenominate, et sic magnum nomen Domini "Semenphoras" lxxii literarum erit completum.

(6) Hoc facto in medio circulorum, scilicet in centro, fac unum pentagonum talem: , in cuius medio sit signum "tau" tale: , et supra illud signum scribe nomen Dei "El" et sub nomen aliud Dei, scilicet "Ely," isto modo:

(26) Therefore only Christians are able to attain this vision, and in all other things operate truly. (27) And although three types of people operate in this art of magic, it should not be thought that, in this name "magus" should be implied any evil. (28) For in Greek "magus" signifies a philosopher, in Hebrew a scribe, and in Latin a wise man. Thus the "magic art" is the art of the magi, which is to say the "wise men," and "-ycos," which is "knowledge," (29) thus "the knowledge of the wise men," since in it a man is made wise, and through this art all the past, present, and future are known.

The First Work or Treatise.

IV. Concerning the composition of the Seal of the True and Living God.

First make a single circle, whose diameter is three fingers (on account of the three nails of the Lord), or else 5 (for the five plagues), or 7 (for the 7 sacraments), or even 9 (for the 9 orders of angels); but generally it is made of 5 fingers.

(2) Then, below that circle make another circle, distant from the first by two grains of the barley-corn (on account of the two tablets of Moses, else

the distant from the first can be three grains on account of the three persons in the Trinity.

(3) Then below those two circles in the uppermost part, which is called the southern angle, make a single cross, the leg of which may slightly enter the more interior circle.

(4) Then from right part of the cross, write ‘h’—the exhalation—then t. o. e. x. o. r. a. b. a. l. a. y. q. c. i. y. s. t. a. l. g. a. <a>. o. n. o. s. u. l. a. r. i. t. e. k. s. p. f. y. o. m. o. m. a. n. a. r. e. m. i. a. r. e. l. a. t. e. d. a. c. o. n. o. n. a. o. y. l. e. y. o. t.

(5) And these letters should be made an equal distance apart, and should surround the circle. That series, which were previously named, and thus it will be filled with the great name of the Lord “Shem Ha-Meforash” of seventy-two letters.

(6) This finished, in the middle of the circles, namely in the center, make a pentagonal thus: ★, in the middle of which should be the sign ‘tau’, thus: 𝐓 and above that sign write the name of God “El” and underneath this other name of God, namely “Ely,” in this fashion:

(7) Deinde infra angulum superiorem pentagoni scribe istas duas literas: “1,” “x” et infra alium angulum dextrum istas duas: “a,” “l” et in alio post istum istas duas: “l,” “a” et in alio post istum: “l,” “c” et in alio post istum “u,” “m.”

(8) Deinde circa pentagonum fac unum eptagonum, cuius latus superius + secundum sui +[1] medium contingat angulum superiorem pentagoni, ubi “l,” “x” scribebatur,

(9) et in eodem latere eptagoni scribe hoc nomen sancti angeli, quod est “Casziel,”

et in alio latere a dextris istud nomen alterius sancti angeli, (10) quod est “Satquiel,”

deinde in alio “Samael” et in alio “Raphael,” postea “Anael,” postea “Michael,” postea “Gabriel,”

et sic septem latera eptagoni erunt adimpleta.

(11) Deinde circa istum eptagonum predictum fac alium eptagonum non quomodo primus factum set taliter, quod unum latus ipsius intercedet alterum latus eiusdem.

(12) Deinde fac alium eptagonum talem, qualis primus fuit, cuius anguli 7 contingant angulos 7 eptagoni secundi, qui binus esse videtur. + Hic tamen eptagonus infra predictum secundum concludetur +. (13) Unum latus secundi eptagoni supereundo et aliud subeundo set latus primo angulo succedens subeundo ibit, et que secuntur serie supereuntis et subeuntis alterutrim[2] se habebunt.

(7) Then, below the uppermost angle of the pentagon, write these two letters: ‘l’, ‘x’

and below the other in the right angle, these two: ‘a’, ‘l’

and in the next after those, these two: ‘l’, ‘a’

and in the next after that: ‘l’, ‘c’

and in that following: ‘u’, ‘m’.

(8) Then around the pentagon make a heptagon, it should touch the uppermost side of the pentagon, <its second> which is after the middlemost above angle, where are written ‘l’, ‘x’.

(9) And in the same side of the heptagon write this name of the holy angel, which is ‘Casziel.’

And in the next side from the right-most the name of the holy angel, (10) which is ‘Satquiel’.

‘Then in the next ‘Samael’, and in the next ‘Raphael’, afterwards ‘Anael’, afterwards ‘Michael,’ afterwards ‘Gabriel.’

And thus the seven sides of the heptagon will be completed.

(11) Then around that preceding heptagon make another heptagon, not made like the first, but in such a manner that the one side of it will intersect the previous side of the same.

(12) Then make another such heptagon, like the first, whose seven angles touch the seven angles of the second heptagon, and the which should be shown doubled. + Yet this heptagon will be contained within the preceding second one +.[10] (13) The one side of the second heptagon going over, and the other going under, but the first side should go under the following angle, and that which follows in sequence should go over and under each other.

(14) Deinde in quolibet angulo secundi eptagoni una crux depingatur. (15) Deinde in illo latere secundi eptagoni, quod transit ab ultimo angulo eiusdem ad secundum angulum eiusdem, in eadem parte, que est supra “Casziel,” sillabe cuiusdam sancti Dei nominis scribantur, (16) ita quod hec sillaba: “la” scribatur in illo loco lateris predicti, qui est supra primam sillabam de “Casziel,” (17) et hec sillaba: “ya” in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est supra ultimam sillabam eiusdem “Casziel,” (18) et hec sillaba: “ly” in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est [inter] latus intersecans predictum latus et crucem secundi anguli eiusdem.

(19) Deinde in latere illo, quod tendit ab angulo primo eiusdem secundi eptagoni ad tercium angulum eiusdem, scribatur hoc nomen sanctum Dei: “Narath,” (20) ita quod hec sillaba: “na” scribatur in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est supra primam sillabam de “Satquiel,” (21) et hec sillaba: “ra” in illo loco, qui est supra ultimam eiusdem, et hec due litere: “t,” “h” in illo loco, qui est in eodem latere inter latus intersecans ipsum et crucem terciam.

(22) Deinde in illo latere eiusdem secundi eptagoni, quod tendit a tercio angulo eiusdem ad quintum eiusdem, scribatur hoc creatoris nomen sanctum, quod dicitur “Libarre,” (23) ita quod hec sillaba: “ly” scribatur supra primam sillabam de “Raphael” et hec sillaba: “bar” supra ultimam sillabam eiusdem (24) et hec sillaba “re” in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et quintum angulum eiusdem secundi eptagoni.

(25) Deinde in illo latere eiusdem secundi eptagoni, quod est a quinta cruce usque ad ultimam, scribatur hoc aliud sacrum creatoris nomen: “Libares,” (26) ita quod hec sillaba: “ly” scribatur in illo loco lateris, qui est supra primam sillabam ipsius “Michael,” (27) et hec sillaba: “ba” in illo loco lateris, qui est supra ultimam sillabam eiusdem, (28) et hec sillaba: “res” in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et ultimam crucem.

(29) Deinde in illo latere eiusdem secundi eptagoni, quod vadit a secundo angulo eiusdem secundi eptagoni ad quartum, scribatur hoc aliud sanctum nomen: “Lialg” cum coniunctiva, (30) ita quod coniunctiva in illo loco eiusdem lateris scribatur, qui est supra primam sillabam de “Samael,” (31) et hec sillaba: “ly” in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est supra ultimam eiusdem, (32) et hec sillaba: “alg” in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et quartam crucem.

(14) Then in each of the angles of the second heptagon make a cross. (15) Then in that side (of the second heptagon) which crosses from the last angle of the same to after the angle of the same, in the same part which is above “Casziel,” should be written this syllable from a certain sacred name of God, (16) thus: “la” it should be written in that place of the preceding side, which is above the first syllable of “Casziel,” (17) and this syllable: ‘ya’ in that place of same side, which is above the most far syllable of same “Casziel,” and this syllable: “ly” in that place of the same side, (18) which is [between] the side intersecting the preceding side and the cross of the following same angle.

(19) Then in that side, which stretches from the first angle of the same heptagon and continues towards the third angle of same, this holy name of God should be written: “Narath,” (20) with this syllable: “na” written in that place of the same side, which is above the first syllable of “Satquiel,” (21) and this syllable: “ra” in that place, which is above the farthest syllable of same, and these two letters ‘t,’ ‘h’ made in that place, which is in the same side between the side intersecting itself and the third cross.

(22) Then in that side (of the same second heptagon) which stretches from the third angle of same towards the fifth of same, should be written this holy name of the Creator, which is called “Libarre,” (23) thus with this syllable: “ly” written above the first syllable of “Raphael,” and this syllable: “bar” above the last syllable of the same, (24) and this syllable

“re” in that place of the same side, which is between the side intersecting itself and the fifth angle of same second heptagon.

(25) Then in that side (of the same second heptagon) which is farthest from the fifth cross, this other sacred name of the Creator should be written: ‘Libares’, (26) with this syllable: “ly” written in that place of the side, which is above the first syllable of “Michael,” (27) and this syllable: “ba” in that place of the side, which is above the farthest syllable of same, (28) and this syllable: “res” in that place of same side, which is between the side intersecting itself and the last cross.

(29) Then in that side of the same second heptagon, which goes from the second angle of the same second heptagon towards the fourth, this other holy name should be written: “Lialg” with the connective. (30) Therefore the connective should be written in that place of the same side, which is above the first syllable of “Samael,” and this syllable: “ly” in that place of the same side, which is above the farthest of the same, and this syllable: “alg” in that place of the same side, which is between the side intersecting itself and the fourth cross.

(33) Set cave, quod coniunctiva sic debet scribi: cum titulo intersecante propter timorem Dei malum volitum dividentem.

(34) Deinde in illo latere eiusdem eptagoni tendente a quarta cruce ad sextam scribatur hoc aliud sacrum Dei nomen: “Ueham,” (35) ita quod hec sillaba: “ue” scribatur in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est supra primam sillabam de “Anael,” et hec litera: “h” supra ultimam sillabam (36) et hec sillaba: “am” in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est inter latus [inter]secans ipsum et sextam crucem.

(37) Deinde in illo latere, quod tendit a sexto angulo eiusdem secundi eptagoni ad primum angulum, scribatur hoc aliud sacrum Dei nomen: “Yalgal,” (38) ita quod hec litera: “y” scribatur in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est supra primam sillabam de “Gabriel,” (39) et hec sillaba: “al” supra ultimam et hec sillaba: “gal” in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et primam crucem.

(40) Deinde in medio lateris primi <et> tercii eptagoni a dextris scribatur “Vos” et in sequenti latere eiusdem tercii eptagoni a dextris hoc nomen: “Duynas” (41) et in alio “Gyram” et in alio “Gram” et in alio “Aysaram” et in alio “Alpha” et in alio “Ω.”

(42) Deinde in illo spaciolo, quod est sub secundi et tercii angulo primo eptagonorum, scribatur hoc nomen Dei: “El”

(43) et in illo spaciolo, quod est a dextris sub angulis secundi et tercii eptagonorum sub secunda cruce, hoc nomen: “On”

et in illo alio spaciolo sub tercia cruce iterum hoc nomen: “El”

(44) et in alio sub quarta cruce iterum “On” et in alio sub quinta cruce iterum “El’

et in alio sub sexta cruce iterum “On” et in alio sub septima cruce “Ω.””

(45) Deinde in illo spaciolo, quod clauditur inter angulum primum secundi eptagoni et secundum angulum eiusdem et primum latus tercii eptagoni et porcionem circuli contingentem illos angulos, depingatur una crux in medio, scilicet spacii illius.

(33) But beware, that the connective should be written thus: with the inscription intersecting, because of the fear of God, separating evil is willed.

(34) Then, on that side (of the same heptagon) that goes from the fourth cross to the sixth, write this other sacred name of God: “Ueham,” (35) such that the syllable: “ue” is written above the first syllable of “Anael,” and the letter “h” is above the last syllable of the same, (36) and the syllable “am” is in the space of the same side which is [inter]secting the side itself and the sixth cross.

(37) Then, on that side which goes from the sixth angle (of the same second heptagon) to the first angle, this other sacred name of God should be written: “Yalgal,” (38) such that the letter “y” is written in the space of the same side which is above the first syllable of “Gabriel,” (39) and the syllable “al” is above the last, and the syllable “gal” should be in the space of the same side which is between the intersection and the first cross.

(40) Then in the middle of the first side and the third heptagon on the right should be written “Vos” and in the next side to the right of the same third heptagon this name: “Duynas” (41) and in the next “Gyra” and in the next “Gram” and in the next “Aysaram” and in the next “Alpha” and in the next “Ω.”

(42) Then in that small space which is under the second and the third angle of the first heptagon, should be written this name of God: “El”

(43) and in that small space which is to the right under the second and third angles of the heptagons under the following cross, this name: “On”

and in space-small that one elsewhere under the third cross again this name: “El”

(44) and in the other under the fourth cross again “On”

and in the other under the fifth cross again “El”

and in the other under the sixth cross again “On”

and in the other under the seventh cross “ Ω”

(45) Then in that small space which is closed between the first angle of the second heptagon and the second angle of same, and the first side of the third heptagon, and the part touching those angles of the circle, draw a single cross in the middle.

(46) Et in bucca superiori a leva crucis scribatur hec litera: “a” et super buccam crucis secundam a dextris hec litera: “g” (47) et sub bucca inferiori a dextris scribatur hec alia litera: “a” et sub quarta bucca hec alia litera: “1.”

(48) Deinde in alio spaciolo sequenti a dextris in medio scribatur hoc nomen: “Ely” et in alio hoc nomen: “Eloy” et in alio “Χρς”[3] et in alio “Sother” et in alio “Adonay” et in alio “Saday.”

(49) Deinde scias, quod in exemplaribus communiter pentagonus fit de rubeo cum croceo in spaciis tincto, et primus eptagonus de azurio, secundus de croceo, tertius de purpureo, et circuli de nigro. (50) Et spacium inter circulos, ubi est nomen “Semenphoras,” tingitur croceo. Omnia alia spacia viridi habent tingi. (51) Set in operacionibus aliter fieri debet, quia de sanguine aut talpe aut turturis aut upupe aut vespertilionis aut omnium horum figuratur et in pergameno virgineo vitulino vel equino vel cervino, et sic completur Dei sigillum. (52) Et per hoc sanctum et sacrum sigillum, quando erit sacratum, poteris facere operaciones, que postea dicentur in hoc libro sacro. (53) Modus autem sacrandi hoc sacrum sigillum talis, sicut sequitur, debet esse.

(46) And in top left space of the cross write the letter: “a”

and in the top right space of the cross this letter: “g”

(47) and in the lower right space write another letter: “a”

and under the fourth space below this other letter: “l.”

(48) Then in the middle of the next small space on the right, write this name: “Ely”

and in the next this name: “Eloy”

and in the next “Χρς”

and in the next “Sother”

and in the next “Adonay”

and in the next “Saday.”

(49) Know then, that in the exemplars generally the pentagon is made from red, with the space tinted yellow, and the first heptagon of azure, the second from yellow, the third from purple, and the circle from black.

(50) And the space between the circles, where the name Shem Ha-Meforash is, is tinted yellow.

All other spaces must be tinted green.

(51) But in the operations it must be done otherwise, because it should be written with the blood either of a mole, a turtledove, or hoopoe, or of a bat, or of all of these. Also, it is should be formed on virgin parchment, either from a calf, foal, or deer. And thus the Seal of God is completed.

(52) And through this holy and sacred seal, once consecrated, you will be able to perform the operations, which afterwards will be revealed in this sacred book.

(53) But the manner consecrating this sacred seal must be done as follows.

Seal of God, reconstructed based on Summa and text of Honorius

(54) Inspirante Domino dixit Salomon: “Vnus est [et] solus Deus, sola fides, sola virtus,” quam Dominus hominibus voluit revelari et distribui tali modo. (55) Dixit angelus Samael Salomoni: “Hoc dabis populo Israel, qui et aliis similiter tribuent.” Sic placuit creatori, et iubet ipsum Dominus taliter consecrari. (56) Primo sit mundus operans, non pollutus, et cum devocione faciat, non astute. Non comedat neque bibat, donec perfecerit opus, et sanguis, quo scriptum fuerit, primo sit benedictus, sicut postea dicetur. (57) Deinde suffumigetur hoc sigillum ambra, musco, aloe,

lapdano albo et rubeo, mastice, olibano, margaritis et thure invocando et orando Dominum, sicut postea de visione divina erudietur. (58) Post in vocando angelos, sicut infra eciam dicetur, mutabitur tamen peticio tali modo.

Seal of God, reconstructed based on Summa and text of Honorius

(54) With the Lord's inspiration, Solomon said: “There is only one God, one faith, one power,” which the Lord wished to be shown and disseminated to men in such a manner. (55) The angel Samael said to Solomon: “This you will give to the people of Israel, which they will

similarly bestow to others." Thus it has pleased the Creator, and the Lord himself orders it to be consecrated in such a manner. (56) First, the worker must be clean, not impure, and should do so with devotion, not cunningly. He must not eat or drink until the work is completed, and the blood, with which the writing will be done, must first be blessed, as will be declared afterward.[11] (57) Then this seal should be suffumigated with amber, musk, aloe, white and red labdanum, mastic, frank-incense, pearls, and incense, calling upon and begging the Lord, as will be taught afterwards concerning the divine vision. (58) After calling the angels, you should also say as follows, but you should modify the petition in such a manner.

(59) "Vt tu, Domine, per annunciacionem, concepcionem" et cetera "hoc sacratissimum nomen ac sigillum tuum benedicere et consecrare digneris, (60) ut per ipsum te mediante possim vel possit talis N celestes convincere potestates, aereas et terreas cum infernalibus subiugare, invocare, transmutare, coniurare, constringere, excitare, congregare, dispergere, ligare ac ipsos innocuos reddere, (61) homines placare et ab eis suas peticiones graciosius habere, inimicos pacificare, pacificatos disiungere, sanos in sanitate custodire vel infirmare, infirmos curare, (62) homines bonos a malis custodire et distinguere et cognoscere, omne corporale periculum evadere, iudices in placito placatos reddere, victoriam in omnibus optinere, (63) peccata carnalia mortificare et spiritualia fugare, vincere et evitare, divicias in bonis augmentare, et dum in die iudicii apparebit a dextris tuis cum sanctis et electis tuis, tuam possit cognoscere maiestatem."

(64) Et tunc illa nocte sub aere sereno extra domum dimittat. Tunc habeas cirothecas novas sine creta factas, in quas quis nuncquam manum posuerit, in quibus signum +glutetur+. (65) Et sic complebitur hoc sacrosanctum sigillum, cuius primus eptagonus 7 ordines, secundus 7 articulos duplos, tercius 7 sacramenta designat.

V Viso de composicione sigilli Dei vivi videndum est de visione divina, ad quam habendam sic est procedendum.

Primo sit operans vere penitens et confessus. Sit a mulieribus et ab earum aspectibus sequestratus. (2) Nam ut Salomon ait: “Tucius est cum ursa et leone in cavernis morari quam cum muliere nequam.” Ab hominibus malis et infirmis separetur. Nam dicitur in Psalmo: “Cum sancto sanctus eris, et cum viro iniquo iniqus eris.”

[PRAYER.]

(59) “That you, O Lord, through the annunciation, the conception” etc.[12] “that you would deign to bless and consecrate this most holy name and your seal, (60) so that through it with your mediation, I or such person N, will be able to conquer such heavenly powers, of the air or earth, with the infernal ones, to subjugate, invoke, transmute, conjure, constrain, raise up, congregate, disperse, bind and render them harmless. (61) To appease people and favorably obtain from them their petitions, to pacify enemies, to disunite those pacified, to protect the health of those who are healthy, or to sicken them, and to cure the sick. (62) To guard good people from evil, and to distinguish and recognized them, to evade all physical danger, to make favorable judges be favorably disposed again, to have victory in all things, (63) to destroy carnal sins, and rout, conquer, and avoid spiritual ones, to increase wealth in good things, and on the Day of Judgment that I may appear on your right hand with your saints and elect, and be able to recognize your majesty.”

(64) And then that night, he should set it outside the house, under clear skies.

Then you should have new gloves, made without whitening chalk, into which no one should have placed a hand, in which the seal must be <glued> [*held]. (65) And thus is completed this sacrosanct seal, whose first heptagon designates the 7 orders, whose second designates the seven twofold events, and whose third designates the seven sacraments.

V. Having considered the composition of the Seal of the living God, which is

necessary for seeing the divine vision,
we will now proceed to that topic.

First he must perform true penance and confession. He must separate himself from women, and from seeing them. (2) For as Solomon said: "It is safer to dwell with a she-bear and a lion in its den than to abide with a wicked woman."[13] He must also separate himself from evil and sick men. For he said in the Psalm: "With the holy you will be holy, and with the unjust you will be unjust."[14]

(3) Vitam suam munde deducat, quia dicitur: "Beati immaculati in via, qui ambulant in lege Domini." Vestimenta eius non sint fetida, immo nova vel mundissime lota. (4) Et intendit Salomon vestimenta nova virtutes esse, quia Deus nec beati angeli de mundanis curant. Ex hoc patet, quod pauperes cicius et verius operantur quam divites. (5) Set in operacione subsequenti istorum angelorum istud convenit, quia habitant cum hominibus et sunt mundi. Ideo mundas vestes appetunt, et ideo Salomon generaliter loquebatur.

(6) Nuncquam aliquis, dum hoc facere voluerit, sit ociosus, ne cicius decidat cor suum ad peccatum. Nam dicitur: "Semper aliquid agite, ne ociosi inveniamini." (7) Semper et continue roget Deum per has sanctissimas oraciones, que secuntur, quia dicitur: "Beatus servus, quem, cum venerit Dominus, invenerit vigilantem."

VI PRIMA ORACIO

Acciones nostras, quesumus, Domine, aspirando preveni et adiuvando prosequere, ut cuncta nostra operacio a te semper incipiat, et per te incepta finiatur, qui vivis et regnas per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

(3) He must lead a clean life, because it is said: "Blessed are those whose ways are undefiled, who walk in the law of the Lord."[15] His garments must not be foul-smelling, but rather they must be new or very cleanly washed. (4) And by "new garments" Solomon means "of worth," because neither God nor the blessed angel care anything about material things. From this it is seen, that the poor labor more quickly and truly (in this art) than the rich. (5) But in the following operation the same angels,

who are pure, are assembled together with men. Therefore they greatly desire clean garments, and therefore Solomon was speaking generally.

(6) He who wishes to accomplish this work must never let himself be idle, lest his heart more quickly falls towards sin. For it is said: "Always strive for something, lest you are found idle."[16] (7) So you should continually pray to God through these most holy prayers which follow, because it is said: "Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he comes, shall be found vigilant."[17]

VI. Prayer 1.

"Direct, we beg you, O Lord, our actions by your holy inspirations, and carry them on by your gracious assistance, that every prayer and work of ours may begin always with you, and through you be happily ended, who lives and reigns through all the ages of the ages. Amen."[18]

VII 2A oracio

Ave, Maria, gracia plena. Dominus tecum. Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui. Mater Dei, ora pro nobis. Amen.

VIII 3A oracio

Salve, regina, mater misericordie,
vita, dulcedo et spes nostra, salve.
Ad te clamamus exules filii Eve. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes
in hac lacrimarum valle. Eya!
(2) Ergo, advocata nostra,
illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte,
et Iesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui,
nobis post hoc exilium ostende,
o clemens, o pia, o dulcis Maria.

(3) Ora pro nobis, sancta Dei genitrix, ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.

IX 4A ORACIO

O gloriosa virgo semper Maria, mater glorie, mater ecclesie, mater pietatis et indulgencie, ave, carissima domina, semper virgo Maria, mater luminis, honor eternus, signum serenitatis. (2) Ave, piissima domina Maria, aula Dei, porta celi, sacrarium Spiritus sancti. Ave, piissima domina Maria, urna aurea, templum divinitatis, reclinatorium eterne pietatis. (3) Ave, clementissima domina Maria, decus virginum, domina gencium, regina angelorum. Ave, amantissima domina Maria, fons ortorum, ablucio peccatorum, lavacrum animarum. (4) Ave, desideratissima domina Maria, mater orphanorum, mamilla parvulorum, consolàcio miserorum. Salve, sancta parens. Salve, sancta et immaculata virginitas assistens vultui Dei, memor esto nostre fragilitatis.

VII. Prayer 2.

Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou amongst women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, [Jesus. Holy Mary,] Mother of God, pray for us. Amen.

VIII. Prayer 3.

Hail holy queen, mother of mercy,

Hail our life, our sweetness, and our hope.

To you do we cry, poor banished children of Eve. To you do we send up our sighs, mourning, and weeping

in this valley of tears.

(2) Turn then, most gracious advocate

your eyes of mercy toward us.

And after this, our exile,

Show us the fruit of your womb, Jesus.

O clement, O loving, O sweet [virgin] Mary.

(3) Pray for us, Holy Mother of God

That we may be made worthy of the promises of Christ.[19]

IX. Prayer 4.

O glorious Mary, eternal virgin, glorious mother, mother of the church, mother of piety and leniency, hail, O dearest lady, Mary, eternal virgin, mother of light, the eternal honor, the image of serenity. (2) Hail, most pious lady Mary, the court of God, the gate of heaven, the shrine of the Holy Spirit. (3) Hail, most pious lady Mary, that vessel of gold, that temple of the divinity, cushion of eternal piety. Hail, most merciful lady Mary, the glory of maidens, the ruler of nations, the queen of the angels. Hail most loving lady Mary, over-flowing fountain, the washing of sins, the refreshment of souls. (4) Hail, most desired lady Mary, mother of orphans, the breast of infants, comforter of the wretched. Hail, holy parent. Hail, holy and immaculate virgin, who stands near the face of God, mindful of our frailty.

(5) Salve, benignissima, salve, suavissima, salve, misericordissima. Propiciaberis, semper virgo benedicta et gloriosa semper virgo Maria, que virga sacratissima et Dei mater es piissima, maris stella clarissima.

(6) Salve, semper gloriosa, margarita preciosa, ficus [*sicut], lilium, formosa, olens velut rosa. Alleluia! Dirige me in visione beata.

(7) Obsecro te, regina perhennis, sancta Maria, per amorem Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti et per commendatum tibi celeste sacrarium et per multas miseraciones, quas fecit super me et super genus humanum, (8) et per virtutes et per misteria sancte crucis et per sanctos clavos fixos in suas preciosas manus et pedes et per sancta 5 vulnera sui preciosi corporis et per precium sancti corporis sui, quo nos redemit in sancta cruce, (9) ut ores pro me et pro omnibus peccatis meis et necessitatibus anime et corporis mei ad dilectum filium tuum, *ut me vivente ipsum videre et collaudare merear*. Amen.

X

Gaude, virgo immaculata, Dei genitrix. Gaudium michi dona. Gaude, que gaudium ab angelo suscepisti, et gaudium visionis divine michi dona. Gaude, que genuisti eterni luminis claritatem. (2) Gaude, Dei genitrix, et gaudium visionis divine michi dona, ut sublever de omnibus angustiis et tribulacionibus et viciis meis, que sunt in corde meo, et quero amplius, ut

tecum sim a latere constans ad videndum me vivente Deum eternum. (3) Adoro te, sancta mater Domini nostri Iesu Christi, et laudo et magnifico te. Adoro altitudinem tuam.

Adoro castitatem et virginitatem tuam. Adoro pietatem et misericordiam tuam. (4) Adoro viscera beata tua, que portaverunt deum et hominem. Adoro beatum uterum tuum, qui portavit Iesum Dominum. Adoro beata ubera tua, que lactaverunt salvatorem mundi. (5) Precor te, carissima semper virgo Maria, per amorem filii tui, Domini nostri Iesu Christi, ut intercedas pro me peccatore ad visionem Dei eterni me vivente habendam et succurras michi in omnibus angustiis et necessitatibus meis et ne derelinquas me, (6) neque sim sine adiutorio in hac visione beata neque in illo tremendo die, cum exierit anima mea de corpore meo, aut in illa mirabili hora, cum rapta fuerit ad videndum me vivente Deum eternum.

(5) Hail, most kind, hail, most agreeable, hail, most merciful. You will be propitiated, eternal virgin, blessed and glorious, ever chaste Mary, you who are the most hallowed virgin and blessed mother of God, brightest star of the sea.

(6) Hail, ever glorious, precious pearl, beautiful as the lily, fragrant as the rose.[20] Hallelujah! Direct me in this blessed vision.

(7) I entreat you, eternal queen, holy Mary, through the love of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and through your trusted heavenly shrine, and through the great pities which you have made over me and over the human race, (8) and through the virtues and through the solemn mysteries of the cross, and through the holy nails fastened to his precious hands and feet, and through the five sacred wounds to his precious body, where he redeemed us on the holy cross, (9) in order that you may plead to your beloved son on my behalf, and on behalf of all my sins, and for the needs of my soul and of my body, *in order that I, while yet living, may be worthy to see and praise you*. Amen.

X.

Rejoice,[21] O immaculate virgin, mother of God. Give me joy. Rejoice, you who received the tidings of joy from the angel, and give me the joy of the vision of God. Rejoice, you who brought forth the clarity of eternal light. (2) Rejoice, mother of God, and give me the joy of the vision of God, that I

may be raised up from all my difficulties and tribulations and the faults which are in my heart, and I ask further, that I may be firmly by your side, for seeing the living and eternal God. (3) I adore you, O holy mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and I praise and glorify you. I adore your exaltation.

I adore your chastity and virginity. I adore your piety and your mercy. (4) I adore your blessed innermost parts, which have born God and Man. I adore your blessed womb, which has born Lord Jesus. I adore your blessed breasts, which have nursed the savior of the world. (5) I beg of you, dearest Mary ever virgin, through the love of your son our Lord Jesus Christ, to intervene for me, a sinner, that I may have the vision of the eternal God while yet alive, and assist me in all my difficulties and needs, and do not abandon me,[22] (6) so I may not be without help in this blessed vision nor on that terrible day when my soul departs from my body, or in that wonderful hour, when it will be dragged away, for seeing the living eternal God.

(7) Postulo, graciosa, me ad portas paradisi facere venire, ut merear videre ibi filium tuum et merear habere leticiam sempiternam visionis divine cum ipso filio tuo gloriosissimo, qui vivit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

XI 5^{A} ORACIO

Ego peccator indignus ad laudem et honorem gloriosissime semperque virginis Marie, genitricis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, eius sacra nomina, cum sim indignus, iuxta meum exiguum sensum Spiritu sancto dictante nominare curo.

(2) O gloriosa Dei genitrix, semper virgo Maria, ne indigneris contra me nequissimum et innumerabili iniquitate plenum set accipe propicia misericorditer quod indignus ad honorem tuum offero et affecto. (3) Etenim, piissima, sacra tua nomina corde, ore, opere distinte nominare et exaltare volo.

Nominaris namque Maria, Genitrix, Mater, Sponsa, Filia, Theotan, Virga, Vas, Balsamus, Nubes, Ros, (4) Pacifica, Princeps, Regina, Aurora, Imperatrix, Domina, Ancilla, Ortus, Fons, Puteus, Via, Vita, Semita, Splendor, Stella aurea, Lumen, Luna, Fenestra vitrea, Ianua, Porta, Velum, Cella, (5) Domus, Hospicium, Capsa, Templum, Aula, Tabernaculum,

Manna, Civitas, Liber, Stola, Flumen, Pons, Uva, Malogranatum, Femina, Nutrix, Mulier, Turris, Navis, Redemptrix, Liberatrix, Amica, (6) Thalamus, Vallis, Cinamomum, Turtur, Columba, Lilium, Rosa, Consolacio, Portus, Spes, Salus, Gloria, Fundamentum, vera peccatorum Medicina, Sacrarium Spiritus sancti, Radix Iesse, Antitodum, Recreatrix, Syon, Puella, Miseratrix.

(7) I graciously ask you to make me come to the gates of Paradise, that I may be worthy to see your son there, and that I may be worthy to have the wondrous eternal divine vision, with your most glorious son himself, who lives and reigns world without end. Amen.

XI. Prayer 5.

I, an unworthy sinner, for the praise and honor of the most glorious and eternal virgin Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, of his sacred names, since I am unworthy, because of my meager perception I take care to name with the Holy Spirit's command.

(2) O glorious mother of God, O eternal virgin Mary, do not deem me unworthy because of my great wickedness and innumerable iniquities, but mercifully and favorably accepting that which I, although unworthy, offer and desire for your honor. (3) And so I wish to clearly name and exalt your holy names most conscientiously, with my heart, with my mouth, and with my labor.

So you are named Mary, Creator, Mother, Bride, Daughter, Theotan, Rod, Vessel, Balsamus, Cloud, Dew, (4) Peace Maker, the First, Queen, Dawn, Empress, Lady, Handmaiden, Risen, the Spring, the Well, the Way, the Life, the Path, the Brilliance, the Golden Star, the Light, the Moon, Glass Window, the Doorway, the Gate, the Curtain, the Chamber, (5) the Home, Guest Room, the Receptacle, the Temple, the Hall, the Tabernacle, the Manna, Community, Free, the Stole, the River, the Bridge, the Grape, the Pomegranate, Female, Nurse, Woman, Tower, Ship, Redemptress, Liberator, Friend, (6) the Bedroom, the Vally, Cinnamon, the Turtle-dove, the Dove, the Lily, the Rose, the Consolation, the Refuge, the Hope, the Salvation, the Glory, the Foundation, the True Medicine of Sinners, the Shrine of the Holy Spirit, the Root of Jesse, the Antidote, the Recreatrix, Sion, the Girl, She who is Compassionate.

(7) Tuam deprecor sanctissimam misericordiam, ut per hec divina tua nomina, que ego nunc tibi plenus immundicia coram altari tuo de te presumendo optuli, (8) ut in hac hora me audias et insaciabiliter digneris me facere videre atque laudare te et tuum filium gloriosum corpusculo meo vivente.

(9) Teque interpello, gloriosa, per tuum filium, quem concepisti, quem genuisti, quem peperisti, quem in carne lactasti, quem in balneo misisti, quem pannis involvisti, quem in templo presentasti, (10) quem predicantem audisti, quem in cruce pro nobis suspensum vidisti, quem mortuum et sepultum inspexisti, quem surgentem a mortuis scivisti, quem ad celum ascendentem ad Patrem vidisti, (11) et inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem, per ipsum quoque pollutus labiis, pollutus carne, pollutus corpore, pollutus mente [te] ausus nominare imploro, (12) quatinus in hoc opere te et sanctam trinitatem cum sanctis angelis tuis facias me aspicere et videre et in extremo magno iudicio ab eternali pena eripias per Christum, Dominum nostrum. Amen.

XII 6[A] ORACIO

Credo in Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem celi et terre, et in Iesum Christum, filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum, qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria virgine, passus sub Poncio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus. (2) Descendit ad inferna, tercia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad celos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis, inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos. (3) Credo in Spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurreccionem et vitam eternam. Amen.

XIII 7A ORACIO

Quicumque vult salvus esse *et visionem Dei habere*, ante omnia opus est, ut teneat catholicam fidem, quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio visionem divinam non habebit. (2) Fides autem catholica hec est, ut unum deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate veneremur neque confundentes personas, neque substanciam separantes.

(3) Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, ali a Spiritus sancti. Set Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti una est divinitas, equalis gloria, coeterna maiestas. (4) Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis Spiritus sanctus. Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus Spiritus sanctus. Inmensus Pater, inmensus Filius, inmensus Spiritus sanctus. (5) Eternus Pater, eternus Filius, eternus Spiritus sanctus, et tamen non tres eterni set unus eternus, sicut non tres increati nec tres inmensi set unus increatus et unus inmensus. (6) Similiter omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens Spiritus sanctus, et tamen non tres omnipotentes set unus omnipotens. (7) Ha Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus Spiritus sanctus, et tamen non tres dii set unus est Deus. (8) Ha Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus Spiritus sanctus, et tamen non tres domini set unus est Dominus, qui a sicut singillatim unamquamque personam Deum ac Dominum confiteri Christiana veritate compellimur, ita tres deos aut dominos dicere catholica religione prohibemur. (9) Pater a nullo est factus nec creatus nec genitus. Filius a Patre solo non factus nec creatus set genitus. Spiritus sanctus a Patre et Filio non factus nec creatus nec genitus set procedens. (10) Unus ergo Pater, non tres patres, unus Filius, non tres fiIii, unus Spiritus sanctus, non tres spiritus sancti. (11) Et in hac trinitate nichil prius aut posterius, nichil maius aut minus, set tote tres persone coeterne sibi sunt et coequales, ita ut per omnia, sicut iam supra dictum est, et unitas in trinitate et trinitas in unitate veneranda sit. (12) Qui vult ergo salvus esse *et visionem divinam habere*, ita de trinitate senciat.

(7) I beg for your most holy compassion, that through these divine names of yours, which I, though full of filth, have now dared to offer before your altar, (8) that you hear me in this hour, and deign to make me insatiably worthy to see and praise you and your glorious son, while my insignificant body is still living.

(9) And I address you, O glorious one, through your son, whom you conceived, whom you begat, whom you have borne, whose body you nursed, whom you bathed, whom you wrapped in cloths, whom you presented at the temple, (10) whose preaching you heard, whose suspension from the cross on our behalf you saw, whose death and burial you witnessed, whose rising from the dead you observed, whose ascension to the Father in heaven you saw, (11) and who will soon return from there to judge the living and the dead and the world by fire, likewise through him I dare to name [you] and beg for help, with impure lips, with impure

flesh, with impure body, with impure mind, (12) that through this work you will enable me to look at and see yourself, and the holy Trinity, with your holy angels, and in the end at the Great Judgement you will snatch me away from eternal punishment, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

XII. Prayer 6. [The Creed].[23]

I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord: who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried; (2) he descended into hell; the third day he rose again from the dead; he ascended into heaven; sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the living and the dead. (3) I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy Catholic Church, the communion of Saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting. Amen.

XIII. Prayer 7.[24]

"Whoever wishes to be saved *and have the vision of God*, should above all things hold to the Catholic faith. Whoever fails to keep it whole and undefiled, without doubt shall perish everlastingly. (2) And the Catholic faith is this: That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity, neither confounding the persons, nor dividing the substance. (3) For there is one person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Spirit. But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit is all one, the glory equal, the majesty co-eternal. (4) As is the Father, so is the Son, and so is the Holy Spirit. The Father uncreated, the Son uncreated, and the Holy Spirit uncreated. The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy Spirit incomprehensible. (5) The Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Spirit eternal. And yet they are not three eternals, but one eternal. As also there are not three uncreated, nor three incomprehensibles, but one uncreated and one incomprehensible. (6) So likewise the Father is almighty, the Son almighty, and the Holy Spirit almighty. And yet they are not three almighties, but one almighty. (7) So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God, and yet they

are not three Gods, but one God. (8) So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son is Lord, and the Holy Spirit is Lord, and yet they are not three Lords, but one Lord. For even though we are compelled by Christian truthfulness to acknowledge each person by himself to be God and Lord, we are forbidden by the Catholic religion to say that there are three Gods or Lords. (9) The Father is made of none, neither created, nor begotten. The Son is of the Father alone, not made nor created, but begotten. The Holy Spirit is of the Father and of the Son, neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding. (10) So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Spirit, not three Holy Spirits. (11) And in this Trinity none is before or after another, none is greater or less than another. But the whole three Persons are co-eternal together, and co-equal. So that in all things, as is aforesaid, the Unity in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshiped. (12) He therefore that will be saved, *and have the divine vision*, must thus think of the Trinity.

(13) Set necessarium est ad eternam salutem et divinam visionem, ut incarnacionem quoque Domini nostri Iesu Christi fideliter credat. (14) Est ergo fides recta, ut credamus et confiteamur, quia Dominus noster Iesus Christus, Dei filius, deus et homo est. (15) Deus est ex substancia Patris ante secula genitus, et homo est ex substancia matris in seculo natus. (16) Perfectus deus, perfectus homo ex anima racionali et humana carne subsistens, equalis Patri secundum divinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem. (17) Qui licet deus sit et homo, non duo tamen set unus est Christus, unus autem non conversione divinitatis in camem sed assumpcione humanitatis in Deum, unus omnino non confusione substancie sed unitate persone. (18) Nam sicut anima racionalis et caro unus est homo, ita deus et homo unus est Christus, qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos, tercia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad celos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis, inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos. (19) Ad cuius adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis et reddituri sunt de factis propriis racionem. (20) Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam eternam *et visionem divinam*, quam nunc petimus, qui vero mala, in ignem eternum, cui nunc abrenunciare postulamus.

(13) Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation that he also believe rightly the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. (14) For the right faith is, that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of

God, is God and Man. (15) God, of the substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds; and Man, of the substance of his mother, born in the world. (16) Perfect God, and perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting. Equal to the Father as touching his Godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching his human nature. (17) Who, although he be God and Man, yet he is not two, but one Christ. One; not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the human nature into God. One altogether, not by confusion of Substance, but by unity of Person. (18) For as the rational soul and body together constitute one man, so God and Man constitute one Christ, who suffered for our salvation, descended into hell, rose again the third day from the dead. He ascended into heaven, and sits on the right hand of the Father, God, Almighty; from whence he shall come to judge the living and the dead. (19) At whose coming, all humanity shall rise again with their bodies, and give an accounting for all their deeds. (20) And those who have done good shall go into eternal life, *and the divine vision*, while those that have done evil shall go into the eternal fire.

(21) Hec est fides catholica, quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit *nec hanc divinam visionem optinere quibit*.

XIV 8^{A} ORACIO

Ego divina institucione formatus et preceptis salutaribus +imprecatus+ audebo dicere:

Pater noster, qui es in celis, sanctificetur nomen tuum. Adveniat regnum tuum. (2) Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra. Panem nostrum supersubstancialem da nobis hodie. (3) Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos inducas in temptacionem set libera nos a malo. Amen.

XV 9^{A} ORACIO

Alpha et Ω, Deus omnipotens, principium omnium rerum sine principio, finis sine fine, exaudi hodie preces meas, piissime, (2) neque secundum iniquitates meas neque secundum peccata mea retribuas michi, Domine,

Deus meus, set secundum misericordiam tuam, que est maior rebus omnibus visibilibus et invisibilibus, miserere mei, (3) sapiencia Patris, Christe, lux angelorum, gloria sanctorum, spes et portus et refugium peccatorum, cunctarum rerum conditor et humane fragilitatis redemptor, qui celum et terram mareque totum ac moncium pondera palmo concludis. (4) Te, piissime, deprecor et exoro, ut una cum Patre illustres animam meam radio sanctissimi Spiritus tui, (5) quatinus in hac sacrosancta arte taliter possim proficere, ut valeam ad facialem tui, Deus eterne, visionem virtute tui sanctissimi Spiritus et tui nominis pervenire. (6) Et tu, qui es Deus meus, qui in principio creasti celum et terram et omnia ex nichilo, qui in Spiritu tuo sancto omnia reformas, comple, instaura, sana animam meam, ut glorificem te per omnia opera cogitacionum mearum et verborum meorum. (7) Deus Pater, oracionem meam confirma et intellectum meum auge et memoriam meam ad suscipiendum beatam visionem tuam meo vivente corpusculo et ad cognoscendum superexcelsam et supereternam facialiter tuam essenciam, qui vivis et regnas per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

(21) This is the Catholic faith, which unless a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved, *nor will he be able to achieve this divine vision*.[25]

XIV. Prayer 8.

Following divine instruction, and the teachings of the Saviour +called down+ I dare to say:[26]

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; (2) Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread; (3) and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil. Amen.

XV. Prayer 9.[27]

Alpha and Omega, O almighty God, the beginning of all things, without beginning, the ending without an end, hear today my prayers, O most holy one, (2) neither repay me according my iniquity nor my sins, O Lord, my God, but according to your mercy, which is greater than all things visible

and invisible. Have mercy on me, (3) the wisdom of the Father, O Christ, the light of the angels, the glory of the saints, the hope and haven and refuge of sinners, the originator of all things and redeemer of human frailties, who holds the weight of heaven and earth, and the seas and mountains in the palm of your hand. (4) I beg and entreat you, O most holy one, that you, being one with the Father, will illuminate my soul with the ray of your most Holy Spirit, (5) that I may be able to progress in this most sacred art, so that I might be worthy to achieve the vision of your face, O God eternal, through the virtue of your most Holy Spirit and of your name. (6) And you, who are are my God, who in the beginning created the heaven and the earth, and all things out of nothing, who through your holy Spirit you restore, fill, and renew all things, heal my soul, that I may glorify you through all my thoughts, and words, and deeds. (7) O God the Father, strengthen my prayer, and increase both my comprehension and my memory, for undertaking your blessed vision while my mortal body is yet living, and for seeing your most high and eternal essence face to face, you who live and reign through the infinite ages of the ages. Amen.

XVI ORACIO

Helysemath. hazaram. hemel. saduch. Theon. Heloy. zamaram. zoma. ietromaym. Theos. Deus pie et fortis, hamathamal. ietronamayhala. zanay. hacronaaz. zay. (2) colnaphan. salmazaiz. ayhal. geromelam. haymasa. Ramay. genzi. zamath. heliemath. semay. selmar. iecrosamay. iachat. lemar. harana. hamany. memothemath. Hemelamp. (3) et tu, sancte Pater, pie Deus et incomprehensibilis in omnibus operibus tuis, que sunt sancta et iusta et bona. (4) Megalhamethor. semassaer. zamathamar. geogremai. megus. monorail. hamezeaza. hillebata. maraama. iehenas. iehemia. malamai. sephormay. zemonoma. Melas. hemay. hemesua. iecormay. (5) lemesey. senosecari. zemaher. helcamay. calion. tharathos. tronios. nebay. tharathos. vsyon. gezsethon. semynathemas. zezahas. thamam. helomany. hamel. Amen.

XVII

Theos. megale. Patir. ymos. hebrel. habobel. hecoy. haley. helihot. hety. hebeot. letiel. iezei. sadam. salaseey. salatial. salatelli. samel. sadamiel. (2) Saday. helgion. helliel. lemegos. micron. megos. myheon. legmes. muthon. mychohyn. heel. hesely. iecor. graual. semhel. semobzhat. semeltha. samai. geth. (3) gehel. rasahanay. gelgemana. semana. harasymihon. salepatir. salepati. ragiono saletha. thurigium. hepatir. vsion. hatamas. hotonas. harayn.

XVI. Prayer.[28]

Helysemath. hazaram. hemel. saduch. Theon. Heloy. zamaram. zoma. ietromaym. Theos. O God, pious and strong, hamathamal. ietronamayhala. zanay. hacronaaz. zay. (2) colnaphan. salmazaiz. ayhal. geromelam. haymasa. Ramay. genzi. zamath. heliemath. semay. selmar. iecrosamay. iachat. lemar. harana. hamany. memothemath. hemelamp. (3) And you, O holy Father, pious God, and incomprehensible in all your works, which are holy, just, and good. (4) Megalhamethor. semassaer. zamathamar. geogremai. megus. monorail. hamezeaza. hillebata. maraama. iehenas. iehemia. malamai. sephormay. zemonoma. Melas. hemay. hemesua. iecormay. (5) lemesey. senosecari. zemaher. helcamay. calion. tharathos. tronios. nebay. tharathos. vsyon. gezsethon. semynathemas. zezahas. thamam. helomany. hamel. Amen.

XVII.[29]

Theos. megale. Patir. ymos. hebrel. habobel. hecoy. haley. helihot. hety. hebeot. letiel. iezei. sadam. salaseey. salatial. salatelli. samel. sadamiel. (2) Saday. helgion. helliel. lemegos. micron. megos. myheon. legmes. muthon. mychohyn. heel. hesely. iecor. graual. semhel. semobzhat. semeltha. samai. geth. (3) gehel. rasahanay. gelgemana. semana. harasymihon. salepatir. salepati. ragiono saletha. thurigium. hepatir. vsion. hatamas. hotonas. harayn.

XVIII

Lux mundi, Deus inmense, pater eternitatis, largitor sapiencie et totius gracie spiritualis pie et inestimabilis dispensator noscens omnia, priusquam fiant, faciens tenebras et lucem,

(2) mitte manum tuam et tange animam meam et corpus meum et pone illam ut gladium furbitum ad visionem tuam habendam et fac eam ut sagittam electam et granum tritici reconditum ad contemplandum tuam mirabilem faciem (3) et emitte Spiritum sanctum tuum, Domine, in cor meum ad istud donum percipiendum et in animam meam ad emundandum et in conscienciam meam ad speculandum. (4) Per iuramentum cordis[4] [*coheredis] tui, id est per dexteram pie sciencie tue, misericorditer, clementer et leniter in me graciam tuam inspira et doce et instrue (5) et instaura introitum et exitum sensuum meorum, et doceas me et clarifices me et mundifices me et corrigas me cum disciplina tua usque in finem, (6) ut visionem tuam facialiter optineam, et adiuvet me consilium altissimum per infinitam sapienciam tuam et misericordiam tuam. Amen.

XIX

Si autem velles impetrare aliquam scienciam vel sacrare librum vel invocare spiritus, mutares peticionem oracionis precedentis sic:

(2) “mitte manum tuam et tange os meum et pone illud ut gladium acutum ad ennarandum et eloquendum hec sancta verba et fac linguam meam ut sagittam electam ad ennarrandum mirabilia tua et ad pronunciandum ea et memoriter retinendum.”

(3) Sic petes pro sciencia impetranda. Set pro consecrando librum sic: “ut gladium acutum ad consecrandum et sanctificandum hec tam sancta quam alia verba ... ut sagittam electam ad confirmandum in veritate mirabilia tua et ad pronunciandum ea et pro libito impetrandum.”

XVIII.[30]

O light of the World, O God immeasurable, the father of eternity, the granter of wisdom and of all spiritual grace; O pious and inestimable dispenser of all, knowing all things before they happen, making the darkness and the light.

(2) Reach out your hand, and touch my body and soul, and make them like a burnished sword,[31] that I may attain the vision of you, and make me like a chosen arrow and hidden grain of wheat, for observing your wonderful face, (3) and send your Holy Spirit, O Lord, into my heart to receive this gift, and into my soul to cleanse it, and into my conscience to watch over it. (4) Through the oath of your heart,[32] that is, through the right hand of your holy knowledge, mercifully, lovingly, and gently inspire your grace into me, and teach, instruct, (5) and renew the coming in and going out of my senses, and teach me, and clarify and cleanse me, and correct me with your teaching, until the end, (6) in order to attain the vision of your self face to face, and may your most high assembly help me, through your infinite wisdom and mercy. Amen.

XIX.

If however you wish to obtain some knowledge, or to consecrate the book, or to call upon a spirit, you should alter the petition in the preceding prayer thus:

(2) “Stretch out your hand and touch my mouth, and make it like a sharp sword for describing and speaking out these holy words, and make my tongue like a chosen arrow, for describing your miracles, and for pronouncing them, and retaining them in my memory.”

(3) But if you wish to obtain knowledge for consecrating the book, say: “... like a sharp sword, for consecrating and sanctifying these most holy words, and all the other words ... like a chosen arrow to confirm the truth of your miracles both for pronouncing them, and for obtaining my desire.”

(4) Si pro vocando spiritus agis, pete sic: “... acutum ad eloquendum hec verba tam sancta quam alia ad coartandum et cogendum venire, respondere, stare, recedere, obedire spiritus tales N michi tali N, filio talis N (5) ... electam ad ostendendum mirabilia sancte potencie tue et ad pronunciandum verba et gladialiter et flammee tuos tales spiritus N coartandum.”

(6) Si aliud pecieris quam illa, que dicta sunt, simili modo secundum naturam illius peticionem mutares et non solum in hac oracione, immo in omnibus Latinis, in quibus aliqua peticio reperitur.

XX Oracio

Assaylemaht. rasay. semaht. azahat. haraaht. lameth. hazabat. hamat. hamae. gesemon. grephemyon. zelamye. relamye. hazatha. hamatha. hazaremehal. hazanebal. helial. zebial. (2) seziol. Semyhor. hamissiton. fintiugon. tintiugethe. hamissirion. sebarnay. halmoht. alymyon. gemail. halmiot. sadail. hehomail. neomail. Cristos. thiothot. sepha. taphamal. (3) paphalios. sicrogramon. laupdau. laupta. iothim. iothileta. lazahemor. iemeamor. lotahemor. fitcomegal. haemor. giselector. gilzelerethon. glereleon. gamasgay. semagar. semalgay. (4) semasgyy. balua. arethon. iesamahel. gegemahelay. hala. hela. iemay. semethay. may. semnay. geles. syney. iolehemey. iesmar. samennay. bariactoca. cariactera. tharihetha. socalmata. (5) getimay. socalma. socagamal. helgezamay. balma. hailoso halos. zaynos. ienenegal. sarimalip. sarmalaip. sacramalaip. tamygel. thamahel. sathabynhel. sathabinal. samal. maga. samalanga. (6) saminaga. satalmagu. silimal. salmana. saguaht. silimythu. semalsay. gahit. galiht. gezamannay. sabal. zegahathon. zahanphaton. iezanycrathon. ietuaphaton. iezemo. iezelem. (7) ioselimen. hatanathos. hathanathay. semaht. zemehet. iezorahel. checorab. Hel. gerozabal. craton. hariabal. hariagal. hanagai. hariagil. parithomegos. samazihel. simazihel. leosemmaht. (8) leosamaty. themiathol. genynatol. gemizacol. hebalthe. halabee. hamisschon. sebanay. halmye. gemail. sadail. neomahil. cristolepha. caphanial. hazaron. gezamel. haymal. hayhala. (9) sememay. gehesmoy. thariattha. gemiazai. zohanphaton. ielesamen. hatanathay. gemaht. iesomabel. haynosiel. halabethen. iabaioge. halabeht. ebalohe. nyphos. phabos. phelior. phobos. Ydolmassay. (10) predolmassay. pholihor. negioggen. neginather. pharampnee. pharanehe. scomicopoten. sohomychepoten. hymaliassenon. ymiamos. manyahas. geromay. iemay. ietathamazai. passamaht. Theon. beht. bon. (11) sathamat hagynol. naragal. semozihot. nerothinay. raguathi. raguali. ranal. ragahal. hagmal. hagamal. fagomossyn. fagemesym. domogentha. theomogen. theromogen. Salmatha. (12) salamaht. zalamatha. Hon. bolon. halon. sephezimu. sapynon. saphiamon. hamon. harion. usion. gemession. sepha. phalymyt. sebanay. hamyssithon. thyutyugren. hactou. rogoubon. lon. usion. Amen.

(4) And if you strive to call forth spirits, modify the petition thus: "... for sharply speaking out these holy words and others, for constraining and compelling the spirit (such and such) to come, answer, remain, depart, and

obey me N. son of N. (5) ... chosen arrow for showing the holy miracles of your power, both for pronouncing the words as with your flaming sword, for constraining the spirit N."

(6) If your aim is other than these examples, alter the petition in a similar way according to the nature of your request. This should be done not only for this prayer, but for all the Latin ones, in which any petition is found.

XX. Prayer.[33]

Assaylemaht. rasay. semaht. azahat. haraaht. lameth. hazabat. hamat. hamae. gesemon. grephemyon. zelamye. relamye. hazatha. hamatha. hazaremehal. hazanebal. helial. zebial. (2) seziol. Semyhor. hamissiton. fintiugon. tintiugethe. hamissirion. sebarnay. halmoht. alymyon. gemail. halmiot. sadail. hehomail. neomail. Cristos. thiothot. sepha. taphamal. (3) paphalios. sicrogramon. laupdau. laupta. iothim. iothileta. lazahemor. iemeamor. lotahemor. fitcomegal. haemor. giselector. gilzelerethon. glereleon. gamasgay. semagar. semalgay. (4) semasgyy. balua. arethon. iesamahel. gegemahelay. hala. hela. iemay. semethay. may. semnay. geles. syney. iolehemey. iesmar. samennay. bariactoca. cariactera. tharihetha. socalmata. (5) getimay. socalma. socagamal. helgezamay. balma. hailoso halos. zaynos. ienenegal. sarimalip. sarmalaip. sacramalaip. tamygel. thamahel. sathabynhel. sathabinal. samal. maga. samalanga. (6) saminaga. satalmagu. silimal. salmana. saguaht. silimythu. semalsay. gahit. galiht. gezamannay. sabal. zegahathon. zahanphaton. iezanycrathon. ietuaphaton. iezemo. iezelem. (7) ioselimen. hatanathos. hathanathay. semaht. zemehet. iezorahel. checorab. Hel. gerozabal. craton. hariabal. hariagal. hanagai. hariagil. parithomegos. samazihel. simazihel. leosemmaht. (8) leosamaty. themiathol. genynatol. gemizacol. hebalthe. halabee. hamisschon. sebanay. halmye. gemail. sadail. neomahil. cristolepha. caphanial. hazaron. gezamel. haymal. hayhala. (9) sememay. gehesmoy. thariattha. gemiazai. zohanphaton. ielesamen. hatanathay. gemaht. iesomabel. haynosiel. halabethen. iabaioge. halabeht. ebalohe. nyphos. phabos. phelior. phobos. Ydolmassay. (10) predolmassay. pholihor. negioggen. neginather. pharampnee. pharanehe. scomicopoten. sohomychepoten. hymaliassenon. ymiamos. manyahas. geromay. iemay. ietathamazai. passamaht. Theon.

beht. bon. (11) sathamat hagynol. naragal. semozihot. nerothinay. raguathi. raguali. ranal. ragahal. hagmal. hagamal. fagomossyn. fagemesym. domogentha. theomogen. theromogen. Salmatha. (12) salamaht. zalamatha. Hon. bolon. halon. sephezimu. sapynon. saphiamon. hamon. harion. usion. gemession. sepha. phalymyt. sebanay. hamyssithon. thyutyugren. hactou. rogoubon. lon. usion. Amen.

XXI Oracio

Hazailemaht. lemaht. azat. gessemon. thelamoht. hazab. halatal. haebal. sezior. sicromagal. gigoro. mogal. gielocheon. samagoy. (2) haphiles. pamphilos. sicragalmon. laupda. iothim. haiual. hailos. halua. geneuogal. samanlay. tacayhelthamyel. secalmana. (3) hesemolas. hesomelaht. gethasam. cethalsam. scilmon. saibaiol. semalsay. crathon. hanaguil. pancomnegos. tyngeny. hamissitoy. (4) sebarnay. hassimilop. thenaly. soday. henaly. halaco. meahil. crihicos. sepha. caphaual. hazaron. cezamahal. haila. saramnay. gelior. synoy. bariachacha. (5) gehemyzai. iecrafagon. legelyme. hathamathay. senac. gromyhazay. sothal. magaal. iemazay. zehemphagon. hasihezamay. legelime. hacama. ieizobol. (6) ierozabal. symaliel. seymaly. seihel. leosamaht. gemyhacal. halabre. cyhophagros. Theos. phabos. ycolmazai. negen. (7) pharameht. nehihahon. sehon. gethorem. nehehom. helisemaht. saratihai. ierafiai. hynaliha. sememanos. gezamai. iecremai. (8) passamaht. thagail. hagamal. fagamesy. fagamesym. themegoman. zemegamary. salamatha. salomothono. bon. lon. sepizihon. harion. usyon. semession. tegon. Amen.

XXII Oracio

Lemaht. sebanthe. helitihay. gozogam. romasim. hegetti. gozimal. exiophiam. sorathim. salathaam. besapha. saphiez. haculam. samiht. senaiho. phethaloym. harissim. genges. lethos. Amen.

XXI. Prayer.[34]

Hazailemaht. lemaht. azat. gessemon. thelamoht. hazab. halatal. haebal. sezior. sicromagal. gigoro. mogal. gielocheon. samagoy. (2) haphiles.

pamphilos. sicragalmon. laupda. iothim. haiual. hailos. halua. geneuogal. samanlay. tacayhelthamyel. secalmana. (3) hesemolas. hesomelaht. gethasam. cethalsam. scilmon. saibaiol. semalsay. crathon. hanaguil. pancomnegos. tyngeny. hamissitoy. (4) sebarnay. hassimilop. thenaly. soday. henaly. halaco. meahil. crihicos. sepha. caphaual. hazaron. cezamahal. haila. saramnay. gelior. synoy. bariachacha. (5) gehemyzai. iecrafagon. legelyme. hathamathay. senac. gromyhazay. sothal. magaal. iemazay. zehemphagon. hasihezamay. legelime. hacama. ieizobol. (6) ierozabal. symaliel. seymaly. seihel. leosamaht. gemyhacal. halabre. cyhophagros. Theos. phabos. ycolmazai. negen. (7) pharameht. nehihahon. sehon. gethorem. nehehom. helisemaht. saratihai. ierafiai. hynaliha. sememanos. gezamai. iecremai. (8) passamaht. thagail. hagamal. fagamesy. fagamesym. themegoman. zemegamary. salamatha. salomothono. bon. lon. sepizihon. harion. usyon. semession. tegon. Amen.

XXII. Prayer.[35]

Lemaht. sebanthe. helitihay. gozogam. romasim. hegetti. gozimal. exiophiam. sorathim. salathaam. besapha. saphiez. haculam. samiht. senaiho. phethaloym. harissim. genges. lethos. Amen.

XXIII

Lameht. lenat. lemahat. semaht. selmahat. helmay. helymam. helmamy. zezetta. zezegta. gezegatha. zozogam. remasym. themaremasym. ieranyhel. phuerezo. gamyhal. zecegomyhal. hezetogamyhal. (2) heziephiat. hozoperbiar. iosaithyn. iosathyn. iosany. gosamyn. salaht. salatoham. salatehen. salatambel. hen. henbem. habena. henlezepha. bosephar. thamar. sahaletromar. (3) hafartitmar. thimas. tirimar. namor. semyhot. semohit. zemyhot. semoiz. lemdihon. lemahat. phethalon. hamiht. phethalonamie. zomye. zamiht. prihiti. philei. haphyn. gergeon. gergohen. (4) ierthon. lothios. lothos. semyhot. lemahat. zemohit. lemaiho. phetalon. hamye. hamyphyn. pethio. gergion. lecton. iergohen. thothios. lectos. Amen.

XXIV Oracio

Deus summe, Deus invisibilis, Theos. Patir. behemnos. lehernnyos. behenny. te rogamus, ymos. per sanctissimos angelos tuos, qui sunt Michael, id est medicina Dei, Raphael, fortitudo Dei, Gabriel, ardens, (2) et seraphyn. helipha. massay. cherubyn. ielomynctos. gadabany. zedabanay. gederanay. saramany. lomtety. loctosy. gerohanathon. zahamany. lomyht. gedanabasy. setemanay. seremanay. henlothant. helomyht. henboramyht. samanazay. gedebaudi. (3) [de] plenitudine sciencie, cherubyn et seraphyn, vos suppliciter rogamus et te, Iesu Christe, per omnes sanctos [arch]angelos tuos gloriosos, quorum nomina a Deo consecrata sunt, que a nobis proferri non debent, que sunt hec: (4) Deihel. Dehel. Depymo. Dein. Hel. Exluso. Depymon. Helynon. Exmogon. Parineos. Exmegan. Pheleneos. Nauagen. Hosyel. Dragon. Garbona. Rathion. Monyham. Megonhamos.

XXV

Te queso, Domine mi: Illustra et clarifica animam et conscienciam meam splendore luminis tui et illustra et confirma intellectum meum odore suavitatis Spiritus tui sancti, ut optinere valeam gloriosam visionem tuam, quam nunc humiliter deposco. (2) Adorna, Domine, animam meam, ut videam faciem tuam, videam et audiam gloriam tuam et laudem tuam. (3) Reforma, Domine, cor meum. Instaura, Domine, sensum meum. Placa, piissime, memoriam meam ad aspiciendam visionem facialem tuam et beatam. (4) Tempera, benignissime, animam et linguam meam ad habendam hanc visionem per gloriosa et ineffabilia nomina tua, tu, qui es fons bonitatis et tocius pietatis origo. (5) Habeas, queso, Domine, pacienciam in me et memoriam et graciam tuam da michi, ut accipere valeam hanc visionem beatam, (6) et quod a te pecii in hac sancta oracione da michi et largire. Tu, qui peccantem statim non iudicas set ad penitenciam misertus expectas, (7) te queso indignus peccator, ut facinora et peccata mea et delictorum meorum scelera abstergas et penitus extinguas, ut aptus efficiar, Domine, sancta visione tua, (8) et me peticione tanta per sanctorum angelorum et archangelorum tuorum virtutem, de quibus prefatus sum, dignum et efficacem facias per gloriosam maiestatem tuam, tu, qui es trinus et unus [et] verus Deus omnipotens. Amen.

XXIII.[36]

Lameht. lenat. lemahat. semaht. selmahat. helmay. helymam. helmamy. zezetta. zezegta. gezegatha. zozogam. remasym. themaremasym. ieranyhel. phuerezo. gamyhal. zecegomyhal. hezetogamyhal. (2) heziephiat. hozoperbiar. iosaithyn. iosathyn. iosany. gosamyn. salaht. salatoham. salatehen. salatambel. hen. henbem. habena. henlezepha. bosephar. thamar. sahaletromar. (3) hafartitmar. thimas. tirimar. namor. semyhot. semohit. zemyhot. semoiz. lemdihon. lemahat. phethalon. hamiht. phethalonamie. zomye. zamiht. prihiti. philei. haphyn. gergeon. gergohen. (4) ierthon. lothios. lothos. semyhot. lemahat. zemohit. lemaiho. phetalon. hamye. hamyphyn. pethio. gergion. lecton. iergohen. thothios. lectos. Amen.

XXIV. Prayer.

O God, the most high, invisible God. Theos. Patir. behemnos. lehernnyos. behenny. We ask you, Ymos, through your most holy angels, who are Michael, i.e. the medicine of God, Raphael, the Strength of God, Gabriel, burning, (2) and Seraphim: helipha. massay. Cherubim: ielomynctos. gadabany. zedabanay. gederanay. saramany. lomtety. loctosy. gerohanathon. zahamany. lomyht. gedanabasy. setemanay. seremanay. henlothant. helomyht. henboramyht. samanazay. gedebaudi.

(3) [From] the fullness of the knowledge, we humbly ask you cherubim and seraphim, and you, O Jesus Christ, through all your saints and glorious [arch]angels, the names of which are consecrated by God, which must not be spoken by us, which are these: (4) Deihel. Dehel. Depymo. Dein. Hel. Exluso. Depymon. Helynon. Exmogon. Parineos. Exmegan. Pheleneos. Nauagen. Hosyel. Dragon. Garbona. Rathion. Monyham. Megonhamos.

XXV.[37]

I beseech you, O my Lord: illuminate and clarify my soul and conscience with the brilliance of your light and you illuminate and strengthen my understanding with the sweet scent of your Holy Spirit, that I may successfully attain to your glorious vision, which I now humbly ask for. (2) O Lord, adorn my soul that I may see your form, see and hear your glory

and praise. (3) Transform my heart, O Lord. Renew, O Lord, my perception. Reconcile, O most holy one, my memory, to look upon the vision of your blessed shape. (4) Temper, O most kind one, my soul and my tongue, for having this vision through your glorious and ineffable names, you who are the fountain of goodness and source of all piety. (5) Have patience with me, I beg you O Lord, and give me a good memory and your grace, that I may have the strength to receive this blessed vision. (6) and which I have asked you to give and bestow on me in this holy prayer. You, who does not immediately judge a sinner, but pities him, awaiting his repentance. (7) Though I am unworthy, I beseech you to wipe away my crimes and sins and extinguish them inwardly, that I may be worthy to achieve, O Lord, your holy vision, (8) and grant me these my petitions, by the virtue of your holy angels and archangels, being fit and effective through the aforesaid through your glorious majesty, you are three and one, and true God almighty. Amen.

XXVI Oracio

Iesu, Dei filius incomprehensibilis, hancor. hanacor. hanylos. iehorna. theodonos. helyothos. heliotheos. phagor. corphandonos. norizaue. corithico. hanosae. helsezope. phagora.

XXVII Oracio

Eleminator. candones. helos. helee. resphaga. thephagayn. thetendyn. thahonos. Ulcemya. heortahonos. uelos. behebos. belhores. hacaphagan. belehothol. ortophagon. corphandonos. (2) humane natus pro nobis peccatoribus, et vos, Heliothos. Phagnora. angeli sancti, adestote, advertite et docete me et regi te me ad visionem Dei sanctam perveniendam, habendam, optinendam (3) per gloriosum, clementissimum et omnipotentissimum creatorem, Dominum nostrum vivum, sanctum et inmensum, pium et eternum, cui est laus et honor et gloria per infinita secula. Amen.

XXVI. Prayer.[38]

Jesus, son of the incomprehensible God, hancor. hanacor. hanylos. iehorna. theodonos. helyothos. heliotheos. phagor. corphandonos. norizaue. corithico. hanosae. helsezope. phagora.

XXVII. Prayer.[39]

Eleminator. candones. helos. helee. resphaga. thephagayn. thetendyn. thahonos. Ulcemya. heortahonos. uelos. behebos. belhores. hacaphagan. belehothol. ortophagon. corphandonos. (2) born human for us sinners, and you holy angels Heliothos. Phagnora. aid, guide, and teach me, and direct me towards reaching, having, and maintaining the vision of God, (3) through the glorious, most merciful and all-powerful creator, our living Lord, sacred and immeasurable, holy and eternal, to whom be the praise, honor, and glory, through the infinite worlds. Amen.

XXVIII Oracio

Lameht. ragua. ragahel. ragia. ragiomab. hagnaht. hoguolam. exactodan. heractodam. hanthonomos. hethaeneho. (2) hemones. iothe. lothensezaiha. sazaratha. hensazatha. serail. marab. mynathil. marathal. mairathal. brihamocon. thahamathon. (3) leprodoz. lephoris. leprohoc. lephorijs. hesacro: hesacohen. corquenal. choremal. guoyemal. ualiaiol. salail. salaiz. (4) salaior. halaiz. salquihel. gessidomy. gesseuazi. iessonay. hazoroz. hazarob. tharahal. bostihal. hamol. hamalamyn. Amen.

XXIX

Semeht. seghehalt. raguaht. reloymal. haguliaz. exhator. hanthomos. lezen. saccail. marab. brihamathon. lephez. hiefacto. themay. salaihel. agessomay. arathotamal.

XXX Oracio

Memoria irreprehensibilis, sapiencia incontradicibilis et incommutabilis Deus, eterni consilii angelus, amplectetur hodie cor meum dextera tua, et adimpleat conscienciam meam memoria tua (2) et odor unguentorum

tuorum, et dulcedo gracie tue muniat mentem meam splendore Spiritus sancti et claritate, qua angeli faciem tuam, Domine, cum omnibus celi virtutibus intueri sine fine desiderant, (3) ut valeam cum ipsis te, clementissime, facialiter intueri, sapiencia, qua omnia [fecisti, intelligencia, qua omnia] reparasti, beatitudinis perseverancia, qua angelos restituisti, dileccione, qua hominem lapsum ad celestia traxisti, doctrina, qua Adam omnem scienciam docere dignatus es. (4) Informa, reple, instrue, instaura, corrige, clarifica et refice me, ut fiam novus in mandatis tuis intelligendis et suscipienda hac visione tua beata in salutem corporis et anime mee et omnium fidelium credencium in nomine tuo, quod est benedictum in secula seculorum. Amen.

XXVIII. Prayer.[40]

Lameht. ragua. ragahel. ragia. ragiomab. hagnaht. hoguolam. exactodan. heractodam. hanthonomos. hethaeneho. (2) hemones. iothe. lothensezaiha. sazaratha. hensazatha. serail. marab. mynathil. marathal. mairathal. brihamocon. thahamathon. (3) leprodoz. lephoris. leprohoc. lephorijs. hesacro: hesacohen. corquenal. choremal. guoyemal. ualiaiol. salail. salaiz. (4) salaior. halaiz. salquihel. gessidomy. gesseuazi. iessonay. hazoroz. hazarob. tharahal. bostihal. hamol. hamalamyn. Amen.

XXIX.[41]

Semeht. seghehalt. raguaht. reloymal. haguliaz. exhator. hanthomos. lezen. saccail. marab. brihamathon. lephez. hiefacto. themay. salaihel. agessomay. arathotamal.

XXX. Prayer.[42]

O irreprehensible memory, O uncontradictable wisdom, and unchangeable God, the angel of eternal council, hold my heart today with your right hand, and fill up my conscience with memory of you, (2) and with the scent of your oils, and may the sweetness of your grace strengthen my mind with the brilliance and clarity of the Holy Spirit, with which, O Lord, the angels, with all the powers of heaven, desire to look on your form

always, (3) that I, like them, may be able to behold your face, most mercifully, with the wisdom [with which you have created all things, with the intelligence] with which you have renewed all things, with the steadfast blessedness, with which you have restored the angels, with the love, with which you have drawn man back to the heavens, who had fallen, with the teachings, and with which you deemed Adam worthy to be taught all knowledge. (4) Shape, complete, prepare, renew, correct, clarify, and rebuild me, that I may be made new to understand your commandments, and undertake this blessed vision of you, for the salvation of my body and soul, and of all faithful believers in your name, which is blessed, world without end. Amen.

XXXI Oracio

Hazaram. hihel. hehelilem. hethelilem. theiihem. hazagatha. agruazcor. hizguor. liaiah. isenesan. zezor. iesar. ysail. (2) et vos, angeli, quorum nomina scribuntur in libro vite et ibi recitantur, iasym. horos. helsa. heremogos. myrecagil. resaym. lemay. lemar. rasamen. lemar. themamoht. irasim. (3) iemamoht. themamoht. secray. sotthaht. sehan. hanamar. thau. sechay. helymaht. iosoihel. helymoht. sattamaht. helymyhot. iosey. theodony. iasamaht. pharene. panetheneos. phateneynehos. (4) haramen. Theos. hathanaym. hanataiphar. hatanazar. basiactor. ieseuemay. iesamana. iesamanay. haziactor. hamynosia. zezamanay. hamos. hamynos. hiatregilos. cahegilihos. zaguhel. zatahel.

XXXII

Hielma. helma. helymat. heuina. hytanathas. hemyna. hitanathois. helsa. hebos. hiebros. helda. hagasa. hoccomegos. raitotagum. coictagon. myheragyn.

XXXIII

Confirma, consolida, elucida, abba. Theos. behetimyhat. hehem. ruhos. bethar. husuruhunt. hetarius. Theos. Deus Pater, Deus Fili, Deus Spiritus sancte, <o>racionem nostram. (2) Confirma et intellectum et animam

meam et memoriam meam ad suscipiendam, cognoscendam, videndam, intuendam visionem et faciem tuam beatam et gloriosam. Amen.

XXXIV

Agloros. theomythos. themyros. sehocodothos. zehocodos. hattihamel. sozena. haptamygel. sozihenzia. hemya. gettahol. (2) helyna. sothoneya. geherahel. halimyz. zezoray. gezetiz. gerehona. hazihal. hazai. meguos. megalos. usyon. saduhc.

XXXI. Prayer.[43]

Hazaram. hihel. hehelilem. hethelilem. theiihem. hazagatha. agruazcor. hizguor. liaiah. isenesan. zezor. iesar. ysail. (2) and you angels, whose names are written in the *Book of Life* and there they are read aloud, iasym. horos. helsa. heremogos. myrecagil. resaym. lemay. lemar. rasamen. lemar. themamoht. irasim. (3) iemamoht. themamoht. secray. sotthaht. sehan. hanamar. thau. sechay. helymaht. iosoihel. helymoht. sattamaht. helymyhot. iosey. theodony. iasamaht. pharene. panetheneos. phateneynehos. (4) haramen. Theos. hathanaym. hanataiphar. hatanazar. basiactor. ieseuemay. iesamana. iesamanay. haziactor. hamynosia. zezamanay. hamos. hamynos. hiatregilos. cahegilihos. zaguhel. zatahel.

XXXII.[44]

Hielma. helma. helymat. heuina. hytanathas. hemyna. hitanathois. helsa. hebos. hiebros. helda. hagasa. hoccomegos. raitotagum. coictagon. myheragyn.

XXXIII.[45]

Strengthen, solidify, enlighten, Abba. Theos. behetimyhat. hehem. ruhos. bethar. husuruhunt. hetarius. Theos. God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit, strengthen our reasoning (2) and comprehension, and my soul

and memory, to receive, retain, see and contemplate the vision and of your blessed and glorious face. Amen.

XXXIV.[46]

Agloros. theomythos. themyros. sehocodothos. zehocodos. hattihamel. sozena. haptamygel. sozihenzia. hemya. gettahol. (2) helyna. sothoneya. geherahel. halimyz. zezoray. gezetiz. gerehona. hazihal. hazai. meguos. megalos. usyon. saduhc.

XXXIVB

[Deus omnium, qui es Deus meus, qui in principio omnia ex nichilo creasti, qui in Spiritu tuo omnia reformasti, comple, restaura, sana intellectum meum, ut glorificem te per omnia opera cogitacionum et verborum meorum.]

XXXV ORACIO

Megal. agal. iegal. hariothos. handos. hanathos. hanathoios. hauothos. lemazai. semezai. lamezai. lethonas. (2) iethonay. zemazphar. zeomaspar. zeomaphar. tetragramos. thethagranys. hatammar. hazaamahar. zahamyr. (3) iechosaphor. zethesaphir. gethor. saphor. hasagitha. hasacapha. hasamypa. haragaia. hazaguy. phasamar. samar. saleht. salym. salmeht. (4) sameht. saloht. sillezaleht. sadayne. neothatir. neodamy. hadozamyr. zozena. belymoht. hazat. helyhot.

XXXVI ORACIO

Veritas, lux, via et vita omnium creaturarum, iuste Deus, vivifica me, visita me et intellectum meum et animam meam confirma et instaura conscienciam meam et clarifica et purga, (2) sicut Iohanni et Paulo [promisisti], quando rapuisti eos ad visionem tuam eis ostendendam, ut sic, Domine, meo vivente corpore possit te anima mea inspicere facialiter et videre.

XXXVII

Hamycchiahel. hamsahel. dalihir. hair. halel. zedach. hazarach. zedaizh. hazaias. lezorihal. zezorias. iechori. alsemaia. ysamyha. zama. ysa. (2) samma. ysarai. ysameht. ysathay. lemyhel. nehel. semehel. iemymehel. mythynab. nybahal. mychyn. mybancaiab. hamyly. mynab. heliasal. hometibymal. helymal. hymbos. zebracal. zelimal. (3) iechro. samaril. zezocha. iecrosahal. melos. zalimebor. zalymylos. zaguhel. mychathomos. myheromos. mycracosmos. nycromyhos. Amen.

XXXIVB.[47]

[O God of all, you who are my God, who in the beginning created all out of nothing, who in your Spirit has transformed all, fill, restore, and cure my comprehension, that I may glorify you through all my thoughts, words, and deeds.]

XXXV. PRAYER.[48]

Megal. agal. iegal. hariothos. handos. hanathos. hanathoios. hauothos. lemazai. semezai. lamezai. lethonas. (2) iethonay. zemazphar. zeomaspar. zeomaphar. tetragramos. thethagranys. hatammar. hazaamahar. zahamyr. (3) iechosaphor. zethesaphir. gethor. saphor. hasagitha. hasacapha. hasamypa. haragaia. hazaguy. phasamar. samar. saleht. salym. salmeht. (4) sameht. saloht. sillezaleht. sadayne. neothatir. neodamy. hadozamyr. zozena. belymoht. hazat. helyhot.

XXXVI. PRAYER.[49]

The truth, the light, the way, and the life of all creatures, O just God, vivify me, visit me and strengthen my comprehension, and my soul, and renew my conscience, and glorify and purge it, (2) as [you promised] John and Paul, when you snatched them away to show them the vision of you, so too, O Lord, while my body is yet living, may I be able to behold your face, and live.

XXXVII.[50]

Hamycchiahel. hamsahel. dalihir. hair. halel. zedach. hazarach. zedaizh. hazaias. lezorihal. zezorias. iechori. alsemaia. ysamyha. zama. ysa. (2) samma. ysarai. ysameht. ysathay. lemyhel. nehel. semehel. iemymehel. mythynab. nybahal. mychyn. mybancaiab. hamyly. mynab. heliasal. hometibymal. helymal. hymbos. zebracal. zelimal. (3) iechro. samaril. zezocha. iecrosahal. melos. zalimebor. zalymylos. zaguhel. mychathomos. myheromos. mycracosmos. nycromyhos. Amen.

XXXVIII

Ego in conspectu tuo, Domine, Deus meus, in cuius nutu omnia nuda sunt et aperta, et in cuius manu omnia sunt munda et pura—mundifica et depura me, Deus omnipotens -, hec enim loquor, (2) ut ablato infidelitatis et infeccionis errore et labe adiuvet me Spiritus tuus bonus, sanctus, vivificans omnia, et +vivificet+ omnem incredulitatem et labem meam, (3) ut visionem tuam sanctissimam, licet indignus, propter tuam misericordiam valeam efficaciter et absque defectu iam optinere. Amen.

XXXIX

Semoth. gehel. helymoht. hemeb. sabahel. zerothay. zabahel. gerozay. hebel. crosaihamagra. hatchagra. rageu. seromay. zehez. hezehengon. iezomay. hemehegon. hamagrata. cezozoy. gesommay. (2) hesehenguon. lethomay. Halla. hathanaton. hagigel. hatamyhel. hathomas. hecohay. zemohay. theageta. theal. regon. hagem. iezeregal. zehalragem. geht. zeregal. hamabihat. hezegon. (3) gethage. madiaaios. zadanchios. exhedon. pallathoros. zallachatos. thelthis. trehodios. zezochthiam. pallititacos. nethi. delthis. heremodios. helmelazar. helyne. zazar. haron. (4) gezero. mymyhel. henthon. hermelazar. sython. genithon. hezemyhel. heymemy. helmelazar. cremymyhel. exheruz. zorol. mothora. rabihel. samyb. lamely. melion. sarabihel. samyl. tamyl. Samyhel. Amen.

XL

Omnipotens, sempiterne Deus et misericors Pater ante omnia secula benedicte, qui nobis, eterne Deus incomprehensibilis et incommutabilis, remedium salutare contulisti, (2) qui propter omnipotenciam maiestatis tue nobis facultatem laudandi, glorificandi, videndi facialiter maiestatem tuam concessisti ceteris<que> animalibus negatam, cuius disposicio in sui providencia non fallitur, (3) cuius eciam natura eterna est et consubstancialis deitati sue et trinitati sue, que est Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, que est exaltata super omne celum, ubi divinitas et deitas corporaliter habitat, (4) deprecor maiestatem tuam, Domine, et omnipotenciam tuam glorifico et eternitatis tue virtutem, ac magnificenciam tuam summam et eternam cum nimia imploracione intencionis flagitans deposco. (5) Te, Deus meus, sapiencia inestimabilis et ineffabilis, vita angelorum, Deus incomprehensibilis, in cuius conspectu chorus angelorum consistit, te deprecor et flagito, (6) ut per sanctum et gloriosum nomen tuum et per conspectum angelorum tuorum et principatus celestes michi graciam tuam dones huius sancte visionis (7) et statim subvenias michi et sanctitatem michi tribuas et subtilitatem visionis tante et intellectus tui puritatem et perseveranciam concedas, (8) ut te facialiter videre valeam, qui vivis et regnas eternaliter per omnia secula seculorum in conspectu omnium virtutum celestium nunc et semper et ubique. Amen.

XXXVIII.[51]

I speak these things in your presence, O Lord my God, at whose command all things are naked and open, and in whose hand all things are clean and pure; cleanse and purify me, almighty God, (2) so that the error and stain of unbelief and deception being taken away, your good holy Spirit may help me, making me live, and *living, help my unbelief[52] and all my faults, (3) that I may be permitted your most holy vision, although unworthy, through your mercy may I prevail effectually and prevail now without failure. Amen.

XXXIX.[53]

Semoth. gehel. helymoht. hemeb. sabahel. zerothay. zabahel. gerozay. hebel. crosaihamagra. hatchagra. rageu. seromay. zehez. hezehengon. iezomay. hemehegon. hamagrata. cezozoy. gesommay. (2) hesehenguon. lethomay. Halla. hathanaton. hagigel. hatamyhel. hathomas. hecohay. zemohay. theageta. theal. regon. hagem. iezeregal. zehalragem. geht. zeregal. hamabihat. hezegon. (3) gethage. madiaaios. zadanchios. exhedon. pallathoros. zallachatos. thelthis. trehodios. zezochthiam. pallititacos. nethi. delthis. heremodios. helmelazar. helyne. zazar. haron. (4) gezero. mymyhel. henthon. hermelazar. sython. genithon. hezemyhel. heymemy. helmelazar. cremymyhel. exheruz. zorol. mothora. rabihel. samyb. lamely. melion. sarabihel. samyl. tamyl. Samyhel. Amen.

XL.[54]

Almighty, eternal God, and merciful Father, you who are blessed before all worlds, who has granted us, O God eternal, incomprehensible, and unchangeable, the medicine of salvation, (2) which because of the omnipotence of your majesty you have permitted us the ability to praise, glorify, and behold your majesty face to face, which is denied to other creatures, the disposition of whose destiny is unfailing, (3) whose nature is both eternal and of one substance, deity and trinity, which is the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, who is exalted above all heaven, where the divinity and deity physically dwells, (4) I beg your majesty, O Lord, and I glorify your omnipotence and the eternity of your power, and I beseech with great imploring of your greatness, most high and eternal. (5) O my God, inestimable and ineffable wisdom, O life of the angels, incomprehensible God, in whose sight the choir of angels stand, I beg and beseech you, (6) through your holy and glorious name, and through the sight of your angels and heavenly principalities, that you grant to me the grace of this holy vision of you (7) and forthwith come to my aid and bestow to me the sanctity and correctness of the great vision, and grant me the purity of your comprehension, and may it persist, (8) so I may succeed in seeing you face to face, you who lives and reigns forever through all the ages of the ages in the sight of all heavenly virtues, now and always and everywhere. Amen.

XLI

Semoht lamen. lezahel. salmatihal. zamatihel. mahazihel. zamazihal. ezeleaz. mahatihoten. hezoleam. megos. hemol. (2) hemnoleha. methos. hazamegos. halzamyhol. alzamoy. menrnanittos. memomittos. zely. marayhathol. zolmazathol. zemeney. iemenay. lameley. zethemalo. zethenaran. labdaio. lodeho. zabday. hoton. (3) ladaiedon. lapdaihadon. lothanan. hizemazihe. izthamhihe. iotha. uahuzuzif. zihanatihephomos. zeherem. zehe. ziehelmos. hiehanathihe. homos. zeherem. hessimathal. hessicomal. Ono (4) chehe. sihotil. magal. hesiothil. mytho., halpha. husale. ouus. flum. falso hallemassay. alesemonoy. salemanasai. helemasay. zazaico. semanay. nachairo. natham. gemehol. yetulmassay. gemahol. (5) iezemalo. magul. gehamas. senadar. iezama. salpha. secramagay. iehennagay. zehetyn. zemadazan. iehir. ramagay. geiama. salpha. gemama. suphu. ioher. iohabos. haymal. hamanal. thanocbomas. (6) iobohe. hamynal. zanogromos. nyzozoroba. nygerozoma. negero. robali. negora. hohalym. uytheromachum. tho. lymchay. tolomay. loynar. tholinngay. zenolozihon. hisonomelihon. Samyhel. giethi. (7) sicrozegamal. thonehos. carmolehos. samhel. geiszefihor. iezolnohit. phicrose. gramaht. theonthos. carmelos. lainyhel. harmanail. gesezihor. semarnail. zaarmatihail. heliozo. thahel. samail. Amen.

XLI.[55]

Semoht lamen. lezahel. salmatihal. zamatihel. mahazihel. zamazihal. ezeleaz. mahatihoten. hezoleam. megos. hemol. (2) hemnoleha. methos. hazamegos. halzamyhol. alzamoy. menrnanittos. memomittos. zely. marayhathol. zolmazathol. zemeney. iemenay. lameley. zethemalo. zethenaran. labdaio. lodeho. zabday. hoton. (3) ladaiedon. lapdaihadon. lothanan. hizemazihe. izthamhihe. iotha. uahuzuzif. zihanatihephomos. zeherem. zehe. ziehelmos. hiehanathihe. homos. zeherem. hessimathal. hessicomal. Ono (4) chehe. sihotil. magal. hesiothil. mytho., halpha. husale. ouus. flum. falso hallemassay. alesemonoy. salemanasai. helemasay. zazaico. semanay. nachairo. natham. gemehol. yetulmassay. gemahol. (5) iezemalo. magul. gehamas. senadar. iezama. salpha. secramagay. iehennagay. zehetyn. zemadazan. iehir. ramagay. geiama. salpha. gemama. suphu. ioher. iohabos. haymal. hamanal. thanocbomas. (6) iobohe. hamynal. zanogromos. nyzozoroba. nygerozoma. negero. robali. negora. hohalym. uytheromachum. tho. lymchay. tolomay. loynar.

tholinngay. zenolozihon. hisonomelihon. Samyhel. giethi. (7) sicrozegamal. thonehos. carmolehos. samhel. geiszefihor. iezolnohit. phicrose. gramaht. theonthos. carmelos. lainyhel. harmanail. gesezihor. semarnail. zaarmatihail. heliozo. thahel. samail. Amen.

XLII PRIMUS TERMINUS

Genealogon. reealologon. tenealogo. saphay. zazaiham. saphia. zede. zemoziham. zomonrihel. sanaman. sanma. gegnognal. Samyhel. ieremyhel. horaciotos. hetha. siothos. sepharaym. (2) henemos. genozabal. ieremabal. hethemel. genotheram. genorabal. semyha. senma. mynarom. yninathon. geristel. hymacton. chalos. phabal. resaram. marachihel. naratheos. ietrinantho. iezibathel. (3) sephoros. thesirara. zepharonay. hazana. messihel. Sother. hazihel. semicros. chiel. hamacal. hator. zemothor. sauaday. morothochiel. semenos. satabis. themay. horel. remay. renay. zenel. hasa. gemol. (4) zemelaza. iemozihel. zemei. zemeihaton. zechor. helycos. semysemie. hiacon. iethor.-d| mehohin. hazenethon. semase. mepathon. zemolym. sistos. Eloy. semegey. manos. helypos. hemyclopos. geys. seray. sephet. sephamanay. (5) helihothos. cherobalym. hassenethon. hisistos. domengos. iemyrohal. samanathos. semeham. behenos. megon. hanythel. iechomeros. ielamagar. remelthet. genay. domathamos. hathamyr. seryhon. senon. zaralamay. sabayhon.

XLIII SECUNDUS TERMINUS

Geolym. hazenethon. ysistos. Eloy. sephei. manay. helyhotas. ierobalym. semalet. gonay. heliothos. domathamos. hathamyr. seryhon. hamynyr. senoz. magamagol. (2) sethar. senam. magel. Hel. helymothos. helseron. zeron. phamal. iegromos. herymyhothon. lauthamos. heramathon. laudamos. lanaymos. seplatihel. sephatihel. hagenalis. legenale. hegernar. (3) stanazihel. stanithel. hathanathos. hegrogebal. rogor. heremynar. {hen}ecyman. marothon. iethar{naym}. {heno.z}ios. {i}ezeduhos. gezconas. satam. g{ort}aray. helycychcym. helestymeym. sephalzna. mathar. (4) saphar. manatham. bezazay. samay. sephay. syhemathon. balair. {s}amamar. hamyhel. marmamor. h {en}emos. gegohomos. samar. sabar. {hami}hel. gezamahel. sacramay. iezama{mel}. {ha}mansamel. (5)

hamazamoly. geromol. lezemon. sycromal. iezabal. sanma. zama. hatanathos. Theos. helyhene. zelym. helyhem. hezelym. cromemon. henethemos. gegeguol. hemthemos. iamam. harathinam. megon. (6) meguoncemon. scrymay. hethemel. hemel. sethor. helsethor. sophornay. behelthor. sesalihel. tanahel. homyhal. iezahel. zemahel. komal. guomaguos. sennyr. iechor. nomemal. gehamguo. (7) genayr. iecomame. malihaguathos. hachamol. iecromaguos. maguarht. noynemal. haguathos. hamathalis. iecoraguos. sammazihel. ieconail. hesuogem. chocorim. mynarntanamaytha. (8) thanaym. raymara. senayhel. honrnon. genthon. lauarnyhel. gehemguor. gemyhothar. iamnamyhel. sezihel. magol. samanay. haganal. menya. ferimay. sarranay. lanamyhel. guohemguor. gemothar. larnmyhel. (9) sezihel. maguol. samanay. hagamal. mena. ferimay. sarranay. lacham. lyhares. lethanagihel. nathes. samairliazer. egihel. thamazihel. hacacaros. cazaihel. hacaraz. hacatoharena. Semyday. (10) hacca. choharon. semelay. iamye. iazabal. lauerecabal. iammeze. thabal. cumachoros. hacoronathos. sathanael. hariharn. zathhar. harathar. haziler. zechar. hazihem. hazachar. Loenigemar. (11) hazanathar. hameguar. semal. geheu. negemar. hemeguol. semam. hathamanos. latimairos. rechiharnos. larnogual. semar. temnalamos. sebranay. selarnnay. baructhata. ialon. hespuhos. ramel. Semal. (12) renylsemar. ielamacrom. ielama. crymyzaiber. segher. sayher. ierologuos. iegemaguolon. geiemamaguosam. hamynos. iamozia. iozihon. iacuhosia. haguyhosio. yecologos. hazeoyon. hamynos. (13) hamyr. matharihon. mathanon. senos. heliothon. zenos. semear. lauar. lamar. setronalon. gemal. secromaguol. sacromehal. lamagil. sethoham. sechoiro. maihol. socromoguol. Genos. thomegen. nycheos.

XLII. First Terminus.[56]

Genealogon. reealologon. tenealogo. saphay. zazaiham. saphia. zede. zemoziham. zomonrihel. sanaman. sanma. gegnognal. Samyhel. ieremyhel. horaciotos. hetha. siothos. sepharaym. (2) henemos. genozabal. ieremabal. hethemel. genotheram. genorabal. semyha. senma. mynarom. yninathon. geristel. hymacton. chalos. phabal. resaram. marachihel. naratheos. ietrinantho. iezibathel. (3) sephoros. thesirara. zepharonay. hazana. messihel. Sother. hazihel. semicros. chiel. hamacal. hator. zemothor. sauaday. morothochiel. semenos. satabis. themay. horel. remay. renay.

zenel. hasa. gemol. (4) zemelaza. iemozihel. zemei. zemeihaton. zechor. helycos. semysemie. hiacon. iethor.-d| mehohin. hazenethon. semase. mepathon. zemolym. sistos. Eloy. semegey. manos. helypos. hemyclopos. geys. seray. sephet. sephamanay. (5) helihothos. cherobalym. hassenethon. hisistos. domengos. iemyrohal. samanathos. semeham. behenos. megon. hanythel. iechomeros. ielamagar. remelthet. genay. domathamos. hathamyr. seryhon. senon. zaralamay. sabayhon.

XLIII. Second Terminus.[57]

Geolym. hazenethon. ysistos. Eloy. sephei. manay. helyhotas. ierobalym. semalet. gonay. heliothos. domathamos. hathamyr. seryhon. hamynyr. senoz. magamagol. (2) sethar. senam. magel. Hel. helymothos. helseron. zeron. phamal. iegromos. herymyhothon. lauthamos. heramathon. laudamos. lanaymos. seplatihel. sephatihel. hagenalis. legenale. hegernar. (3) stanazihel. stanithel. hathanathos. hegrogebal. rogor. heremynar. {hen}ecyman. marothon. iethar{naym}. {heno.z}ios. {i}ezeduhos. gezconas. satam. g{ort} aray. helycychcym. helestymeym. sephalzna. mathar. (4) saphar. manatham. bezazay. samay. sephay. syhemathon. balair. {s}amamar. hamyhel. marmamor. h {en}emos. gegohomos. samar. sabar. {hami}hel. gezamahel. sacramay. iezama{mel}. {ha}mansamel. (5) hamazamoly. geromol. lezemon. sycromal. iezabal. sanma. zama. hatanathos. Theos. helyhene. zelym. helyhem. hezelym. cromemon. henethemos. gegeguol. hemthemos. iamam. harathinam. megon. (6) meguoncemon. scrymay. hethemel. hemel. sethor. helsethor. sophornay. behelthor. sesalihel. tanahel. homyhal. iezahel. zemahel. komal. guomaguos. sennyr. iechor. nomemal. gehamguo. (7) genayr. iecomame. malihaguathos. hachamol. iecromaguos. maguarht. noynemal. haguathos. hamathalis. iecoraguos. sammazihel. ieconail. hesuogem. chocorim. mynarntanamaytha. (8) thanaym. raymara. senayhel. honrnon. genthon. lauarnyhel. gehemguor. gemyhothar. iamnamyhel. sezihel. magol. samanay. haganal. menya. ferimay. sarranay. lanamyhel. guohemguor. gemothar. larnmyhel. (9) sezihel. maguol. samanay. hagamal. mena. ferimay. sarranay. lacham. lyhares. lethanagihel. nathes. samairliazer. egihel. thamazihel. hacacaros. cazaihel. hacaraz. hacatoharena. Semyday. (10) hacca. choharon. semelay. iamye. iazabal. lauerecabal. iammeze. thabal. cumachoros. hacoronathos. sathanael. hariharn. zathhar. harathar.

haziler. zechar. hazihem. hazachar. Loenigemar. (11) hazanathar. hameguar. semal. geheu. negemar. hemeguol. semam. hathamanos. latimairos. rechiharnos. larnogual. semar. temnalamos. sebranay. selarnnay. baructhata. ialon. hespuhos. ramel. Semal. (12) renylsemar. ielamacrom. ielama. crymyzaiber. segher. sayher. ierologuos. iegemaguolon. geiemamaguosam. hamynos. iamozia. iozihon. iacuhosia. haguyhosio. yecologos. hazeoyon. hamynos. (13) hamyr. matharihon. mathanon. senos. heliothon. zenos. semear. lauar. lamar. setronalon. gemal. secromaguol. sacromehal. lamagil. sethoham. sechoiro. maihol. socromoguol. Genos. thomegen. nycheos.

XLIV 3US TERMINUS

Agenos. theomogenos. Theos. hatanathos. kirihel. ypolis. ypile. karihel. cristopholis. Hon. ymalihor. ymas. harethena. chenathon. leonbon. boho. usyon. ieromeguos. hagenoy. (2) hysichou. geromagol. hagyhamal. latham. zarchamal. senar. peconahal. lacramagral. sehar. sehan. iezetom. genomoloy. genomos. iezoro. nomeros. henahihel. gemehagate. gemyha. iethenmahos. myhayhos. (3) semana. hahel. semahel. hoteihos. hatazaihos. saphar. nemenomos. hoheihos. hataz. ayhos. caphar. nemenomos. horihos. hataz. haihoz. seiha. chomo. chomothanay. lamam. lamnamyr. lamyhar. (4) lamanazamyr. lemyar. hagramos. generamosehc. senyha. exagal. hamagron. semaharon. semyr. harauma. mamail. hararncha. mothana. Ramay. iose. ramaht. hauaramay. Iole. Christus. hamyriscos. (5) hamirrios. tharathos. caratheos. saleht. semamarim. iasol. salem. semyhamaym. hallehuma. haristeiz. bohem. ruhos. Halla. samyey. syloht. Samyhel. hallenomay. samythi. methonomos. iethonomos. gedonomay.

XLIV. THIRD TERMINUS.[58]

Agenos. theomogenos. Theos. hatanathos. kirihel. ypolis. ypile. karihel. cristopholis. Hon. ymalihor. ymas. harethena. chenathon. leonbon. boho. usyon. ieromeguos. hagenoy. (2) hysichou. geromagol. hagyhamal. latham. zarchamal. senar. peconahal. lacramagral. sehar. sehan. iezetom. genomoloy. genomos. iezoro. nomeros. henahihel. gemehagate. gemyha. iethenmahos. myhayhos. (3) semana. hahel. semahel. hoteihos. hatazaihos.

saphar. nemenomos. hoheihos. hataz. ayhos. caphar. nemenomos. horihos. hataz. haihoz. seiha. chomo. chomothanay. lamam. lamnamyr. lamyhar. (4) lamanazamyr. lemyar. hagramos. generamosehc. senyha. exagal. hamagron. semaharon. semyr. harauma. mamail. hararncha. mothana. Ramay. iose. ramaht. hauaramay. Iole. Christus. hamyriscos. (5) hamirrios. tharathos. caratheos. saleht. semamarim. iasol. salem. semyhamaym. hallehuma. haristeiz. bohem. ruhos. Halla. samyey. syloht. Samyhel. hallenomay. samythi. methonomos. iethonomos. gedonomay.

XLV 4[US] TERMINUS

Geuathores. sanamathotos. guanatores. zanothoros. genomos. ienazar. seuma. marathos. seuather. sematheher. senachar. gerub. iamam. exihel. chublalaman. (2) hesihel. sethei. semylihel. zomyhel. genocomel. thanyham. machar. hachay. hazanathay. Theos. hamanatar. hazanethar. theconay. chiathar. theohon. namacar. (3) senuales. samyha. hesaca. semaly. hesamen. semyhahes. sarcihate. nazihatel. hanaziathachel. hasilihacel. pamylihel. haziliatel. hageuoron. hageuorem. (4) hageuorozom. samaht. samoht. habisumaht. hendon. habysanahat. tyngehen. cragohem. hazamgeri. hazamaguhem. lemehot. hasomgeri. iomoyhot. semiha. riahacton. semymarithaton. (5) semynar. zihoton. zaguam. horay. honethe. hoparathos. nahamala. rochos. hazata. helralacos. horetha. horalacos. horetha. horalothos. haralo. lethos. geno. zabahal. (6) lemaht. hazocha. lematalmay. halmay. iemalis. secomathal. harmarlemaht. sethemaesal. rabasadail. semnazliel. lethom. hagihal. legos. patis. iethomagihal. genomychos. (7) samayhas. ieuemeros. samma. zasamar. hazamyha. hasaymam. thaguoro. bandethepharon. thagromathon. laudoches. pharen. decarpe. medyhos. decapocheu. duhomelathus. decaponde. dihamelathos. semyhariht. (8) samyhan. genathely. zazamar. myremoht. satharios. gemiliam. sacrehos. saphorenam. saphoro. megon. hassahamynel. hazaa. myrahel. gerizo. ieristosymythos. hothos. hymicros. Otheos.

XLVI 5[US] TERMINUS

Demathy. motheham. semathyotheos. hesapopa. hesaphopanos. gramyhel. garamanas. saphomoron. gelbaray. ieblaray. hetidiham. henzan. hezidiham. canazpharis. (2) hanthesion. cauastphasis. holithos. hosschihon. samatihel. ramaihel. semiramoht. Sathanos. gecabal. Hostosion. lemeliham. saphara. negon. zaramyhel. zamyrel. geriston. (3) zymphoros. hocho. hadalomob. uagem. nagenay. megos. naymogos. semazihar. helaph. herlo. holophemo. lopheo. hornobahoceo. Nydeht. herihegil. roguhon. nydocricib. (4) uegal. neguabel. memoht. hemel. gemoht. saguanar. clarapalos. zenozmyhel. iosagat. genoz. hamel. guaramaziel. gerathar. sathamyanos. sahamuham. gnamazihel. machelaglilos. (5) geraguaht. sathamyham. hurihel. phalomagos. phalomgros. iotho. megom. saraht. saaysac. horamylichos. carmelichos. hezaladuha. hezeladam. hisihel. hemal. Usyon. lamal. raguam. sablathom. Sabsacom.

XLV. Fourth Terminus.[59]

Geuathores. sanamathotos. guanatores. zanothoros. genomos. ienazar. seuma. marathos. seuather. sematheher. senachar. gerub. iamam. exihel. chublalaman. (2) hesihel. sethei. semylihel. zomyhel. genocomel. thanyham. machar. hachay. hazanathay. Theos. hamanatar. hazanethar. theconay. chiathar. theohon. namacar. (3) senuales. samyha. hesaca. semaly. hesamen. semyhahes. sarcihate. nazihatel. hanaziathachel. hasilihacel. pamylihel. haziliatel. hageuoron. hageuorem. (4) hageuorozom. samaht. samoht. habisumaht. hendon. habysanahat. tyngehen. cragohem. hazamgeri. hazamaguhem. lemehot. hasomgeri. iomoyhot. semiha. riahacton. semymarithaton. (5) semynar. zihoton. zaguam. horay. honethe. hoparathos. nahamala. rochos. hazata. helralacos. horetha. horalacos. horetha. horalothos. haralo. lethos. geno. zabahal. (6) lemaht. hazocha. lematalmay. halmay. iemalis. secomathal. harmarlemaht. sethemaesal. rabasadail. semnazliel. lethom. hagihal. legos. patis. iethomagihal. genomychos. (7) samayhas. ieuemeros. samma. zasamar. hazamyha. hasaymam. thaguoro. bandethepharon. thagromathon. laudoches. pharen. decarpe. medyhos. decapocheu. duhomelathus. decaponde. dihamelathos. semyhariht. (8) samyhan. genathely. zazamar. myremoht. satharios. gemiliam. sacrehos. saphorenam. saphoro. megon. hassahamynel. hazaa. myrahel. gerizo. ieristosymythos. hothos. hymicros. Otheos.

XLVI. Fifth Terminus.[60]

Demathy. motheham. semathyotheos. hesapopa. hesaphopanos. gramyhel. garamanas. saphomoron. gelbaray. ieblaray. hetidiham. henzan. hezidiham. canazpharis. (2) hanthesion. cauastphasis. holithos. hosschihon. samatihel. ramaihel. semiramoht. Sathanos. gecabal. Hostosion. lemeliham. saphara. negon. zaramyhel. zamyrel. geriston. (3) zymphoros. hocho. hadalomob. uagem. nagenay. megos. naymogos. semazihar. helaph. herlo. holophemo. lopheo. hornobahoceo. Nydeht. herihegil. roguhon. nydocricib. (4) uegal. neguabel. memoht. hemel. gemoht. saguanar. clarapalos. zenozmyhel. iosagat. genoz. hamel. guaramaziel. gerathar. sathamyanos. sahamuham. gnamazihel. machelaglilos. (5) geraguaht. sathamyham. hurihel. phalomagos. phalomgros. iotho. megom. saraht. saaysac. horamylichos. carmelichos. hezaladuha. hezeladam. hisihel. hemal. Usyon. lamal. raguam. sablathom. sabsacom.

XLVII 6US terminus

Derogueguos. geronehos. samanachor. sazanachoray. zamachoray. sauatihel. lamathios. sauazihel. thamyquiol. zazarahel. kyrion. zamynel. kyris. crememon. caristonmon. sacronomay. (2) soromono. hestimpandos. iechampanydos. ietham. panydos. methelamathon. merasamaty. sabarna. heluhama. guathamal. hemdamyhos. thega. myhabal. teguamathal. chathanathel. (3) thehogethos. cehoguos. sanazihel. cathanathel. tehogethos. tehoguos. canazay. teneloihos. zenelyhos. cathaliel. theomeguos. lapdamylon. laudamelyhon. ierothihon. lapda. mozihon. (4) homen. samal. samochia. homy. samal. samaziho. sathamenay. samohaia. sathomonay. geromazihel. hoctho. macalon. hothomegalon. genetazamanay. hazatamel. hazabanas. iechro. tynoguale. sehor. gehoraia. (5) haramanay. harathacihel. hazabamoht. hamython. lapdas. hazathan. thihel. hazabanos. hamacon. hamamalyhon. samalyhon. samalerihon. usiologihon. legyn. heleis. hymon. machitilon. (6) Theos. heloty. sarrainazili. samachili. helamon. chihamon. Hel. lamochiamou. lagay. lemechiel. semezihel. laymos. lanoso hazamathon. themohan. thanathon. Theon. natharathon.

XLVIII 7US TERMINUS

Maguus. maguol. nazihacol. uazihathos. heliam. mathon. saphar. nazachon. gemehihel. iomorihel. sanayhel. sazanyhel. saramel. semyhel. sezimel. (2) lebachon. iarachon. iaratham. basihas. lamnay. rouala. matliathon. rasihos. layna. choro. laymatham. labynegual. scomycros. bazihos. lainna. labunegas. herezemyhel. (3) pheamicros. negemezihol. relmalaguoram. hanamyhos. hanomos. gracosihos. gracomessihos. sothiron. genozepha. chelahel. zopascanelios. zepasconomos. hamarazihos. hamarizihos. (4) zenazihel. geramathihel. gecramathihol. hasaguar. hasagiri. paramyhot. hapasiry. haranamar. Senales. hasaguanamar. sennagel. secastologihon. geuaguolos. hageuolo. thegos. sozor. (5) hamay. seroguomay. sorosamay. iamaramos. remolithos. lammaramos. zenon. serolen. zabay. peripaton. harihat. hananyhos. crascrosihos. graguomoysihos. sichiron. genozem. pha. zehahel. (6) sephastaneos. hamaristigos. senazihel. geramacihel. pazamyhol. haphasy. zihazanagar. senasel. secasehogyhon. genaguolos. hegonele. thegos. sorozamay. sozor. hamay. iamaramos. zelihon. iezolen.

XLVII. SIXTH TERMINUS.[61]

Derogueguos. geronehos. samanachor. sazanachoray. zamachoray. sauatihel. lamathios. sauazihel. thamyquiol. zazarahel. kyrion. zamynel. kyris. crememon. caristonmon. sacronomay. (2) soromono. hestimpandos. iechampanydos. ietham. panydos. methelamathon. merasamaty. sabarna. heluhama. guathamal. hemdamyhos. thega. myhabal. teguamathal. chathanathel. (3) thehogethos. cehoguos. sanazihel. cathanathel. tehogethos. tehoguos. canazay. teneloihos. zenelyhos. cathaliel. theomeguos. lapdamylon. laudamelyhon. ierothihon. lapda. mozihon. (4) homen. samal. samochia. homy. samal. samaziho. sathamenay. samohaia. sathomonay. geromazihel. hoctho. macalon. hothomegalon. genetazamanay. hazatamel. hazabanas. iechro. tynoguale. sehor. gehoraia. (5) haramanay. harathacihel. hazabamoht. hamython. lapdas. hazathan. thihel. hazabanos. hamacon. hamamalyhon. samalyhon. samalerihon. usiologihon. legyn. heleis. hymon. machitilon. (6) Theos. heloty. sarrainazili. samachili. helamon. chihamon. Hel. lamochiamou. lagay.

lemechiel. semezihel. laymos. lanoso hazamathon. themohan. thanathon. Theon. natharathon.

XLVIII. Seventh Terminus.[62]

Maguus. maguol. nazihacol. uazihathos. heliam. mathon. saphar. nazachon. gemehihel. iomorihel. sanayhel. sazanyhel. saramel. semyhel. sezimel. (2) lebachon. iarachon. iaratham. basihas. lamnay. rouala. matliathon. rasihos. layna. choro. laymatham. labynegual. scomycros. bazihos. lainna. labunegas. herezemyhel. (3) pheamicros. negemezihol. relmalaguoram. hanamyhos. hanomos. gracosihos. gracomessihos. sothiron. genozepha. chelahel. zopascanelios. zepasconomos. hamarazihos. hamarizihos. (4) zenazihel. geramathihel. gecramathihol. hasaguar. hasagiri. paramyhot. hapasiry. haranamar. Senales. hasaguanamar. sennagel. secastologihon. geuaguolos. hageuolo. thegos. sozor. (5) hamay. seroguomay. sorosamay. iamaramos. remolithos. lammaramos. zenon. serolen. zabay. peripaton. harihat. hananyhos. crascrosihos. graguomoysihos. sichiron. genozem. pha. zehahel. (6) sephastaneos. hamaristigos. senazihel. geramacihel. pazamyhol. haphasy. zihazanagar. senasel. secasehogyhon. genaguolos. hegonele. thegos. sorozamay. sozor. hamay. iamaramos. zelihon. iezolen.

XLIX 8US terminus

Remolithos. ypomehiles. hazimelos. samal. hazaramagos. gelomyhel. gezeno. megual. hauacristos. hanaipos. gemotheon. samahot. helihemon. hialamum. salamyhym. haminos. gezelihos. sartharay. sarthamy. (2) gechora. maray. gethoramy. ieguoram. myhamy. Theos. agios. crehanrnos. Yskiros. athanathos. probihos. meguon. hacazamazay. hecohy. uryhel. iebozihel. sarib. rogay. halomora. sarahihel. hechamazihel. sezamagua. iechar.

L

Novem oraciones sunt in principio posite usque ad illam oracionem: “Heliscemaht, hazaram ...,” quarum octo sunt preparacio vie ad operandum et preparacio operis ad optinendum, set nona est prima oracio de

intrincesitate [*intrinsecitate] operis huius. (2) De octo dico tibi, quod summo mane paululum ante crepusculum matutinum ante incepcionem operis cuiuslibet diei ipse sunt proferende, et non oportet de tota die amplius.

(3) De nona dico, quod semper in principio orandi per oraciones alias ab illis octo predictis et in fine est proferenda.

(4) Octo oraciones sunt in fine posite, que octo termini nuncupantur, et de illis dico, quod valent ad habendum divinum concessum.

(5) Sic primo una die Veneris, postquam eris vere penitens et confessus, ieiunabis pane et aqua. (6) Et summo mane circa principium crepusculi matutini dices decem oraciones, quas invenies infra, scilicet 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, suaviter et intente atque sedule prorumpendo. (7) Deinde facto parvo intervallo postulative cogitando dices illos 8 terminos, intervallum similiter parvum et postulativum in fine cuiuslibet termini faciendo.

XLIX. Eighth Terminus.[63]

Remolithos. ypomehiles. hazimelos. samal. hazaramagos. gelomyhel. gezeno. megual. hauacristos. hanaipos. gemotheon. samahot. helihemon. hialamum. salamyhym. haminos. gezelihos. sartharay. sarthamy. (2) gechora. maray. gethoramy. ieguoram. myhamy. Theos. agios. crehanrnos. Yskiros. athanathos. probihos. meguon. hacazamazay. hecohy. uryhel. iebozihel. sarib. rogay. halomora. sarahihel. hechamazihel. sezamagua. iechar.

L.

Nine prayers are placed in the beginning, up to the prayer "**Heliscemaht, hazaram**...," of which eight are preparation of the way to work, and preparation of the work for obtaining, but the ninth is the first prayer that is intrinsic to this work. (2) Concerning the eight I say to you, they should be said early in the morning, a little before morning twilight, before beginning the day's work, and should be said no more the rest of the day.

(3) Concerning the ninth, I tell you, it should always be said before beginning the prayers which follow those eight, and at the end.

(4) The eight prayers are placed at the end, which are called the eight *Termini* (or "Ends"), and regarding them I say, that they are effective for obtaining divine consent.

(5) Thus to begin, one Friday, after sincerely repenting and confessing, you must fast on bread and water. (6) And in the early morning around morning twilight, say the ten prayers which you will discover below, namely, numbers 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32, pleasantly and attentively, while projecting the words purposefully. (7) Then you must pause for a short time, thinking about your request, then say those eight *Termini*, taking a similar pause after each *Terminus* to repeat your request.

(8) Deinde, eum mane semel dixeris, eodem modo penitus circa terciam semel dices et similiter circa meridiem semel et tune poteris prandere.

(9) In crastino, scilicet in die sabbati, eodem modo penitus facies. In die Dominica similiter, nisi quod non ieiunabis, immo quod vis, vel pisces vel carnes, comedere quibis post meridiem, scilicet finita tercia vice orandi.

(10) Tunc in nocte sequenti in sompnis revelabitur tibi per angelum concessus vel repulsa. Si concessus, facies ut docebitur in hoc libro. (11) Si repulsa, spectabis aliud tempus, in quo iterum queres concessum, et tunc te melius preparato apud Deum, unde veniet concessus.

(12) Set nota, quod illa oracio: "Iesu, Dei filius ..." cum illa: "Eleminator...," que est pars eiusdem oracionis, nisi quod ibi debet fieri minimum intervallum postulativum, debet dici ter submisse post quamlibet vicem orandi horis predictis. (13) Si autem repulsam habueris, fac ut dictum est die Veneris, sabbati et Dominico, nisi quod in die Dominico loco ieiunii debes dare tres elemosinas tribus pauperibus misericorditer et devote.

(14) Deinde prima luna, scilicet in die Lune sequenti, fac ut prius penitus et eodem modo similiter luna 2^{a} et luna 3^{a} et luna 4^{a} et sic usque ad finem. (15) Et sic forte Deus miserebitur tui. Tamen in oracionibus Latinis tunc oporteret peticionem mutare, scilicet peticionem concessus in peticionem miseracionis.

(16) Et nota, quod qui tales oraciones vult dicere debet esse castus et mundus et devote proferre, et qui aliter fecerit procul dubio punicionem manifestam videbit. (17) In illis enim oracionibus Grecis, Hebraicis et Caldaicis sunt sacratissima nomina Dei et angelorum, que non nisi ex misericordia ab homine proferri permitterentur.

(18) Et quando tibi accidit repulsa, non debes desperare set confiteri et renes magis perscrutari et elemosinas multas lete largiri et missas diversas facere celebrari et oraciones diversas genibus flexis ad Dominum alloqui sive fari et tempestivis et protervis fletibus et oracionibus Dominum hortari et amplecti. Hec solent facere sapientes, ut veniant ad effectum.

(8) Then, having said this once in the morning, you must repeat the same around Terce, and again around noon, whereupon you can eat your first meal.

(9) On the following day, namely, the Sabbath,[64] you must do in the exact same manner. Do the same again on Sunday, except it is not necessary to fast, and in fact you can eat fish or meat as you prefer, but after noon, namely after you have finished praying for the third time.

(10) Then on the following night as you sleep, it will be revealed to you by an angel, whether your request will be permitted or rejected. If permitted, you will do as will be taught in this book, (11) but if rejected, consider another time in which to seek permission, and then prepare yourself better before God, from whom permission will come.

(12) But note, that the prayer, "Jesus, son of God..." (XXVI) with this one: "**Eleminator,"** (XXVII) which is part of the same prayer, should be said three times softly, except there should be a short petition interval, after each time of praying.—(13) If however your petition is rejected, do as described for Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, with the exception that on Sunday, instead of fasting you must give three alms to three poor persons, with compassion and devotion.

(14) Then, in the first moon, namely the following Monday, do as you did earlier, and so too for the second, third, and fourth Monday, and thus all the way to the end. (15) And thus perhaps God will be merciful to you. But in the Latin[65] prayers you should alter the petition, namely you should ask for mercy, not for granting your desire.

(16) And note that whoever wishes to say those prayers must be chaste and clean, and offer them with devotion, and anyone who does otherwise will undoubtedly see punishment. (17) In fact, those Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldean prayers include the most holy names of God and the angels, which must not be spoken by anyone except through his mercy.

(18) And when your request has been rejected, you must not despair, but confess and search your inner feelings more, and cheerfully give many

alms, and have diverse Masses celebrated, and different prayers on bent knees addressed to the Lord, or speak suitable and passionate prayers with tears, exhorting and embracing the Lord. These are the things the wise men are accustomed to doing, in order to achieve success.

LI PRIMA MUNDACIO

Si Adonay largiente concessum habueris et opereris secundum modum subscriptum, luna 4ª, 8ª, 12ª, 16ª, 20ª, 24ª, 28ª, 32ª in die circa matutinum semel, circa terciam semel, circa nonam semel, circa vesperas semel dices has oraciones prescriptas, (2) scilicet “Assaylemah t ...” et “Hazailemaht ...,” que est secunda pars eius, et [“Lemaht ...” et] “Lameht lemaht ...” et “Deus summe, Deus ...” et “Te queso, Domine ...,” <et> que est prologus eius, scilicet “Deus summe, Deus ...,” nisi quod ille tres oraciones prime de intraneitate artis: (3) “Alpha et Ω ...” et “Heliscemaht ...” et “Theos megale Patir ...” cum suo prologo “Lux mundi ...,” que post eam debet dici, prius dicantur, et post ille: “Hassailemaht ...” [et “Hazailemaht ...”] dicantur facto tamen intervallo postulativo.

(4) Illa autem sanctissima oracio: “Lameht ragua ...” cum sua particula “Semeht segaht [*segheahlt] ...” et cum suo prologo debet dici luna prima quater, scilicet summo mane semel, circa terciam semel, circa meridiem ter, circa nonam ter.

(5) Luna 3ª proferatur ter: Circa mane semel, circa meridiem semel, circa nonam semel.

Luna 6ª proferatur bis in mane, bis in meridie, bis in nona.

Luna 9ª proferatur ter in mane, ter in meridie, ter in nona.

(6) In 12ª luna proferatur ter in mane, ter in meridie, ter in nona, ter in vesperis.

Luna 15ª proferatur [in] mane ter, in tercia ter, in meridie ter, in nona ter, in vesperis ter.

In 18ª luna 21 et 23, 26 et 29 et 30 legantur similiter sicut in 15ª.

LI. The first purification.

If Adonay generously grants that you might have permission, then proceed according to the method described below. On the 4th, 8th, 12th, 16th, 20th, 24th, 28th, and 32nd of the moon, the following prayers should be said once around Matins, once around Terce, once around None, and once around Vesper, (2) namely “Assaylemaht...” (XX) and “Hazailemaht ...,” (XXI) which is the second part of it, and “[Lemaht ...” (XXII), and] “Lameht lemaht ...” (XXIII), and “God the highest, God ...” (XXIV), and “I beseech you, O my Lord ...” (XXV), <and> which is its prologue, namely, “God the highest, God ...,” except that those three first prayers from the essence of the art: (3) “Alpha and Omega ...” (XV) and “Heliscemaht ...” (XVI) and “Theos megale Patir ...” (XVII) with its prologue “the light of the world ...”, (XVIII) which must be said *after* that which should be said first, and after that, say “Hassailemaht ...” (XX) [and “Hazailemaht....”] (XXI) yet they should be said with a petition interval.

(4) But that most holy prayer: “Lameht ragua...” with its part “Semeht segaht [*segheahlt] ...” and with its prologue should be said on the *Luna Prima*[66] four times, namely once very early in the morning, once around Terce, three times around noon, three times around None.

(5) On the third day of the moon it should be recited three times: Once in the morning, once around noon, and once around None.

On the sixth day of the moon it should be recited twice in the morning, twice at noon, and twice at None.

On the ninth day of the moon it should be recited three times in the morning, three times at noon, and three times at None.

(6) On the twelfth day of the moon it should be recited three times in the morning, three times at noon, and three times at Vespers.

On the fifteenth day of the moon it should be recited three times in the morning, three times at Terce, three times at noon, three times at None, and three times at Vespers.

On the eighteenth day of the moon, 21, 23, 26, 29, and 30 are to be read similarly as on the fifteenth.[67]

(7) Set nota, quod ista oracio in castitate et in mundicia et fide prolata valet similiter ad pericula ignis, bestiarum vel demonum, et tunc nichil de horis vel lunacionibus respicere oportet.

(8) Illa autem oracio sanctissima: “Hazaram hihel ...” cum suis particulis 4, que sunt “Hihelma helma” et cetera, “Agloros theomythos” et cetera, “Megal agal” et cetera, “Hamicchiahel” et cetera, cum suis similiter prologis, (9) scilicet “Confirma, consolida” et cetera, “Deus omnium, qui es” et cetera, “Veritas, lux” et cetera, “Ego in conspectu tuo” et cetera, seriatim, ut prius iacent, debent prorumpi suaviter et intente post illam predictam: (10) “Lameht ragua ...” eisdem diebus et horis nisi in uno casu, scilicet quando pro magno negocio petitur, puta loqui cum spiritibus vel videre Deum. Tunc ipsa non debet dici nisi semel, scilicet circa mane. (11) Set quando petitur sciencia vel tutela a malis vel cognicio celorum et angelorum et sigillorum et cetera, tunc sicut dictum est de “Lameht ragua ...” est faciendum. (12) Et hec oracio eandem efficaciam cum “Lameht ragua ...” habet et aliquid plus in speciali vel, quod melius est, in casu, (13) quo petitur fieri a spiritibus celestibus aliquid arduum et magnum eis approbatum, scilicet descendere et homini loqui vel cogere spiritus aereos et terreos ad veniendum et obediendum.

(14) Illa autem oracio: “Semoht gechel...” et illa: “Omnipotens, sempiteme Deus ...” et illa: “Semoht lamen ...” proferantur cum illa: “Iesu, Dei filius ...” in illis diebus, (15) in quibus alie predicte proferri non debent, sicut dictum est supra, quod non debent proferri luna 2a nec 5a nec 7a nec 14a, et sic de aliis, ut prius patet.

(16) Et nota, quod si coram iudice habet magnam causam, que non possit ad finem produci, et ieiunet precedenti die qua ibit ad curiam propositum causam suam pane et aqua, postea proferat basse bis illas tres oraciones: “Semoht...” et “Omnipotens ...” et “Semoht ...;” (17) tanta enim sapiencia et eloquencia dabitur sibi in proponendo causam suam, quod breviter optinebit, nisi quod oportet <te> esse bene mundum et castum. (18) Similiter hanc oracionem valet dicere, quando aliquis spiritus vocatus venit, cum illa: “Lameht ragua ...” pro evitando periculum et acquirendo sapienciam et eloquenciam affandi audacter spiritu advocato.

(7) But note, that this same prayer offered in chastity and cleanness and faith has power over dangers from fire, wild beasts, or daemons, and then no specific time of day or month need be observed.

(8) But that most holy prayer: “Hazaram hihel ...” (XXXI) with its four parts, which are “Hihelma helma” etc. (XXXII), “Agloros theomythos” etc. (XXXIV), “Megal agal” etc. (XXXV) “Hamicchiahel” etc. (XXXVII),

similarly with its prologues, (9) namely, “Strengthen, solidify” etc. (XXXIII), ‘O God of all, you who are’ etc. (XXXIVb), “the Truth, the Light” etc. (XXXVI), “I speak these things in your presence” etc. (XXXVIII), as set down in order earlier. They must be projected pleasantly and attentively after that one preceding: (10) “Lameht ragua ...” (XXVIII) the same days and with the hours, except in the one case, namely when your petition is for some great undertaking, for example to speak with the spirits or to see God. Then it must be said only once, namely around morning. (11) But when your petition is for knowledge, or protection from evil, or learning about the heavens and the angels, and the seals, etc., then you must do as said concerning “Lameht ragua ...” (XXVIII). (12) And this prayer has the same effectiveness as “Lameht ragua,” and is even somewhat more specific, which is better in the case (13) that you desire the celestial spirits to approve some great or difficult task, such as them descending and speaking to people, or to compel the spirits of the air and the earth into coming and obeying.

(14) Therefore this prayer must be offered: “Semoht gechel ...” (XXXIX), and this: “Omnipotent, eternal God ...” (XL), and this: “Semoht lamen ...” (XLI), with this one: “Jesus, the Son of God ...” (XXVI) on those days, (15) in which the others preceding must not be offered, as explained above, because they must not be offered on the second day of the moon, nor the fifth, seventh, nor the fourteenth, and so for the others as appears earlier.

(16) And note, that if someone has a major case before a judge, the end of which cannot be determined, he should fast on bread and water the day before he is to plead his case, and afterwards he should recite quietly those three prayers, two times: “Semoht ...” (XXXIX) and “Almighty ...” (XL) and “Semoht ...” (XLI). (17) For such great wisdom and eloquence will be given to him for pleading his cause, that it will be obtained quickly, except you must be very clean and abstinent. (18) Similarly it is powerful to say this prayer when an invoked spirit has come, with this one: “Lameht ragua ...” (XXVIII) in order to avoid danger and acquire wisdom and eloquence in speaking boldly with the spirit that is called.

LII

Cum igitur nichil aliud fecerit vel aliquod peccatum cogitaverit, roget continue Deum aliis horis a primis 6ª, 10ª, 12ª oracione et in mane vadat ad missam et eundo dicat 16, (2) in templo dicat 22, item 14, 24,[5] 21, 32, 33, 34, 29, 30 et ita faciat continue per 20 dies cavens sibi diligenter, ne incidat in peccatum. (3) Si tamen casualiter in peccatum inciderit, immediate peniteat et confiteatur; ieiunet, si possit, continue. (4) Si non, de duobus unum relaxet. Set per 7 dies ordine retrogrado procedendo ab omni morticinio ieiunet.

(5) Tunc habeat sacerdotem cautum et fidelem, qui sibi matutinam, primam et terciam et missam de Spiritu sancto cantet dicens in introitu 13, post offertorium 9. (6) Tunc accipiat thus et suffumiget, ut pertinet ad altare, dicens primam. Et quia beati patres in illis gloriosis sanctis ibidem nominatis sperabant, ideo sic fecerunt. (7) Operans autem, si in aliquibus aliis sanctis maiorem devocionem habeat, mutet nomen pro nomine, quia fides operatur ut predixi. (8) 2ª oracio immediate dicatur et post "Te igitur ..." 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, et sic in sacrando corpus Christi petat pro operante sacerdos, ut effectum peticionum suarum per divinam graciam assequatur. (9) Et ita intellige de omnibus oracionibus, que pertinent ad sacerdotem et ad operacionem, quia sunt generales ad omnes peticiones habendas. (10) Set nichil aliis addas. Item post communionem dicat sacerdos 26, post missam vero recipiat operans eucaristiam dicendo 19, 20. (11) Et caveat, ne corpus Christi accipiat pro effectu malo, quia non esset salus immo mors, unde quidam intitulaverunt librum istum sic: "Incipit mors anime." (12) Et hoc est verum male operantibus et propter effectum malum, et non propter scienciam. Nam ait Dominus: "Petite, et dabitur vobis. Querite et invenietis." (13) Et alibi dicit Dominus: "Ubi duo vel tres congregati fuerint in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio" et "De omni re, quam pecierint in nomine meo, fiet illis a patre meo."

LII.

Now, provided that he has not done anything else, nor intended to sin, he should continuously ask God, in all other hours except Prime, with the sixth, tenth, and twelfth prayers,[68] and in the morning he should go to mass and while going he should say sixteen; (2) in the church he should say 22, likewise, 14, 24,[69] 21, 32, 33, 34, 29, 30, and he should do thus

continuously for twenty days, taking careful precautions against falling into sin. (3) If however he accidentally sins, he must immediately repent and confess; if he can let him fast continuously, (4) but if he is unable to, he may relax that to fasting every other day. But for seven days consecutive going back prior, he must fast and abstain from (eating) all dead matter.[70]

(5) Then he should have a cautious and faithful priest, who should sing for him Matins, Prime, Terce, and a Mass of the Holy Spirit. During the *introit* he should say 13,[71] and after the offertory he should say 9.[72] (6) Then he should take incense and fumigate as he approaches the altar, saying the first.[73] And note that those famous saints were named therein because the blessed fathers had faith in them, (7) But if the operator has greater devotion to any other saints, he may replace the names therein with those of the other saints, because faith works, as I have said before.[74] (8) The second prayer should be said immediately and after "*te igitur*" 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, and thus in consecrating the body of Christ, the priest should petition on behalf of the operator, that he may obtain success in his petition through divine grace. (9) And so too you should understand regarding all the prayers, which pertains to the priest and for the operation, because in general they are required for all petitions. (10) But nothing else should be added. Likewise after the mass the priest should say 26, and after Mass in truth he should receive the Eucharist, saying 19 and 20. (11) And he must beware, not to receive the body of Christ for any evil purpose, because then it would be ineffective, and might even be deadly, from which some have entitled that book "The death of the soul."[75] (12) And this is truly bad for those who would operate for an evil purpose, and not on behalf of knowledge. For the Lord has said: "Ask and you will receive. Seek and you will find."[76] (13) And elsewhere the Lord says: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them"[77] and "anything which they ask for in my name, it will be done for them by my father."[78]

LIII

Oraciones prenominate et post nominande numero sunt hec, scilicet:

PRIMA ORACIO

Agla, lux, veritas, vita, via, iudex misericors, misericordia, fortitudo, paciencia, conserva et iuva me in hac sancta visione et miserere mei (2) propter misericordiam tuam et servicium huius sancti suffumigii et sancti sacrificii Domini nostri Iesu Christi et propter meritum gloriose semper virginis Marie, matris Domini nostri Iesu Christi, (3) et meritum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Andree, Iacobi, Iohanis, Thome, Iacobi, Philippi, Bartholomei, Mathei, Symonis et Thadei, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Sixti, Cornelii, Cipriani, (4) Laurencii, Grisogoni, Iohanis et Pauli, Cosme et Damiani et omnium sanctorum tuorum, quorum meritis et precibus concedas hanc sanctam tuam visionem per eundem Dominum nostrum.

LIII.

The prayers previously named, and named afterwards, with their number, are these:[79]

FIRST PRAYER.[80]

Agla, the light, the truth, the life, the way, merciful, mercy, the strength, patience, preserve and help me in this sacred vision, and pity me (2) because of your compassion, and the service of this holy suffumigation, and the holy sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ, and because of the merit of the glorious and eternal virgin Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, (3) and the merits of the apostles Peter and Paul, Andrew, Jacob, John, Thomas, Jacob, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon, Thaddeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, of Cornelius, Cyprian, (4) Laurence, Grisogone, John and Paul, Cosme and Damian, and all your saints, through whose merits and prayers may you grant this holy vision of yourself, through the same our Lord.

LIV 2A ORACIO

Monhon, Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens, sempiterne Deus, in cuius conspectu omnia sunt visibilium et invisibilium fundamenta creaturarum omnium, cuius oculi imperfectum meum viderunt, cuius caritatis dulcedine pleni sunt celi et terra, (2) cuius aures omnia audiunt, qui omnia vidisti, antequam fierent, in cuius libro omnes formati sunt dies et homines inscripti, respice hodie super famulum tuum tibi tota mente et toto corde subiectum. (3) Per Spiritum sanctum tuum confirma me, ut te videam. Benedic hodie et protege omnes actus meos hodiernos et hanc inspeccionem et constancia tue visitacionis me illustra. Amen.

LV 3A ORACIO

Tetragramathon, respice, Domine, Deus, clemens Pater, omnium eterne dispositor <omnium> virtutum. Operaciones meas hodie considera, tu, qui es actuum hominum et angelorum inspector atque discretor. (2) Ideo te rogo, ut admirabilis gracia promissionis tue in me dignetur subitam adimplere virtutem huius sancte visionis, et in me tantam efficaciam nomini sancto tuo et magno infundas, tu, qui laudem tuam in ore te diligencium imponis et infundis. Amen.

LVI 4A ORACIO

Hely Deus, creator, Adonay, omnium [visibilium et] invisibilium creaturarum Pater piissime, qui incircumscripto lumine habitas eternaliter <et> ante principium mundi omnia ineffabiliter disponens atque gubernans, (2) eternitatem tuam atque incomprehensibilem pietatem verbis supplicantibus aggredior, ut huius sacramentalis atque mistici operis in me et per tui et sanctorum angelorum potenciam efficacia, tui visio et consideracio, clarescat (3) atque per eorundem sanctorum angelorum nomina in memoria et mente habundet, atque sancta opera tua facialis tue sancte visionis in me cum stabilitate clarescant. Amen.

LIV. Prayer 2.[81]

Monhon, O Lord, O holy Father, all-powerful, eternal God, in whose sight are the foundations of all creatures visible and invisible, whose eyes have

seen my imperfections, whose sweet charity fills the heavens and the earth, (2) whose ears hear all things, who sees all things before they are made, in whose book all days are formed, and all men inscribed, look upon your servant this day, whose whole mind and heart are exposed to you. (3) Through your Holy Spirit strengthen me, in order that I may see you. Bless me today and in this inspection protect all my actions, and illuminate me with the constancy of your visitation. Amen.

LV. Prayer 3.[82]

Tetragrammaton, Look upon me, O Lord, God, merciful Father, eternal disposer of all virtues. Examine my works today, you who are the inspector and judge of all acts of men and of angels. (2) Therefore I ask you that the wonderful grace of your promise may be deemed worthy to fulfill the sudden power of this holy vision, and pour into me such great effectiveness to your holy and great name you, who infuse and pour your praise into the mouth of those who love you. Amen.

LVI. Prayer 4.[83]

Hely Deus, the creator, Adonay, of all [visible and] invisible creations, O most holy Father, who dwells forever in infinite light <and> before the beginning of the world, ineffably disposing and governing all things, (2) I approach your infiniteness and incomprehensible piety with words of supplication, so that the power and effectiveness of this sacramental and mystical work may manifest in me through you and your holy angels, the vision and contemplation of you may be illuminated with effectiveness (3) and, by the names of the same holy angels, may it abound in my memory and mind, and your holy works of the vision of your presence may be illuminated in me in an enduring way. Amen.

LVII 5^{A} oracio

Hocleiste, sancte Deus, Pater pie et indissolubilis argumentacio cordis, qui celum et terram, mare et abissos et omnia, que in eis sunt, stabiliri voluisti, (2) in cuius conspectu omnis racio, sermo, opus et sanctitas subsistit, per

hec preciosa sacramenta angelorum tuorum da michi ea, que desidero et credo, visionis huius absque malignitatis intencione gloriam et graciam. Amen.

LVIII 6A ORACIO

Hamphynethon, Heloy, clementissime creator et inspirator et reformator omnium animarum viciatarum et omnium bonarum voluntatum approbator et ordinator, (2) deprecacionem gloriosus intende et mentem meam respice benignus, ut quod ex humilitate deprecor, sicut a te promissum est, michi de tue magnificencie largitate concedas. Amen.

LIX 7A ORACIO

Lamyhara, omnipotens, misericors Pater, omnium creaturarum ordinator, [iuste] iudex, eterne rex regum et Domine dominancium, qui tuis sanctis sapienciam, sanctitatem et gloriam conferre dignatus es, (2) concede michi, ut possim te videre mirabiliter, qui omnia diiudicas et discernis. (3) Illumina hodie cor meum fulgore claritatis et mundicie atque sanctificencie, ut cognoscam et intelligam et facialiter videam te et tuam gloriam. Et quod huius gloriam videre merear, exopto. Amen.

LVII. PRAYER 5.[84]

Hocleiste, O holy God, blessed Father and imperishable evidence of the heart, who has determined to establish Heaven and Earth, the sea, and the abysses and everything that is in them, (2) in whose sight subsists the plans, words, deeds, and piety of all, by these precious sacraments of your angels grant unto me those things which I desire and I believe, the glory and grace of this vision, without any ill intent. Amen.

LVIII. PRAYER 6.[85]

Hamphynethon, Heloy, most merciful creator, inspirer and reformer of all corrupted souls and approver and arranger of all good wills, (2) look

mercifully in your glory on my earnest prayer and kindly consider my intent, that what I ask for with humility, you might grant to me from the abundance of your greatness, as you have promised. Amen.

LIX. Prayer 7.[86]

Lamyhara, almighty, merciful Father, the ordainer of the all creatures, [just] judge, eternal king of kings and Lord of Lords, who has deigned to grant to your saints wisdom, sanctity, and glory, (2) grant to me that I may miraculously be able to behold you, who sees and decides all things. (3) Illuminate my heart this day with the brightness of your splendor and purity and sanctity, that I may be able to comprehend and understand and see your face and your glory. And that I may be worthy to see this glory, I long for.[87] Amen.

LX 8A oracio

Hanazay. zarahoron. hubisenaar. ghu. hirbaionay. gynbar. zanailc. selchora. zelmora. hiramay. iethohal. ylaramel. hamatha. mathois. iaboha. (2) gethos. cozomerag. zosomeraht. hamy. phodel. denos. gerot. hagalos. meliha. tagahel. sechamy. salihelethon. monocogristes. lememon. hachagnon. hamyhon.

LXI Oracio de precedenti Latina

Ianemyer, unus, magnus, mirabilis, eterne Deus, eterni consilii angelus, dispositor omnium virtutum et compositor atque ordinator, (2) adorna hodie intelligenciam meam et multiplica in me racionem penitendi et clarificandi et cognicionem ac claritatem, quam in proferendis nominibus celestium angelorum tuis creaturis contulisti, (3) et eandem scienciam et puritatem secundum promissionem tuam michi concede et da michi huius visionis tue efficaciam et discrecionem. Amen.

LXII Oracio

Hadyon, usyon, omnium potestatum atque regnorum et iudiciorum eterna conspiracione conspicuus, omnium administrans +thema+[6] glorie et tue visionis, (2) in cuius regimine nullum impedimentum dabis, instaura, queso, habitam innocenciam et repetitam et adhuc maiorem, cor meum, voluntatem meam, linguam meam, opus meum (3) ad mei animam mundificandam, absolvendam et tui faciem facialiter videndam et ad habendum que in hac arte necessaria auctoritas divina commendat, ut in me perfecte compleantur. Amen.

LXIII Oracio Hebraica

{H}ely. azelethias. uelozeosmohan. zama. saruelo. hatehus. saguaht. Adonay. zoma. lenozothos. lithon. iezemothon. sadahot. et tu, Deus, propicius in me promissiones confirma, sicut confirmasti per eosdem sermones regi Salomoni et preter eosdem Iohanni et Paulo. (2) Emitte michi, Domine, virtutem de celis, que cor meum et mentem meam illuminet et confirmet, et conforta, Deus, intellectum meum et animam meam. (3) Innova me et lava me aquis, que super celos sunt, et effunde de Spiritu tuo super carnem meam et in visceribus meis ad facienda et componenda iudicia tua humilitate et caritate, qua celum et terram fecisti et hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem tua m creasti et formasti. (4) Infunde claritatis tue lumen intellectui meo, ut fundatus et radicatus in misericordia tua diligam nomen tuum, cognoscam et videam et adorem te et optineam et intelligam omnes vias huius artis habendi visionem tuam, (5) ob quam hec data a Deo et insignita et emissa per manus sanctorum angelorum sunt figurarum et sanctitatum misteria, que omnia in corde meo et intellectu mentis mee habeam et cognoscam, et huius artis vere et efficaciter effectum habeam nominis sancti tui et gloriosi prevalente consilio. Amen.

LX. Prayer 8.[88]

Hanazay. zarahoron. hubisenaar. ghu. hirbaionay. gynbar. zanailc. selchora. zelmora. hiramay. iethohal. ylaramel. hamatha. mathois. iaboha. (2) gethos. cozomerag. zosomeraht. hamy. phodel. denos. gerot. hagalos.

meliha. tagahel. sechamy. salihelethon. monocogristes. lememon. hachagnon. hamyhon.

LXI. The meaning of the preceding Prayer.[89]

Ianemyer, One, great, wonderful, and eternal God, angel of eternal council, disposer of all virtues and composer and ordainer, (2) adorn my intelligence this day, and multiply in me a penitent and clarifying reasoning, and understanding and clarity which you have conferred on creatures for pronouncing the names of your heavenly angels, (3) and grant to me the same knowledge and purity according to your promise, and give me the effectiveness and discernment of this vision of you. Amen.

LXII. Prayer.[90]

Hadyon,[91] **usyon,** illustrious with eternal harmony of all powers, rulers, and courts, administering +the theme+ of all glory, and of the vision of yourself, (2) in the control of which you make no obstacles; renew, I beg you the well-kept and repeated innocence, and even more so, my heart, my will, my tongue, my work (3) for the purification and absolution of my soul, and for seeing you in person, and for having those things which divine authority commends are necessary for this art, in order that they are fulfilled in me fully. Amen.

LXIII. Hebrew Prayer.[92]

{H}ely. azelethias. uelozeosmohan. zama. saruelo. hatehus. saguaht. Adonay. zoma. lenozothos. lithon. iezemothon. Sadahot, and you, O God, be favorably inclined to confirm in me the promises, as you confirmed them by the same words to King Solomon, and moreover by the same to John and Paul. (2) Send out to me, O Lord, the power from Heaven, which will illuminate and strengthen my heart and my mind, and strengthen, O God, my understanding and my soul. (3) Renew me and wash me with the waters which are above the heavens, and pour out from your spirit over my

flesh and into my vital organs, for accomplishing and arranging your judgments with humility and affection, with which you have made Heaven and Earth, and created people after your own image and likeness. (4) Pour the light of your brightness into my understanding, that being grounded and rooted in your mercy I may love your name, recognize and see and honor you, and that I may obtain and understand all the ways of this art of having the vision of you, (5) for the sake of which these are given by God and made known, and are sent out from the hands of the holy angels the mysteries of the figures[93] and holiness, all which may I receive and in my heart the understanding of my mind, and comprehend, and may I attain the true and efficacious accomplishment of this art, with the prevailing counsel of your sacred and glorious name. Amen.

LXIV 9^{A} ORACIO

Sadyon, scio enim, quia delector in factura tua magna, mirabili et ineffabili, [et] dabis michi visionem, quam per hoc opus habentibus pollicitus es secundum magnam et incomprehensibilem veritatem tuam, (2) Theon. hatagamagon. haramalon. zamoyma. thamasal. ieconomaril. harionathor. iecomagol. gelamagos. remelihot. remanathar. hariomagalathar. hananehos. uelouianathar. haiozoroy. iebasaly. (3) Per hec sacratissima Dei et gloriosissima et profunda misteria et preciosissimam mundiciam virtutem et visionis tue graciam auge in me et comple quod incepisti et reforma quod ostendisti in me. (4) zemabar. henoranaht. grenetail. samzatham. iecornazay. fundamentum altissime omnium bonitatum et scienciarum atque virtutum, (5) tribue famulo tuo tibi displicencia vitare contagia et lavare, et tua veritate pura et intencione sancta possim saciari, (6) ut tuam promissionem toto corde desiderans et possidens in omnibus tam virtutibus quam puritatibus et viciorum absolucionibus precipue per hec sancta misteria videar et cognoscar adipisci et bene in ista arte perficiar penitus,[7] laudabilis ac pro sancta visione mundus.

LXIV. PRAYER 9.

Sadyon,[94] I know indeed, that I delight in your great handiwork, wonderful and indescribable, [and] the vision that you will give to me, which you have promised those doing this work, according to your great and incomprehensible truth, (2) Theon. hatagamagon. haramalon. zamoyma. thamasal. ieconomaril. harionathor. iecomagol. gelamagos. remelihot. remanathar. hariomagalathar. hananehos. uelouianathar. haiozoroy. iebasaly. (3) Through these most sacred and most glorious and profound mysteries of God and by the most precious purity, power, and grace of your vision, increase in me and fulfill that which you have begun, and restore that which you have revealed in me. (4) zemabar. henoranaht. grenetail. samzatham. iecornazay The highest foundation of all goodnesses, knowledge, and virtues, (5) enable your servant to avoid contagions displeasing to yourself, and to be washed clean, and filled with your pure truth and holy striving, (6) just as your promise, longing with all my heart and possessing virtue and purity in all things, as well as the forgiveness of faults, especially for seeing these sacred mysteries, and gaining comprehension, and that I may be made thoroughly complete in this art of yours, praiseworthy, and pure for the sacred vision.

LXV 10^{A} ORACIO

Hely, reverende, potens et dominans superioribus angelis et archangelis omnibusque celestibus creaturis [et] tam infernalibus quam terrestribus, de cuius magnificencia plenitudinis venit, (2) ut tibi a nobis digne famuletur, cuius a mundi 4 partibus regnat potestas, qui [ex carne], ossibus, anima et spiritu hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem tuam formasti, (3) da michi huius artis scienciam et visionis effectum coroborans me in ipsius facultate visionis sancte et sciencie. Amen.

LXVI XI^{A} ORACIO

Horlon, Deus, qui omnia numero, pondere et mensura fecisti, de cuius munere omne capud hominis desiderans elevabitur, in cuius ordine omnium momentorum sive dierum patens est et aperta dimencio, (2) qui eciam solus stellarum nomina numeras et nominas, menti mee constantem

tribue visionis tue efficaciam, ut in huius artis cognicione et operacione te diligam et videam et tue pietatis munus agnoscam facialis visionis. Amen.

LXVII 12^{A} ORACIO

Porrenthimon, mediator omnium operacionum et creaturarum, a quo omnia exeunt naturaliter bona et omnium [virtutum] dona, a quo omne, quod est solidum et perfectum, (2) cuius omnis sermo recens est et de regalibus sedibus venit gracia in corda nostra, dum medium tenerent omnia silencium media, (3) racione et mente me tua caritate [in] intellectum bonum construe ad perficiendum hec tanta tam[que] excellentissima misteria,[8] huius artis, sancte tue visionis et istorum sacramentorum perfectum consequar effectum. Amen.

LXV. PRAYER 10.[95]

Hely, O One most worthy to be revered, mighty, master of angels and archangels, and all celestial creatures, both infernal and earthly, whose vast abundance enables us (2) to serve you worthily, whose power rules from the four parts of the world, who made mankind after your own image and likeness, out of [flesh,] bones, soul, and spirit, (3) grant to me the knowledge of this art, and the effect of the vision, strengthening me its ability of the sacred vision and knowledge. Amen.

LXVI. PRAYER 11.[96]

Horlon, God, who ordered all things in number, weight, and measure,[97] from whose gift the longing head of every person will be lifted up, who has arranged all moments or days are well known, and dimensions measured, (2) you who alone number the stars and name them,[98] grant to my mind the constant effectiveness of the vision of yourself, in order that in learning and practice of this art I may see and love you, and acknowledge the gift of your piety of the vision of your face. Amen.

LXVII. PRAYER 12.[99]

Porrenthimon, O mediator of all operations and creatures, from whom naturally emerges all good things and the gifts of all [virtues], which is unbroken and perfect, (2) whose every word is fresh, and comes from the royal throne, and by grace comes into our hearts, while all things were in quiet silence,[100] (3) by reason of your love and my mind, that my understanding may be sufficient for attaining such great and excellent mysteries of this art, of the sacred vision of you, and of those sacraments of yours I might achieve the perfect completion. Amen.

LXVIII 13^{A} ORACIO

[Ihelur], iudex omnipotens, Pater, qui notum nobis fecisti salutare tuum et in conspectu gencium revelasti iusticiam tuam, revela oculos meos et cor meum illustra salutari iusticia tua, ut mirabilia de tuis tam gloriosissimis videam [sacramentis], (2) quatinus per ea tantam in hac arte consequar innocenciam et intelligencie clarificenciam, ut te prestante, qui solus mirabilia facis magna, in ipsa opera subitus celebs efficiar, (3) ut mea celebitate et innocencia cum puritate et caritate recepta te speculando speculer et te videndo videam et tuam sanctam visionem videam et intercessione virtutum celestium honorem te in secula seculorum. Amen.

LXIX 14^{A} ORACIO

Gofgameli, omnis sapiencie Deus et sciencie donator illis, in quibus peccatum non est, omnis discipline spiritualis magister et doni spiritualis cuiusque largitor, macule omnis elimator, (2) te, Domine, per angelos et archangelos tuos, per tronos et [dominaciones], potestates, principatus et virtutes, per cherubin et seraphin, per 24 seniores, per omnem miliciam celestis excercitus (3) adoro, invoco, flagito, vereor, glorifico et exalto nomen tuum sanctissimum, terribile et mitissimum et te queso, Domine, ut hodie cor meum Spiritus sancti lumine et gracia tue visitacionis fecundatum, clarificatum et caritate coroboratum illustres, tu, qui es trinus et unus. Amen.

LXX 15^{A} ORACIO

Emanuel, adoro te, rex regum et Deus meus et substancia mea, salus et revelacio mea, memoria et virtus mea, qui hora una diversarum genera linguarum edificantibus turrim dedisti (2) et qui sanctis apostolis tuis unccionem septiformis Spiritus sancti infudisti et illis ediomata, qui nos docerent de omnibus linguis eisdem repente loqui, tribuisti per virtutem verbi tui, in quo omnia creasti, (3) per potenciam huius sacramenti inspira cor meum et infunde in illud rorem gracie tue, ut subito tui Spiritus sancti afflatus lumine efficaciam huius operacionis, (4) innocenciam et purificacionem anime et harum sanctarum visionum capax voluntatem subtilem et ingeniosam et mentem clarificatam valeam consequi. Amen.

LXVIII. Prayer 13.[101]

[Ihelur],[102] almighty judge, O Father, who has shown to us your salvation, and revealed your justice in the sight of the nations, open my eyes and illuminate my heart with your saving justice, in order that I may see the miracles from your glorious [sacraments], (2) as far as through those I may obtain such great innocence and clarity of understanding in this art, so that with your graciousness, who alone performs great miracles, I may suddenly be made celibate in this work, (3) that through my celibacy and innocence, with purity and charity received, that by looking for you, I may look at you, and by striving to see you, I may see you, and I may see your holy vision, and with the intervention of heavenly powers I may honor you forever and ever. Amen.

LXIX. Prayer 14.[103]

Gofgameli, God of all wisdom and giver of this science to those without sin, master of all spiritual teachings, and bountiful giver of all spiritual gifts, cleanser of all stains, (2) to you, O Lord, through your Angels and Archangels, Thrones and [Dominations], Potestates, Principalities and Virtues, through the Cherubim and Seraphim, through the twenty-four Elders, by all the host of the celestial army, (3) I honor, invoke, entreat, revere, glorify, and exalt your most holy name, terrifying yet most gentle, I beg you, O Lord, that today my heart may be made fruitful with the light

of the Holy Spirit, and the grace of your visitation, and made clear and bright with your love, you who are three-fold and one. Amen.

LXX. Prayer 15.[104]

Emanuel, I honor you, the king of kings, and my God, and my substance, my salvation and my revelation, my memory and my strength, who in a single hour gave diverse languages to the builders of the tower,[105] (2) and who infused into your holy apostles with the seven-fold anointing of the Holy Spirit and with speaking in tongues, you granted that they might teach us to suddenly speak in all the same languages, by the power of your Word, through which you created all things. (3) By the power of this sacrament, inspire my heart and pour into it the dew of your grace, that suddenly inspired with the light of your Holy Spirit, I may have the strength, the effectiveness of this operation, (4) the innocence, and the purification of the soul, and fit for these holy visions, and able to achieve a subtle and clever will, and a clarified mind. Amen.

LXXI 16A oracio

{H}on. ezethomos. iezemonos. hazalathon. azaithon. hentynethel. hezemtynethel. zamayzathon. hamanzathon. zamarzathon. (2) hezemeguor. zecromanda. iecomancha. ieraphay. zaraphamy. phalezethon. phaboghecon. seremyhal. sacramyzan. (3) iethemathon. sacramazaym. se{cr}anal. sacramathan. iezemy. halathon. hathezihacos. ieceley. mathan. ateriathos. zai. mazay. (4) zamma. zazay. guygucheibib. gigithios. guahiros. megalon. senegalon. heracruhit. ciarihuht. haracrihuz. [Amen].

LXXII Oracio Latina

Domine, Deus incomprehensibilis, invisibilis, immortalis et intelligibilis, cuius vultum angeli et archangeli et celestes virtutes ardenter videre desiderant, (2) cuius maiestatem eternaliter desidero adorare atque continue pro posse meo exerceo adorans te Deum vivum in secula seculorum. Amen.

LXXIII 17[A] ORACIO

Admyhel, Domine, Deus, sancte Pater omnipotens, exaudi preces meas hodie et inclina aurem tuam ad oraciones meas, (2) chemon. gezomelyhon. samaht. gezagam. iezehator. lesehator. sezehacon. saymanda. samay. gezihel. gulahentihel. iezel. iezetihel. galetihel. gazay. hetihel.

LXXI. PRAYER 16.[106]

{H}on. ezethomos. iezemonos. hazalathon. azaithon. hentynethel. hezemtynethel. zamayzathon. hamanzathon. zamarzathon. (2) hezemeguor. zecromanda. iecomancha. ieraphay. zaraphamy. phalezethon. phaboghecon. seremyhal. sacramyzan. (3) iethemathon. sacramazaym. se{cr}anal. sacramathan. iezemy. halathon. hathezihacos. ieceley. mathan. ateriathos. zai. mazay. (4) zamma. zazay. guygucheibib. gigithios. guahiros. megalon. senegalon. heracruhit. ciarihuht. haracrihuz. [Amen].

LXXII. LATIN PRAYER.[107]

O Lord God, incomprehensible, invisible, immortal, and intelligible, whose face the angels and archangels, and heavenly powers passionately desire to see, (2) whose majesty I desire to honor forever and continuously, enforcing it to the extent of my powers, honoring you, the living God, forever and ever. Amen.

LXXIII. PRAYER 17.[108]

Admyhel, O Lord, God, holy and almighty Father, hear my prayers today, and bend your ear towards my prayers, (2) chemon. gezomelyhon. samaht. gezagam. iezehator. lesehator. sezehacon. saymanda. samay. gezihel. gulahentihel. iezel. iezetihel. galetihel. gazay. hetihel.

LXXIV ORACIO LATINA

Deus, semper via, vita, veritas, da lucem tuam florere per virtutem sancti Spiritus in conscienciam meam et mentem meam et concede, (2) ut fulgeat et clarescat donum operacionis tue et donum gracie tue in cor meum et animam meam nunc et per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

LXXV 18^{A} ORACIO

Honzmorb. lemogethon. hegemothon. hazathay. hazathar. hazamathar. hazatha. hazamathar. iazamathan. zegomothay. gohathay. zachana. legomothay. iachama. legomezon. legornezon. lemdomethon. hathanathios. (2) lamdomathon. iegomaday. hathamam. zachamos. hathanayos. hellesscymon. zelezion. uaderabar. uagedaroin. lauinauaht. lamandi. gemechor. guomon. gehor. genamchor. hellemay. iezecromay. iecromal. iecrahaly. tholomanos. colomaithos.

LXXVI ORACIO LATINA

Vita hominum et omnium creaturarum visibilium et invisibilium, claritas eterna celestium spirituum, omnium hominum salus indeficiensque pietatis origo, (2) qui omnia novisti, antequam fiant, qui iudicas omnia, que videntur [et non sunt et que non videntur] et sunt, [et] ineffabili disposicione discernis, glorifica sanctum nomen tuum et ineffabile hodie. (3) Corrobora cor meum et intellectum meum et animam meam et auge innocenciam meam et confirma precem meam et a viciis expeditam redde animam meam, clarificatam in virtutibus et penitenciis et fletibus et innocenciis, (4) ut facultate puritatis et innocencie a te michi collata et lima penitencie et tue gracie laudem te et cognoscam te sine enigmate et videam facialiter te et glorificem nomen tuum ad laudem tuam in secula seculorum. Amen.

LXXIV LATIN PRAYER.[109]

O God, always the way, the truth, and the life, give your light to flourish in my conscience and my mind through the virtue of the Holy Spirit, and grant (2) that the gift of your operation, and the gift of your grace, shines brightly in my heart and soul, now and forever. Amen.

LXXV. Prayer 18.[110]

Honzmorb. lemogethon. hegemothon. hazathay. hazathar. hazamathar. hazatha. hazamathar. iazamathan. zegomothay. gohathay. zachana. legomothay. iachama. legomezon. legornezon. lemdomethon. hathanathios. (2) lamdomathon. iegomaday. hathamam. zachamos. hathanayos. hellesscymon. zelezion. uaderabar. uagedaroin. lauinauaht. lamandi. gemechor. guomon. gehor. genamchor. hellemay. iezecromay. iecromal. iecrahaly. tholomanos. colomaithos.

LXXVI. Latin Prayer.[111]

O life of men and all creatures visible and invisible, the eternal clarity of the heavenly spirits, the salvation of all men, and the unfailing origin of piety, (2) who knows all things before they happen, who judges all things visible [and invisible], and you see with indescribable disposition, glorify your holy and ineffable name today. (3) Strengthen my heart, and my understanding, and my soul, and increase my innocence, and strengthen my prayer, and release my soul from sin, clarified in the virtues and with penance, weeping, and innocence, (4) so that with the quality of purity and innocence from you to me, brought together and the polish of penitence, and your grace, I may praise you and recognize you without obscurity, and see you face to face, and glorify your name, to your praise, through the ages of the ages. Amen.

LXXVII 19^{A} oracio

Joht. omaza. behea. Theon. megal. menehon. exhehal. tirigel. harapheiocon. semenoyn. sehmneny. (2) hachemathan. hiemarayn. gemehehon. lucharanochyn. exnotheyn. themelihen. segyhon. hihoueuyr. hacrisientheon.

LXXVIII Oracio Latina

Rex regum, Deus infinite misericordie et maiestatis inmense, largitor ac dispositor atque dispensator, stabilitor omnium fundamentorum, (2) pone fundamentum omnium tuarum virtutum in me et aufer a me insipienciam cordis mei, ut stabiliantur sensus mei in dileccione caritatis tue, (3) et informetur Spiritus sanctus in me secundum [re]creacionem et innovacionem voluntatis tue, ut habeam efficaciter tuam facialem visionem, qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

LXXIX 20[A] ORACIO

Hofob, Deus, Pater inmense, a quo procedit omne, quod bonum est, cuius magnitudo [misericordie] incomprehensibilis est, exaudi hodie preces meas, quas in conspectu tuo refero, et concede michi donum, quod a te peto. (2) Redde michi leticiam salutaris tui, ut deleam iniquitates meas hodie et accipiam vias tuas et semitas scienciarum tuarum, et convertantur ad te rebelles et increduli, ut quod corde repeto et ore commemoro in me radicitus habeat fundamentum, et in operibus tuis efficax videar et adiutus. Amen.

LXXVII. PRAYER 19.[112]

Ioht. omaza. behea. Theon. megal. menehon. exhehal. tirigel. harapheiocon. semenoyn. sehmneny. (2) hachemathan. hiemarayn. gemehehon. lucharanochyn. exnotheyn. themelihen. segyhon. hihoueuyr. hacrisientheon.

LXXVIII. LATIN PRAYER.[113]

O king of kings, God of infinite mercy and immeasurable greatness, granter, arranger, and disposer, you who make firm all foundations, (2) you lay the foundation of all your virtues in me, and remove from me the foolishness of my heart, that my feelings may be made firm in the love of your charity, (3) and the Holy Spirit may be shaped in me, according to the restoration and renewal of your will, in order that I may have effectually the vision of your face, you who lives and reigns, God through the ages of the ages. Amen.

LXXIX. Prayer 20.[114]

Hofob, O God, infinitely great Father, from whom proceeds all good, the greatness of [your mercy] is incomprehensible. Hear my prayers today, which I offer in your sight, and grant me the gift which I beg from you. (2) Grant to me the joy of your salvation, that I may erase my iniquities today and follow your ways, and the paths of your knowledge, and convert the rebels and unbelievers towards you, that what I repeat in my heart and commemorate with my mouth will take root in me and become my foundation, and in your works I may be seen as effective and of help. Amen.

LXXX 21^{A} oracio

Messamarathon. gezomothon. ezomathon. haihatha. hagihar. hagiathar. haihatha. lethasiel. lechisihel. gethiduhal. geguhay. iethonay. samazataht. samazarel. zamazthel. sergomazar. hazomathan. hazothynathon. iesomathon. (2) iezochor. heihazay. heihazar. samy. zamyn. helihel. samehelihel. siloth. silereht. gezemathal. iecoronay. iecomenay. samyhahel. hesemyhel. secozomay. sedomasay. sethothamay. sanna. rabihathos. hamnos. hamnas. Amen.

LXXXI Oracio Latina

Rex, eterne Deus, iudex et discretor omnium conscienciarum bonarum, tu hodie clarifica me propter nomen sanctum tuum et per hec sancta sacramenta tua purifica mentem meam, (2) ut intret innocencia tua [in] interiora mea sicut aqua fluens de celo et sicut oleum in ossibus meis per te, Deus, salvator omnium, qui es fons bonitatis et tocius pietatis origo. (3) Dirige me et promove me in ista sancta faciali visione, quam deposco, tu, qui es trinus et unus. Amen.

LXXXII 22^{A}·oracio

Hanethi, Deus, tocius pietatis auctor et fundamentum, omnium salus eterna et redempcio populorum, inspirator omnium graciarum et sanctitatum, omnium purarum operacionum largitor inmense, (2) de cuius munere et misericordia venit, ut tantum nobis famulis tuis indulgenciarum inspirare digneris augmentum, qui eciam michi misero peccatori tua concessisti scire sacramenta, (3) tuere, Domine, defende et clarifica animam meam et libera cor meum de pravis huius mundi cogitacionibus et incentiva libidinis voluptate et omnis fornicacionis desideri a in me potenter extingue et reprime, (4) ut puritatibus tuis et actibus misticis ac virtutibus[9] delecter in eis, et des michi peticionem cordis mei, ut in glorificacione tua confirmatus et delectatus diligam te, (5) quod valeam efficaciter tuam facialem visionem et sanctam meo vivente corpusculo optinere, et augeatur in me virtus sancti Spiritus per salutem tuam et remuneracionem fidelium in salutem anime mee et corporis mei. Amen.

LXXX. Prayer 21.[115]

Messamarathon. gezomothon. ezomathon. haihatha. hagihar. hagiathar. haihatha. lethasiel. lechisihel. gethiduhal. geguhay. iethonay. samazataht. samazarel. zamazthel. sergomazar. hazomathan. hazothynathon. iesomathon. (2) iezochor. heihazay. heihazar. samy. zamyn. helihel. samehelihel. siloth. silereht. gezemathal. iecoronay. iecomenay. samyhahel. hesemyhel. secozomay. sedomasay. sethothamay. sanna. rabihathos. hamnos. hamnas. Amen.

LXXXI. Latin Prayer.[116]

O King, eternal God, judge and discerner of all good consciences, clarify me this day, because of your holy name, and through these holy sacraments purify my mind, (2) that your innocence may enter into my interior, like water flowing from the sky, and like oil into my bones, through you, O God, the savior of all things, who are the fountain of goodness, and the source of all piety. (3) Guide me and move me forward in this holy vision of your form, which I beseech of you, who are threefold and one. Amen.

LXXXII. Prayer 22.[117]

Hanethi, O God, the author and foundation of all piety, the eternal health and redemption of all people, inspirer of all graces and sanctity, the generous immeasurable giver of all pure operations, (2) from whose gift and mercy your servants are granted such great indulgences, your servants, which you have even permitted me, a miserable sinner to know your sacraments, (3) O Lord, watch, defend, and clarify my soul, and free my heart from faulty thinking of this world, and the allure of the desire for physical pleasure, and extinguish and potently restrain in me all lust for fornication, (4) that with your purifications and mystical acts and powers, I may delight in them, and grant to me the petition of my heart, that I may be strengthened in your glorification, and love you, (5) and that I may have the ability to attain the vision of your holy face while my body lives, and may the virtue of the Holy Spirit increase in me, through your deliverance and the reward of the faithful, for the health of my soul and of my body. Amen.

LXXXIII

Deus, Pater inmense, a quo procedit omne, quod bonum est, misericordissime, omnipotentissime Deus, ure renes meos[10] ex gracia Spiritus sancti et igne visitacionis tue visita me hodie (2) et propicius esto michi misericordiamque tuam concede, ut potem et sacier de fonte, qui Deus est, et sciam voluntatem tuam, benignissime, et psallam et videam mirabilia tua, tu, qui es Deus trinus et unus. Amen.

LXXXIV 23·oracio

Heriona, omnipotens, incomprehensibilis, invisibilis et indivisibilis Deus, adoro hodie nomen sanctum tuum ego, indignus et miserimus peccator, (2) extollens oracionem meam et intellectum meum et racionem meam ad templum sanctum tuum celestis Ierusalem et assisto tibi hodie, Deus meus, ostendens te Deum meum, creatorem meum et salvatorem meum. (3) Et ego, creatura racionabilis, invoco hodie gloriosam clemenciam tuam, ut visitet[11] hodie Spiritus sanctus infirmitatem meam.

(4) Et tu, Domine, Deus meus, qui Moysi et Abrahe, servis tuis, per fidem et puritatem visionis tue graciam contulisti, (5) confer michi hodie graciam superioris dulcedinis tue, qua rorasti servos tuos, et investigacionis,[12] qua investigasti eosdem per prophetas, et sicut voluisti eis momentaneam conferre graciam, (6) adhibe michi innocencie graciam, quam desidero, et emunda conscienciam meam ab operibus mortuis[13] et mitte cor meum in viam rectam et aperi illud ad te videndum.

LXXXIII.[118]

O God, infinitely great Father, from whom all things proceed,[119] who is good, most merciful, and all-powerful God, test my heart and my mind[120] with the grace of the Holy Spirit, and visit me today with the fire of your inspection (2) and look favorably on me, and grant your mercy, in order that I may drink and be satisfied from the spring, which is God, and know your most generous will, and that I may sing the Psalms and see your miracles, you, who are the three-fold and one God. Amen.

LXXXIV. Prayer 23.[121]

Heriona, Almighty, incomprehensible, the invisible and indivisible God, I honor today your holy name. I, am unworthy and wretched sinner (2) lift up my prayers and my understanding, and my reasoning towards your holy temple of heavenly Jerusalem, and I stand before you this day, my God, making it clear that you are my God, my creator, and my savior. (3) And I, a rational creature, call upon your glorious mercy today, that the Holy Spirit may witness my weakness today.

(4) And you, O Lord, my God, who bestowed grace upon Moses and Abraham,[122] your servants, through faith and the purity of your vision, (5) bestow today your grace of superior sweetness upon me, wherewith you have moistened your servants, and invest what you have invested through the same prophets, and as you intended to instantly confer grace on them, (6) so too extend the grace of innocence to me, which I desire, and cleanse my conscience from dead works,[123] and send my heart onto the right path, and uncover it for seeing yourself.

(7) Destina intellectum meum ad viam sanctam, tu, Domine, Deus, qui me ad ymaginem et similitudinem tuam creare dignatus es. (8) Exaudi me in tua iusticia et doce me in tua veritate et reple animam meam gracia tua secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, (9) ut in multitudine miseracionum tuarum amplius <me> delecter et in operibus tuis magnis et complaceam in administracione mandatorum tuorum (10) et secundum opera gracie tue adiutus et restauratus exaltato corde et consciencia mea emundata confidam in te et epuler in conspectu tuo et exaltem nomen tuum, quod bonum est, (11) o Domine, in conspectu sanctorum tuorum. Sanctifica me hodie, ut in fide viva et spe perfecta et caritate constanti visionis, (12) quam desidero, adepta gracia exaltatus, coroboratus et illuminatus diligam te et cognoscam te facialiter (13) et innocenciam, sapienciam et purificenciam de sedibus tuis moncium eternitatis, que hominibus [dona] donanda promisisti, et sanctimoniam firmiter habeam et memoriter retineam.

(14) Iesu Christe, fili Dei unigenite, cui ante secula dedit Pater omnia in manus, da michi hodie propter nomen sanctum tuum gloriosum et ineffabile nutrimentum corporis et anime. (15) Ydoneam presta michi et perspicuam voluntatem et animam liberam et expeditam, ut quicquid postulavero in tua misericordia et veritate pro voluntate disponatur, et omnis oracio mea et accio mea in beneplacito tuo radicata et confirmata existat.[14] (16) Aperi, Domine, Deus meus et Pater vite mee, fundamentum visionis, quam desidero. (17) Aperi michi, Domine, fontem, quem aperuisti prothoplausto Ade et quem aperuisti servis tuis Abraham, Ysac et Iacob ad credendum, diligendum, obediendum, clarificandum et sanctificandum. (18) Suscipe pro me hodie preces et oraciones, Domine, omnium sanctorum et omnium sanctarum celestium virtutum, [ut] omnium sanctimoniarum tuarum docibilis constanter efficiar. Amen.

LXXXV 24^{A} ORACIO

Yvestre, adoro te, rex regum et Domine dominancium, rex eterne impermutabilis; intellige hodie clamorem meum et spiritus mei et cordis meigemitum, ut commutato intellectu meo et dato michi corde carneo pro lapideo respirem in te, Dominum et Salvatorem meum. (2) Lava, Domine, interiora mea Spiritu tuo novo. Pro intellectu carnis mee malo pone,

Domine, intellectum tuum sanctum bonum et aufer a me quod malum est commutans me in hominem novum, ut dileccione, qua reformasti mundum, reformes me, et salus tua sancta michi tue sanctimonie tribuat incrementum. (3) Exaudi hodie, Domine, preces meas, quibus clamo ad te, et revela oculos carnis mee, [ut] considerans, intelligens et custodiens mirabilia de glorificaturis et purificaturis gracie tue spiritualis (4) et vivificatus in iustificacionibus tuis prevaleam in conspectu adversarii fidelium Diaboli. Exaudi me, Domine, Deus meus, et propicius esto michi, qui plasmasti me. (5) Ostende michi hodie misericordiam tuam et porrige michi vas salutare, ut potem et sacier de fonte gracie tue, tu, qui Deus es, ut de sanctificaturis et de visionis tue facialis monstraturis, (6) quas desidero et adopto, hodie psallam cum intellectu et anima et intuer et stem et fruar in via immaculata visionis tue, et veniat hodie de celo gracia Spiritus sancti et requiescat in me. Amen.

(7) Send my understanding towards the holy path, you, O Lord, God, who deigned to create me in your image and likeness. (8) Hear me clearly in your justice, and teach me in your truth, and replenish my soul with your grace according to your great mercy, (9) that I might delight more in your many mercies <towards me>, and in your great works, and I may take pleasure in fulfilling your commands (10) and being helped by your works of grace, and restored, with heart raised up, and my conscience purified, I will trust in you and dine sumptuously in your sight, and I may exalt your name, which is good (11) O Lord, in the sight of your saints. Sanctify me today, that I may live in faith and perfect hope and with the constant love of the vision, (12) which I desire, and being raised up by the grace received, strengthened, and illuminated, I will love you and recognize you face to face (13) and that I may really have the innocence, wisdom, and purification which you promised to give to mankind, from your seats of the everlasting mountains, and that I may have the sanctity and retain it in memory unshakeably.

(14) O Jesus Christ, only-begotten son of God, into whose hands the Father placed all things before the ages began; grant to me today for the sake of your holy name,[124] glorious and ineffable nourishment of the body and the soul, (15) grant me a suitable and clear will, and a free and unburdened soul, that whatever I have asked for in your mercy and truth, may be disposed according to your will, and all my prayers and deeds, coming to pass rooted and strengthened in your good pleasure. (16)

Reveal, O Lord, my God and Father of my life, the foundation of the vision, which I desire. (17) Reveal to me, O Lord, the spring, which you revealed to the first man Adam, and which you revealed to your servants, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob that they might believe, love, obey, glorify, and sanctify you. (18) O Lord, accept on my behalf the prayers and prayers of all the saints, and of all holy heavenly virtues, [that] I may be as fit to be taught as any of your holy ones. Amen.

LXXXV. Prayer 24.[125]

Yvestre, I worship you, king of kings and Lord of Lords, eternally unchangeable king; hear this day my cries, and the moaning of my spirit and my heart, that I may enjoy a respite in you, with my understanding changed, and a heart of flesh given to me in place of a heart of stone, O my Lord and Savior. (2) O Lord, wash my inner self with your new Spirit. In place of the bad understanding of my flesh, O Lord, give me your good, sacred understanding, and remove from me whatever is bad, and changing me into a new person, and transform me with the love wherewith you have transformed the world, and may your holy salvation grant to me the growth of sanctity. (3) Hear my prayers today, O Lord, wherewith I cry to you, and reveal to my eyes of flesh [that] I may examine, understand, and guard the miracles involving the glorification and purification of your spiritual grace (4) and being brought back to life by your justifications, I may prevail in the face of the devil, the enemy of the faithful. Hear me, O Lord, my God, and be favorable to me, you who has formed me. (5) Show me your mercy today, and extend to me the vessel of salvation, that I may drink and be satisfied from the fountain of your grace, you, who are God, that I will be sanctified and shown the vision of you face to face, (6) which I desire and choose today, and that I may sing Psalms with understanding and soul and that I may enjoy and stand in the immaculate path of the vision of you, and may the grace of the Holy Spirit come today from heaven, and may it rest in me. Amen.

LXXXVI 25A oracio

Saday, Domine, confiteor tibi ego reus hodie, Pater celi et terre, Deus, conditor omnium visibilium et invisibilium creaturarum atque virtutum omnium et graciarum bonarum dispensator atque largitor, (2) qui custodis sapienciam tuam, scienciam, humilitatem tuam et caritatem tuam a superbis et reprobis et revelas parvulis. (3) Humilia hodie, Domine, cor meum et intellectum meum stabilem facias et mentem meam firmam et intelligenciam meam et conscienciam meam augmenta, ut te diligam, intelligam et videam. (4) Signa hodie, Domine, lumen vultus tui super me, ut prorsus innovatus et mundatus ab omnibus operibus mortuis et a peccatis meis prevaleam in visionibus et speculaturis tuis. (5) Proba me, misericordissime et omnipotentissime Deus, et ure renes meos. Corrobora hodie cor meum et illustra gracia Spiritus sancti et igne gracie visitacionis tue visita me et illumina mentem meam (6) et fortitudine stabilitatis tue precinge lumbos meos et baculum confortacionis tue da in dexteram meam et in lavaturis stillarum tuarum me lotum facias (7) et in sanctimoniis tuis dirige mentem meam et in opera manuum tuarum. Confirma spiritum meum, ut eradicatis viciis omnibus et sordibus peccatorum meorum prevaleam fortiter in dileccione misericordiarum tuarum. (8) Inspira michi, Domine, hodie spiraculum vite et auge mentem meam et intellectum meum et racionem meam per Spiritus sancti firmitatem et constanciam, ut in operibus laudum et visurarum tuarum exercitatus spiritus meus confortetur et augeatur. (9) Vide, Domine, et considera hodie laborem mentis mee, et fiat voluntas tua benigna in me, et de celo mitte in terra in michi consolatorem Spiritum sanctum, (10) ut me stabilitate perfecta muniat et auxilium michi conferat in videndis visionibus tuis et laudandis laudibus tuis et fruendis fruicionibus tuis, quas desidero, que sunt gracia et gloria et defensio mea. Amen.

LXXXI. Prayer 25.[126]

Saday, O Lord, I a sinner confess to you today, O Father of Heaven and Earth, O God, maker of all visible and invisible creatures, and of all virtue and good grace, you dispense and give bountifully, (2) who guards your wisdom, knowledge, humility, and your love from the arrogant and the false ones, and show them to the little ones. (3) O Lord, humble my heart today, and make my understanding stable, and my mind strong, and increase my intelligence and conscience, that I may love, perceive, and see

you. (4) O Lord, mark the light of your face upon me today, that being renewed and cleansed completely from all dead works and from all my sins,[127] I may prevail in the vision and observation of you. (5) Test me, O all merciful and almighty God, and burn my reins.[128] Strengthen my heart today, and illuminate it with the grace of the Holy Spirit, and visit me with the fire of the grace of your visitation, and illuminate my mind (6) and gird my loins with the strength of your stability, and give the staff of your comfort into my right hand, and may you wash me along with those who will be washed in your drops, (7) and direct my mind in your sanctities and in the work of your hands. Strengthen my spirit, that having rooted out all vices and the filth of my sins, I may prevail strongly in the joy of your mercy. (8) Breathe into me, O Lord, today with the breath of life, and increase my mind, my understanding, and my reasoning, through the firmness and perseverance of the Holy Spirit, that my spirit may be consoled and increase in works of praise, and the sight of you. (9) Consider, O Lord, and examine today the effort of my mind, and let your will rejoice in me, and send the Comforter, the Holy Spirit, from Heaven to me on the Earth, (10) that he will fortify me with perfect stability, and bring his assistance to me for seeing the vision of you, and praising you with praises, and delighting in your delights, which I desire, which are my grace, my glory, and my defense. Amen.

LXXXVII 26^{A} ORACIO

Maloht. Otheos. hatamagiel. hataha. marihel. gezozay. iezoray. gezozay. saziel. sazamay. iezoramp. zazamanp. sacamap. zachamay. iecornamas. (2) iecohoruampda. salatihel. gezomel. zarachiel. megalis. nachama. nechamyha. sazamaym. sophonaym. lazamair. mehisrampna. hamamyl. (3) zamanyl. sihel. |c- deloth. hamamyn. hazemeloch. moys. ramna. secoram. hanasichonea. seronea. zaramahem. sacromohem. iegonomay. (4) zaramohem. chades. bachuc. iezemeloht. harugo. semorgizechon. malaparos. malapatas. helatay. helahenay. methay. meray.

LXXXVIII ORACIO LATINA

Pie Deus, misericors Deus, clemens Deus omnipotens omnia dans, fac michi credenti hodie omnia possibilia et adiuva hodie incredulitatem meam et miserere mei hodie, (2) sicut misertus es Ade penitenti, qui ei subitaneam per omnipotencie tue misericordiam multarum virtutum contulisti graciam. (3) Confer michi hodie per omnipotencie tue misericordiam graciam, quam desidero, ut in magnificencia operum tuorum delectatus potestate tue virtutis efficaciam facialis visionis, quam desidero, valeam adipisci. (4) Adesto, clementissime Pater, hodie operi meo et clarifica me, benigne, alme, clementissime unigenite fili Dei. Confirma me. (5) Aspira me flamine Spiritus sancti, omnipotens, sancte Deus. Consolida hodie opus meum et doce me, ut ambulem in innocencia tui ipsius Dei gloriosi et glorier in multitudine effluentis gracie tue, (6) et impetus fluminis sanctissimi Spiritus civitatem cordis mei letificet et depuret in fide visionis sancte et in spe efficacie et innocencie, pro qua laboro, (7) et cor meum caritatis largitate repleat et instauret et radiis Spiritus sancti vivificet et muniat c[l]aritate eterna[15] affluentis misericordie. (8) Et non sit in me vacua, te queso, Deus meus, gracia tua, que maneat semper et multipliciter in me. (9) Sana, Domine, animam meam pietate clemencie tue ineffabilis et inestimabilis, quia peccavi tibi, et conforta cor meum hodie, (10) ut quod michi trades intranee recipiam et teneam et aptitudinem facialis et sancte tue visionis habeam per hec sacramenta tua sanctissima prefata cooperante gracia Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

LXXXVII. Prayer 26.[129]

Maloht. Otheos. hatamagiel. hataha. marihel. gezozay. iezoray. gezozay. saziel. sazamay. iezoramp. zazamanp. sacamap. zachamay. iecornamas. (2) iecohoruampda. salatihel. gezomel. zarachiel. megalis. nachama. nechamyha. sazamaym. sophonaym. lazamair. mehisrampna. hamamyl. (3) zamanyl. sihel. |c- deloth. hamamyn. hazemeloch. moys. ramna. secoram. hanasichonea. seronea. zaramahem. sacromohem. iegonomay. (4) zaramohem. chades. bachuc. iezemeloht. harugo. semorgizechon. malaparos. malapatas. helatay. helahenay. methay. meray.

LXXXVIII. Latin Prayer.[130]

O holy God, O merciful God, O gentle God, O almighty God, giver of all, make all things possible today, to me, a believer, and help my disbelief today, and have mercy on me today, (2) just as you had mercy on Adam when he repented, whereby you gave to him the grace of many virtues, through the mercy of your omnipotence, in an instant. (3) Grant to me this day the grace which I desire, through your omnipotence, that I, delighted in the greatness of your works, may succeed in achieving the vision of you, which I desire. (4) O most gentle Father, assist my work today, and clarify me with kindness; O you who are most giving and most gentle, the only-begotten son of God, strengthen me. (5) Breathe into me the breath of the Holy Spirit, almighty and holy God. Solidify today my work, and teach me, that I may walk in innocence before glorious God himself and rejoice in the abundant outpouring of your grace, (6) and may the onslaught of the outpouring of the most Holy Spirit delight and purify the citadel of my heart in the faith of the holy vision and in the hope of the effectiveness and innocence, for which I work, (7) and may it renew and refill my heart with an abundance of love, and may I be invigorated and fortified with the rays of the Holy Spirit and the eternal clarity[131] of abundant mercy. (8) And may your grace not be empty in me, I beg you, O my God, but always remain and grow in me. (9) O Lord, heal my soul with your ineffable and inestimable tenderness of mercy, because I have sinned against you, and comfort my heart this day, (10) that I may receive inwardly that which you will give, and retain and be suited for having the vision of your person, through these your most holy sacraments aforesaid, along with the grace of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

LXXXIX 27^{A} ORACIO

Sechce, pie Pater, misericors Fili, clemens Spiritus sancte, Deus, rex ineffabilis et inestimabilis, trinus et unus Deus, adoro te, invoco te et deprecor te et sanctum nomen tuum et supereffluentem equitatem tuam operantem omnia, (2) quatinus ignoscas, indulgeas et miserearis michi, peccatori misero presumenti, et officium, quod aggressus sum, de visione videnda in me senciam et cognoscam, (3) et +tu, Domine mi, ut+ gracia, quam desidero, efficaciter in me vigeat et convalescat. Aperi in me, Domine, aures meas potenter, ut audiam. (4) Conforta manus meas, ut

operer. Exterge luctum oculorum meorum, ut videam. Dilata circumspeccionem meam, ut proficiam et lucescam. Confirma pedes meos, ut ambulem. (5) Expedi nares meas et os meum, ut olfaciam et senciam et loquar tibi placita nunc et semper ad honorem nominis tui, quod est benedictum in secula. Amen.

LXXXIX. Prayer 27.[132]

Sechce, O tender Father, O merciful Son, O gentle Holy Spirit, O God, ineffable and inestimable king, threefold and one God, I honor you, I call upon you and beg you and your holy name and your overflowing justice performing all things, (2) O how great is your forgiveness, leniency, and pity for me, a poor sinner presuming to undertake this ceremony, for seeing and recognizing this vision. (3) And may the grace which I desire take root in me, O my Lord, thriving and growing strong in me. O Lord, potently open within me my ears, so I may hear. (4) Strengthen my hands, that I may labor. Wipe the grief from my eyes, that I may see. Broaden my foresight, that I may make advance and grow bright. Strengthen my feet, that I may walk. (5) Set my nostrils and mouth free, that I may smell and perceive and speak what will please you, now and always to the honor of your name, which is blessed forever. Amen.

XC 28[A] oracio

Elscha, extollo sensus carnis [et anime] mee ad te hodie, Domine, Deus meus, et elevo [*eleva][16] hodie cor meum ad te, ut placeant tibi, Domine, hodie gemitus mei et represententur in conspectu tuo, (2) et complaceant verba et opera mea in conspectu tuo, et refulgeat hodie omnipotencia tua et misericordia tua in visceribus meis, et clarificetur mens mea efficaciter in operibus tuis, (3) et concrescat glorificacio in anima mea, et germinet gracia tua in corde meo et ore meo, ut quod commisero vel peccavero ita diluam, sicut beata Maria Magdalena diluit, (4) et ita in tuo dono gracie quod a te recepero perficiam, sicut sanctus apostolus tuus Paulus perfecit, et sicut custodivit Abraham, ita custodiam, (5) sicut memoriter tenuit Jacob, teneam, ut in purificaturarum tuarum virtute fundatus et radicatus in me tue misericordie fundamentum confirmatum glorier acquisisse (6) et

delectatus in operibus manuum tuarum iusticiam et pacem mentis mee et corporis et paulo post sanctam visionem perseveranter adoptem et adipiscar et custodiam, (7) et Spiritus sancti tui, Domine, plenarie in me operante gracia hostium, sive visibilium, sive invisibilium, michi adversancium insidias atque versutias gaudeam superasse. Amen.

XCI 29^{A} ORACIO

Abbadya, omnium regnorum sive potestatum visibilium sive invisibilium dispensator atque dispositor, Deus, et omnium bonarum voluntatum ordinator, (2) tu, Domine, consilio tui boni Spiritus dispone voluntatem meam et vivifica hodie potestatem meam debilem et imbecillitatem meam et inordinacionem mentis mee. (3) Ordina, Domine, voluntatem meam in bonum et in beneplacito tuo et michi graciam tua in multiformem in benignitate dispensacionis largire propicius non ad multitudinem peccatorum meorum respiciens (4) set michi que desidero, voluntatem tibi conformem, sensum in te iubilantem, anime graciam clarificantem in me, confirma et effectum meum cum gracia tua anime mee accomoda (5) et visita me visitacione Spiritus sancti, ut <et> quod ex carnis macula sive quod ex nativitate aut ex peccati labe contraxi divina tua [illa] ineffabilis pietas aboleat, (6) qua in principio celum et terram creare voluisti, illa spiritualis magna misericordia tua restauret, (7) qua hominem perditum ad gracie pristinum statum amissum revocare dignatus es, cui iudicium Sathane facultatem visionis abstulit et intellectus.

XC. PRAYER 28.[133]

Elscha, lift up this day the senses of my body [and soul], O Lord my God, and lift up my heart to you, so that they are pleasing to you, O Lord, let my lamenting be manifest and known to your sight today, (2) and may my words and deeds be pleasing in your sight, and may your omnipotence and mercy shine brightly within me this day, and may my mind be effectually made clear in your works, (3) and may the glorification become more rooted in my soul, and your grace sprout forth in my heart and mouth, in order that whatever wrong I may have done or committed will thus be washed away, even as the blessed Mary Magdalen washed it away,[134] (4)

and thus I will have received and completed it through the gift of grace that I have received from you, even as your apostle Paul did, and even as Abraham kept it, so will I also keep it, (5) even as Jacob kept it in his memory, so will I also keep it, so that being founded and rooted in the power of your purification, strengthened in the foundation of your mercy, I rejoice to acquire (6) and delight in the works of your hands, justice and peace of my mind and body, and soon after I may attain the holy vision, and steadfastly choose and keep, (7) and with the grace of your Holy Spirit working fully in me, O Lord, I may overcome all my enemies, whether visible or invisible, and rejoice over any treacherous and cunning adversaries. Amen.

XCI. Prayer 29.[135]

Abbadya, O God, dispenser and disposer of all kingdoms, whether visible or invisible, and ordainer and arranger of all good wills, (2) dispose my will, through the counsel of your good spirit, and bring to life my weak power today and the weakness and disorder of my mind. (3) Arrange O Lord, my will into good and what is pleasing to you, and grant me your manifold grace, dispensed with kindness, not considering the multitude of my sins (4) but a will conformable to yours, rejoicing in the perception of you, making manifest in me the grace of my soul, and confirming it, and inclining my work with your grace (5) and visit me with the visitation of the Holy Spirit, that the stain which I have because of my flesh, or because of my birth, or incurred through sin, may be wiped out through your divine ineffable kindness, (6) whereby in the beginning you willed to create Heaven and Earth, that your spiritual and great mercy may deign to restore (7) to its former state of grace, that which mankind has lost, which ability of seeing and comprehending the judgment of Satan has stolen away.

(8) Tu, Domine, cuius sensus atque sapiencia et claritas est attingens a fine usque ad finem fortiter et disponens omnia suaviter et misericorditer, omnem sinceritatem atque puritatem in me restituas, (9) ut ego, indignus peccator et miser, in omnibus operibus tuis confirmatus in hiis, que desidero, habilis efficiar et perspicuus et claribundus triplici et septemplici Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti largitate efficiar (10) ad optinendum sanctam facialem sancte et gloriose trinitatis visionem meo vivente

corpusculo Deo prestante et administrante, cooperante sua sanctissima gracia, qui vivit et regnat trinus et unus. Amen.

XCII 30^{A} ORACIO

Alpha et Ω, Deus, vivorum dominator et omnium visibilium et invisibilium administrator, fecundator omnibus omnia singulis singula tribuens secundum nature sue facultatem, (2) pro [e]qualitate meritorum angelorum et hominum gracie celestis largitatem in me infunde, ut gracia Spiritus sancti hodie cor meum et animam meam illustret, (3) et tu, Domine, multiplica in me dona Spiritus sancti et corrobora et innova [in] me interiorem hominem et fecunda me rore tue gracie, qua angelos rorasti, (4) et adorna me largitate innocencie tue, qua a principio fideles tuos adornasti, ut operentur in me septiformis gracie munera Spiritus sancti tui, (5) et aque superioris fluminis Ierusalem cum impetu fluentes puteum consciencie mee et animum meum irrigent, repleant et exuberent caritate, (6) qua de celo venisti super aquas, maiestatis tue. Huius puri sacramenti in me confirma magnalia [ac] huius sancte visionis. Amen.

(8) You, O Lord, whose understanding, wisdom, and clarity powerfully reach from one end to the other, and administering all things graciously and mercifully, may you restore all integrity and purity in me, (9) that I, an unworthy and wretched sinner, being strengthened in all your works, which I desire, that I may be able to attain the threefold and sevenfold abundance of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, which makes things clear and apparent (10) for attaining the holy vision of your sacred and glorious Trinity in person, while my body lives, God willing and administering by his most holy grace, who lives and reigns threefold and one. Amen.

XCII. PRAYER 30.[136]

Alpha and Omega, God, ruler of the living, and director of all visible and invisible things, you make all things fertile, giving to each one according to its natural ability, (2) for the sake of the [e]quality of the merits of angels and people, pour into me the abundance of the heavenly grace, that the grace of the Holy Spirit will illuminate my heart and my soul today, (3) and O Lord, multiply the gifts of the Holy Spirit in me and strengthen and

alter [in] me the inner man, and make me fertile with the dew of your grace, with which you have bedewed the angels, (4) and adorn me with the abundance of your righteousness, with which you have adorned your faithful from the beginning, so that the sevenfold gifts of grace of your Holy Spirit may work in me, (5) and the waters of the higher river of Jerusalem, flowing with force, and fill up the well of my conscience and my soul, that they may refill and surge up with the greatness of your love, (6) wherewith you came from heaven over the waters.[137] Confirm in me the mighty works of this pure sacrament [and] of this sacred vision. Amen.

XCIII 31^{A} ORACIO

Leyste, profiteor tibi hodie, Deus, Pater omnium, qui secreta celestia ostendisti. Te deprecor suppliciter et maiestatem tuam precor et exoro, (2) ut, sicut tu es rex et princeps cogitacionum, voluntatum et animarum et omnium virtutum aliarum, hodie exaudi preces meas, (3) et dirigantur operaciones mee in conspectu tuo, et acciones mee in conspectu celestium virtutum prevaleant. (4) Clamo hodie ad te, Deus meus; nunc exaudi clamorem meum. Ingemisco ad te; hodie exaudi gemitus cordis mei. (5) Et ego commendo hodie spiritum meum, corpus meum et animam meam et cogitaciones meas in manus tuas, Pater mi et Deus meus, (6) et ne me a te senciam derelictum set misericordia in tuam in me [senciam], et exaltetur nomen tuum in me, clementissime Spiritus sancte, Deus, (7) cuius bonitas est eterna, cuius misericordia est incomprehensibilis, cuius perpetua claritas, cuius possessione pleni sunt celi et terra, (8) aspira et respice in me, Domine, et [intende] ad hanc operacionem meam, et quod in tue laudis honore devote postulo michi concede, ut in me omnis profectus[17] facialis et sancte visione dispensacione divina compleatur. (9) Doce me, Domine, quia in te pono me docendum. Purifica me, Domine, quia in te pono me purificandum. Clarifica me, Domine, quia in te pono me clarificandum. (10) Mundifica me, Domine, quia in te pono me mundificandum. Innocentifica me, Domine, quia in te pono me innocentificandum. Glorifica me, Domine, quia in te pono me glorificandum. (11) Rege me, Domine, quia in te pono me regendum, et in me gracie tue fidem infunde et fige, ut Spiritus tuus sanctus in me veniat, regnet et imperet pro hac sancta visione divina. Amen.

XCIV 32[A] ORACIO

Horistion, Domine, quia ego servus tuus sum, servio tibi hodie et confiteor coram maiestate glorie tue, in cuius conspectu omnis magnificencia et sanctimonia est, (2) et deprecor sanctum et ineffabile nomen tuum, quatinus ad tante operacionis mee effectum hodie aures tue pietatis inclines et oculos tue maiestatis accomodes, (3) ut aperiente te manum tuam gracia<m>, quam desidero, sacier et fecunder caritate et claritate, qua celum fundasti et terram, te, Pater piissime, largiente, qui vivis et regnas solus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

XCIII. PRAYER 31.[138]

Leyste, I declare to you today, O God, Father of all things, who revealed the heavenly secrets. I humbly beg you and pray and entreat your greatness, (2) that since you are the king and ruler of thoughts, intentions, and souls, and of all other virtues, hear my prayers this day, (3) and may my operations be directed in your sight, and may my actions prevail in the sight of your heavenly powers. (4) I cry out to you today, my God; hear now my cry. I grieve to you; hear now the grieving of my heart. (5) And I entrust today my spirit, my body, and my soul, and my thoughts into your hands, O my Father and my God, (6) and let me never feel abandoned by you, but rather sense your compassion in me, and may your name be exalted in me, O most merciful Holy Spirit O God, (7) whose goodness is eternal, whose mercy is incomprehensible, whose brightness is everlasting, whose substance fills Heaven and Earth, (8) breathe into me and look upon me, O Lord, and this operation of mine, and for your praise and honor grant my devout request, I beg you, that all progress in this sacred vision may be fulfilled in me with divine guidance. (9) Teach me, O Lord, in whom I entrust myself for teaching. Purify me, O Lord, in whom I entrust myself to be purified. Clarify me, O Lord, for I entrust myself in you to be clarified. (10) Cleanse me, O Lord, in whom I entrust myself to be cleansed. Make me innocent, O Lord, for I entrust myself to be made innocent by you. Glorify me, O Lord, in whom I entrust myself to be made glorious. (11) Guide me, O Lord, in whom I entrust myself to be guided, and pour into me the faith of your grace, and secure it so that your Holy

Spirit may come into me, and may rule and command me for the sake of this holy divine vision. Amen.

XCIV. Prayer 32.[139]

Horistion, O Lord, because I am your servant, I serve you today, and I confess before the majesty of your glory, in whose sight is all generosity and purity, (2) and I beg your holy and ineffable name, that this day you might turn the ears of your piety to the successful completion of my operation, and apply the eyes of your majesty, (3) that as you open your hand by the grace which I desire, I may be satisfied and made fertile with charity and with clarity, with which you have generously established heaven and earth, you, O most holy Father, who lives and reigns alone, forever and ever. Amen.

XCV 33^{A} oracio

Jeremon, clementissime Domine, Deus meus, et miserere mei et parce malis meis. Sana animam meam, quia peccavi tibi. Non abneges uni quod pluribus contulisti. (2) Exaudi, Deus, oracionem famuli tui N, et in quacumque die invocavero te. Velociter exaudi me, sicut exaudisti sanctam Mariam Magdalenam. (3) Suscipe, Domine, clamorem confitentis ad te, audi vocem precantis et per oraciones beatissime Marie virginis, matris tue, atque omnium sanctorum tuorum, (4) ut oraciones et preces perveniant ad aures pietatis tue, quas ego, N, pro hac sancta visione effundo coram te in hac hora, ut per tua sanctissima nomina et sacramenta, (5) que sunt Hosel. Iesel. Hazaiacol. Iosel. Authiachar. Hazacol. Gezor. Gezamyhor. Namathar. Senales. Iole. Tarotheos. Lochos. Genos. Halla. Samyhel. Ramay. Sacharios. Logos. Patir. Sarahc. Iothosym. (6) mundatus, purificatus, clarificatus, innocentificatus et consecratus ad hanc gloriam et sacram tui facialem visionem pervenire merear prestante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui vivit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

XCVI 34^{A} oracio

Hofbor, excelse Domine, Deus invisibilis, Deus inestimabilis, Deus ineffabilis, Deus incommutabilis, Deus incorruptibilis, Deus piisime, Deus dulcissime, Deus excelse, Deus gloriose, Deus inmense, Deus omnipotens, Deus, Pater tocius misericordie, (2) ego, licet indignus et plenus iniquitate, dolo et malicia, suplex ad tuam venio misericordiam orans et deprecans, ut non respicias ad universa et innumerabilia peccata mea set, sicut consuevisti peccatorum misereri et preces humilium exaudire, (3) ita me, famulum tuum N, licet indignum, exaudire digneris clamantem ad te pro hac sanctissima visione divina humiliter et desiderantissime a te postulata prece tuis sanctis sacramentis insignita, que sunt Hosel, Iesel et cetera, (4) ut virtutem et graciam, quam pro tanta visione habere debeo, habeam, scilicet puritatem et innocenciam et claritatem, sapienciam et sanctitatem, (5) caritatem et sinceritatem et humilitatem et firmitatem et bonam voluntatem, te ipso prestante, qui sedes in altissimis, cui laus est atque gloria et honor per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

XCV. Prayer 33.[140]

Jeremon, most generous, my Lord and my God, have mercy on me, and consider my faults. "Heal my soul, because I have sinned against you."[141] Do not deny to the one that which you have given to the many. (2) Hear, O God, the prayer of your servant N., and in whichever day I will call upon you, quickly hear me, as you heard the holy Mary Magdalen. (3) Accept, O Lord, the cries of him who confesses to you; hear the voice of the praying and by the prayers of the blessed virgin Mary, your mother, and all of your saints, (4) that these prayers and pleas for this holy vision, which I, N., pour out personally to you right now, may reach the ears of your piety, that through your most holy names and sacraments, (5) which are: Hosel. Iesel. Hazaiacol. Iosel. Authiachar. Hazacol. Gezor. Gezamyhor. Namathar. Senales. Iole. Tarotheos. Lochos. Genos. Halla. Samyhel. Ramay. Sacharios. Logos. Patir. Sarahc. Iothosym. (6) being cleaned, purified, glorified, made innocent and consecrated, and I may be worthy to attain the vision of your glorious and sacred shape, with our Lord Jesus Christ as our guide, who lives and reigns forever and ever. Amen.

XCVI. Prayer 34.

Hofbor, O Lord, who dwells on high, invisible God, inestimable God, ineffable God, unchangeable God, incorruptible God, O God most-pious, O God most sweet, O God most high, O glorious God, O immeasurable God, O almighty God, O God, the Father of all mercy, (2) I, although unworthy and full of iniquity, deceit, and vice, I come humbly begging and pleading for your mercy, that you don't consider all my countless sins, but just as you are accustomed to show mercy on sinners, and to hear the prayers of the humble, (3) so too deign to hear me, your servant N., although unworthy, crying to you for this most holy and divine vision, humbly and most earnestly, asking it of you with prayers and embellished with holy sacraments, which are Hosel, Iesel, etc. (4) that I may have the virtue and the grace which are needed to attain such a great vision, namely purity, innocence, clarity, wisdom, and piety, (5) love, sincerity, humility, determination, and good will, through you, who sits on high, to whom be praise, glory, and honor, forever and ever. Amen.

XCVII

Si seriem harum oracionum scire vis, respice seriem 100 nominum Dei huius libri, quia per illa semper incipiunt oraciones. (2) Et nota, quod illa sacra Dei nomina predicta: Hosel, Iesel et cetera, debent dici paulo post principium orandi eciam in principio cuiuslibet oracionis.

XCVIII INCIPIT 2A MUNDACIO IN VISIONE DIVINA.

Mundato igitur et macerato corpore volentis videre celeste palacium ipsum mundissimum esse iubemus et in omnibus virtutibus esse vestitum, (2) et semper cogitet et deprecetur Dominum de suorum absolucione peccatorum, quia iustus eciam debet timere, quia qui non timet, non diligit, testante Salomone et dicente: “Inicium sapiencie timor Domini,”[18] (3) unde quilibet debet timere, quia nemo ex sua condicione vel dignitate meretur vel consequitur gloriam vel salutem nec potest videre Deum absque gracia salvatoris.

(4) Et iterum alios 12 dies in pane et aqua integre sine aliqua relaxacione ieiunet faciens ut fecerat in predictis, donec veniat ad 13^{am} diem, que sit dies Iovis, et tunc iterum, si quid in se mali senserit, emundet et tunc iterum corpus Christi recipiat dicendo:

XCVII.

If you wish to know the sequence of these prayers, consider the sequence of the one hundred names of God in this book, because the prayers always begin with those. (2) And note, that those preceding sacred names of God: **Hosel, Iesel,** and the rest, must be said soon after beginning worship, and also in the beginning of any specific prayer.

XCVIII. Here begins the second purification for the Divine Vision.[142]

Thereupon, with the body purified and softened,[143] he that wishes to see the heavenly palace, we command him to keep himself most clean to be clothed with all virtues, (2) and he should always contemplate the Lord, and pray for the forgiveness of sins, for the Lord is just and must be feared, for if you don't fear him, you don't love him, as Solomon testified when he said: "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord,"[144] (3) Therefore, everyone should fear him, because nobody attains glory, or salvation, or the sight of God, of his own merit, without the grace of the savior.

(4) And again he should fast another twelve days on bread and water and nothing else, without any relaxation as he did before, until he comes to the thirteenth day, which should be a Thursday, and then again, if he perceives any evil in himself he should cleanse it, and then again he should receive the body of Christ, saying:

(5) Oracio ante recepcionem Christi

"Tu, Domine Iesu Christe, salvator omnium, qui pro me, miserimo peccatore, et aliis in seculo viventibus voluisti corpus tuum salubriter immolare, (6) qui 5^{a} die, scilicet Iovis [vel] Cenacionis, beatos apostolos

tuos de tuo precioso corpore et sanguine saciasti precipiens, ut in nomine tuo sancta mater ecclesia sacratissimum corpus tuum et sanguinem consecraret, ut fieret salus et vita animarum in te credencium. (7) Ego, licet indignus, te, Domine Iesu Christe, recipiens, sciens et confitens te Dominum meum et creatorem meum, quem in carne mea visurus sum ego ipse et non alius, quem expecto iudicem meum venturum, (8) concede michi propicius et in virtute huius sacri misterii, quod sicut corporeis oculis tuam spiritualem et corporalem potenciam ac eciam divinitatem visibiliter confiteor et agnosco per redempcionem huius sacratissimi corporis et sanguinis tui, (9) sic corpus meum clarificare et mundare digneris, ut abluto corpore te visibiliter cum tuis novem angelorum ordinibus me vivente mea possit anima collaudare, qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen."

XCIX

Quo recepto recedas ad domum et taliter opus incipies.

PLACACIO DIVINE MAIESTATIS

Dices illa die Iovis semel psalterium et letaniam cum propriis eam sequentibus oracionibus. Post dices 25, 26, 31 et ibi addes:

(2) "Ut tu, Domine, per annunciacionem, concepcionem, nativitatem, circumcisionem, predicacionem, baptismum, resurreccionem, ascensionem beatissimi filii tui, Domini nostri Iesu Christi, (3) corpus meum clarificare et mundare digneris, ut abluto corpore te visibiliter cum tuis novem dictis angelorum ordinibus me vivente mea possit anima collaudare," (4)—conclusio:—"quoniam tu es Deus potens et super omnia misericors, qui vivis et regnas Deus in unitate et trinitate, Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, et regnaturus es per infinita secula seculorum. Amen."

(5) PRAYER BEFORE RECEIVING CHRIST.

"You, O Lord Jesus Christ, the savior of all, who were willing to sacrifice your body, on behalf of me, a wretched sinner, and others living in the world, (6) you who on the fifth day, namely Thursday, the Last Supper, fed

your blessed apostles with your precious body and blood, teaching them that they should consecrate your most holy body and blood in the name of the holy mother church, in order that it might be the salvation and life of the souls believing in you. (7) I, although unworthy to receive you, O Lord Jesus Christ, knowing and confessing you to be my Lord and my creator, whom I shall see, and no other, while my body lives, whom I await to judge me soon, (8) grant me your favor, and by the virtue of this sacred mystery, that as I am able to recognize visibly and acknowledge with my physical eyes your spiritual and physical power, and even your divinity, through the redemption[145] of this your most sacred body and blood, (9) so deign to clarify and cleanse my body, that with my body being washed, my soul will able to praise you visibly, while I live, along with your nine orders of angels, you who lives and reigns, God, world without end. Amen."

XCIX.

Once this[146] has been received, you may retire to your house and begin the work in such a manner.

The placating of the Divine Majesty.

The same Thursday, you will say the psalter and litany with its special prayers following it. After that you will say 25, 26,[147] 31 then add: (2) "... that you, O Lord, by the annunciation, conception, birth, circumcision, proclamation, baptism,[148] resurrection, and ascension of your most blessed son, our Lord Jesus Christ, (3) deign to make my body lustrous and pure, that with my body washed pure, my soul may be able to praise you visibly, while I live, alongside your aforesaid nine orders of angels," (4) The conclusion: "Because you, O God, are mighty and merciful over all, who lives and reigns, God in unity and trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and will reign forever, world without end. Amen."[149]

C Separacio

Ex nunc eris in loco concluso, ubi non sit frequentacio personarum, et qualibet die dices istas oraciones, que secuntur, cum precedentibus, que pertinent operanti, et cum hoc dices hec nomina, que secuntur. (2) “Agla, Monhon, Tetragramaton, Ely Deus, Ocleiste, Amphynethon, Lamyara, Ianemyer, Sadyon, Hely, Horlon, Porrenthimon, (3) Yelur, Gofgameli, Emanuel, On, Admyel, Honzmorb, Ioht, Hophob, Mesamarathon, Anethy, Eryona, Yuestre, Saday, Maloht, Sechce.”

(4) Post hoc dices:

ORACIO

“Deus meus, Pater omnipotens eterne potestatis, potens facere mundum de immundo conceptum semine, Primellus, Principium, Primogenitus, Sapiencia, Virtus, Sol, Splendor, Gloria, Pax, Lux, Panis, Os, (5) Verbum, Salus, Angelus, Sponsus, Propheta, Agnus, Ovis, Vitulus, Serpens, Aries, Leo, Vermis, exaudi propicius oraciones et invocaciones servi tui, ut in virtute horum sanctorum nominum tuorum corpus meum” et cetera.

(6) Postea dices ista alia nomina, que secuntur. “Elscha fortis, Abbadia iuste, Alpha et Ω piissime, Leiste dulcissime, Oristyon potentissime, Yeremon excellentissime, Hofbor excelse, Merkerpon adiutor, Elzephares defensor, Egyryon protector, Pheta largitor, (7) exaudi benigne deprecaciones servi tui, ut ex dono gracie tue per intercessiones beate genitricis tue virginis Marie et angelorum et archangelorum tuorum Michaelis, Gabrielis, Urielis et Raphaelis et omnium aliorum celestium angelorum (8) et apostolorum tuorum Petri et Pauli, Iohannis et Iacobi, Andree, Mathie, Symonis, Iude, Philippi, Thome, Bartholomei et Barnabe corpus meum” et cetera.

C. Separation.

From this time on you should be in a place where access can be restricted, where people do not frequent, and each day say those prayers which follow, along with those preceding, which are pertinent to the work,[150] and with this you should say these names, which follow: (2) “Agla, Monhon, Tetragramaton, Ely Deus, Ocleiste, Amphynethon, Lamyara, Ianemyer, Sadyon, Hely, Horlon, Porrenthimon, (3) Yelur, Gofgameli, Emanuel, On,

Admyel, Honzmorb, Ioht, Hophob, Mesamarathon, Anethy, Eryona, Yuestre, Saday, Maloht, Sechce."[151]

(4) After this, say:

PRAYER.

"O my God, almighty Father, eternal power, who can make pure that which was conceived of unclean seed, Primellus, the Beginning, the First-Born, the Wisdom, the Virtue, the Sun, the Brilliance, the Glory, the Peace, the Light, the Bread,[152] the Mouth, (5) the Word, the Salvation, the Angel, the Bridegroom, the Prophet, the Lamb, the Sheep, the Calf, the Serpent, Aries, Leo, the Worm, hear clearly the propitious prayers and invocations of your servant, that through the power of your holy names, that with my body" etc.[153]

(6) Then say these additional names which follow: "Strong Elscha, just Abbadia, most pious Alpha and Omega, sweetest Leiste, most potent Oristyon, most excellent Yeremon, lofty Hofbor,[154] Merkerpon the helper, Elzephares the defender, Egyryon the protector, Pheta the generous, (7) hear kindly the supplications of your servant, so that from your gift of grace through the intercession of your blessed mother, the virgin Mary, and of your angels and archangels Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael, and all other celestial angels (8) and of your apostles Peter and Paul, John and Jacob, Andrew, Matthew, Simon, Jude, Philip, Thomas, Bartholomew, and Barnabus, that with my body ..." etc.[155]

(9) Postea dices ista sequencia nomina Dei. "Ombonar ineffabilis, Stimulamathon in substancia invisibilis, Oryon inestimabilis, Erion inpermutabilis, Noymos clementissime, Pep incommensurabilis, Nathanatay incorruptibilis, Theon inmense, Ysiston gloriose, Porho tocius misericordie."[19]

(10) Postea dices hanc oracionem:

ORACIO

"Respice humiliter preces humilis servi tui non aspiciens neque vindicans inennarrabiles iniquitates, quas contra te feci; quoniam, 'si iniquitates

observaveris, quis sustinebit?' (11) Set tu, Domine, 'suscitans a terra inopem et de stercore erigens pauperem' in virtute sancte humilitatis et obediencie tue, sicut dicitur: (12) 'factus est obediens usque ad mortem'—et alibi: 'Ego autem humiliatus sum nimis'—quam pro peccatoribus humiliter pati atque recipere voluisti, sic preces meas placatus recipias—(13) quia confiteor et scio, quia tu es misericors tocius creature te firmiter invocantis, testante David et dicente: 'Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non despicies,' (14) et alibi: 'Prope est Dominus omnibus invocantibus eum in veritate'—ut animam meam a tenebris corpusculi mei suscitare et a stercore peccatorum meorum erigere digneris, ut abluto corpore" et cetera.

(15) Et postea dices hec nomina hanc sequentem oracionem constituencia.

(9) Then say these following names of God: "Ombonar ineffable, Stimulamathon in substance invisible, Oryon inestimable, Erion unchangeable, Noymos most merciful, Pep immeasurable, Nathanatay incorruptible, Theon immeasurable, Hysiston glorious, Porho altogether merciful."

(10) Then say this prayer:

PRAYER.

"Look favorably on the prayers of your humble servant, not considering or punishing the many sins which I have committed against you; for, 'if you consider our sins, who could measure up?'[156] (11) But you, O Lord, 'raise up the needy from the dust, and the poor from the filth'[157] by virtue of holy humility and obedience to you, as it is said: (12) 'He became obedient even unto death'[158] and elsewhere: 'moreover I have been greatly humbled'[159]—which you humbly allowed and wished to receive for sinners, so may you favorably receive my prayers—(13) because I confess and know that you are merciful to all creatures who call upon you sincerely, which David testified when he said: 'A contrite and humbled heart, O God, you will not look down on,'[160] (14) and elsewhere: 'The Lord is nearby to all who faithfully call upon him'[161]—that you may deign to awaken my soul from the darkness of my body, and raise it up from the foulness of my sins, that with my body being washed" and so on.[162]

(15) And then say these names composed in the following prayer:

Nomina Dei vivi

"**Fothon**, celi et terre conditor; **Lethellete**, qui celum super altitudinem nubium extendisti; **Ysmas**, qui terram super aquas in sua stabilitate fundasti; (16) **Adonay**, qui mari terminum suum, quem preterire non poterit, tribuisti; **Hachionadabir**, qui Solem et Lunam et omnes stellas celi in summa arce collocasti; **Omytheon**, qui omnia in sapiencia fecisti; (17) **Hofga**, qui sexta die hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem tuam creasti; **Leyndra**, qui Adam una cum Eva, quam sibi comitem dederas, in paradiso voluptatis collocasti, quos propter mandati tui prevaricacionem mox de paradiso eiecisti; **Nosulaceps**, qui victimam Abel conspexisti;

(18) **Tutheon**, qui mundum propter sui scelera in aqua diluvii perdidisti; **Gelemoht**, qui Noe et eos, qui cum eo erant in aqua diluvii, salvasti, unde genus humanum restituisti; (19) **Paraclitus**, qui Abrahe, servo tuo, sub triplici persona ad radicem Mambre aparuisti; **Occynonerion**, qui Enoch et Helyam ad pugnandum contra tirannum in celis rapuisti; **Ectothas**, qui Loth, servum tuum, de submersione Sodome et Gomorre misericorditer liberasti; (20) **Abracio**, qui Moysi, servo tuo, in medio rubi locutus fuisti in flamma ignis; **Anephenethon**, qui virgam Aaron frondere, florere et fructum producere fecisti; (21) **Abdon**, qui populum tuum de terra Egypti de captivitate potenter abduxisti; **Melthe**, qui, ut siccis pedibus transirent, per medium mare viam aperuisti; **Sother**, qui in monte Synay populo tuo per manum Moysi legem dedisti;

(22) **Usyrion**, qui populo scicienti de petra sicca nimias aquas exire fecisti; **Baruch**, qui Danielem prophetam de lacu leonum sanum et incolumem eripuisti; **Sporgongo**, qui tres pueros Sydrac, Misaac et Abdenago, qui sunt Ananyas, Azarias et Mysael, de camino ignis ardentis illesos abire fecisti; (23) **Genouem**, qui Susannam bonam fiduciam atque spem in te habentem de falso crimine falsorum iudicum liberasti; **Messias**, qui Ionam prophetam in ventre ceti tribus diebus et tribus noctibus commorantem incolumem conservasti; (24) **Pantheon**, qui David prophetam de manibus Golie invictum evadere fecisti; Deus iustus, fortis et paciens, **agyos, Otheos, Hiskyros, athanathos, eleyson ymas, Christus,** Deus fortis, omnipotens et immortalis, (25) Iesus Nazarenus, et

multum misericors, qui solum ex vera cordis contricione peccatorem mundificas, exaudi clemens et propicius oraciones servi tui, (26) quas in virtute sublimitatis tue profero, ut per misericordiam tuam <et> graciam, quam sanctis tuis tribuisti, michi largiri digneris.

Names of the Living God.

"**Fothon**, creator of Heaven and Earth; **Lethelletus**, whereby you stretched out Heaven above the height of the clouds; **Ysmas**, whereby you set the lands firmly upon the waters; (16) **Adonay**, whereby you separated the sea from her bounds, which she is not able to go beyond; **Hachionadabir**, whereby you arranged the Sun and Moon and all the stars in the highest height of Heaven; **Omytheon**, whereby you made all things in wisdom;[163] (17) **Hofga**, Whereby on the sixth day you created mankind in your own image and likeness; **Leyndra**, whereby you put Adam into the Paradise of pleasure, together with Eve, whom you gave as his companion, whereby you also soon expelled them from Paradise for transgressing your commandment; **Nosulaceps**, whereby you accepted Abel's offering;

(18) **Tutheon**, whereby you caused a flood of water to destroy the world, on account of its corruption; **Gelemoht**, whereby you saved Noah, and those who were with him, from the destruction of the flood, and whereby you restored mankind; (19) **Paraclitus**, whereby you appeared to Abraham, your servant, in the guise of three persons, in the plains of Mamre;[164] **Occynonerion**, whereby you took Enoch and Elijah to Heaven for fighting against the tyrant;[165] **Ectothas**, whereby Lot, your servant, was mercifully spared from the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah;[166] (20) **Abracio**, whereby you spoke to Moses, your servant, in the midst of the burning bush; **Anephenethon**, whereby you made the staff of Aaron sprout leaves and produce fruit;[167] (21) **Abdon**, whereby you forcefully led your people out of the land of Egypt, and out of captivity; **Melthe**, whereby you opened a path through the middle of the sea, allowing them to cross with dry feet; **Sother**, whereby you gave your people the Law at Mount Sinai, through the hand of Moses;

(22) **Usyrion**, whereby you produced much water for your thirsty people, from a dry rock; **Baruch**, whereby you released the prophet Daniel from lions' den safe and unharmed;[168] **Sporgongo**, whereby the three

children Shadrach, Meshach, and Abedenego, who were Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael, were able to come forth uninjured from the fiery furnace;[169] (23) **Genovem**, whereby the good and faithful Susanna, having hope in you, was freed from false accusations of false judges; **Messias**, whereby you preserved the prophet Jonah unharmed for three days and three nights in the stomach of a whale; (24) **Pantheon**, whereby you made the prophet David escape the hands of Goliath unconquered;[170] O Just God, strong and patient, **Agios, Iskiros, Athanatos, Eleyson ymas, Christus,** strong God, all-powerful and immortal, (25) Jesus of Nazareth, most merciful, who cleanses us of sins only through a truly contrite heart, O merciful and generous one, hear the prayers of your servant, (26) which I offer through the virtue of your sublimity, so that through your mercy, you would deign to grant to me the grace which you have granted to your saints.

(27) Descendat ergo, Domine, super me, famulum tuum, quamvis multis criminibus irretitum tamen a te creatum, virtus Spiritus sancti, que meorum indulgenciam faciat peccatorum, ut ex rore celesti mei corpusculi macule deleantur, ut abluto corpore" et cetera.

(28) Hec oracio supradicta debet pro ferri in omni periculo, quoniam sanos custodit, infirmos sanat, peccata relaxat, iratos pacificat, amicicias nutrit, (29) desperantes confortat, pauperes fovet, iram Domini mitigat, omnes tribulaciones et perversitates vincit, tempestates fugat, incantaciones solvit, spiritus constringit et ligat. (30) Debet proferri ieiuno stomacho, flexis genibus cum devocione maxima, et eius abstinencia est, quod operans debet esse humilis, paciens et pudicus. (31) Taliter igitur diebus Veneris, sabbati, Dominico, Lune, Martis, Mercurii sequentibus hec omnia, et ter in qualibet die, scilicet mane, meridie et sero, integre recitabis.

CI Perfeccio operis

Die vero Iovis sumo mane dicat ut dixerat in predictis et tunc super cineres de fece mundatos de feno cubile faciat, et in circuitu lecti sint in cineribus scripta centum nomina Dei.

(27) Therefore, O Lord, may the power of the Holy Spirit descend upon me, your servant, in spite of my many faults, yet created by you, who may

show leniency for my sins, that the stains of my body are erased by the heavenly dew, that my body being washed" etc.

(28) This above-mentioned prayer should used in all dangers, because it protects the health, cures the sick, forgives sins, calms anger, nurtures friendship, (29) comforts those despairing, warms the poor, mitigates the wrath of the Lord, conquers all troubles and perversities, drives away storms, breaks enchantments, and constrains and binds spirits. (30) It should be said after fasting and abstinence, kneeling with the greatest devotion, and the one who performs it must be humble, patient, and chaste. (31) Therefore you should recite all of these in their entirety in the same way on the following Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, and three times every day, namely in the morning, at noon, and at night.

CI. The Completion of the Work.

On Thursday begin in the morning; saying as you said on the preceding, and then you should make a bed of hay, on top of ashes which you should make clean from the dregs, and around the bed, in the ashes, should be written the one hundred names of God.[171]

(2) 100 Dei vivi nomina

1. Agla, 2. Monon, 3. Tetragramaton, 4. Ely Deus, 5. Ocleiste, 6. Amphynethon, 7. Lamyara, 8. Ianemyer, 9. Sadyon, 10. Hely, 11. Horlon, 12. Porrenthimon, 13. Ihelur, (3) 14. Gofgameli, 15. Emanuel, 16. On, 17. Admyhel, 18. Honzmorb, 19. Ioht, 20. Hofob, 21. Mesamarathon, 22. Anethy, 23. Eryhona, 24. Iuestre, 25. Saday, 26. Maloht, 27. Sechce, 28. Elscha, (4) 29. Abbadia, 30. Alpha et Ω, 31. Leiste, 32. Oristion, 33. Jeremon, 34. Hofbor, 35. Merkerpon, 36. Elzephares, 37. Egyrion, 38. Pheta, 39. Hombonar, 40. Stimulamathon, 41. Orion, 42. Eryon, (5) 43. Noymos, 44. Pep, 45. Nathanathay, 46. Theon, 47. Ysiston, 48. Porho, 49. Fothon, 50. Letellethe, 51. Ysmas, 52. Adonay, 53. Achionadabir, 54. Omytheon, 55. Hofga, 56. Leyndra, (6) 57. Nosulaceps, 58. Tutheon, 59. Gelemoht, 60. Paraclitus, 61. Occynoneryon, 62. Ecthothas, 63. Abracio, 64. Anephenethon, 65. Abdon, 66. Melthe, 67. Sother, 68. Usirion, 69.

Baruch, (7) 70. Sporgongo, 71. Genouem, 72. Messias, 73. Pantheon, 74. Zabuather, 75. Rabarmas, 76. Yschiros, 77. Kyrios, 78. Gelon, 79. Hel, 80. Techel, 81. Nothi, 82. Ymeynlethon, 83. Karex, 84. Sabaoth, (8) 85. Sellah, 86. Cirrhos, 87. Opiron, 88. Nomygon, 89. Orihel, 90. Theos, 91. Va, 92. Horha, 93. Christus, 94. Hospesk, 95. Gofgar, 96. Occynnomos, 97. Elyorem, 98. Heloy, 99. Archima, 100. Rabur.

(9) Quo facto comedat, et quando comederit, opus istud ita incipiat. Accipiat aquam claram fontis frigidam, de qua se abluat dicens:

(10) “Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens, eterne Deus, cuius ante creacionem seculi Spiritus ferebatur super aquas, qui in mundi creacione una cum aliis elementis eas benedictas fecisti, (11) qui populo sicienti has in alimento dedisti, et ut sordide mundi exteriores macule per eas lavarentur, qui in flumine Iordanis per Iohannem baptistam baptizari voluisti, (12) ut per misterium sacratissimi corporis tui flumina omnium aquarum tua benediccione crescerent, ut sicut per eas exteriora lavantur, (13) ita interiora per ipsas et Spiritum sanctum lavarentur peccata testante propheta David et dicente: ‘Asparges me, Domine, ysopo, et mundabor. Lavabis me, et super nivem dealbabor,’ (14) qui beatis apostolis tuis in huius sacri commemoracione misterii pedes eorum lavasti, qui nobis ad saturacionem anime aquam de tuo precioso latere in potum tribuisti et propter nos lancea latus acriter perforari voluisti, concede propicius, (15) quod sicut huius mei miseri corpusculi per hanc aquam exteriora lavantur, sic per virtutem tui sacri baptismatis, quod in me nomine tuo recepi, super me tue future gracie rorem descendere concedas, per quam mea interiora laventur peccata, ut abluto corpore” et cetera.

(2) The 100 Names of the Living God.

1. Agla, 2. Monon, 3. Tetragramaton, 4. Ely Deus, 5. Ocleiste, 6. Amphynethon, 7. Lamyara, 8. Ianemyer, 9. Sadyon, 10. Hely, 11. Horlon, 12. Porrenthimon, 13. Ihelur, (3) 14. Gofgameli, 15. Emanuel, 16. On, 17. Admyhel, 18. Honzmorb, 19. Ioht, 20. Hofob, 21. Mesamarathon, 22. Anethy, 23. Eryhona, 24. Iuestre, 25. Saday, 26. Maloht, 27. Sechce, 28. Elscha, (4) 29. Abbadia, 30. Alpha et Ω, 31. Leiste, 32. Oristion, 33. Jeremon, 34. Hofbor, 35. Merkerpon, 36. Elzephares, 37. Egyrion, 38. Pheta, 39. Hombonar, 40. Stimulamathon, 41. Orion, 42. Eryon, (5) 43.

Noymos, 44. Pep [*Pele?], 45. Nathanathay, 46. Theon, 47. Ysiston, 48. Porho, 49. Fothon, 50. Letellethe, 51. Ysmas, 52. Adonay, 53. Achionadabir, 54. Omytheon, 55. Hofga, 56. Leyndra, (6) 57. Nosulaceps, 58. Tutheon, 59. Gelemoht, 60. Paraclitus, 61. Occynoneryon, 62. Ecthothas, 63. Abracio, 64. Anephenethon, 65. Abdon, 66. Melthe, 67. Sother, 68. Usirion, 69. Baruch, (7) 70. Sporgongo, 71. Genouem, 72. Messias, 73. Pantheon, 74. Zabuather, 75. Rabarmas, 76. Yschiros, 77. Kyrios, 78. Gelon, 79. Hel, 80. Techel, 81. Nothi, 82. Ymeynlethon, 83. Karex, 84. Sabaoth, (8) 85. Sellah, 86. Cirrhos, 87. Opiron, 88. Nomygon, 89. Orihel, 90. Theos, 91. Va, 92. Horha, 93. Christus, 94. Hospesk, 95. Gofgar, 96. Occynnomos, 97. Elyorem, 98. Heloy, 99. Archima, 100. Rabur.

(9) When this has been done, he should eat, and after eating, he should begin the work as follows: He should take clear cold spring water, and wash himself, saying:

(10) "O Lord, holy Father, almighty and eternal God, whose spirit moved over the waters before the creation of the world, who in the creation of the world, made water blessed with the other elements, (11) who gave water to the thirsty people for their nourishment, and in order that they could wash their outward stains clean with it, who wished to be baptized in the river Jordan by John the Baptist, (12) in order that through the mystery of your most sacred body the rivers of all waters will increase with your blessing, so that, even as we are washed on the outside by it, and by the Holy Spirit, (13) so too will we be washed inside and cleansed of our sins, as the prophet David testified when he said: 'Sprinkle me, O Lord, with hyssop, and I will be clean; wash me, and I will be whiter than snow,' (14) which in remembrance of this sacred mystery, you washed the feet of your blessed apostles,[172] who offered us water to drink from your precious side for quenching the thirst in our souls, and for our sakes allowed the lance to savagely pierce your side, graciously grant (15) that as this water washes my wretched body outwardly, so too by virtue of your sacred baptism, which I have received in your name, grant that the dew of your grace may descend upon me, by which my inner faults may be washed away, that my body being washed," etc.

(16) Et scias, quod nullus vacans circa terrena potest hoc facere, quia anima racione obscenitatis terrene a divinis secretis est penitus sequestrata

et ideo cum difficultate intelligit. (17) Tamen secundum quod caro magis vult operacionibus anime consentire, cicius intelligit et clarius. (18) Et ideo illi, qui sciencias inveniebant, magis in locis secretis habitabant, quia nolebant per temptaciones carnales a suis operacionibus sequestrari. (19) Nec non si aliquis operari voluerit eciam pro acquisicione parcium, eum convenit a terrenis sequestrari. Pro acquisitione tocius multo magis forciusque debet operans terre dimittere vanitatem.

(20) Tunc indutus cilicio et nigris vestibus chorum[20] intret, in quo sedeat. Tunc incipiat psalterium cum letania et oracionibus propriis et aliis, ut predixi, et cum totum compleverit, dicat hec nomina, que secuntur. (21) "Zabuather, Rabarmas, Yskiros, Kyrios, Gelon, Hel, Techel, Nothi, Ymeinlethon, Karex, Sabaoth, Sella, Chiros, Opiron, Nomygon, Oriel, Theos, Ya."

(22) ORACIO

"Deus fortis et potens in prelio, rex eterne glorie, cuius claritatis dulcedine pleni sunt celi et terra, quem angeli et archangeli tremunt et colunt laudando et dicunt: (23) 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth; pleni sunt celi et terra gloria tua. Ossanna in excelsis,' qui pro dominacione[21] humani generis revocanda de celis ad terram descendisti.

(16) And you should know, that nobody who is idle with worldly things can attain to this work, for the soul, because of the obscenity of worldly things, is isolated inwardly from divine secrets, and therefore it understands them with difficulty. (17) Yet when the flesh is willing to consent with the operations of the soul, it understands more quickly and more clearly. (18) And therefore those who first discovered this knowledge lived more in hidden places, because they were unwilling to let carnal temptations isolate them from their operations. (19) And certainly if anybody has determined to work to acquire only parts of this science, should isolate himself from worldly things. And how much more strongly should he dismiss the emptiness of the world for the sake of performing the whole of it.

(20) Then he should put on a sackcloth[173] and black garments, then enter the choir,[174] in which he should sit. Then he should begin the Psalter with the litany, and with the proper prayers and the rest as mentioned

before, and when all is complete, he should say these names which follow: (21) "Zabuather, Rabarmas, Yskiros, Kyrios, Gelon, Hel, Techel, Nothi, Ymeinlethon, Karex, Sabaoth, Sella, Chiros, Opiron, Nomygon, Oriel, Theos, Ya."[175]

(22) PRAYER.

"O mighty God, and powerful in battle, and eternally glorious king, the sweetness of whose clarity fills Heaven and Earth, before whom the angels and archangels tremble and praise, saying: (23) 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts, Heaven and Earth are full of your glory. Hosannah in the highest,' which for the sake of mastery to redeem mankind[176] you descended from the heavens to Earth.

(24) **Orha**, qui per Gabrielem beate Marie virgini, genetrici tue, nuncium tue incarnacionis in templo Ierusalem premisisti.

Christus, qui sicut sol per vitrum in eius utero et sine corupcionis contagio obumbrasti.

(25) **Hospesk**, qui in manibus Ioseph virgam siccam florere fecisti.

Gofgar, qui adventus tui per Iohannem baptistam populo tuo Israel testimonium et precognicionem misisti, (26) predicandaque dicta erant de te per prophetas, qui nativitatis tue tuis sanctis hominibus in tenebris stantibus lumen misisti, per quod tuum sanctum adventum cognoverunt.

(27) **Occynnomos**, qui tribus regibus te adorare volentibus, Caspar, Melchior, Balthasar, stellam previam transmisisti et eorum munera recepisti te verum Deum et hominem mortalem eis esse demonstrans (28) et eis per angelum tuum falsitatem Herodis in sompnis manifestans, qui beatos innocentes pro tuo nomine cruciatos in celi palacio sublimiter coronasti.

(29) **Eliorem**, qui in templo Salomonis in manibus Symeonis Domino presentatus ipsi Symeoni dedisti cognicionis effectum, ut asserit dicens: 'Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, in pace, (30) quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum, quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum lumen ad revelacionem gencium et gloriam plebis tue Israel.'

Heloy, qui ad architriclini nupcias aquam in vinum convertisti.

(31) **Archima**, qui 32 annis populo tuo fidem catholicam predicasti, qui Petrum, Iacobum et Iohannem, Bartholomeum, Thomam et ceteros

discipulos in sciencia et gracia perfectos condidisti.

(32) **Rabur**, qui 40 dierum spacio in deserto ieiunasti et a demone temptatus es, qui eciam beate Marie Magdalene super pedes tuos flenti amarissime et capillis tergenti et unguenti sua dulcissime peccata remisisti (33) et Lazarum, fratrem suum, quatriduanum mortuum a mortuis suscitasti et ceco nato visum tribuisti et propter nos corpus tuum immolari, detrahi, ferociter accipi, turpiter iudicari ac eciam blasphemari, duris corrigiis amariter flagellari, (34) alapis et sputis vexari, spinis coronari, in cruce affigi, clavis acutis pedes et manus perforari, felle et aceto potari, lancea latus aperiri, et in sepulcro poni et a militibus custodiri voluisti, (35) qui per summam tuam potenciam ac signo tue sancte crucis, de quo meis me signo manibus ✝, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti scilicet, portas ereas confregisti et amicos tuos de tenebrosis locis inferni eripuisti. (36) Item, Domine, per fidem et credenciam, quam in hiis sanctis misteriis confiteor et scio et habeo, ita et animam meam a corporis mei tenebris eripias, (37) ut indestructo corpore te visibiliter cum tuis novem angelorum ordinibus me vivente mea possit anima collaudare, aspicere et glorificare. (38) Tu igitur, Domine, qui tercia die resurrexisti a mortuis et resurreccionem per angelum Marie Magdalene, [Marie] Iacobi et Salomee et tuis discipulis revelasti (39) et beato Thome tua vulnera demonstrasti et post trium dierum spacium ad celos ascendisti, unde discipulis tuis Spiritum sanctum misisti et eis pacem tuam dedisti.

(24) **Orha**, whereby you sent ahead Gabriel to the temple at Jerusalem, to announce to the blessed virgin Mary, your mother, your incarnation.

Christ, whereby you overshadowed yourself in her womb, like the sun shining through glass, and without the touch of corruption.

(25) **Hospesk**, whereby you made the dry staff sprout flowers in the hands of Joseph.[177]

Gofgar, whereby you sent foreknowledge and testimony of your arrival through John the Baptist to your people Israel, (26) and the things preached about you by the prophets, and of your birth, whereby you sent a light to your holy ones standing in darkness, by which they recognized your holy arrival.

(27) **Occynnomos**, whereby you sent a star to lead the three kings, Caspar, Melchior, Balthazar, wishing to honor you, and you received their gifts, showing yourself to them to be true God and mortal man (28) and

you revealed to them through your angel, in a dream, the deception of Herod, and whereby in the heavenly palace you sublimely crowned the blessed innocent persons tormented on behalf of your name.

(29) **Eliorem**, whereby when Jesus was being presented to the Lord in the temple of Solomon, brought realization to Simeon, when he took him up in his arms,[178] as he asserts saying: 'Now dismiss your servant in peace, O Lord, (30) because my eyes have seen your salvation, which you have prepared before the face of all peoples: A light to the revelation of the Gentiles, and the glory to your people Israel.'[179]

Heloy, whereby you turned water into wine at the wedding of a certain person hosting a feast.

(31) **Archima**, whereby for thirty-two years you preached to your people the catholic faith, whereby you preserved the knowledge in Peter, Jacob and John, Bartholomew, Thomas and the other disciples, and with perfect grace.

(32) **Rabur**, Whereby you fasted for the space of forty days in the desert, and were tempted by the demon; whereby also you forgave the sins of the blessed Mary Magdalen weeping most bitterly over your feet, and drying them with her hair, and anointing them most sweetly; (33) and you woke Lazarus, her brother, after he had been dead for four days, and you gave sight to one who was born blind, and for our sake you gave your body to be sacrificed, and allowed yourself to be dragged away, viciously taken, shamefully judged and even blasphemed, and savagely whipped with hard lashes, (34) abused with slaps and spitting, crowned with thorns, fastened to the cross with sharp nails piercing your hands and feet, given gall and vinegar to drink, pierced in the side with a lance, and placed in a grave and guarded by soldiers, (35) which through your most high power, and with the sign of your holy cross, the sign of which I make now with my own hands ✝, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, that is to say, you have shattered the gates of bronze,[180] and rescued your friends from the darkness of hell. (36) Likewise, O Lord, through the faith and belief in these holy mysteries which I confess and know and have, and so snatch away my soul from the darkness of my body, (37) in order that, with an indestructible[181] body, my soul is able to praise you visibly, along with your nine orders of angels, that my soul is able to praise you, look upon you, and glorify you while I am yet alive.

(38) Therefore, O Lord, who on the third day appeared again from the dead, and you revealed your resurrection through an angel to Mary Magdalen, [Mary the mother of] James and Salome,[182] and your disciples (39) and showed your wounds to saint Thomas, and after the space of three days[183] you ascended to Heaven, from which you sent the Holy Spirit to your disciples, and gave your peace to them.

(40) Tu eciam, Domine, Paulo, apostolo tuo, atque Iohanni evangeliste secreta demonstrasti et beato Stephano, dum lapidabatur, celos aperuisti, (41) ut asserit se vidisse tuam corporalibus oculis maiestatem dicens: 'Ecce video celos apertos et Filium hominis stantem a dextris virtutis Dei,' (42) qui martiribus tuis tormenta pacienter recipere concessisti, qui venturus es iudicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem, respice super me et exaudi preces meas, (43) ut per graciam tuam et virtutem sanctorum nominum tuorum animam meam a tenebris mei corpusculi suscitare et a stercore peccatorum meorum erigere digneris, (44) quia in te facio consummacionem vite mee, Deus meus, **Hto exor abalay. qci. ystalgaouofularite kspfyomomanaremiarelatedacononaoyleyot**, qui dixisti in cruce: 'Consummatum est.'"

(40) You also, O Lord, showed the secrets to Paul, your apostle, and John the Evangelist, and Saint Stephen, to whom you opened up the Heavens as he was being stoned, (41) as he asserts having seen your greatness with his physical eyes, saying: 'Behold I see the heavens opening up, and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of the power of God,'[184] (42) and you enabled him to patiently endure the torture, as the other martyrs, you who will soon come to judge the living and the dead and the world through fire. Look upon me and hear my prayers, (43) so that, through your grace and the virtue of your holy names, you may awaken my soul from the darkness of my meager body, and deign to raise it up from the filth of my sins, (44) because in you I make my life complete, O my God, **Hto exor abalay. qci. ystalgaouofularite ksp fyomomanaremiarelatedacononaoyleyot**,[185] you who said on the cross: 'It is finished.'"

(45) Tunc dormiat et de cetero non loquatur, et sic fiet, quod videbit celeste palacium et maiestatem in gloria sua, ordines angelorum et agmina spirituum beatorum. (46) Set dicet aliquis: 'Cum Dominus dicat: "Non videbit me homo et vivet," sequitur ergo, quod si quis Deum videat,

oportet, quod in corpore moriatur. (47) Ergo de cetero usque ad diem iudicii non resurget, quia nemo bis corpore moritur.' Set falsum est, quod quis in corpore in visione divina moriatur, set spiritus in celo rapitur, et corpus in terra cibo angelico reficitur. (48) Nam de multis raptis in spiritu legitur, quibus multa secreta celesti a fuerunt revelata, et eciam in passione Domini nostri Iesu Christi multa corpora resurrexerunt, ut legitur.

(49) Operans debet esse in voluntate operis desiderans et mundatus ab omni sorde penitus, et quanto plus pacietur, tanto plus optinebit, (50) quia si superior, id est Christus, pro suis subditis et inferioribus voluit pati, ut eos in conspectu suo et gloria feliciter collocaret, multo forcius inferior debet pro se ipso pati, (51) ut possit placere suo Domino, quoniam nisi cum difficultate habebitur divina visio et cum puritate perfecta, quia non est super ipsum coaccio immo preces, et eciam cum difficultate habetur, (52) quia Dominus dedit terram homini et cognicionem sue legis testante David et dicente: "Celum celi Domino terram autem dedit filiis hominum." (53) Alibi: "Attendite, populе meus, legem meam.' Et quia 'fides non habet meritum, ubi racio prebet exemplum," ideo homini difficillimum est cognoscere divinam maiestatem.

(45) Then he should sleep, speaking to no one, and thus it will happen, that he will see the heavenly palace, and the greatness of his glory, the orders of angels and the multitudes of blessed spirits. (46) But some may say: "When Lord says, 'no one can see me and live,'[186] it follows therefore, that if one sees God, the body must die. (47) Therefore he will not rise up again until the day of the judgment, because nobody's body dies twice." But it is not true, that one's body must die in the divine vision, because the spirit is carried up to Heaven, and the body is sustained on Earth with angelic food. (48) For we read of many who are carried up in spirit, to whom many celestial secrets are revealed, and even during the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, many bodies were raised again, as it is written.[187]

(49) The operator must have a great will to perform the work, and must be cleansed inwardly from all filth, and the more he endures,[188] the more he will achieve, (50) because if our superior, namely Christ, allowed himself to suffer on behalf of his inferiors and subjects, in order to glorify them in his sight, even more strongly should the inferiors suffer on their own behalf, (51) in order to please their Lord, because the divine vision

cannot be attained without difficulty and perfect purity, because a superior cannot be coerced, but rather entreated, and even then is only achieved with difficulty, (52) because the Lord has given the Earth to mankind, and recognition of his law, as David testified when he said, “Heaven and all of the celestial realm are the Lord's, but the Earth he has given to the children of men.”[189] (53) And elsewhere, “Pay heed, O my people, to my law.”[190] And “because faith has no value, if human reasoning can provide experimental proof,”[191] for that reason it is most difficult for one to perceive the Divine Majesty.

(54) In hoc opere non debet homo cogitare de morte, quia virtute oracionum et virtute Dei, in quo totaliter habet fiduciam, corpus efficitur quasi spirituale et saturatur cibo celesti, (55) sicut fiunt pulli corvorum, quibus misericordia succurrit Dei testante David et dicente: “Qui dat iumentis escam ipsorum et pullis corvorum invocantibus eum.”

(56) Set cavendum est operanti, ne sit in peccato mortali, quia de cetero esset insanus, et causa est, quia intellectus procedit a parte anime, que intendit videre in quo delectatur, (57) et cum non videt id delectabiliter propter impedimentum peccati, de cetero ad nil aliud cogitabit, et sic in corpore non erit humana racionabilitas. (58) Et similiter videmus in pluribus, quod inanimati efficiuntur eo, quod intellectus procedens a parte anime non pervenit ad optata. (59) Concedat ergo nobis divina virtus graciam visionis, qui in trinitate vivit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

CII De capitulis primi libri

Divina visione cathezizata de cognicione potestatis divine, de absolucione peccatorum, de confirmacione non irruendi in peccatum mortale, de redempcione trium animarum de purgatorio est cathezizandum, (2) quoniam si aliquid istorum 4 volueris, fac sicut dictum est de divina visione mutando verumptamen peticionem visionis in peticionem cognicionis potestatis divine (3) vel absolucionis peccatorum vel confirmacionis in gracia immobiliter vel redempcionis trium animarum de purgatorio, set sic procul dubio similiter et adhuc facilius optinebis.

(54) In this work one must not think about death, because with the virtue of prayer and the virtue of God, in whom he has placed all his trust,

the body becomes like a spiritual body, and is nourished by heavenly food, (55) as young ravens are, when nourished by the mercy of God, as David testified when he said, "he gives his food to beasts, and to young ravens who cry out."[192]

(56) But the operator must beware, lest he is in mortal sin, because if so, he will go insane, and the cause is that, comprehension comes from part of the soul, which strives to see what it delights in, (57) and when he doesn't see it because of the hindrance of sin, henceforth will think of nothing else, and so the body will have no human reasoning. (58) And similarly we see many who become inanimate thereby, because the comprehension coming from part of the soul has not reached its wishes. (59) May the Divine Power therefore grant us the grace to achieve the divine vision, who lives and reigns in trinity through all the ages of the ages. Amen.

CII. The topics of the first book.

Having examined the divine vision, we have also examined understanding of divine power, the absolution of sins, confirmation against mortal sin, and the redemption of three souls from purgatory, (2) because if you wish to accomplish any of those four, do as said regarding the divine vision, but simply change the petition to "understanding of divine power (3) or "absolution of sins" or "confirmation in perpetual grace" or "the redemption of three souls from purgatory," and so without doubt you will more easily achieve them similarly.

(4) Et nota, quod, si vis, in omnibus predictis potes qualibet die dicere predictos 8 terminos cum illis 10 oracionibus, que sunt 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, (5) quia in eis non oportet respicere diem neque lunacionem neque de necessitate horam, licet presertim circa mane, circa terciam circaque meridiem proferantur, (6) unde iste oraciones reducunt in bonum quicquid homo erravit per fragilitatem in operacione, et quanto plus et frequencius dicuntur, tanto magis erratum corrigitur et errandum prohibetur.

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3 CXVI reiterates the topics with more detail: "Concerning a horse, which will carry you anywhere you wish in a single night." CXX specifies that the spirits of the West can make horses fast. Sl. 3853 fol. 38v has a chapter on how to magically have a fast horse, "which can carry you from England to Jerusalem in under an hour." Compare Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, p. 54.

4 See chapter CXVI which recounts the topics.

5 Chapter CXVI: balancium (“babbling”). SSM: ballancium (“dancing”).

6 From the mass.

7 Luke 17:19. In the parallel text in SSM L.4.f.49, the main target of derision is Islam. See Veenstra 2012 pp. 188–189 n62.

8 Compare Mark 16:16: “He who believes and is baptised shall be saved, but he who believes not shall be condemned.

9 Widely cited by church writers, and attributed to Daniel, the actual source of this quotation seems to be the pseudo-Augustinian sermon “Against the Jews, Pagans, and Arians.” See Fanger 2012 pp. 203–204, p. 215 n29. See also Mesler, 2012, p. 118, 139 notes 42–46.

10 This passage matches the drawing in SSM, but not Sl. 313, demonstrating that the drawing in SSM is closer to the original. See Veenstra 2012 p. 161, 186 n34. GH p. 67, 155–156 marks this as *turbata*.

11 See chap. CXXXVII.

12 See chap. XCIX.2 for full text.

13 Paraphrasing Ecclesiasticus 25:16.

14 Ps. 18:26.

15 Ps. 119:1.

16 Paraphrased from Jerome, *Epistolae*, letter 125. See Mesler, 2012, p. 118 and p 139 n 41.

17 “Blessed is that servant....”: Matt. 24:46. R inserts a section on suffumigations and names of angels, largely drawn from Agrippa.

18 This prayer appears in the *Liturgia Horarum (Liturgy of the Hours)* and other medieval collections of prayers. A slightly different version is found in the *Rituale Romanum* (*Roman Ritual*). Other magic texts incorporate it as well, including the *Book of Oberon*, p. 51; Sloane 3851, fol. 2r; and Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, p. 252.

19 This is the well-known Salve Regina prayer (up to “O Sweet [virgin] Mary”) along with the standard response.

20 Compare Francisco Guerrero's (1528–1599) most famous work: “Ave virgo santissima, Dei mater piissima, maris stella clarissima / Salve semper gloriosa, margarita pretiosa, sicut lilium formosa, nitens, olens velut rosa.” It was evidently based on an older text.

21 This is an adaptation of the popular eighth century *Anthem of the Blessed Virgin*, also known as the *Five Gaude antiphon*.

22 Compare Ps. 37:22–23; BoO, p. 100.

23 The Apostles' Creed—Roman Ritual.

24 This prayer is based on the well-known Athanasian Creed (*Symbolum Athanasianum*.)

25 The traditional ending is, “*salvus esse non poterit*” (“he cannot be saved”).

26 The mass introduces the Lord's Prayer with nearly identical wording: “Praeceptis salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati, audemus dicere:” GH indicates “imprecatus” (called down, prayed for, uttered curses or blessings) as *turbata* (“disturbed”), i.e. out of place.

27 Ars. Not. Glose de la version B, Var. 1—glose, JV p. 141.

28 Ars. Not. 7, JV p. 146.

29 Ars. Not. 10, JV p. 149.

30 Ars. Not. 11, JV p. 151.

31 Compare Isaiah 49:2.

32 GH, following Sl. 1712, reads “coheredis tui” (of your co-heir), but “cordis tui” (of your heart) is also attested in *Ars Notoria* manuscripts.

33 Ars. Not. 16, JV p. 154.

34 This seems to be another variant of Ars. Not. 16, namely var. 3. See JV p. 157.

35 Ars. Not. 16 var. 4, JV p. 159.

36 Ars. Not. 22, JV p. 162.

37 Ars. Not. 25, JV p. 42.

38 Ars. Not. 29a, JV p. 166.

39 Ars. Not. 29b, JV p. 167.

40 Ars. Not. 34, JV p. 170

41 Ars. Not. 35, var. 5, JV p. 172.

42 Ars Not. 36, JV p. 46.

43 Ars. Not. 43, JV p. 174.

44 Ars. Not. 46, JV p. 176.

45 Ars. Not. 47, JV p. 49.

46 Ars. Not. 50, JV p. 50.

47 Ars. Not. 51, JV p. 51. Apparently omitted by accident, but see LI 9; see also XV.6.

48 Ars. Not. 52, JV p. 177.

49 Ars Not. 53, JV p. 51.

50 Ars Not. 54, JV p. 178.

51 Ars. Not. 55, JV p. 52.

52 Cp. Mark 9.24.

53 Ars. Not. 62, JV p. 181.

54 Ars Not. 64, JV p. 56..

55 Ars Not. 69, JV p. 183-4.

56 Ars Not. 127a, JV p. 84–5.

57 Cf. Ars Not. 127b, V p. 232–3.

58 Ars Not. 127c. JV p. 233.

59 Ars Not. 127d, JV p. 233–4.

60 Ars. Not. 127e, JV p. 234.

61 Ars Not. 127f, JV p. 234.

62 Ars Not. 127g, JV p. 235.

63 Ars Not. 127h, JV p. 235.

64 Here obviously meaning Saturday.

65 As opposed to those consisting of mystical words and names.

66 *Luna Prima*: The first day of the lunar calendar, i.e. the new moon.

67 Hedegård (p. 33) interprets this to mean that prayers 21, 23, etc. as found later in the book, are to be recited on the 18th day of the moon. The other interpretation is that the same prayers are to be recited on the 18th, 21st, etc. day of the moon. This is how MS R interpreted it. I am inclined to go with the latter interpretation, for three reasons. First, the first interpretation would mean that a good

portion of the month would have no recitations. Second, the fact that it only goes up to 30 is another clue that days of the moon are intended. Finally, the fact that those prayers hadn't yet been given is another clue.

68 LVIII, LXV, and LXVII.

69 SSM reads “23.”

70 Compare SSM L.4.f.15: *nil mortuum comedas, nec tangas* (“you should consume nothing dead, nor touch any”). The Royal ms misinterprets this as abstaining from all deadly sin.

71 LXVIII.

72 LXIV.

73 LIII.

74 This passage, starting with “and note” seems to be an example of an interpolation by the “London” redactor, since it isn't found in SSM. See Veenstra 2012 p. 156–7.

75 Compare Bern, Statbibliothek, Handshriften 260, f 227 vb, listed by Klaassen and by Thorndike under necromancy in list of incip. Cp Boudet *Entre* p. 94.

76 Matt. 7:7.

77 Matt. 18:20.

78 Matt. 18:19. This concludes the “First Purification;” the instructions for the second are found in chapter XCVIII. The intervening chapters, the prayers mentioned in the text, seem to be inserted here for convenience. They don't break the narrative in SSM, which is evidence the London Honorius prototype was adapted from an earlier text.

79 These following prayers each begin with one of the 100 names of God, in the same order as enumerated in chapters C and CI. See chapter XCVII. Compare Gollancz 1914 pp. V ff.

80 Ars. Not. 53, JV p. 51.

81 Ars. Not. 128, JV p. 87.

82 Ars. Not. 129, JV p. 87.

83 Ars. Not. 130, JV p. 87.

84 Ars. Not. 135, JV p. 90.

85 Ars. Not. 137, JV p. 91.

86 Ars. Not. 138, JV p. 92.

87 Note the adaptation of the *Ars Notoria* material is a bit awkward at times.

88 Ars. Not. Glose de la version B, § 140, V p. 197.

89 Ars. Not. 139, JV p. 92.

90 Ars. Not. 141, JV pp. 92–3.

91 This name is not found in Chapters C and CI, which give the next name as “Sadyon.” but that is used in LXIV below.

92 Ars. Not. 141 glose de la version B, var. 7, JV pp. 197–198.

93 In *Ars Notoria* this refers no doubt to the *notae* or mystical drawings which are the centerpiece of that art.

94 Seems to repeat names 9 and 10. See Ars. Not. Glose de la version B, Var. 8, JV p. 198.

95 Compare *Ars Notoria*, 142 [version A]—glose, JV p. 199.

96 This prayer is the only one that is never mentioned in the descriptions of the rituals. See GH, p. 49. Compare Ars. Not. 144 [version A]—glose, JV p. 199.

97 Wis. 11:21.
98 Ps. 146:4. KJV 147:4.
99 Ars. Not. 145, JV p. 94.
100 Compare Wis. 18:14-15.
101 Ars. Not. 143, JV p. 93.
102 Name 13 seems to have been omitted by mistake.
103 Ars. Not. 146, JV p. 94.
104 Compare Ars. Not. 146 [version A] Var. 9, JV p. 200.
105 I.e. the Tower of Babel. Gen. 11:4–9.
106 Ars. Not. 90, JV p. 205.
107 Ars. Not. 91, JV p. 67.
108 Ars. Not. 92, JV p. 205
109 Ars. Not. 93, JV p. 68.
110 Ars. Not. 94, JV pp. 205–6.
111 Ars. Not. 95, JV p. 68.
112 Ars. Not. 95 var. 10, JV p. 206.
113 Ars Not. 96, JV p. 68.
114 Ars. Not. 98, JV p. 69.
115 Ars. Not. 99, JV p. 207.
116 Ars. Not. 100, JV p. 70.
117 Ars. Not. 101, JV p. 70.
118 Compare LXXIX above, and Ars. Not. 98, JV p. 69.
119 Cp. Opening of prayer LXXIX.
120 Lit. “burn my reins and my heart.” The wording coincides with Ps. 26.2.
121 Ars. Not. 115, JV pp. 77–8.
122 Ars. Not.: Aaron.
123 Heb. 9:14.
124 Compare (KJV) Ps. 79:8–9.
125 Ars. Not. 116, JV p. 78.
126 Ars. Not. 117, JV p. 79.
127 Cf. Heb. 6:1.
128 See Ps. 25:2 (KJV 26).
129 Ars. Not. 118, JV p. 79.
130 Ars. Not. 119, JV p. 80.
131 So GH, following Ars. Not. *Claritate*. The LIH manuscripts read *caritate* (“with love”).
132 Ars. Not. 120, JV pp. 80–1.
133 Ars. Not. 121, JV p. 81.
134 See Luke 7:47. After washing Jesus' feet, he declared “Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she loved much.” (KJV)
135 Ars. Not. 122, JV pp. 81–2.

136 Ars. Not. 123, JV p. 82.

137 Gen. 1:2.

138 Ars. Not. 124, JV p. 83.

139 Ars. Not. 125, JV p. 83.

140 A variation of this prayer can be found in BoO p. 100, also in *Forbidden Rites*, p. 259. The holy names, Hosel, Iesel, etc. are found in Ars. Not, JV p. 211. Apart from this, neither prayer 33 nor 34 seem to occur in Ars. Not.

141 Ps. 40:5 (Vulgate).

142 The instructions for the first purification are given in chapters li-lii.

143 Namely, the physical passions conquered.

144 Sir. 1:16, based on Proverbs 9:10. Compare *Key of Solomon*, chapter 1. http://esotericarchives.com/solomon/ksol.htm#chap1 (retrieved October 15, 2015)

145 SSM: *receptionem* ("reception"), referring to the eucharist, which seems to fit better.

146 I.e. the Eucharist. SSM: The Body of Christ.

147 SSM: 28.

148 SSM adds: "fasting, dining, suffering."

149 The wording of this prayer should be adapted to the situation; in this case, for the divine vision. See CII, and Veenstra 2012 pp. 166–167.

150 SSM adds: "and not to the priesthood."

151 Compare with similar lists of names of God in chapters C.2, CI.2–8.

152 GH following S. 3854 127r reads "Patris," but SSM L.4.f.17, Sl. 313, Sl. 3853 144r, and R all read "Panis," which is also consistent with BoO p. 35.

153 As in XCVIII.9.

154 So GH. Sl. 3854 127r reads "Hosbor," but see XCVI 1 and CI.4. SSM: Hospr; Sl. 3885: hostor.

155 Adding your petition, as in XCVIII.9.

156 Ps. 129:3 (KJV 130:3).

157 Ps. 112:7 (KJV 113:7).

158 Phi. 2:8.

159 Ps. 115:1 (KJV 116:10).

160 Ps. 50:19 (KJV 51:17).

161 Ps. 144:18 (KJV 145:18).

162 As in XCVIII.9.

163 Ps. 103:24 (KJV 104:24).

164 Gen. 18:1–2.

165 Gen. 5:24; II Kings 2:11.

166 Gen 19.

167 Num. 17:8.

168 Dan. 6.

169 Dan. 3.25.

170 1 Sam. 17.

171 In SSM, the seventy-two letters from the Seal of God are used instead.

172 See John 13:12.

173 I.e. Cilice.

174 SSM: *thorum* (“bed”).

175 Cp. CI.7 (names 74 ff.). SSM L.4.f.18-19: Zabuather, rabarbas, yskyros, kyryos, gelon, el, techel, nochy, ymeymlethon, karex, sabaoth, sellah, cyrros, opron, nomygon, oryel, theos, ya.

176 Sl. 3885, SSM: for the sake of redeeming mankind from damnation.

177 See the expanded infancy narrative in the apocryphal Gospel of James.

178 See Luke 2:25 ff.

179 Luke 2:29-32.

180 Ps. 106:16 (Ps. 107:16 in the KJV).

181 Sl. 3885: *destructo* (“destructible”), which is also consistent with J.

182 See Mark 16:1.

183 Sl. 313 and SSM read “40 days,” which is consistent with the biblical account in Acts 1:3.

184 Acts 7:55.

185 SSM: T. o. e. x. o. r. a. b. a. ¶layqtiyst. ¶Algaonosu. ¶laryceksp. ¶fyomemana. ¶Renugarel. ¶Atedatono. ¶Naoyleyot

186 Exodus 33:20.

187 Matt. 27:52. This section defending the possibility of a divine vision is not found in SSM, and another indication that it was a later addition in reaction to the actions of Pope John XXII.

188 Or “suffers.”

189 Ps. 115:16 (KJV).

190 Ps. 78:1 (KJV)

191 St. Gregory, Homilies on the Gospels, number 26. Also quoted by Thomas Aquinas in *Summa Theologica* question 1, art. 8.

192 Ps. 147:6 (KJV).

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1 ++ = *turbata* (“out of order”)

2 So Sl. 3854 115r. Other ms: *Altrutrum* (“one to another”). GH p. 156 cites Habel—Gröbel, *Mittellateinisches Glossar* (Paderborn, s.d.) [elsewhere, wechselseitig, gegenseitig: mutually, reciprocally (Adv.).]

3 = Christus. GH simply expands the “Chi-Rho” to its Latin equivalent, “Christus.”

4 *Cordis:* reading *coheredis*.

5 SSM reads “23.”

6 The ++ is used by GH to indicate *turbata*, i.e. disturbed/corrupted. *Ars Notoria* reads *zeuma*. i.e. *zeugma* (“bond, yoking”). C: zema; ed in Agrippa reads *schemata* i.e. “outline, shapes”.

7 GH reads *peritus* (expert), but I think this is a simple typo. Sl. 3854 123r, R 50r, and Ars. Not: all read *penitus*.

8 GH adds “<ut>.”

9 GH adds “<*intentus*>” (“eager, intent”) per Ars. Not.

10 Ps. 26.2. (Vulgate 25.2): Proba me Domine et tempta me ure renes meos et cor meum (“Prove me, O Lord, and try me; burn my reins [i.e. mind] and my heart.”)

11 Vivificet T.

12 Ars. Not.: instigasti.

13 Heb. 9:14.

14 Ars. Not.: da michi hodie propter nomen tuum gloriosum et ineffabile instrumentum anime et corporis ydoneam et perspicax linguam expeditam et liberam et absolutam, ut quicquid postulavero in tua misericordia et voluntate disponatur, et omnis actio mea in beneplacito tuo radicata et confirmata consistat.

15 Ars. Not. JV p. 80: caritate largotatis repleat, claritate eterna.

16 As in Ars. Not. Sl. 3854 125v.

17 So Sl. 3854 126r col. 2. Sl. 3885 (C): perfectis; Sl. 313 (B): perfeccio.Sl. 3885 135v: et in me omnis profectus huius operacionis dispensacione diuina compleatur.

18 Sir. 1:16, based on Proverbs 9:10.

19 SSM: ... Eryon incomutabilis, Nomyx, clementissime, Pele, incommensurabilis, Nathanatoy incorruptibilis, Theon inmense, ysyston, gloriose, Porhe tocius misericordie

20 SSM: thorum.

21 Sl. 3885, SSM: dampnatione.

CIII Incipit secundus tractatus libri sacri.

Expleto primo tractatu huius libri sacri et Domini secreti subditur secundus, qui, sicut primus 6 capitula habebat, de quibus Hely gracia est desertum, ita iste 27 habet, scilicet hec:

(2) De cognicione celorum;

De cognicione angelorum cuiuslibet celi;

De cognicione cuiuslibet angeli et nominis et potestatis eius;

De cognicione sigillorum cuiuslibet angeli et virtutis eorum;

(3) De cognicione superiorum cuiuslibet angeli;

De cognicione officii cuiuslibet angeli;

De invocacione et associacione cuiuslibet angeli;

De impetracione voluntatis per quemlibet angelum;

(4) De impetracione omnium scienciarum;

De hora mortis scienda;

De omnibus presentibus, preteritis et futuris sciendis;

De cognicione planetarum et stellarum;

(5) De cognicione virtutum planetarum et stellarum et quid habent influere;

De influenciis planetarum [et stellarum] mutandis;

De mutacione noctis in diem et diei in noctem;

(6) De cognicione spirituum ignis et nominum et superiorum et sigillorum et potestatum et virtutum eorum;

(4) And note that, if you wish, for all those preceding things, on any day you can say the preceding eight *Termini* (or “ends”) with these ten prayers, which are 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (5) because with them it is not necessary to consider the day of the week, nor the lunation, nor the hour; it is permitted to offer them especially in the morning, around terce, and around noon, (6) whereby any faults in the operation can be corrected

by these prayers, and the more times and more often they are said, the better the error will be corrected and further errors prevented.

CIII. Here begins the Second Treatise of the Sacred Book.

Having completed the first treatise of this Sacred Book and secrets of the Lord, here follows the second, which, just as the first had six topics completed with the grace of HELY, so this one has twenty-seven topics as follows:

1. (2) Concerning the knowledge of the Heavens;

2. Concerning the knowledge of the angels of each of the Heavens;

3. Concerning the knowledge of each angel's name and powers;

4. Concerning the knowledge of the seals of each angel, and their virtues;

5. (3) Concerning the knowledge of the superiors of each angel;

6. To know the office of any angel;

7. Regarding the invocation of any angel, and associating with them;

8. To obtain your wishes through any angel;

(4) 9. To obtain all knowledge;

10. To know the hour of death;

11. To know all things past, present, and future;

12. To know the planets and stars;

(5) 13. To know the virtues of the planets and stars and their influences;

14. To change the influences of the planets [and stars];

15. To change night into day and day into night;

(6) 16. To know the spirits of the fire, their names, superiors, seals, powers, and virtues;

De cognicione spirituum et animalium aeris; De cognicione nominum et virtutum et superiorum eorum;

(7) De cognicione sigillorum et virtutum eorum;

De cognicione mixtionis et transmutacionis elementorum et corporum ex hiis mixtorum;

(8) De cognicione omnium herbarum et plantarum et omnium animalium existencium super terram et virtutum eorum;

De cognicione humane nature et omnium factorum hominum, que sunt abscondita et ignota;

(9) De cognicione aquaticorum spirituum et animalium et virtutum eorum et superiorum eorum;

De cognicione terrenorum et infernorum spirituum;

(10) De visione purgatorii et inferni et cognicione animarum ibidem existencium;

De ablacione[22] corporis vel anime revocanda;

De consecracione huius libri.

CIV Hic tractat de natura et officio horum angelorum.

Completo de visione divina et novem ordinum angelorum de secundis angelis incipiamus tractatum, quorum natura talis est, quod serviunt Deo per prius et naturatis per posterius. (2) Homines et eorum naturam diligunt regnantque in speris stellarum. Corpus igneum accipiunt, quando ad mandatum Domini hominibus mundatis et purificatis tamquam sociando, ut eos consolentur, mittuntur. (3) Et istorum sunt 7 modi, de quibus debet natura precognosci, quoniam quilibet suum proprium habet officium predestinatum, quamvis omnibus aliis serviciis possent deservire.

[17. To know their seals] and virtues.

18. To know the spirits and creatures of the air;[193] knowing their names, *powers*, and their superiors;

(7) 19. To know the seals and their virtues;

20. To know the mixture and transmutation of the elements and of the bodies mixed from these;

(8) 21. To know all herbs and plants, and of all animals existing on the earth, and their virtues;

22. To know human nature and all the deeds of mankind, which are hidden and unknown;

(9) 23. To know the aquatic spirits and animals, and of their virtues, and their superiors;

24. To know the earthly and infernal spirits;

(10) 25. Concerning the vision of Purgatory and Hell, and acquiring knowledge of the souls therein.

26. Concerning the removal of the body or the restoration of the soul.[194]

27. Concerning the consecration of this book.

CIV. Here we treat of the natures and offices of these angels.

Having completed the discussion on the divine vision, and the nine orders of angels, we now commence a treatise on the second type of angels, whose nature is that they serve God first, and created things second. (2) They love men and their nature, and reign in the spheres of the stars. They take a fiery body, when they are sent according to the Lord's mandate to people, in order to comfort them, being cleansed and purified for associating with them. (3) And there are seven categories of them, from which their nature can be known beforehand, because each has its own predestined office, even though they may serve all other services as well.

CV (De spiritibus Saturninis).

Istorum autem quidam sunt et vocantur Saturnini et isti sunt **Bohel, Cafziel, Mich[r]athon, Satquiel,** et eorum natura est tristicias et iras et odia promovere, nives et glacies concreare, (2) et sua corpora sunt longa et gracilia, pallida vel flava, et sua regio est septemtrio, et habent sub se 5 demones, scilicet unum regem et 4 eius ministros, quibus omnes alii demones Saturnini subsunt. (3) Isti sunt Maymon rex, Assaibi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, Yasfla, qui demones in ventis Affrico subditis, qui sunt 3, Mextyura, Alchibany, Alflas, penantur[23] vel requiescunt.

CVI De spiritibus Iovialibus.

Alii sunt Ioviales et sunt isti **Satquiel, Raphael, Pahamcocihel, Asassaiel**, et eorum natura est gaudium, amorem, leticiam, benivolenciam et graciam attribuere operanti omnium personarum, rores, flores, herbas et folia procreare et amovere, (2) et sua regio est inter austrum et orientem, et habent 4 demones sub se, scilicet unum regem et tres eius ministros, quibus omnes alii demones Iovis subiugantur, et isti sunt **Formione** rex, **Guth, Maguth et Guthryn**, (3) qui demones in ventis boree subditis et subsolano, qui sunt 5, **Harith, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob**, penantur vel requiescunt. Sua corpora sunt medie stature, et colar eorum quasi color celi vel cristalli.

(CV.) (Concerning the Spirits of Saturn.)[195]

But of those certain ones are called Saturnians, and these are: **Bohel, Cafziel, Michrathon, Satquiel [*Saterquiel]**,[196] and their nature is to cause sadness, anger, and hatred, to create snow and ice together, (2) and their bodies are long and slender, pale or yellow, and their region is the North.[197]

And five daemons are under these, namely one king and his four attendants, with which all other daemons of Saturn are subjugated. (3) They are these: **Maymon** the king, **Assaibi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, Yasfla**, which daemons are subordinate to the Southwest Winds, which are three: **Mextyura, Alchibany, Alflas;** they may be compelled to serve,[198] or they rest.

CVI. Concerning the Spirits of Jupiter.

Others are Jovial and are these: **Satquiel, Raphael, Pahamcocihel, Asassaiel**, and their nature is joy, love, gladness, and grant favor and influence of all persons to the operator, and to produce or take away dews, flowers, herbs and leaves, (2) and their region is between the south and east, and four daemons are under these, namely one king and his three

attendants, with which all other daemons of Jupiter are subjugated, and they are **Formione** the king, **Guth, Maguth, and Guthryn**, (3) which three daemons are subject to the North and East winds, which are five: **Harith, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob**, they may be compelled to serve, or they rest. Their bodies are of medium stature, and their color is like the color of the sky, or of crystal.

CVII De spiritibus Martis.

Alii sunt Martis et sunt isti **Samahel, Satihel, Yturahihel, Amabiel**, et natura eorum est guerras, occisiones, destrucciones et mortalitates gencium et omnium terrenorum provocare, et sua corpora sunt medie stature, sicca et macra. (2) Color eorum materialis est rubeus sicut carbones accensi bene rubei, et sua regio est austrum, et habent 4 demones sub se, scilicet unum regem et tres eius ministros, quibus omnes alii demones Martis totaliter subiugantur, (3) et isti sunt **Iammax** rex, **Carmox, Ycanohl, Pasfran**, qui demones in ventis subsolano subditis, qui sunt isti 5: **Atraurbiabilis, Yachonaababur, Carmehal, Innyhal, Proathophas**, penantur vel requiescunt.

CVIII De spiritibus Solaribus.

Alii sunt Solis et sunt isti **Raphael, Cafhael, Dardihel, Hurathaphel**, et eorum natura est amorem, graciam, divicias homini communicare et virtutem, similiter sanum custodire, rores, herbas, flores et fructus in instanti dare. (2) Corpora eorum magna et ampla, omnis benivolencie plena, color eorum lucidus vel citrinus sicut Sol vel aurum, et sua regio est oriens, et habent 4 demones sub se, scilicet unum regem et tres eius ministros, quibus omnes alii demones Solis subiugantur, (3) et isti sunt **Barthan** rex, **Thaadas, Chaudas, Ialchal**, qui demones in ventis boree subditis, qui sunt 4, **Baxhathau, Gahathus, Caudes, Iarabal**, penantur vel requiescunt.

CIX De spiritibus Veneris

Alii sunt Veneris et sunt isti **Hanahel, Raquiel, Salguyel**, et natura eorum est risus, lacivias, desideria in amorem conversa cum mulieribus, floribus et fructibus tribuere, (2) et corpora eorum sunt medie stature in omnibus, quia neque parva neque magna neque pinguia neque macra, et eorum forma est graciosa, alba sicut nix. (3) Sua regio est inter austrum et occidentem, et habent 3 demones sub se, unum regem et duos eius ministros, quibus omnes alii demones Veneris subiugantur, (4) et isti sunt **Sarabocres** rex, **Nassar, Cynassa**, qui demones in ventis subsolano et zephiro subditis, qui sunt 4, scilicet **Cambores, Trachathath, Nassar, Naasa**, penantur vel requiescunt.

CVII. Concerning the Spirits of Mars.

Others are of Mars and are these: **Samahel, Satihel, Yturahihel, Amabiel**, and their nature is to provoke wars, murder, destruction, and mortality of people, and all earthly things, and their bodies are of medium stature, dry and thin. (2) The color of their material is red, such as red-hot coals kindled well, and their region is the South.

And four daemons are under these, namely one king and his three ministers, to whom all other daemons of Mars are subjugated, (3) and they are these: **Iammax** the king, **Carmox, Ycanohl, Pasfran**, which daemons are subject to the East winds, which are these five: **Atraurbiabilis, Hyachonaababur, Carmehal, Innyhal, Proathophas**, they may be compelled to serve, or they rest.

CVIII. Concerning the Spirits of the Sun.

Others are of the Sun, and they are **Raphael, Cafhael, Dardihel, Hurathaphel**,[199] and their nature is provide love, gratitude, and wealth to man, and virtue, similarly to guard his health, and to instantly give dew, herbs, flowers, and fruits. (2) Their bodies are great and large, and full of all benevolence. Their colors are bright or citrus, or like the Sun or gold, and their region is the East.

And four daemons are under them, namely one king and three of his ministers, to whom all other daemons of the Sun are subjugated, (3) and they are these: **Barthan** the king, **Thaadas, Chaudas, Ialchal**, and those daemons are subject to the North winds, which are four: **Baxhathau, Gahathus, Caudes, Iarabal**, they may be compelled to serve, or they rest.

CIX. Concerning the Spirits of Venus.

Others are of Venus, and they are these: **Hanahel, Raquiel, Salguyel**, and their nature is to cause laughter, lust, desire, and to turn women to love, and to give flowers and fruit. (2) Their bodies are of medium stature in all ways, because they are neither small nor large, nor fat nor thin, and their form is agreeable, and is as white as snow. (3) Their region is between the south and the west.

CX De spiritibus Mercurii

Alii sunt Mercurii et sunt isti **Mychael, Myhel, Sarapiel**, et eorum natura est bonos, eciam se ipsos, <in> aliis subiugare. (2) Respondent de preteritis, presentibus et futuris. Docent secreta facta vel facienda, que debent accidere in hoc mundo. Revelant secreta omnium aliorum. (3) Possunt eciam facere, quando eis coniunguntur, penitus quod hii possunt, et ipsi una cum Luna referunt consilia secretorum omnium aliorum, et sua forma est mobilis, clara ad modum vitri vel flamme ignis albe. (4) Sua regio est inter occidentem et septemtrionem, et habent 5 demones sub se, unum regem et 4 eius ministros, quibus omnes alii demones Mercurii subiugantur, (5) et isti sunt **Habaa** rex, **Hyyci, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb**, <eladab>, qui demones in ventis zephiro et Affrico subditis, qui sunt 4, scilicet **Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas**, penantur vel requiescunt.

CXI De spiritibus Lune

Alii sunt Lune et sunt isti **Gabriel, Michael, Samyel, Atithael**, et eorum natura est voluntates et cogitaciones mutare, itinera properare, verba referre, pluvias provocare. (2) Sua corpora sunt longa et ampla. Sua forma est obscura et alba sicut cristallus vel ensis furbitus vel sicut glacies vel

nubes obscura. (3) Sua regio est occidens, et habent 4 demones sub se, unum regem et tres eius ministros, quibus omnes alii demones Lune obediunt et eciam supponuntur, (4) et isti sunt **Harthan** rex, **Bileth, Milalu, Abucaba**, qui demones in ventis zephiro subditis, [qui] sunt 5, **Hebethel, Amochap, Oylol, Milau, Abuchaba**, penantur vel requiescunt.

And there are three daemons under them, one king, and his two ministers, and all the other daemons of Venus are subject to these, (4) and they are: **Sarabocres** the king, **Nassar, Cynassa**, which rule the daemons of the East and West winds [sic], which are four, namely **Cambores, Trachathath, Nassar**, and **Naasa;** they may be compelled to serve, or they rest.

CX. Concerning the Spirits of Mercury.

Others are of Mercury, and they are these: **Mychael, Myhel, Sarapiel**, and their nature is to subjugate themselves and other good spirits to others. (2) They give answer regarding the past, present, and future. They teach the secret deeds or doings, which must come to pass in this world. They reveal the secrets of all of the others. (3) They can also, when constrained, do what the others can do, and together with the moon they can reveal the secret councils of all the others, and their forms are changeable, clear like glass, or like a flame of white fire. (4) Their region is between the west and the north.

And there are five daemons under them: one king, and his four ministers, to which all other daemons of Mercury are subjugated, (5) and they are these: **Habaa** the king, **Hyyci, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb**, which rule the daemons of the West and Southwest winds, which are four, namely: **Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas**, they may be compelled to serve, or they rest.

CXI. Concerning the Spirits of the Moon.

Others are of the Moon, and they are these: **Gabriel, Michael, Samyel, Atithael**, and their nature is to move the will and thinking, to speed

journeys, to recall words, and to cause it to rain. (2) Their bodies are long and large. Their forms are dark and white like crystal or of a burnished sword, or like ice or dark clouds. (3) Their region is the West.

And there are four daemons under them: a king and his three ministers, and all the other daemons of the moon are obedient to those, and placed under them, (4) and they are these: **Harthan**, the king, **Bileth, Milalu, Abucaba**, which rule the daemons of the West winds, which are five: **Hebethel, Amochap, Oylol, Milau, Abuchaba**; they may be compelled to serve, or they rest.

CXII Formacio circuli

Habita igitur eorum secundum naturam, dominium, regionem et formam cognicione debita dum eos invocare volueris, sic facies. (2) Accipe lapides duros et equales, in quibus non sint foramina vel ruptura, vel tegulas specialiter ad hoc factas. (3) Operans vero sit a pollucione purgatus et habeat calcem et arenam litoris mixtam, cum quibus lapides vel tegule coniungantur.

(4) Tunc fiet ex eis locus, in quo protrahetur circulus, et iste locus taliter formabitur. Primo fiet circulus equalis terre habens in longitudine et latitudine 9 pedes, (5) infra quem fiat circulus gibbosus ad modum semicirculi, alcior quam sit alter, in longitudine et latitudine continens 7 pedes et in altitudine tres pedes cum dimidio. (6) Tamen paupertatis oppressio permittit locum hunc de terra munda fieri, si optime decoquatur, dum tamen ibi non fuerit disiunctura.

(7) Peracto vero loco circuli operans, ut diximus, sit mundatus, ut in prima mundicia continetur. Set mutetur peticio questionum sic. Sacerdos, dum conficit corpus Christi, dicat:

(8) ORACIO

“Tu, Domine Iesu Christe, Deus et homo, qui voluisti per te ipsum fidelem populum tuum medicabiliter visitare, te suppliciter exoro, precor et postulo temet ipsum, (9) quem nunc hic in manibus meis teneo pro famulo tuo N, ut ex dono ac permissione gracie tue omnes illos angelos, quos invocaverit,

(10) ut per eos benigniter consulatur, sibi mittere ac constringere digneris, ut te mediante possit cum ipsis misericorditer consociari."

CXII. Construction of the Circle.

Having therefore due knowledge of their nature, dominion, region, and form, when you wish to call upon them, you should do thus: (2) Take hard and uniform stones, which have no holes or cracks, or otherwise you can use tiles made specifically for this purpose. (3) And the one who makes them must be purified from all defilement. And he should have a mixture of lime and beach sand, with which to mortar the stones or tiles together.

(4) Then make a place from them in which to draw the circle, and that place should be formed in the following manner: First, let the circle be level with the ground, and nine[200] feet in width, (5) below which make a humped circle (i.e. a mound) like a semi-circle, higher than the other, seven feet in length and width and in height three and a half feet.[201] (6) Yet in the case of extreme poverty, this place can be made (paved) with clean earth (or clay), if it is thoroughly boiled, as long as it is not about to fall apart.

(7) The place for the circle having been duly finished, as we have said, it should be cleaned, as described for the first cleaning. But the petition should be changed thus. The priest, while consecrating the body of Christ, should say:

(8) PRAYER.

"You, O Lord Jesus Christ, God and man, who wished to visit your faithful people in person, for their healing, I humbly beseech you, I pray and ask you, even your own self (9) which I now hold in my hands, for the sake of your servant N., that from the gift and permission of your grace, all those angels which he shall call upon (10) graciously for council, may you deign to send and constrain them, so that with your mediation he may be able to associate with them mercifully."

CXIII Prima dies

Qui dum, ut diximus, receperit corpus Christi, exiens de ecclesia continue dicat 17 et eam, donec ad locum circuli venerit, recitabit.

(2) BENEDICCIO LOCI CIRCULI

Tunc locum circuli benedicat dicens 15 nec illa die plus faciat.

CXIV Secunda dies

In crastino ecclesiam similiter visitabit et post completorium ibit ad circulum 17 iterum dicendo. (2) Et tunc habeat margaritas super prunas in thuribulo positas, de quibus pars invocatoria et 4 mundi partes, celum et terra [suffumigentur], ter dicendo primam et secundam oracionem.

(3) Hoc facto ter circueundo et suffumigando circulum incipiendo a parte invocatoria et terminans in eadem nominabis angelos, (4) de quibus volueris operari, cum angelis diei et hore, mensis, temporis et faciei, in qua operari volueris, sic dicendo:

(5) "**Michael, Miel, Saripiel, Gabriel, Michael, Samyel, Athitael, Boel, Cafziel, Mich<r>athon, Sathquyel, Raphael, Pahamcociel, Assassayel, Samael, Satiel, Yturaihel, Amabihel, Raphael, Caphael, (6) Dardiel, Hurathapel, Hanael, Raquiel, Salguiel**,

CXIII. The First Day.

Then, as we have said, having received the body of Christ, you should leave the church, continuously saying prayer 17, reading it out loud, until you come to the place of the circle.

(2) THE BLESSING OF THE PLACE FOR THE CIRCLE.

Then he should bless the place for the circle, saying Prayer 15, and that day he should do nothing more.

CXIV. The Second Day.

The following day you should similarly visit the church, and after the evening prayer service, you should go to the circle saying again the seventeenth prayer. (2) And then you should place pearls on glowing charcoal in the censer, which [will be suffumigated][202] from the place (or direction) of invocation,[203] and the four parts of the world, heaven, and earth, saying three times the first and second prayer.

(3) With this done three-times, circling and suffumigating the circle, beginning from the place (or direction) of invocation and ending at the same, you should name the angels (4) with which you desire to work, with the angels of the day and hour, month, time, and aspect, [204] in which you desire to work, saying thus:

(5) "**Michael, Miel, Saripiel, Gabriel, Michael, Samyel, Athitael, Boel, Cafziel, Michathon, Sathquyel, Raphael, Pahamcociel, Assassayel, Samael, Satiel, Yturaihel, Amabihel, Raphael, Caphael**, (6) **Dardiel, Hurathapel, Hanael, Raquiel, Salguiel**.[205]

pax vincit, munus subiugat, paciencia superat, humilitas concordiam nutrit. Ego igitur N, filius N et N, vobiscum humilis pacem meam do vobis. (7) Faciens [*paciens][24] istud meum munusculum confero vobis, ut vos pacificati, pacientes et placati questiones, quas a vobis petiero, michi benigniter intercedente Domino faciatis."

(8) Quo facto protrahe duos circulos, quorum unus distet ab altero per unum pedem, et fiat cum cultello[25] novo, et scribe in circuitu nomina angelorum hore, diei, mensis, temporis et faciei dicendo:

(9) "Venite, vos omnes, N, ad pacem super sedem **Samaym**, quam precepit Dominus tribubus Israel ad exaltacionem laudis sue. Unde invoco vos, N, ut precepit Zebedeie suis subditis obedire, veniatis."

CXV 3^{a} dies

Tercia vero die balneatus ac mundis canabinisque et albis indutus vestibus, a pilis corporis denudatus, habens faciem versus partem, que pertinet questioni, extra circulum erectus sic incipies.

Peace conquers, service subjugates, tolerance overcomes, humility nurtures harmony. Therefore I, N., son of N. and N., give my peace to you with humility. (7) With tolerance, I bring this small gift to you, that you

will be pacified, tolerant, and your complaints appeased, that you will kindly grant me that which I have asked for, with the Lord's intercession."

(8) With this completed, draw two circles, with one separated from the other by one foot, doing this with a new knife,[206] and write around the circumference the names of the angels of the hour, day, month, time, and aspect, saying:

(9) "Come all of you, N., in peace, upon the seat of **Samaym**,[207] as the Lord commanded[208] to the tribes of Israel, to the exaltation of his praise. From whence I invoke upon you, N, as Zebedee ordered his subordinates to obey, come."[209]

CXV. The Third Day.

The third day, being bathed and putting on garments of clean white hemp, and the hairs from your body clean shaved, facing whichever direction which relates to your question, standing upright outside the circle, you should begin thus:

(2) PREPARACIO AD INVOCANDUM

Habeas signum Domini in manu tua dextera munde compositum et sacratum et suffumigabis circulum faciendo et dicendo ut iam dixi. (3) Post hoc suffumiga signum et eciam temet ipsum et tunc flexis genibus dicas 31 cum oracione Salomonis "49, celi et terre conditor" et cetera.

(4) ADDICIO

Et addas in fine cuiuscumque: "ut tuis sanctissimis angelis valeam amicabiliter sociari, qui ex permissione tue dulcissime voluntatis mea velint iusta desideria penitus adimplere."

(5) Finitis igitur oracionibus taliter invocabis:

Invocacio angelorum

"O vos angeli potentes Saturni, Iovis, Martis, Solis, Veneris, Mercurii, Lune: (6) Boel, Cafziel, Micrathon, [Saterquiel,] Satquiel, Raphael,

Paamchociel, Asassaiel, Samael, Satiel, Yturaiel, Amabiel, Raphael, Caphael, Dardiel, Hurathaphel, Anael, Raquiel, Salguyel, Michael, (7) Miel, Sarapiel, Gabriel, Michael, Samyel, Athithael, potentes in celis, nubibus et abissis."

Hic erigat signum Dei manu aperta versus celum dicens:

"Ecce formacionem seculi. Spiritus autem spiritum vocat. (8) Amor Dei nos coniungat, sua potencia nos dirigat, sua misericordia nos coniunctos misericorditer custodiat. Vos igitur nomine illius Dei vivi et veri, qui vos et me verbo creavit, (9) cuius nomina sunt tremenda, que sunt 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, (10) quoniam magnus, altissimus, sanctissimus, excellentissimus, potentissimus, fortis, iustus, pius, clemens, dulcis, adiutor, protector, defensor, largitor, misericors, (11) cuius potencia ineffabilis, cuius substancia indivisibilis, sciencia inestimabilis, veritas incommutabilis, misericordia incommensurabilis, essencia incorruptibilis, (12) cuius gloriose gracie pleni sunt celi et terra, cuius forti potencie genuflectuntur omnia celestia, terrestria et infernalia, vos invoco humiliter et deposco, (13) ut vos infra circulos hic circumscriptos descendere dignemini apparentes in forma benivola, de omnibus quesitis michi veritatem respondentes. Per virtutem illius vobis precipio, cuius nomine signatur. Amen."

(2) PREPARATION FOR THE INVOCATION.

You must have the Sign of the Lord in your right hand, neatly composed and consecrated, and then fumigate the circle, doing and saying as I have said. (3) After this suffumigate the seal and also yourself, and then kneel and say 31 with the oration of Solomon "49, Heaven and Earth preserve" etc.[210]

(4) AN ADDITION.

Then you must add at the end of each: "that I may be able to associate with your most holy angels in a friendly manner, who may, by your permission, wish to fulfill most pleasantly my lawful desires."[211]

(5) With the orations thus finished, invoke them in the following manner:

Invocation of the Angels.

"O you mighty angels of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon: (6) **Boel, Cafziel, Micrathon, [Saterquiel,]**[212] **Satquiel, Raphael, Paamchociel, Asassaiel, Samael, Satiel, Yturaiel, Amabiel, Raphael, Caphael, Dardiel, Hurathaphel, Anael, Raquiel, Salguyel, Michael, (7) Miel, Sarapiel, Gabriel, Michael, Samyel, Athithael**,[213] mighty in heaven, in the clouds, and in the abyss."

Here, with an open hand, raise the Sign of God towards heaven, saying:

"Behold the design of the world. Whereupon the Spirit calls the spirit. (8) May the love of God join us, may his power direct us, may his mercy mercifully guard our union. You therefore, through the name of that living and true God, who created you and me with the word, (9) whose names are terrible, which are 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38,[214] (10) Because the great, most high, most holy, most distinguished, most powerful, strong, just, blessed, merciful, sweet, helper, protector, defender, generous giver, merciful, (11) whose power is indescribable, whose nature is indivisible, whose knowledge is priceless, whose truth is unchangeable, whose mercy is immeasurable, whose essence is incorruptible, (12) of whose glorious grace the heavens and earth are full,[215] before whose mighty power all the heavens, lands, and infernal realms genuflect,[216] I humbly invoke and beseech you, (13) that you may condescend to come down and appear here before this circle in a perceptible and agreeable form, to answer truly all my questions. I command you through the virtue of that one, whose name is marked. Amen."

(14) SIGILLUM ET LIGACIO

"Vos igitur, sanctissimos angelos, peticionibus meis obedire sigillo, deposco, invoco et eciam coniuro sigillo sanctorum nominum Dei, (15) quo Dominus humane creature servire sigillavit, dicere et facere que licita sunt et honesta. **Ya, Ya, Ya, Laaaa, Adonay, Sabaoth, Heloy, Genouem, Merquerpon, Usye, Achedion, Zebedio, Greba**. (16) Cum istis et per ista sacratissima [nomina] iterum ad concordiam vos appello. Vos meis

peticionibus obedire et coniuro atque virtute Dei precipio, (17) ut vos meo placati munusculo prompti michi in omnibus locis honestis obedire[26] super sedem **Samaym** hic infra circulos hic circumscriptos (18) a Saturninis, Iovinis, Martialibus, Solaribus, Venereis, Mercurialibus, Lunaribus speris descendere dignemini, que sunt iste: **Bacalgar, Totalg, Yfarselogon, Alchedion, Meremieca, Ureleguyger, Ioath, Somongargmas, Iohena**. (19) Obedite ergo Zebedeie, qui vos Salomoni et tribubus Israel sibi fidelibus ad laudem et honorem sui sancti nominis Sabaoth, quod est "exercitus angelorum," in honestis et licitis obedire precepit, (20) et vobis super hoc et ad hoc nomine suo me munitum optime represento, quoniam misericors est, non ex nostris meritis, set ex sue gracia largitatis.

(14) SEAL AND BINDING.

"Therefore, O most sacred angels, I seal, beseech, invoke, and also conjure you to obey my petitions, through the seal of the sacred names of God, (15) which the Lord sealed to serve human creatures, which are lawful and honorable to say and to make. **Ya, Ya, Ya, Laaaa, Adonay, Sabaoth, Heloy, Genouem, Merquerpon, Usye, Achedion, Zebedio, Greba**.[217] (16) With those same and through those same most sacred [names] I again call you to union, to obey my petitions, and I conjure and with the virtue of God I order, (17) that you will be appeased with the small present which I have presented, to obey me in all honest places[218] upon the seat of **Samaym**[219] to the circles here circumscribed, (18) to deign to descend from the Saturnian, Jovian, Martial, Solar, Venusian, Mercurial, and Lunar spheres, which are these: **Bacalgar, Totalg, Yfarselogon, Alchedion, Meremieca, Ureleguyger, Ioath, Somongargmas, Iohena**.[220] (19) Obey therefore Zebedee,[221] whereby you commanded Solomon, and the tribes of Israel who were loyal to him, to honestly and lawfully obey, for the praise and honor of his holy name **Sabaoth**, which is "the army of angels," (20) and with his name, which I accurately set forth, protecting me, because he is merciful, not because of our merits, but because of the abundance of his grace.

(21) Nomine igitur ipsius vos, N, placatos sub hiis sanctis nominibus iterum appello: **Legemoth, Gonathaym, Maloth, Yhoston, Hemonege, Anephene<s>ton, Stobr, Otheos, Tutheon, Thereis, Chatheon, Agla**.

(22) In hiis igitur perfeccione sigilli quamvis vos sciencia vestra cum humilitate preceptis [precepit] obedire creatoris,[27] (23) tamen ego, N, filius N, pollutus viciorum meorum contagio vestrum amittere timeo iuvamentum; humilitatis tamen indutus cilicio obedire peticionibus meis vos deprecor et invoco. (24) Set virtute creatoris eterni ferens insignium[28] vos nomine illius summi creatoris obedire michi, famulo suo, precipio et coniuro, ut sitis meis in omnibus licitis et honestis peticionibus obedire parati."

Finit ligacio.

(25) INCIPIT CONIURACIO.

"Vos igitur, sanctos angelos, me vestris imponens officiis, quamvis humilitatis ac paciencie vestre indutus cilicio, (26) qui sicut Filius altissimi creatoris in nomine illius, qui **Loke Heuaf Hese** [***Ioth, He, Vaf, He**, se][29] Moysi nominavit, quamvis sub meo nomine sublimitatis imperium non valeam deprecare, (27) humiliter deprecor, obedienter precipio per iustum **Ombonar**, per verum **Stimulamathon**, per sanctum **Orion**, per sanctissimum **Eryon**, per magnum **Noymos**, per festinantem **Pep** et per alia Dei nomina pura, (28) que propter sue celsitudinis magnitudinem nulla deberet, nisi concederetur a Domino, humanitas nominare, (29) que sunt 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, (30) quatinus a Saturninis, Iovinis, Marcialibus, Solaribus, Venereis, Mercurialibus, Lunaribus speris[30] descendere dignemini."

(21) With his name therefore I again appeal to you N, placated by these sacred names: **Legemoth, Gonathaym, Maloth, Yhoston, Hemonege, Anepheneton, Stobr, Otheos, Tutheon, Thereis, Chatheon, Agla**.[222] (22) Therefore by the perfection of this Seal, I know that you will obey the commandments of the Creator with humility, (23) nevertheless I N. son of N., fear losing your help, polluted by the influence of my sins; and so, putting on the hair-shirt of humility, I entreat and call on you to obey my petitions. (24) But with the virtue of the emblems of the eternal Creator bringing you, with the name of that most high Creator I entreat you to obey me, his servant, I direct and conjure, that you be prepared to obey me in all my lawful and honest petitions."

The end of the binding.

(25) THE BEGINNING OF THE CONJURATION.

"Therefore, O you sacred angels, with me imposing upon your duties, although putting on the garment of humility and suffering, (26) who like the Son of the most high Creator in his names, **Loke Heuaf Hese [*Ioth He Vau He],** which Moses himself named, although under my own name I may not have power to entreat the Lofty Empire, (27) I humbly beg, I obediently order through the just **Ombonar**, through the true **Stimulamathon**, through the holy **Orion**, through the most sacred **Eryon**, Through the great **Noymos**,[223] through the hastening **Pep,**[224] and through the other pure names of God, (28) which on account of the greatness of his height, no one should name, unless compassion has been granted by the Lord, (29) which are 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, (30) so that you may deign to descend from the spheres of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon."

(31) PLACACIO

"O[31] vos, angeli benignissimi, potentissimi ac fideles, **Bohel, Cafziel** et ceteri, qui obediencie ac humilitatis vinculo gubernamen[32] celorum cum omnibus subditis eorundem recipere a Domino meruistis, (32) quibus omnis sciencia revelatur, quibus data est potestas plenaria[33] terreas cum infernalibus subiugare creaturas,[34] nocere vel iuvare, (33) quoniam Dominus in omnibus fideles, humiles ac cum paciencia iustos a vestra creacione primaria vos cognovit; (34) ego enim, licet immeritus, tamen vestram implorando graciam humiliter vos deprecor et invoco, (35) ut meis prompti peticionibus, in forma benivola atque meo placati munusculo, prompti michi in omnibus licitis et honestis obedire super sedem Samaym hic infra circulos hic circumscriptos a Saturninis, Iovinis et ceteris speris descendere dignemini, (36) et ad hoc igitur nomine vivi et veri Dei, qui vobis graciam tribuit non peccandi, vos invoco atque potenter impero per eius sacra nomina, que sunt ista: [80], 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99. (37) Obedite ergo Zebedeie et michi nomine ipsius. Invoco vos, potestates celorum, et invocando coniuro per

Ab, per **Gap**, per **Abx**, per **Abra**, per **Abraca**, per **Gebra**, per **Abracala**, per **Abracasap**, per **Abracaleus**, per **Zargon**, per **Abrion**, per **Eleyon**, per **Sargion**.

(31) THE PLACATING.

"O you, most kind angels, most powerful and faithful, **Bohel, Cafziel,** and the rest, who with the chain of obedience and humility have merited the control of the heavens, with your subordinates receiving the same from the Lord, (32) to whom all knowledge is revealed, to whom is given complete power to subjugate earthly creatures, along with the infernal ones, to harm or to help, (33) because the Lord has recognized you faithful in all things, humbly and with patience just from your first creation; (34) for I, though unworthy, nevertheless humbly ask for your grace, and entreat and call upon you, (35) in an agreeable form, and appeased by my small present, to obey me in all things presented in my petitions that are lawful and worthy, upon the seat of Samaym[225] to the circles drawn here, may you deign to descend from Saturn, Jupiter, and the other spheres, (36) and for this reason therefore, in the name of the living and true God, who has granted you the grace of being without sin, I call upon and potently command you, through his sacred names, which are these: [80,] 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99. (37) Obey therefore Zebedei[226] and me in his name. I invoke you, heavenly powers, and conjure you with the invocation, through **Ab**, through **Gap**, through **Abx**, through **Abra**, through **Abraca**, through **Gebra**, through **Abr acala**, through **Abracasap**, through **Abracaleus**, through **Zargon**, through **Abrion**, through **Eleyon**, through **Sargion**.[227]

(38) Vos igitur, potentes angeli, invoco et invocando coniuro. Superne maiestatis imperii potentes potenter imparo per eum, qui dixit, et factum est, cui omnes excercitus angelorum celestium, terrestrium et infernorum subduntur et obediunt, (39) et per nomen eius ineffabile **Tetragramaton**, quod in fronte tulit Aaron, quod angelice dicitur **Agla**, Hebraice **Heloy**, Arabice **Iaym**, Grece **Theos**, quod **Deus** Latine vocatur, (40) quo audito omnes exercitus celestes, terrestres et infernales tremunt et colunt, et per ista, que sunt **Rethala, Rabam, Cauthalee, Durhulo, Archyma, Rabur**, (41) quatinus a Saturninis, Iovinis, Marcialibus, Solaribus, Venereis, Mercurialibus, Lunaribus speris omni occasione et malivolencia cessante

in forma benivola atque meo placati munusculo (42) michi in omnibus licitis et honestis obedire parati super sedem Samaym hic infra circulos hic circumscriptos descendere dignemini per virtutem humilitatis, quam nunc vobis offero,"—hic debet crucifigi in terra clausis oculis dicens:—(43) "et in virtute vivi et veri Dei, qui vos in iusticia et in equitate in sempiterno permanere concessit, cui sit gloria, laus et honor atque victoria per infinita secula seculorum. Amen."

(44) "**Boel, Cafziel, Micrathon, Saterquiel, Satquiel, Raphael, Paamcociel, Asassaiel, Samael, Sathiel, Yturaiel, Amabiel, Raphael, Caphael, Dardiel, Hurathaphel, Anael, Raquiel, Salguyel, Michael, Myel, Sarapiel, Gabriel, Mychael, Samyel, Athithael**, (45) venite, venite, venite letantes vestro obedire creatori et michi nomine ipsius, coniurati per nomen suum excellentissimum, quod super capud meum vobis omnibus ostendo"—hic ponat manum inversam super capud suum et eis signum ostendat.

(38) Therefore, O powerful angels, I invoke you, and with the invocation I conjure you by the authority of the Supreme Majesty, I strongly command you, by him who spoke and it was done, and to whom all hosts of celestial, terrestrial, and infernal angels are subjugated and obey, (39) and by his ineffable name **Tetragrammaton**, which Aaron wore on his forehead,[228] which in English is called **Agla**, in Hebrew **Heloy**, in Arabic **Iaym**, in Greek **Theos**, which in Latin is called *Deus* ("God"), (40) which when heard, all heavenly, earthly, and infernal hosts tremble and worship,[229] and by these, which are **Rethala, Rabam, Cauthalee, Durhulo, Archyma, Rabur**,[230] (41) that by the spheres of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon, at every opportunity and without ill-will, in an agreeable form, and appeased with my small gift, (42) prepared to obey me in all things lawful and honest, you shall deign to descend from upon the seat of Samaym to these circles drawn here below, through the power of humility, which I offer to you now,"—here make the sign of the cross on the ground, with eyes closed, saying: (43) "And in the power of the living and true God, who has granted you to endure in perpetual justice and equality, to whom be glory, praise, honor, and victory, forever and ever. Amen."

(44) "Boel, Cafziel, Micrathon, Saterquiel,[231] Satquiel, Raphael, Paamcociel, Asassaiel, Samael, Sathiel, Yturaiel, Amabiel, Raphael,

Caphael, Dardiel, Hurathaphel, Anael, Raquiel, Salguyel, Michael, Myel, Sarapiel, Gabriel, Mychael, Samyel, Athithael, (45) Come! Come!, Come! be glad to obey your creator and me in his name, conjuring through his most excellent name, which I show you all now over my head"—here he should hold his hand inverted over his head, and show the sign[232] to them.

(46) Et immediate cum taliter ter invocaveris, si non prima vice venerint vel 2ª, audies quasi fulgur descendens de celo, et erit color eorum nitidissimus. (47) Set non debent alloqui nec aspici, donec ipsi primo loquantur, qui dicent: "Amice, quid petis?" Tunc dicat: "Pacem et amiciciam vestram." (48) Et si recte mundatus fueris, immediate concedent et dicent: "Surge et respice graciam virtutis Dei. Pete, et complebitur tibi, quia te misericordia Domini visitavit." Tunc pete quod volueris, et habebis.

(49) Quocienscumque aliquid de 27 predictis capitulis volueris, ut iam predictum est, voca hos angelos celestes sanctos mundum et totam naturam regentes in racione amantis et desiderantis Deum gloriosum. (50) Et quando venerint et te interogaverint: "Quid vis?," postquam responderis: "Pacem et amiciciam vestram," petas illud de 27, quod in oracionibus mundacionis petivisti, (51) cognicionem celorum, si hanc quesivisti, vel mutacionem diei in noctem et e contrario, si hoc petisti, vel consecracionem libri, si hanc voluisti, vel utramque simul, (52) si de tanto fueris una operacione dignus, et sic quodlibet de 27 dante Domino facere quibis. Quod ipse nobis concedat, qui vivit et regnat per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

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22 SSM: *obligatione*, which is also reflected in R.

23 See GH's note on "penantur," p. 50.

24 So SSM.

25 SSM: *cultro*.

26 SSM: in omnibus licitis & honestis obedire.

27 GH hypothesizes that the word "*precepit*" is missing, but SSM reads "In huius igitur perfectione sigilli quamuis vos sciam vestri cum humilitate preceptis obedire creatoris."

28 So Sl. 313 21v; Sl. 3854 131r col. 1: *in signium* or *insignium*. Sl. 3885 92v: *in signum*.

29 My reading follows SSM L.3.f.5: "**ioth, he, vau, he,** se Moysi nominavit...." GH: "loke, henaf, hese." Sl. 3854 131r seems to be a simple corruption.

30 Sl. 3854 omits, but see below, along with CIV.2 and CXV.18.

31 GH omits.

32 i.e. regimen.

33 SSM adds: aereas.

34 Compare IV.58-63.

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193 Compare II.8.

194 Compare the list at the beginning of the book: *de obligacione corporis et anime ad revertendum*.

195 Compare chapters CV–CXI with a slightly more elaborate catalog of spirits in chapters CXIX-CXXVI.

196 Should probably read Saterquiel. Satquiel is one of the seven angels in the Sigillum Dei.

197 Note the natures of these planetary "angels" or "spirits" is similar but not identical to the natures of the aerial spirits or "daemons" which are given in CXIX–CXXVI. SSM does not have exact parallels to these chapters, but rather "oblique correspondence." The physical descriptions of the angels found here have parallels in SSM L.2.f.11 ff prayers to the planetary angels or spirits.

198 Regarding the problematic word "penantur" (here translated "compelled to serve"), see introduction, p. 41 and GH, p. 50.

199 In CXXXIII.27 these are spelled Raphael, Caphael, Dardiel, and Hurathaphel; SSM: Raphael, Caphael, Dardyel, Huracaphel.

200 SSM L.3.f.2: ten feet. R reads "in length and breadth 14 feet." S3: "4^{or} pedes."

201 R seems to interpret this second circle or mound as being within the first, but rather it seems to be outside the first, and a place for the spirits to appear. Compare below where the terrestrial spirits are evoked, where a pit is dug apart from the operator's circle of protection.

202 So SSM L.3.f.3. See also CXXVIII.2 and CXXXI.1.

203 The invocatory place, namely, the direction you will be facing while invoking, as appropriate for the type of angel being invoked.

204 Aspect (or face): i.e. decan. Compare below CXXVII.8: "scribes nomina angelorum diei, et hore mensis, temporis faciei" and CXL.10: Angeli hore sunt qui regnant in hora operis, angeli diei qui in die operis, angeli mensis angeli Lune vel principii mensis, angeli faciei qui regnant facie, ubi est eorum dominium, ascendente, temporis omnes insimul, ...

205 Michael, Miel (variants Mihel, Myhel), Saripiel: Aerial spirits of Mercury. Gabriel, Michael, Samyel, Athitael (variant Atithael): Aerial spirits of the Moon. Boel (var. Bohel), Cafziel, Michrathon, Sathquyel (var. Satquiel): Aerial spirits of Saturn. [Satquiel,] Raphael, Pahamcociel (var. Pahamcocihel), Assassayel (var. Assassaiel): Aerial spirits of Jupiter. Samael (var. Samahel), Satiel (var. Satihel), Yturaihel (Yturahihel), Amabihel (Amabiel): Aerial spirits of Mars. Raphael, Caphael (var. Cafhael), Dardiel (var. Dardihel), Hurathapel (var. Huarthaphel): Aerial spirits of the Sun. Hanael (var. Hanahel), Raquiel, Salguiel (var. Salguyel): Aerial spirits of Venus. Note that Satquiel is assigned to two planets in the preceding chapters. SSM: mychael, myel, sarypyel, gabriel, mychial, samyel, acythael, boel, cafzyel, mycrathon, satriquyel, Satquyel, raphyel, paamtotyel, asassayel, samael, sathyel, yturayel, annabyl, raphael, caphael, dardyel, hurachaphel, anael, raquiel, salguyel.

206 Or dagger. SSM reads *cultro* (knife), while LIH reads *cultello* ("small knife").

207 According to SSM L.3.f.3, this is the second circle, placed next to the circle of the operator. See Veenstra 2012 p. 173–175. Shamayim is the Hebrew word for heaven. In medieval Jewish Merkabah literature it is the name of the First Heaven. See Raziel, 6/7Moses in Peterson 2008 p. 265.

208 The Lord: Perhaps a corruption for *Solomon. Compare CV below, with note.

209 See Matt. 4:21–22.

210 C.15.

211 R omits all the rest of the *Sworn Book* proper, but substitutes excerpts from Agrippa, Petrus de Abano, and other material.

212 So SSM L.3.f.4. This is the correct name for the last angel of Saturn, but it has been accidentally omitted here because of the similarity with the Satquiel, the first angel of Jupiter. See CXV.44. Sl. 313 22r has this correction in the margin. Heptameron: Seraquiel.

213 SSM L.3.f.4: boel, cafzyel, mycrathon, satriquyel, Satquyel, raphyel, paamtotyel, asassayel, samael, sathyel, yturayel, annabyl, raphael, caphael, dardyel, hurachaphel, anael, raquiel, salguyel, mychael, (7) myel, sarypyel, gabriel, mychial, samyel, acythael.

214 SSM lists out the names, here spelled thus: Agla, monon, tetragramathon, gly'deus, ocleyste, amphymeton, lamyara, Ianenuer, sadyon, hely, orlon, porrentymon, yelur, gofgamel, hemanuel, on, admyel, honzmorb, yoth, offeb, resamarathon, amethy, eryona, yuestre, saday, meloth, setthe, elscha, abbadya, alpha & Ω, leyste, orystyon, yeremon, hospr, mesquerpon, elzephares, egyryon, pectha.

215 From the *Sanctus* prayer, adapted from Isaiah 6:3.

216 Genufection as a formal gesture of respect for a superior, is a tradition dating from early times.

217 SSM L.3.f.4: ya ya ya, laaaaadonarum, sabaoth, heloy, Genonem, mesquerpon, usye, athedyon, zebedye, greba.

218 Honest place: i.e. one suited to the dignity of the occasion. See "sacred space" in introduction to David Postles, *Social Geographies in England (1200–1640)*. Washington, DC: New Academia Pub, 2007. SSM: in all lawful and honest things. This reading is also consistent with the wording later in the paragraph.

219 i.e. Shamayim, the common Hebrew word for heaven or sky. It is specifically associated with the Moon and Monday in *Heptameron*.

220 SSM L.3.f.4-5: bacalgar, totalg, yfarselogon, athedyon, meremieta, vrelegnyger, ioach, Sommangarginas, iohena.

221 Zebedei: This name also appears in the list of names of God at the beginning of this paragraph, and in the magic circle. The sense seems to be that this is the name of God which Solomon invoked to command the loyalty of the people of Israel. *Hebrew* "Gift of God". Also the name of various biblical personalities. In CXIV.9 the spirits are exhorted to "obey as Zebedee ordered his subjects to obey," apparently based on Matt. 4:21-22. It is possible the current passage is a mutilated version of that.

222 SSM: Legemoth, gonathaym, maloth, ysyston, homonege, anepheneston, febr, octreys, derheys, tutheon, agla.

223 SSM: nomyx.

224 SSM: pele. On PELE, see Agrippa, OP3.11. Also used by John Dee. See Peterson, *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery* (York Beach ME: Weiser, 2003, pp. 79-80, 152.)

225 Compare CXIV.

226 Is this an indication that the biblical quote has been misunderstood?

227 SSM L.3.f.15-16: per **ab**, per **gab**, per **abr**, per **abra**, per **abraca**, per **greba**, per **abracala**, per **abracasap**, per **abracaleus**, per **sargon**, per **abryon**, per **helyon**, per **sargyon**.

228 This perhaps echoes the poem *de divinis nominibus* of Abbott Sigo of St Florent de Saumur (d. 1070). See Wilkinson, Robert J. *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God : from the Beginnings to the Seventeenth Century*. 2015, p. 219.

229 See Philem. 2:10.

230 SSM L.3.f.16: Bethala, rabam, canthalee, durule, archyma, rabur.

231 So too SSM. GH marked this name as extraneous by comparison with CXIV.5 and CXV.6, but rather its omission from those passages seems to be the mistake.

232 SSM: the Divine Sign.

(Tercium opus vel tractatus)

CXVI. Incipiunt capitula tercii tractatus huius operis, qui est de spiritibus aeris.

De constriccione spirituum per verba; De constriccione spirituum per sigilla; (2) De constriccione spirituum per tabulas; De forma imponenda cuilibet spiritui; De inclusione spirituum; De incluso spiritu ut non respondeat; De fulgure et tonitruo provocando; (3) De combustione facienda; De purificacione aeris; De corrupcione aeris; De nive et gelu facienda; De rore et pluvia facienda; De floribus et fructibus provocandis; De invisibilitate; (4) De equo, qui una nocte te portabit et reportabit ubi volueris; De absente quod veniat una hora sanus; De re, que deferatur in momento ubicumque volueris; De subtraccione rei; De revocacione rei; (5) De transfiguracione cuiuscumque; De flumine provocando in terra sicca; De commocione regni contra dominum; De regno vel imperio destruendo; De habenda potestate super quemlibet; (6) De habendis mille militibus armatis; De formacione castri indestructibilis; De speculo perverso; De destruccione loci vel inimici per speculum perversum; De speculo aparicionis mundi; (7) De fure et furto revocando; De ceraturis aperiendis; De discordia facienda; De concordia provocanda; De habenda gracia omnium personarum et benivolencia; De mulieribus habendis ad libitum; (8) De diviciis habendis; De curacione cuiuslibet infirmitatis; De dando infirmitatem cuilibet et qualemcumque placuerit operanti; De interficiendo quemlibet; De tempestate et periculo terre et maris fuganda; (9) De nave retenta in mari per adamantem vel aliter rehabenda; De omni periculo evitando; De congregacione et accepcione avium; De piscibus congregandis et accipiendis; (10) De animalibus silvestribus et domesticis congregandis et accipiendis; De bello faciendo inter aves vel homines vel pisces vel animalia; (11) De apparencia combustionis; De apparencia ioculatorum et puellarum balancium;[35] De apparencia gardinorum vel castrorum; De apparencia militum pugnancium; De apparencia griffonum et draconum; (12) De apparencia omnium ferarum; De apparencia

venatorum cum canibus; De apparencia hominis quod sit alibi quam est; De apparencia tocius voluptatis.

(46) And immediately when you have invoked them three times in this manner, if not after the first or second time, you will hear a sound like lightning descending from heaven, and their color will be most shining. (47) But you must not address them or look at them, until they themselves have first spoken. They will say: "O friend, what do you desire?" Then he should say: "Peace and your friendship." (48) And if you have been properly cleaned, they will immediately concede and say: "Arise and contemplate the grace and virtue of God. Ask, and it will be granted to you, because the mercy of the Lord has visited you." Then ask what you wish, and you shall have it.

(49) However often you might desire something from the preceding twenty-seven topics, as covered earlier, call these holy celestial angels ruling the world and all of nature because of the loving and greatly desired glorious God.[233] (50) And when they have come and asked you: "what do you want?" whereupon you should respond "Peace, and your friendship." ask one of the twenty-seven, which you have sought in the prayers of purification, (51) knowledge of the heavens, if you have asked for this, even changing day into night and the opposite, if you have desired this, or consecrating a book, if you wish it, or likewise the others, (52) if you have been worthy to such an extent in one operation, you will be able to accomplish any of the twentyseven, Lord granting. Because he grants it to us himself, who lives and reigns world without end. Amen.

[The Third Work or Treatise]

CXVI. Here begins the topics of the Third Treatise of this Work, which is about the Spirits of the Air.

Concerning the constraint of spirits through words. Concerning the constraint of spirits through seals. (2) Concerning the constraint of spirits through tables. Concerning imposing a form to any spirit. Concerning the

confinement of spirits. Concerning a confined spirit, whether or not it will answer. Calling forth lightning and thunder. (3) Concerning the required burnings; Concerning the purification of the air. Concerning the corruption of the air. To make snow and frost. To make dew and rain. To call forth flowers and fruit. Concerning invisibility. (4) Concerning a horse, which will carry you anywhere you wish in a single night. To bring an absent person back safely in an hour. To transport something wherever you wish, in a moment. To have something removed. To recall something. (5) To transfigure anything. To cause a river on dry land. To incite a kingdom against its ruler. To destroy a kingdom or state. To have power over anyone. (6) To have a thousand armed soldiers. To form an indestructible fortress. How to make a mirror of destruction. How to destroy a place or an enemy using the mirror of destruction. The apparition of the world in a mirror (or glass). (7) To return anything which a thief has stolen. To open locks. To cause discord. To cause agreement. To have the good will and favor of all persons. To have the desire of women. (8) To have wealth. To cure any sickness. To make anyone sick, whenever you wish. To kill anyone. To hold back storms and dangers of the earth and sea. (9) To hold back a ship at sea using the adamant stone, or otherwise to bring it back again. To avoid all danger. To flock birds together, and collect them. To cause fish to gather and be caught. (10) To cause woodland and domestic animals to gather and be caught. To cause war between the birds, or people, or fish, or animals. (11) To make burning appear. To make appear jesters and girls babbling. [234] To make gardens or fortresses appear. To make appear soldiers fighting. To make griffins and dragons appear. (12) To make all wild beasts appear. To make hunters appear with dogs. To make someone appear as if they were somewhere other than where they actually are. To make all pleasures appear.

CXVII Finitis capitulis incipit prohemium in spiritibus aereis.

Cum igitur ignoratis superioribus angelorum illos constringere sit impossibile, (2) nomina spirituum aeris et ventorum in precedenti posuimus capitulo; ut sui superiores clarius viderentur, et a quibus poterat

quilibet subiugari. (3) Nunc autem de natura aeris et omnium spirituum in ipso residencium hic faciemus tractatum.

(4) Aer est elementum corruptibile, liquidum et subtile inter cetera nobilius passibiles recipiens qualitates et est simpliciter invisibilis set ipso composito videtur. (5) In quo sunt spiritus, quos sancta mater ecclesia dampnatos appellat, set ipsi oppositum asserunt esse verum, et ideo eos neque bonos neque malos volumus appellare. (6) Et illi spiritus in aere reguntur secundum ipsius aeris qualitates, et ideo eius qualitates videamus.

(7) Aer igitur in quantum elementum a planetarum influenciis gubernatur. Bene igitur accipit diversas complexiones, quas nunc dicemus, (8) quia quidam sunt demones ad tribulacionem aeris constituti, quos ventos Salomon appellavit, quoniam ventos excitant, et secundum quemlibet mutatur aer. (9) Et penatur spiritus illius partis, unde quilibet debet aspicere ventum sue operacioni competentem, quia tunc illius partis demones excitantur. (10) Set non semper invenitur ventus invocacioni habilis. Ideo eos precipimus excitari, qui <tunc> aere sereno vocantur indifferenter. (11) Et ideo cum angelis ventos ponemus, ut in eis veniant et vincantur; quorum opera in subsequentibus sunt dicenda.

CXVIII Divisio spirituum aeris

Aereorum vero spirituum duo sunt modi, quoniam quidam sunt boni, quidam mali, quidam mites, quidam feroces. (2) Boni, mites et fideles sunt illi orientales et occidentales et dicuntur boni, quia operaciones eorum iuvant in bono, et vix nocent alicui, nisi ad hoc cogantur divina virtute.

CXVII. End of the topics, and beginning of the preface on the aerial spirits.

Know therefore, since it is impossible to bind those higher angels without knowledge about them, (2) we have listed the names of the spirits of the air and winds in the preceding chapter; in order that the superiors might be clearly seen, and through which anyone can be subjugated. (3) Therefore

we now will prepare a treatise concerning the nature of the air and all the spirits residing in it.

(4) The air is a corruptible element, fluid, and subtle, capable of receiving qualities from the others, and is plainly invisible, but it is seen to be composed of parts of itself. (5) In which are spirits, which the holy mother church calls damned, but they themselves assert the opposite to be true, and therefore we prefer to call them neither good nor evil. (6) And those spirits that are governed by air act according to the nature of air itself, and therefore we can understand their nature.

(7) The air therefore, insofar as an element, is governed by the influences of the planets. It therefore readily takes on diverse combinations, which we will now describe, (8) for there are certain daemons established for the disturbance of the air, which Solomon has called winds, because they raise up the winds, and behind which the air is moved. (9) And a spirit of that part may be compelled to serve, hence each one should consider which wind is suitable for the operation, because the daemons of that part are awakened then. (10) But the wind for the invocation is not always easily discovered. Therefore we order them to be raised up, which <then> are indiscriminately called calm air. (11) And therefore we will place the winds with the angels, in order that they may come to them and be conquered; their works are spoken of in the following sections.

CXVIII. Divisions of the spirits of the air.

There are two kinds of aerial spirits, for some are good while others are evil; some are mild, others wild.[235] (2) The good, mild, and faithful ones are the eastern and western ones, and are called good, because operations with them help in good, and they rarely harm anyone, unless they are forced with divine strength.

(3) Mali sunt et cum superbia feroces australes et septemtrionales et dicuntur mali, quia opera eorum sunt mala in omnibus, et nocent libenter omnibus et vix aliquid, quod sequatur, ad bonum faciunt, nisi ad hoc superiori virtute cogantur.

(4) Set inter istos sunt alii collaterales istis, qui neque boni neque mali dicuntur, quoniam in omnibus obediunt invocanti, sive in bono fuerit sive in malo. De quibus hic est cognicio cuiuscumque.

CXIX De spiritibus orientalibus

Istorum autem 4 sunt in oriente regnantes et sunt subditi Soli et vento eius, qui boreas dicitur. Et excitantes eum sunt isti 4: **Baxhatau** <rex>, **Gahatus, Caudes, Iarabal,** (2) et habent hos 4 demones et eorum subditos excitare, congregare, dispergere, constringere et in loco proprio ligare, quorum **Barthan** est rex, **Taadas, Caudas, Yalcal** sunt ministri, (3) et eorum natura est aurum dare cum carbunculis ad libitum, divicias, graciam et benivolenciam gencium impetrare, inimicicias hominum mortales vel alias dissolvere, homines in summis honoribus sublimare, infirmitates tribuere vel auferre.

(4) Sua corpora sunt magna et ampla, sanguinea et grosa, color eorum sicut aurum brunitum[36] sanguine depictum. Motus eorum est celi coruschacio. Signum eorum est invocanti commovere sudores.

(3) The evil, arrogant, and wild ones are the southern and northern ones, and are called evil, because their works are evil in everything, and they willingly harm anyone, and will scarcely do good for anyone unless they are forced with superior strength.

(4) But between those, there are others on both sides of them, which are said to be neither of good nor of evil, because they obey in everything when invoked, whether it be for good or evil. Concerning these, here is the information on each:

CXIX. Concerning the Spirits of the East.

But of those there are four governing in the East, and they are subordinate to the Sun and its wind, which is called the North wind. And there are four (spirits) raising it up: **Baxhatau, Gahatus, Caudes, Iarabal**, (2) and they have these four daemons and their subordinates to raise up, congregate, scatter, constrain, and bind to their proper place, of which **Barthan** is the

king, **Taadas, Caudas, Yalcal** are the ministers, (3) and their nature is to give gold with carbuncles as desired; also to obtain wealth, gratitude, and good will of the population; likewise to dissolve the hostility of people and other beings; and to raise people to high honors, and to grant or take away weaknesses.

(4) Their bodies are great and large, bloody and thick;[236] their color is like polished gold, painted with blood. Their movement is like the glittering of the sky. The sign that they have appeared is that the one who calls them will break into a sweat.

CXX De spiritibus occidentalibus

Occidentales sunt illi 4, quibus omnes alii regionis demones subduntur, quorum **Harthan** est rex, **Bileth, Milalu, Habuchaba** eius ministri, et sunt subditi Lune et vento eius, qui zephirus dicitur. (2) Et excitantes [eum] sunt isti: **Hebethel, Amocap, Oilol, Myla<l>u, Abuchaba**, et habent hos 4 demones et eorum subditos excitare, congregare, dispergere, constringere ac in loco proprio ligare, (3) quorum natura est argentum ad libitum dare, res de loco ad locum deferre, equum velocitatis tribuere, facta et secreta presencia atque preterita dicere personarum.

(4) Sua corpora sunt magna et ampla, mollia et fleumatica, color eorum sicut nubes obscura et tenebrosa, et habent multum inflatum, oculos rubeos aqua plenos, non habent pilos in capite, et dentes ut aper. (5) Motus eorum est sicut magna maris ruina, et signum est, quod magna pluvia iuxta circulum cadere videbitur invocanti.

CXXI De spiritibus meridionalibus

Meridionales sunt isti: **Iammax** rex, **Carmox, Ichanol, Pasfran**, quibus omnes alii regionis demones subduntur, et sunt subditi Marti et vento eius, qui subsolanus dicitur. (2) Et excitantes eum sunt isti 5: **Atraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carmeal, Innial, Proathophas,** et habent hos demones et eorum subditos excitare, constringere, dispergere, congregare ac in loco proprio ligare. (3) Sua natura est guerras et mortalitates, occisiones, prodiciones et combustiones facere, mille milites cum suis famulis, que

sunt duo milia, ad tempus dare et mortem tribuere, cuicumque infirmitatem et sanitatem tribuere.

(4) Sua corpora sunt parva, macra, colerica, in aspectu turpissima, color eorum sicut cuprum ignitum modicum denigratum. Habent cornua ad modum cervi, ungues ad modum grifonum. (5) Ululant sicut tauri insani. Motus eorum quasi combustionis partis sue realis aspeccio. Signum est, quod fulgur et tonitruum iuxta circulum cadere videbitur invocanti.

CXX. Concerning the Spirits of the West.

The western ones are four, and all other daemons of the region are under them, of which **Harthan** is the king, **Bileth, Milalu**, and **Habuchaba** are his ministers, and they are subordinate to the Moon and its wind, which is called Zephyr. (2) And raising it up are these: **Hebethel, Amocap, Oilol, Mylau,** and **Abuchaba**, and they have these four daemons and their subordinates to raise up, congregate, scatter, constrain, and bind to their proper place. (3) Their nature is to give silver as desired; they also carry things from place to place; they grant speed to horses; they tell the secrets of persons present and past.

(4) Their bodies are large and ample, soft and phlegmatic, their color resembles dark and obscure clouds, and they have red eyes full of water, greatly inflated; they have no hair on their heads, and their teeth are like those of a boar. (5) Their movement is like a great rushing down of the sea, and the sign is that great rainfall will be seen near the circle when they are invoked.

CXXI. Concerning the Spirits of South.[237]

Those of the South are these: **Iammax** the king, **Carmox, Ichanol, Pasfran**, to whom all other daemons of the region are subordinate, and they are subordinate to Mars and its wind, which is called the Eastern wind. (2) And raising it up are these five: **Atraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carmeal, Innial, Proathophas**, and they have these daemons and their

subordinates to raise up, constrain, disperse, congregate, and bind in proper place. (3) Their nature is to cause war, and plague, murders, treasons, and burnings; they also temporarily give one thousand soldiers with their servants, which are two thousand, and they grant death; they also grant sickness or health to anyone.

(4) Their bodies are small, thin, choleric, and very ugly in appearance, their color is like copper that has been blackened a little by fire. They have horns like those of a stag, and nails like a griffin. (5) They howl like mad bulls. Their movement is somewhat like the burning of part of their true appearance. [238] The sign is that lightning and thunder will be seen to fall near the circle when they are invoked.

CXXII De spiritibus septemtrionalibus

Septemtrionales sunt isti: **Maymon** rex, **Albunalich, Assaibi, Haibalidech, Yasfla**, quibus omnes alii demones regionis subduntur, et sunt subditi Saturno et vento eius, qui Affricus dicitur. (2) Et excitantes eum sunt isti 3: **Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas**, et habent hos 5 demones et eorum subditos congregare, dispergere, constringere ac in loco proprio ligare. (3) Sua natura est seminare discordias, odia generare, malas cogitaciones, furta et avaricias, dare cum libito plumbum, quemlibet interficere et membrorum quodlibet destruere.

(4) Sua corpora sunt longa et gracilia, cum ira et rancore plena. Habent vultus 4, unum a parte anteriori et alterum a parte posteriori, in quibus sunt duo rostra ampla et longa ad mensuram trium pedum, (5) et videntur duos serpentes devorare, et in duobus genibus alios duos, qui cum merore maximo flere videntur, et sunt in colore nigra et lucencia sicut speculum furbitum. (6) Motus eorum est ventorum agitacio cum apparencia terremotus. Signum eorum est, quod terra alba nive tecta videbitur invocanti.

CXXIII

Cum igitur de perfecte bonis et malis diximus, de mediocribus hinc dicamus. (2) Set est advertendum, quod operans non debet operari in istis

nec pro perfecte bono nec pro perfecte malo. (3) Set in rebus mobilibus sicut in itinere, in revocacione et subtraccione et similibus operantur.

CXXII. Concerning the Spirits of the North.[239]

The Northern ones are these: **Maymon** the king, **Albunalich, Assaibi, Haibalidech,** and **Yasfla**, and all other daemons of the region are placed under these, and they are subordinate to Saturn and its wind, which is called Africus (or the "southwest wind"). (2) And raising it up are these three: **Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas,** and they have these five daemons and their subordinates to congregate, disperse, constrain, and bind to their proper place. (3) Their nature is[240] to sow discord, create hatred, evil thoughts, theft, and greed; they give lead if desired, kill anyone, and destroy limbs.

(4) Their bodies[241] are long and slender, full of wrath and anger. They have four faces: one is forward, another behind, which have two large and long beaks measuring three feet, (5) which can be seen devouring two serpents. The other two faces are on the two knees, which appear to be crying with most great mourning, and they are black in color, and shining like a burnished mirror. (6) Their movement is the moving of the wind with the appearance of an earthquake. Their sign is that the ground will appear to be white, covered with snow when they are invoked.

CXXIII. [Concerning the intermediate spirits.]

Having treated of the spirits which are either fully good or fully evil, we will now talk about the intermediate ones (2) But it should be noted in operating with them, that their actions are neither fully for good nor fully for evil. (3) But they operate in movable things such as in journeys, in the recalling and withdrawing and similar things.

CXXIV De spiritibus inter orientem et meridiem

Dicamus igitur, quod inter orientem et meridiem est una regio, que **consol** appellatur, et sunt in ea angeli, qui dicuntur equinocciales, et sunt isti 4: (2) **Formione** rex, **Guth, Maguth, Gutrhyn** eius ministri, quibus omnes alii regionis illius demones subduntur, et sunt subditi Iovi et ventis eius, qui boreas et subsolanus dicuntur. (3) Et excitantes eos sunt isti 5: **Harit, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob**, et habent hos 4 demones et eorum subditos excitare, congregare, constringere, dispergere ac in loco proprio ligare. (4) Sua natura est amicicias et benivolencias tribuere mulierum non carnali copula. Generant leticias, gaudia, lites pacificant, mitigant inimicos, sanant infirmos, infirmant sanos, auferunt vel inferunt dominium cuicumque.

(5) Sua corpora sunt magna, tam sanguinea quam colerica, medie stature, trementissima in motu, visu mitissima, eloquio blanda, falsa in motu, vultus eorum in forma benivolus, color eorum sicut es non burnitum colore flamme ignis depictum. (6) Motus eorum est choruscacio cum tonitruo. Signum eorum est, quod invocans, ut sibi videbitur, [videbit] iuxta circulum homines a leonibus devorari.

CXXV De spiritibus inter austrum et occidentem

Alii sunt inter austrum et occidentem, et sua regio est nogahem. (2) Qui sunt isti: **Sarabocres** rex, **Nassar, Cynassa** eius ministri, quibus omnes alii demones regionis obediunt et subduntur, et sunt subditi Veneri et ventis eius, qui sunt subsolanus et zephirus. (3) Et excitantes eos sunt isti 4: **Cambores** <rex>, **Trachatat, Nassar, Naassa**, et habent hos tres demones excitare, congregare, dispergere, constringere ac in loco proprio ligare. (4) Et eorum natura est dare argentum, in quo est impressio signata, et stagnum ad libitum hominis calefacere, luxuriam excitare, inimicos per luxuriam concordare, ut matrimonium ostendit, (5) constringere homines in amorem mulierum et ipsas ad hominum voluntates constringi, homines infirmare vel sanare et facere omnia, que moventur.

CXXIV. Concerning the Spirits between the East and the South.

We therefore declare, that between the east and south is a single region, which is called "Consol",[242] and in it are angels, which are called "equinoctial", and they are these four: (2) **Formione** the king, and his ministers **Guth, Maguth,** and **Gutrhyn [*Guthryn]**,[243] and all other daemons of this region are placed under these, and they are subordinate to Jupiter and its winds, which are called Borean ("Northerly") and Subsolar ("Easterly"). (3) And raising them up (the winds) are these five: **Harit, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph**, and **Naadob**, and these have four daemons and their subordinates to raise them up, gather them, disperse them, and bind them to their proper place. (4) Their nature is to grant friendship and favor of women, but not carnal relations. They engender gladness and joy, settle lawsuits (or quarrels) peacefully, make enemies mild, cure the sick, sicken the healthy, and they steal away or obtain ownership of anything.

(5) Their bodies are large, as much sanguine as choleric, of medium stature, very jittery, appearing very mild, their manner of speaking flattering, false in the motion. Their faces have a kindly appearance. Their color is like they are painted with flames of fire, not burnished. (6) Their movement is like flashing with thunder. Their sign is, when invoked, lions will be seen devouring men near the circle.[244]

CXXV. Concerning the Spirits between the South and the West.

Others are between the south and the west, and their area is Nogahem, (2) which are these: **Sarabocres** the king, **Nassar,** and **Cynassa** his ministers, with which all other daemons of the area obey and are subjugated, and they are subordinate to Venus and its winds, which are easterly and westerly. (3) And there are four spirits which raise them up: **Cambores, Trachatat, Nassar, Naassa,** and they have those three daemons to raise up, bring together, disperse, constrain, and bind them in their own place. (4) And their nature is to give silver, in which the sign is impressed, and tin, for arousing human desire, to cause luxury, to bring harmony to

enemies through luxury, as marriage shows, (5) to bind men in love of women, and bind women to the wills of men, to sicken or cure people, and to make all things which are moved.

(6) Sua corpora sunt medie stature, pulcra, dulcia et iocosa, color eorum sicut nix insuper deaurata, motus eorum sicut stella clarissima, signum eorum, quod puelle extra circulum ludere et ipsum vocare videbitur invocanti.

CXXVI De spiritibus inter occidentem et septemtrionem

Alii sunt inter occidentem et septemtrionem, et sua regio est frigicap. (2) Qui sunt isti 5: **Abaa** rex, **Hyici, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb** eius ministri, quibus omnes alii illius regionis demones obediunt et subduntur, et sunt subditi Mercurio et ventis eius, qui zephirus et Affricus dicuntur. (3) Et excitantes eos sunt isti 4: **Zobha** <rex>, **Drohas, Palas, Zambas,** et habent hos 5 demones excitare, congregare, dispergere, constringere ac in loco proprio ligare. (4) Natura eorum est omnia metalla de mundo, quecumque fuerint, literata vel sculpta cum auro et argento ad libitum dare, omnia preterita, presencia et futura terrena revelare, (5) iudices placare in placito, victoriam dare, experimenta et omnes sciencias destructas rectificare et reedificare et eciam docere, (6) corpora eciam ex elementis mixta convertibiliter unum in aliud transmutare et eciam elementa, senem iuvenem facere et e contrario, dare infirmitatem quamlibet vel eciam sanitatem, si placeat invocanti, (**7**) pauperes sublimare, sublimes opprimere, dignitates dare vel auferre cuicumque, spiritus ligare, ad tempus inclusum impedire, seraturas aperire, transfiguraciones facere. (8) Et isti possunt omnes operaciones aliorum facere, set hoc non ex perfecta potencia vel virtute set sciencia bene.

(6) Their bodies are medium in stature, pretty, pleasant, and merry. Their color is like snow over gilding. Their movements are like the clearest star. Their sign of their presence is that when invoked, a girl will be seen playing outside the circle, and calling to you.

CXXVI. Concerning the Spirits between the West and the North.

Others are between the west and the north, and their area is Frigicap. (2) Which are five: **Abaa** the king, and **Hyici, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb** his ministers, whom all other daemons of the area obey and are subject to, and they are subject to Mercury and his wind, which is the west wind (Zephyr), and they are called African.[245] (3) And raising them up there are these four: **Zobha** <the king>, **Drohas, Palas, Zambas**, and they have five daemons to raise up, congregate, disperse, constrain, and bind them in their own place. (4) Their nature is to give all metals from the earth, whichever exist, lettered or sculpted with gold and silver as desired, to reveal all earthly things pasts, present, and future, (5) to appease judges in a plea, to give victory, to recover and reconstruct experiments and all destroyed knowledge, and also to teach them, (6) also to transmute bodies out of the mixed elements changeably, one into the other, and also the elements, to make an old person young and vice versa, to infect someone with any kind of sickness, and also to make them healthy, if they are placated when invoked, (7) to raise up poor men, bring down the high and mighty, to give dignities to whomever, or take them away, to bind spirits, to hinder imprisonment for a time, to open locks, and to make transfigurations. (8) And these same spirits are able to accomplish all other operations, however not with perfect power or virtue, but with sufficient knowledge.

(9) Sua corpora sunt medie stature, frigida, humida, veneranda, pulcra, rauca in eloquio, humanam formam habencia ad modum armigeri compti et cucufati, color eorum sicut nubes clara, motus eorum sicut nubes argentea. (10) Signum est, quod horripilacionem tribuunt invocanti. Et isti possunt indifferenter ubicumque vocari.

CXXVII Finita divisione angelorum et spirituum incipit modus operandi in eis.

Si ergo de istis aliquis voluerit operari, sibi primo districte precipimus, (2) ut peroptime mundetur, sicut diximus in predictis, donec venerit ad diem 14^{am}, in qua die convenit ieiunare. (3) Tunc in ea recipiat corpus Christi

dicendo 19, 20, et cum missa de sancto Spiritu, ut diximus, igitur celebratur, sacerdos tenendo corpus Christi, antequam gentibus ostendatur, petat pro operante sic dicens:

(4) ORACIO

"Domine Iesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, quem credo firmiter hominem et Deum et iudicem meum venturum, peto te in hoc articulo in virtute istius sacramenti tui, (5) ut talis N ex dono tuo ac tua voluntate sine dampnacione corporis et anime sibi spiritus N in omnibus subiciat, ut apparere, perficere, custodire, respondere eos ad omnia precepta constringat, ut sperat et desiderat. Amen."

(6) Tunc audito completorio, ut dictum est, de ecclesia recedat dicens 17, donec veniat ad locum, in quo debet fieri circulus. Tunc locum benedicat dicens 15. (**7**) Hoc facto protrahat circulum 9 pedum dicens 18, in quo duos circulos protrahat, quorum unus distet ab alio per unum pedem, inter quos scribes nomina angelorum diei et hore, mensis, temporis, faciei dicendo:

(9) Their bodies are of medium stature, cold, humid, venerable, attractive, and their manner of speaking is hoarse. They have human form, bearing arms and hooded. Their color is like a bright cloud. Their movements are like a silvery cloud. (10) Their sign is that your hair will bristle when they are invoked. And they can be called in any place equally.[246]

CXXVII. End of the divisions of the angels and spirits, and beginning of the manner of working with them.

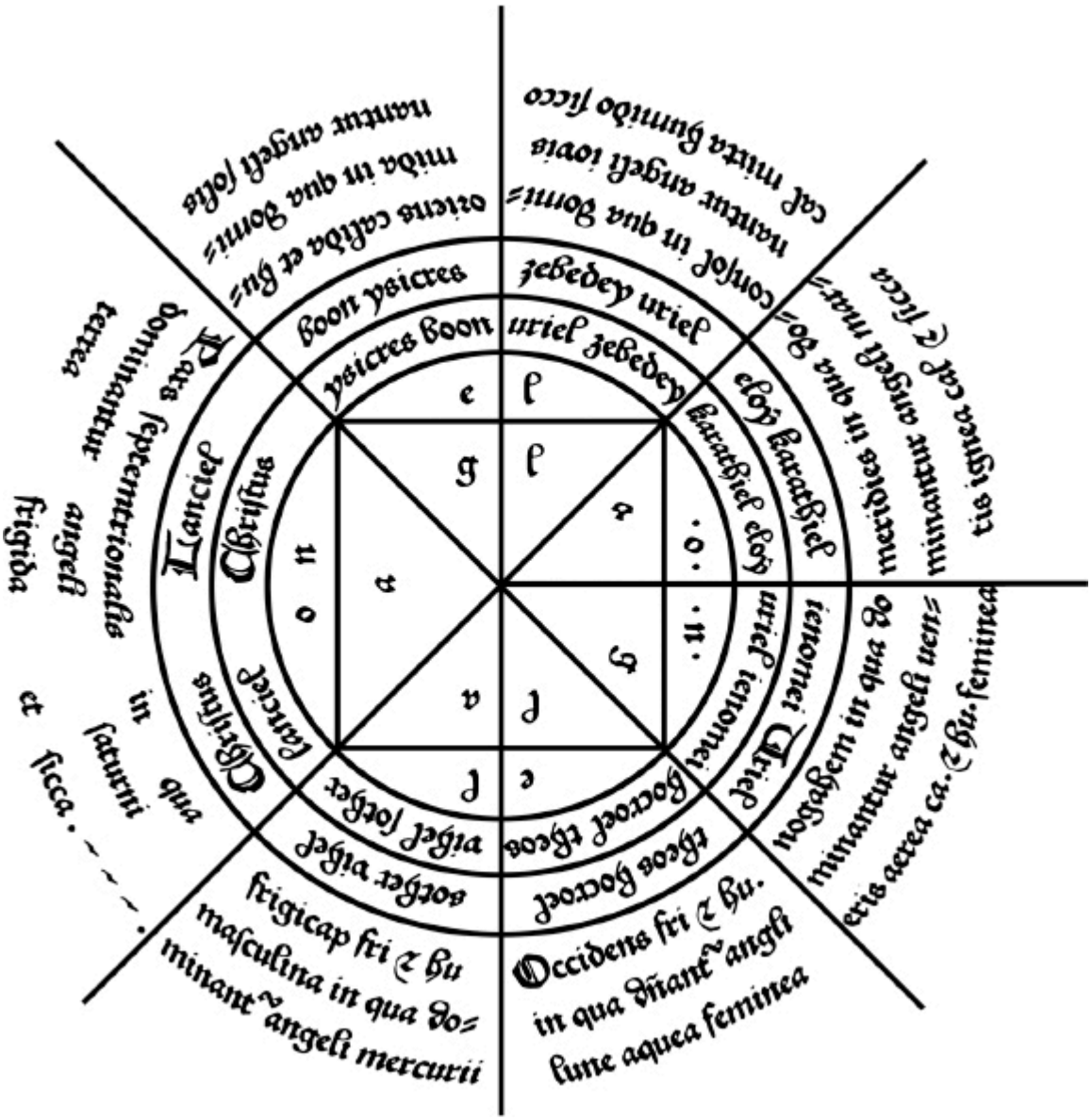
If therefore anybody wishes to operate with those spirits, we must first warn him strictly (2) that he must be thoroughly purified, as we have said in the preceding, until he comes to the fourteenth day, on which day he must begin his fast. (3) Then when the mass of the Holy Spirit is being said or celebrated, when the operator is receiving the body of Christ (Eucharist), he should say prayers 19 and 20 (LXXVII–LXXIX), as we

have said, when the priest is holding up the body of Christ (i.e. the wafer), to reveal it to the congregation, he should pray on behalf of the operator, saying thus:

(4) PRAYER.

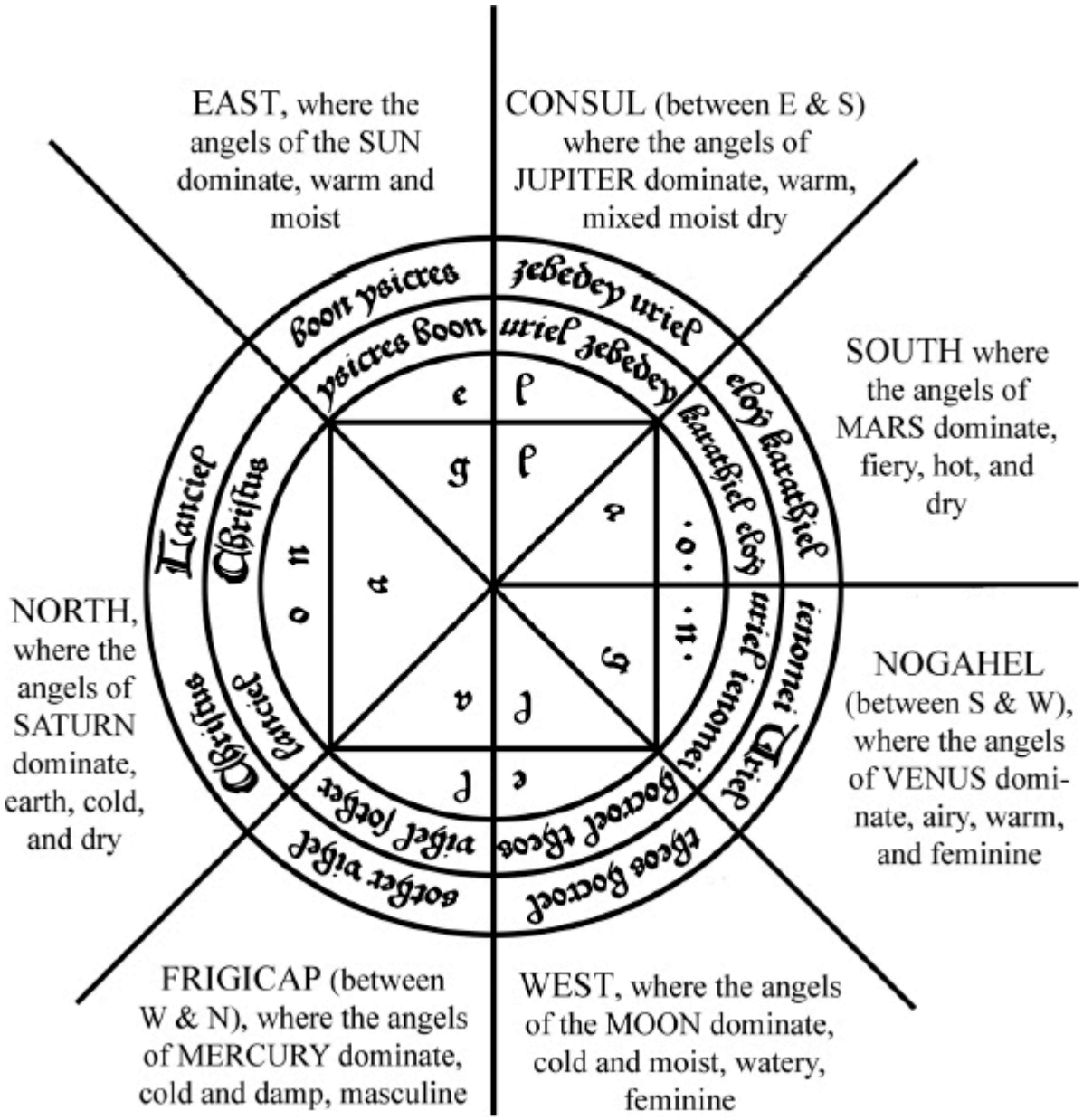
"O Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God, whom I truly believe is man and God, and my judge soon to come, I beg you in this critical moment, by the power of your sacraments, (5) in order that such N. by your gift and by your will, without condemnation of body and soul that the spirit N. may make himself subject in all things, that he may constrain them to appear, to complete, to guard, to answer to all orders that he hopes and desires. Amen."

(6) Then having heard the evening prayer service (Compline), as said, retire from the church, saying 17, until you come to the place where the circle has been made. Then bless the place saying 15. (7) With this done, he should draw a circle of nine feet across, saying 18, in which he should draw two circles, where the first is one foot away from the other, between which you should write the names of the angels of the day and hour, of the month, of the time, and of the aspect,[247] saying:



(8) “O vos angeli sancti et potentes, sitis michi in hoc opere adiutores.”

(9) Tunc protrahes infra istos duos circulos eptagonum communem omnibus invocacionibus aptum, cuius forma cum parcium suarum dimencionibus et diffinicionibus subsequitur inferius in figura.



(8) "O you holy and powerful angels, may you be my assistants in this work."

(9) Then draw within those two circles a regular heptagon,[248] suitable for all invocations, the form of which with its parts, dimension, and definitions, is shown in the figure above.[249]

(10) Nota, quod operans debet esse diligens, ut addat ista nomina aliis nominibus, quia durum est homini ignoranti virtutes spirituum et eorum malicias cum eis sine municione maxima aliqualiter habitare, (11) et assimilatur illi, qui vult debellare militem sagacem et ignorat arma eius et

quis miles et que virtus militis, quem debellat. (12) Bene igitur sibi caveat, quia ingenium viribus prevalet, et ideo oportet ipsum esse sagacissimum in suo circulo faciendo, quia ibi iacet tuicio operantis.

(13) Primo sic aptetur locus, quod terra sit plana et equa, nec sint ibi lapides aut herbe, et quando eum protraxerit, aerem supra se duobus diametris ubicumque signet dicens: (14) "Signum Salomonis ad salvacionem et defensionem pono supra me, ut sit michi proteccio a facie inimici. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen." (15) Sic tuo completo circulo exi et extra eum scribe in terra vel in cedulis 7 nomina creatoris, que sunt L[a]ialy, Lialg, Veham, Yalgal, Narath, Libarre, Libares, nec plus facies in hac nocte.

Oriens calida[37] et humida[38] in qua dominantur angeli solis / boon ysicres[39] / ysicres boon

Consol[40] in qua dominantur angeli iovis, ca[lido], mixta humido sicco[41] / Zebedey Uriel[42] / Uriel Zebedei.

Meridies in qua dominantur angeli martis ignea cal[ida] et sicca / Eloy Karathiel / Karathiel Eloy[43]

Nogahem[44] in qua dominantur angeli ueneris **aerea**[45] ca[lida] et hu[midi] feminea / ienomei Uriel / Uriel ienomei[46]

Occidens frigida et hu[mida] in qua dominantur angli lune aquea feminea[47] / theos Hocroel[48] / Hocroel theos

(10) NOTE: You must be very careful while working, that you add those names to the other names,[250] because it is hard for a person not knowing the powers of the spirits and their malice, without the greatest fortification to abide with them somehow, (11) and it is like someone who seeks to wage war with a shrewd knight, and disregards his weapons, and who the knight is, and what are the strengths of the knight with whom he wages war. (12) It is well therefore to be cautious, because the nature of the strengths prevail, and therefore it is necessary to be very shrewd when making the circle, because therein lies the defense of the operator.

(13) First you must prepare the place thus, for the earth should be flat and level, and free from stones or vegetation, and when it has been drawn, mark the air above yourself to two diameters every way, saying: (14) "I put the Seal of Solomon over me for salvation and defense, in order that it protect me in the face of the enemy. In the name of the Father and the Son

and the Holy Spirit. Amen." (15) Thus with your circle complete, exit and write outside in the earth or on small pieces of paper, the seven names of the creator, which are **L[a]ialy, Lialg, Veham, Yalgal, Narath, Libarre, Libares**,[251] and nothing more is accomplished this night.

[Text of Circle reads as follows:]

East, warm and moist,[252] where the angels of the Sun dominate / Boon Ysicres / Ysicres Boon[253]

Consol,[254] where the angels of **Jupiter** dominate, warm mixed moist dry / Zebedey Uriel / Uriel Zebedei

South in which the angels of **Mars**, fiery, hot and dry, dominate / Eloy Karathiel / Karathiel Eloy

Nogahem, where dominate the angels of **Venus,** airy, warm, and feminine / Ienomei Uriel / Uriel Ienomei

West cold and moist, where the angels of the **Moon** dominate, watery feminine / Theos Hocroel / Hocroel Theos

frigicap frigida et hu[mida] masculina in qua dominantur angeli mercurii / Sother Vihel[49] / Vihel Sother

Pars[50] septemtrionalis in qua dominantur angeli Saturni terrea frigida et sicca / Christus Lanciel / Lanciel Christus[51]

CXXVIII Secunda dies

In crastino, dum matutinam, primam, terciam, missam, meridiem, nonam, vesperas et completorium audieris, venies ad circulum dicendo 17. (2) Tunc habeas thus et thuribulum, in quo sint prune, et ponas thus super prunas et suffumiges circulum dicens 1 et 2 incipiens ab oriente in occidentem, a meridie in septemtrionem, tunc a consol in noghahem et a noghahem in frigicap, et postea celum et terram, et ita ter facies. (3) Set primo debent 7 predicta nomina deleri. Hoc facto suffumigando circulum, ventos novies taliter excitabis.

(4) INCIPIT EXCITACIONIS VENTORUM PRIMUS CIRCULUS INCIPIENS IN ORIENTE ET

TERMINANS IN MERIDIE.

(5) “Baxhatau, Gahatus, Caudes, Yarabal, Harit, Iesse, Rion, Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carmeal, Ynial, Prohathophas, Cambores, Trachatat, Nassar, (6) Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Mylau, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas, Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas, ego vos invoco, ut meis sitis prom[p]ti[52] peticionibus et preceptis. Summa Dei potencia vos obedire constringat’.

(7) Secundus circulus incipiens in meridie et terminans in occidente

(8) “Attraurbiabilis, Y[a]conaababur, Carmeal, Innyal, Prohathophas, Cambores, Trachatat, Nassar, Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Mylau, Abuchaba, Zobha, (9) Drohas, Palas, Sambas, Mextyura, Alcibany, Alflas, Baxatau, Gahatus, [Caudes, Yarabal, Harit], Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob, angeli Domini vos excitent, qui vos venire constringant.”

Frigicap, cold and damp, masculine, where the angels of **Mercury** dominate. / Sother Vihel / Vihel Sother

Northern part, where the angels of **Saturn** dominate, earth cold and dry / Christ Lanciel / Lanciel Christ

CXXVIII. Second day.

On the next day you should hear matins, prime, terce, mass, none, vespers, and compline, then go to the circle saying prayer 17. (2) Then you should have incense and a censer, in which should be glowing charcoals, and you should put the incense over the glowing charcoals, and fumigate the circle saying 1 (LIII) and 2 (LIV), beginning at the East to the West, from the South to the North, then from Consol to Nogahem, and then from Nogahem to Frigicap, and afterwards the sky and the earth, and this you should do three times. (3) But first the seven preceding names must be erased.[255] With this done, suffumigate the circle, and in this way you should raise up the winds nine times.

(4) HERE BEGINS THE RAISING UP OF THE WINDS. THE FIRST CIRCLE BEGINNING IN THE EAST AND ENDING IN THE SOUTH:

(5) “Baxhatau, Gahatus, Caudes, Yarabal, Harit, Iesse, Rion, Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carmeal, Ynial, Prohathophas, Cambores, Trachatat, Nassar, (6) Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Mylau, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas, Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas,[256] I invoke you, that you allow me those things which are described in my petitions and orders. The power of the most high God constrains you to obey!”

(7) The second circle beginning in the south, and end in the west.

(8) “Attraurbiabilis, Y[a]conaababur, Carmeal, Innyal, Prohathophas, Cambores, Trachatat, Nassar, Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Mylau, Abuchaba, Zobha, (9) Drohas, Palas, Sambas, Mextyura, Alcibany, Alflas, Baxatau, Gahatus, [Caudes, Yarabal, Harit], Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob,[257] may those angels of the Lord raise you up, who compel you to come.”

(10) Tercius circulus incipiens in occidente et terminans in septemtrione

Tunc in occidente dicat: (11) “Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Milau, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Zambas, Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas, Baxhatau, Gaatus, Caudes, Yarabal, Harit, Iesse, Rion, Nesaph, (12) Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carmeal, Ynnyal, Proathophas, Cambores, Trachathat, Nassar, Naassa, sciencia Dei et sapiencia Salomonis vos convincat, que vos et ventos vestros excitare faciat.”

(13) Quartus circulus incipiens in septemtrione et terminans in consol

Tunc in septemtrione dicat: (14) “Mextyura, Alchibany, Alflas, Baxhatau, Gahatus, Caudes, Iaraba<a>l, Harith, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Iaconaababur, Carmeal, Innyal, Prohathophas, Cambores, (15) Trachathat, Nassar, Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Myla<l>u, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas, sancta nomina Dei vos subiugent, que vos et ventos vestros excitare et huc venire constringant.”

(16) Quintus circulus incipiens in consol et terminans in nogahem

Tunc in consol dicat: (17) “Harit, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carme[a]l, Innyal, Prohathophas, Cambores, Trachatath, Nassar, Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, (18) Mylau, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Zambas, [Mextyura, Alcybany,

Alflas], Baxhatau, Gaatus, Caudes, Yarabal, capud et corona principis vestri Belzebut vos venire et ventos vestros excitare constringat."

(19) 6us circulus incipiens in nogahem et terminans in frigicap

Tunc in nogahem dicat: (20) "Cambores, Tracatath, Nassar, Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Mylau, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas, Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas, Baxhatau, Gaatus, Caudes, Yarabal, (21) Harith, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Iaconaababur, Carmeal, Ynnyal, Prohathophas, iudicium summi Dei tremendum vos convincat, qui vos et ventos vestros ad mandatum meum venire et obedire constringat."

(22) 7us circulus incipiens in frigicap et terminans in oriente

(10) Third, begin the circle in the west, and end in the north.

Then, facing west, say: (11) "Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Milau, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Zambas, Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas, Baxhatau, Gaatus, Caudes, Yarabal, Harit, Iesse, Rion, Nesaph, (12) Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carmeal, Ynnyal, Proathophas, Cambores, Trachathat, Nassar, Naassa, the knowledge of God and the wisdom of Solomon conquers you, so that you and your winds are made to rise up."

(13) Fourth, begin the circle in the north, and ending in Consol.

Then, facing north, say: (14) "Mextyura, Alchibany, Alflas, Baxhatau, Gahatus, Caudes, Iarabal, Harith, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Iaconaababur, Carmeal, Innyal, Prohathophas, Cambores, (15) Trachathat, Nassar, Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Myla<l>u, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas, the sacred names of God will subjugate you, who compel you and your winds to arise and come here."

(16) Fifth, begin the circle in consol, and end in Nogahem.

Then, in consol, say: (17) "Harit, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carme[a]l, Innyal, Prohathophas, Cambores, Trachatath, Nassar, Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, (18) Mylau, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Zambas, Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas, Baxhatau, Gaatus, Caudes, Yarabal, the head and crown of your prince Belzebut compels you to arise and come."

(19) Sixth, begin the circle in Nogahem and end in Frigicap.

Then, towards Nogahem say: (20) “Cambores, Tracatath, Nassar, Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Mylau, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas, Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas, Baxhatau, Gaatus, Caudes, Yarabal, (21) Harith, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Iaconaababur, Carmeal, Ynnyal, Prohathophas, the terrible judgment of the most high God conquers you, which compels you and your winds to come at my command, and obey.”

(22) Seventh, begin the circle in frigicap, and end in the East:

Tunc in frigicap dicat: (23) “Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas, Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas, Baxhatau, Gaatus, Caudes, Yarabal, Harith, Iesse, Ryon, (24) Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carmeal, Innyal, Prohathophas, Cambores, Trachatath, [Nassar, Naassa], Hebethel, Amocap, Oilol, Mylau, Ab<r>ucaba, meo placati suffumigio, (25) timor furoris Domini et ignis ignem devorans vos pacificet et pacificatos mittat cum ventis vobis subditis et demonibus eorundem et missos obedire constringat, quoniam ei debetur ab omni creatura reverencia et obediencia cum timore.”

(26) Tunc flexis genibus versus orientem dic: “Unde tu, Domine, 49, celi et terre conditor” et cetera. Et addes in fine: “Te suppliciter exoro et invoco, ut ex dono gracie tue et virtute sanctorum tuorum nominum, (27) ut isti prenominati venti hos demones, quos invocavero, congregent, constringant et ligent eos meis peticionibus penitus obedire, (28) quia tu es Deus potens, pius et misericors, qui vivis et regnas et imperas et regnaturus es per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.”

(29) Hoc facto videbis tranquillitatem ab omni parte mundi in nubibus elevari, nec cessabit, donec perfeceris tuum opus, et erunt nubes iuxta circulum circumcirca. (30) Set prius iuxta circulum hec 7 predicta nomina scribantur, quia posset circulus aliter violari.

CXXIX 3^{a} dies

Tercia vero die<s> visitabis ecclesiam, ut oportet, et tunc habeas ignem, candelam de cera virginea et illa, que tue conveniunt questioni, thuribulum, thus, 7 gladios equales, (2) si possis claros, et si velis habere socios, poteris habere 7. Habeas eciam vinum optimum, de quo bibes, et socii tui, dum cognoveritis motus suos. (3) Et si solus fueris, porta 4 in

latere dextro et 3 in sinistro, si tres, porta 3, et quilibet illorum 2, si 5, ferat quilibet unum, et tu 3, si 4, porta unum, et quilibet illorum 2, si 6, porta 2, et quilibet illorum unum.

Then, in Frigicap, say: (23) “Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas, Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas, Baxhatau, Gaatus, Caudes, Yarabal, Harith, Iesse, Ryon, (24) Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carmeal, Innyal, Prohathophas, Cambores, Trachatath, [Nassar, Naassa], Hebethel, Amocap, Oilol, Mylau, Ab<r>ucaba, with my pleasing suffumigation, (25) the maddening fear of the Lord, and the fire of fires, pacifies you, and pacified may he send with your winds the subordinates and daemons of the same, and may he bind the messengers to obey, because all creatures owe him reverence and obedience with fear.”

(26) Then, bending your knees to the east, say: “From whence you, O Lord, 49, the originator of heaven and earth” etc. And add at the end: “I humbly beg and pray to you, that by the gift of your grace and the power of your holy names, (27) that these daemons of the previously-named wind, which I have called upon, may assemble; may they be constrained and bound to obey my petitions completely, (28) because you are a mighty God, kind and merciful, who lives and reigns and commands through all eternity. Amen.”

(29) With this done, you will see a stillness from all parts of the world, rising up to the clouds, nor will it cease until you have completed your work, and the clouds will be all around near the circle. (30) But these seven preceding names should be written next to the circle beforehand, because otherwise they might be able to violate the circle.

CXXIX. The Third Day.

On the third day you should visit the church, as usual, and then you should have a fire, a candle of virgin wax, and those things which are relevant to the inquiry,[258] the censer, the incense, seven equal swords, (2) if possible they should be lustrous, and if you wish to have associates, you can have seven. You may also have a choice wine, which you and your associates can drink while you look for their movements. (3) And if you are alone, carry four swords on your right side, and three on your left. If there are three of you, carry three swords yourself and the others should each carry

two; if there are five, carry three yourself, and the others should each carry one; if there are four, carry one yourself, and the others should each carry two.

(4) Tunc XI[a] hora die[i], cum fueritis competenter saciati vino et piscibus vel aliquo alio a carne, magister semel excitet ventos incipiendo ab illis, qui habent dominium die illa, et habeat signum Domini in manu sua dextra. Post hoc demones excitabit dicens contra orientem:

(5) EXCITACIO SPIRITUUM SOLIS, QUE FIT IN DIE DOMINICO, QUANDO FIT PARTICULARITER.

"Ubi est Barthan rex, ubi sunt Thaadas, [Caudas], Yalcal eius ministri? (6) Ubi est Formione rex, ubi sunt Guth, Maguth, Guthrin eius ministri? Ubi est Iammax rex, ubi sunt Carmox, Ycanol, Pasfran eius ministri? (7) Ubi est Sarabocres rex, ubi sunt Nassar, Cynassa eius ministri? Ubi est Harthan rex, ubi sunt Bileth, Mylalu, Abucaba eius ministri? (8) Ubi est Abaa rex, ubi sunt Hyici, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb eius ministri? Ubi est Maymon rex, ubi sunt Assaiby, Albunalich, [Haibalidech, Yasfla] eius ministri? (9) Omnes occurrite cicius quam poteritis promti meis peticionibus et preceptis obedire. Summa ac divina maiestas vos convincat, que vos venire constringat."

(10) EXCITACIO DIEI IOVIS ET SPIRITUUM EIUS, QUANDO PARTICULARITER FIT.

[Tunc in consol dicat:] "Ubi est Formione rex, ubi sunt Guth, Maguth, Guthrin eius ministri? (11) Ubi est Iammax rex, ubi sunt Carmox, Ycanol, Pasfran eius ministri? Ubi est Sarabocres rex, ubi sunt Nassar, Cinassa eius ministri? (12) Ubi est Harthan rex, ubi sunt Bileth, Mylalu, Abucaba eius ministri? Ubi est Abaa rex, ubi sunt Hyici, Quiron, Zach, Eladeb eius ministri? (13) Ubi est Maymon rex, ubi sunt Hassaybi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, Yasfla [eius ministri]? Ubi est Barthan rex, ubi sunt Thaadas, Caudas, Yalcal eius ministri? (14) Omnes cicius quam poteritis venite cum omnibus subditis vestris promti michi in omnibus obedire. Virtus summi creatoris vos subiuget, que vos venire constringat."

(4) Then in the eleventh hour of the day, when you have been suitably satisfied with wine and fish, or any other meat, the master should raise up the winds once, beginning with those which have dominion on that day, and he should have the Sign of the Lord in his right hand. After this he should raise up the daemons saying towards the east:

(5) THE RAISING UP OF THE SPIRITS OF THE SUN, WHICH SHOULD PARTICULARLY BE DONE ON A SUNDAY.

"Where is King Barthan?[259] where are Thaadas, [Caudas],[260] and Yalcal his ministers? (6) Where is King Formione? where are Guth, Maguth, and Guthrin his ministers? Where is King Iammax?, where are Carmox, Ycanol, and Pasfran his ministers? (7) Where is King Sarabocres? where are Nassar and Cynassa his ministers? Where is King Harthan? where are Bileth, Mylalu, and Abucaba his ministers? (8) Where is King Abaa? where are his ministers Hyici, Quyron, Zach, and Eladeb? Where is King Maymon? where are his ministers Assaiby, Albunalich, [Haibalidech, and Yasfla]? (9) Come with all haste to meet us, that you are willing and able to obey my petitions and precepts. The Most High and Divine Majesty conquers you, so that you are constrained to come."

(10) THE RAISING UP OF THE DAY OF JUPITER, AND THOSE SPIRITS WHICH ARE PARTICULAR TO IT.

[Then in Consol say:] "Where is King Formione? Where are his ministers Guth, Maguth, and Guthrin? (11) Where is King Iammax? Where are his ministers Carmox, Ycanol, and Pasfran? Where is King Sarabocres? Where are his ministers Nassar and Cinassa? (12) Where is King Harthan? Where are his ministers Bileth, Mylalu, and Abucaba? Where is King Abaa? Where are his ministers Hyici, Quiron, Zach, and Eladeb? (13) Where is King Maymon? Where are [his ministers] Hassaybi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, and Yasfla? Where is King Barthan? Where are his ministers Thaadas, Caudas, and Yalcal? (14) Come as quickly as you are able, with all your subordinates, prepared to obey me in all things. The power of the most high Creator subjugates you, that you are constrained to come."

(15) EXCITACIO DIEI MARTIS ET SPIRITUUM EIUS, QUANDO PERTICULARITER FIT.

Tunc in meridie dicat: “Ubi est Iammax rex, ubi sunt Carmox, Ycanol, Pasfran eius ministri? (16) Ubi est Sarabocres rex, ubi sunt Nassar, Cynassa eius ministri? Ubi est Harthan rex, ubi sunt Bileth, Milalu, Abucaba eius ministri? Ubi est Abaa rex, ubi sunt Hyici, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb eius min[i] stri? (17) Ubi est Maymon rex, ubi sunt Assaibi, Albunalich, Aybalidech, Yasfla eius ministri? Ubi est Barthan rex, ubi sunt Thaadas, Caudas, Yalcal eius ministri? (18) Ubi est Formione rex, ubi sunt Guth, Maguth, Guthryn eius ministri? Vos invoco venire cum excercitu vestro et meis questionibus obedire. Timor furoris Domini vos convincat, qui vos venire et obedire constringat.”

(19) EXCITACIO DIEI VENERIS ET SPIRITUUM EIUS, QUANDO PARTICULARITER FIT.

Tunc in nogahem dicat: “Ubi est Sarabocres rex, ubi sunt Nassar, Cynassa eius ministri? (20) Ubi est Harthan rex, ubi sunt Bileth, Milalu, Abucaba eius ministri? Ubi est Abaa rex, ubi sunt Hyici, Quiron, Zach, Eladeb eius ministri? Ubi est Maymon rex, ubi sunt Assaiby, Albunalich, Haybalidech, Yasfla eius ministri? (21) Ubi est Barthan rex, ubi sunt Taadas, Caudas, Yalcal eius ministri? Ubi est Formione rex, ubi sunt Guth, Maguth, Guthryn eius ministri? Ubi est Iammax rex, ubi sunt Carmox, Ycanol, Pasfran eius ministri? (22) Venite obedientes cum omnibus subditis vestris creatori vestro et michi nomine ipsius. Exercitus angelorum, qui Sabaoth dicitur, vos meis preceptis subiciat.”

(23) EXCITACIO DIEI LUNE ET SPIRITUUM EIUS, QUANDO PERTICULARITER FIT.

Tunc in occidente dicat: “Ubi est Harthan rex, ubi sunt Bileth, Mylalu, Abucaba eius ministri? (24) Ubi est Abaa rex, ubi sunt Hyici, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb eius ministri? Ubi est Maymon rex, ubi sunt Assaibi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, Yasfla eius ministri? (25) Ubi est Barthan rex, ubi sunt Taadas, Caudas, Yalcal eius ministri? Ubi est Formione rex, ubi sunt Guth, Maguth, Guthrin eius ministri? (26) Ubi est Iammax rex, ubi

sunt Carmox, Ycanol, Pasfran eius ministri? Ubi est Sarabocres rex, ubi sunt Nassar, Cynassa eius ministri? (27) <Ubi est harthan rex. Ubi sunt bileth. mylalu. abucaba eius ministri. Ubi est abaa rex. Ubi sunt hyci. quyron. zach. eladeb. eius ministri.> [Venite omnes quam cicius poteritis cum omnibus subditus vestris et ut supra.][53]

(15) THE RAISING UP OF THE DAY OF MARS, AND THE SPIRITS WHICH ARE PARTICULAR TO IT.

Then facing south, say: “Where is King Iammax? Where are his ministers Carmox, Ycanol, and Pasfran? (16) Where is King Sarabocres? Where are his ministers Nassar and Cynassa? Where is King Harthan? Where are his ministers Bileth, Milalu, and Abucaba? Where is King Abaa? Where are his ministers Hyici, Quyron, Zach, and Eladeb? (17) Where is King Maymon? Where are his ministers Assaibi, Albunalich, Aybalidech, and Yasfla? Where is King Barthan? Where are his ministers Thaadas, Caudas, and Yalcal? (18) Where is King Formione? Where are his ministers Guth, Maguth, and Guthryn? I call upon you to come with your army and to obey my requests. May the fear of the wrath of the Lord conquer, who binds you to come and obey.”

(19) THE RAISING UP OF THE DAY OF VENUS, AND THE SPIRITS PARTICULAR TO IT.

Then in Nogahem, say: “Where is King Sarabocres? Where are his ministers Nassar and Cynassa? (20) Where is King Harthan? Where are his ministers Bileth, Milalu, and Abucaba? Where is King Abaa? Where are his ministers Hyici, Quiron, Zach, and Eladeb? Where is King Maymon? Where are his ministers Assaiby, Albunalich, Haybalidech, and Yasfla? (21) Where is King Barthan? Where are his ministers Taadas, Caudas, and Yalcal? Where is King Formione? Where are his ministers Guth, Maguth, and Guthryn? Where is King Iammax? Where are his ministers Carmox, Ycanol, and Pasfran? (22) Come with all your subordinates, obeying your creator and me in his name. The army of angels, which is called *Sabaoth*, makes you subject to my orders.”

(23) THE RAISING UP OF THE DAY OF THE MOON, AND THE SPIRITS WHICH ARE PARTICULAR TO IT.

Then, facing west, he should say: “Where is King Harthan? Where are Bileth, Mylalu, Abucaba, his ministers? (24) Where is King Abaa? Where are Hyici, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb his ministers? Where is King Maymon? Where are Assaibi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, Yasfla his ministers? (25) Where is King Barthan? Where are Taadas, Caudas, Yalcal his ministers? Where is King Formione? Where are Guth, Maguth, Guthrin his ministers? (26) Where is King Iammax? Where are Carmox, Ycanol, Pasfran his ministers? Where is King Sarabocres? Where are Nassar, Cynassa his ministers? (27) <...> [Come as quickly as you are able, with all your subordinates, prepared to obey me in all things. The power of the most high Creator subjugates you, that you are constrained to come,” etc. as above.]

(28) EXCITACIO DIEI MERCURII ET SPIRITUUM EIUS, QUANDO PARTICULARITER FIT.

Tunc in frigicap dicat: “Ubi est Abaa rex, ubi sunt Hyici, Quiron, Zach, Eladeb ministri eius? (29) Ubi est Maymon rex, ubi sunt Assaibi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, Yasfla eius ministri? [Ubi est Barthan rex, ubi sunt Taadas, Caudas, Yalcal eius ministri?] Ubi est Formione rex, ubi sunt Guth, Maguth, Guthryn eius ministri? (30) Ubi est Iammax rex, ubi sunt Carmox, Ycanol, Pasfran eius ministri? Ubi est Sarabocres rex, ubi sunt Nassa[r], Cynassa eius ministri? (31) Ubi est Harthan rex, ubi sunt Bileth, Mylalu, Abucaba eius ministri? Summum Dei tremendum ac reverendum iudicium vos apparere et michi in omnibus obedire constringat.”

(32) EXCITACIO DIEI SABATI ET SPIRITUUM EIUS, QUANDO PARTICULARITER FIT.

Tunc in septemtrione dicat: “Ubi est Maymon rex, ubi sunt Assaibi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, Iasfla eius ministri? (33) Ubi est Barthan rex, ubi sunt Taadas, Caudas, Yalcal eius ministri? Ubi est Formione rex, ubi sunt Guth, Maguth, Guthryn eius ministri? (34) Ubi est Iammax rex, ubi sunt

Carmox, Ycanol, Pasfran eius ministri? Ubi est Sarabocres rex, ubi sunt Nassar, Cynassa<r> eius ministri? Ubi [est] Harthan rex, ubi sunt Bileth, Mylalu, Abucaba eius ministri? (35) Ubi est Abaa rex, ubi sunt Hyici, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb ministri eius?"

(28) THE RAISING UP OF THE DAY OF MERCURY, AND THE SPIRITS WHICH ARE PARTICULAR TO IT.

Then in frigicap, say: 'Where is King Abaa? Where are his ministers Hyici, Quiron, Zach, and Eladeb? (29) Where is King Maymon? Where are his ministers Assaibi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, and Yasfla? [Where is King Barthan? Where are his ministers Taadas, Caudas, and Yalcal?] Where is King Formione? Where are his ministers Guth, Maguth, and Guthryn? (30) Where is King Iammax? Where are his ministers Carmox, Ycanol, and Pasfran? Where is King Sarabocres? Where are his ministers Nassa[r] and Cynassa? (31) Where is King Harthan? Where are his ministers Bileth, Mylalu, and Abucaba? The most high, terrible, and awe-inspiring judgment of God binds you to appear and to obey me in all things."

(32) THE RAISING UP OF THE SABBATH DAY, AND THE SPIRITS WHICH ARE PARTICULAR TO IT.

Then facing north, say: "Where is King Maymon? Where are his ministers Assaibi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, and Iasfla? (33) Where is King Barthan? Where are his ministers Taadas, Caudas, and Yalcal? Where is King Formione? Where are his ministers Guth, Maguth, and Guthryn? (34) Where is King Iammax? Where are his ministers Carmox, Ycanol, and Pasfran? Where is King Sarabocres? Where are his ministers Nassar and Cynassa? Where is King Harthan? Where are his ministers Bileth, Mylalu, and Abucaba? (35) Where is King Abaa? Where are his ministers Hyici, Quyron, Zach, and Eladeb?"

Hic debet claudere manum et eis pugnum clausum ostendere cum sigillis. Tunc dicat: (36) "Virtus istorum sanctorum nominum Dei et sigillorum vestrorum vos convincat, que vos congregare, venire, apparere, respondere et michi in omnibus obedire constringant."

(37) Hoc dicto videbis eorum motus insurgere, et tunc dicas sociis, quod non dubitent, et fac eos potare, etsi adhuc motus non videris.[54] Set non debent ultra novies excitari.

CXXX Accessus ad circulum— Excitacio ventorum ante eum

Visis eorum motibus ad circulum accedentes ante circulum semel excitabis eos. (2) Tunc intres circulum per partem inter frigicap et occidentem pro meta positam, et tunc socii stantes pedibus in circulo stent, donec recluseris circulos dicens 18. (3) Tunc situa socios et enses in circulo tali modo, set antequam intraverunt, 7 predicta nomina deleantur, quia non possent aliter apparere. (4) Tunc versus quamlibet parcium unus ponatur gladius, et debent in altitudine adequari. Tunc, si solus fueris, versus orientem primo invocabis. (5) Si autem duo,[55] secundus sedeat versus partem contra occidentem, si 3, tercius versus meridiem, si 4, quartus contra septemtrionem, si 5, 5us versus consol, si 6, 6us versus nogahem, si 7, septimus versus faciem contra frigicap situetur. (6) Et habeat quilibet unum scannum ligneum alcius a terra ad digiti spissitudinem, ne scriptura circuli deleatur. Set ultra 3 socios capere non iuvabit.

This should be done with your hand closed—show them the closed fist with the seals. Then say: (36) “May the power of these holy names of God and your seals conquer you, which bind you to assemble, to come, to appear, to answer me, and to obey me in all things.”

(37) With this said, you will see the movement of them rising up, and then you should say to the associates, that they should not doubt, and make them take a drink, even if thus far you have seen no movements.[261] But they must not be raised up more than nine times.[262]

CXXX. Of the approach towards the circle—the raising up of the winds before it.

When you see their movements approaching the circle, you should summon them once again before the circle. (2) Then you should enter the circle through the part between Frigicap and the West, situated in front of the boundary, and then the associates should stand with their feet inside the circle, reciting 18, until you have re-closed the circles from within. (3) Then situate the associates and the swords in the circle such a manner, but before they have entered, the seven preceding names should be erased, because otherwise they would not be able to appear. (4) Then place one sword towards each direction, and they must be equalized in height. Then, if you are alone, you should invoke first toward the east. (5) If but two, the second one should sit facing toward the western part; if three, the third toward the south; if four, the fourth facing north; if five, the fifth towards Consol; if sixth, the sixth towards Nogahem; if seven, the seventh toward should be situated facing Frigicap. (6) And any of them may have a wooden stool higher than the ground by the thickness of a finger, lest the writing of the circle is erased. But to take more than three associates will not be helpful.

CXXXI Preparacio ad excitandum spiritus

Situatis igitur in circulo ensibus et sociis magister habens signum Dei et sigilla in manu sua dextra ponat thus in thuribulo super prunas et suffumiget ter circulum et 7 mundi partes, celum, terram, signum Dei, socios et se ipsum dicens 1 et 2. (2) Tunc flexis genibus versus orientem dicat 25, 27, 28, 31, in quibus applicabit propositum in fine ita dicens:

(3) APPLICACIO

“Ut ille vel illi N spiritus, quos ego invocavero, ad me constricti veniant, sub tali forma N letantes appareant, (4) de omnibus quesitis veritatem respondeant et omnia mea precepta veraciter adimpleant et adimpleta diligenter et sine corupcione custodiant per illum, qui divisit lumen a tenebris, qui diabolis potestatem suam abstulit, (5) sub cuius potestate sunt celestia, terrestria et infernalia, qui vivit et regnat Deus in deitate sua, trinitas, Pater et Filius et Spiritus sancti, Amen.”

CXXXII

Hoc facto dicat sociis, quod non timeant et inclinato capite terram et ensem et nichil aliud respiciant et, si siciunt, bibant. (2) Et tunc magister tenens baculum lauri vel coruli illius anni in manu dextra et thuribulum in sinistra incipiens in oriente novies circuiens suffumiget circulum dicens:

(3) EXCITACIO SPIRITUUM

“Barthan, Formione, Iammax, Sarabocres, Harthan, Abaa, Maymon,” Quo dicto percuciat orientalem gladium de virgula dicens:

CXXXI. Preparation for raising up the spirits.

With the swords and the associates situated in the circle, and the master having the Sign of God and the seals in his right hand, he should place incense on the glowing charcoals in the censer, and he should fumigate the circle three times and the seven parts of the world, the heavens, the earth, the Sign of God, the associates, and he himself, saying prayers one and two. (2) Then kneeling toward the east he should say 25, 27, 28, 31, in which he will apply the intention in the end, saying:

(3) THE APPLICATION.

“That this spirit or these spirits N., whom I have invoked, may come bound to me, appearing cheerfully in the form of N., (4) answering all questions truthfully, and fulfilling all my orders truly and carefully, and may they take care without corruption, through Him who divided light from darknesses, who took away his power from the devils, (5) under whose power are all celestial, earthly, and infernal beings, who lives and reigns God in his deity, the Trinity, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen.”

CXXXII.

With this done, he should tell the associates not to fear, but to bow their heads, and pay attention to nothing other than the earth and the sword, and if they are thirsty, they may drink. (2) And then the master takes in his right hand a stick of laurel or hazel from that year,[263] and in his left hand the censer. He then begins to suffumigate the circle, starting toward the east, and going around nine times, saying:

(3) THE RAISING UP OF THE SPIRITS.

"Barthan, Formione, Iammax, Sarabocres, Harthan, Abaa, Maymon," Which said he should strike to the east the sword with the wand, saying:

(4) "Exeat hic potentissimus rex Barthan cum omnibus suis suffraganeis in virtute celesti meam facere voluntatem,"

Tunc in meridie dicat:

"Iammax, Sarabocres, Harthan, Abaa, Maymon, Barthan, Formione,"

(5) Tunc percuciat meridionalem gladium dicens:

"Exeat hinc[56] fortissimus rex Yammax cum sua inenumerabili[57] caterva virtute divina meam facere voluntatem."

(6) Tunc in occidente dicat:

"Harthan, Abaa, Maymon, Barthan, Formione, Yammax, Sarabocres."

Quo dicto occidentalem gladium percuciat dicens:

"Exeat hic mitissimus Harthan rex cum omnium[58] suorum velocium subditorum caterva angelica virtute meam facere voluntatem."

(7) Tunc in septemtrione dicat:

"Maymon, Barthan, Formione, Iammax, Sarabocres, Harthan, Abaa."

(8) Quo dicto percuciat septemtrionalem gladium de virgula dicens:

"Exeat hic acerbissimus rex Maymon cum omnium suorum aereorum[59] spirituum exercitu virtute obediencie Belzebut ab eis debite meam facere voluntatem."

(9) Tunc in consol dicat:

"Formione, Yammax, Sarabocres, [Harthan], Abaa, Maymon, Barthan,"

Quo dicto consolanem gladium de virgula percuciat dicens:

"Exeat hic pulcherrimus rex Formione cum suis legionibus angelorum virtute timoris summi iudicii meam facere voluntatem,"

(10) Tunc in nogahem dicat:

“Sarabocres, Harthan, Abaa, Maymon, Barthan, Formione, Yammax,”

(4) “May this most powerful king Barthan go forth, with all his supporters with the heavenly power, to do my will.”

Then, facing North he should say:

“Iammax, Sarabocres, Harthan, Abaa, Maymon, Barthan, Formione.”

(5) Then he should strike the sword to the South, saying:

“May this most mighty King Yammax go forth from here, with his innumerable troops with divine power, to do my will.”

(6) Then facing West, he should say:

“Harthan, Abaa, Maymon, Barthan, Formione, Yammax, Sarabocres.”

Having said this, he should strike the western sword, saying:

“May this most mild King Harthan go forth with the power of all his troops of swift angelic subordinates, to do my will.”

(7) Then facing North he should say:

“Maymon, Barthan, Formione, Iammax, Sarabocres, Harthan, Abaa.”

(8) Having said this, he should strike the northern sword with the wand, saying:

“May this most harsh king Maymon go forth with all his hosts of aerial [*harsh] spirits, with the power of the obedience they owe Belzebut, to do my will.”

(9) Then in Consol he should say:

“O Formione, Yammax, Sarabocres, [Harthan],[264] Abaa, Maymon, Barthan,”

Having said this, he should strike the consol sword with the wand, saying:

“May this most beautiful king Formione go forth with his legions of angels with the power of the fear of the Final Judgment, to do my will.”

(10) Then in Nogahem he should say:

“O Sarabocres, Harthan, Abaa, Maymon, Barthan, Formione, and Yammax,”

(11) Quo dicto percuciat nogahelem gladium de virgula dicens:

“Exea[t] hic nobilissimus ac fulgentissimus rex Sarabocres cum omnium suorum spirituum fulgencium potencia ac virtute virtute[60] huius celestis suffumigii meam facere voluntatem,”

(12) Tunc in frigicap dicat:

“Abaa, Maymon, Barthan, Formione, Iammax, Sarabocres, Harthan.”

Quo dicto percuciat frigicapicem gladium de virgula dicens:

“Exeat hic sapientissimus rex Abaa cum omnium suorum sapientium spirituum exercitu virtute huius sacri [sigilli][61] Dei meam facere voluntatem.”

(13) Tunc ponat thuribulum iuxta gladium orientalem. Inclinato capite respiciens crucem ensis dicat hanc oracionem:

(14) ORACIO

“Domine Iesu Christe, qui in ligno crucis pro peccatoribus voluisti crucifigi, ut in ipso tua mors mortem nostram destrueret, exaudi clemens et benignus preces servi tui, (15) ut in virtute tua nobis sanctum angelum mittere digneris, qui hoc sacro misterio tuo ac signo nos confirmet, protegat ac defendat, a temptacionibus malis eripiat et in tuo sacro servicio permanere nos doceat, (16) quia tu es pius et misericors Deus, qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.”

CXXXIII

Hoc dicto stans pedibus in medio circuli respiciens undique celum taliter invocabit:

(11) Having said this, he should strike the nogahel[265] sword with the wand, saying:

“May this most noble and most shining King Sarabocres go forth with the force and power of all his shining spirits, and with the power of this celestial incense, to do my will.”

(12) Then in Frigicap he should say:

“O Abaa, Maymon, Barthan, Formione, Iammax, Sarabocres, Harthan.”

Having said this, he should strike the frigicap sword with the wand, saying:

"May this most wise King Abaa go forth with the army of all his wise spirits, with the power of this sacred [seal] of God, to do my will."

(13) Then he should put the censer near the eastern sword.

With head bowed, gazing at the cross of the sword, he should say this prayer:

(14) PRAYER.

"O Lord Jesus Christ, merciful and kind, who willed yourself to be crucified on a cross of wood for the sake of sinners, in order that through your own death you destroyed our deaths, hear the prayers of your servant, (15) that through your power, you may deign to send to us the sacred angel, who may strengthen us with this your sacred mystery and sign, may it protect and defend, and deliver us from the temptation of evil, and may he teach us to endure in your sacred service, (16) because you are a loving and merciful God, who lives and reigns, God forever and ever. Amen."

CXXXIII.

Having said this, standing with feet in the middle of the circle, gazing in all directions, he should call upon Heaven in this manner:

Incipit invocacio.

(2) "{P}er me [*nomen][62] et in nomine omnipotentis coroborati Dei vivi et veri Sabaoth, cui omnia patent et cui nulla latent, sub cuius voluntate omnes subiciuntur creature, (3) ego, N et ff filius, quamvis peccator, tamen donum divine suscipio maiestatis et in ipso[63] et per ipsum vos Barthan, Thaadas, Caudas, Yalchal, Formione, Guth, Maguth, Guth[r]yn, Iammax, Carmox, (4) Ycanol, Pasfrau, Sarabocres, Nassar, Cynassa, Harthan, Bileth, Milalu, Abucaba, Abaa, Hyici, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb, Maymon, Assaiby, Albunalich, Haybalidech, Yasfla et omnes alios spiritus, animas, demones, ventos, (5) qui vobis serviunt, obediunt et subduntur, excito,

coniuro, contestor et constringo per hec sua nomina sancta 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, (6) et ipse Deus super vos excitet, vos tremere, expavescere et timere faciat, ut cum obediencia, leticia, pulcritudine et mansuetudine et veritate vos iuxta circulum venire et apparere const[ri]ngat. (7) Unde adiuro vos per summum nomen 11, per magnum nomen 12, per excelsum 13, per tremendum 14, per colendum 15, per reverendum 16, per piissimum 17, per ineffabile 18, per incommutabile 19, per sempiternum 20, (8) quatinus +ab omnibus mundi partibus unanimes et letantes hic iuxta circulum in forma N non nocentes alicui creature, non ledentes, non frementes, non furientes nec me sociosque meos vel aliquam creaturam terrentes, neminem offendentes set veniatis+ peticionibus meis consulti et providi statim obedire. (9) Et omnia precepta mea absque omni fallacia penitus adimplere per virtutem illius vobis precipio et ad hoc exorciso, quem omnes creature tremunt et colunt, qui vivit et regnat et regnaturus est super omnia et per omnia secula seculorum. Amen."

Beginning of the invocation.

(2) "Strengthened by the name and in the name of almighty God, the living and true Sabaoth, to whom all things stand open and to whom nothing is hidden, under whose will all creatures are subject, (3) I, N. the son of ff, although a sinner, yet I receive the gift of divine Majesty, and in Him I call you forth, O Barthan, Thaadas, Caudas, Yalchal, Formione, Guth, Maguth, Guth[r] yn, Iammax, Carmox, (4) Ycanol, Pasfrau, Sarabocres, Nassar, Cynassa, Harthan, Bileth, Milalu, Abucaba, Abaa, Hyici, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb, Maymon, Assaiby, Albunalich, Haybalidech, Yasfla, and all other spirits, souls, daemons, and winds (5) which serve, obey, and are placed under you, I call forth, conjure, call upon you, and bind you through these his holy names: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, (6) and God himself calls you forth, causing you to tremble, to feel dread and fear, so that you come and are constrained to appear, obedient, cheerful, beautiful, and subdued, and truthful, next to this circle. (7) From which I charge you through the most high name 11, through the great name 12, through the exalted 13, through the terrifying 14, through the name to be worshiped 15, through the awe-inspiring 16, through the most loving 17, through the indescribable 18, through the unchangeable 19, through the perpetual 20, (8) such that you come from all parts of the world, harmonious and cheerful, next to this

circle, in the form of N., not harming any creatures, nor striking, roaring, raging, nor frightening me or my associates or any creatures, nor shocking anyone, but prepared to obey my decrees at once. (9) And I order you and exorcise you to thoroughly fulfill all my commands without any deceit, through his power, before whom all creatures tremble and worship, who lives and reigns and will reign over all forever and ever. Amen."

(10) ADIURACIO

"Item adiuro vos pernominatos[64] spiritus N et invocando coniuro et coniurando contestor et constringo et viriliter imparo per sanctum nomen 21, per sanctissimum 22, per purum 23 et per iustum 24 et per festinantem 25 et per alia Dei nomina pura, (11) que sunt 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, et per ista novem[65] Dei nomina ineffabilia, que sunt 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, <45,> et per ista nomina Dei pura: [45,] 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, (12) quatinus vos Barthan" et cetera "et omnes spiritus et anime, venti et demones, qui vobis serviunt, obediunt et subduntur, ab omnibus mundi partibus unanimes" et cetera. (13) "Per sanctum igitur, iustum, potentissimum, excellentissimum, piissimum et coroboratum Heloy, fortem et admirabilem, perlaudatum, serviendum, tremendum, colendum, venerandum et terribilem, et per suum sacrum sigillum, quo Maria sigillavit, (14) ego, N, b et f filius, vos prenominatos spiritus N et omnes alios spiritus, animas, ventos et demones unanimiter et letanter cum pulcritudine, mansuetudine et veritate (15) hic iuxta circulum venire, apparere, respondere invoco, contestor, imparo, exorciso, concito,[66] coniuro, constringo et meis preceptis obedire et ea adimplere. (16) Sigillo per hec omnia sancta nomina 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81,[67] quatinus vos Barthan" et cetera (17) "et omnes spiritus, anime, venti, demones, qui vobis serviunt, obediu[n]t et subduntur, ab omnibus mundi partibus unanimes et letantes" et cetera.

(10) THE ADJURATION.

"Likewise I adjure you renowned spirits N, and with invoking I conjure, and with conjuring I call upon and constrain and powerfully order you through the holy name 21, through the most holy 22, through the pure 23

and through the just 24 and through the hastening 25 and through the other pure names of God, (11) which are 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, and Through those nine ineffable names of God, which are 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, <45,> and through those pure names of God: [45,] 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60," (12) as far as "you, O Barthan" etc.[266] "and the all spirits and the souls, the winds and the daemons, which serve you, they obey and are subdued, from all parts of the world, harmonious" etc. (13) "Therefore, through the holy, just, most powerful, most excellent, most pious and strengthening **Heloy**, strong and wonderful, extolled, served, causing trembling, worship, adoration, and fear, and by your Sacred Seal, with which Mary has sealed, (14) I, N., the child of B. and F., O you previously-named spirits N., and all other spirits, souls, winds, and daemons, I invoke, call upon, order, exorcise, arouse, conjure, and constrain you to come and appear (15) next to this circle, harmoniously and cheerfully, beautiful, subdued, and truthful, to answer, and obey my orders, and fulfill them. (16) I seal you by all these sacred names 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81," as far as **Barthan**' etc. (17) "and all spirits, souls, winds, daemons, which serve and obey you, and are subject to you, from all parts of the world, harmonious and cheerful" etc.

(18) SIGILLUM ET LIGACIO

"Bethala suspensus in ethera, payga. permyga. percuretaih. perrenay. atariron. aboaga. convenite et concurrite ab omnibus mundi partibus, (19) ara. aray. pangula. iamtarpa. kauthalae. calcecatas. syray. angyus. sathon. arathon. payn. enrapaelon. edydy. (20) per hoc zeham. Vitale. gysina. genasse. acenich. Vicmat [*Vicinat].[68] ut angi{u}s de sede florigeret super ea, que posita sunt in baldice speris, (21) baldultabrac. flebilis. palmonyam. ynephar. yristix. abyreylazacu. Sella. occurrite ab universis mundi partibus unanimes et letantes cum obediencia, leticia, pulcritudine, mansuetudine et veritate in forma N hic iuxta circulum apparentes, (22) non nocentes alicui creature nec ledentes nec frementes nec furientes nec me sociosque meos vel aliquam creaturam terrentes, (23) neminem offendentes set veniatis peticionibus meis consulti et providi statim obedire et omnia precepta mea absque omni fallacia possitis adimplere. (24) Per virtutem illius vobis precipio et ad hoc exorcizo, quem omnes creature

tremunt et colunt, qui vivit et regnat et regnaturus est super omnia benedictus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen."

(25) Tunc novies circumeundo circulum tanges [*tangens][69] singulos gladios dicens: "{I}nvoco vos, aerie potestates in oriente, Barthan, Formione, Iammax," et cetera, sicut fecerat circulos suffumigando, et cum circuierit, (26) reversus in orientem dicat: "... et invocando coniuro vos per Zabuater, Rabarmas, Hiskiros, Kirios, Gelon, [Hel], Techel, Nothi, Ymeynlethon, Karex[70] et per angelos et archangelos, per tronos, dominaciones, per principatus et potestates et virtutes, per cherubyn et seraphyn ...." (27) Tunc semel circuiens circulum tangens gladios dicat: "... et per ista sacra angelorum nomina: Raphael, Caphael, Dardiel, Hurathaphel ...,"[71] in 2° gladio: "... Satquiel, [Raphael], Paamcociel, Asasagel [*Asasayel]...,"[72] (28) in 3[0] gladio: "... Samael, Sat<r>iel, Ituraiel, Am<i>abiel...," in 4[0] gladio: "... Hanahel, Ratquiel [*Raquiel],[73] Salguyel ...," in 5[0] gladio: "... Gabriel, Mychael, Samyel, Atithael ...," (29) in 6[0] gladio: "... Mychael, Myel, Sarapiel ...," in 7° [gladio]: "... [Boel], Cap[h]ciel, Mycraton, Satquiel, quibus non [*vobis] omnibus dominatur, et per omnia, que de Deo sunt dicenda et intelligenda, (30) et per illud signum Salomonis a Domino datum et per capud principis vestri Belzebub, cui debetis obedire, et per ista nomina sacra: (31) [Sabaoth], Sella, 91, Ciros, 92, Ob[i]ron, 93, [Nomygon], Oriel, 94, Theos, 95, Hespelli, 96, quatinus vos Barthan ... et eos spiritus" et cetera.[74]

(18) SEALS AND BONDS.

"Bethala[267] suspended in the ether, **payga. permyga. percuretaih. perrenay. atariron. Aboaga,** convene and assemble from all arts of the Universe, (19) **ara. aray. pangula. iamtarpa. kauthalae. calcecatas. syray. angyus. sathon. arathon. payn. enrapaelon. edydy**. (20) Through this Zeham, Vitale, Gysina, Genasse, Acenich, Vicinath[268] as *angius* from the seat *florigeret*[269] over those, which have been placed in the sphere Baldice, (21) Baldultabrac, Lamentable, Palmonyam, Hynephar, Hyristix, Abyreylazacu, Sella.[270] Come together from all parts of the universe, harmonious and rejoicing with obedience, cheerfully, with beauty, gentleness, and truth, in the form of N., here visible beside this circle, (22) not harmful to any creature, neither hurting nor roaring nor raging against

me or my associates, or frightening any creatures, (23) offending nobody, but may you come to respond to the petitions of my decree and provisions, to immediately obey and fulfil all my entreaties without any deceit. (24) I command you, and for this purpose I exorcise you, through his power, whom all creatures fear and worship, who lives and reigns, and will reign over all blessed, forever and ever. Amen."

(25) Then go around the circle nine times, touching each sword once, saying: "I call upon you, O airy powers of the East, Barthan, Formione, Iammax," etc., as you did when suffumigating the circles, and when you have encircled it, (26) you should return to the East and say: "... and invoking I conjure you through **Zabuater, Rabarmas, Hiskiros, Kirios, Gelon, [Hel,] Techel, Nothi, Ymeynlethon, Karex**,[271] and through the Angels and Archangels, through the Thrones, Dominations, through the Principates and Potestates and Virtutes, through the Cherubyn and Seraphyn ...." (27) Then go around the circle once, touching each sword, saying: "...and by the names of your holy angels: **Raphael, Caphael, Dardiel, Hurathaphel**. At the second sword: "... Satquiel, [Raphael], Paamcociel, Asasagel [*Asasayel]...," (28) at the third sword: "... Samael, Satiel, Ituraiel, Amabiel...," at the fourth sword: "... Hanahel, Raquiel, Salguyel...," at the fifth sword: "... Gabriel, Mychael, Samyel, Atithael...," (29) at the sixth sword: "... Mychael, Myel, Sarapiel...," at the seventh: "... [Boel], Caphciel, Mycraton, Satquiel, who is master of everything with you,[272] and by all things which should be said and understood about God, (30) and through that sign of Solomon given by the Lord, and by the head of your prince Belzebub, whom you must obey, and by these holy names of yours: (31) [Sabaoth], Sella, 91, Ciros, 92, Obiron, 93, [Nomygon], Oriel, 94, Theos, 95, Hespelli, 96," as far as "you, O Barthan ... and those spirits" and so forth.[273]

(32) Tunc flexis genibus contra 4 mundi partes eis coniungitur penitus, quia omnes alii non possunt quod hii possunt, et eciam una cum Luna referunt consilia secretorum omnium in respectu aliorum, et sua forma clara est.

(33) Tunc semel dicat flexis genibus contra 4 mundi partes: "{A}ramorule, Thanthalatisthen, 97, Rabud, Thanthalatisthen, 28, 29, principium et finis, 30, 31, 32, (34) te suppliciter exoro et invoco, ut tuo iudicio convicti et constricti veniant advocati et dent michi responsa vera

de quibus interrogavero non nocentes alicui creature, (35) non ledentes, non frementes, non furientes[75] nec me sociosque meos vel aliquam creaturam terrentes, neminem offendentes set peticionibus meis [obedientes] pocius et que precepero diligenter adimplentes."

(32) Then kneeling towards the four parts of the world, joining with them inwardly,[274] because no others can do what these are able to do, and furthermore, together with the moon, they can reveal the secret plans of all the others, and their form is clear.[275]

(33)[276] Then say once towards the four parts of the world with bent knees: "**Aramorul, Thanthalatisthes, 97, Rabud, Thanthalatistha, 28, 29, the beginning and the end, 30, 31, 32, 33,** (34) I humbly beg and call upon you, that by your judgment they may be bound and constrained to come and give true answers to those things which I shall ask them, not hurting any creature, (35) not hurting or roaring or raging against either me or my associates or frightening any creatures, offending nobody, but rather [obeying] my petitions and diligently fulfilling my orders."

(36) Tunc stans pedibus sibila sepcies percuciat et tunc semel circueat circulum dicens "Bethala" et cetera usque ad "occurrite." (37) Tunc stans in medio circuli aperta manu super aerem eis signum ostendat dicens: "Sigillo Salomonis veniant advocati et dent michi responsum verum."

(38) INCIPIT PLACACIO SPIRITUUM.

"{G}eneolia, Chide, ministri tartaree sedis primathie, principes prepotentes sedis apoloice, potestates maonami{ri}e,[76] (39) ego vos invoco et invocando vos coniuro atque superne maiestatis munitus virtute potenter imparo per eum, qui dixit, et factum est, cui obediunt omnes creature, et per hoc nomen ineffabile 'Tetragramaton:' ioht, he, uau, deleth, (40) in quo plasmatum est omne seculum, quo audito omnes exercitus celestium, terrestrium et infernalium creaturarum tremunt et colunt, (41) quatinus cito et sine mora et omni occasione cessante ab universis mundi partibus adveniatis, racionabiliter de omnibus, quecumque interogavero, respondeatis non nocentes michi nec sociis meis, (42) non mencientes set pocius veritatem dicentes et veniatis {pa}cifice manifestantes quod cupimus coniu{rat}i per nomen eterni, vivi et veri Dei, 97."

(36) Then standing on his feet, he should strike the whistle[277] seventimes, and then circumambulate once around the circle, saying "Bethala" etc. up to "come together." (37) Then standing in the middle of the circle with the open hand over the air, he should show the sign to them, saying: "May those who are called, come to the Seal of Solomon, and may they give true answers to me."

(38) HERE BEGINS THE PLACATING OF THE SPIRITS.

"Geneolia, Chide, ministers of the Tartarean seat of Primachia, mighty princes of the seat of Apologia, powers of Maonamiria, (39) I invoke you and by invoking you I conjure and protected by the strength of the heavenly majesty, I potently command you through Him who spoke, and it was done, whom all creatures obey, and through this ineffable name 'Tetragrammaton:' **IOHT, HE, VAU, DALETH**,[278] (40) through which all the ages were formed, which heard, all celestial, terrestrial, and infernal hosts tremble at worship (41) that you cease all pretexts and come quickly and without delay, from all parts of the world, responding rationally to everything which I will ask, not harming me nor my associates, (42) not speaking deceptively, but rather truthfully and may you come peacefully, revealing what we wish, being conjured with the eternal name of the living and true God, 97."[279]

(43) Quo facto statim apparebunt visiones infinite et illusiones sicut choros, organa, cithare et omnia instrumenta dulcissima, ut possint socios ad exitum provocare, quia supra magistrum nichil possunt. (44) Illis vero transactis venient exercitus militum et ballivorum, ut debeant pro timore de circulo fugere. (45) Post hec venient sagittarii cum omnium ferarum genere, ac si eos crederent devorare. Set operans providus loquatur sociis dicens: (46) "Nolite timere. Ecce signum Domini, creatoris nostri. Convertimini ad eum, quia potens est vos eripere de ore malignancium."

(47) Tunc dicat magister spiritibus manu clausa: "Fugiat hinc iniquitas vestra virtute vexilli Dei," et tunc aperiat,[77] ut obedire cogantur, et statim nichil socii videbunt. (48) Tunc confortando eos dic: "Sicio. Potemus. Quid vobis videtur? Nolite timere. Sperantes autem in Domino misericordia circumdabit. Letamini igitur in Domino et gloriamini," et

scias, quod de cetero non timebunt. (49) Tunc dicat eis, quod de cetero non loquantur, et tunc in medio circuli conversus teneat manum dextram in aere dicens: (50) “Ecce opus sacratissimum. Ecce mirabilis descripcio. Ecce capita[78] vestra prefigurata sanctissimis Dei nominibus exornata. (51) Ecce [signum][79] Salomonis cum suis literis, karacteribus et figuris, quod ante vestram adduxi presenciam. (52) Ecce personam exorcizatoris in medio exorcismi, qui est optime a Deo munitus, intrepidus, providus viribus, qui potenter vos exorcizando vocavit et vocat. (53) Venite igitur cum omni festinacione, o Aye, Samye, ne differatis venire. Per nomina eterna vivi et veri Dei, 98, 99, et per hoc presens sacratissimum opus et per sanctum sigillum, (54) quod super vos potenter imperat, et per virtutem celestium spirituum et per personam exorcizatoris coniurati festinate venire et obedire preceptori vestro, qui vocatur ‘Occinnomos.’”

(43) With that done, immediately infinite visions and illusions will appear, such as choirs, organs, lutes, and all the sorts of the sweetest instruments, in order to provoke the associates to flee, because they are able to exert no such influence over the master. (44) After this armies of soldiers and bailiffs will come, in order to frighten them to flee from the circle. (45) After these archers with all types of wild beasts will come, and act as if they intended to devour them. But he should speak with caring to the associates saying, (46) “Have no fear. Behold the sign of the Lord, our creator. Turn back to him, because he has the power to snatch you away from the jaws of the wicked.”

(47) Then the master, with closed hands,[280] says as follows to the spirits: “Flee hence with your iniquities, by virtue of the banner of God.” And then he should uncover [the Seal of God], to compel them to obey, and immediately the associates will see them no more. (48) Then encourage them, saying, “I am thirsty. We may drink. What does it seem like to you? Don't be afraid, but put your hope in the mercy of the Lord. Therefore rejoice in the Lord.” And know that they will fear no more. (49) Then tell them that they should not speak any more, and then, in the middle of the circle, he should hold his right hand in the air, saying, (50) “Behold the most sacred work. Behold this wonderful depiction. Behold your divisions prefigured, embellished with the most holy names of God. (51) Behold the [sign] of Solomon with its letters, characters, and figures, which I have brought before your presence. (52) Behold the person of the

exorcist in the midst of the exorcism, who has been well fortified by God, undaunted, prepared with powers, who has powerfully called you, and calls you with exorcising. (53) Come therefore with all haste, O **Aye, Samye**, come without delay. Through the eternal names of the living and true God, 98, 99, and by this most holy work, and by the Holy Seal, (54) which commands power over you, and by the virtue of the heavenly spirits, and by the person of the exorcist who is conjuring you, hasten to come and obey your master, who is called '**Occinnomos**.'"

(55) Hic sibilet undique semel et statim videbit motus et signa propria, set non nocebunt de cetero. Et tunc dicat sicut homo ferens imperium divine maiestatis et quasi eos in infimo suppeditans: (56) "Quid tardatis? Que est ista mora, quam facitis? Properate vos et obedite preceptori vestro, Bachac super Abrac ruens, Abeor super Aberor." (57) Et statim venient in forma propria, si illis venientibus, dum fuerint circa circulum, dicat magister ostendens eis sigillum: "Ecce coniuracionem vestram. Nolite inobedientes fieri." (58) Et statim videbit eos in forma pulcherrima et pacifica dicentes: "Pete quod vis. Nunc parati sumus quicquid preceperis adimplere, quia nos Dominus subiugavit." Tunc pete quod vis, et tibi fiet vel aliis, pro quibus volueris operari.

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233 Is this a quote from Simon of Faversham (c. 1260–1306), *Quaestiones super De motu animalium*. http://cimagl.saxo.ku.dk/download/84/84Christensen93-128.pdf p. 109 or Peter of Auvergne (died 1304)? Compare "in ratione amantis et desiderantis" and "in ratione amati et desiderati" in Petrus, and Griet Galle. *Questions on Aristotle's De caelo*. Leuven (Belgium): Leuven University Press, 2003, p. *204.

234 Chap 2: psallencium ("singing psalms"); SSM: ballancium ("dancing").

235 Or cruel.

236 S3853: *gratiosa* ("agreeable").

237 Cp. CVII.

238 Compare OP_4: Apparebunt longo corpore, cholerico, et aspectum turpissimo: colore subfusto, et quasi ruffo, cornibus fere ceruinis, et unguibus griphi: mugiunt instar taurorum insanorum. Motus eorum fit quasi instar ignis comburientis. Signum afferent in specie, fulgur et tonitru iuxta circulum. ("They appear in a tall body, choleric, a filthy countenance, of color brown, swarthy or red, having horns like Harts horns, and gryphon's claws, bellowing like wild Bulls. Their Motion is like fire burning; their sign Thunder and Lightning about the Circle.")

239 Cp. CV, spirits of Saturn.

240 This description is almost identical to that found in de Abano, "considerations of Saturday."

241 Cp. OP4.5a.

242 SSM: Cosol; Leipzig: Casol.

243 Spelled Guthryn or Guthrin all other passages. SSM: Gutryn.

244 OP4: Apparent corpore sanguineo et cholerico, mediae staturae, horribili motu, visu mitissimo, blando colloquio, colore ferrugineo. Motus eorum, est coruscatio, cum tonitru. Signum eorum, apparebunt iuxta circulum homines, qui in specie a leonibus devorabuntur. Formae autem particulares sunt: ("The spirits of Jupiter do appear with a body sanguine and choleric, of a middle stature, with a horrible fearful motion; but with a middle countenance, a gentle speech, and of the color of iron. The motion of them is flashings of lightning and thunder; their sign is, there will appear men about the circle, who shall seem to be devoured of lions.")

245 *Africus* means either the southwest wind, or from Africa.

246 Cp H p. 146–7.

247 Aspect (face): i.e. decan.

248 The drawings in Sl. 3854 amd Sl. 313 do not resemble heptagons, but other exemplars do, e.g. 3853 150v, and SSM L.3.f.29. Leipzig Cod. Mag. 16 p. 112 is similar to Sl. 3854.

249 Figure not found in C or R. B shows North occupying 90 degrees. D and SSM show seven equal segments. L shows the West as occupying 90 degrees. SSM text has slight variations in the order and especially in the names. See Appendix II.

250 That is, to add the names of God, such as "Theos" and "Sother," to that of the appropriate angels of the day etc.

251 SSM: Layaly, lyalg, vehem, yalgal, narach, lybarre, lybares. Compare the Seal of God. Compare also Wellcome 110, fol. 45v.

252 SSM adds: masculine.

253 Boon: SSM reads "beon." This name doesn't appear elsewhere in the text.

254 This text is included in the diagram of the circle, and not part of the text.

255 See CXXVII.15.

256 SSM L.3.f.30: Baxahathau, gaatus, candones, yarabal, haryx, yesse, ryon, nesaph, naadobp: atrahurbyabylys, yaconaablabur, carmeal, iunyal, proathofas: cambores, trachatat, nassar, (6) naassah: hebethel, amocab, oylol, mylalu, abucaba: zobha, drohas, palas, Sambas: Mextyura, Altybany, alphlas.

257 SSM: Hatraurbyabylys, yaconablabur, carmeal, iunyal, prohatofas, cambores, trachatat, nassar, naassah, hebethel, amocab, oylol, mylalu, aabucaba: zobah, (9) drohas, palas, Sambas, mextyura, alcibany, alphlas, baxathau, cahatus, caudones, yarabal, haryth, yesse, ryon, nesaph, naadob.

258 GH p. 38: "whatever else suits his purpose."

259 Gershom Scholem asserts that this indirect form of addressing the spirits is an indication of Arabic influence ("Some Sources of Jewish-Arabic Demonology," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 15 (1965): 1-13, cited in Mesler 2012 p. 142 n91.)

260 See below, 13, 17, 21, 25, 33, and CXIX.2. SSM L.3.f.31: thaadas, caaudas, yarabal.

261 Sl. 3853 adds: "repeat the convocations."

262 SSM adds: *Quia si infra nouies motus non aperuerit, illa vice frustraris pro tunc. Set corrige te Et in crastino vel post crastino resume opus:* ("Because, if their movements are not revealed after nine times, with that turn you will be disappointed for that time. But you will improve, and on the following day, or the day after that, you may pick up the work again.")

263 This is called *baculus* ("a stick or staff") here, but *virgula* ("wand, rod, twig") just below. SSM calls it *virga* below. I have to interpret "from that year" as meaning it should be cut fresh each year, not that it should be of the same year's growth, as the latter would be too small.

264 Missing in both Sl. 3854 and Sl. 3853, but found in SSM, and needed to be consistent with other parallel passages.

265 SSM: Nogaelem; one would expect “nogahem.”

266 CXXXIII.8 just above.

267 According to Ganell's text (81r) this prayer is called *Sigillum aereorum* (“the seal of the air”), and reads as follows: “Bethala, suspensus in ethera, per ayga, per myga, perturetac, per renay, ataryron, aboaga. Conuenite et occurrite ab uniuersis mundi partibus, (19) ara, arax, pangula, iamtarpa, kantalee, [L.1.f.23] calcecathos, syray, angyus, sathon, arathon, payn, eurapa, elon, edydy, (20) per hoc zeam, vitale, Gysyna, Genasse, acenyth, Vicinath, ut angius de sede florigereth super ea que posita sunt in baldichye speris [=spheris], (21) baldyutabrac flebilis, palmonyam, Inephar [or Mephar?], yrystyx, abyrey, lazacu, Sella.” Compare also BoO p. 167. Compare also *Grimoire of Honorius* Conjuration du roi du Septentrion: “Balandier, *suspensus, iracundus, Origratiumgu, Partus, Olemdemis et Bantatis,* N. je t'exorcise...”

268 GH reads Vicmat, but Vicinat or Vicinath is supported by Sl. 3853 and SSM. Could be read “it is neighboring.”

269 Florigeret: “It will bear flowers” (?)

270 Sella could mean “the seat.”

271 i.e. names 74-83 from CI.7, however these were used above. SSM specifies names 82-90, which would be next in the list. It is not clear why Sl. 3854 and Sl. 3853 abandoned the practice of referring to names by their number in this instance.

272 Following D, which reads “qui vobis omnibus dominatur.” A has “nõ” or “uõ” which could easily be a misreading.

273 CXXXIII.8.

274 GH: “After this, he should kneel at the four cardinal points *to meet and join with the spirits*....” It is not clear if *eis* (“with them”) refers to the spirits or to the four parts of the world.

275 The last part of this paragraph seem out of place. Compare CX.3: together with the moon they (the spirits of Mercury) can reveal the secret councils of all the others. *Clara* can also mean “bright,” but CX.3 adds *ad modum vitri* (“like glass”).

276 Compare *Heptameron*: “Amorule....”; BoO pp. 195–196; D252 130r–131r.

277 See below, chap. CXL.2-5.

278 Note on the form “ioht, he, uau, *deleth*” see introduction. SSM reads: Ioth, he, vau, he.

279 Name 97 is “Elyorem.” This whole passage has a parallel in H, pp. 120-122: “Beralanensis, Baldachiensis, Paumachiæ & Apologiæ sedes, per Reges potestatesque magnanimas, ac principes præpotentes, Genio Liachidæ, ministri Tartareæ sedis: Primac, hic princeps sedis Apologiæ, nona cohorte: Ego vos inuoco, & inuocando vos coniuro, atque supernæ Maiestatis munitus virtute, potenter impero, per eum qui dixit, & factum est, & cui obediunt omnes creaturæ: & per hoc nomen ineffabile, Tetragrammaton IHVH Iehouah, in quo est plasmatum omne seculum, quo audito Elementa corruunt, aër concutitur, mare retrogradatur, ignis extinguitur, Terra tremit, omnesque exercitus Cælestium, terrestrium, & infernorum tremunt, turbantur & corruunt: quatenus cito, & sine mora, & omni occasione remota, ab vniuersis Mundi partibus, veniatis: & rationabiliter de omnibus quæcunq; interrogauero, respondeatis vos, & veniatis pacificè, visibiles, & affabiles: & nunc sine mora, manifestantes quod cupimus: coniurati per nomen æterni, viui & veri Dei **Heliorem.**” Compare also Byzantine exorcism in Delatte 1957 p. 43: “’ξορκίζω τοίνυν ύμας, πνεύματα Βεραλάνευσις, Βαλδακιόνσης, Πανμαχία καί Άπολογίου καθεδραι, διά τών μεγαλοφύχων βασιλέων καί δυνάμεων καί άρχών ίσχυροτάτων, Γενιολιακίδαι, δοῦλοι τής ταρταρέας καθέδρας, Πριμάκ ό πρώτος τής άπωλείας καθέδρας έκτοῦ εννάτου τάγματος έγώ ύμάς έξορκίζω ένδυναμωθεῖς τή θεία ίσχύϊ διά τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ οντά πάντα ύπόκεινται καί ύπείκουσι καί διά τοῦ Τετραγραμμάτον Γεχοβά άκούοντα τά στοιχεῖα ταράσσονται, ό άήρ κινεῖται, ή θάλασσα στρῖφει είς τά οπίσω, τὸ πῦρ σβέννυται, ή γή σε

ἱεται καῖ τρεμει καῖ πάν τάγμα επουρανίων καῖ επιγείων καῖ καταχθονίων τρέμει καῖ φοβειται.” In view of Petrus's reading “nona cohorte,” and the Greek “τοῦ εννάτου τάγματος” (“ninth battalion”), “maonamirie” should probably read “Nona Moera,” (“the Ninth Part”). According to Ioannis Marathakis (personal communication), “in Petrus's version, all the words ‘Beralanensis, Baldachiensis, Paumachiae et Apologiae’ are in my opinion attributes of the word ‘sedes’: Apologiae is obvious from Honorius; Paumachiae is another corruption of Primariae; Baldachiensis probably means a throne with a ‘Baldacchino’ (a canopy of state).”

280 H: adhibens manum pentaculo (“holding out his hand to the pentacle”) ... tenens manum prope pentaculum (“holding his hand near the pentacle”).

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35 Cap II: psallencium; SSM: ballancium.

36 Du Cange: Politus, levigatus (“polished, smoothed”). http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/BRUNITUS accessed June 28, 2015.

37 Calida: SSM: pars calida

38 Humida: SSM adds: masculina

39 boon ysicres: SSM: Beon ysystres

40 Consol: SSM calls this cosol throughout the manuscript.

41 Calido mixta humino sicco: B: mixta cum hu. SSM: mixta calida et sicca

42 Zebedey Uriel: SSM: Zebedye, Vuel

43 Eloy Karathiel / Karathiel Eloy: B: elothi karathi / karathi elothi. SSM: Eloy barachiel / barachyel Eloy

44 Nogahem: B, D: Nogaham. SSM: Nogaem

45 Aerea: D: aerei

46 ienomei Uriel / Uriel ienomei: SSM: Genonem, Uryel / Uriel, genonem

47 Feminea: D: semina

48 Hocroel: B: Ocrohel; D: Hocrohel. SSM: atrohel

49 Vihel: D: Viel. SSM: Vyel

50 Pars: D and SSM omit.

51 Christus Lanciel / Lanciel Christus: D: Christus Lancihel / Lancihel Christus. SSM: Christus, lancyel, Christus / Lancyel, Christus / lancyel (!)

52 Promti: *Prompti. Compare CXXIX 9 and 14 and SSM L.3.f.30.

53 Namely, “... promti michi in omnibus obedire. Virtus summi creatoris vos subiuget, que vos venire constringat.” So Sl. 3853 fol 153r. GH, following Sl, 3854, omits. Compare SSM, which cites Beelzebub. Evidence the London Honorius has had chief daemons redacted out?

54 Sl. 3853 153v adds: *reitera convocaciones*.

55 Duo: Sl. 3853: “duos socios habueris.”

56 *Hinc*: GH corrects to *hic* to be consistent with the other paragraphs, but *hinc* would also fit. SSM L.3.f.34 reads *hinc* for all these paragraphs.

57 SSM L.3.f.34: *inennarrabili* (“indescribable”).

58 There is a blank space left in Sl. 3854 of approximately 5-6 characters. There is no indication of a lacuna in Sl. 3853 or SSM.

59 SSM reads *acrium* (“harsh”), which is perhaps more appropriate here, given parallel passages have adjectives that match their office, such as “wise spirits” for Frigicap.

60 Virtute virtute: So Sl. 3854 135v; Sl. 3853 155r omits second virtute; SSM: cum omnium suorum fulgencium spirituum [in marg: collegio] potenciam et [erased word], virtute huius celestis ....

61 This word is found in SSM.

62 GH interprets *mei* as an error for *me*, but Sl. 3853 reads "Per nomen et in nomine." This expression is found frequently in magical texts. See for example, BoO p. 44, Rawl. D252 12v, 87v, Wellcome ms. 110 36r-40v, etc. SSM L.3.f35: "Per N. et in nomine," but in that manuscript N. is often an abbreviation for "nomen;" compare e.g. L.3.f.35 line 10.

63 Sl. 3854 repeats "et in ipso" obviously by mistake. Not found in Sl. 3853 or SSM.

64 GH: *per nominatos*, but see Sl. 3854 135v, Sl. 3853 156r, and SSH L.3.f.35.

65 As GH points out, "novem" ("nine") in Sl. 3854 is inconsistent with the text, which proceeds to list ten names. SSM L.3.f.35 lists names 36-44. S3 (156v) includes name 36 after 35 above, but also reads "decem" ("ten") instead of "novem," and ends with name 46, i.e. "... hofb 34, merkerpon 35, Elzephares 36, et per ista decem dei nomina ineffabilia que sunt Egirion 38 [*37], Betha 38, hombonar 39, Stimulamathon 40, Oryon 41, Eryon 42, Noymos 43, Peb 44, Nathanothay 45, Theon 46." This seems to prove some redacting took place by the scribe of Sl. 3853.

66 GH reads *con[v]icto*. SSM: *excito*; Sl. 3853 157r: *concito*.

67 D does not include 81.

68 So Sl. 3853 157r and SSM L.1.f.23.

69 So SSM L.3.f.36 and Sl. 3853 157v.

70 Zabuater ... Karex: cfr CI.7.

71 Raphael ... Hurathaphel: cfr CVIII.1.

72 Satquiel ... Asasagel: See CVI.1, where the last name is spelled "Asassaiel." SSM L.3.f.36: Asassayel; Sl, 3853 157v: Assassayel.

73 So CIX, SSM, and corrected *sec. man*. in Sl. 3854. Sl. 3853 157v: Ratha.

74 SSM: "..., 96. Item vos Barchan &c." CXXXIII.8, 12.

75 This word is not in H, but can be found in SSM L.3.f.37, BoO p. 196, and Bodleian MS Rawl. D252.

76 SSM L.3.f.37: "Genealogia, chyde, ministri tartarei sedis primachye, principes prepotentes sedis apolloice, potestates, maonanierye." S3: "Geuolia chide..." GH, following only Sl. 3854 here, reads "{.}eneolia, chide." Compare also H "genii, Liachidae."

77 D adds: "signum dei."

78 D: "Ecce opus sacratissimum est signum dei, et est mirabilis descripcio. Id est tota quasi accidentalis dei potencia. Ecce capita...."

79 So D and SSM. A is missing the word. GH inserts: "<sigillum>." H reads "pentaculum."

(Quartum opus vel tractatus)

CXXXIV Capitula 4^{i} tractatus de terreis angelis

De incarceratis habendis; De carceribus reserandis; De thesauris et metallis et lapidibus preciosis et omnibus rebus absconditis habendis; (2) De apparencia corporum mortuorum quod loquantur et resuscitata apparea[n]t; De apparencia creacionis animalium de terra. (3) Set ista duo subtraximus, quia erant contra Domini voluntatem, scilicet mortuum apparenter suscitare et animalia de terra apparenter creare. Finiunt capitula 4i tractatus.

(55) Here he should whistle once on each side, and immediately he will see movements and relevant signs, but they will not harm anything. And then he should speak like one bearing the command of divine majesty, and as if they are humbly satisfying your needs: (56) “Why are you not yet here? What is the reason for your delay? Hurry and obey the commands of your master, Bachac rushing upon Abrac, Abeor over Aberor.” (57) And they will come immediately in their proper forms, and while they are gathering around the circle, the master showing to them the seal, should say: “Behold your conjuration,[281] if you become disobedient.” (58) And immediately he will see them in a most beautiful form, and peaceful, saying “Ask what you wish; we are now prepared to fulfill whatever you order, because the Lord has subjugated us.” Then ask what you wish, and it will be done for you, or for others, on behalf of whom you wished to work.

(Fourth Book or Treatise.)

CXXXIV. Topics of the Fourth Treatise, concerning the Spirits of the Earth.

To extract someone from prison; to unlock prisons; to have treasures and metals and precious stones and all hidden things; (2) that dead bodies appear, which seem to rise again and speak; that animals appear to be created from the land. (3) But we have removed those two, because they were against the Lord's will, namely, to raise up the dead, and to appear to create living creatures from the earth. The end of the topics of the fourth treatise.

CXXXV Incipit modus operandi in eis.

Eodem enim modo, quo in precedenti opere continetur, potes operari de istis spiritibus terreis, si suffumigium et nomina mutarentur, circulus et sigilla. (2) De quibus spiritibus breviter hic dicamus, qui sunt turpissimi et omni pravitate pleni. (3) Eorum natura est radices arborum et segetum exstirpare, thesauros occultos in terra custodire et conservare, terremotus facere, fundamenta civitatum vel castrorum destruere, (4) homines in cisternis deprimere et cavernis, incarceratos temptare, homines destruere, lapides preciosos in terra occultos adlibitum dare et nocere cuicumque.

(5) Corpora eorum sunt ita grossa sicut et alta, magna et terribilia, quorum pedes sunt quilibet 10 digitorum, in quibus sunt ungues ad modum serpentum, et habent 5 vultus in capite; (6) unus est bufonis, alter leonis, tercius serpentis, quartus hominis mortui lugentis et plangentis, quintus hominis incomprehensibilis. (**7**) Duos tigrides gerunt in cauda. Tenent in manibus duos dracones. Color[um] eorum nigerrimus omni nigredine inestimabili.

(8) Sunt autem 5. Corniger rex meridionalis, et habet 4 ministros in 4 mundi partibus, Trocornifer in oriente, Malafer in occidente, Euiraber in meridie, Mulcifer in septemtrione. (9) Et quilibet habet legiones centum, et

in qualibet sunt demones 4500, qui omnes istis 4 obediunt et subduntur, et isti 4 sunt, qui possunt omnes alios spiritus a thesauris absconditis fugare, ligare et constringere, et sunt ministri infernales.

(10) Princeps eorum est Labadau. Eius coadiutor est Asmodeus, qui dat thesaurum indestructibilem cuiuslibet monete. (11) Motus eorum est castrorum ruina, segetum et plantarum exstirpacio. Signum est, quod totus mundus videbitur destrui invocanti. (12) Suffumigium eorum est sulphur, circulus eorum concavus et rotundus et distet a circulo magistri per 9 pedes.

CXXXV. The beginning of the way of operating with them.

You can work with the terrestrial spirits using the same method described in the preceding work, if the suffumigations and the names are altered, as well as the circle and the seals. (2) We will speak about these spirits briefly here. They are most ugly and full of all kinds of wickedness. (3) Their nature is to root out the roots of trees and crops, to guard and preserve treasures hidden in the earth, to cause earthquakes, to destroy the foundations of cities or castles, (4) to drag down people into pits or caves, to tempt those who are imprisoned, to destroy people, to give precious stones hidden in the earth as desired, and to harm anything.

(5) Their bodies are as big as they are high, large and frightening; their feet each have ten toes, which have claws like those of reptiles, and they have five faces on their heads; (6) One is of a toad, another of a lion, the third of a serpent, the fourth of a dead man mourning and striking, the fifth of an incomprehensible man. (7) Two tigers carry them upon their tails. They hold two dragons in their hands. Their color is blacker than the deepest black imaginable.

(8) But they are five. Corniger (“horn-bearing”) is king of the south, and he has four attendants in the four parts of the world: Trocornifer in the East, Malafer in the West, Euiraber in the South, Mulcifer[282] in the North. (9) And each of them has a hundred legions, and in each legion is 4500 daemons, who all obey and are subject to these four, and these four are able to drive away all other spirits from hidden treasures, to bind and constrain, and they are the ministers of Hell.

(10) Their prince is Labadau. His assistant is Asmodeus, who gives indestructible treasure of whatever type of coin.[283] (11) Their movement causes the ruin of castles, rooting up crops and plants. The sign that they have appeared, is that the whole world will seem to be destroyed when they have been invoked. (12) Their suffumigation is sulfur; their circle is hollow and round, and set apart from the circle of the master by feet nine.

(13) SIGILLUM TERRE

"{H}oreaua. recolia. narex. axo et abdia. laadia. cauethlegia. byaron. eleymath. thetanyra. cadulaua.[80] (14) Mathia. nysmaria. pergaria. perelyn. pernigyn. perlabudyn. perkedusyn. perbatusyn. pergalmegue. garaneu, ut tartari cogerentur."[81]

(15) COACCIO EORUM SIVE CONIURACIO

"Invoco vos, terree potestates, et invocando coniuro" et cetera, ut supra in precedenti opere. Tunc, cum dixerint "Quid vis?," pete quod vis, et fiet.

(16) Set melius est scribere peticionem in tegula nova vel tegul[is][82] cum carbonibus et in eorum ponere circulo, et sic eos non audies nec videbis, et tum quicquid petitum fuerit facient in instanti. (17) Et de istis nunquam vel raro Christianus se intromittit, nec eorum consilia sunt credenda.

(18) CIRCULUS, IN QUO APPARENT SPIRITUS.[83]

(13) SEAL OF THE EARTH.

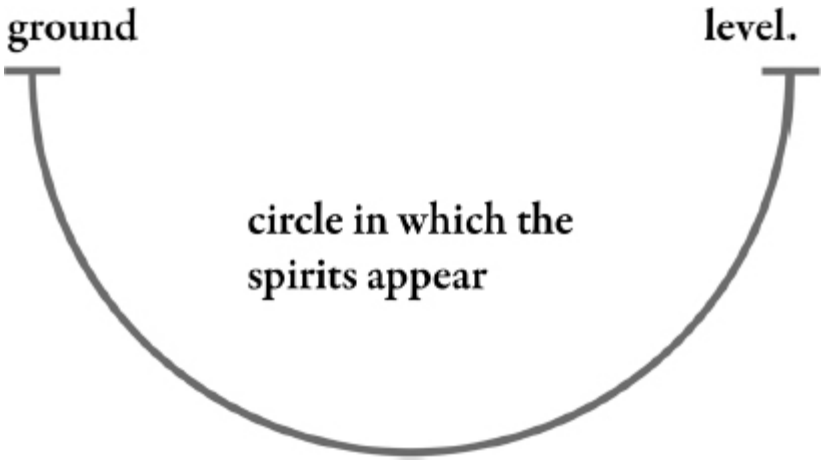
"{H}oreaua, Recolia, Narex, Axo and Abdia, Laadia, Cauethlegia, Byaron, Eleymath, Thetanyra, Cadulaua, (14) Mathia, Nysmaria, Pergaria, Perelyn, Pernigyn, Perlabudyn, Perkedusyn, Perbatusyn, Pergalmegue, Garaneu, that the infernal ones assemble."

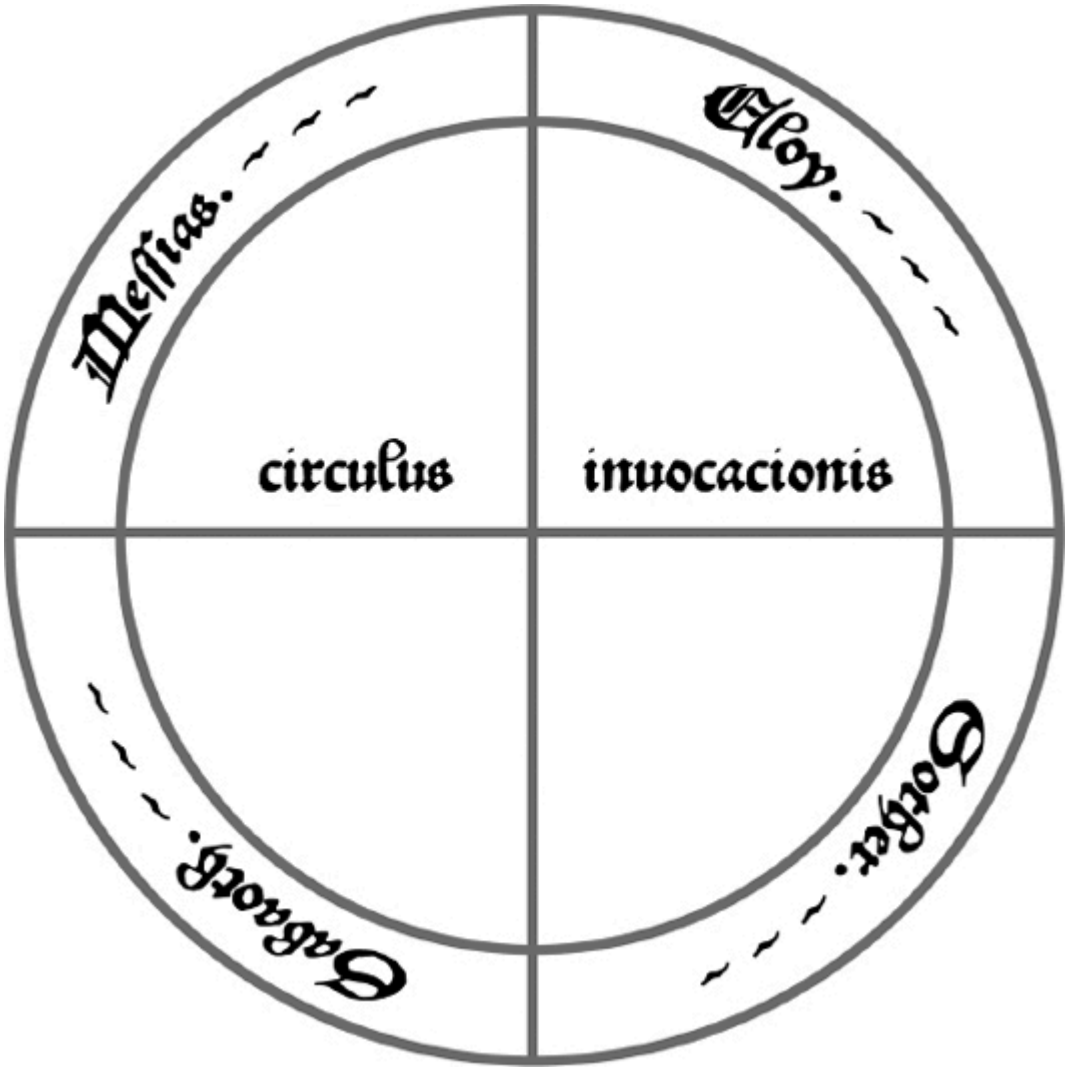
(15) CALLING THEM FORTH, OR THE CONJURATION.

"I call upon you, O powers of the earth, and I invoke and conjure you..." and so on, as given in the preceding work. Then, when they have said "what do you wish?", ask what you wish, and it will happen.

(16) But it is better to write the petition on a new tile (or tiles) with charcoal, and put them in the circle, and thus you will neither hear them nor see them, and then whatever you wish they will make happen in an instant. (17) And concerning these, a Christian should seldom or never let himself enter into dealings with them, nor should their advice be believed.

(18) CIRCLE IN WHICH THE SPIRITS APPEAR.[284]





In hac operacione sed[84] de angelis terreis duo isti circuli necessarii; (19) iste primus, qui est concavus, est in quo veniunt advocati, set iste secundus est planus, in quo invocans stare debet, et debet distare a primo per 9 pedes. (20) Et de hiis maxime operantur pagani et rarissime Christiani.

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281 The parallel text in H reads “ecce conclusionem vestram” (“behold your conclusion” or perhaps better “behold your confinement”).

282 *Corniger*: “having horns” Compare SSM L.5.f.64: Corniger, Corcornifer, Furcaber, Mulcifer, Labadan, Admodeus [sic]. SSM L.5.f.58 ff (*cap 4: de oficiis particularibus spirituum*) lists offices for a long list of daemons, including Corniger, Mulciber, and Malafar, with short descriptions of their offices, for example: *Mulciber, facit fluctuare montaneas velut mare* (“Mulciber makes mountains rise up like waves at sea.”).

283 In Leipzig Cod. Mag. 16 p. 162-163 their names read: Corniger, Cornifer, Malafer, Furcuber, Lucifer, Acadan, and Asmodaÿ.

284 Figure of a pit, with label “equalitas terre” (“ground level”).

80 The c is barely legible, but supported by SSM and Leipzig cod. Mag. 16 p. 166. GH reads "adulaua."

81 SSM L.1.f.23, line 42-L.1.f.24, line 3: Horeana. recholya. nathexaxo. et abdya. laadya. Kauecleya. [L.1.f.24] byaron. eleymath. thetanyra. cadulana. mathya. nysmarya. pergarya. per elyn. per iugyn. per kabudyn. per kedussyn. per batussyn. per gualmegue. per guaranen, ut tartari cogerentur.; L.3.f.59 lines 13-16: Horeana. recolya. nathexaxo. et abdya. laaddya....

82 GH misreads as "vel tegula" and marked as an accretion to be deleted, but it is clear the plural was intended, since it speaks of placing *them* in the circle.

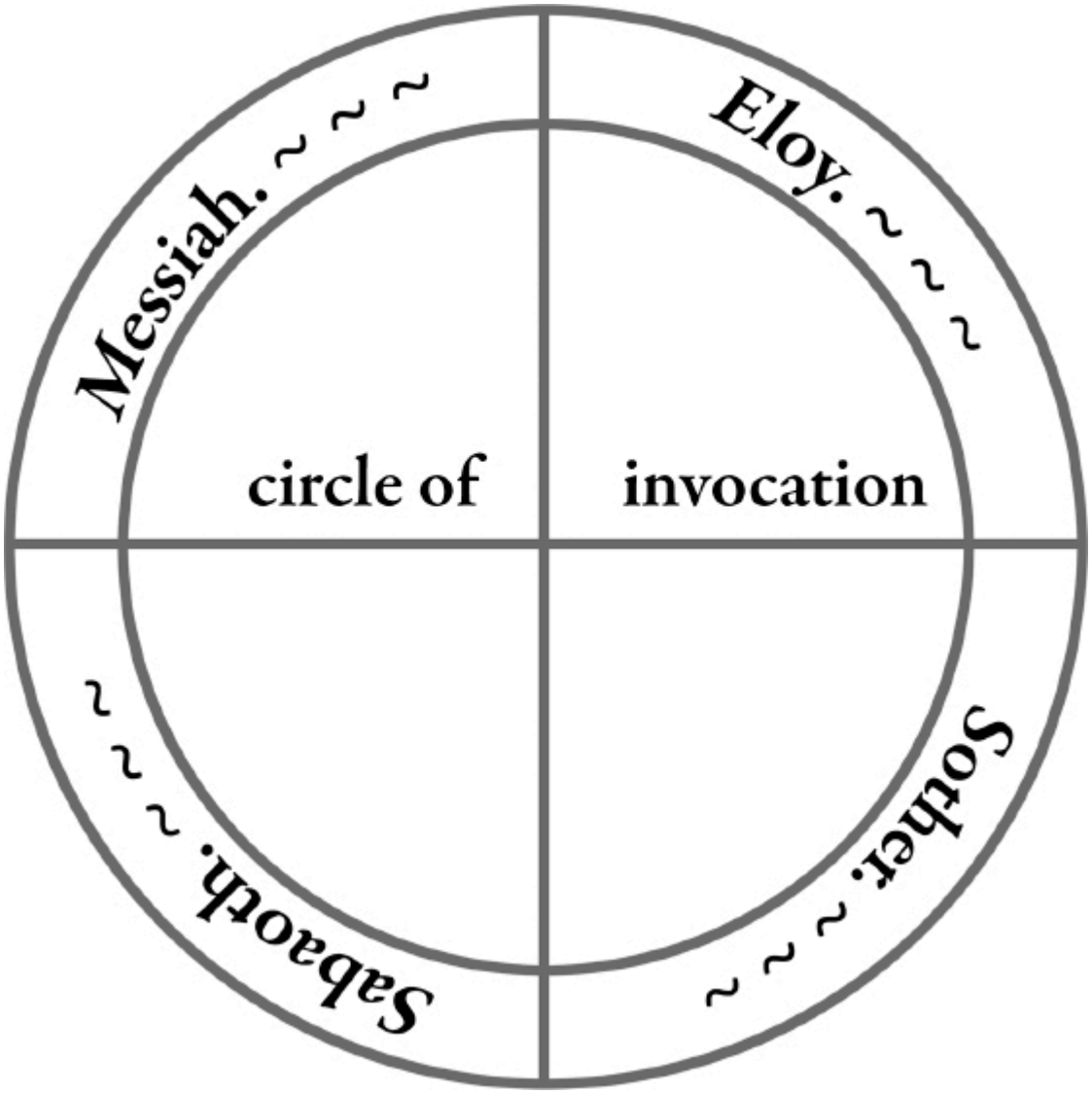
83 Sloane 3854. f. 137r.

84 GH: "4."

CXXXVI Incipit quintus liber.

(Primum capitulum quinti tractatus)

Incipit 5us et ultimus tractatus de exposicione predictorum in generali in 4 primis tractatibus, quia in libro Honorii sunt 5 tractatus, (2) primus de visione divina, secundus de angelis bonis, tercius de aereis, quartus de terreis, quintus de exposicione horum.



In this operation, namely regarding the angels of the earth, two circles are necessary: (19) The first one is hollow; it is where the ones summoned come, but the second should be level, in which the one calling-upon them should stand, and it should stand nine feet apart from the first. (20) And it is especially the pagans who operate with these, and very rarely should Christians.[285]

CXXXVI. Here Begins Book Five.

(First chapter of the fifth treatise)

Beginning of the fifth and final treatise, concerning the general exposition of the preceding in the first four treatises, because in the book of Honorius there are five treatises, (2) the first concerning the divine vision, the second concerning the good angels, the third concerning the aerial (spirits), the fourth concerning the terrestrial (spirits), the fifth concerning the exposition of these.

(3) De visione divina; De cognicione potestatis divine; De absolucione peccatorum; Ne homo incidat in peccatum mortale; De redempcione trium animarum a purgatorio.

(4) Omnium autem horum 5 operum precedencium ordo iacet suo modo verissimo situatus. De primo enim iam patet peticio explanata. (5) De secundo autem taliter postulabis: "... ut abluto corpore me vivente mea possit anima cum tua incomprehensibili potencia a te cognita cum tuis sanctis angelis tuam cognoscere potestatem." (6) De 3° taliter postulabis: "... ut abluto corpore te cum tuis novem angelorum ordinibus me vivente mea possit anima collaudare, et meorum concedas veniam peccatorum." (7) Quarto taliter est dicendum: "... ut abluto corpore dehinc nullam possim committere maculam peccatorum, set meo vivente corpore puro corde, mente et opere te cum tuis novem angelorum ordinibus mea possit anima collaudare" et cetera. (8) Quinta peticio taliter situetur: "... ut meo abluto corpore te <te>cum tuis" et cetera, "... ex tua gracia N, N, N tales a penis purgatorii eripias et suorum veniam tribuas peccatorum, (9) ut ipsi iam defuncti tuam possint agnoscere, laudare et glorificare maiestatem." Istud opus potes novies facere sine ira Dei et qualibet vice, secundum quod predixi, tres animas impetrabis. (10) Et scias, quod, de omnibus aliis si eodem modo petieris, optinebis. <Vel sic. Ut abluto corpore celestes. igneas. aereas. aquaticas et terreas efficaciter possim cognoscere potestates.>[85]

(3) Concerning the divine vision; concerning knowledge of divine power; concerning the absolution of sins; lest one falls into mortal sin; concerning the redemption of three souls from Purgatory.

(4) Moreover, of these five preceding works, their order is set down in the most correct manner.[286] Concerning the first, the petition is as plainly

shown. (5) But you should ask for the second in this manner: "... that with my body being washed, my soul will be able to understand your incomprehensible power, known from you, with your holy angels, while I live." (6) The third should be asked for in this manner: "... that with my body being washed, my soul will be able to praise you, side by side with your nine orders of angels, while I live, and may you grant a pardon for my sins." (7) The fourth should be said in this manner: "... that with my body being washed, hereafter I will not be able to commit the stain of sin, but pure in heart, in mind, and in deed, my soul will be able to praise you, side by side with your nine orders of the angels, while my body lives" and so forth. (8) The fifth petition should be phrased thus: "... that, with my body being washed, side by side with your ..." and so forth, "... by your grace, save N., N., and N., from the pains of purgatory, and pardon their sins, (9) in order that they being released may be able to acknowledge, praise, and glorify your majesty." You will be able to do this work nine times without the wrath of God, and each time you will secure three souls by following what I have said above. (10) And you should know that, concerning all others you will obtain them if you alter the petition in the same manner. <Or thus, "that with my body being washed, I may be able to learn the heavenly, fiery, airy, aquatic, and earthly powers effectually.">

CXXXVII 2^{m} capitulum quinti tractatus de consecracione hincausti[86] sigilli Dei eterni, vivi et veri operantis

'{D}eus invisibilis, Deus inestimabilis, Deus ineffabilis, Deus incommutabilis, (2) Deus incoruptibilis, Deus piissime, Deus dulcissime, Deus excelse, Deus gloriose, Deus inmense, Deus tocius misericordie, ego, licet indignus—vel: plenus iniquitate, dolo et malicia—, (3) suplex ad tuam venio misericordiam orans ac deprecans, ut non respicias ad universa et innumerabilia peccata mea set, sicut consuevisti peccatorum misereri et preces humilium exaudire, (4) ita me, famulum tuum N, licet indignum, exaudire digneris clamantem ad te pro hac benediccione huius creature sanguinis, ut ipse aptus et dignus efficiatur pro hincausto sigilli tui sacri et preciosi et nominis tui "Semenphoras", (5) ita ut aptitudinem, quam

optinere debet, optineat per sanctissimum nomen tuum, quod 4 literis scribitur, ioht, he, vau, deleth—Agla, Eloy, Yaym, Theos, Deus—quo audito celestia, terrestria et infernalia tremunt et colunt. (6) Et per hec sanctissima nomina: On, Alpha et Ω, principium et finis, El, Ely, Eloe, Eloy, Elion, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Egge, Ya, Ya, Ye, Ye, (7) benedicatur hec cruoris creatura et preparetur et aptetur pro hincausto sacri sigilli tui et sanctissimi nominis "Semenphoras" tui, quod est benedictum per infinita secula seculorum. Amen'.

(8) ORACIO

'Domine Iesu Christe, per ineffabilem misericordiam tuam parce michi et miserere mei et exaudi me nunc per invocacionem nominis trinitatis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, (9) ut acceptas habeas, et tibi placeant, oraciones et verba oris mei, per invocacionem tuorum sanctorum 100 nominum, scilicet Agla, Monhon' et cetera 'humiliter et fideliter deprecans, (10) licet ego indignus, tamen in te confidens, ut sanctifices et benedicas cruorem istum per sanctissima nomina tua predicta et per nomen "Semenphoras" 72 literarum, (11) quatinus per virtutem et sanctitatem et potestatem eorundem nominum et per virtutem et potestatem tuam divinam sit cruor iste consecratus ✠, benedictus ✠, confirmatus ✠ per virtutem sacratissimi corporis et sanguinis tui, (12) ut virtutem, quam optinere debet, et aptitudinem optineat et efficaciter sine aliqua fallacia veraciter valeat ad scribendum sigillum tuum sanctum, (13) ut sanctam virtutem optineat et potestatem habeat, ad quam est institutum, prestante Domino, qui sedet in altissimis, cui sit laus, honor et gloria per infinita secula seculorum. Amen'.

CXXXVII. Second Chapter of the Fifth Treatise, concerning the consecration of the ink[287] used for the Seal of the Eternal, Living, and True God.[288]

"O invisible God, O inestimable God, O ineffable God, O unchangeable God, (2) O incorruptible God, O pious God, O sweetest God, O exalted God, O glorious God, O immeasurable God, O God of all mercy, I, although unworthy—or, full of iniquity, deceit, and wickedness—(3) I come seeking your mercy, beseeching and entreating, that you not look back on all my countless faults, but even as you are accustomed to have mercy on sinners, and hear the prayers of the humble, (4) so too deign to hear me, your servant N., although unworthy, beseeching you for the blessing of this creature of blood, that it may be made suitable and worthy for the ink of your sacred and precious seal, and precious and of your name "Shem Ha-Meforash," (5) that it may possess the properties it must maintain, through your most holy name, which is written with four letters, IOHT, HE, VAU, DALETH[289]—Agla, Eloy, Yaym, Theos, God—which heard, all that inhabit Heaven, Earth, and Hell do tremble. (6) And through these most holy names: On, Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the End, El, Ely, Eloe, Eloy, Elion, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Egge, Ya, Ya, Ye, Ye, (7) may this creature of blood be blessed and may it be prepared and may it be suitable for ink for your sacred seal and your most holy name "Shem Ha-Meforash," which is blessed forever and ever Amen."

(8) PRAYER.[290]

"O Lord Jesus Christ,[291] through your ineffable mercy spare me and pity me, and hear me now, through the invocation of the name of the Trinity, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, (9) in order that the prayers and words from my mouth are acceptable and pleasing to you, through the invocation of your one hundred holy names, namely Agla,

Monhon" and so on,[292] "humbly and faithfully begging you, (10) I although unworthy, yet trusting in you, that you would sanctify and bless this blood by your most sacred names aforesaid, and by the name "Shem Ha-Meforash" of seventy-two letters, (11) that by the virtue, sanctity, and power of the same names, and by your divine virtue and power, this same blood may be consecrated ✠ blessed ✠ strengthened ✠ through the virtue of your most holy body and blood, (12) that it may obtain the virtue and ability which it must possess, and effectually without any deceit, for correctly writing your sacred seal, (13) in order that it maintains the sacred virtue and have the power, for which it has been prepared, with the Lord providing, who sits in the highest place, to whom be praise, honor and glory forever and ever. Amen."

(14) ORACIO BENEDICCIONIS

'Benedicat te Pater ✠, benedicat te Filius ✠, benedicat te Spiritus sanctus ✠. (15) Sancta mater Domini nostri Iesu Christi te benedicat et sanctificet, ut virtutem sacramenti in sigillo Dei ex te scribendo, o cruor, optineas, quam optinere debes. (16) Benedicant te omnes sancte virgines, benedicant te hodie et in omni tempore omnes sancti et electi Dei. Omnes virtutes celestes te benedicant et confirment. (17) Angeli omnes et archangeli, virtutes, principatus, potestates, troni, dominaciones, cherubyn et seraphin ex auctoritate et licencia Dei te benedicant. (18) Per merita et oraciones omnium sanctorum tuorum, Domine Iesu Christe, benedicas ✠ et sanctifices ✠ et consecres ✠ cruorem istum sigilli Dei et confirmes per omnipotenciam tuam, (19) et virtutem et potestatem optineat sigillum tuum de eo scribendum, quam debet, et ad quam est institutum et confirmatum, prestante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cuius regnum et imperium sine fine manet in secula seculorum. Amen'.

(20) Antequam iste 3 oraciones supra cruorem dicantur procedenter versus Ierusalem, dicatur supra eum exorcismus salis, quod ponitur in aqua, ter, nisi quod nomina sic debent mutari: (21) "Exorcizo te, creatura cruoris" loco de '... creatura salis' et 'qui per Salomonem te in sigillum Dei mitti iussit' loco de 'qui per Heliseum te in aqua mitti iussit' et sic de aliis. (22) Illo autem exorcismo sic ter dicto cum stola in collo dic ter oraciones tres precedentes. Quo facto sigilli Domini cruor erit benedictus.

(14) PRAYER OF BENEDICTION

“May the Father bless you ✠; may the Son bless you ✠; may the Holy Spirit bless you. ✠ (15) May the holy mother of our Lord Jesus Christ bless and sanctify you, O blood, that you may have the sacramental power for writing the Seal of God, that you may possess the properties you must maintain. (16) May all the holy virgins bless you; may all the saints and elect of God bless you and strengthen you today and for all times. (17) May all Angels and Archangels, Virtues, Principalities, Powers, Thrones, Dominations, Cherubim, and Seraphim bless you, by the authority and permission of God. (18) Through the merits and prayers of all your saints, O Lord Jesus Christ, may you bless ✠ and sanctify ✠ and consecrate ✠ this blood for this Seal of God, and may you strengthen it through your omnipotence, (19) and that through its writing, your seal may maintain the virtue and power which it should have, and for which it has been instituted and confirmed, with our Lord Jesus Christ providing, who lives and reigns forever, world without end. Amen.”

(20) Before that, three prayers should be said over the blood, while facing towards Jerusalem: The exorcism of the salt should be said over it three times, which is placed in the water, except the words should be changed thus: (21) Say “I exorcise you, O creature of blood” instead of “I exorcise you O creature of salt” and say “which God, through Solomon, commanded to be put into the seal of God” in place of “which God, through Elisha, commanded be put into the water” and similarly for the rest, (22) Then having said this exorcism three times, with the stole around your neck, then say the other three prayers preceding, likewise three times. When this has been done, the consecration of the blood for the Seal of the Lord will be complete.

CXXXVIII Tercium capitulum quinti tractatus de exposicione precepti missarum dati in primo tractatu et subintellecti in quolibet tractatuum premissorum

(2) Prima dies

In prima die secunde mundacionis dicet sacerdos missam alicuius diei Dominice extra ieiunium vel alicuius secundum maiorem effectum, quem habet ad illam. (3) In loco prefacionis dicat hanc oracionem: ‘ ... nos tibi semper et ubique gracias agere, Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens eterne Deus, per Christum Dominum nostrum, (4) per quem maiestatem tuam laudant angeli, adorant dominaciones, tremunt potestates, celi celorumque virtutes ac beata seraphin socia exultacione concelebrant, cum quibus et nostras voces’ et cetera.[87]

(5) Secunda dies

In secunda die hanc loco prefacionis cum missa apostolorum: ‘... Te, Domine,[88] suppliciter exorare, ut gregem tuum, pastor eterne, non desera<n>s set per beatos apostolos tuos’ et cetera.

(6) 3ª dies

In 3ª die missam ieiunii vel quadragesime et hanc oracionem: “... nos tibi semper et ubique gracias agere, Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens eterne Deus, qui corporali ieiunio vicia’ et cetera.[89]

(7) 4ª dies

CXXXVIII. The third chapter of the Fifth Treatise, concerning the exposition of teachings of the Masses given in the first treatise, and a little more explanation of the treatises set before.

(2) The first day

On the first day of the second purification the priest should say Mass of any Sunday outside of fasting or othewise for the greater effect which it has towards that. (3) In place of the preface, he should say this prayer: "[It is truly right and just, and for our salvation] that we should give thanks to you, always and everywhere, O Lord, O holy Father, almighty eternal God, through Christ our Lord, (4) through whom the Angels praise your greatness, the Dominations adore it, the Powers tremble in awe, the heavens and the heavenly Virtues and the blessed Seraphim share in triumphant chorus to celebrate it. Together with these ... our voices also" and so forth.[293]

(5) The second day

On the second day, say this in place of the preface, along with a mass of the Apostles: "[It is truly right and just, and for our salvation] O Lord, to humbly beseech you, that you not abandon your flock, O eternal shepherd, but through your blessed Apostles" and so on.[294]

(6) The third day

On the third day, say a mass of fasting, or the fortieth, and this prayer: "[It is truly right and just, and for our salvation] that we should give thanks to you, always and everywhere, O Lord, O holy Father, almighty eternal God, who by this bodily fasting curbs our vices" etc.[295]

(7) The fourth day

In 4ª die missam de nativitate imperatricis angelorum [et] " ... Et te in nativitate beate Marie" et cetera.

(8) 5ª dies

In 5ª die missam annunciacionis eiusdem [et] “ ... Et te in annunciacione” et cetera.

(9) 6ª dies.

In 6ª die missam nativitatis Christi, et ista sit prefacio: ‘... Quia per incarnati verbi misterium nova’ et cetera.[90]

(10) 7ª dies

In 7ª die missam epiphanie, et prefacio: ‘... Quia, cum unigenitus tuus in substancia nostre’ et cetera.[91]

(11) 8ª dies

In 8ª die missam purificacionis, et prefacio: “ ... Et te in purificacione beate Marie ....”

(12) 9ª dies.

In nona die missam resurreccionis, et prefacio: ‘... <Et> te quidem, Domine, omni tempore set in hac potissimum nocte’—vel ‘die’—‘gloriosius predicare, cum pascha nostrum” et cetera.[92]

(13) 10ª dies

In 10ª die missam ascencionis, et prefacio: ‘ ... Qui post resurreccionem suam omnibus discipulis suis manifestus apparuit’ et cetera.

(14) XIª dies

In XIª die missam assumpcionis beate Marie, et prefacio sit: “ ... Et te in assumpcione” et cetera.

On the fourth day, a mass of the nativity of the queen of the angels, [and] “... and you in the birth of the blessed Mary” and so on.

(8) The fifth day

On the fifth day, another Mass of the Annunciation, [and] “... and you in the annunciation” and so on.

(9) The sixth day

On the sixth day, a Mass of the Nativity of Christ, and its preface should be: “... because by the mystery of the incarnate Word, the new” and so on.[296]

(10) The seventh day

On the seventh day, a Mass of the Epiphany, and the preface "... because, when your only-begotten Son appeared in the substance of our" and so on.[297]

(11) The eighth day

On the eighth day, a Mass of Purification, and the preface "... and you, in the purification, O blessed Mary...."

(12) The ninth day

On the ninth day, a Mass of the Resurrection, and the preface: "[It is truly right and just, and to salvation] to praise you, O Lord, at all times, but especially on this night"—or "day"—"when our Passover" and so on.[298]

(13) The tenth day

On the tenth day, a Mass of the Ascension, and the preface: "... who, after his resurrection, appeared visibly to all his disciples" and so on.

(14) The eleventh day

On the eleventh day, a Mass of the Assumption of blessed Mary, and the preface: "... and you, in the assumption" and so on.

(15) 12ª dies

In 12ª die missam omnium sanctorum, et prefacio apostolorum sit, nisi quod vox apostolorum in vocem omnium sanctorum commutetur.

(16) 13ª dies

In 13ª die missam angelorum, et prefacio apostolorum, nisi quod beati apostoli in beatos angelos transmutentur.

(17) 14ª dies

In 14ª die missam Spiritus sancti, et prefacio sit: '... Qui ascendens super omnes celos' et cetera.

(18) 15ª dies

In quintadecima die missam sancte crucis, et prefacio sit: " ... Qui salutem humani generis in ligno" et cetera.

(19) 16ª dies

In 16ª die missam trinitatis, et prefacio sit: " ... Qui cum unigenito filio tuo et Spiritu sancto unus es<t> Deus" et cetera.

CXXXIX Quartum capitulum quinti tractatus de inicio aggrediendi opus invocacionis

Excitacio ventorum est principium operandi in illa XI[a] hora diei operis sacri et debet fieri extra domum, longe a circulo ad duo stadia vel tria.

(2) Et debet prius esse bene preparatus de necessariis suis, de optimo vino, de 7 ensibus, de sibilo, de virgula coruli, de sigillis, de signo Dei, de thure, de thuribulo, de candela virginea et sic de aliis, ut prius patet.

(3) Et scias, quod in illa pelle, ubi est sigillum Domini, debent esse tria sigilla predicta sub signo ita, quod pendeant de manu. (4) Sigillum angelorum sit immediate sub signo Dei et sub illo sigillum aereorum et sub illo terreorum.

(15) The twelfth day

On the twelfth day, a Mass of All Saints, and the preface of the Apostles, except the wording “the voice of the Apostles” should be altered to “in the voice of all the saints.”

(16) The thirteenth day

On the thirteenth day, a Mass of the Angels, and preface of the Apostles, except wording “the Apostles” should be altered to “the blessed angels.”

(17) The fourteenth day

On the fourteenth day, a Mass of the Holy Spirit, and the preface “... who ascends over all the heavens” etc.

(18) The fifteenth day

On the fifteenth day, a Mass of the Holy Cross, and the preface “... who placed the salvation of the human race in the wood of the cross” etc.

(19) The sixteenth day

On the sixteenth day, as Mass of the Trinity, and the preface “... who with your only-begotten son and the Holy Spirit are one God” etc.

CXXXIX. The fourth chapter of the Fifth Treatise. Concerning the beginning of undertaking the work of invocation.

The raising up of the winds is the first part of the operation in the eleventh hour of the day of the sacred work, and it must be done outside the house, away from the circle by two or even three stadia.[299]

(2) And previously you should have properly prepared all the requisites, namely the finest wine, seven swords, the whistle, the hazel wand, the seals, the Sign of God, incense, the censer, the virgin candle, and the rest, as revealed earlier.

(3) And you should know, that on that skin, where the Seal of the Lord is, the three preceding seals must be under the Seal in such a way that they should hang from the hand. (4) The seal of the angels should be immediately under the seal of God, and under that the seal of the air, and under that of the earth.

(5) Et quando cognoscentur motus eorum appropinquare, oportet ire ad circulum et delere 7 nomina creatoris et tunc item ut prius extra iuxta circulum excitare, et cum videbitis motus eorum, intrare circulum et facere ut est predictum.

(6) Virga autem sit quadrata, et in uno latere scribatur in summitate "Adonay," in secundo latere "Sabaoth," in 3° "Hiskiros," in 4° "Emanuel." (7) In medio virge fiat pentagonus Salomonis et ubi virga tenetur crux, et sic erit parata operi sacro et miro.

CXL Quintum capitulum quinti tractatus de composicione sibili et exposicione cuiusdam dicti in 3° tractatu

(2) Fac sibilum de ere albo vel de argento vel de auro vel avellana, et sit eptagonum, id est septem latera habens, sit grossum ad placitum, sit longum ad longitudinem trium digitorum.

(3) Tunc in summitate eius sculpatur hoc nomen: "**On,"** et inferius in alia summitate "**Beel,"** et in latere primo, ubi est forus sibili, scribatur nomen regis orientalis, scilicet "**Barthan,"** in secundo latere a dextris nomen regis consol, scilicet "**Formione,"** (4) in 3° regis meridiei, scilicet "**Yammax,"** in 4° regis nogahelis, scilicet "**Sarabocres,"** in 5° latere regis occidentalis, scilicet "**Harthan,"** in 6° regis frigicapicis, "Abaa," (5) in 7" regis septemtrionalis, "**Maymon,"** et postea benedic eum sicut cruorem, nisi quod mutabis nomen, et ubi dicebatur "in sigillum Dei te mitti iussit" nunc dices "in clamatum spirituum te clangere iussit."

(6) Et scias, quod quando vocantur angeli boni, non debet habere sibilum neque virgam neque enses, et tu debes stare extra circulum, et ipsi debent apparere infra circulum, qui debet esse altus tribus pedibus et semis.

(5) And when you recognize their approaching movements, you should go to the circle and erase the seven names of the Creator, and then likewise as before, to raise them up, from outside but near the circle, and when you see their movements, to enter the circle and to do as aforesaid.

(6) But the wand should have four sides. On one side should be written "Adonay;" on the second side "Sabaoth;" on the third, "Hiskiros;"[300] on the fourth "Emanuel." (7) On the middle of the wand make the pentagonal figure of Solomon, and where the wand is held, a cross, and thus it will be prepared for sacred and wonderful works.

CXL. The fifth chapter of the fifth Treatise, concerning the composition of the whistle, and an explanation of certain sayings in the third Treatise.

(2) Make a whistle from white copper,[301] or from silver, or from gold, or even hazel, and it should be heptagonal, i.e. having seven sides. It may be as large as you please, and its length should be as long as three fingers.[302]

(3) Then, on the top should be engraved this name: "**On**;" and below, on the other end, "**Beel**[303];" and on the first side, where the finger holes are, the name of the eastern king should be written, namely "**Barthan**," and on the side to the right, the name of the king of Consol, namely "**Formione**." (4) On the third, that of the king of the South, namely "**Yammax**," on the fourth, the king of Nogahel [sic], namely "**Sarabocres**," on the fifth side, that of the western king, namely "**Harthan**," on the sixth, that of the king of Frigicap, (5) "**Abaa**," and on the seventh side, the name of the northern king, "**Maymon**."

And afterwards, bless it as you did the blood, except that you should change the wording, and instead of saying "commanded to be put into the Seal of God" now you should say "command you to clang in proclaiming the spirits."

(6) And know, that whenever good angels are called, you must not have the whistle, wand, nor the swords, and you must stand outside the circle, and they themselves will appear within[304] the circle, which must be three and a half feet high.

(7) Set in aliis aereis et terreis oportet predicta habere. Set differt inter illos, quia illi aerei apparent extra circulum in aere homine existente infra circulum, (8) qui debet esse totus planus sicut +epiparet+,[93] set in terreis sic est, quod ipsi apparent infra circulum concavum, profundum et rotundum homine existente infra alium circulum ab illis circulis predictis, (9) qui tamen similiter debet esse planus et equus, et circa eum scripta solum 4 nomina Dei, prout patet.

(10) Angeli hore sunt qui regnant in hora operis, angeli diei qui in die operis, angeli mensis angeli Lune vel principii mensis, angeli faciei qui regnant facie, ubi est eorum dominium, ascendente, temporis omnes insimul, (11) et principes eorum omnium sunt 7, ut patuit supra: Casziel, Satquiel et cetera. Adhuc sunt 7 superiores, scilicet Barachiel, Uriel et cetera.

CXLI.

Explicit liber de vita anime racionalis, qui liber sacer vel liber angelorum vel liber iuratus nuncupatur, quem fecit Honorius, magister Thebarum. (2) Hic est liber, quo Deus in hac vita facialiter quit videri. Hic est liber, quo quilibet potest salvari et in vitam eternam procul dubio deduci. Hic est liber, quo infernus et purgatorium queunt sine morte videri. (3) Hic est liber, quo omnis creatura exceptis novem ordinibus angelorum possunt subiugari. Hic est liber, quo omnes s[c]iencie possunt haberi. (4) Hic est liber, quo substancia imbecillissima potest substancias robustissimas et devincere et subiugare. Hic est liber, quem nulla lex habet nisi Christiana, et si habet, nil sibi prodest. (5) Hic est liber, qui est maius iocale a Domino datum omni alio iocali exclusis sacramentis. Hic est liber, quo natura corporalis et visibilis cum incorporali et invisibili alloqui, racionari et instrui potest. (6) Hic est liber, quo innumerabiles thesauri haberi possunt. Et multa alia per hunc fieri queunt, que narrare dispendium esset. Ideo merito sacer nuncupatur.

(7) But you must have those instruments when dealing with aerial or terrestrial spirits. But it differs between them, because those of the air appear above the circle in the air, while you are within the other circle, (8) which must be completely level and equalized, but those of the earth are such that they will appear within the hollow circle, deep and round, while you are within the other circle, which is apart from those preceding circles, (9) yet it must similarly be flat and level, and around it written only four names of God, as shown.

(10) The angels of the hour are those who rule in the hour of the work; the angels of the day, those who rule on the day which you work; the angels of the month, those angels ruling the Moon or beginning of the month; the angels of the aspect (or face),[305] those who rule the face where

their dominion is, with the ascendant, all at the same time, (11) and there are seven leaders of all of them, as shown above: Casziel, Satquiel, and so on.

Furthermore, there are seven superiors, namely Barachiel, Uriel, and the rest.

CXLI.

Here ends the book concerning the life of the rational soul, which is called the Sacred Book, or the Book of the Angels, or the Sworn Book, which was made by Honorius, the master of Thebes. (2) This is the book, with which one is able to see God face to face, while still alive. This is the book, with which anyone is able to be saved and without doubt led into eternal life. This is the book, with which Hell and Purgatory can be seen without dying. (3) This is the book, whereby all creatures are able to be subjugated, except for the nine orders of angels. This is the book, whereby all knowledge can be obtained. (4) This is the book, whereby one with the weakest substance is able to subdue and subjugate those with the strongest substances. This is the book, which no religion possesses except the Christian, and those of other faiths will find nothing useful for themselves in it. (5) This is the book, which is the greatest jewel of all the jewels given by the Lord, other than the sacraments. This is the book, whereby one of corporeal and visible nature is able speak to, reason with, and be instructed by those with incorporeal and invisible natures. (6) This is the book, whereby innumerable treasures can be obtained. And many other things can be done through this, more than can be told. Therefore it is rightly called sacred.

Scriptus fuit liber iste et completus Die martis hora 10^{a} que est ho

The writing of this book has been completed on the tenth hour of this day, Tuesday, which is ho....306

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285 From Sloane 3854, f. 137r. Inside is the label "the circle of invocation, and around the border are four names of God: Eloy, Sother, Sabaoth, Messias."

286 Compare CII.1-3.

287 *Lat*. Hincausti, i.e. encausti: ink; traditionally a purple-red ink.

288 In R, CXXXVII.20-22, 1-19 are found before VII.

289 This unusual variation of the Tetragrammaton is also found in CXXXIII.38. See introduction.

290 Compare Young 2015, p. 13

291 Compare R 27v.

292 CI.2

293 "... together with these we beg you, that you may bid our voices also to be admitted while we say with humble praise." GH p. 35: In ch cxxxviii additional information is given about the saying of masses during the second purification: We are told which mass should be said and what its preface should be on each day ...

294 This seems to be simply the traditional Preface of the Apostles. I see no alteration.

295 "... lifts up our minds and bestows on us strength and rewards; through Christ our Lord. Through whom the Angels praise your greatness" etc. as above.

296 "... a new light of your glory has shone upon the eyes of our mind, so that while we acknowledge God in visible form, we may be drawn by him to the love of invisible things. And therefore with the Angels and Archangels, with the Thrones and Dominations, and with all the hosts of the heavenly army, we sing the hymn of your glory, forever saying."

297 "It it truly right and just, and for our salvation, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks to you, O holy Lord, Father almighty, everlasting God; because when your only-begotten Son appeared in the substance of our mortal flesh, with the new light of his own immortality, he restored us. And therefore with Angels and Archangels, with Throne and Dominations, and with all the heavenly hosts, we sing the hymn of your glory forever, saying."

298 "... when our Passover was sacrificed for us. For he is the true lamb who has taken away the sins of the world, who by dying destroyed our death, and by rising again restored our life. And so" etc.

299 Stade: 125 paces. Two or three stadia would be approximately one quarter to a third of a mile (or .2 KM).

300 Hiskiros: *Greek* ισχυρος, Iskhiros (Mighty One).

301 A copper/nickel/(zinc) alloy.

302 As a measure of length, *digitus* generally means the breadth of a finger, or about ¾ to 7/8 of an inch.

303 B 25v reads "bael," with "beel" written in the margin. It is not certain whether the spirit Boel/Bohel is intended, or if this is an otherwise unattested name of God.

304 This seems to be the meaning here, as in IV.2, although “below” or “under” would be the more common meaning. Mesler 2012 p. 114 similarly reads “within” in her translation of CXV.35 (mistakenly identified as LXV).

305 Face: i.e. decan.

306 The manuscript breaks off right in the middle of this colophon.

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85 GH has this marked defective, but see SSM for sixth variant of the petition.

86 i.e. encausti.

87 The preface starts “Vere dignum et iustum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi ...” and concludes as follows: “... et nostras voces, ut admitti iubeas deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes:.”

88 “Vere dignum et iustum est, aequum et salutare te Domine....”

89 “... vitia comprimis, mentem elevas, virtutem largiris et praemia: per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem maiestatem tuam laudant Angeli, adorant Dominationes, tremunt Potestates. Coeli, coelorumque Virtutes, ac beata Seraphim, socia exsultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces, ut admitti iubeas deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes:”

90 “... nova mentis nostrae oculis lux tuae claritatis infulsit: ut, dum visibiliter Deum cognoscimus, per hunc in invisibilum amorem rapiamur. Et ideo cum Angelis et Archangelis, cum Thronis et Dominationibus, cumque omni militai coelestis exercitus, hymnum gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes.”

91 “Vere dignum et iustum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper, et ubique gratias agere: Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus: Quia cum Unigenitus tuus in substantia nostrae mortalitatis apparuit, nova nos immortalitatis suae luce reparavit. Et ideo cum Angelis et Archangelis, cum Thronis et Dominationibus, cumque omni militia coelestis exercitus, hymnum gloriae tuae canimus, sine fine dicentes.”

92 “Vere dignum et iustum est, aequum et salutare, te quidem, Domine, omni tempore, sed [in hac potissimum nocte vel die, vel] in hoc potissimum gloriosius praedicare, cum Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Ipse enim verus est Agnus, qui abstulit peccata mundi. Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit, et vitam resurgendo reparavit. Et ideo” etc.

93 Reading equiparet. GH: sicut eriperet *in marg. Ext. B; an* sic, ut equiparet (sc. terrae) *vel fort.* sicut et prius patet *(cfr LI.15 et CXXXIX.2) scribendum sit?”*

APPENDIX I.
CORRECTIONS AND ADDENDA TO HEDEGÅRD 2002

p. 67 line 21: “Casziel” should read “Cafziel”

p. 96 line 1: “*peritus*” should read “penitus” per Sl. 3854 123r, R 50r, and Ars Not.

p. 113 line 7: “aquisicione” should read “acquisitione”. See Sl. 3854 128r col. 2.

p. 119 “volusiti” should read “voluisti” per Sl. 3853 131r & Sl. 3854 130r.

p. 139 line 4: “per nominatos” should read “pernominatos.” See Sl. 3854 135v, Sl. 3853 156r, and SSH L.3.f.35.

p. 139 line 16: “con[v]icto” should read “concito”. So Sl, 3854 136r, Sl. 3853 157r. SSM: “excito.”

p. 141, line 4: “{.}eneolia, Chide” should read “{G}eneolia, Chide.” Compare Sl. 3853: “Geuolia chide”; Heptameron: “genii, Liachidae.”

p. 143 line 16: “adulaua” should read “cadulaua.” The c is barely legible, but supported by SSM.

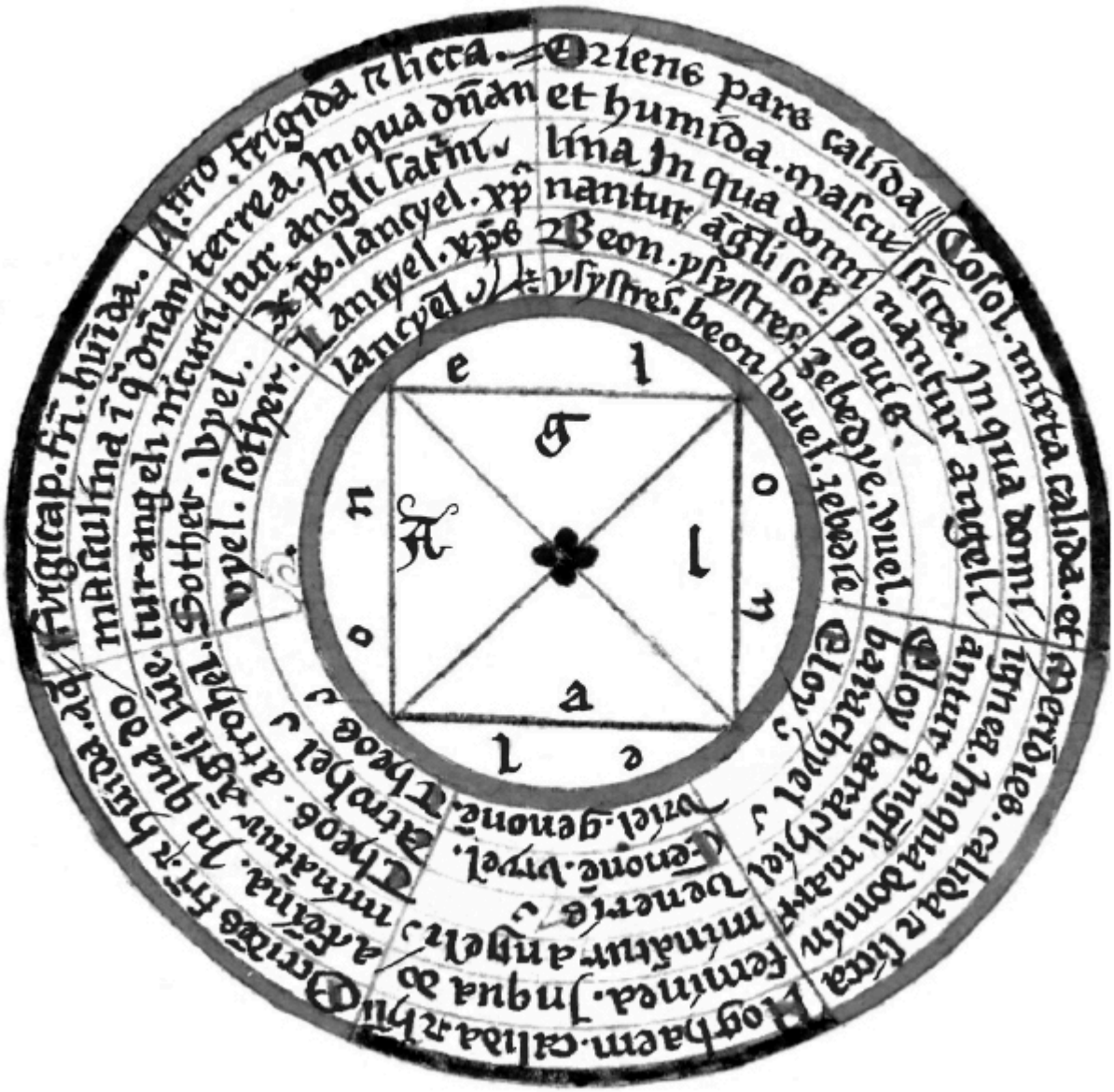
p. 143 line 21 “[vel tegula]” should read “vel tegulis” per Sl. 3854 137r.

p. 144: “In hac operacione 4” should read “In hac operacione sed”

p. 206 line 14: “11” add “virtute virtute”: Sl. 3853 155r omits second “virtute”; SSM: “cum omnium suorum fulgencium spirituum [in marg: collegio] potenciam et [erased word], virtute huius celestis ....”

APPENDIX II.
VARIANTS OF SOME OF THE FIGURES

Seal of God, reconstructed per Sloane 313, fol. 4r



Magic circle per SSM, L.4.f.22

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The *Sworn Book* is represented in the following manuscripts:

London, British Library:

Sloane 3854 (mid-14th century) Folios 112r-139r. "Honorii Magistri Thebarum libercui titulus 'Juratus.'" or "Liber Juratus, vel liber de vita Animæ rationalis Qui Liber Sacer, vel Liber Angelorum nuncupatur quem fecit Honorius Magister Thebarum," etc. This is the oldest and best quality manuscript, and formed the main basis for this transcription, as well as that of GH and Boudet. Carefully written and legible, with rubricated initials, although many initials were never supplied.

Sloane 313 (second half of 14th century). 27 folios. Missing 3 folios between 24 and 25. The title in the catalog reads simply "Tract on Magic," or "Salomonis opus sacrum ab Honorio ordinatum, tractatus de arte magica." It is an important independent witness to most of the text, belonging to another family than Sl. 3854. This manuscript is known to have been in the collection of dramatist Ben Jonson (1572-1637). It was later owned by John Dee, and contains marginal notes in his handwriting.[1]

Sloane 3885 (The watermark has been dated to 1588) Folios 58-96. "Liber sacer Salomonis," "Tractatus de re magica ab Honorio filio Euclidis magistro Thebarum ex septem voluminibus artis magicae compilatus, et intitulatus Liber sacer, sive juratus," or "Opera Salomonis ab Honorio ordinata" (cursive script). Contains only the first three treatises. The Honorius material is bound with unrelated texts, including the *Practica Nigromanciae* (i.e. *Thesaurus Spirituum*) of pseudo-Bacon.

Royal 17Axlii (Latin and English, dated mid-sixteenth century because of borrowing from Agrippa not found in the older manuscripts). 82 folios. Does not include all of the text, but breaks off just after the beginning of chapter CXV, namely just short of the actual instructions for invoking the angels. The title in the catalog reads "The Sworne Booke of Honoryus." Illuminated with drawings of angels and their seals, as well as marginal flourishes and ornaments, usually colored, sometimes in gold; chapter headings in red, blue, or green. On the fly-leaf (f.1) are some late 16th cent. pen-drawings with the initials R. T. Sophie Page 2004 includes some wonderful color photos from this manuscript. Waite 1898 correctly identified this manuscript as sixteenth century, even though he omitted to give the catalog identification. According to Jean-Patrice Boudet, this is a presentation copy on vellum, probably created for some noble.[2]

Sloane 3853 (Mid-16th century): This manuscript contains large portions of the *Sworn Book*, along with excerpts from Agrippa (with citations) and many other texts. English and Latin. Although belonging to the same family of manuscripts as Sl. 3854 and Sl. 3885 (see above), it was not used by GH, but is an important witness to portions of the text, including the drawing of the magic circle, and shows some independence. Contains 127v-137v ("fol 163f"): Catalogued as 'The Divine Seal of Solomon,' 127v variation of Sigillum Dei Aemeth; 128r-v: English version of IV.49-65; 129r-130v: XXVII-XXX, LXXVII-LXXIX, LXX; 130v-134v: CIICXV.48; 134v-135v: LXXIII, XCIII; 135v-137v: CXXXV.8-17, CXXXVII.1-19, CI.2-8. 149r-174v: CXXVII ff.

Sloane 3849 (dated 1577) Article 7, folios 30-38 contains excerpts from LIH.

Germany

SSM: Halle, Universitätsbibliothek Kassel - Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel, Ms. 4° astron. 3. Latin, 15th ce. A beautiful and unique manuscript of Ganell's *Summa sacre magice*. (written circa 1346). Available online at http://orka.bibliothek.uni-kassel.de/viewer/image/1343812736802/1/.

This text quotes extensively from *Liber Iuratus*, as well as other texts. John Dee owned and annotated this manuscript at one time.

SSMG: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Germ. Fol. 903. German translation of Ganell's *Summa Sacre Magice* (SSM). Circe 1580's.[3]

Leipzig Cod. Mag. 16: (pp. 1-176), titled *Die alleredelste und allerhöchste Kunst und Wissenschaft, das ist: Magia universalis divina angelica ac diabolica* ("The noblest and highest art and science, namely the universal divine angelic and demonic magic"). German, ca 1750. PART 1: To behold the face of the Deity (the 100 names of God pp. 25 ff); PART 2 (pp 55 ff): Knowledge of the angels (e.g. Saturn: Boel, Cassiel, Micraton, Saterquiel); PART 3 (pp 94 ff): Knowledge of the spirits of the air, their binding and which spirits are under them (Hartan, Bileth, etc); PART 4 (pp 160 ff): Knowledge of the spirits of the earth; PART 5 (pp. 170 ff): Knowledge of the great name of God, in Hebrew *Shem ha-Meforash* (and construction of the Seal of God).[4] Includes names of spirits of the planets (pp. 57 ff and 99 ff); the magic circle (p. 98, p. 112), spirits of the earth (CXXXIV ff, pp. 160 ff)... circle for invoking spirits of the earth (p. 165) sigillum dei (p. 175, called "das sigillum salomonis").

Manuscripts, secondary sources

Florence: Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenzian, Plut. 89 sup. 38, art. XX fol. 259-259v and 260v. The colophon shows that it was partially copied at Rome in 1494. Treatise titled *Magisterium eumatice artis, sive scientie magicalis*, repeatedly cites *Liber Iuratus* of the "blessed" Honorius. http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0001046610#page/1/mode/1up (accessed Sep 24, 2015)

London, British Library: Additional MS. 36674

Oxford, Bodleian Library: Aubrey 24, Michael 276.

Printed sources, primary

Boudet, Jean-Patrice, “Magie théurgique, angélologie et vision béatifique dans le Liber sacratus sive juratus attribué à Honorius de Thèbes” *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome:* Moyen âge, Volume 114, Issue 2, L'Ecole, 2002. Includes a critical edition of much of the Latin text.

Gollancz, Hermann. *Mafteah shelomoh Clavicula Salomonis: a Hebrew manuscript*. Frankfurt a.M.: J. Kauffmann. 1903.

___. *Sepher Maphteah Shelomo (book of the Key of Solomon) An exact facsimile of an original book of magic in Hebrew. With illustrations now produced for the first time by Hermann Gollancz*. London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1914. Several sections of this eclectic manuscript appear to be a translation (into Hebrew) of portions of the *Sworn Book*, including “On the composition of the Divine Seal” (fol. 3b-5b), 26 prayers (from Ars Not.) parallel those in Honorius chapters LIII ff (AGLA... MONHON... TETRAGRAMMATON. It is apparent that these were taken from Honorius and not directly from *Ars Notoria* because of the divine names prepended, as well as the fact that other Honorius elements are included in the manuscript. It is interesting that these prayers lead off the manuscript, followed by the composition of the divine seal. *Maphteah* calls the material that parallels *Heptameron* the “Book of Light.” (35a). Concerning the spirits of the air that rule during the seven days: 36a-37b; names and seals of angels from Rasiel 40b-41b; names of angels that minister before Boal (Boel) 49b; general conjuration 52b (?); seal of terrestrial spirits 64b (?); construction of the whistle 64b-65a. Apparently some versions of Raziel/Rasiel included seals of the angels.

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___, see also Harms, Clark, and Peterson

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1 Roberts, R. J., Andrew G. Watson, and John Dee. *John Dee's Library Catalogue*. London: Bibliographical Society, 1990, pp. 57, 168.

2 Boudet 2002 p. 852.

3 Gilly 2002 p. 290.

4 The manuscript continues with a version of *Thesaurus Spirituum.*

Index of Spirit Names

Abaa (Haaba, Habaa, ’Αβά. SSM: Abaah; H diverges), king of the spirits of the air of Mercury, governing between the West and the North, i.e. the region knows as frigicap; said to be neither fully for good nor fully evil. Said to be “most wise.” 19, 237, 251, 253, 255, 257, 259, 261, 263, 265, 297

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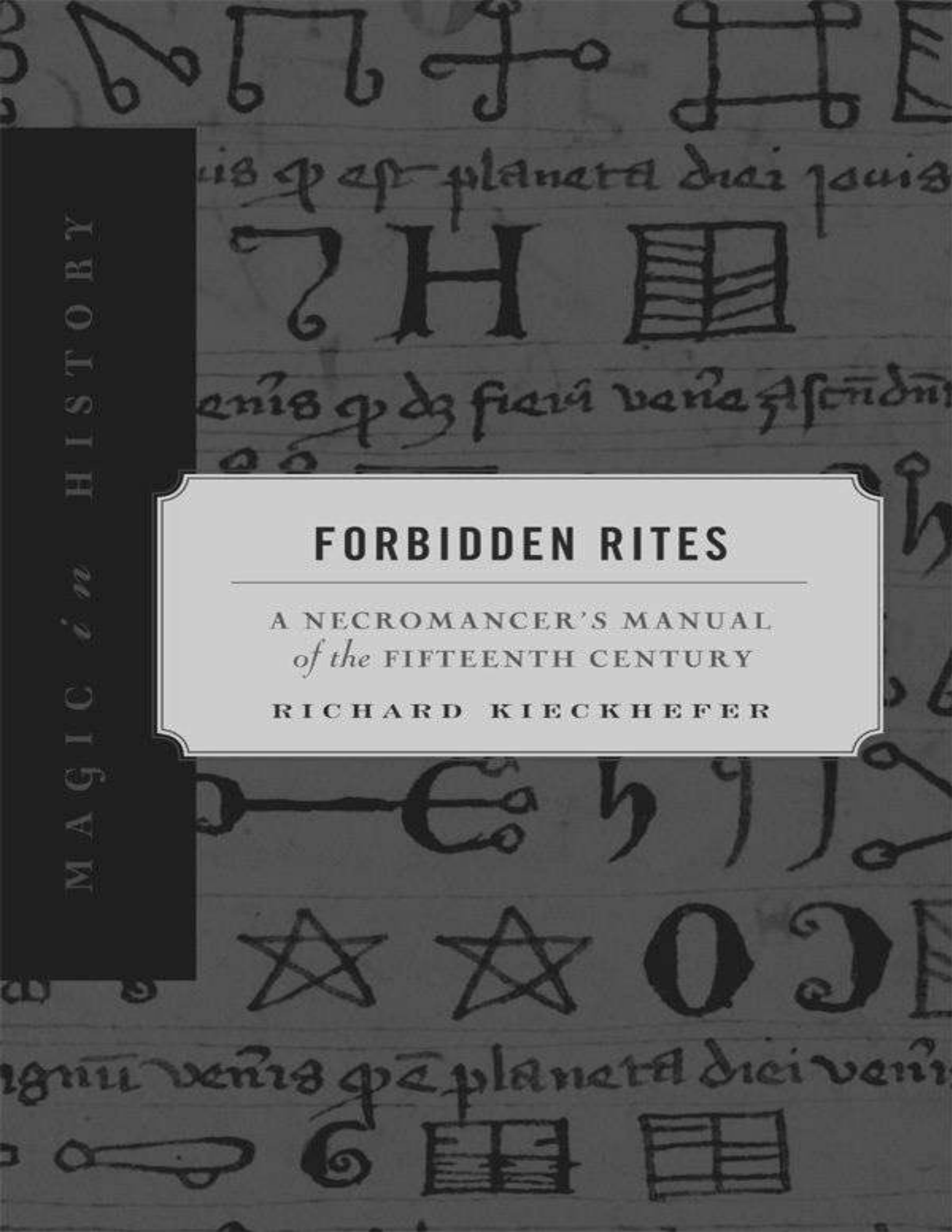

MAGIC *in* HISTORY

FORBIDDEN RITES

A NECROMANCER'S MANUAL *of the* FIFTEENTH CENTURY

RICHARD KIECKHEFER

Forbidden Rites

Magic in History

Forbidden Rites

A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century

Richard Kieckhefer

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Cave! terrentia hac in scientia latent, si cupis
scire occulta, pericula multa pro te et upupis!

1

Introduction: Magical Books and Magical Rites

We are what we read – and the power of books to transform the minds and personalities of their readers can give cause for anxiety as well as for celebration. A cluster of related developments in late medieval Europe brought heightened concern about what people were reading. The spread of literacy and the rise of a far wider reading public, lay as well as clerical, brought greater demand for written material. The availability of paper, a medium far less costly than parchment, made books more readily accessible than they had previously been, and allowed for more abundant supply of reading matter to feed this demand, even before the invention of printing with movable type. And the emergence of silent reading habits made reading a more private activity.[1] Historians have attended to the impact of these developments on medieval heresy, on churchmen's fear that literacy contributed to the diffusion of heretical views, and on the efforts at censorship that ensued. But less work has been done on the dissemination of *magical* texts, which in some ways represented an even more sinister threat to orthodox culture, and on attempts to control these texts.[2] A book of magic which deliberately and expressly invited contact with demons presented all the hazards of reading in their deepest and most pressing form.

Beginning around the early fourteenth century, possession and use of magical writings becomes a recurrent theme in the records of prosecution. When Bernard Délicieux was accused in 1319 of having used necromancy against the pope, he was cleared of that charge but nevertheless condemned to prison for merely possessing a book of necromancy.[3] Fear of necromancy and of necromantic writings was becoming an obsession at the time, especially at the court of Pope John XXII, who in the previous year had commissioned the bishop of Fréjus and others to investigate a group of clerics and laymen charged with using books of necromancy, geomancy and other magical arts.[4] In 1320 Matteo and Galeazzo Visconti were tried for

using necromancy against Pope John; the offence here was actual use of the art, yet when one witness said he had been shown a book filled with experiments for love, hatred, finding of stolen objects and so forth, the very sight of such a book was evidently cause for horror.[5] In 1406–7, informants claimed that a group of clerics had used formulas from magical books against Benedict XIII and the king of France, and the ensuing inquiry uncovered a box filled with booklets containing prayers, hymns and conjurations.[6] But in 1409, at the Council of Pisa, Benedict in turn was charged with using necromancy and hiring necromancers. The pope, it was said, had sought out a book of necromancy available only from the Saracens and had purchased it for some 1,000 francs. A book of necromancy was allegedly found under the pontiff's bed.[7] In such cases the uncovering of necromantic writings made more plausible the charge that necromancy had actually been used, but more fundamentally the books themselves would have impressed contemporaries as unsavoury and incriminating, somewhat as the discovery of Satanic paraphernalia might seem incriminating today. Not surprisingly, inquisitors and other judges used such discoveries as propaganda in their zealous campaigns against magic. In 1382 an inquisitor wrote to the government of Siena about a band of magicians at Rugomagno; one Agnolo di Corso had been found in possession of a book of seventy chapters, which others had copied, and which spoke of invoking evil spirits to murder people or constrain their affections.[8] Two years later Niccolò Consigli was executed at Florence for practicing necromancy and unlicensed exorcisms; his judges confiscated and burned the books of necromancy from which he had taken conjurations.[9] One might even say it was common for books of magic to be set forth as codefendants alongside their owners and users – and indeed, as we shall see, those who condemned books of magic in some ways ascribed to them a kind of personality.[10] When the books were burned, there were those (as we shall see) who heard the voices of demons in the crackling of the flames.

The book-burning might at times be voluntary: according to a fifteenth-century biographer, Gerard Groot studied magic in his youth, and was accused of practising it as well, but when he converted to a life of piety and foreswore the art of necromancy, he consigned his books of magic to the flames.[11] The movement he went on to found, the Devotio Moderna, was one of the most influential forces in the devotional culture of pre-Reformation Europe, a movement of inner piety nurtured by devout reading,

manifested in the copying out of pious phrases in personal florilegia, and financially supported by the copying of manuscripts – a movement, in short, firmly grounded in the book-culture of late medieval Europe, and initiated with an act of penitential book-burning.

From the early years of Christianity, conversion to Christ had meant, among other things, doing away with books of magic. The scene at Ephesus, as described in the Acts of the Apostles (18:19–19:20), perhaps epitomized what happened on a smaller scale elsewhere. When Paul arrived in the town and made converts to the new faith, 'a number of those who practised magic arts brought their books together and burned them in the sight of all, and they counted the value of them and found it came to fifty thousand pieces of silver'.[12] (This comes to roughly 1,666 times as many silver pieces as Judas received for betraying Christ.) By the later Middle Ages, treatment of those found with offending literature was often more judicial than pastoral. To be sure, a monk of Sulby monastery was treated leniently when he was found possessing books of magic in 1500. A superior in the Premonstratensian order had heard of a brother named Thomas Wryght who had been using books of experiments and gone about paying people generously to teach him the occult arts. Faced with the evidence – one of his books of experiments – he insisted that he owned such books only out of curiosity, not for actual use. The matter was treated as a disciplinary one within the monastic setting, and the brother received a light penance.[13] But in an age when books of this sort were held in deep suspicion one could never count on such clemency, as Bernard Délicieux well knew.

Anything that arouses such deep anxiety is a subject of historical interest, and books of magic hold considerable fascination indeed. To know why books of magic aroused fear we must gain a fuller understanding of what the books themselves were likely to contain. Most of them no doubt have perished in the inquisitors' flames, but some eluded detection and have survived. The focus of following chapters in this study is arguably among the most interesting sources we have for the study of medieval magic: a fifteenth-century handbook of explicitly demonic magic, or what contemporaries called 'necromancy'. This compilation is contained in a manuscript in the Bavarian State Library in Munich. To be sure, the text is neither edifying nor profound, nor is it particularly original; in late medieval Europe there were no doubt many compilations equally illustrative of common magical practice, most of them now lost. But among the

manuscripts that survive, few are quite as diverse in content, or as full, explicit and candid in their instructions as this work.

Detailed examination of such a compilation may most obviously help us understand the mentality of the necromancers themselves who copied such books, whether for curiosity or for use. But study of this handbook may clarify several other factors in the history of magic, and three in particular. First, examination of a necromancer's manual sheds light on the function and cultural significance of a magical book itself. We will know more about the cultural significance of books generally – and we will know more fully the range of meanings a book could have – when we have grasped the role of this exceptional category of books. Second, the mentality of the necromancers' opponents becomes clearer from examination of such a compilation: the views of the Renaissance mages (such as Marsilio Ficino and Johannes Reuchlin) who insisted that they practised a higher and purer form of magic than did these base necromancers, and those of the demonologists (Heinrich Kramer and his successors) for whom necromancy was a dark filter shading their perception of witchcraft. The reactions of the opponents may be historically more important than the attitudes of the necromancers themselves, because they tell us more about the culture as a whole, but we cannot begin to comprehend these reactions without knowing the realities on which they were based. Third, the rites contained in this compendium illustrate strikingly the links between magical practice and orthodox liturgy. The analogy I will use is that of a tapestry, whose display side implies a reverse side: so too, a society that ascribes a high degree of power to ritual and its users will invite the development of unofficial and transgressive ritual, related in form to its official counterpart, however sharply it may differ in its uses.

A book of magic as a cultural artifact

A book of magic is also a magical book. It not only tells how to perform magical works, but shares in the numinous qualities and powers of the rites it contains. To be sure, not all magic is book magic: much magical practice arises from oral culture, is transmitted orally, and is used without needing inscription on paper or parchment, even if it is the largely accidental circumstance of its having been transcribed at some point that accounts for its survival and its accessibility to us. But in the later Middle Ages certain

forms of magic were increasingly assimilated to liturgy and increasingly written, so that a magical act was the performance from a script, or the observance of a rite whose details were enshrined in a text. This development surely owed much to the spread of literacy among the laity, but even more to the practice of magic among the clergy, particularly those on the fringes of the clerical elite. Judicial and anecdotal evidence suggests that explicitly demonic magic, called 'nigromancy' or 'necromancy',[14] was largely the domain of priests, perhaps especially those without full-time parish employment, as well as ordained monks with some education and esoteric interests, university students and others who had been received into minor orders.[15] It was within this context that a book of magic would most naturally be perceived as a magical book, sharing in the numinous quality of the rites it prescribes.

Christian ritual had from early centuries been the enactment not of oral tradition but of texts embodied in books. With the unprecedented late medieval diffusion of literacy, availability of reading matter and expansion of the clergy, books might still be accessible only to an elite, but it was a much expanded elite, and the numbers and varieties of books available were far greater than in previous centuries, so that maintaining control over this diffusion and this variety was scarcely possible, however much hierarchs may have attempted to censor the available reading matter. Little surprise, then, if books of magic found their way onto some readers' shelves, whether for use or for mere curiosity.

Apart from its function as a repository of information and insight, a book can be of interest as a physical object, as a mirror of its writer's life and mind, and as a mirror of the society and culture from which it emanates and to which it returns. The surviving books of medieval demonic magic repay study from each of these perspectives, although their claims to significance differ from those of ordinary texts: a book of magic is a physical object like any other book, but even as object it is perceived as having sinister power, as a kind of negative relic; it reveals something of the writer's life and mind, but more often than in most other cases, and for more obviously compelling reasons, the authorship remains anonymous or pseudonymous; and it serves as a mirror of the surrounding culture, but often the mirror is a distorting one, a deliberately transgressive adaptation of what the society takes to be holy.

Any book of rituals serves as point of contact between sacred texts

(permanent, authoritative repositories of power) and their performance (which utilizes this power for specific occasions). The book itself, like a liturgical vessel or a sacred building, is consecrated; when a formula is read from it, the power of the text is enhanced by the sacrality of the book from which it is read. A book of magic may also be consecrated, to confirm the numinous power resident in the physical object. A book of magic is thus significant not only as a source for information about magical practice – generally more reliable than court records, denunciatory treatises and literary accounts – but also as itself a magical object, treasured and closely guarded by its possessors, and condemned to burning by judges in mimickry of the punishment that might await the magicians themselves.

This perception of a book of magic as itself a magical object, and therefore as suspect, is seldom so dramatically manifested as in the canonization proceedings for Archbishop Antoninus of Florence (the man from whom, incidentally, the *Malleus maleficarum* derived most of its misogynist tropes).[16] One witness to the sanctity of the archbishop told how the saint had gone one day to a barber-surgeon of Florence named Master Peter to have his hair cut. During the process the prelate began to wonder how a man who read no Latin was able not only to cut hair but also to cure the sick people who came to him. He learned that the barber had obtained a 'book of surgery' from a Cistercian and had learned from it the art of healing. Antoninus asked Peter to bring forth this book and show it to him; the man readily complied.

> The archbishop recognized that the book was full of incantations, and formulas and signs belonging to the wicked magical arts. So one day he went to San Marco for lunch, and when certain members of the city's nobility were with him in the cloister after the meal, he had fire brought in an earthen vessel, and he set fire to the book. Immediately the air was so darkened that the citizens were afraid, and clung to the archbishop. He comforted them, saying that when the book was fully burned this darkening and clouding of the air would cease, as indeed happened. Then, calling these citizens and Master Peter about him, he explained that the book contained incantations, and that at some point a mass had been celebrated over it for conjuring and summoning demons, so that wherever the book was, a multitude of demons resided there.

The burning thus served as an exorcism; the very pages seemed quite literally infected by demons, who needed to be banished. Once this was accomplished, Antoninus admonished Peter to find some other means for healing the sick; the man obeyed this admonition, and the canonization proceedings assure us that God did not allow his family to go lacking.

The notion that demons could infest a book appears elsewhere: Michael Scot told of a magical book inhabited by spirits who call out when the book is opened, 'What do you want? What do you seek? What do you order? Say what you want and it shall be done forthwith.'[17] The theme admits at least two interpretations. One might see it as a way of symbolizing the ubiquity of malign spirits, their eagerness to seize any opportunity for mischief, and their dense concentration in those places and objects seen as special 'occasions of sin'. Beyond this, it can express obsessive anxiety about the book itself as an object invested with a kind of negative sacrality, something taboo, a source of spiritual and psychological contagion. The difference is not that the first interpretation is cultural and the second psychological; both interpretations function on both levels, relating the concerns of individual observers to the shared perceptions of the society. But the first interpretation places greater weight on the theological assumption that malevolent forces are secretly present in the world, an 'objective' assumption in the sense that it is widely diffused within the culture, eliciting and appealing to a diversity of personal concerns and anxieties, while the second stresses the aversion of the individual observer, a reaction inevitably both experienced and expressed in culturally conditioned terms.

Archbishop Antoninus's authority was perhaps too great for a mere barber-surgeon to challenge his interpretation of the book he had been using, but not all practitioners were so amenable to instruction. In the 1340s, the inquisitor Pietro da l'Aquila charged the Florentine physician Francesco di Simone with having purchased a book on the virtues of herbs, in which (according to the inquisitor) there was necromantic content. The physician testified that he had indeed bought such a book, but that there was no taint of necromancy in it, and if he had known that the volume contained anything prohibited he would never have bought it.[18] It makes little difference for our present purposes whether the inquisitor's or the archbishop's reading of a particular book was correct, or grounded in a careful reading of the volume's contents. Either of them might have been scandalized by simple charms of a sort that a theologian would in principle

have deemed innocent but a careless or overly zealous critic might perceive as tainted and implicitly demonic.[19] In other cases it seems more likely that magical books condemned as demonic were in fact collections of expressly demonic magic; Piero di ser Lippo claimed that the book he confiscated from Agnolo di Corso contained formulas for adoration and invocation of spirits such as Satan and Beelzebub, and there is no reason to doubt that the inquisitor encountered a work of genuine demonic magic, of the sort that have on occasion survived.

Less dramatic than the action of Archbishop Antoninus, but similar to it in certain respects, was the judicial treatment of a magical book by the secular authorities at Dijon:

> Concerning the execution [*exécution*] of a book of devilry [*deablerie*]. On the sixth day of August, in the year 1463, at the command of my lords of the Chambre des comptes at Dijon, after consultation in this Chambre, a book made of paper and covered with leather that was colored green was brought from the house and residence of the widow and heirs of Thomas of Dampmartin, during his life resident of Dijon. In this book were written many evil and false invocations of devils [*deables*], divinations, charms [*charoyes*], and other things of the magical art, which give very bad example and are against God and the holy Christian faith. In it were contained many depictions of devils and other detestable figures and characters. At the end of this book were several chapters and articles on necromancy [*nigromance*] and chiromancy. This book had been seen by my lords of the Council and the Chambres des comptes. And after they inspected it with great and serious deliberation – in the presence of lord Jehan Bon Varlet, priest of the chapel of my lord the duke of Dijon, dean of Saint-Seigne, vicar and scelleur of the reverend father in God my lord the bishop of Lengres in Dijon; master Jehan de Molesmes, secretary of my lord the duke; Ayme d'Eschenon, mayor of the town and commune of Dijon; Jehan Rabustel, procurator of that town; Aimé Barjod, procurator of my lord in the district of Dijon; and many others – this book was cast into the fire and totally burned to cinders, to the despite and confusion of the evil enemies [of the faith], and so that it could never again be used in any manner.[20]

Here there is no allegation of supernatural phenomena, and the book is not

seen as infected or possessed by demons needing to be exorcized. None the less, the book itself is treated as if it were a human subject, to be examined and, once found guilty, executed by burning. Nothing in the account need be taken as implying that the book itself possesses numinous powers, yet the book elicits the loathing and the judicial reaction normally reserved for a personal agent and embodiment of evil. From one perspective there is nothing unusual about investing a book with personality: the reading of any book can be perceived as a kind of dialogue between the reader and the text. Rarely, however, is the perception carried to this extreme.

The numinous quality of a book of magic could resemble that of a liturgical or devotional book, and in some cases the distinction between a devotional and a magical work could be obscure. The chronicle of Saint Denis tells how in 1323 a monk of Morigny was found to possess a book of devotions inspired by curiosity and pride, although he claimed to have been inspired rather by visions of the Virgin Mary. In her honour, he had had many images of the Virgin painted on his pages. He thus sought to renew the 'heresy and sorcery' known as the *ars notoria*, which involves the use of special figures, contemplation of these figures amid prayer and fasting, and invocation of mysterious and presumably demonic names, all for the sake of knowledge, wealth, honour or pleasure. His own book promised such rewards, but required invocations, the special copying of the book (at great expense), and the inscription of one's name in the book itself two times; the physical object, in other words, needed to be customized for its user. This book was so evil, the chronicle declares, that judges at Paris consigned it to the flames.[21] In other cases the boundary between devotion and magic was complicated by various factors: the combination of devotional and liturgical material with natural magic;[22] the tendency in books of conjuration to juxtapose formulas for invoking angels, demons and spirits of neutral or indeterminate standing, and the use of prayers to God for power over demonic and other spirits. Thus, when the necromantic plot against Benedict XIII was divulged in 1406, and investigation produced a coffin filled with books of prayers as well as conjurations, it is impossible to know whether even the 'prayers' were orthodox or deviant.

Tales of sorcerers' apprentices emphasize that the wondrous powers of a magical book are not easily controlled: one exemplum tells of a pupil who reads a chapter from his master's magical tome and thereby arouses a tempest which can be quelled only when the master comes back and reads a

chapter equal in length.[23] One might say that in such a tale it is not the book itself but the magic it contains that is powerful and uncontrollable, but the emphasis on use of a chapter of equal length suggests that the process of reading may have magical, quantifiable efficacy distinguishable from that of the specific contents.

The *Book of Consecrations*

The perception of a book of magic as possessing numinous power is not merely an obsession of the inquisitors; it is grounded in the writings of the magicians as well, who guarded the secrecy of their writings perhaps mainly for fear of detection, but also out of a sense that the books themselves were sacred objects.

A late medieval book of demonic magic is in at least one respect decidedly not like a cookbook. If one discovers that the recipes in a cookbook tend to come out badly, one may reasonably wonder whether there are errors in detail – whether, for example, the author meant a teaspoon rather than a tablespoon of salt, or a pinch and not a pound of nutmeg – but to take the faulty book to a priest and have it blessed would normally be thought eccentric at best. Yet that, or the rough equivalent, is indeed what a late medieval necromancer might have done with a defective book of magic. He might suppose that verbal flaws in the conjurations were partly to blame,[24] but, as we will see, the variants in late medieval necromantic texts seem to have been so common that a practitioner might have despaired of ever finding a flawless text to recite. In any case, the problem of verbal flaws was perhaps not the necromancer's greatest concern. A short, anonymous work called the *Liber consecrationum* (*Book of Consecrations*), which circulated in late medieval manuscripts in varying forms, makes clear that the book itself was a sacred object requiring elaborate consecration, and that its contents might lose their magical efficacy.[25] According to this *Book of Consecrations*, the magician must seek to recover the lost efficacy of his formulas by subjecting the book itself to an elaborate process of recharging, or reconsecration.

The prologue to this work insists that its proceedings are especially valuable, being dedicated to the names of God, and should not be used in vain. By invoking God's names, the 'exorcist or operator' can renew the power of a magical experiment which has lost its efficacy. Many people

seek to achieve great works, and possess writings by which they will attain their desire, but they accomplish nothing, because their experiments are corrupt. The operator must refrain from every pollution of mind and body, and for nine days must be abstinent in food and drink, must keep from idle or immoderate words, and must be clothed in clean garments. On each of these days he must hear mass, carrying this book with him and placing it on the altar during the mass, which seems to assume the celebrant's complicity, if the owner of the book is not in fact himself a cleric. He must execute this procedure devoutly, with prayer and fasting, so as to attain knowledge of sacred mysteries, and then he must carry the book back home. He should have a secret place, sprinkled with holy water, in which he can place the book, after binding it with a priestly cincture and a stole placed in the form of a cross. Kneeling toward the east he must say seven psalms (presumably the seven penitential psalms), 'the litany' (meaning the litany of the saints), and a further prayer before opening the book. Then he may open the book with humble devotion and with heartfelt desire 'that God may sanctify and bless and consecrate this book, devoted to his most sacred names, so that it may fully obtain the power it should have, that it may have power for consecrating the bond of spirits and for all invocations and conjurations of [spirits], and likewise all other experiments'.

These instructions are followed by a prayer, to be said after the litany of the saints – actually three prayers of varying length. The first is a plea that God may hear the operator's prayers despite his unworthiness. The second, addressed to Christ, repeats this central entreaty, and asks that he may consecrate this book:

> by the power of these your most sacred names, On, Jesus Christ, Alpha and O, El, Eloy, Eloyye, Sithothith, Eon, Sepmelamaton, Ezelphates, Tetragramaton, Elyoram, Ryon, Deseryon, Erystion, Ysyornus, Onela, Baysyn, Moyn, Messias, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, and by all your secret names which are contained in this book, so that by the virtue, sanctity, and power of these names this book may be consecrated ✠ and blessed ✠ and confirmed ✠ by the virtue of the sacrament of your body and blood, so that it may effectively, without any deception, [and] truly obtain the power that this book should obtain, for consecrating the bond of spirits, and for consecrating all corrupt experiments, and that they may have the fulness of virtue and power for which they are ordained,

through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, who is seated on high, to whom be honour and glory throughout unending ages. Amen, amen, amen, amen, amen.

This second prayer then invokes all the heavenly powers to bless the book. The third and briefest simply calls upon Christ to bless the book. The procedure is then complete. If the operator later wishes to consecrate a particular experiment, or add a new one, he should use a series of further prayers, along with which he must say the Confiteor, take holy water, and make the sign of the cross on his forehead. At all times he must take care that this book, which the wise adepts (*sapientissimi phisichi*) dedicated to God's holy names, not fall into the hands of the foolish. Why this caution might be necessary becomes especially clear toward the end of the supplementary prayers, in which the 'exorcist or operator' specifically requests power to summon 'malign spirits' from wherever they may happen to be lurking.

The mentality of the necromancers and their opponents

It would be a mistake to think of necromancy as a peripheral phenomenon in late medieval society and culture. Secular as well as ecclesiastical courts took it seriously and at times executed those charged with its practice; monarchs and popes as well as commoners lived in fear of becoming its victims. This fear may have been in some cases or to some degree feigned or pathological, but it was also grounded in realistic awareness that necromancy was in fact being practised, and in an almost universally shared conviction that it could work.

The history of magic sometimes claims a place in academic study as a field within intellectual history. This claim is plausible when the subject is a writer such as al-Kindi or Marsilio Ficino, deeply concerned with the practical operation of magic but also with the philosophical principles by which magic worked. This is not the type of material I will chiefly be examining in this study. The focus here will be formulas of frankly demonic magic, with only the most meagre of intellectual pretensions; I wish to suggest, perhaps perversely, that such a text none the less repays close examination. The rites contained in a manual of necromancy are flamboyantly transgressive, even carrying transgression toward its furthest

imaginable limits, and in today's academic environment one might justify studying them on these grounds. I am impelled more by a simple urge to grapple with late medieval culture in its entirety, including its most problematic and conflicted manifestations – warts and all, to use a fitting cliché – and to explore how the underside of the culture related to the side more often displayed. This too is part of the historian's challenge of discerning how things made sense in an alien culture.

First, then, the surviving necromantic texts provide a useful starting point for the *sources* of late medieval magic. Certain aspects of the necromancy laid out in these writings are clearly derived from the Arabic tradition of astral magic that became widely diffused in Europe from at least the thirteenth century onward. At times, as we shall see, the experiments are indebted to Jewish magical traditions, whether explicitly or implicitly, although the impact of Jewish magic on the forbidden rites of Christendom has been less studied and is harder to trace in detail than the influence of Arabic tradition. There are even materials in late medieval necromantic manuscripts closely resembling the magic of antiquity. It is often tempting to suppose that the forms of magical practice are essentially similar across cultures and throughout time, or at least over a very extended *longue durée*. Indeed, one might easily be persuaded that there is a history of the uses of magic and reactions to magic, but not a history of magic itself: virtually every magical technique one encounters appears so deeply rooted in tradition that magical practice seems essentially timeless and perennial. Indeed, it is possible to cite analogues and possible sources for late medieval magic from widely diverse cultures; in search of such parallels one could wander endlessly through thickets of the history of magic, from the Greek magical papyri of antiquity, through Arabic and Byzantine sources, and on to the grimoires of the early modern era. Yet when certain more or less well defined classes of practitioner take an interest in magic, they will adapt to their own use forms of magic taken from various sources. If the history of magic is to be anything other than a night in which all cats are black, it must attend to the characteristics of specific mélanges of magical tradition. The chief purpose of this study is therefore not to trace the history of individual elements but to reconstruct the configurations into which these elements enter: the patterns of magical practice worked in a particular historical setting, the relationship between these forms of magic and other aspects of the culture, and the perceptions of magic within that culture.

Furthermore, we cannot understand the *opposition* to magic in late medieval Europe without knowing fully what sorts of magic were being practised in that culture. Apart from the exempla by Caesarius of Heisterbach and others telling of the dangers of necromancy, there is considerable literature by late medieval theologians directed against these practices. For instance, the Paris theologians who in 1398 issued a general prohibition of magic were clearly aware of necromantic practices and concerned to eradicate them.[26] The theological literature against necromancy is incomprehensible without knowledge of the necromancers' formulas, and has at times been seriously misunderstood.[27] Nor can we understand the virulence of the critics' assault on magic without knowing the purposes magic was believed to serve. The glorification of the transgressive and the vilification of persecutors has perhaps too often blinded us to the recognition that much magic was intended for sexual coercion and exploitation, or for unscrupulous careerism, or for vigilante action against thieves that could easily lead to false accusations. I do not propose to moralize about these activities, but as a corrective to naive romanticizing I do want to make clear the kinds of magic one can expect to find in a late medieval source. It would be too much to claim that fear of clerical necromancy was a major source of pre-Reformation anti-clericalism – in Boccaccio, for example, when clerics make pretence of magical power this is exercised in the service of their lechery, and lust rather than magic is the focus of the satire – but the realization that certain clerics were dabbling in conjuration could hardly have made a positive contribution to the image of the clergy at a time when for other reasons there was increasing distrust of priests and priestcraft.[28]

If we neglect the literature of necromancy we cannot grasp what it is that the Humanist mages (Marsilio Ficino, Giovanni Pico, Johannes Reuchlin, Johannes Trithemius and others) so vigorously claimed *not* to be doing, or what they were often suspected of doing despite their protestations. Even the rise of the witch trials in the fifteenth century is related to increasing consciousness of this explicitly demonic magic. It was surely in large part because they were aware of the demonic magic described in these manuals and evidently practised in their midst that orthodox authorities often became sceptical about the notion of non-demonic, natural magic. They seem to have misconstrued ordinary magical procedures, interpreting them as working, like necromancy, through demonic agency.[29] Cesare Lanza hinted

at the connection when he remarked in 1579, 'Today a lowly little woman does more than all the necromancers accomplished in the ancient world.'[30] In so far as necromancers contributed to the plausibility of claims about witches, they bear indirect responsibility for the rise of the European witch trials in the fifteenth and following centuries. To the extent that these early witch trials focused on female victims, they thus provide a particularly tragic case of women being blamed and punished for the misconduct of men: women who were not invoking demons could more easily be thought to do so at a time when certain men were in fact so doing.

Natural magic was always, in some quarters, a suspect category, and understandably so: its mechanisms remained unclear, and its claims to empirical confirmation were perhaps even by medieval standards not impressive. Demonic magic, in contrast, was a straightforward notion, and its efficacy was easy for virtually all medieval people to believe. Small wonder if for some authorities in late medieval Europe this became *the* paradigmatic form of magic, and if other forms came to be interpreted as implicitly grounded in demonic aid, so that a theologian, an inquisitor, or an educated lay judge might be sceptical about claims that some magic was natural rather than demonic.

More generally, knowledge of this material adds significantly to our understanding of later medieval *clerical culture*. A society that had a surplus of clergy inevitably spawned an underemployed and largely unsupervised 'clerical underworld' capable of various forms of mischief, including necromancy, and indeed this underworld seems to have been the primary locus for this explicitly demonic magic. Not all those accused of conjuring demons were clerics; the charge was attached at times to laymen and occasionally women.[31] But the examples cited already suggest that clerics were disproportionally represented, and when we examine the Munich handbook of necromancy in following chapters what we will find there is a characteristically clerical form of magic, using Latin texts and presupposing knowledge of mainstream ritual.[32] The beliefs and ritual operations found in necromancy mimic those of established rites, somewhat as the threads are the same on both sides of a tapestry, and the patterns they form on the underside are recognizably related to those on the front. One might even suggest that a culture in which ritual occupies so central a place will naturally if not inevitably engender forbidden rituals, somewhat as the production of a tapestry necessarily produces on the underside a distorted

version of the intended image. The study of late medieval necromancy gives an exceptionally clear and forceful picture of the abuses likely to arise in a culture so keenly attentive to ritual display of sacerdotal power. Our own society, more fascinated with sexuality and its abuse, has its own concerns about miscreant priests and their abuse of young boys; the clerical misconduct most feared in the late Middle Ages was of a different order.

Demonic magic and the theory of ritual

I have spoken of demonic magic as the underside of the tapestry of late medieval ritual culture; more must be said about the character of magic as ritual. If the book of magic is on the one hand a magical book, an object possessing preternatural power, a habitation in which demons may even be supposed to reside, it is on the other hand a script whose formulas are meant for enactment, a guide for ritual action. The book of magic thus functions both as a repository of magical power and as a guide to magical process, a liturgical compendium with rites to be observed, scripts to be enacted. The rites of magic suggest questions analogous to those raised by any rites, even if they differ in the sources of power they mean to exploit. Three issues in the study of ritual are of particular relevance to our understanding of a necromantic text: the relationship between official (or public) and unofficial (or private) ritual; the efficacy ascribed to ritual, and the role of language in ritual.

Émile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss took the chief difference between religion and magic to lie in their social context. To paraphrase their perception, religion is the official observance of a collectivity (such as a Church), while magic is the unofficial practice of an individual (often on behalf of a client). But if one takes religion to be the spiritual practice of a community specifically *acting* as a community, one excludes private prayer – while if one takes it to be the spiritual practice *sanctioned* by a community, even when carried out individually, one relegates any and all disapproved practice, regardless of the grounds for disapproval, to the category of magic.[35] Eamon Duffy has emphasized that magical or superstitious formulas in charms share a common vocabularity with liturgical prayers, which already suggests the need for a nuanced sense of the relationship between religion and magic. The complexity of this relationship may be seen with particular clarity in the comparison of

exorcism and conjuration. As we shall see in a later chapter, in medieval parlance these terms were used interchangeably, and the practices are in fact in all ways but one identical. What we now call exorcism was practised by an individual, usually a cleric (although some laypeople claimed the role), who addressed demons with formal commands, whose power was derived chiefly from the sacred realities invoked in the formulas of command. What we now call conjuring was also practised by an individual, usually a cleric, who addressed demons with formal commands essentially identical to those of the exorcists, again powerful by virtue of appeal to sacred realities. In neither case was the command automatically efficacious: both exorcists and conjurers reckoned on the possibility that the demons might resist their invocations and refuse compliance, in which case the rituals of command would be redoubled. Both the exorcist and the conjurer were engaged in spiritual wrestling matches with the demons, and in both cases they were keenly aware of the dangers. Exorcism was in principle carried out on behalf of a demoniac; conjurations could be done as ways of afflicting enemies, and could be carried out on behalf of clients. In both cases, then, the ritual performer was acting as an individual but within a social context. If exorcisms were allowed, at least to authorized clergy, while conjuring was prohibited to all, it was because of the one key difference: the exorcist's intent was to dispel the demons, while the conjurer's was to summon them, and mainstream opinion held that it was better to be rid of malign spirits than to invite them into one's life. Study of conjurations in subsequent chapters will suggest that there is no other essential difference between this form of magic and religious practices, and that it is better to perceive demonic magic as an illicit form of religion than as a cultural phenomenon distinct from religion.

The efficacy of magical rites, like that of any rituals, can be seen as real, objective, and (within the historical culture) rational, or as emotional, subjective, and symbolic: the magicians' operations may be viewed as actually accomplishing certain ends, or as symbolic expressions of their emotions and their desires. In Ludwig Wittgenstein's classic formulation, 'Magic … gives manifestation to a wish; it expresses a wish.'[36] Echoing such earlier formulations, Joseph Gusfield suggests that 'in symbolic behavior the action is ritualistic and ceremonial in that the goal is reached in the behaviour itself rather than in any state it brings about'.[37] This pragmatist perception of ritual may be useful as a way for an observer to

excuse someone else's otherwise irrational practice, but there is little evidence that most practitioners themselves view the effect of their rites as merely expressive and not objectively effective.[38] Magic rituals in medieval Europe were clearly intended to produce results: to arouse passion, to drive people mad, to find stolen goods, and so forth. Judicial evidence makes it clear that the practitioners, the clients and the victims all expected magic to have objective effect, and when it did not this was because the specific practitioners were inept or did not perform rituals with sufficient strength to command the demons they summoned.[39]

In one sense, however, Gusfield's formulation does apply to magic. Magical rites, like prayers of petition, may be used for practical ends, but any goals extrinsic to the ritual presuppose an effect intrinsic to it. The prayers and actions that constitute orthodox ritual first of all transform the relationship between the praying person and God, as also the relationship with the persons prayed for, with others in whose company one is praying, and with others throughout history who have said the prayer in question. If such ritual is transformative, the transformation is in the first instance one that occurs *within* the ritual itself. The participants in the ritual become different, and the network of relations in which they stand is reconfigured. Even if no further results ensue, for the duration of the ritual the world of the participant is transformed. Normally one undertakes a ritual with the expectation of further, extrinsic changes, moral or physical, but these are secondary, at least in a logical sense, however important they are to the participant: they are secondary because they presuppose a prior change within the ritual itself, an empowerment of the participant that then makes extrinsic change possible. Ritual can be effective for other purposes only if it first is effective *as ritual*. It can have secondary efficacy only by virtue of its primary efficacy. The principle holds in the case of magical rites, and perhaps most especially those involving demonic magic: even if they are undertaken for the sake of some practical end, that purpose can be accomplished only because within the ritual there is a transformed relationship between the magician and God, between the magician and the demons, and perhaps also between the magician and other humans. Calling upon the aid of God, the magician seeks power over the demons; the primary purpose of the ritual is to build sufficient power that the magician may compel the spirits to do his will. Only if within the ritual itself this transformation of power is attained can the magician accomplish any other

goal.

The efficacy of ritual *ex opere operato* must be perceived in this light. Thomas Aquinas was stating the common perception of theologians in the later Middle Ages when he recognized the mass and sacraments as having objective effect independent of the disposition and moral status of the celebrant and minister. That ritual was inherently efficacious (*ex opere operato*), apart from any further effect to be gained by virtue of the minister's or participants' disposition (*ex opere operantis*), by no means meant that the rite was magical. Whether an operation qualified as magic or not depended chiefly on which powers it invoked: if it called upon celestial or manifest natural powers it was not magic, but if it appealed to demonic or occult natural powers it was magic.[40] Rituals that called upon angelic aid formed an ambiguous category, possibly but not necessarily magical, but mainly because the identity of the angel summoned might be in doubt.[41]

A ritual, magical or otherwise, could have efficacy *ex opere operato* precisely because it transformed the status of the performer and his or her relationship with God, with other spirits, and with humans. It was clearly this fear of the efficacy of magic *ex opere operato* that led an actor playing in the *Jeu de Sainte Barbe* in 1470 to make a notarized counterpact declaring that 'by the invocations and anathemas of the demons which he makes in the play … he does not intend to speak from the heart but only in the manner of the play, and that on that account the enemy of human kind, the devil, should not have any claim on his soul'.[42] But the force of magical ritual was not in all respects analogous to that of other rites. Ordinary prayer and official ritual assume that the spirits invoked are in general well disposed toward humankind, and enter readily into a helping relationship. The praying person's invocation of God or a saint is an appeal to a benevolent being. In this respect the rituals of demonic magic differ from other rites: they invoke fallen spirits taken (by the necromancers as well as by their critics) to be unwilling, uncooperative, inimical and treacherous. The operations of demonic magic, more than other rituals, are thus explicit contests of wills. The necromancer recognizes a need to heap conjuration upon conjuration, and to buttress these formulas with supporting means of power, precisely because the demons are reluctant to come, and if they come will do everything in their power to escape the magician's control, threaten him, and deceive him. To gain the upper hand in the contest, the magician must hold the strongest possible means for power over the demons, and

must adjure them in the name of all that is holy to come in non-threatening form, to cause no harm, and to tell only the truth. Yet all of these factors, far from undercutting Gusfield's analysis, actually strengthen it: they show how vitally important it was for the magician to focus his attention and his energies on the *immediate* consequences of his ritual action. His rites could be efficacious for extrinsic purposes only if they were first effective *as* rites, as ritual contests with cunning and powerful spiritual adversaries who could nevertheless be induced to fulfill his command.

The function of language within magical ritual is a subject to be explored in detail when we examine formulas of conjuration in a later chapter. The general topic is one S.J. Tambiah has discussed, with focus on the use of special languages, or the use of elements from various languages, in magical practice.[43] Necromantic conjurations of the late Middle Ages are almost entirely in Latin, which marks them not as specifically magical but as similar to ordinary liturgical formulas. Some experiments give formulas in what is said to be Chaldean, thus making an appeal to the authority of ancient Jewish magic analogous to that of later Christian Kabbalists. But when a child medium is used, he is sometimes licensed to conjure the spirits in the vernacular. On one level one might say that the choice of language is a matter of indifference: the demons or other spirits being conjured know all human tongues and can be addressed effectively in any of them. Yet in a different way the selection of language was important, because it was only formulas in Latin that were clearly related to the prayers of mainstream liturgy. Necromancers who had command of Latin and could use it to demonstrate the groundedness of their rites in the liturgical tradition of the Church could no doubt gain readier acceptance as authentic masters of their art. And even if demons could understand other languages, they seemed (like God) to pay special attention when addressed in Latin.

In any case, within medieval culture, magical words were seen as effective not *per se* but rather as means for evoking the effective presence of the archetypal powers to which they refer. Magical language is thus not in a simple sense the *cause* of efficacy but rather its *occasion*; the cause is a network of forces released and coordinated by the magician's verbal cue. The situation is analogous to that of the eucharist: the priest's utterance of the words of consecration is not the cause of transubstantiation but rather the divinely ordained occasion for divine intervention. One might suppose that this distinction is too subtle to have been clear to the common

necromancer, but in fact the point is clearly articulated in the conjurations themselves, which not only acknowledge but insist that the sources of their own power are the archetypal forces they bring to bear upon the situation at hand.

The magic we are dealing with, then, borrows the conventions of liturgical prayer and has efficacy resembling that of the sacraments. In other respects, however, the fitting comparison is not so much with liturgy and sacraments as with the private devotions that were proliferating in the late Middle Ages, and the analogue to the book of magic is less the missal than the private prayer book. Ritual magic and devotions alike showed how liturgical formulas could be adapted for private and domestic use; indeed, one central point of devotionalism was to provide a network of connections between church and home, bonding them in an increasingly complex relationship, and imparting to the home some of the fervour and sacrality of the church. Magic resembles the devotionalism of the books of hours and other prayerbooks in its translation of official rites into an unofficial and largely private setting.[44] Books of magic, like books of devotion, proliferated in the expanding marketplace of privately owned and privately read texts.

Plan of this book

The following chapter will introduce the manuscript to which this study is chiefly devoted. Subsequent chapters fall into two blocks. Chapters 3–5 examine the experiments according to the chief purposes for which they are performed: entertainment (illusionist experiments), power over other individuals (psychological ones), and knowledge (divinatory ones). The chief point of these chapters is to show that within this body of material there are in fact fairly clearly distinguishable subtraditions, and to sketch the common characteristics of each. Chapters 6–8, then, analyse the sources and techniques used to gain magical power, in particular the conjurations (and the demonology assumed by these conjurations), the magic circles, and the formulas of astral magic – techniques that cut across the categories discussed in the earlier chapters, and thus represent elements of continuity within the diversity of necromantic practice.

Throughout the book I will give translations (my own, unless otherwise noted) of source material for the study of late medieval necromancy. Most

of these passages are from the Munich handbook; to give a sense of the cultural context, I have included some material from other writings of the magicians and from writings about and against demonic magic. I have opted not to give a complete translation of the Munich handbook; both specialists and general readers, I assume, will be better served by selective translation of representative and particularly interesting passages (selected perhaps disproportionately but not exclusively from the earlier sections of the handbook), integrated into my analysis. This option seems especially appropriate given the largely repetitive nature of the material, and the need to situate it in its cultural context. The Latin text is, in any case, available at the end of the volume for those who wish to probe more deeply.

Notes

1 On the general topic of literacy in the late Middle Ages see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 53–88; Malcolm B. Parkes, 'The literacy of the laity', in David Daiches and Anthony Thorlby, eds, *Literature and Western Civilization*, 2 (London: Aldus, 1973), 555–77; Paul Saenger, 'Silent reading: its impact on late medieval script and society', *Viator*, 13 (1982), 367–414; and, for a somewhat earlier period, Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983).

2 See especially Peter Biller and Anne Hudson, eds, *Heresy and Literacy, 1000–1530* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), and Nicholas Watson, 'Censorship and cultural change in late-medieval England: vernacular theology, the Oxford translation debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409', *Speculum*, 70 (1995), 822–64. On certain aspects of books as magical objects see Peter Ganz, ed., *Das Buch als magisches und als Repräsentationsobjekt* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), esp. Brian P. Copenhaver, 'The power of magic and the poverty of erudition: magic in the Universal Library', 159–80.

3 Barthélemy Hauréau, *Bernard Délicieux et l'Inquisition albigeoise, 1300–1320* (Paris, 1877), 143–65; Lea, *History*, vol. 3, 451f.; Conrad Eubel, 'Vom Zaubereiunwesen anfangs des 14. Jahrhunderts (mit urkundlichen Beilagen)', *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 18 (1897), 628f.; Joseph Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter, und die Entstehung der großen Hexenverfolgung* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1900; repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1964), 253f. The relevant documents are now available in Alan Friedlander, ed., *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi: The Trial of Fr. Bernard Délicieux, 3 September–8 December 1319* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 86/1) (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1996).

4 Joseph Hansen, ed., *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter* (Bonn: Georgi, 190l; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 2–4; Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: An Enquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt* (London: Chatto, 1975), 193.

5 Eubel, 'Vom Zaubereiunwesen', 609–25; Robert Michel, 'Le procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: l'accusation de sorcellerie et d'hérésie, Dante et l'affaire de l'envoûtement (1320)', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 29 (1909); Hansen, *Zauberwahn*, 333f.; Cohn, *Europe's Inner*

Demons, 192.

6 Pierre Luc, ‘Un complot contre le Papa Benoit XIII (1406–7)’, *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’École de Rome*, 55 (1938), 374–402.

7 Margaret Harvey, ‘Papal witchcraft: the charges against Benedict XIII’, in Derek Baker, ed., *Sanctity and Secularity: The Church and the World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973), 109–16; J. Vincke, ‘Acta Concilii Pisani’, *Römische Quartalschrift*, 46 (1938), esp. 183–208.

8 Gene A. Brucker, ‘Sorcery in early Renaissance Florence’, *Studies in the Renaissance*, 10 (1963), 19f., 23., citing G. Sanesi, ‘Un episodio d’eresia nel 1383’, *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, 3 (1896), 384f.

9 Brucker, ‘Sorcery’, 13–16, 22f.

10 Nicolaus Eymericus: *Directorium inquisitorum*, ii.43.1, (Rome: Georgius Ferrarius, 1587), also tells of having captured necromancers’ books and had them burned in public.

11 Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 511, citing Rudolf Dier de Muiden, *Scriptum de magistro Gerardo*, ed. G. Dumbar in *Analecta seu vetera aliquot scripta inedita* (Deventer, 1719), 1–12.

12 Quotation from the New Revised Standard Version. For a discussion of the distinctive setting at Ephesus see Clinton E. Arnold, *Ephesians: Power and Magic: The Concept of Power in Ephesians in Light of its Historical Setting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

13 Francis A. Gasquet, ed., *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia*, 3 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1906), 117f. The text appears corrupt in more than one place, but the sense is sufficiently clear.

14 One might suggest that the term *nigromantia* not be re-Graecicized as ‘necromancy’ but left as ‘nigromancy’. While in some respects preferable, this usage would mistakenly suggest that medieval usage distinguished between two terms. Both DuCange’s *Glossarium* (s.v. *nigromantia*) and the *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v. ‘necromancy’) make it clear that *nigromantia* was not a term distinct from *necromantia*, but an alternative version of the same word, influenced by the Latin *niger*. *Dives and Pauper*, for example, is quoted as reading (in the 1496 printing), ‘nygromancye, that is wytchecrafte done by deed bodyes’. The equivalence thus conflated ‘black divination’ (construed broadly with reference to the magical arts in general, but at least by implication these arts conceived as demonic) with ‘divination by consulting the dead’. The first part of the word was also at times spelled *nygro-*, *negre-*, *egra-*, etc.

15 On this ‘clerical underworld’ see Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press, 1989), esp. 153–6.

16 Hjalmar Crohns, ‘Die Summa theologica des Antonin von Florenz und die Schätzung des Weibes im Hexenhammer’, *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, 32/4 (Helsingfors, 1903).

17 See Lynn Thorndike, *Michael Scot* (London: Nelson, 1965), 120.

18 Mariano da Alatri, ‘L’inquisizione a Firenze negli anni 1344/46 da un’istruttoria contro Pietro da l’Aquila’, in Isidorus a Villapadierna, ed., *Miscellanea Melchor de Pobladura*, 1 (Rome: Institutum Historicum O.F.M. Cap., 1964), 225–49.

19 On the relationship between licit and illicit charms, see, e.g., Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, II/II, q. 96, a. 4, and the comments of Heinrich Kramer (traditionally ascribed to him and Jakob Sprenger) in *The Malleus maleficarum*, ii.2.6, trans. Montague Summers (London: Pushkin, 1948), 179–88. Johannes Nider, in his *Praeceptorium divinae legis*, summarized in Henry Charles Lea, *Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft*, ed. George Lincoln Burr, 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939), 269f., explains that it is licit to adjure demons in an imperative mode but not in the deprecatory mode that he associates (incorrectly) with necromancers.

20 Jacques Paviot, ‘Note sur un cas de sorcellerie à Dijon en 1463’, *Annales de Bourgogne*, 65 (1993), 43–5.

21 G.G. Coulton, trans., *Life in the Middle Ages*, 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), 162–63, from the *Grandes Chroniques de St Denis*, vol. 5, 269.

22 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 266–87.

23 Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (FF Communications, 204) (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Akademia Scientiarum Fennica, 1969), 61, no. 737.

24 For a list of possible explanations for the failure of magic, at least in one cultural setting, see E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1937), 475–8.

25 There are two copies in Clm 849, on 52r–59v and 135r–139r, and both are edited below. In addition, there is fragmentary version in Bodleian Library Rawlinson MS D252, 85r–87v, and a French *Livre de consecracion* in Trinity College Cambridge MS 0.8.29, fols 183r–186v.

26 Jean Gerson, *Œvres complètes*, ed. Palemon Glorieux (Paris: Desclée, 1961–73), 10, pp. 86–90.

27 For example, Paul Diepgen, in ‘Arnaldus de Villanova De improbatione maleficiorum’, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 9 (1912), 385–403, clearly had no notion what necromancy entailed and was thus seriously mistaken regarding the intent of Arnald’s work.

28 Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. Mark Musa and Peter Bondanella (New York: Mentor, 1982), 7.3, 7.5 (involving an alleged priest), 8.7 (involving a scholar) and 9.10.

29 See Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, ch. 7.

30 Guido Ruggiero, *Binding Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage, and Power at the End of the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 211, 227.

31 E.g., Hansen, *Quellen*, 524–26, and Carl Buxtorf-Falkeisen, *Baslerische Stadt- und Landesgeschichten aus dem sechszehnten Jahrhundert* (Basle: Schweighausen, 1863–8), vol. 4, 1–25.

32 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, Ch. 6, is surely correct in arguing that knowledge of Latin was shared in varying degree by diverse sections of the population, and was not exclusive to the clergy. It is not the language of necromancy alone, but the command of ritual vocabulary and the assumption of entitlement to use that vocabulary that suggests the necromancers were primarily clerical, and this assumption is confirmed by images of the clerical necromancer found in literature as well as in the judicial records.

33 For discussion of a range of issues in the theory of ritual see Roy A. Rappaport, ‘The obvious aspects of ritual’, in Roy A. Rappaport, *Ecology, Meaning and Religion* (Richmond, CA: North Atlantic Books, 1979), 173–221.

34 Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Karen E. Fields (New York: Free Press, 1995), esp. 39–44; M. Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic*, trans. R. Brain (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1950).

35 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, ch. 8.

36 Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Remarks on Frazer’s ‘Golden Bough’/Bemerkungen über Frazer’s ‘Golden Bough’*, ed. Rush Rhees, trans. A.C. Miles (Retsford: Brynmill, 1979) (‘Die Magie aber bringt einen Wunsch zur Darstellung; sie äußert einen Wunsch’), discussed in Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 54–63, and in Rodney Needham, *Exemplars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 149–77.

37 Joseph Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement*, 2nd edn (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 21.

38 On this point see Richard Kieckhefer, 'The specific rationality of medieval magic', *American Historical Review*, 99 (1994), 813–36.

39 See, for example, the case of Niccolò Consigli, in Gene A. Brucker, ed., *The Society of Renaissance Florence: A Documentary Study* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 361–6.

40 Kieckhefer, 'The specific rationality', 813–36.

41 Invoking an angel established as unfallen, such as the archangels Michael or Gabriel, could be *superstitious* if the means of invocation were inappropriate (e.g., if one used circles and conjurations in calling upon them) but would not thereby have qualified as *magical* by medieval definitions.

42 Jacques Chiffoleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà: les hommes, la mort et la réligion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Age (vers 1320–vers 1480)* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1980), 389, n. 92; translation from R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 188.

43 Stanley J. Tambiah, 'The magical power of words', *Man*, n.s. 3 (1968), 175–208; also in Stanley J. Tambiah, *Culture, Thought and Social Action* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 17–59.

44 For an overview of the subject see Richard Kieckhefer, 'Major currents in late medieval devotion', in Jill Raitt, ed., *Christian Spirituality*, 2 (New York: Crossroad, 1987), 75–108.

2

The Munich Handbook of Necromancy: Clm 849

In other areas of medieval studies, the 'new philology' is urging renewed attention to particular manuscripts, with respect for their variant readings of texts as well as attention to their physical make-up, evidence of the ways they were used, the disposition of text on the page, and the relationship between text and images. The individual manuscript actually put together by medieval hands and used by medieval readers, rather than the artificial standardized edition, is increasingly seen as a means for understanding how texts functioned within their historical culture.[1] In the same vein, I wish to propose that for the history of magic – especially in the late Middle Ages – what we need most is a series of detailed studies of particular representative manuscripts. This more than any other type of study will contribute toward a concrete and realistic sense of how magicians conceived and represented their art, especially if it is possible to divine the process by which a manuscript was compiled, and to say something about the mentality of the compiler as it changed through different stages of compilation.

Clearly there were those in late medieval Europe whose interest in magic was more theoretical than practical. The monk of Sulby mentioned in Chapter 1 claimed that his fascination with the occult was purely theoretical or speculative. We know that William of Auvergne and Nicholas Eymericus studied works of magic in the interest of analysing them, refuting their assumptions, and condemning them more effectively, while Albert the Great and Roger Bacon had theoretical interests in the occult that grew in large part out of their scientific research. There may well have been many less known figures who took a keen interest in knowing about magic through widely disseminated books such as *Picatrix*, even if they did not intend to practise this learning.[2]

The magical texts probably of greatest interest from a theoretical or scientific viewpoint were integrally conceived and titled works, even if these were pseudonymous or anonymous, as opposed to miscellanies. Works integrally

composed by single authors, such as al-Kindi or Marsilio Ficino, or pseudonymous works ascribed to Aristotle, were likely not only to prescribe recipes for specific purposes but to develop more or less explicit theories of occult process. Miscellanies might contain material that *implies* an understanding of how magic worked, but they were less likely to develop a theoretical viewpoint explicitly or coherently. To be sure, this distinction between an integrally conceived work and a miscellany is by no means rigid. While *Picatrix* is one of the great works of Arabic astral magic, infused with a more or less coherent theory of how magic operates,[3] it is also in large measure a compilation. The Pseudo-Albertan *Book of Secrets* is systematic in its organizing principles – it surveys the magical properties first of herbs (nettle, wild teasel, periwinkle, and so forth, one by one), then of stones, then of beasts, and finally of the planets – but the contents gathered under these headings might be found in a miscellany as well, without benefit of organizing structure. Yet while the distinction between an integrally conceived work and a miscellany is thus not absolute, it is none the less real.

It is a distinction worth noting, because the works of magic that survive from medieval Europe include large numbers of miscellanies, and in light of their importance they have been too little studied. When we read in a judicial record or a literary work of a magician who owned and used a book of magic, this is at least as likely to have been a miscellany as an integrally composed treatise. For while miscellanies may be of less interest from a theoretical viewpoint, they had compensating features that may often have made them more useful to the practising magician. The materials assembled in them were selected not to round off some theoretical notion of magic and its component parts, but because *individually* they were taken to be effective. They are documents of use, analogous to the Greek magical papyri.[4] A treatise on conjuration, such as the *Thesaurus necromantiae* ascribed to Roger Bacon,[5] may explain systematically how conjuring spirits works, and how different spirits are related to different astronomical bodies; a necromantic miscellany is more likely to lay out a single ‘experiment’ (*experimentum*, or, less often, *experientia*, a concrete and experienced application of ritual for magical effect), with all of the required preparations and conjurations, step by step. Historians of magic who are mainly interested in the field from the perspective of intellectual history or the history of science are likely to be drawn mostly to single-author treatises, but those interested in the actual practice of magic and its relevance to cultural, social, judicial, religious and political history must take a keen interest in miscellanies

as well. Furthermore, whereas an integrated treatise claims to represent a point of view distilled and isolated from the course of its own development, a miscellany can more fully serve as a biographical document illustrating moments in the life of its compiler, presenting its reader with the challenge of discerning the trajectory of its compiler's shifting interests.

Willy Braekman has edited the magical portions of a Middle Dutch miscellany of the fifteenth century, now at the Wellcome Historical Medical Library in London.[6] This manuscript illustrates the variety of magical materials we might expect to find in a miscellany. Included along with non-magical material are experiments to identify the thief who has stolen milk, beer or wax; to become invisible; to see 'extraordinary things'; to learn about past or future events; to ease childbirth; to transport oneself rapidly by use of an ointment (made of seven herbs, goat's fat and bat's blood). Various love charms or summoning experiments are given, as well as a procedure for preventing a wife from having intercourse with another man by tracing a circle around her genitals with the tail of a lizard.

In the category of magical trickery or parlour games are experiments to cause people to grow dirty while bathing; to cause white birds to hatch from the eggs of black birds; to make a newly hatched peacock white; to cause a woman to leap naked from her bath; to cause a dog to dance; to compel a horse to stand still; to hold a serpent in one's hand without harm, and to cause a horse to collapse as if dead. More useful are procedures to expel mice and flies by use of magical images. The manuscript gives the first half of a moon book, explaining the moon's influence under each zodiacal sign. And it includes a set of experiments ascribed to Solomon, and twelve experiments involving snake-skin, widely attributed to Johannes Paulinus but in fact translated from the Arabic. Most of the experiments in this manuscript are of natural magic, but not all: Braekman's no. 20, especially, calls upon 'the power and might of these spirits, Beheydraz, Anleyuz, [and] Manitaynus', to aid in the magical seduction of a woman.

Bodleian MS Rawlinson D 252, a fifteenth-century English manuscript, contains formulas for explicitly demonic magic, to which Frank Klaassen has called my attention, and which he will describe in his own research now in progress. It is devoted chiefly to lengthy conjurations intended for divination, most often to detect thieves, although there are multi-purpose experiments as well. The bulk of the material is in Latin, but the manuscript also gives lengthy passages in Middle English. The manuscript differs from Braekman's Middle

Dutch text in various ways, of which three are immediately apparent: it is more consistently devoted to magical experiments, most of its operations are for a particular kind of magic, and it more regularly calls upon the aid of demons. I will refer to this miscellany on occasion in following chapters.

Codex latinus Monacensis 849

We turn now to the specific focus of this study, a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Bavarian State Library, Clm 849, and in particular the texts on folios 3 through 108 of this manuscript. (The material on the following folios is related in kind and approximately contemporary but in different hands and different languages, and evidently not intended as part of the same compilation.) The compiler of this main block of material was evidently German; the appended materials seem to have come from various sources, and one passage contains a formula in Italian.[7] The manuscript is a small one, approximately 8¼ inches high and 5¾ inches wide. The description of this manuscript in the published catalogue is nondescript: it appears there as a book of incantations, exorcisms and sundry bewitchments.[8] Lynn Thorndike made no reference to it in his monumental *History of Magic*,[9] and while he did cite it briefly in a later article published in a festschrift,[10] it has generally been neglected in the literature on witchcraft and magic. In my survey of *Magic in the Middle Ages* I highlighted this text, but without examining it fully and systematically.[11] Yet it deserves careful attention, not because it was influential but because of what it represents. It is a rare example, essentially intact, of what must once have been a flourishing genre: the manual of explicitly demonic magic, or necromancy. It is clearly a miscellany, with little linkage, clustering or other organization of its materials, and no effort to develop a coherent theory to support or explain the 'experiments' it contains. Yet its limitations are also its strengths: the lack of a systematic framework means that each section, essentially self-contained, has a coherence and clarity often lacking in more fully developed writings.

The first two folios of the manuscript are missing, a circumstance which may help to explain how the manuscript evaded detection and thus survived. (Indeed, it is not uncommon for the first folio of a magical manuscript to be missing.)[12] The 107 folios that remain in the main block (rectifying an error in foliation gives us one extra folio) are devoted primarily to a series of forty-two magic experiments. Interspersed with these are a version of the *Liber consecracionum* (no. 31); a list of spirits, with descriptions of the forms in which they appear and

the functions they perform (no. 34); a manual of astral magic (no. 37); a list of favourable and unfavourable days for writing magical inscriptions (no. 46); and a fragment of a chemical prescription, with a gloss in the German language (no. 47).

All but a few of the experiments fall into the three main categories. There are twelve illusionist experiments, designed to make things appear other than as they are – to conjure forth an illusory banquet or castle, to obtain a wondrous means of transportation (usually a demon in the form of a horse) that will carry the magician across land or water, or to make a dead person seem alive or vice versa. Seven psychological experiments are intended to have influence on people's intellects or wills – to arouse love or hatred, to gain favour at court, to constrain the will of others, or to drive a person mad. Fully seventeen experiments are divinatory techniques for gaining knowledge of future, past, distant or hidden things. Most of these experiments entail catoptromancy, or scrying: the magician's assistant, usually a young boy, stares at a reflecting surface until he sees figures, taken here to be apparitions of spirits, who can reveal the desired information. As should become clear in following chapters, these three types of experiment are significantly different from one another: we find an element of playful fantasy in the illusionist experiments, an often violent effort at coercion in the psychological ones, and an insistence on detecting truth and righting wrongs in most of the divinatory ones. Differences in tone and in purpose are accompanied by variations in technique: conjuring spirits is of central importance in most of the experiments, but the magic circle plays its most prominent role in the illusionist rituals, sympathetic magic is more prevalent in the psychological experiments, and scrying is itself the key to most of the divination. Rather than a single technique, the necromancy of this handbook represents a congeries of distinct procedures, most of which can be sorted fairly neatly into these three categories.

Roughly speaking, we can say that the moving forces behind the magic of the handbook are the exercise of imagination, the hunger for power and the thirst for knowledge. To be sure, all three elements are at work in all the necromantic experiments. One might say that the main issues raised by the practice of necromancy are those of the relationship between sacrality and power: the necromancers perceived their art and office as sacred and saw themselves as invoking the sacred powers of heaven by which they could constrain the equally numinous but malign and treacherous powers of hell. At the same time, one must recognize that all these experiments required exercise of imagination and were

inspired in large part by curiosity. Yet the characteristic emphases differ, and we may safely generalize that it is the imaginative element which dominates in the illusionist experiments, the quest for power in psychological experiments, and the yearning for knowledge in the divinatory ones.

All forms of necromancy presupposed and played upon tensions. Basic to illusionist experiments was the tension between fantasy and reality, all within the border realm in which readers and practitioners were asked to suspend their disbelief, or perhaps rather to entertain possibilities that would normally defy belief but within this ritual context might gain credibility. In psychological experiments the tension was chiefly between the will of the necromancer and that of the victim over whom the master sought to exercise his power. In divinatory experiments it was perhaps most importantly a tension between truth and deception; these rituals were intended to ascertain truth but left themselves open to the constant hazard of error.

The materials in the manuscript that do not fit into these three categories are a procedure for gaining knowledge with the aid of a demon tutor (no. 1), a brief experiment called the 'Key of Pluto' for opening all locks (no. 26), a fragmentary operation for averting harm (no. 44), a chemical recipe (no. 47), and generic materials that can serve diverse ends (nos 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 42 and 46).

Strikingly absent from this compilation are magical rituals for healing and protection and necromantic procedures for inflicting bodily harm or death. The judicial records provide ample evidence of necromancers charged with undermining the health of their victims, and other necromantic literature evidently provided guidelines for such magic. The compiler of this manuscript seems not to have been a man of conventional morality or scrupulous disposition, yet he seems also not to have taken an interest in these kinds of magic. Not all necromantic manuals were squeamish in this regard. The *Key of Solomon* insists that magic must be used only to glorify God and extend kindness to neighbours, but in fact the work prescribes methods for causing enmity, war, death, destruction, and so forth; as E.M. Butler says, the intentions 'seem to have been of the best; but they were literally of the kind which pave the way to hell'.[13]

The following table shows the order of the forty-two experiments and other materials, most of which are assigned to three broad categories: psychological ('Psych.'), illusionist ('Illus.'), and divinatory ('Divin.'). The numbers for each item are editorial additions.

Table A. Experiments in Clm 849, fols 3–108

No.	*Purpose*	*Fols*	*Type*
1.	For gaining knowledge of the liberal arts	3r–5v	
2.	For causing a person to lose his senses	6r–7v	Psych.
3.	For arousing a woman's love	8r–11v	Psych.
4.	For gaining dignity and honour	11v–13v	Psych.
5.	For arousing hatred between friends	13v–15r	Psych.
6.	For obtaining a banquet	15r–18v	Illus.
7.	For obtaining a castle	18v–21r	Illus.
8.	For obtaining a boat	21r–23r	Illus.
9.	For obtaining a horse	23v–25v	Illus.
10.	For resuscitating a dead person	25v–28r	Illus.
11.	For invisibility	28r–29v	Illus.
12.	For obtaining a woman's love	29v–31v	Psych.
13.	For constraining a man, woman, spirit or beast	32r–33r	Psych.
14.	For obtaining a horse	33v–34r	Illus.
15.	For obtaining a flying throne	34r–35v	Illus.
16.	For finding something in sleep	35v–36r	Divin.
17.	For obtaining a horse	36r–36v	Illus.
18.	The mirror of Floron, for revelation of past, present and future	37r–38r	Divin.
19.	The mirror of Floron, second version	38r–39v	Divin.
20.	Another way of using a mirror	39v–40v	Divin.
21.	For invisibility	40v	Illus.
22.	For discovering a thief or murderer by gazing into a vessel	41r–42r	Divin.
23.	First mirror of Lilith	42r–43r	Divin.
24.	For learning about any uncertain thing by gazing into a crystal	43r–43v	Divin.
25.	For information about a theft by gazing into a crystal	43v–44r	Divin.
26.	Key of Pluto, for opening all locks	44v	
27.	For obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail	44v–45v, 51r, 46v–47v	Divin.

28. For obtaining information by gazing at a bone	47v–49r	Divin.
29. The true art of the basin	49r–49v	Divin.
30. Twelve names for making spirits appear in a boy's hand	49v–50v	Divin.
31. The Book of Consecrations	52r–59v	
32. Conjuration of Satan/Mirage	59v–62v	
33. For obtaining information from a mirror	62v–65r	Divin.
34. List of spirits	65v–65r	bis
35. For obtaining a woman's love	65r bis–67v	Psych.
36. Generic preparation for conjuring spirits	67v–68v	Divin.
37. Manual of astral magic	68v–96v	
38. For obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail	96v–99v	Divin.
39. For obtaining information by gazing into a fingernail	99v–103r	Divin.
40. For obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail	103r–105v	Divin.
41. For discovering hidden treasure in sleep	106r–106v	Divin.
42. The name Semiforas	106v–107r	
43. For obtaining a horse	107r–107v	Illus.
44. Fragment of an experiment for averting harm	107v	
45. For invisibility	107v–108r	Illus.
46. Favourable and unfavourable days of the month for inscriptions	108r–108v	
47. Fragment of a chemical prescription (with a note in German)	108v	

After the first (truncated) experiment in the manual, an entire series of fourteen experiments can be gathered into four clusters, two psychological and two illusionist:

Cluster I: Nos 2–5 (for inflicting dementia, gaining the love of any woman, obtaining dignity and honour, arousing hatred between friends)

Cluster II: Nos 6–11 (for obtaining a banquet, obtaining a castle, obtaining a boat, obtaining a horse, resuscitating a dead person, obtaining invisibility)

Cluster III: Nos 12–13 (for obtaining a woman's love, constraining a man or woman or spirit or beast)

Cluster IV: Nos 14–15 (for obtaining a horse, obtaining a flying throne)

Much less of the subsequent material falls into clusters, and the groupings that do occur are devoted exclusively to divination (unless we count the astral magic of no. 37 as itself constituting a cluster):

Cluster V: Nos 18–20 (the mirror of Floron, alternative version of same, another way of using a mirror)

Cluster VI: Nos 22–25 (for discover a thief or murderer by gazing into a vessel, first mirror of Lilit[h], for knowing about any uncertain thing by gazing into a crystal, for information about a theft by gazing into a crystal)

Cluster VII: Nos 27–30 (for obtain information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail, for obtaining information by gazing at a bone, the true art of the basin, twelve names to make spirits appear in boy's hand)

Cluster VIII: Nos 38–41 (for obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail, for obtaining information by gazing into a fingernail, for obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail, for discovering hidden treasure in sleep)

Before no. 35 the manuscript gives the heading, 'Here begin good and tried experiments', which suggests that the compiler either reordered materials he was taking from elsewhere or copied this particular experiment from the beginning of some other compilation. The arrangement of folios within the gatherings is highly erratic (with many folios excised, and others elsewhere inserted), but apart from the two folios missing from the front of the manuscript, there is in general a high degree of continuity both within and between the gatherings, the main exception being in the apparently careless fragmentation of experiment no. 27.[14] This discontinuity existed already, and the folios in question had already been excised, at the time of the original (fifteenth-century) foliation. In other

words, it is likely that we have the necromancer's manual nearly intact, and possible that, despite the codicological complexity, the discontinuities that exist are the result of the compiler's carelessness rather than later loss of text or errors in binding.

Following all this material from fols 3 through 108 are 48 originally separate folios, 109–156, which again contain miscellaneous material: a conjuration of a demon named Mirage (given fols 109r–118r and again fols 139r–146r); German magico-medical prescriptions (fols 119r–132v); a series of divinatory experiments (fols 133r–134v), with a short 'prayer' in Italian (asking God to ensure the truth of the ensuing revelation) to be recited into the ear of a child who serves as medium;[15] the *Liber consecracionum* (fols 135r–139r); a lunar calendar (fol. 146r); instructions for magical circles (fol. 146v); a treatise on astral magic, the *Opus Zoal et angelorum et spirituum eius* (fols 147r–154v), and a German book of lunar astrology (fols 155r–156v). This material will be discussed here mainly in so far as it resembles or otherwise relates to the main block of material. The only materials from folios 109–156 that are edited here are the second version of the *Liber consecracionum* (given along with no. 31, in parallel columns) and the conjuration of Mirage (given alongside no. 32, in parallel columns).

It may seem – and may indeed be – hazardous to devote such attention to a manuscript that survives in this condition. It is possible that the missing first folio contained a title, named an author, or gave other information that would be important for locating this text within its historical context. If we had such information we might be able to tell more confidently whether this compilation is in fact unique or whether there are other copies.[16] While recognizing the hazards of proceeding with this project, I am moved to do so chiefly by the conviction that this is an exceptionally rich and interesting compilation, that one of the most urgent needs in the history of magic is detailed analysis of specific manuscripts representative of the materials magicians are likely to have used, and that such texts thus hold significance going well beyond their meagre intellectual pretensions. I will make some effort to situate the component parts of the text within their literary context – to cite sources and parallels. For the most part, however, I will focus on the contents of this specific compilation, this microcosm of clerical magic as it was known in the late Middle Ages.

Necromancy and Necromancers in Fifteenth-Century Munich

The fact that our necromantic manuscript is now in the Bavarian State Library is not, of course, any indication that it came originally from Munich or even from Bavaria, but its inclusion among the earlier codices of the collection suggests that, wherever its materials were first assembled, they may have been brought to Munich and acquired by the ducal library at an early date. Even if this connection is conjectural, it may thus be interesting to inquire what we know of the practice and perception of necromancy in late medieval Munich. The short answer to this question is that not a great deal is known about necromancers and necromancy specifically in and around Munich in the fifteenth century, yet there are some clues that may help place Clm 849 within a general historical context.

The witch trials conducted in the Dauphiné during the years 1428–47 provide an interesting side light of possible relevance. One of the many subjects brought before the judges in this campaign was a sixty-year-old man, Jubertus of Bavaria, from Regensburg, tried in 1437 at Briançon.[17] Apart from accusations more or less typical of the incipient prosecution for conspiratorial witchcraft (flight to nocturnal assemblies, killing of infants, etc.), Jubertus was charged with activities more often found in connection with clerical necromancy:

> First, the aforesaid Jubertus said and confessed, under freely taken oath … that he is sixty years of age, and that for ten years and more he served a certain powerful man in Bavaria who was called Johannes Cunalis, who is a priest and *plebanus*, in a city called Munich in Bavaria, near Bohemia.
>
> Likewise, he said and confessed that this Johannes Cunalis had a book of necromancy [*librum de nigromancia*], and that when he who spoke opened this book at once there appeared to him three demons, one named Luxuriosus, another Superbus, and the third Avarus, [all of them] devils. And the first appeared to him in the form of a charming maiden of twelve years, and she slept with him at night and took their pleasure together.
>
> Likewise, during the night he adored that devil as a god, on bended knee, then turned his posterior toward the east and made a cross on the ground, and spat on it three times, and trampled on it three times with his left foot, and urinated and defecated on it, and wherever he saw a cross he spat upon it and thrice denied God.
>
> Likewise, at dawn he adored Superbus in the same way …
>
> Likewise, he gave Superbus what was left over when he ate and drank, and to Luxuriosus he gave three or five pence on Holy Friday before Easter, and he committed both his bodily members and his soul after death. And these

devils wanted him to deny that God whom they called an accursed prophet [*maledictum prophetam*], and when he adored those three demons as gods he turned his face toward the west and his posterior toward the east, saying what he said, and when he had his dealings with Luxuriosus the others laughed….

Likewise, he said that when he passed along the roads and was with the demons and found a cross, the devils fled from it and made a great detour around it, and they forbade him to do good deeds and to adore the sacred host, and when it was elevated he was to close his eyes, and they forbade him to take holy water and to kiss the cross or the pax [=osculatory], asserting that they alone were almighty gods.

Likewise, he said and confessed that on Sunday, the seventeenth of this month, all three demons were standing with him in prison, and their eyes glowed like sulphurous fire, and they said to the prisoner that they would guard him well if he did not reveal these things. Then he had dealings and mingled carnally with Luxuriosus, and he said furthermore that these demons would have freed him from prison if he had not revealed these things.

Likewise, he said and confessed that these devils then told him that he would be examined more subtly the next day, and that he would have to tell the full truth, and that he would thus be given over to death …

Likewise, he said and confessed that once he was passing with his master through a forest in which there were thieves, but they put them to flight with a multitude of devils who appeared in the form of soldiers. He said further that the world is filled with invokers of demons, and that these devils profit greatly from these things, especially because the world is full of sins, wars and dissensions.

Likewise, he said and confessed that one night with the aid of demons his master had a bridge constructed over a river in Bavaria at a place called Sancta Maria Heremitta.[18]

Likewise, he said and confessed that he had proposed to blind Johanneta, the widow of Johannes Paganus of the present place, because she displeased him. With two keys he had traced her image, in a manner and form which he explained in the examination; he did this on a Sunday, depicting her image beneath the name[s] of devils, using implements, materials and techniques described in the examination, just as he had done in the duchy of Austria in the case of a man called Johannes Fabri of Vienna. And he had disclosed this deed and boasted of it before his capture….

Likewise, he said and confessed that about two years ago he was in the

city of Vienna in Austria, and one Thursday there were three drunken cooks in a tavern who refused to let him drink, and when they withdrew at a late hour one of them said to the other two, 'Get up, in the devil's name, and let me pass by!' And at once, at the behest of the accused, all three demons of his master seized those three, snatched them out the door, and cast one of them into a well, another into the sewer or privy of the Dominicans, and the third into the privy of the Franciscans, and none of them but the one cast into a well was killed, the others being freed by the friars at the time of matins.

Likewise, he said and confessed that poisons were made by the aid of devils, by which men could be killed, through their working or by the aid of demons, either at once or in a lingering death, according to the will of the one administering, and according as more or less of the poison is administered, in the name of the devil, in a manner and form contained in the examination, and taken from a basilisk, toad, serpent, spider or scorpion….

Likewise, he said and confessed that when he was passing through the roads and saw images of the Virgin Mary or a cross, he spat at them three times in despite of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and that on the feast of Saint John the Baptist he gathered certain herbs for medicine, as specified in the proceedings, and on bended knees he first adored them, then extracting them in the name of his devils, and in despite of almighty God, the creator of all….

The link between necromancy and witchcraft emerges also from the work of Johannes Hartlieb (*c*. 1400–68). Hartlieb served the duke of Bavaria in Munich during the last three decades of his life, and between 1456 and 1464 he wrote *Das půch aller verpoten kunst (The Book of All Forbidden Arts)* at the behest of Margrave Johann ('the Alchemist') of Brandenburg-Kulmbach.[19] Some have seen the work as marking a departure from earlier work of Hartlieb's that dealt with the occult arts in a more sympathetic manner, but the attribution of most of these works is at best doubtful: writings that he had in his library and consulted to inform himself about the occult arts were in some instances falsely ascribed to him. Some have read *Das půch aller verpoten kunst* as a clever excuse for relating otherwise forbidden information to a curious reader, but Hartlieb does not give enough particulars for his work to be of much use in magical practice. Frank Fürbeth is surely correct in placing the work in a tradition of catechetical writings for lay instruction, influenced in particular by Nicholas Magni of Jawor and by the work of certain contemporary Viennese writers.[20] Hartlieb lists

necromancy (*nigramancia*) as the first of the seven forbidden arts, along with geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy, pyromancy, chiromancy and spatulamancy. His chapter 22 defines the term:

> *Nygramancia* is the first forbidden art, and is called the black art. This art is the worst of all, because it proceeds with sacrifices and services that must be rendered to the devils. One who wishes to exercise this art must give all sorts of sacrifices to the devils, and must make an oath and pact [*verpintnuß*] with the devils. Then the devils are obedient to him and carry out the will of the master, as far as God permits them. Take note of two great evils in this art. The first is that the master must make sacrifice and tribute to the devils, by which he denies God and renders divine honors to the devils, for we should make sacrifices only to God, who created us and redeemed us by his passion. The other is that he binds [*verpint*] himself with the devil, who is the greatest enemy of all humankind.[21]

Hartlieb's categorization adapts that of Nicholas Magni and harks to much earlier discussions of the branches of the magic arts. Isidore of Seville, who deals with magic and especially magical divination in his *Etymologies*,[22] speaks of four species of divination which employ the four elements (geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy and pyromancy), but among other forms of divination mentions the *necromantici* who resuscitate and interrogate the dead. Hugh of St Victor's *Didascalicon* borrows from Isidore, but organizes the divisions of magic into five categories, of which the first, *mantice*, includes divination by necromancy and by the four elements.[23] Hartlieb cites Isidore of Seville's more restricted use of the term 'necromancy', for conjuring the shades of the dead, but he himself uses it in the broader sense, essentially interchangeable with 'demonic magic'.[24]

As indicated, Hartlieb's portrayal of necromancy displays close links between this art and the conspiratorial witchcraft that was emerging in both trials and treatises at the time he wrote. The necromancer conjures the Devil with characters and secret words, with fumigations and sacrifices, in addition to making a pact with the Devil.[25] The Devil acts as if the conjurer caused him pain by his exorcizing and conjuring (*beswern und pannen*), although they actually give him great satisfaction. In all these respects he might be taken as describing the conspiratorial witch, although his explicit subject is the necromancer. Hartlieb even discusses early witch trials at Rome and at Heidelberg within the

context of necromancy.[26] Hartlieb's reading and experience were wide: he claims to have consulted with Greeks, Tartars, Turks and Jewish women about the practice of these forbidden arts.[27] His book is thus by no means specifically about the magic practised in and around Munich. But it was while serving as counsellor to the Duke of Bavaria that he gathered information from diverse sources, making his study at Munich in effect a clearing house for knowledge about magical activities.

The early history of Clm 849 is not established,[28] and its ownership obviously cannot be demonstrated. It is tempting to speculate that Hartlieb had it at his disposal, along with numerous other books of necromancy and the allied arts. Many of the practices Hartlieb describes are laid out in Clm 849 (e.g., the anointing of a boy's fingernail for scrying, or the conjuring of a demon in the form of a horse for magical transportation), although, to be sure, there is little if anything in his work that he could not have derived from other sources. Those eager to fill in all the blanks might suggest that Jubertus actually consorted with Johannes Cunalis, the priest of Munich, and that the Munich handbook of necromancy was in fact the *liber de nigromancia* owned and used by this cleric. The spontaneous appearance of Luxuriosus, Superbus and Avarus would on this interpretation would have to be a way of talking about the spirits which inform such a book – and it is perhaps no distortion to suggest that the spirit of lust (*luxuria*) is one main incentive for the psychological experiments, the spirit of pride (*superbia*) is a prime factor in the illusionist ones, and the spirit of avarice (*avaritia*) is a key motive of the necromancer, and sometimes of his client, for staging the divinatory ones.

Even if it were possible to establish a clear connection between Clm 849, Jubertus and Hartlieb, one would hesitate to speak of Munich as in any special way a centre for the practice of necromancy, or to postulate a distinctive character to the magic used there. In all likelihood necromancy was studied and practised within a kind of clerical underworld through much if not most of Western Europe in the later Middle Ages. We have no reason to suppose that Munich was in this respect different from any other city.

The composition of the Munich handbook

For reasons I have already touched upon, any discussion of how Clm 849 came to be compiled must remain conjectural: the first two folios are missing, the provenance of the manuscript remains obscure, there are no indications of either

authorship or ownership, and the disposition of the manuscript is complex. Nonetheless, we can make some reasonable assumptions about the process by which this handbook came into existence, and thus about the workings of the 'clerical necromancy' that would have produced and employed such a book.

We cannot speak of the writer of this manual as its 'author', because we do not know to what extent he devised the formulations that he gives, or how far he merely reproduced other people's work. In some cases he deliberately gave alternative forms of demons' names,[29] which suggests that he was working from a previous manuscript and was unsure of the reading. The writer's own orthography was highly erratic; within the same experiment he sometimes slipped from one version to another in his names for demons, and while the variations were sometimes slight they were not always so.[30] (At the end of the fifteenth century, Humanist mages such as Johannes Reuchlin protested that the debased magic of contemporary necromancers could have no effect because the very names they used for the spirits were corrupt; the present manuscript might have served as a case in point.)[31] Whether the writer composed badly or copied badly, one constant factor in the manuscript is that its Latin usage is unconventional by medieval (let alone classical or Humanist) standards. In one experiment the writer speaks of a 'whole white dove' (*columbam totam albam*) when he means a 'totally white dove' (*columbam totaliter albam*); he writes that a woman 'will love all things above you' (*super te omnia diliget*) when he clearly means the reverse; he confuses 'without' (*sine*) with 'or' (*siue*), and he evidently substitutes 'prepare' (*parare*) for 'obey' (*parere*).[32] More often than one would expect, he leaves other words out altogether. At times his sentences give way to grammatical nonsense. The formula 'May your arts fail … as Jamnes and Mambres failed' (*Deficiant ergo artes tuae ... sicut defecerunt Iamnes et Mambres*), referring to the names of Pharaoh's magicians according to a tradition reflected in II Timothy 3:8, is given once in the main block of Clm 849, and twice in later sections of the manuscript, by two different hands (no. 32). But in the main block the point of the allusion is lost and the comparison comes out in utterly garbled form as 'May your arts fail … so you and members have now ceased' (*sic cessauerunt jam vos et membros*), while in the other versions the passage begins 'Your ears will fail' (*Deficient ergo aures tuae ...*).

What seems quite clear is that the writer was a cleric – probably a priest, and at least a person in minor orders. His use of Latin makes this a *prima facie* likelihood, even if his Latin is bad. The more compelling evidence is his assumption that the user of the manual will, like him, be acquainted with ritual

forms used in the Church's services: he gives the opening line of Psalm 50 (from the Vulgate) and assumes the user will know the text (no. 33); he prescribes the seven (penitential) psalms and the litany (of the saints) and presumes that these too will be familiar and accessible (no. 36). In short, the work appears clearly a product of that clerical underworld in which late medieval necromancy seems to have found something of a natural home. It may have been exercised and feared as a means for gaining otherwise elusive power within a competitive clerical establishment. It may have been a pastime for underemployed clerics with time on their hands and a fondness for this quintessentially clerical form of dark and daring entertainment. It may have been a service rendered to credulous clients by unscrupulous providers of ritual. Like the Ouija board in latter day culture, it may well have been all of the above, an amusement constantly in danger of becoming serious, dark and threatening.

In certain important respects there are shifts in the content and tone of the manuscript, suggesting changes in the compiler's interests and his attitudes toward the material. Along with a shift from illusionist and psychological experiments to rites of divination comes a general flattening of the prose. It is in the front of the manual that the writer is inclined to tell entertaining anecdotes and to provide testimonials to the authenticity and efficacy of the rituals. The earlier materials suggest more authorial self-consciousness, a clearer sense of authorial voice. Later sections are less developed with narrative and other embellishments. Even the magic circles required for the experiments and illustrated in the manuscript tend to become less complex and less interesting in the later sections of the compilation. The manual shifts also in its engagement of the reader. In the earlier experiments the writer regularly addresses the reader in a direct and personal manner, urging him to 'attend carefully' (no. 2), taking him into his confidence by entrusting him with secret information (nos 4 and 9), reminding him of a situation in which he has seen the master perform an experiment (no. 6), and referring to his own needs and desires – 'If you want to have the love of any woman …' (no. 3), 'If you wish to infuse a spirit into a dead person so that he appears alive …' (no. 10), 'If you wish to be taken for invisible and imperceptible …' (no. 11), 'If you wish to know about any matter on which you are doubtful …' (no. 24). Subsequent experiments are couched in far more impersonal rhetoric; the reader is instructed with blunt imperatives and subjunctives, with no expression of interest in entertaining him or engaging his interest. The later materials are less ambitious in their imaginative depth, but more ambitious in laying out procedures likely to be put to actual use.

The most basic question about the actual composition of the book is whether it is taken from a single source (as a set of excerpts from a cohesive treatise or as a copy of some previous miscellany) or from multiple sources. The latter scenario seems far more plausible, largely because there are occasional discontinuities that suggest the compiler was working with a collection of unbound materials that were not in perfect order, and he was perhaps not certain about where to fit them into his series of experiments. The effect was similar to that of assembling diverse materials in a scrapbook and finding that some of the odds and ends assembled are not complete or entirely coherent. This type of discontinuity would have been possible if the writer had been drawing excerpts from a cohesive work or copying an earlier miscellany, but in the former case one might have expected the individual units to remain cohesive, and in the latter one might have thought the copyist would have rationalized or deleted the incoherent fragments. At any rate, it appears not at all unlikely that the materials bound together with the main handbook are examples of the sort of material from which the compiler worked. My hypothesis is that the compiler and scribe took a lively interest in various kinds of magical materials, put together a personal collection of them from various sources, and had readily at hand perhaps both bound and unbound writings of diverse character and provenance (at least one bit of appended material contains a fragment of Italian); that the materials that he copied into his own anthology represent his own selection (and perhaps, as in the abridgement and reformulation of the conjuration of Mirage,[33] his own adaptation) from this body of material, and that when his own compilation was originally bound, or perhaps when at some later date it was rebound, some of his sources may have been appended to it, perhaps simply those of compatible format, forming fols. 109–56. This hypothesis rests solely on the partial overlapping of contents between the main block and the appended material, not on paleographic or codicological evidence; indeed, it could be argued that at least some of the appended material seems to be by later hands, although the chronological ordering would be difficult to establish with confidence.

Alternative hypotheses cannot be altogether dismissed. It is possible, for example, that the compiler worked simultaneously on two distinct collections of material, perhaps fols 1–51 and fols 52–108, and that what appears to be a shift from one mode of presentation to another results simply from the binding together of what were intended as separate compilations. Had this been the intent, however, one would have expected a clearer and more decisive shift than

in fact occurs: it is not the case that all the divinatory experiments, or all the materials of any sort, are grouped together.

We can only speculate about the identity of the compiler. In two passages he represents himself as connected with a court. He could have been a learned courtier with an interest in the occult arts, such as Johannes Hartlieb, although Hartlieb is more likely to have owned and consulted such a manuscript than to have assembled it or used it.[34] A closer model might be Michael Scot, who served at the court of Frederick II and had an interest in astrology, as apparently did the counsellors of several other German emperors, but there is no real evidence that these astrologers dabbled in necromancy.[35] The compiler might have been a cleric, perhaps a member of the lower clergy, possibly a figure such as the priest-necromancer who befriended Jubertus of Bavaria; or, to compromise between these possibilities, he could have been a cleric of higher or middling status who aspired to some position at court. If we could take seriously the unlikely notion that Hartlieb began by taking an active interest in magic and later became its critic and opponent, we might guess that this collection is his and represents an early phase in his own development. To judge by the book's Latinity, I incline toward the hypothesis that what we have here is the work of a man with some but not a great deal of learning, who would have tended more toward the fringes of society than toward court, even if he had aspirations for higher status that found expression in the early sections of his book but waned over the time he worked on it.

Table B. Types of necromancy found in Clm 849

	Illusionist	*Psychological*	*Divinatory*
Purposes	causing things to appear other than as they are: illusory banquet, castle, horse or other means of transportation; make a dead person seem alive or vice versa	influence on people's intellects or wills: love or hatred, favour at court, constraint of others' wills, madness	knowledge of future, past, distant, or hidden things: detection if a crime or criminal (usually a thief, less often a murderer), recovery of stolen goods, discovery of hidden treasure
Motivating impulses	imagination	power	knowledge
Tensions	between fantasy and reality	between the will of the necromancer and that of the victim	between the demand for truth and the fear of deception
*Affinities**	• with literary fantasies • with the mythology of witchcraft	• with works of astral magic (in translations from Arabic)	• with divinatory practices developed esp. in Judaism
*Central features**	• either highly complex (with complicated magic circles, rituals, and repeated conjurations) or very simple (with no circles, relatively simple rituals, and single conjurations) • emphasis on secrecy, although purpose is display • often accompanied by stories or testimonials • themes central to conception of witchcraft	• elaborate preparation and ceremonies (often over more than one day) • purposes and forms resembling those of astral magic • techniques of 'sympathetic' or 'imitative' magic, with meaning explicated by incantations (and less emphasis on circles and conjurations) • violent procedures and results • secrecy, to evade detection and punishment	• scrying (sometimes psychologically interpreted) combined with conjurations emphasized (but with little emphasis on circles) • participation of a medium, usually a young boy, who alone sees the spirits
Correlation with Jubertus's spirits	Superbus – grandeur of display being a matter of primary concern	Luxuriosus – seduction or rape being one of the most common purposes	Avarus – recovery or discovery of goods being a main purpose, and this being a potentially lucrative form of divination

* See Chapters 3–5 for elaboration of these points.

While recognizing that this reconstruction is and must be conjectural, I suggest, then, that the compiler of this miscellany was a moderately educated member of the lower or middling clergy who began by writing colourful and imaginative experiments in hopes of establishing a reputation for expertise in the occult, and perhaps a foothold at some court, possibly that of the Duke of Bavaria in Munich, but whose aspirations were thwarted, and who eventually turned his attention to forms of magic that were less fanciful, playful and fantastic, but more in demand for practical application and thus more lucrative, and in any case still revealing of the diversities of magic in late medieval culture.

Table B summarizes the characterization already given of the three types of necromantic experiment found in Clm 849 and anticipates further discussion (in the next three chapters) of these categories. As should be obvious, it consists of broad generalizations, which require some qualification and nuance when applied to particular concrete experiments. While I have decided to use this chart in the interest of clarifying the patterns, the distinctions, and the correlations I mean to emphasize, I am aware of the hazards of fixing these categories too sharply and making them rigid when they should remain fluid. In highlighting the affinity of the psychological experiments with those of Arabic astral magic, for example, and the divinatory ones with practices well known in Judaism, I by no means wish to suggest that the techniques in question were exclusively or even specifically Arabic on the one hand, Jewish on the other. The world of magic is clearly more complex than that, and the boundaries between Jewish and Muslim magic too difficult to define. Still, in some ways the heart of this study – at least its attempt to distinguish different elements in the necromancers' own perception of their art – is sketched on this chart in schematic form. I do not adhere strictly in subsequent discussion to the organizing principles that might be suggested by the table, but everything laid out here is covered at some point either above or in following chapters.

Notes

1 Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989). See also Stephen G. Nichols, 'Introduction: philology in a manuscript culture', *Speculum*, 65, no. 1 (Jan. 1990), 1–10; Siegfried Wenzel, 'Reflections on (new) philology', *ibid.*, 11–18; and the other articles in that issue of the journal.

2 *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the* Ghāyat Al-Hakı-m, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986).

3 See, among recent works, Jean Clam, 'Philosophisches zu *Picatrix*: Gelehrte Magie und

Anthropologie bei einem arabischen Hermetiker des Mittelalters', in Albert Zimmermann and Andreas Speer, eds, *Mensch und Natur im Mittelalter*, 1 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1991), 481–509, and Toufic Fahd, 'Sciences naturelles et magie dans *Gayat al-Hakim* du Pseudo-Mayriti', in E. García Sánchez, ed., *Ciencias de la naturaleza en al-Andalus*, 1 (Granada: Conseja Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990), 11–21.

4 Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986). On the cultural significance of miscellanies see Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, eds., *The Whole Book*: *Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996).

5 Roger Bacon, *De Nigromancia*, ed. and trans. Michael-Albion Macdonald (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1988).

6 W. Braekman, 'Magische experimenten en toverpraktijken uit een middelnederlands handschrift', *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal-en Letterkunde*, 1966, pp. 53–118; also published separately (Ghent: Seminarie voor Volkskunde, 1966).

7 Fol. 134r: '*et postea dicatur in auriola pueri ista oracio:* "*O dio fare dispiriti spiritale cum lamina bocha te voio pre* [deleted?] *pregare che spiriti a questo puto vergeno in questa angestara diby mandare che diga emonstre lauerita de quelo chio voio domandare*".'

8 *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, 2nd edn, vol. 1, pt 1 (Munich: Bibliotheca Regia, 1892), 202 (*Liber incantationum, exorcismorum et fascinationum variarum*).

9 Lynn Thorndike, *The History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Macmillan and Columbia University Press, 1923–58).

10 Lynn Thorndike, 'Imagination and magic: force of imagination on the human body and of magic on the human mind', in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, 7 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1964), 353–58.

11 Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, esp. 6–8.

12 I have this information from Frank Klaassen, who is studying manuscripts of ritual magic in English collections.

13 E.M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949), 62.

14 See the codicological analysis of the manuscript given in the final chapter.

15 See n. 7 above.

16 It is worth noting that Thorndike, 'Imagination and magic', evidently did not recognize the handbook as an example of anything else he had seen.

17 Hansen, *Quellen*, 539–44. On the witch trials in this region and their context see now Pierette Paravy, *De la chrétienté romaine à la Réforme en Dauphiné: evêques, fidèles et déviants (vers 1340–vers 1530)* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1993), and for this case in particular pp. 814–16.

18 Paravy, p. 815 n. 4, suggests that this is a reference to the pilgrimage shrine at Einsiedeln. She also cites literature on the theme of the diabolical bridge, in particular B.M. Galanti, 'Le leggenda del "Ponte del Diavolo" in Italia', *Lares*, 18 (1952), 61–73.

19 Johann Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste, des Aberglaubens und der Zauberei*, ed. and trans. Falk Eisermann and Eckhard Graf (Ahlerstedt: Param, 1989).

20 Frank Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb: Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), 88–132.

21 Hartlieb, ch. 22, pp. 34f.

22 *Etymologiae*, viii.9, in the *Patrologia latina*, 82:310–14.

23 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon: De studio legendi*, vi.15, ed. Charles Henry Buttimer (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1939).

24 Chs 22, 28.

25 Chs 22–24.

26 Chs 33–34.

27 E.g., ch. 85.

28 Otto Hartig, *Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht V. und Johann Jakob Fugger* (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosoph.-philolog. und hist. Klasse, vol. 28, sect. 3, 1914), gives the history of the library that provided the earliest foundation for the Bavarian State Library, but does not give the provenance of this manuscript.

29 There are two instances in experiment no. 7, and one in no. 27.

30 See the variation in names in nos 4, 7, 9, 10 and 11.

31 The relationship between demonic and other forms of magic in the Renaissance is a primary theme of D.P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic, from Ficino to Campanella* (London: Warburg Institute, 1958). See also Charles Zika, 'Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* and the magic debate of the late fifteenth century', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 39 (1976), 104–38, esp. 112–14 (see p. 114, n. 30, *Tota Magia, quae in usu est apud modernos, et quam merito exterminat ecclesia, nullam habet firmitatem, nullum fundamentum, nullam veritatem, quia pendet ex manu hostium veritatis, potestatum harum tenebrarum, quae tenebras falsitatis, male dispositis intellectibus obfundunt*).

32 Fols 8r–11v.

33 See no. 32 in the edition, where a conjuration edited from two versions in the later folios is addressed to a spirit named Mirage, while an alternative form in the main block addresses Satan.

34 The *Schriftproben* in Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb*, p. 280, show that Hartlieb's handwriting is not at all like that in fols 3–108 of Clm 849; it more closely resembles that of some later folios, but not enough that any of this material could be assigned to him.

35 Thorndike, *Michael Scot*, esp. 32–39 and 116–21. See also the interesting article of Helmuth Grössing and Franz Stuhlhofer, 'Versuch einer Deutung der Rolle der Astrologie in den persönlichen und politischen Entscheidungen einiger Habsburger des Spätmittelalters', *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 117 (1980), 267–83. On court astrology in England see Hilary M. Carey, *Courting Disaster: Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1992).

3

Banquets, Horses and Castles: Illusionist Experiments

The fifteenth-century writer of the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript tells how to summon a demon in the form of a horse by using conjurations, a ring with the Tetragrammaton inscribed on it, and a diagram made with the blood of a hoopoe or a bat. The magician must stand in a circle that extends to the east window of his chamber. When the conjuration is complete, a multitude of spirits will appear in the sky, with many horses; the magician must choose the horse with the red bridle, which will descend outside his chamber. He may then ride off, with sceptre and sword in hand. But he must beware of committing any sins while engaged in this experiment, because if he is unclean he can no longer command the demon. The writer then tells a cautionary tale – from his own experience, he says – to impress upon the reader the importance of not sinning in the course of this adventure:

> For I myself once travelled from Alexandria to India in the space of an hour, and there I saw women whom I found very pleasing indeed, and at once I had my will with one of them. But there was no chance of finding a confessor unless I waited quite some time. I returned to my horse, which was standing where it had been conjured [to stand], but when I seized the end of the bridle the horse began to bolt, not allowing me to put my foot in the stirrup because of my uncleanness. I held on to the bridle firmly, and the horse hurled me forty feet into the air. Finally, seeing that I was going to perish miserably, I let go and fell, breaking my leg quite badly. So I lay there in India for four months, and until I had recuperated I could not go and see my horse.
>
> But when I had recovered I went to confession and did penance. Then I prepared a chamber for myself, and had a sceptre, sword and ring newly made, since the ring which I had defiled had lost its power. When these instruments had been fashioned and newly consecrated, I summoned those same spirits as before, and had them bring the same spirit or horse. With

conjurations I commanded that horse and mounted him peacefully, and I kept on riding him continually for an entire month, except when I dismounted to sleep and eat or drink, and thus I circled the globe eight times. And I had him carry me through the sky until I was practically suffocated because of the pressure of the air. In circling the globe I discovered many and wondrous treasures, whose virtues I learned later on under the instruction of one of the spirits, whom I then locked up. And thus [by this long riding] I caused my horse much grief.

When I finally dismounted from him and asked him why he had harmed me, he replied that from that point on he was unable to do so, but he said he would rather have been in hell than keep riding for so long a time. So he asked me not to cause him such grief any more, and he would minister to me faithfully when I summoned him, so long as I was clean. And thus I repaid him evil for evil.[1]

The ceremony given here for conjuring the horse is borrowed, perhaps directly, from the *De nigromancia* or *Thesaurus spirituum* ascribed to Roger Bacon.[2] In the cautionary tale the reader will recognize a variation on a story known from *The Thousand and One Nights*, from the French romances (especially *Li Roumans de Cléomadès* of Adenès li Rois), and from Chaucer's abbreviated and mock-naturalistic retelling in *The Squire's Tale*.[3] In the Arabic and French versions, a magical flying horse cannot be made to descend where the rider wishes to land, and the change of plan that results becomes a factor in development of the plot. In the Rawlinson manuscript as in the literary versions of the tale, the Orient is portrayed as exotic and romantically alluring, although the seduction scene has become a peremptory telling of a male fantasy, with little trace of the *écriture féminine* that has been seen in the literary narratives.[4] What concerns the narrator here is less the seduction than its consequences. Very much like Lancelot in the *Quest of the Holy Grail*, the magician is unable to continue his mission until repentance and confession wipe away his disability.[5]

The moral implications of this story need not detain us now, although the moral ambiguity recurs in this manuscript, in a lengthy Confiteor which admits to every manner of sin but terminates in a prayer for power over certain spirits.[6] As for the world of flying horses, it seems not unlike that of Jubertus of Regensburg, who flew to diabolical assemblies with wondrous speed not on the back of a horse but on the excrement of a mule or horse, *ministerio dyabolorum*.[7] For present purposes what is most relevant is that the form of magic related in

this story is intended chiefly for the sake of the magician's own entertainment, and the story about its use is, despite the tone of moral seriousness, a means of entertainment presumably both for writer and reader. The compiler of the Munich handbook, too, is most inclined toward the anecdotal when he is telling his reader how to conjure illusions in which demons appear as horses, castles appear out of nowhere, banquets are brought forth with many apparent but illusory courses, and the magician dons a cloak of invisibility so as no longer to appear at all.

Depictions of magic in medieval literature often tease the reader with uncertainties about the boundary between illusion and reality.[8] When the water level off the coast of Brittany is raised so as to cover the rocks, in Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale*, is the transformation real or merely an illusion?[9] When wondrous pageants and spectacles are brought forth by inexplicable means at court, are they genuine or delusory, and are they worked 'by craft or necromancy'? The literature of magic is replete with stories of magicians who produce magical banquets, horses or boats that can transport people over land and sea, castles with armed warriors, all of which have a tendency to vanish abruptly, suggesting that they rest on dubious ontological foundations. From antiquity and through the Middle Ages, critics of magic insisted it was all illusion, by which they could mean many things: that it was a means by which demons deluded and ensnared the gullible, that its accomplishments were unreal and not lasting, that healings as well as spectacles worked by magic were unreliable.[10] The pagan Celsus, taunting his Christian contemporaries in late antiquity, compared the miracles of Jesus with 'the works of sorcerers who profess to do wonderful miracles, and the accomplishments of those who are taught by the Egyptians, who for a few obols make known their sacred lore in the middle of the market-place and drive daemons out of men and blow away diseases and invoke the souls of heroes, displaying expensive banquets and dining-tables and cakes and dishes which are non-existent, and who make things move as though they were alive although they are not really so, but only appear as such in the imagination'.[11] But it was not only the critics who saw at least some types of magic as entailing illusion: the magicians themselves seemed to revel in their role as illusionists. Not surprisingly, then, many of the formulas in our necromantic handbook – and several of the most interesting – involve some form of illusion.

Illusionist experiments in the Munich handbook

Twelve of the experiments in Clm 849 are 'illusionist' ones, intended to make things appear other than as they are: to make people perceive some object or scene that is not in fact present, to obtain a means of transport such as a horse or a boat, to make the dead seem alive or vice versa, or to become invisible. This category might be seen as a subset of the 'psychological' experiments, but the emphasis here is less on deception of the senses than on production of an objective display that seems different from what it is.

The distinguishing features of these experiments are chiefly four. First, either they are highly complex, with complicated magic circles, intricately worked-out rituals, and at least two conjurations, or else (less often) they are very simple, with no circles, relatively simple rituals, and single conjurations. Second, they often emphasize the need for secrecy, yet the basic point of the experiment is the fascinating and awe-inspiring *display* of magical powers. Third, these experiments are often accompanied by stories (such as the one from the Rawlinson manuscript) or by testimonials assuring the reader of their efficacy. Fourth, these illusionist experiments, for all their exuberant fantasy, come closer than any others in the handbook to touching on themes that would become central to the late medieval and early modern conception of witchcraft.

Seven complex experiments (nos 6–11 and 15) involve relatively elaborate magic circles and intricate rituals, with two distinct conjurations (first the master summons the spirits, who appear to him, then he commands them to execute some illusion, and they do so). Among further complications are offerings made to induce the spirits to carry out the commands, oaths required of the spirits, and provisions for repeating on some future occasion, with less effort, an experiment already produced once. The simpler experiments (nos 14, 17, 21, 43 and 45), by way of contrast, require no magic circles at all, and have illusionist effect following directly from a single conjuration, without an intervening apparition of spirits. The difference may be the result of nothing more than the handbook's general tendency toward simpler, less colourful and imaginative formulations in its later sections, a tendency seen even in this most fanciful category of magic.

At certain points in the illusionist experiments of the Munich handbook the writer comments explicitly on the need for secrecy. At the end of one experiment (no. 8) the writer comments that this book, containing generally unknown names and figures of spirits 'according to their characteristics' (*proprietates*), should be kept in a hidden place because its contents have ineffable efficacy. Experiment no. 10, which can make the living appear dead and the dead alive, must be kept secret because of its great power. In this and in no. 11 the master goes to a

remote and secret place outside town to carry out his experiment. Experiment no. 15 must be carried out in a high and secret place. This concern with the esoteric nature of necromancy is not exclusively found in the illusionist experiments – no. 5 also emphasizes the importance of performing the ritual in a secret place, and the text insists that this experiment must be kept secret because it has 'ineffable virtue' – but it is a theme found perhaps most often in this category, and the breathless tone thus imparted adds to the entertainment value of these illusionist experiments.[12] Elsewhere, rather than emphasizing the need for secrecy, the writer comments on the rarity of knowledge about certain formulas. He declares that the art of conjuring an illusory banquet in no. 6 is practically unknown in his day, and that 'Matthew the Spaniard' was utterly ignorant of this magic; he notes that the art of obtaining a cloak of invisibility, in no. 11, is also virtually unknown in his day. But the themes of secrecy and obscurity are not unrelated: they are both ways of emphasizing the esoteric nature of these experiments, and stressing that the reader is being initiated into arcane lore that should arouse not only curiosity but also excitement and a sense of privilege. Yet it is in the nature of these experiments that in one way or other most of them are *shared*: in some cases the result of the magical is a spectacle that may be put on for the wonderment of others, and even when the point is for the magician to become invisible, his very state of non-visibility is a way of relating to others.

The testimonials asserting the efficacy of the experiments take various forms. The writer declares that he has seen one experiment (no. 8) worked in various ways, but the way he gives is the best, entailing least effort and no danger. In recounting the effects of another experiment (no. 10) he claims that he has personally experienced them all, and that he leaves unmentioned those effects he has not experienced. Nor is he shy about claiming the testimony of authorities: Socrates himself, he claims, speaks of the power of one circle (no. 9) in his book of magic. More simply, he asserts that experiment (*experiencia*) no. 10 is 'most worthy'. At one point (no. 6) the writer addresses a courtly reader, whether real or imagined, claiming to remind him of occasions when the magic has worked: 'You have often seen me exercise this art in your court, namely that of bringing forth stewards'. In a similar vein he tells how he once carried out experiment no. 7 while the emperor and his nobles were out hunting in a dark wood, causing an illusory castle to appear, with demons in the form of knights who attacked the emperor and his men.

What are we to make of all this? Are we to assume that the illusionist experiments in this manuscript – and the tales that the writer spins, testifying to

the efficacy of his own illusions – were intended merely as entertainment? Is it unthinkable that the clerical necromancers actually hoped to visit exotic lands on flying horses, to explore phantom castles, to feast at magical banquets? The question is difficult to answer in any simple way, because what one writer will write tongue in cheek another may intend as fact, and because in many ways the border between imaginative fantasy and perceived fact is readily permeable: fantasies about harm that other people might inflict shade into paranoid fears of harm that they are inflicting; erotic fantasies, encouraged by techniques of erotic magic, can serve as prelude to actual seduction; purely recreational play with a Ouija board or tarot deck gives occasion for traumatic expression of deep-seated fantasies and anxieties; words spoken as playful boasts may be heard as confirmation of sinister powers.

The tales told in this necromantic manuscript are perhaps best described as literary boasts, analogous to those in medieval literature.[13] And yet they are no less fantastic than those recorded in the witch trials of the later fifteenth and following centuries, and in some ways these tales are not unrelated to aspects of witchcraft. Indeed, this category of experiments more than others has points of contact with the 'cumulative concept' of witchcraft that became established in the fifteenth century, even if the parallels are not exact.[14] When the master has the demons take an oath (no. 6), this is conceived as unilateral; it is therefore not a pact. The spirits swear on an unspecified but consecrated book, and they bind themselves first by the God who created them and all things, second by the (presumably demonic) lords whom they fear and adore, and third by 'the law that we observe'. The second and third elements in this oath presuppose what scholastic demonology did in fact generally assume, that demons are bound by a perverse hierarchy of their own – an inversion of the angelic hierarchy – and that there are infernal laws by which the demons are bound.[15] The banquet that demons bring forth is in one particular like the feasts ascribed in later years to witches at their sabbaths: the food does not really exist, so that the more one eats the hungrier one becomes, and a starving man who eats such fare will die just as if he ate nothing at all.[16] And in both no. 17 and no. 43, the magician is told that when he is flying on an illusory horse he must not make the sign of the cross, or the horse (in fact a spirit in the form of a beast) will flee from him, just as the witches were said to be warned.[17] (By way of contrast, the instructions for no. 8 specify that while riding in a magically produced ship the master may invoke holy things, as in true Christian religion, because the spirits involved are between good and evil, neither in hell nor in paradise.) The parallel with notions

from the witch trials is extended by a passage from the manuscript edited by Willy Braekman, which suggests that to travel quickly wherever one wishes, one should make an ointment from seven herbs, the fat of a goat and the blood of a bat, and smear it on one's face, hands and chest, while reciting a short formula.[18] While this specific recipe may not be explicitly necromantic, it appears alongside instructions for demonic magic, and is strikingly parallel to the means witches were thought to use for their flight.[19]

An illusory banquet

The first two illusionist experiments in the Munich handbook have in mind a courtly setting: one is a procedure to conjure forth a lavish banquet, with entertainment of various kinds; the other creates the illusion of a castle in which an unnamed emperor may hold out against demonic troops. While the first illusion is simply for entertainment, the second is an elaborate trick on unwitting victims, though they may be supposed to have taken the hoax in good spirits.

The experiment for obtaining an illusory banquet, with service and entertainment (no. 6), is one of the longest in the manuscript, and illustrates well the complexity so often found in these experiments:

> You have often seen me exercise at your court the art of summoning banquet-bearers.[20] First one must invoke fifteen spirits, in this manner: At the outset one must go outside town, under a waxing moon, on a Thursday or Sunday, at noon, carrying a shining sword and a hoopoe, and with the sword one must trace circles in a remote place. When this is done, inscribe sixteen names with the point of the sword, as will appear below in the figure.
>
> When you have done this, you should draw the sword toward the east within the inner circle, as the diagram shows. When this is done, you should bind the hoopoe to yourself in such a way that it cannot escape from the inner circle, in which you should stand.
>
> Then you should kneel, turn to the east, take the sword in both hands, and say, 'Oymelor, Demefin, Lamair, Masair, Symofor, Rodobayl, Tentetos, Lotobor, Memoyr, Tamafin, Leutaber, Tatomofon, Faubair, Selutabel, Rimasor, Syrama, most cheerful, glad and joyous spirits, I, so-and-so, adjure you … to come to me here in a gentle, pleasing, and cheerful form and make manifest whatever I say.'
>
> When you have said this twelve [*sic*] times – four times facing east, then

four times facing south, then four times facing east, then four times facing north – holding the sword in your hand the whole time, and while you are saying the conjuration constantly drawing it in each location, finally position it where it was at first, when the conjuration was first spoken, as has been said.[21]

When you have said this, constantly kneeling, again turn to the east, holding the sword in your right hand, and the hoopoe in your left hand, and say, 'Come, O aforesaid spirits, come to me, come, for I command you by the eternal glory of God. Amen.'

When you have said this once, turn with the sword and the hoopoe toward the west, and you will see sixteen splendid and stalwart knights. They will say to you, 'You summoned us and we have come, obedient to your will. Ask what you will, confident that we are ready to obey.' Say in reply, 'Make me see your power, that I may behold tables with many people reclining at them, with an infinite array of dishes.' They will tell you that they are pleased to do so.

At once many pages [*domicelli*] will come, carrying three-legged tables, towels and other necessary equipment. Then the most noble of folk will come and recline, and butlers to serve, carrying an infinite array of dishes. And you will hear singing and music-making, and you will see dancing and innumerable games. And you may be sure that these twelve [*sic*] will not withdraw from you, but will stand just outside the circle, speaking with you and watching. You should also know that three kings will come to you beside the circle from among those who are reclining, and will ask you to come and eat with them. You should reply that you are quite unable to leave. When you have said this, they will return at once to those who are reclining, and you will hear them telling the others that they were unable to persuade you to move out of the circle. Then they will send a butler with some food or other, which you may safely eat, and you should offer some of it to the sixteen standing beside the circle, and they too will eat of it. Then you will see everyone rise from the tables and mount their horses in order.

At last, all will vanish from your eyes except those twelve, who, standing by you, will say, 'Our spectacle [*ludus*] has pleased you, has it not?' You will reply cheerfully that it has. When you have responded, they will ask you for the hoopoe, which, strange to say, will at once become alarmed.[22] You will say to them, 'I am willing to give you the hoopoe if you swear to come to me and enact this spectacle whenever I please.' They will say that they are ready

to swear. You should have some book brought to them at once, and on it you should have them swear in this manner: ‘All twelve of us swear on this sacred book … to come to you without delay whenever you invoke us, and to have tables laid, such as you have seen and even better.’ And they will swear at once.

And when they have sworn, you will give them the hoopoe, and when they have it they will ask your leave to withdraw. You will give it to them, saying, ‘Go forth wherever you wish to go, and be attentive to me.’ They will say that they remain obliged to you from then on. Having said this, they will go. You too may leave the circles and erase them so that nothing remains, and, taking your sword, you may withdraw.

You should note that the hoopoe is possessed of great virtue for necromancers and invokers of demons [*nigromanticis et demones invocantibus*], on which account we use it much for our safekeeping.

When you want them [the spirits] to come to you, in secret or openly, or in whatever place, gaze at the above-written circles and figures in the book, and in a quiet voice read the names found in them. When you have read them once while thus gazing, read this conjuration once: ‘Oymelor, Demefin, Lamair, Masair, Simofor, Rodobail, Tentetos, Lotobor, Memoir, Tamafin, Zeugaber, Tatomofon, Faubair, Belutabel, Rimasor and Sirama, I ask, conjure and adjure you by the true majesty of God to make your subordinates come here and bring dishes, first of all so-and-so and so-and-so, and make a grand banquet, with games, singing, music-making and dancing, and in general all those things that can gladden the hearts of those standing about [cf. Ps. 103:15 Vulg.].’ When you have read this [conjuration] once, splendid pages will come and prepare beautiful tables. When these are set up, you will hear trumpets, harps and an untold multitude of songs. When you call out loudly, ‘Bring water’, it will be brought forth at once. Likewise, ‘Bring forth the meal’, and at once it will be brought. And there will be butlers and stewards serving excellently, and handsome pages, and players providing countless entertainments. And you can have a thousand types of dish brought, if it pleases you, and those who eat them will find them uncommonly delicious.

You must know that no matter how much they eat, they will be all the more hungry, because they will seem like dishes but they will not exist, so that if a famished person were to gorge himself, believing them to be real, he would no doubt die just as if he ate nothing.

And when you wish to do away with the spectacle, say that they should

take away the tables. At once the tables will be removed, but all those standing around will remain. If you wish for them to sing or play or make the entire spectacle, say, 'Do thus and such', and you will see what you wish, for these are spirits of spectacle and all entertainment, and they will do all that they are told. And when you want them to depart, say, 'Withdraw, all of you, and whenever I call you to me, come forth without any excuse.' They will reply, 'We will do so most gladly!' And when they have withdrawn, all will depart, wondering at this art.

And here this art is concluded, which is virtually unknown among people today, and of which Matthew the Spaniard was utterly ignorant, etc.

The circle to be used for this experiment is depicted: a quadruple band with a pentangle inscribed in the centre, a sword depicted at the top (extending downward across all four bands, with its point on the top of the pentangle) and other figures (likewise extending across all four bands) on the upper left, upper right, lower right, and lower left. The cardinal directions are given outside the outermost band, with east on top. Within the bands the names of sixteen spirits are inscribed.[23]

Two points may suffice here by way of commentary. First, the idea of conjuring an illusory banquet is widespread. Celsus compared Christ with a magician who conjures forth an illusory banquet, and the same trick is found in an adjuration in the Greek magical papyri for obtaining a *daimon* as one's assistant. Among the spirit's myriad functions is that of procuring every manner of food except fish or pork. The magician need only imagine a banqueting hall and order the *daimon* to prepare a banquet, and immediately he will create a hall with marble walls and golden ceiling, all of which will seem partly real, partly illusion. He will bring fine wine, and further *daimones* made out as suitably attired servants.[24] Second, this experiment is exceptional for the Munich handbook in the degree of emphasis on the sacrifice of a hoopoe to the demons. This bird is famous for its magical virtues.[25] The present experiment notes explicitly that the hoopoe has great power for necromancers and invokers of demons, and for that reason is much used by such practitioners. Oddly, the text says that necromancers use the hoopoe a great deal for their safekeeping or protection (*ad nostri tutelam*), which perhaps means that they are safer in the company of demons if they have an offering to make them. The safety of the hoopoes seems not to be an issue.

The fading of this insubstantial pageant might well recall that of a more

famous illusion:

> Our revels now are ended. These our actors,
> As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
> Are melted into air, into thin air …[26]

But of course the books from which *that* experiment derived have not survived for comparison with the Munich handbook.

An illusory castle

The following experiment (no. 7) is designed to obtain an illusory castle, with defenders. It is introduced in grandiose manner, as a 'splendid experiment' by which the magician can convoke spirits to produce an elegant castle with armed men. As in the preceding case, there are two phases, first the summoning of spirits and then having them work the illusion, although for reasons that we will see shortly, the second phase does not precisely involve a conjuration.

> Here follows another experiment[27] for invoking spirits so that a man can make a fine and well fortified castle appear, or for summoning countless legions of armed men, which can easily be done, and among other things is deemed most beautiful.
>
> First, go out on the tenth [day of] the moon, under a clear sky, outside of town to some remote and secret place, taking milk and honey with you, some of which you must sprinkle in the air. And with bare feet and head, kneeling, read this while facing west: 'O Usyr, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno, Syrtroy, Risbel, Cutroy, Lytay, Onor, Moloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor and Ym, squire spirits, whose function it is to bear arms and deceive human senses wherever you wish, I, so-and-so, conjure and exorcize and invoke you … that, indissolubly bound to my power, you should come to me without delay, in a form that will not frighten me, subject and prepared to do and reveal for me all that I wish, and to do this willingly, by all things that are in heaven and on earth.' Having read this once facing west, do so again facing south, east, and north.
>
> And from far off you will see a band of armed men coming toward you, who will send ahead a squire to say that those you summoned are coming to you. You should tell him, 'Go to them and tell them to come to me in such a state that they frighten no one, but I may abide safely with them.' When you

have said this, he will return at once to them.

After a short interval they will come to you. When you see them, show them at once this circle, which has great power to terrify those fifteen demons;[28] they will see it and say, 'Ask whatever you wish in safety, and it will all come to pass for you through us.' You should then tell them to consecrate their circle so that whenever you gaze on it and invoke them they must come to you quickly and do that which is natural to them, namely make fortifications and castles and moats and a multitude of armed men appear. They will say they are willing to do so. You should extend a book to them, and you will see one of them place his hand on the book and speak certain words, which you will not understand. When this is done, they will restore it to you.

Then they will ask you to permit them to leave, because they cannot depart from you except with permission. You should say to them, 'Make a castle here, so that I may see your power.' Immediately they will make a castle around you, with many other things, and you will see yourself in the middle of the castle, and a great multitude of knights will be present. But these fifteen will not be able to depart from you. After the space of an hour they will ask you that they may depart, and you should say, 'Be ready whenever I gaze on this circle and invoke you to return at once.'[29] They will swear to come immediately. Then tell them to depart wherever they wish. And the entire spectacle [*ludus*] will be destroyed, and no one will remain there.

When all this is done, return home, guarding well the book in which all power is found. And when you wish to work this fine art, gaze at the circle, reading the names, beginning from the east, saying, 'O Usyr, Salaul, Silitol, Denior, Zaimo, Syrtroy, Ristel, Cutroy, Lytoy, Onor, Moloy, Pumiotor, Tamy, Dor, [and] Ym, I summon you to come here, by the consecration of this circle, in which your signs are inscribed, and to make a well fortified castle appear for me, with a deep moat, and a plenteous company of knights and footsoldiers.' And suddenly a splendid castle, with all that is necessary, will appear there. If you wish to enter it, you can, for a knight will at once stand by you, to whom you may command that all you wish should appear, and he will have it done.

Once when I [wished to test] this art I exercised it with the emperor, when many nobles were accompanying him on a hunting expedition through some dark forest. This is how I proceeded. First I gazed at the circle, calling the aforesaid demons with a clear voice. And at once a handsome knight came to

me, whom no one but I could see, and who said to me, ‘I am one of the spirits you have invoked; I am named Salaul, and the others have sent me. Command what you will, and it will be done.’ I said to him, ‘I want you to have a legion of armed men appear, whom the emperor and his companions will take to be rebels.’ He said, ‘It is done.’ And then all the counts and the emperor himself turned and looked to the north, and from far off they saw coming to them an innumerable multitude of knights and soldiers. One of them dismounted, and before an hour’s time [*ante magne hore spacium*] came to the emperor and said, trembling, ‘Lord emperor, behold, an innumerable horde is coming toward us, swearing to put us and all your counts to death and to kill you pitilessly.’ On hearing this, the emperor and the counts did not know what to do. Meanwhile, the spirits approached. Seeing and hearing them, and their terrifying weapons, they began to flee, but the others followed them, shooting arrows, and cried with one voice, ‘You cannot escape your death today!’ Then I said, ‘O Salaul, make a wondrous castle before the emperor and his men, so that the emperor and the others can enter it.’ And it was done. A perfectly safe castle was made for the counts, with towers and moat, and the drawbridge down. It seemed excellently constructed and filled with mercenaries, who were crying out, ‘O lord emperor, enter quickly with your companions!’ They entered, and it seemed that servants and many friends of the emperor were in it; he supposed he had come upon people who would defend him manfully. When they had entered, they raised the drawbridge and began to defend themselves. Then the spirits with their war machines attacked the castle with wondrous power, so that the emperor and the others feared all the more. Then Salaul said to me, ‘We do not have the power to remain here longer than a quarter of the day, so we must now withdraw.’ Then the castle disappeared, and the attackers, and everything else.[30] The emperor and the others then looked around and found themselves in some marsh, which left them greatly astonished. I said to them, ‘This episode has been quite an adventure!’ And after this experiment I made a dinner for them.

Remember that this art cannot last longer than a quarter of a day, unless it lasts one quarter one time [and is then renewed for another quarter day], etc.

One might have supposed that the trick played on the emperor constituted an act of rebellion deserving of execution; the tale, which must be read as such, asks us to suspend our disbelief and assume the emperor had unlimited capacity

for being amused. The milk and honey that the magician sprinkles evidently serve as a kind of offering, which comes this time at the beginning rather than at the end of the ritual, as in no. 6; it is perhaps worthy of note that this theme of sacrifice occurs specifically in illusionist experiments set at court, and one might perhaps speculate that the offering is somehow analogous here to a courtly gift, but two examples provide too little evidence for such generalization. A further aspect of this experiment that calls for attention is the formula for recalling the spirits. Having summoned them, the master proceeds at once to an arrangement which will ensure multiple recurrence of the desired illusion. The formula to be used on further occasions is simple, and does not use the language of conjuration; presumably the demons are already bound by their own consecration of the circle, and need not be bound by the force of a formal conjuration.

While extensive pursuit of parallels would lead to endless digression, two especially interesting ones deserve comment. The first is from *The Quest of the Holy Grail*, in which a lady who seeks in vain the love of Sir Bors threatens that she and her maidens will kill themselves by leaping from a tower unless he satisfies her. As they plunge from the battlements, Sir Bors crosses himself, and immediately is 'enveloped in such a tumult and shrieking that it seemed to him that all the fiends of hell were round about him: and no doubt there were a number present. He looked round, but saw neither the tower nor the lady who had been soliciting his love …'. Thus he knew 'it was the enemy who had laid this ambush for him'.[31] In this case the phantom tower is a demonic snare, but not a work of magic created by demons at the behest of a magician. The second parallel, from much further afield, from the eleventh-century life of the Tibetan Buddhist saint Milarepa, is in this way more closely analogous to the tale in our necromantic handbook. When the lama Marpa had Milarepa construct a tall tower, the lama's enemies attacked it, but 'the lama conjured up some phantom soldiers, clad in armor, and put them everywhere, inside and outside the tower. His enemies said, "Where did Marpa get all these soldiers?"' Terror-struck, they prostrated themselves and became disciples of the lama.[32] In this context sainthood and magic may be more closely related than in medieval Christianity; indeed, even in modern Tibet lamas are said to have risked moral defilement by using magical weapons against Chinese invaders.[33] Yet even within Tibet, not all magic is judged morally equivalent: Marpa may work a harmless trick of magical illusion without jeopardizing his standing, but the tower Milarepa is constructing is part of his arduous penance required for works of destructive

magic in his life before attaining sainthood.

Experiments to obtain a horse

As we have already seen, magical flying horses are part of the stock in trade of magic lore; they migrate not only across the face of the earth but also between the magicians' own writings and courtly literature.[34] Johannes Hartlieb speaks of horses that come into an old house and transport a rider over many miles, and he hints rather vaguely at how it is done: one takes bat's blood and binds oneself to the Devil with secret words such as 'Debra ebra'; after riding one dismounts and takes the bridle; to return to one's place of origin one need only shake the bridle and the horse will appear – but the horse is, of course, only a devil. Magic of this sort, he says, is widely known among princes. He also tells how *unhulden* and others use a salve called the *unguentum pharelis*, made of seven herbs mixed with the blood of a bird and the fat of an animal, smeared on benches, chairs or other objects, on which they then ride; this too counts for him as necromancy.[35]

One might challenge the inclusion of these experiments in the category of magical illusion, since the journeys undertaken are at least represented as real. In one key sense, however, even from the magicians' perspective there is an element of illusion: the creature that appears is not in reality a horse but a demon in the form of a horse. The illusion is perhaps not so complete as in the case of a banquet with food that does not nourish or satisfy hunger, but this is only to say that from a perspective shared by magicians and theologians alike the demons had real but limited power over the natural order, and while they could effect genuine locomotion through assumed bodies they could not confect food with the substantiality of real food. One might ask further why they could not *transport* real food, perhaps even bringing grapes from distant lands in midwinter, and the answer to that would presumably be that they *could* do so but were content in all these cases to create just enough of an illusion to last through the duration of the experiment, and once they began troubling to transport food from abroad they would be extending themselves beyond the contracted arrangement.

However one wishes to resolve these subtleties, the Munich handbook in any event gives four experiments for obtaining a spirit in the form of a horse on which to ride. Let us begin with the most extended of these (no. 9):

I also wish to explain to you how to obtain a horse – that is, a spirit in the

form of a horse – who can bear you across water and land, through hills and across plains, wherever you wish.

First, on the sixth [day] of the moon, a Tuesday, having fasted, you should go out with a bridle that has never been used, and in a secret place, and make a circle with a nail or an iron stylus, as appears here, inscribing in it the names and figures that appear. When this is done, remain in the middle and kneel on the bridle facing east, and in a somewhat loud voice say, 'O Lautrayth, Feremin, [and] Oliroomim, spirits who attend upon sinners, I, so-and-so, trusting in your power, conjure you by Him who spoke and [all things] were made, and who knows all things even before they come to pass, and by heaven and earth, fire and air and water, Sun and Moon and stars … to send me three [spirits], who should come to me gently, without causing me fear, but in such a way that I may remain safe, and you should fulfil entirely whatever I command you, and bring it effectively to pass. Likewise, I conjure you aforesaid spirits by Him who is to come to judge the living and the dead and the world by fire, and by the fearful Day of Judgement, and by the sentence that you must hear on that day, and [by] this circle with which you are effectively invoked, that you should be compelled to come here without delay and humbly fulfil my commands.'

When you have said this three times, you will see three knights come from afar. On seeing them, before they arrive in your presence, say, 'I have lifted to you my eyes unto the mountains, from which my help shall come. My help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth' [Ps. 120:1f. Vulg.; cf. Ps. 122:1]. And when they come to the circle they will at once dismount from their horses and greet you cheerfully. You will say to them, 'May the Lord in his mercy bring you back to your pristine status.' Then the spirits will say, 'O master, we have come to you, all of us prepared to obey your commands. So command us to do that for which you have made us come here, and it will be fully brought about.' You should reply, 'I wish for you to consecrate this bridle' – which you should hold with both hands – 'so that whenever I shake it a horse will come before me, in whose mouth I may place it, and I may be able to mount it and ride safely on it, and proceed wherever I desire.' Then they will say they wish to take the bridle with them and return it on the third day. You will give it to them. And when you have done so, they will mount their horses and withdraw without delay. When they have gone, leave the circle, without erasing it, and withdraw from that place.

Return there on the evening of the third day and you will find the same

spirits offering the bridle to you, assuring you that your request has been carried out. When you have taken the bridle, say, 'I conjure you by the God of gods that you will be unable to depart from here without my leave.' Then they will reply that they will remain there as long as you wish. Then shake the bridle, and at once a black horse will come. Place the bridle on him, and ride. Then dismount and remove the bridle, and at once the horse will depart.

When the horse has left, say, 'I conjure you [spirits] by all the aforesaid things, and by all those things that have power against you, that you should swear always to compel that horse to come to me.' They will swear and promise to do so at once. When they have sworn, tell them to withdraw in safety.[36] When they have gone, leave the circle and erase it totally, and take the bridle with you.

And when you wish the horse to come, say, shaking the bridle, 'Lutrayth, Feremim, Oliroomim', and the horse will come at once. Then place the bridle in its mouth and ride. You should ride a bit back toward its haunches,[37] which will be gentler, and you should do this each time. And when you want it to gallop, spur it on or lash it, and it will fly like an arrow, but you will not be able to fall off, so do not fear. And when you wish to dismount, it will never depart until you have removed the bridle from its mouth, whereupon it will disappear at once.

We have made such bridles very thin, so we can carry them in a small place, and they can never break or wear out because of the consecration.

One should note that if the circle given above is inscribed on horsehide with the blood of a horse and with the tooth of a white horse, and then is shown to horses, they will die at once. And if you carry it with you, written in this manner, no horse can come near you. And Socrates speaks of the power of this circle in his book of magic.

The figure shown is a single circular band, with a square inscribed, and a circle inside the square. Short bars extend outward from the middle of each side of the square and touch the inner side of the circular band. Names of the cardinal directions flank each of these bars. 'The place of the master' is marked in the center of the circle. The band contains the names Lantrayth, Feremni and Oliromim,[38] plus astronomical and other signs.

Four points about this experiment call especially for comment. First, as in other illusionist experiments, but not typically in other ones, the spirits conjured come in the form of courtly figures, in this case knights, which reinforces the

aura of courtly romance intended to characterize these texts. Second, the means for control over the horse is a bridle, which should not be surprising, since that is the usual purpose of a bridle, except that in this case the instrument of control is used in unconventional ways and becomes more an effective symbol of the magician's power than a practical implement. Third, the circle which serves to gain control over a demon in the form of a horse can also, differently employed, be used to threaten an actual horse; while these illusionist experiments may not be overtly concerned with establishment of power relations (as are the psychological experiments to be examined in the next chapter), they do entail the exercise of power, sometimes over a human agent such as the emperor, and in this case (as in the tale from the Rawlinson manuscript) over an animal. Fourth, the term used for 'shake' or 'shake violently', *squassare*, may possibly suggest that this material derives from an Italian source. That verb passed over into modern Italian, and may be more expected in Latin texts from Italy than in those from elsewhere.

The three other experiments for obtaining a horse are much simpler. In one (no. 14) the master looks toward the eastern sky, kneeling and with folded hands as if he were in prison, and with firm hope of obtaining his will he says a 'prayer' seven times to the 'most high and benign king of the east', adjuring him to send an 'airy spirit' on which he can ride to a specified place. A horse comes, and the master conjures it to carry him to that place without danger or disturbance. When he arrives at his destination he thanks the king of the east for bestowing this favour, and offers to serve him forever and obey his commands, 'and may his name be praised forever'. Another experiment (no. 17) is exceptional in that it does not begin with a conjuration, but with merely the inscription of magic names. The master writes six of these on the door of a vacant house, at twilight, 'in the Hebrew manner', then he withdraws for a while. When he returns he finds a horse ready. He conjures it to carry him without harm or trouble to a specified place. He may then mount it confidently, for it cannot harm him. When he arrives at his destination he dismounts and takes the horse's bridle. Having finished his business, he shakes the bridle vigorously and repeats the conjuration to summon the horse. In the third of these simple experiments (no. 43) the master again writes a series of names on the door of a vacant house, at dusk, with bat's blood, then withdraws for a brief time. When he returns he finds a horse awaiting him. After he has ridden the animal, he dismounts, removes the bridle, and hides it underground. When he wishes to return, he retrieves the bridle and shakes it, whereupon the horse

returns at once. He then repeats the conjuration, plus the words ‘kostolya, elogo, yetas’, and off he rides.

Other experiments for illusory means of transportation

In addition to these four experiments, the handbook provides two similar ones, both complex, for conjuring a magical ship (no. 8) and a flying throne (no. 15). The ship will sail quickly over the seas, wherever one wants, with whomever one wishes. The master first fasts on a Monday, then goes out under a waxing moon to a remote place with the rib of a dead man or woman. Having sharpened a point on the rib, he uses it to trace a circle with a horizontal band across the centre and a vertical band across the top semicircle (forming an inverted version of the T–O pattern commonly found in medieval world maps). Superimposed on this design is a crescent shape, possibly representing a ship, with two small circles below it. The place of the master and his companions is marked at the bottom of the crescent, and ‘East’ is marked toward the bottom. This circle is the ‘insignia’ of the spirits to be invoked. The master enters the circle at the designated spot and fumigates it with the marrow of a dead man. He will hear voices in the air. Holding the rib in his right hand, he conjures eight spirits to come without delay. He then sees eight sailors, who will announce in reverential tone that they have been sent to fulfil his command. Before the ship may be employed, the spirits must take an oath to fulfil the master’s wishes. Then he commands them to transport the circle and those within it to a specified place. They do so, and it will seem as if the company is sailing on the high seas. In a brief time, they arrive at their destination. When he has arrived at his destination he can command the spirits to return him quickly to the point of departure, and they will do so. Then he gives them permission to leave. When they have done so, he destroys the circle and buries the rib. He can make the spirits swear that they will repeat their service upon demand: whenever he wishes to sail again, the master makes a circle with iron, wood, his finger, or anything else, and tells his companions to enter at the specified place without fear, then he invokes the eight spirits by virtue of the oath they have already taken, ordering them once again to transport him where he wishes to go, and eight sailors will appear and transport him, within an hour, in a ship; when he wants to return, they will take him back. In one key respect this experiment differs from others for means of transportation: the transport comes with the spirits’ appearance, not at a later stage after they have sent a spirit specifically delegated for the purpose. But as in

other experiments involving transportation, the third stage is a return to the master's original location, and then there are measures for repeating the experiment.

The greater part of the elaborate and fanciful experiment to obtain a flying throne (no. 15) is a ritual for summoning the throne itself; spirits themselves do not appear overtly. The text plunges directly into the instructions, with no introduction. The master must go to a high and secret place when the weather is serene, with no wind. He says various prayers (the Ave Maria, part of Psalm 50, the Lesser Doxology, etc.), then makes a circle, into which he places three jars with him, and he casts into one jar ashes and flour, into another fire and salt, into the third water and chalk. He sits in the middle of the circle and calls the king of the clouds to send three guides (or spirits with the rank of duke, *duces*) to carry him without harm or danger to the place he wants to go. A small cloud appears, and from the three jars he hears voices calling, 'Rise up! Rise up! Rise up!' After thrice saying a conjuration, the master sees a throne in the midst of the cloud. He ascends it and conjures the three guides to carry him without delay, without harm or danger to body or soul. The later part of the text is much concerned with defence against adversaries during the flight. If the rider perceives in flight that someone is trying to harm him by causing the throne to descend toward the south, he conjures the spirit Baltim, who comes and brings a storm upon the adversary. If the harm comes from other directions, other spirits are conjured in defence. If storms, serpents, birds or other terrifying things appear above the master on his way, he conjures a certain king to remove these terrors. Perhaps the most extraordinary feature of this experiment is the sense of peril, which comes not from the potential treachery of the spirits conjured, nor from the danger of breaking the charm (perhaps by making the sign of the cross) and plunging from a great height, but rather from unspecified adversaries, presumably spirits inimical to those invoked. Whether the aiding or the opposing spirits qualify as 'spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places' (Eph. 6:12) remains unclear; the writer might claim that the spirits on both sides are neutral, or capable of both good and evil, help and harm.

Experiments for invisibility

The theme of magical invisibility by means of a ring, a cape or some other object is, of course, ancient. The ring of Gyges is one of the best known manifestations because it provides the basis for a classic thought experiment regarding the

virtue of a person whose invisibility allows him to act with impunity.[39] Probably the most commonly recommended means for becoming invisible in medieval works on magic was to carry an opal on oneself, so that its brilliance would blind all potential viewers – a method that is supposed to have worked for Constantius Africanus.[40]

The Munich handbook contains one complex experiment and two simple ones to make the magician invisible. The complex one (no. 11) provides a cloak of invisibility:

> I shall treat also of the art of invisibility, unknown in these days to nearly all.
>
> When you wish to become invisible and insensible to all beings, both rational and otherwise, first, under a waxing moon on a Wednesday, in the first hour of the day, having remained chaste for three days beforehand, and with cut hair and beard, and dressed in white, in a secret place outside of town, under a clear sky, on level ground, trace a circle such as appears here, with a magnificent sword, writing these names and everything shown along with them.
>
> When this is done, place the sword toward the west, on [the name] Firiel. And while you have it placed there, have a vessel in which there is fire with frankincense (*thus*), myrrh and other incense (*olibano*), and with the smoke from these go about the circle, suffumigating it, begining and ending with [the name] Firiel. When you have done this, take blessed water and sprinkle yourself and the circle, saying, *Asperges me, Domine, ysopo* … [Ps. 50:9 Vulg.]. When you have done this, kneel facing the east, and in a strong voice say, 'I, so-and-so, conjure you, O Fyriel, Mememil, Berith, [and] Taraor, powerful, magnificent, illustrious spirits, in whom I place all my trust, by the one, inseparable and undivided Trinity … that all four of you should come here with utmost humility, bound, constrained, and sworn to carry out my command, whatever I ask of you. Come without delay …'
>
> When you have said this invocation four times – once toward Firiel, once toward Melemil and toward Berith and Tarator – four spirits will at once be present in the circle, saying to you, 'Tell us what you wish, and we will obey you completely.' You will say to them, 'I wish a cloak of invisibility, which should be thin and incorruptible, so that when I wear it no one can see me or sense my presence.' When you have said this, one will withdraw, and within an hour will bring forth a cloak, which you asked them to bring you. They will reply that they cannot give it to you until you first give them your white

> garment; you will give it to them, and when you have do so they will give you the cloak. One of them will at once put on the garment given to them; you likewise should at once put on the cloak. When you put it on, you will say to the spirits, 'Go in peace', and at once they will withdraw. And when they depart, you should leave the circle, carrying the sword.
>
> On the third day, return there with the cloak, and you will find your garment, which you will take. Be sure to remember; if on the third day you do not return, or you do not take the garment left there, on the fourth day you will find nothing, but in seven days you will die. Having taken it on the third day, you will burn it in the same place. And know that when you burn it you will hear great lamenting and complaining. And when you burn it, sprinkle the ashes in the air, saying, 'I conjure you, Firiel, Melemil, Berith, [and] Taraor, by your virtue and power, and by all things having power against you, to have no virtue or power to harm me by this cloak, but may Jesus Christ protect and defend me …' When you have said this, take blessed water and sprinkle the cloak, saying, 'I conjure you, cloak, by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by this water, that whenever I put you on, no one may sense my presence or see me….'

The figure required here is a plain circle, with the positions east, south, and west labelled, a sword lying toward the east (with its point near the centre), the position of the master inscribed near the center, and the names Firiel toward the west, Melemil to the south, Berith to the east, and Taraor to the north, along with two characters. One of the most striking features of the experiment is the suggestion that when the master burns the returned garment he will hear lamentation and complaint, as if the garment, like the book Antoninus of Florence is said to have burned, was infested with malign spirits, contained within it in such a way that they were subject to the will of the person who disposed of the physical object.

The two simple experiments in this category are in different ways exceptional: the first (no. 21) because the techniques are without parallel in this manual, and the second (no. 45) because it not only entails a sacrificial offering to the demons but explicitly states that these spirits are worthy of sacrifice. The first of these experiments (which again has no introduction) requires the practitioner to eviscerate a black cat born in March, cut out its heart and eyes, and insert a heliotrope seed in place of each eye and two such seeds in the mouth, while saying a conjuration for invisibility. Then he buries the body in a

closed garden, and waters it for fifteen days with human blood mixed with water, whereupon a plant will grow. He determines which of the plant's seeds bears the power to make him invisible by testing each seed: repeating a series of names, he takes a mirror and puts the newly grown seeds into his mouth, one by one, beneath his tongue, and when he finds the seed that causes invisibility he vanishes from the mirror.[41] In the second experiment (no. 45) the master takes a white dove and a sheet of virgin parchment and on a Saturday night goes to a stream by a crossroads. He sacrifices the dove and says, 'O you to whom sacrifice is due, aid in fulfilling my will'; he repeats this formula while facing in each of the cardinal directions. Then he inscribes a figure (a complex sign, with mainly horizontal elements and elaborations) with the dove's blood. Before sunrise he returns, and he finds another sheet with a coin enclosed; when he binds this to his hair he becomes invisible. He must be sure to leave the dove and the parchment behind, presumably as sacrifices to the spirit. The text does not say how to undo the invisibility, but presumably it suffices to remove the seed from one's mouth (taking care meanwhile not to swallow) or the sheet from one's hair.

Power over life and death

As we have seen, the term 'necromancy' was used interchangeably in medieval parlance with various forms of 'nigromancy', which could be taken to mean 'black magic', or more literally 'black divination'. One possible reason for the conflation of these terms and concepts was the widespread assumption that when one engaged in necromancy in the original sense, conjuring the spirits of the deceased, the spirits which in fact appeared were demons in the forms of the dead. Most famously, the shade of Samuel conjured by the witch of Endor (I Samuel 28) was taken to have been a demon in the guise of Samuel.[42] While 'necromancy' was most often used in later medieval parlance for the conjuring of demons, necromancy in its original sense was not unknown in the magic of the era. The Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, for example, gives procedures for raising the shades of the dead.[43] The Munich handbook comes closest in an experiment (no. 10) by which the necromancer can make a living person appear dead or a dead person appear alive:

> When you wish to infuse a spirit into a dead person, so that he appears alive as he was previously, this is the procedure to follow. First have a ring made of

gold. Around the outside these names should be carved: Brimer, Suburith, Tranauit; on the inside, these names: Lyroth, Beryen, Damayn. When the names have been carved, on a Sunday before sunrise, go to running water and place the ring in it, and let it remain there for five days.

On the sixth day, take it out and take it to a tomb, and place it inside, so that it remains there on Friday and Saturday. On Sunday, before sunrise, go outside of town under a clear sky, in a remote and secret place, and make a circle with a sword, and on it write with the sword the names and figures that appear here.

When this has been inscribed, enter into it [the circle] as is designated, and place the sword beneath your knees, and, facing south, recite this conjuration: 'I conjure you, all the demons inscribed on this ring' – which you should have in your hand – 'by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by almighty God, maker of heaven and earth … that all of you, constrained and bound to my will and my power, should proceed hither in benign form, so that I will not fear, and should consecrate this ring in such a way that it may possess this power, namely that whenever I place it on the finger of a dead person, one of you will enter him, and he will appear alive as before, in the same likeness and form …'

When you have said this once, six spirits will at once appear at the circle, requesting the ring, which you will give them. When you have given it, they will depart, and you likewise should leave the circle, taking the sword with you, and not destroying the circle.

On the sixth day, return with the sword, and say, facing south, 'I conjure you, O Brimer, Suburith, [etc.] … that you should come to me now without delay, bearing the consecrated ring, so that when I place it on the finger or in the hand of a living person he will fall to the ground as if dead, and when I take it away he will return to his former state, and when I place it on a dead person, as aforesaid, a spirit will enter him and he will appear alive as before …'

When you have said all this four times, first toward the south, and likewise toward the west, then toward the north and toward the east, you will see toward the east someone coming on horseback, who, when he arrives at the circle, will say, 'So-and-so' – naming the names written above – 'send you this consecrated ring, but they say they cannot come to you because it is not fitting; you will experience [or test] the power of the ring, and if it does not have the power that you requested, they say they are prepared to come to you

whenever you wish.' You will take the ring, saying to him, 'Thanks to you and to them.' When you have said this, he will at once withdraw,[44] and you too shall depart from the circle, destroying it completely.

Keep this ring with you, wrapped in a sheet of white cloth. When you wish to cause someone to appear dead, so that he will seem to everyone devoid of life, place this ring on his finger, and he will appear to be a corpse; and when you remove it, he will return to his former state. And when you wish a corpse to appear animated, place the ring as aforesaid, or bind it to a hand or foot, and within an hour it will arise in the form to which it is previously accustomed, and will speak before all with a living voice, and will be able to display this quality for six days, for each of these [spirits] will remain in it for a day. And if you wish it to be as previously before the assigned terminus, remove the ring. And in this manner you can revive a dead person.

This most worthy experiment is to be kept hidden, because it holds great power.

The circle given above has many powers, of which I shall mention three known to me. If you draw it on a Friday with the feather of a hoopoe and with its blood on a freshly prepared sheet of parchment, and touch a person with it, you will be loved by that person above all others forever. And if you place that circle, written as aforesaid, on the head of a sick person without his knowledge, if he is to die he will say that he can by no means recover, and if he is to recover he will see that he is altogether freed. And if you carry this circle, written in like manner, on your person, no dog will be able to bark at you. And I have experienced these effects; I do not mention those I have not experienced.

The figure shown for this experiment is a double circular band with a pentagram inscribed. The names carved on the ring are repeated, along with astrological signs, within the two bands. The position of the master is indicated in the centre of the pentagram, and the cardinal directions are marked outside the bands.

The reference to the *monumentum*, the white shroud, and Sunday morning before dawn all make it clear that this resuscitation is intended as a replication or perhaps a parody of Christ's Resurrection. Yet pretending to resurrect the dead was one specialty associated traditionally with Antichrist. Indeed, the question whether Antichrist could genuinely revive the dead was much discussed in medieval theology. Honorius of Regensburg in his *Elucidarium* had his disciple ask whether Antichrist will truly raise the dead, to which the master replies:

> By no means; rather, the Devil by his bewitchments [*maleficiis*] will enter someone's body and carry it about and speak in it, so that it will appear as if living, as it is said, 'In all signs and lying wonders' [II Thess. 2:9].[45]

Hildegard of Bingen agreed that Antichrist's miracle is an illusion, and insisted that 'he is allowed to do this only occasionally, for a very short time and no longer, lest his presumption bring God's glory into scorn'.[46] The directions in *The Play of Antichrist* say that the person resuscitated is to be a man lying in a coffin and feigning death in battle;[47] here we have pretence of death rather than of resurrection, but the miracle remains an illusion, just as Christian theology from Patristic sources onward saw magic as inherently a delusion.

These experiments in the Munich handbook make no effort at all to dispel or counteract this viewpoint, but rather presuppose it, and indeed revel in it. But there is no sense here that the magician is trying to use his deception to seduce followers. His tricks are meant fundamentally as entertainment, chiefly for himself, perhaps, but potentially for others as well – and certainly for the reader who, in the privacy of his chamber, fantasizes about these wonders much as one might share in the fantasies of romance and related literature.

In commenting on the allegations pressed at the Council of Pisa against Benedict XIII, Margaret Harvey remarks: 'The charges … were almost certainly a tissue of nonsense…. The folklore [in them] is itself interesting however, and so are the circumstances in which it could be delivered solemnly as fact to auditors at a general council by a powerful group including doctors of law and even a cardinal.'[48] One might add to this that it is not altogether anachronistic to see the notion of necromancy as nonsense. At its most playful, it was a deliberate violation of sense, a fantasy of illusion, perhaps intended more for imaginative entertainment than for actual use. Yet the boundaries between sense and nonsense are rarely quite stable, and themes that seem to an outsider absolutely nonsensical could be taken in deadly earnest by some observers within the culture. What is perhaps most fascinating about these illusionist experiments is precisely their teasing ambiguity, which perhaps made it possible for writers on witchcraft to believe about witches what they had been conditioned to believe just might be true of the necromancers before them. The playful fantasies of the necromancers, then, became sources for the Boschian nightmares of the witch trials.

Notes

1 Rawlinson MS D 252, fols 75v–76v: *Quia seme*[*l*] *eram egomet in India ab Alexandria infra horam et ibi mulieres videbam michi placentissimas, et statim compleui cum vna desiderium meum, nec ibi erat oportunitas confessorum pro tunc nisi diucius expectassem, et cum ad equum meum reuenissem stetit vbi coniuratus est, et cum apprendissem* [76] *finem freni equus incepit se mouere non permittendo me ponere pedem in scropam, racione mee inmundicie, et ego tenui fortiter frenum et equus leuauit me in aerem per 40 pedes in altum ac tandem videns me misere periturum remisi manum et cecidi et fregi crus meum mirabiliter, et in India iacui per 4 menses, nec amplius vsque fueram sanus equum videbam. Cum autem sanus fueram, confessus eram et egi penitenciam, et parando michi cameram, feceram nouiter fieri sceptrum et gladium et anulum, quia anulus quem polueram virtutem perdidit. Et factis istis instrumentis, et nouiter consecratis, vocaui istos eosdem spiritus, et eundem spiritum ve*[*l*] *equum michi feci apportari* [MS *apportaris*]. *Et factis coniuracionibus eundem coniuraui et ascendebam pacifice, et per vnum mensem continue nisi quando descendebam ad dormiendum et comedendum vel biben-* [76v] *dum semper equitaui 8cies circulando totum orbem. Et in aerem feceram eum me deuehere quousquo ego fere propter inpressiones aeris fueram suffocatus. Sed in circulando orbem plures* [MS *plrures*] *repperi thesauros et mirificos, quos postea noui in virtute docente me vno spirituum, quem postea includebam. Et sic vexaui equ*[*u*]*m meum, qui cum vltimate ab eo descendebam et petente me quare me lesit, respondit quod inde* [sic] *facere non potuit, dixit tamen se tam diu cicius in inferno fore quam per tantum tempus amplius equitare. Et isto modo me rogauit vt amplius eum tam diu non vexarem et ipse michi cum fuero mundus fideliter cum vocauero ministraret. Et sic malo pro malo retribuebam ei.*

2 *De Nigromancia of Roger Bacon*, iv.5, ed. and trans. Michael-Albion Macdonald (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1988), 65–70.

3 H.S.V. Jones, 'The Squire's Tale', in W.F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster, eds, *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (New York: Humanities, 1958), 357–76. On the general theme of magical horses see Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books, and Local Legends*, rev. edn (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955–8), B184.1 (magic horse), D1442.1 (magic bridle restrains all horses), D1626.1 (artificial flying horse), F401.3.1 (spirit in form of horse).

4 Kathryn L. Lynch, 'East meets West in Chaucer's Squire's and Franklin's Tales', *Speculum*, 70 (1995), 530–51, esp. 539f.

5 *The Quest of the Holy Grail*, trans. P.M. Matarasso (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), 134–61.

6 Fols 49r–50r.

7 Hansen, *Quellen*, 539–44.

8 On illusionist magic in medieval literature see W. Eamon, 'Technology as magic in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance', *Janus*, 70 (1983), 171–212; Sydney H. Ball, 'Luminous gems, mythical and real', *Scientific Monthly*, 47 (1938), 496–505; Joan Evans, *Magic Jewels of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922); Laura H. Loomis, 'Secular dramatics in the royal palace, Paris 1378, 1389, and Chaucer's "tragetoures"', *Speculum*, 33 (1958), 242–55; Marvin Alpheus Owings, *The Arts in the Middle English Romances* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1952), 138–64 ('The supernatural'); Helen Cooper, 'Magic that does not work', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s., 7 (1976), 131–46; M. Sherwood, 'Magic and mechanics in medieval fiction', *Studies in Philology*, 44 (1947), 567–92; Haldeen Braddy, 'Cambyuskan's flying horse and Charles VI's "cerf volant"', *Modern Language Review*, 33 (1938), 41–4; W.A. Clouston, *Notes on the Magical Elements in the 'Squire's Tale', and Analogues* (Chaucer Society, ser. 2, vol. 26) (London: Trubner, 1890).

9 Anthony E. Luengo, 'Magic and illusion in the *Franklin's Tale*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 77 (1978), 1–16; W. Bryant Bachman, Jr., '"To maken illusion": the philosophy of magic and the magic of philosophy in the *Franklin's Tale*', *Chaucer Review*, 12 (1977), 55–67.

10 Several early Christian writers spoke of magic as deception (*fraus*), delusion (*elusio*) or phantasm –

which could mean purely natural sleight of hand within the capacity of any skilled human, but it could also apply to tricks only demons could perform, which would still be illusory in the sense that what appeared to be present would not in fact be. On this theme see Francis C.R. Thee, *Julius Africanus and the Early Christian View of Magic* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1984), esp. 349–52 (Irenaeus), 374–6 (Origen) and 394f. (Hippolytus). For a particularly well done fictional exploration of the motif see Anita Mason, *The Illusionist* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1984).

11 Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i.68, trans. Henry Chadwick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 62–3.

12 It would be pointless to attempt a survey of the theme in other writings, but to take merely one example, see *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the* Ghayat Al-Hakim, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986), 17–18.

13 On this wide-ranging subject see, e.g., Lorne Dwight Conquergood, 'The Anglo-Saxon Boast: Structure and Function' (Northwestern University dissertation, 1977), and Daniel Cliness Boughner, *The Braggart in Renaissance Literature: A Study in Comparative Drama from Aristophanes to Shakespeare* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954).

14 See Joseph Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter, und die Entstehung der großen Hexenverfolgung* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1900; repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1964), 1–36, on the formation of a *Sammelbegriff* or *Kollektivbegriff* of witchcraft.

15 *Summa theologiae*, i.109.1; *Malleus maleficarum*, i.4, trans. Montague Summers (London: Rodker, 1928; repr. London: Pushkin, 1948), 28–31.

16 Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology* (New York: Crown, 1959), 420–21 (with a relevant quotation from Lancashire); Francesco Maria Guazzo, *Compendium maleficarum*, i.12, trans. E.A. Ashwin (Secaucus, NJ: University Books, 1974), p. 37.

17 *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.1.3, p. 105; cf. ii.1.1 and ii.1.4, pp. 97 and 113, in which the sign of the cross is said to have similar effect but outside the context of flight. A warning against the sign of the cross outside the context of flight occurs also in Clm 849, no. 1.

18 W. Braekman, 'Magische experimenten en toverpraktijken uit een middelnederlands handschrift', *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1966, 28–32.

19 See Robbins, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*, 364–7, and Richard Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300–1500* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 41–2 (and sources in the notes).

20 I translate *dapiferos* thus, rather than as 'stewards', to convey somewhat more clearly that these figures actually produce the illusory banquet rather than serving at a conventional feast.

21 This passage seems to mean that one is to draw the sword itself not only to the east but to the other directions while reciting the conjuration, and then again hold the sword toward the east.

22 As I can attest from personal experience, even in the absence of demons and magicians an excited or agitated hoopoe flutters its crest, which otherwise lies back on its head.

23 Oymelor, Symofos, Manoir and Faubair in the outermost band; Demefin, Rodobayl, Tamafin and Abelutabel in the next; Lamair, Tentetos, Leutaber and Rimasor in the next; and Masair, Lotobor, Tatomofon and Sirama in the innermost. (The forms of the names are exceptionally variable: Symofos appears elsewhere in the experiment as Symofor or Simofor, Manoir as Memoyr or Memoir, Rodobayl as Rodobail, Abelutabel as Selutabel or Belutabel, Leutaber as Zeugaber, Sirama as Syrama.)

24 The spell of Pnouthis, PGM I.42–195, in Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 6, lines 107–14.

25 On the lore of this bird see John Gotthold Kunstmann, 'The Hoopoe: A Study in European Folklore'

(University of Chicago dissertation, 1938); W.R. Dawson, 'The lore of the hoopoe', *Ibis*, ser. 12, 1 (1925), 31–9; Samia Al Azharia Jahn, 'Zur Volkskunde eines Zugvogels: Der Wiedehopf (*Upupa Epops* L.) in Nordeuropa und in den islamischen Ländern Afrikas', *Anthropos*, 76 (1981), 371–92; and R. Lops, 'La huppe: histoire littéraire et légendaire d'un oiseau', in Q. Mok, et al., eds, *Mélanges de linguistique, de littérature et de philologie offerts à J.R. Smeets* (Leiden, 1982), 171–85. For some of these references I am indebted to Baudouin van den Abeele. Albert the Great, *Man and the Beasts: De animalibus (Books 22–26)*, xxiii.112, trans. James J. Scanlan (Binghamton, NY: CEMERS, 1987), 321, reports that smearing hoopoe blood on the temples before sleeping causes nightmares, and that enchanters seek the bird's organs (especially its brain, tongue and heart) for 'their own purposes'. See also Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, 1, pp. 13 (PGM II.1–64), 29 (III.424–66), 129 (VII.411–16), and 210 (PDM xiv.116).

26 Prospero, in Shakespeare's *Tempest*, IV.i.

27 For *experiencia*, although the heading gives *experimenta*.

28 A largely conjectural reading of *qui habet multum ipsos 15 demones pauentare uel spanentare*; the writer seems to have been copying from a source and unable to determine what the verb should be.

29 The MS reads *recedetis*, but the context calls for *redeatis* or the equivalent.

30 This translation simplifies and clarifies a somewhat confused passage.

31 P.M. Matarasso, trans. *The Quest of the Holy Grail* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), 192–94.

32 Lobsang P. Lhalungpa, trans. *The Life of Milarepa* (Boston and London: Shambhala, 1985), 52.

33 On the relationship in medieval Europe, see my article, 'The holy and the unholy: sainthood, witchcraft, and magic in late medieval Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 24 (1994), 355–85, reprinted in Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl, eds, *Christendom and its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 310–37. The information about modern lamas was related to me by Janet Gyatso.

34 See also Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (FF Communications, 204) (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Akademia Scientiarum Fennica, 1969), 245, nos 3,130 and 3,134, and the *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.1.3.

35 Chs 31–2.

36 Or perhaps 'with a farewell' (*cum salute*).

37 For *de cuius cluni*[*bu*]*s aliquantulum incidere debes*.

38 The nomenclature is again variable: Lantrayth appears also as Lautrayth and Lutrayth, Feremni as Feremin and Feremim, Oliromim as Oliroomim.

39 The classic source is Plato's *Republic*, book 2, 359d–360c. For medieval versions of the tale see Tubach, *Index exemplorum*, 189, no. 2,391. For other examples of using rings for invisibility see Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 1, pp. 136 (VII.628–42) and 109 (V.447–58).

40 Albertus Magnus, *The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus, of the Virtues of Herbs, Stones and Certain Beasts, also A Book of the Marvels of the World*, ed. Michael R. Best and Frank H. Brightman (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 26f. The assumption was that the brilliant luminosity of the stone would blind people to one's presence; on the general subject of luminous stones, see Sydney H. Ball, 'Luminous gems, mythical and real', *Scientific Monthly*, 47 (1938), 496–505; and Joan Evans, *Magic Jewels of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922).

41 Perhaps the closest classical analogue to this procedure is from the Greek magical papyri, which recommend holding a snapdragon under the tongue while sleeping, and reciting specified names on rising early, to become invisible; see Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 1, p. 135 (PGM VII.619–27, from a collection called the *Diadem of Moses*). See also an Italian experiment for invisibility mentioned by Charles Burnett in *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), IX, pp. 6–7, where five beans are placed in a woman's skull and buried.

42 For a survey of relevant sources see Robbins, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*, 159–60.

43 Fols 66v–67v.

44 The MS uses the second person, but the reference is clearly to the horseman.

45 *Elucidarium*, iii.10, in *Patrologia latina*, 172, col. 1163. See Linus Urban Lucken, *Antichrist and the Prophets of Antichrist in the Chester Cycle* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1940), 63–5. On Antichrist generally see Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (San Francisco: Harper, 1994). See also Nancy Caciola, 'Wraiths, revenants and ritual in medieval culture', Past & Present, 152 (August 1996), 3–45.

46 Hildegard of Bingen, *Scivias*, xi.27, trans. Mother Columba Hart and Jane Bishop (New York: Paulist, 1990), 503.

47 *The Play of Antichrist*, trans. John Wright (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1967), 89f.

48 Margaret Harvey, 'Papal witchcraft: the charges against Benedict XIII', in Derek Baker, ed., *Sanctity and Secularity: The Church and the World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973), 109.

4

Love, Favour and Madness: Psychological Experiments

When we speak of one individual as ‘charming’ or ‘fascinating’ another, we still use the traditional language of magic to suggest the power that personalities can exert over each other. We know that the human mind is subject to subtle and often threatening or frightening influence; it comes as no surprise that practitioners of magic have claimed to make such influence into a kind of science available for their employment. Nor is it surprising if at times magic intended to bend the minds and wills of other persons has its desired effect, since this form of magic more than any other lends itself to the power of suggestion.[1] Outside the context of clerical necromancy, magic of this sort occurs in trials such as that of Matteuccia di Francesco at Todi in 1428. Among the many charges against Matteuccia was this:

> … in the month of December of 1427 a certain woman of that territory went to Matteuccia and, after confessing that she loved a certain man, said that she would like to spread her hatred so that her man would abandon his wife and, loving only herself, do everything she wanted. Matteuccia told the woman to wash her hands and feet facing backwards and with her knees bent and when she had done so to take the water and throw it where the man and woman were going to pass, with the spirit, intent and belief that this would generate hatred between them. The woman did this and reported to Matteuccia that the water had generated hatred between the man and the woman as she had intended, so that they could not meet, but instead hated each other.[2]

The alienation of affection in this case is more than usually complicated: the same ritual simultaneously disrupted the married couple’s relationship and bound the husband’s affections, causing him to love the client so intensely that he complied with her every wish. In other cases Matteuccia prescribed such water rituals as a means for regaining affection and for transferring disease,

presumably on the assumption that the fluidity of water made it a fitting symbol and medium for emotional instability, but also perhaps implying that the sort of water one might expect to find in a medieval city could plausibly be viewed as a means for contamination and contagion.

Psychological magic in the Munich handbook

The Munich manuscript contains seven experiments that might be termed psychological, because they are intended to influence people's minds or wills: to cause madness or hatred, to gain favour with a potentate, to constrain the will of others, or to arouse the love of a woman. Five general features characterize these experiments. First, they typically involve elaborate preparation and ceremonies which may require more than one day. Second, the purposes and forms (other than the conjurations) have much in common with those of astral magic. Third, the basic techniques are those of 'sympathetic' or 'imitative' magic, whose meaning is explicated by accompanying incantations; magic circles either are not used or are simple and relatively unimportant, and conjurations are less significant and elaborate here than in other forms of necromancy. Fourth, the procedures and the expected results are typically more violent than in other experiments, amounting in the erotic experiments to a kind of rape. Fifth, with rare exceptions, the magician works strictly by himself, in secret, without companions (unless one includes the women he sets out to seduce, in erotic forms of this magic); whereas the secrecy in illusionist experiments adds to the sense of excitement and adventure, the point here is more simply to evade detection in circumstances that would be extremely damaging.

The preparation and ritual is sometimes protracted over several days (nos 2, 4, 5), or at least involves multiple operations performed on a single occasion (nos 3, 12, 13, 35). One is tempted to speculate that such magic can best take effect if its victims are aware that it is being used and if they are liable to the power of suggestion, and that the more elaborate the procedures, the greater the chance that the intended victims will learn the fate that is to befall them. Indeed, in one of these experiments (no. 2) the master is instructed to go to the victim and warn him in advance of his fate. John Gager suggests in a similar context that magicians may have been 'less than totally discreet about their business, perhaps intentionally so, and let it be known that a "fix" had been put on so-and-so'.[3] Such deliberate indiscretion would be especially appropriate for magic that depended entirely on psychological effect.

The purposes served by these psychological experiments are among the most common purposes found in the astral magic translated into Latin from Arabic sources such as *Picatrix* and Thabit ibn Qurra's *De imaginibus*.[4] Thabit's treatise is devoted to experiments for such goals as destroying a city or region, becoming ruler of a place, securing the favour of a king, and arousing friendship or enmity between two persons. The magician is in every case expected to use images, not so much as aids to sympathetic magic, but as channels of astrological power; the astrological conditions for use of these images are thus of paramount importance. The psychological experiments in the Munich handbook are generally much longer and more fully developed than the materials in these Arabic sources. What they add are chiefly conjurations and operations of sympathetic magic.

These rituals consistently entail sympathetic procedures: they rely on the basic principle of sympathetic magic, *sicut hic, ita illic*. More often than not the master is supposed to inflict some kind of violence upon the victim's image, so that a corresponding violence will occur to the actual victim. In other words, ritual rape is a means for accomplishing physical rape. A representative object may be consumed or destroyed: a candle melted (no. 2); stones beaten together, buried, heated and crushed (no. 5); an image pierced with needles (no. 12); a bone placed in fire (nos 13 and 35). Elsewhere the representative object is used for an imitative operation symbolizing submission: one metal image is placed in a position of subordination to another (no. 4). The specifically demonic or necromantic element in these experiments is typically an appendage to this sympathetic magic, and the demons generally play a less prominent role than in illusionist or divinatory experiments. Other features of necromancy, while present, are also relegated to a position of secondary significance. The conjurations used in these experiments tend to be relatively simple. Instead of conjurations, incantations explicating the significance of the sympathetic ritual ('Just as … so too …') occupy a central position. Even the magic circles called for in these experiments are comparatively simple: indeed, in three cases there are no circles at all (nos 4, 5, 35), and in four others there is either a simple circle (nos 2, 3, 12) or a simple shield-figure substituting for a circle (no. 13).

Experiments to inflict harm

Later medieval books of magic are seldom shy about giving straightforwardly harmful formulas. A fifteenth-century *Liber de angelis, annulis, karecteribus et*

ymaginibus planetarum (Book of angels, rings, characters, and images of the planets) in the Cambridge University Library contains an experiment called the *Vindicta Troie (Vengeance of Troy)*, which can be used to arouse hatred or to cause bodily harm or even death. The procedure calls for making an image on the day and in the hour of Saturn, in the name of the person to be harmed. The image must be made of wax, preferably from candles used at a funeral. It should be made as ugly as possible; the face should be contorted, and there should be hands in place of feet and vice versa. The victim's name should be inscribed on the forehead of the image, the name of the planet Saturn on its breast, and the seals or characters of Saturn between its shoulders. The operator should call upon the spirits of Saturn to descend from on high and afflict the named victim. The image should be fumigated with various substances, including human bones and hair, then wrapped in a funeral cloth and buried in some unclean place, face downward. If the magician wishes to harm any particular member of the victim's body, there are instructions for binding the corresponding member on the image with a funeral cloth and piercing the image with a needle; to kill the victim, the magician should insert the needle into the spine, from the head down to the heart. To cure the victim afterward (unless, presumably, the experiment has succeeded in killing him), one must unbury the image, remove the needle and anoint the wounds that are left, rub out the inscriptions, and wash the image in a fountain. The *Liber de angelis* also prescribes a technique for arousing discord: the operator makes one image of Saturn and another of Mars (which counted as 'unfortunate' planets), one holding a lance and the other a sword, and buries them positioned over against each other.[5]

If one were to judge from the trial records, one might suppose that necromancy was used chiefly to bring personal harm and death to enemies. Thus, Guichard of Troyes was charged in the early fourteenth century with hiring a witch and a friar to kill the queen of France by image magic and invocation of demons,[6] and in 1441 Eleanor Cobham was accused of employing a witch and two scholars learned in astrology and necromancy, in part to kill the king of England,[7] to cite only two examples. Yet of all the experiments in the Munich manual, only two (nos 2 and 5), are designed specifically and exclusively to cause harm, and the damage is specifically psychological; the manuscript contains no experiments for killing enemies or inflicting physical harm on them. Even these two experiments designed to bring harm provide countermagic for the master to use if he wishes to undo his own mischief (as does the *Liber de angelis*).

Let us look first at an experiment designed to bring enmity between two friends (no. 5):

> When you wish to sow hatred and mortal enmity between two men or women, or a man and a woman, you must take two shiny round rocks from a river.[8] On one you must carve the name of one person, with the names Cartutay, Momabel, Sobil and Geteritacon. On the other [you must carve] the name of the other person and the names Puzanil, Pimaton, Folfitoy, and Mansator. These names are highly antipathetic to each other. When they are carved, you must bury one under the threshold of the one in whose name it was made, if you can, and if you cannot, bury them beneath the threshold of any inhabited house, and the other likewise under the threshold of the other, as has been said, or under some house, as is written above.[9] And let them remain there seven days and seven nights.
>
> Then remove them before sunrise, take them to a secret place, and cast them into a fire, saying, 'I conjure you most inimical spirits, by the glory of the everlasting God, to sow and arouse as much hatred between so-and-so and so-and-so, whose names are carved here on these stones, as there is between you.' When you have said this three times, take the stones from the fire, saying, 'When their fury is enkindled against us, perhaps the waters had swallowed them up' [Ps. 123:3f. Vulg.]. Then cast [*proiciamus*] them into very cold water and let them stay there under a clear sky for three days and nights. On the fourth day take them and fumigate them with sulphur, saying, 'I conjure all you hateful and malignant, invidious and discordant demons … to arouse at once between so-and-so and so-and-so as much hatred as there was between Cain and Abel. Arouse them and inflame them so much that one cannot stand to see the other, and one will afflict the other with immeasurable hatred, as a rebel.[10] May all love, affection, fraternity and concord be removed from them; let them be turned to enmity and utter hatred.' When you have said this three times, with constant fumigation, store them [the stones] away.
>
> The next night, beat the rocks together and strike one against the other, saying, 'I do not smash these stones, rather I smash so-and-so and so-and-so, whose names are written here, so that one will at once afflict the other and they will torment each other from now on with unconditional hatred.'
>
> And do this three times, each night and day, for several days. And immediately you will see or hear that they have become enemies and hate

each other bitterly, so that neither can abide to see the other.

If you wish to separate them altogether, causing one to flee the other, proceed as follows. Arise before sunrise on a Sunday, under a waning moon, especially when it is in combustion, and proceed in the direction of the sunrise.[11] When you have done this, take two stones that you have brought with you there, and rub them together vigorously, pounding one against the other, saying, 'I do not smash these rocks, etc.' When you have said this three times, bury whichever of them you wish. Then withdraw and go toward the west, and make a ditch there and bury the other in that place, saying, 'As I have separated these stones, thus may so-and-so separate himself from so-and-so, and may they be as distant as these stones.' When it has been buried, withdraw. And you will see them estranged, each separated from the other.

This experiment must be kept secret, for it possesses ineffable power, and no remedy is to be found before they have been estranged and hate each other bitterly.

But if you wish to restore them to their initial friendship, unbury the stones and place them in a furnace, and when they are well cooked smash them to little bits, and paste them together with water, and let [the newly formed mass] dry. When it is dried, cast it into the water of a river, saying, 'Let all enmity be taken away that was between so-and-so and so-and-so, and let them return to their former affection, by the mercy of the gracious God, who does not regard the misdeeds of sinners. Amen.' And you may be sure that on account of this they will be joined together at once, and all anger will be taken away, and they will enjoy their initial concord.

Not only is the imitative action with stones at the heart of this experiment, even the conjuration involves an extension of the principle of imitative magic: the enmity produced by the magic is already manifested in the 'hateful and malignant, invidious and discordant demons' whose services are invoked, and the archetypal enmity between Cain and Abel serves as a paradigm for that intended by the magician. Apart from the verbal formulas, the magic is simple to the point of seeming primitive: the symbolic objects are not carved in the forms of the individuals represented, but are mere rocks, and the abuse to which they are subject is fairly simple exposure to the inimical elements of earth, fire and water. One might wonder why the sympathetic reversal provided in this experiment does not have the effect of utterly destroying the victims. The stones have all along symbolized the victims, and the crushing should have dire effects

on them if the logic of sympathetic magic is consistently maintained. Obviously, however, this is not how the writer of the manual viewed matters. From his perspective the operations evidently took effect not simply *ex opere operato* but in accordance with the intentions of the operator as expressed in the accompanying words.

Elsewhere the procedures for separation magic were more imaginative but still essentially imitative. Riccola di Puccio of Pisa was executed at Perugia in 1347, in part for using magic to bring disaffection between a husband and wife; she recited charms and conjurations over an egg from a black hen, calling upon 'Mosectus, Barbectus and Belsabuct, the prince of demons', as well as other demons of various ranks, then he cut the egg in half and gave one part to a female cat and the other to a male dog, saying, 'In the name of the aforesaid demons may the love between [the two] be sundered as this egg is divided between the dog and the cat, and let there be such affection between them as between this dog and this cat.'[12]

The other experiment in this category in the Munich handbook (no. 2) is intended to inflict dementia. The practitioner goes to his victim and openly recites a conjuration commanding the malign spirit Mirael to enter and afflict his brain. Then he makes a pen with wood from the victim's door, and he inscribes a brief conjuration and a magic circle – a single band with the names of Mirael and the victim in the centre, and the names of ten demons within the band – on a piece of linen, and conjures the demons thrice. A set of sympathetic operations follows. The master goes to the victim's house, urinates 'in the manner of a camel',[13] and buries the cloth; while doing so he says, 'I bury you, so-and-so, in the name of the demons written round about you, so that these demons may always be around him, and all your power may be buried.' He goes home and makes a candle, inscribed as was the circle. He lights the candle, saying, 'Just as this candle, made for the destruction of N., burns and is consumed, so may all the power and knowledge he possesses be turned to madness …' He then extinguishes the candle, saying, 'Just as this candle is extinguished, so may all the power in N. be utterly consumed.' When he has repeated the procedure over seven days, the victim will become demented, and all who see him will marvel, though he himself will not recognize his condition and will assume that others are mad. If he wishes to restore the victim's sanity, the master goes to his house and enjoins the demons to depart, thus counteracting the effects of his triple conjuration. Then he further nullifies the magic by removing the inscribed cloth and casts it into a fire, saying, 'Just as this fire consumes this cloth, so may all

this craft (*ars*) done by me against N. be wholly undone,' then he casts the ashes into a flowing stream.[14] While the countermagic is itself sympathetic, it is not (in the same way as with no. 5) strictly a reversal of the original sympathetic magic involving the burning and extinguishing of a candle.

There are recipes for madness in *Picatrix*, which involve not imitative magic but potions (made from the body parts of a cat, a hoopoe, a bat, a toad and other creatures) to be taken in food or drink, or a fume to be inhaled, whereupon the victim will be bedevilled (*demoniabitur*), losing his senses and memory, and not even knowing where he is.[15] The Munich handbook is perhaps remarkable for its thoroughgoing avoidance of such potions. It rarely combines the techniques of demonic with those of natural magic, and avoids giving recipes for potions whose magical virtue would normally be seen as inherent and natural, but does use imitative rituals, more readily seen as signs and signals to demons.

The burial of some symbolic object is a recurrent theme in these psychological experiments, far more than in other types. Parallels can easily be cited in astral magic, for example in one section of *Picatrix*, which prescribes burying astrological images to attain friendship or love, to secure the fondness and obedience of a ruler's subjects or a lord's servant, to separate two friends, to cause a person to fall under the wrath of a king, to bring love between men and women – but also to destroy an enemy or a city or house, to prevent the construction of a building, to release a captive, to put a person to flight, to get rid of scorpions, to increase the fertility of the fields.[16] The psychological experiments of the Munich handbook which prescribe burial of some object may perhaps be borrowed from astral magic and elaborated with conjurations and other embellishments. Burial ensures secrecy, fixes the object's location, and perhaps implies an appeal to demons or other chthonic powers. It makes the most obvious sense when a particular location is to be affected: like dragons hidden beneath the foundations of a building and causing its disruption, a buried image can work insidiously on the place where it lies. When the magic is psychological, the point is presumably to affect the victim's mind by establishing a kind of magical force field within his or her environment. One might even speak of this is as environmental magic, designed to afflict individuals indirectly by planting sinister forces in or near the places they frequent.

An experiment for gaining favour

Magical techniques for ensuring favour in the eyes of a dignitary, or for

prevailing over one's adversaries in a court of law, are common in the literature of medieval magic, although they rarely if ever become subject matter for prosecution. They presuppose a magician connected to court circles or perhaps to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, or else a magician serving a client with political ambitions. In short, the context for use of such magic is precisely the sort that Edward Peters envisages: a courtly world rife with ambitions and ensuing tensions because of the possibilities for upward mobility and the threat of precipitous downward mobility.[17] The magic recommended for such purposes is often fairly simple. One fifteenth-century compilation prescribes writing out the SATOR-AREPO square on virgin parchment with the blood of a white dove, then carrying it on one's person or in one's hand, to ensure favour in the sight of all. The same collection says that various herbs, collected before sunrise in the sign of Virgo, will prevent people from speaking evil against the bearer.[18] Another compilation recommends writing out certain characters and carrying them in one's left hand as a way of obtaining favours from any person.[19]

From one point of view any attempt to manipulate another person's mind or will is a hostile act. There are none the less significant differences from one experiment to another in the apparent attitude of the master and in the expected attitude of the victim: in the experiments we have examined above, the master is overtly hostile to the victims and expects them to undergo experiences that will be unpleasant for them; in the next experiments the master displays no overt hostility and anticipates that the people affected will become favourably disposed toward him, without feeling harmed or afflicted, and if anyone feels aggrieved it will presumably be either a rival claimant to favour or the victim at a later stage, when he realizes his will has been manipulated.

The Munich handbook provides one rather elaborate experiment designed to gain favour with any manner of dignitary (no. 4):

> … I wish for you to read a well tested art for obtaining dignity and honour, status, and the supreme and undying love of a king, prelate, lord or, in general, any man you wish.
>
> First, you should have two soft rocks, which you should rub together so that their surfaces are entirely flush. When you have done this, you should carve in one the image of him [whose favour] you wish, beginning from the head and proceeding to the feet, making first the front and then the back side, and carving a crown on the head if it is a king, and so forth according to his dignity. When this is carved, you will carve on the [other] stone your own

form, as best you can, beginning with the head, as before, first the front and then the back. When you have done this, inscribe his name on the forehead of the first [image], in the manner of a seal, and your name on yours. When you have done this, in the first hour of Sunday under a waxing moon take silver or tin and melt it over a fire. When it is melted, cast it in his form, saying, 'I, so-and-so, wishing to obtain favour and be revered by him, and honoured and feared forever, form [this] image, made and carved in his name, by virtue of which he should love me without measure forever.'

When you have done this, you should have an iron stylus, and on his forehead carve the name 'Dyacom'; on his chest, the three names 'Pumeon', 'Terminas', and 'Peripaos'; and on [his] shoulders the six names 'Midam', 'Fabni', 'Gebel', 'Darail', 'Vmeloth' and 'Thereoth'; and on his stomach the name 'Byreoth'. When you have inscribed these things, you should have a clean linen cloth, and wrap the image in it, then store it away carefully.

On Thursday, at the first hour of the day, kindle a fire and similarly melt the tin and cast it in your form, saying, 'I, so-and-so, form my own image according to my likeness, by which I may rule forever over so-and-so and be loved and feared by him for all eternity.' When you have made this, wrap it likewise in another linen cloth.

Note that the image of him whose grace you wish to obtain should be the length of one *semis*[20] when it is carved in the stone, and the proportions of the stone should be such that your image may be larger than his by a third. And you should place a sceptre on your image as well.

When you have done these things carefully, as instructed, on the following Friday at the first hour you should fumigate his image with these aromatics – cinnamon, long pepper and the herb agrimony – saying, 'I, so-and-so, exorcize you, image formed in the name of so-and-so, by the inseparable, unique, and undivided Trinity, and by all the thrones, dominations, and powers, and principalities, and [by the virtue] of all creatures, that by your power I may obtain the favour and love of so-and-so, in whose name it is made.'

Having said this three times, continue as follows: 'O Dyacon, Pumeon, Termines, Peripaos, Midain, Fabin, Gebel, Dorayl, Vmeloth, Tereoth and Bireoth, most benevolent spirits who sow concord, with the greatest vehemence I, so-and-so, pray you, I supplicate you, [and] I beg you, by the only Son of God, who by the shedding of his blood raised the dead human race, that by this image made in the name of so-and-so you may bind him to

me in such a manner that he will revere me above all mortals, never wavering from agreement with me, but always obeying my commands. May he take pains to please me, by our same Lord Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns unto ages of ages. Amen.'

When you have said this prayer, take your hold your image in your right hand, and the other in your left, and join his image to yours, saying three times, 'He has subjected the nations to us, and the peoples under our feet' [Ps. 46:4 Vulg.]. Then take a small iron chain and bind it to the neck of his image, placing the other end in the right hand of your image. Then, when it is firmly bound, say, 'Just as you, O image formed in the name of so-and-so, are subjected and bound to my image, thus may so-and-so be bound to me utterly for all eternity.' Then take both hands of his image in your hands and bend them behind his back, saying, 'By this image I bind the hands of so-and-so, that his hands may never have any power against me.' Bend the head of his image to the ground, saying, 'As this image, made in the name of so-and-so, stands before me with bended neck, thus may so-and-so never waver from my will, but follow me at all times and always serve me and love me and revere me for ever above all others, and strive to praise me.'

When you have done this, with constant fumigation, take your image and place the other at its back, so that its face touches the shoulders of your image, and while holding them thus, say, 'As this image, made and fashioned in the name of so-and-so, stands in the greatest subjection to this image made in my name, thus may so-and-so be subjected to me, as long as these images are preserved.' Then wrap them up, as has been said, in a clean linen cloth. When they have been wrapped, place them in some kind of vessel and carry them secretly through the city and before his presence in his dwelling, if you can. And you should do this for an entire day. In the evening you should bury the images in such a place and far enough down that they will [not] be discovered, and you will see wonders. But if you cannot go before him or into his dwelling, bury [them], as has been said, wherever you will, and you will be loved by him above all things.

For Parmen[i]des used this experiment to obtain favour from the king of the Persians.

This experiment requires two conjurations: one addressed to the image of the dignitary in question, which is thrice 'exorcized' that it may secure honour from the person represented; the other a 'prayer' addressed to eleven spirits

distinguished for their benevolence and their skill at inspiring concord. But the heart of the experiment is a series of five imitative rituals involving both images: first binding the two figures together, second binding the dignitary's image to the magician's own with a small iron chain, third binding the hands of the dignitary's image behind its back, fourth bowing the head of the dignitary's image to the ground, and fifth placing the two figures together, with the dignitary's face touching the shoulders of his own image as a sign of subjection.

The sympathetic operations here are complex but suggest a sort of play, almost like a child's playful use of a toy. Like many experiments in the manual, this one comes with a historical testimonial: 'Parmenides', we are told, used this procedure to gain favour with the king of the Persians. Testimonials of this kind are of course window-dressing, comparable to a herbal master's fanciful claim that one remedy was used by Plato himself.[21] The concluding promise that the magician 'will see wonders' is again a common formula,[22] which blurs any distinction between the magical and the wondrous or marvellous.

Erotic magic: background

If certain of these experiments can be seen as 'friendly' and others as hostile, the experiments for love represent a curious mixture. The imitative procedures involve violence: the image or other object that magically represents the desired woman is burned or pierced. The immediate effect on the victim is likewise violent: she is afflicted with obsessive passion, and has no rest until she yields to the master's desires. Ultimately, however, the woman does submit and is made to feel more than mere friendship. The conception of love that is here assumed may owe something at least indirectly to the tradition of courtly literature, and in particular to its Ovidian sense that love is a disease or an affliction. One Netherlandish compilation gives detailed instructions for 'the best and surest experiment in the world to secure friendship or love between a man and a woman', and says that in Latin such love is called '*amor hereos*', and is burning and indissoluble.[23]

The subject of erotic magic is too extensive to cover fully here,[24] but at least eight key points should be made by way of overview. First, magic may be used to persuade or coerce another person to consent to sex (sex-inducing magic), to intensify the sexual experience of already willing partners (sex-enhancing magic), or to induce a lasting amorous relationship (love-magic). Second, the most common technique for love-magic was administration of potions, as can be

seen from penitential prohibitions and secular legislation as well as literary sources.[25] Certain objects or substances borne on one's person were also thought to have aphrodisiac qualities, such as the stone allectory and the herb henbane.[26] Third, while various herbs were used as aphrodisiacs (St John's wort, valerian, vervain),[27] there seems to have been a preference for animal parts or human substances (such as semen) either literally or symbolically associated with sex and procreation.[28] Fourth, in trials for erotic magic it was usually women who were charged with alienating men's affections through magical means, but the surviving formulas for sex-inducing magic typically envisage the use of this magic by men to entice unwilling women.[29] Fifth, in both the trials and the manuscript prescriptions, love-magic is most commonly intended to restore the lost affections of a partner.[30] Indeed, certain women accused of witchcraft seem to have been specialists in such restoration of affection.[31] Sixth, in astral magic with erotic intent, the magical virtues whose potency seemed most relevant were, obviously enough, those of Venus. Thus, a stone, metal plate or image might be made on the day of Venus (Friday), at the hour of Venus, and bearing the sign of Venus for use in such magic; one might even be advised to say a 'prayer' to the spirit associated with that planet.[32] Seventh, the power of the sacred might be employed in erotic magic, in ways that would presumably seem blasphemous to authorities: a slip of parchment with a psalm on it might be left where a prospective lover would walk, or a woman who kissed her husband while holding a consecrated host in her mouth might gain his affection.[33] A prayer addressed to God might lead into a conjuration to compel a husband, or a litany adapted to form a coercive spell.[34] Eighth, erotic magic figures prominently in medieval literature – in the romances especially, herbal love potions frequently play a prominent role – but the significance of this magic is often ambiguous. For example, in Thomas of Britain's version of *Tristan* the love potion seems to function as a symbol of the love that Tristan and Iseult have already begun to feel, rather than as in any simple sense the cause of that love.[35]

The techniques for erotic magic mentioned so far were natural rather than demonic, but sexual submission could also be won by necromancy. Oldradus da Ponte explained in the early fourteenth century that invoking demons to tempt women is mortally sinful but is not heresy, because temptation is proper to the nature of demons and their use for this service thus implies no false belief.[36] Formulas for such magic do survive. An experiment for love in the *Liber de angelis* requires going to a crossroads or a gallows, entering a circle traced on the ground, sacrificing a dove, tearing its flesh apart, dispersing the remains in

the air, and invoking a spirit of dubious character named Zagam ('O Zagam, accept this dove which I sacrifice to you!'). One must repeat this operation a second and a third time; after the last of these sacrifices one adds, 'I ask you, O Zagam, and all your companions, to bring forth [the desired woman]', who should be burning with love for the magician and should comply with his will. The next morning he must return to the circle and pick up whatever 'figure' he finds there; he need only show this to the desired woman and she will love him without bounds – as has been proven, the text adds.[37] In a trial from the later fifteenth century at Tournai, where a priest was charged with attempting to seduce a girl by drawing her image in charcoal on a tile, baptizing the figure, sprinkling it with holy water, making a second figure out of wax and baptizing it as well, then conjuring demons according to a book of magic.[38]

The case from Tournai is highly reminiscent of the Netherlandish experiment mentioned earlier as a technique for effecting *amor hereos*,[39] combining prayer and conjuration with image magic:

> You must do it on a Friday in the first hour after midnight, under a waxing moon. Take a tile fresh out of the oven and draw a picture, while saying, 'I, N., draw this picture in the form and likeness of the person N., daughter or son of so-and-so.' Make the picture with a steel pin [*punte*]. Begin with the head and proceed downward, saying, 'May Venus help.' … When [the image] is done, make fire with any wood you will. Stand up, take the image in your hand, turn south, and read this [Latin] prayer: 'Almighty, eternal God, who in the beginning created heaven and earth, the sea and all that is in them; who created Adam and Eve according to your likeness and placed them in the earthly paradise … I invoke you in supplication, most gracious Father; in your great power hear me as I ask and knock [cf. Mt 7:7], that I may be able to constrain those malign spirits, the angels who have power to bind a man to a woman, and vice versa, a woman to a man, and especially those four spirits who hold dominion and power over those spirits in the four parts of the globe, to wit, Astaroth, Aroch, Godras, [and] Vynicon.' Say this prayer three [more] times [to north, east, and west]. Then say the following [Latin] conjuration, turning first to the south: "O Astaroth, prince of the south, I conjure you with all the [spirits] under your command, who have power to compel the love of a woman or a man, by Alpha and Omega, the first and last, Abios, Abics, Rubeus, Rubet, Caste, Hely, Messias, Sabaoth, Adonay, Sother, Emanuel; I conjure you, N.; by the Annunciation of our Lord Jesus Christ; by his

Passion; by his Resurrection … by the head of your prince and King Lucifer … and by all the infernal powers by whom you can be conjured and entreated, that you should withdraw from your proper place in the south and [carry out my command].'[40]

The case at Tournai is in at least one respect typical necromantic practice : the alleged perpetrator was a cleric. Similarly, the use of Latin formulas in the Dutch experiment suggests that the intended user was clerical, even if he was not in major orders. Analogous cases are easily adduced. When the Carmelite friar Peter Recordi was tried by an inquisitorial tribunal at Carcassonne in 1329, he confessed that over five years he had performed terrible conjurations over wax images, smeared and sprinkled with blood from a toad and from his own nostrils, all as sacrifice to the Devil. He then placed the images beneath thresholds of women he wanted to seduce, and thus he had his way with three women and had been on the verge of success with others. He had believed that these images held power to coerce women, or, if the victims were refractory, to bring down upon them affliction at the hands of demons. On one occasion he pierced one of the images in its stomach, and blood oozed out.[41] Again, an English chaplain named William Netherstreet was charged in 1377 with using 'conjurations and incantations' to bring a married woman to his chamber at night so he could 'take her violently in adultery'. He protested his own innocence.[42]

In other cases it was non-clerical males who were charged with using specifically demonic magic for love. At Carcassonne in 1410, Geraud Cassendi, a notary, was tried by an inquisitor for invoking demons as a means for debauching women and girls. He was said to have placed on his shirt gold scrapings from an image of the Virgin. Then he invoked demons with conjurations read from a book, but when a swarm of evil spirits actually appeared, a witness to the rite was so terror-struck that he hurled a shoe at them and bade them withdraw, which they did. On another occasion as well Cassendi is supposed to have gone into the woods and invoked demons.[43] And when the inquisitor Piero di ser Lippo wrote to the government of Siena in 1382 about magicians in the village of Rugomagno, he reported that one Agnolo di Corso had worshipped and invoked Satan and Beelzebub, and had invoked demons to kill people and to compel men to go to women.[44]

To be sure, there are cases in which women, too, were said to use specifically demonic magic for erotic effect. In 1324 Alice Kyteler was charged with using 'the intestines and innards of cocks sacrificed … to demons', with other

materials, partly for erotic magic,[45] and a woman tried by Heinrich Kramer at Innsbruck in 1485 was said to have instructed others in the art of invoking the devil to arouse love or illness.[46] In these cases it seems less clear that the demonic element was explicit, that the women were in fact making use of necromantic techniques, and that their magic was marked with the same degree of ritual complexity as can be seen in the clerical practice of erotic necromancy. What is perhaps more likely is that women's natural magic was being interpreted as if it were similar to the demonic magic more often practiced by clerics and at times by other men.

An erotic experiment in the Munich handbook

Our necromantic manual in Clm 849 includes four experiments said to induce love – one may assume sexual compliance is the main intent – and at least three of them are complex rituals analogous to the erotic necromancy seen in the judicial records. The first of these experiments (no. 3) is in one sense the least violent: rather than inflicting physical harm on the woman's image, the master afflicts it with a kind of spiritual harm by inscribing on it the names of demons which are to afflict her. In any case, the writer has no scruples at all about bringing severe psychological pressure to bear in his magical seduction:

> When you wish to have the love of whatever woman you wish, whether she is near or far, whether noble or common, on whatever day or night you wish, whether for the furtherance of friendship or to its hindrance, first you must have a totally white dove and a parchment made from a female dog that is in heat, from whom it is most easily to be had [*de qua est habere leuissimum*]. And you should know that this kind of parchment is most powerful for gaining the love of a woman. You should also have a quill from an eagle. In a secret place, take the dove and with your teeth bite into it near the heart,[47] so that the heart comes out, and with the eagle's quill write on the parchment with the [dove's] blood the name of her whom you wish, and draw the image of a naked woman as best you can, saying, 'I draw so-and-so, N., daughter of so-and-so, whom I wish to have, in the name of these six hot spirits, namely Tubal, Satan, Reuces, Cupido, Afalion, Duliatus, that she may love me above all others living in this world.'
>
> When you have done this, write on the forehead her name and the name 'Tubal', saying, 'You are so-and-so, daughter of so-and-so, from now on

disposed to my will, and you are Tubal [inscribed] on her forehead. I command you to remain, binding the senses of her head and causing her to love me alone.'

Then write on her right arm 'Satan', and on her left arm 'Reuces'. When these [names] have been written, say, 'As you, Satan, and you, Reuces, are inscribed on this image made in the name of so-and-so, may you so afflict her arms without delay, so that she can do nothing but desire to embrace me.'

When you have this, write your own name near the heart of the image, saying, 'As I am on the heart of this image, may so-and-so, N., thus have me in her heart day and night.'

When you have done this, write on the genitals of the image the name 'Cupid', saying, 'As you, Cupid, are on the genitals of this image, may you thus remain always on the genitals of so-and-so, arousing her so that she despises all men of this world and desires me alone, and may the fire of love for me torment and inflame her.'

When you have done this, write on the right leg 'Afalion', and on the left leg 'Duliatus'. When these have been written, say, 'As you Afalion, and you Duliatus, are inscribed on this image, may you sit on the legs of so-and-so, afflicting her legs with such vehement love for me that she has no wish or desire to go anywhere but here.'

When you have said this, take the image with both hands, kneel, and say, 'I have drawn the heart and mind of so-and-so with this image, and with powerful invocation I arouse her to love, desire, and yearn for me, and to have me in mind all night in her sleep, through Our Lord Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns and commands forever.'

When you have said this, take myrrh and saffron, kindle a fire, and fumigate the image, saying this conjuration: 'I conjure all you demons inscribed on this image, by your lords to whom you are bound in obedience – Sobedon, Badalam and Berith – that you should inflame so-and-so, whose image is designed in this name, to love of me, so that day and night she may think of me, [and] may hope for me, until she fulfils my will with ardor [*cum affectu*]. And as you are inscribed and fixed on this image, may you thus dwell in her until I do with her whatever I wish.'

When you have said this conjuration three times, and made the fumigation, take a hair from the tail of a horse and suspend the parchment with this hair, so that it moves in the air, and let it hang. On that day, or the next, or some other, or whenever you can, go to that woman, and without doubt she will be

very glad to see you, and will say she cannot live without you. And this will occur immediately, and she will do your heart's desire, and will love you above all things for all eternity.

If you keep this image formed in her name, in which there is such power, you will obtain from it, more wondrous yet, this sign: before you have seen her, as soon as this image is made, when you proceed toward her she will be so enamoured [*filocapta*] of you that when she sees you, you will not withdraw from her company deprived, but rather you will attain satisfaction in whatever you desire. If you cannot approach her, whether from fear or because of distance or any other obstacle, you can still have her brought by the aforesaid demons, who are so effective that if you were in the east, within an hour they could carry her without danger from the west, and likewise they could return her, without exposure.

The image having been made as has been said, and suspended on a particular day, at any hour of the day, you may blow on it so that it moves with your breath, and likewise on the second and third day. On the night of the third day, or on the day itself, either alone or with three faithful companions, take the image and hang it around your neck with the [horse's] hair, and have it lie on your chest. And take a sword and make with it a circle on the ground. When you have made the circle, stand inside it and summon your companions (if you have any), who should do nothing but stand in the circle and watch the spectacle [*ludum*] – but it is better if you do not have them. Take an iron stylus and trace [a band with names in it] round the circle, as is shown here, preserving constant silence.

The circle is shown as a single band containing the names Rator, Lampoy, Despan, Brunlo, Dronoth, Maloqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascifin, Nartim and Lodoni. The centre of the circle is labelled 'Place of the Master'.

When you have done so, say this conjuration: 'I conjure you demons inscribed in this circle, to whom is given the power and capacity to seduce and bind in the love of men, by the virtue and power of the divine majesty; and by the thrones and dominations and powers and principalities of Him who spoke and they were made; and by those who ceaselessly cry with one voice, "Holy, holy, holy …"; and by these names which cause you terror, namely Rator, Lampoy, [etc.]; and by this ring that is here; and by the innumerable powers belonging to you and your superiors, that wherever you

are, you should rise up from your places without delay and go to so-and-so, and immediately, without deception lead her here, and take her back when I wish. And let no one be aware of this or take account of it.'

When you have said this three times, gazing at a ring, you will hear a voice, saying, 'Behold, we are here!' Immediately you will see six handsome and gentle young men, saying to you with one voice, 'We are here, ready and willing to obey your command. Tell us what you wish, and at once we will do it.' You should say, 'Go to so-and-so and bring her to me without delay.' When you have said this, they will at once depart, and within an hour they will bring her without harm.

You should know that none of these [six] can enter the circle, but they will ring her to it and she will stretch out her hand to you, and you will draw her in. She will be a bit astonished, but quite willing to remain with you. I should inform you that it is better to make the circle as large as possible, because in it you can make a circle [*sic*], and in it you can stretch out more effectively. For if anything of yours [any part of your body?] should go outside the circle, it would be bad for you. When the woman has come, all the spirits will vanish.

You can keep the woman in the circle as long as you please. For when the woman has entered the circle, you should say to the spirits, 'Let one of you go to the place from which you brought so-and-so and remain there in [her] form while I have her here.' When you have said this, they will all depart in silence. On the day or night and month and year when it pleases you to have her return home, say, 'O you spirits, who brought so-and-so here, take her and carry her to her home. And whenever I wish her back, be compliant in carrying her here. Go, therefore, by the wondrous powers which you ineffably exercise.' When you have said this three times, five spirits will come and carry her off in your sight.

When she enters the circle and you greet her, remember to touch her with the image that you have around your neck, and on this account she will love you for all eternity and will not care to see anyone but you. While you are with the woman, the image which you should keep around your neck will always be invisible to the woman herself, and when she leaves you should take it from your neck and lay it aside carefully in some sort of vessel. When it is thus laid aside, erase the entire circle, and you may depart safely. And when you wish to have [her] again come to you, do as is said above.

And note that this experiment is most effective and is not at all dangerous. By this experiment alone, Solomon had whatever women he wished. And let

this suffice on the subject of obtaining women. And it should be carried out with the greatest solemnity.

This experiment contains conjurations, but they play a less prominent role than the auxiliary magical techniques, especially the use of an image for sympathetic magic. The sympathetic identification of the image with the woman portrayed is accomplished solely through assignation of her name: the writer does not emphasize that the image should be in any way realistic (e.g., that it should have some specific feature in common with the prototype), nor does he advise that the image be baptized in the woman's name. The suspension of the image to be blown about freely in the air is reminiscent of a type of aeromancy catalogued by Johannes Hartlieb, involving the suspension of a wax image or *atzman*, left to blow in the wind so that the person in whose name it is prepared will thereby be afflicted.[48] The blood of a dove must be used here – and a dove must be offered as sacrifice in the amatory experiment from the *Liber de angelis* given above – presumably because the dove is traditionally associated with Venus.[49]

The experiment contains an elaborate contingency procedure, used to fetch the woman, which differs markedly from the original sympathetic magic. The woman's image is still used: the experimenter wears it around his neck, although it is invisible to her; as she leaves the circle he touches her with it, and from then on she will love only him; when she departs, he should take it off and keep it safe in a vessel. For immediate purposes at hand, however, the image becomes less significant and the role of the demons becomes proportionally greater. It is the demons who fetch the woman in response to a conjuration, and it is a demon who takes the woman's place and prevents others from noting her absence. When the magician orders one of the spirits to go and take the woman's place and assume her form while she is absent, we have an element of illusionist magic embedded in an experiment designed mainly for psychological effect. Both the problem and the solution are obvious enough that it is not surprising to find parallels in other cultures. Thus, Krishna is said to have used his powers of illusion (*ma-ya-*) to fashion replicas of his female devotees (the *gopi-s*), so that when they went for trysts with him their doubles could lie beside their husbands.[50] The contingency procedure in the Munich experiment differs from the original formula also in its use of a circle, which is simple in form but important in its effects, serving both as a location for the conjuration and as a place for rendezvous with the woman.

The experiment is referred to as a kind of game or spectacle, a *ludus*, and any

companions present are to serve merely as spectators, suggesting that the necromancer's initial ritual may have the character of a performance, contrasting sharply with the privacy of the tryst itself, the sexual games that follow, which not even the spirits may witness. That something more serious than a game is involved is suggested by the reference to the woman as *filocapta*, bound by love, a condition which the *Malleus maleficarum* speaks of as 'the best known and most general form of witchcraft'.[51]

An erotic experiment involving image magic

For the next experiment in this category (no. 12) the manuscript once again proceeds directly to the instructions, without any introductory heading. The master must first obtain hairs from the woman he wishes to seduce,[52] plus other objects. Again he goes out with companions in the initial stage of the ritual itself. In contrast to the elaborate preparations, the heart of the ceremony is relatively simple, involving two sympathetic stages and a single conjuration.

> Take virgin wax, rendered virginal by art [*ceram virgineam, arte virginizatam*], and do this on a Thursday or Sunday, at the hour of Venus or the hour of Jove; and from this wax make an image over burning coals placed in a pot, without smoke. And the master should have some of the hairs of the woman for whom he wishes to act, and three bristles of red hair, and you should have with you a knife with a white handle made for this purpose.[53] And go to the place where a craftsman makes needles, and have the same craftsman make them, from the hour of the Sun until the hour of Saturn. Then the master should take two faithful companions and go to a fruit-bearing tree, and the master should make a circle. And the master should begin this operation, making an image of the woman for whom you perform it, murmuring constantly in your heart, 'Thou, Belial, and thou Astaroth, and thou, Paymon, be my helpers in this undertaking.' Likewise, you should murmur the words, 'I, N., form this image for the love of so-and-so, that it may accomplish that for which it is made. And may thou, Belial, principal prince, be my helper in this undertaking.' Then the master should make the image of this wax, beginning at the hour of Jove, and proceeding until the hour of Saturn. And when the image has thus been made, the master should have nine needles made by an experienced craftsman, who should be bathed and dressed in sparkling clean [*nitidis*] garments when he makes them; he

should make the needles from the hour of the Sun until the hour of Saturn. Then the master should fix the needles in the image, placing one in the head, another in the right shoulder, the third in the left, the fourth where people are accustomed to locate the heart, saying, 'Just as this needle is fixed in the heart of this image, so may the love of N. be fixed to the love of N., so that she cannot sleep, wake, lie down, sleep, [or] walk until she burns with love of me.' He should fix the fifth in the navel, the sixth in the thigh, the seventh in the right side, the eighth in the left, the ninth in the anus. When the image has thus been made, you should baptize [*christianizes*] it, giving it the name [of the woman] for whom you perform the operation, immersing it three times and saying, 'How shall it be called?', with the response, 'N.' And you should say, 'I baptize thee, N., in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.' And then place the image in a new and clean cloth, leaving it aside from the hour of the Sun until the hour of Mars. Then make this conjuration under the fruit-bearing tree, with the burning coals; turning toward the east, say, 'O so-and-so, N., I conjure your head, your hair, your eyes, your ears [etc.]. O N., I conjure your entire substance, that you may not sleep or sit or lie down or perform any work of craft until you have satisfied my libidinous desire. I conjure you by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit … I conjure you and exorcize you and command you, that as the deer yearns for a fountain of water [Ps. 41:2 Vulg.], so you, N., should desire my love. And as the raven desires the cadavers of dead men, so should you desire me. And as this wax melts before the face of the fire, so should N. [melt in] desire for my love, so that she cannot, etc.'

The signs [to be sought in] the woman are these: solitude, dizziness [*inuolucio*] of the head, lamenting, sighing, beating [of the breast], wakefulness, [and] wailing. Then the master or the one who is taking action [viz., for whom it is performed?] should go to her, and if he sees her standing or sitting alone, then the master should continue the conjuration unto the fifth day. And if she is anywhere in the countryside, she will be consumed;[54] but if she is in a town or passing through another city, the master should perform the conjuration until she can come.

And in this all the Spanish, Arabic, Hebrew, Chaldaean, Greek and Latin astrological necromancers [*nigromantici omnes astroloyci*] are in accord. And this experiment was taken [from the book] *On the Secret Arts of the Imaginary Art*, [from the book] *On the Flowers of All Experiments*, etc.

In its general form this experiment bears a resemblance to a procedure well known in antiquity and described in a Greek magical papyrus: to obtain a woman, one makes wax or clay figures, one an armed and threatening man with sword in hand, the other a kneeling woman with hands behind her back. One then writes inscriptions on each member of her body, then pierces each with copper needles, thirteen in all, while saying, 'I am piercing your brain, N.', and so forth. Then one inscribes a lead sheet, affixes it with thread knotted 365 times, and places the ensemble beside the tomb of a person who has died a violent or untimely death. One version adds a further spell, which reads in part, 'Let her be in love with me, N…. Let her not … do anything with another man for pleasure, just with me alone, N., so that she, N., be unable to drink or eat, that she not be contented, not be strong, not have pleace of mind, that she, N., not find sleep without me … and do not allow her, N., to accept for pleasure the attempt of another man, not even that of her own husband, just that of mine, N. Instead, drag her, N., by the hair, by the heart, by her soul, to me, N., at every hour of life, day and night, until she comes to me, N., and may she, N., remain inseparable from me.' There is also archeological evidence for such procedures; for example, one Egyptian statue of a naked woman, pierced with thirteen needles, was discovered in a clay pot and is now in the Musée du Louvre.[55] This does not mean there are specific connections between texts of late antiquity and the prescriptions of the Munich handbook; rather the Munich compilation supports its conjurations with a variety of techniques, some of which are widely diffused and of considerable antiquity.

Among the many further parallels to this experiment is a fifteenth-century version given in a mixture of Hebrew and Yiddish. The magician is told to make a female image of virgin wax, showing the sexual organs clearly delineated, and resembling the woman to be enchanted. On both the breast and the back he should write 'N., daughter of N. [father] and N., daughter of N. [mother].' He must recite the words, 'May it be Thy will, O Lord, that N. daughter of N. burn with a mighty passion for me.' Then buries the figure for a time, then washes it in the name of Michael, in that of Gabriel, and in that of Raphael, places it in urine, then dries it off. The image being thus prepared, the magician may use it when he wishes to cause the woman pain, by piercing a needle into whatever part of her body he wishes to afflict, presumably as a way of bending her to his will, very much in keeping with the violent and coercive tendencies generally found in such magic.[56]

It is entirely possible that the piercing with needles was itself meant or taken

to have direct sexual significance,[57] but more fundamentally it was a kind of magical acupuncture intended to cause suffering that could only be alleviated through sexual compliance. The piercing with needles is thus no different in principle from that in image magic intended to work bodily harm or death, although here the affliction could be relieved through submission. It is not that the magician brings about bodily pain that is extrinsically related to the erotic goal and can be cured by compliance, nor is it the case that the magic arouses pleasurable feelings of passion. Rather, the sexual passion aroused by the ritual is itself a kind of suffering for which the woman must obtain relief. The victim of magic cannot sleep, sit down, lie down, or pursue any activity until she relents, because she is compelled to share in the obsessive passion of her pursuer.[58] Her state is almost a parody of the mystic's absorption in the Beloved, of Mechthild of Magdeburg's mystical love-sickness: 'I cannot rest, I burn without respite in Thy flaming love.'[59] But, as Richard of Saint-Victor insisted, such obsession was as debasing in human relations as it was elevating in relations with God; that it should be magically induced by experiments such as those in the Munich handbook is a possibility Richard may never have entertained.[60]

Erotic experiments involving rituals with bones

Two experiments (nos 13 and 35) involve inscribing letters and names on bones and then subjecting the bones to fire. The first is designed primarily to constrain a woman's or man's will, presumably again with erotic intent (the relevant sections are indicated below with [A]), although the experiment may be adapted for constraining a beast [B] or a spirit [C] as well.

> By this experiment a person, woman, man, spirit, [or] beast of any condition is constrained.
>
> These names must be written in this manner on a shoulderblade.
>
> When all this is finished, choose which [variant] you want. If you wish to constrain any spirit, write his name on the shoulderblade between B and E, and in the name which is Bel. If you wish to constrain any man, write his name between L and A. And if you wish to constrain any beast, write its name between A and N, and its colour. For spirits and for men and for women, this is to be done at the same hour in which the shoulderblade has been prepared, and it is necessary at the outset to seek out wood from a white

thorn or wood floating on water, and make fire with it, and collect coals and place them in a new pot, and gradually place the shoulderblade on them, and gradually increase the fire, until the shoulderblade becomes hot.

And then invoke the aforesaid spirits, and say this conjuration: 'Asyel, Castiel, Lamisniel, Rabam, Erlain, [and] Belam, I command you' – [A1] If [the operation is] for a man or a woman whom you wish to arouse to love for you, say, 'that you should at once, etc.', as given below. [B] If [it is] for a spirit, name that spirit whom you wish, that he may come to you openly, humbly, with comely visage, and gentle speech, saying, 'I conjure you, Asyel, etc., that you should make spirit N., who has power over all that I wish to ask of him, come to me openly, humbly, with gentle speech, in the form that I have specified – that is, of a comely soldier – to carry out all that I wish to command him.' [A2] And if you wish to do this for a man or a woman, first make known to him where you can be found, for he [or she] will go mad with fury on not being able to find you. [C] If [it is] for a beast, [say,] 'I conjure the aforesaid spirits that they should constrain this beast' which you wish, that it may be unable to depart from the place in which it is until you wish.

The experiment concludes with the conjuration used to constrain a man or woman:

'Asyel, Castiel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Elam, Belam, I conjure you by the true God …; likewise, I conjure you by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit …, and by this conjuration I command you to seduce the heart and mind of N. to love me, immediately and swiftly and at once and without delay. And just as this shoulderblade grows hot and burns, so may you cause him or her, N., to burn and grow hot with the fire of love for me, and in such a way that he [or she] may not be able to rest until completing my will. In the name which is Bel, etc.'

The figure depicted is in the shape of a shield, representing the shoulderblade, divided into sixteen horizontal bands, with one vertical band down the centre. Horizontal bands bear the names Asyel, Castyel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Olam and Belam. In the vertical band are the letters A-B-E-L-A-N. Across the intersection of the vertical band and the twelfth horizontal band *Leo* is written. To the side is a note: 'Likewise note that this shoulderblade should be from an ass, a hare, a goose or a capon, according to its diverse [uses].'

The second of these experiments is somewhat simpler, and more

unambiguously erotic. The magician compels a woman to passionate love by writing the names of the 'infernal spirits' Bel and Ebal on a rib, and in between his own name and that of the woman he wishes to seduce. Then he burns the rib, and when it is hot he should conjure Bel and Ebal not to rest until they cause the woman's heart to burn, so that she cannot sleep, wake or do anything else until she fulfils his desire. Again, therefore, we find the emphasis on compelling the woman's compliance through erotic affliction, aroused through means that are straightforwardly violent both on the symbolic plane and in their bodily and psychic effect.

In general, then, these psychological experiments are the most manipulative and abusive materials in the necromancer's handbook, and they are quite unabashedly so. The formulas give no hint of a guilty conscience, and they show no awareness of the incongruity involved in appealing to the power of the sacred for the ends here sought. With no evident sense of irony, the writer can recommend formulas such as, 'I conjure you demons inscribed in this circle, to whom is given the power and capacity to seduce and bind in the love of men, by the virtue and power of the divine majesty …' Even merely to read the illusionist experiments might be entertaining, and the divinatory ones might be perceived as useful means for gaining true knowledge, but the rituals for psychological magic could claim little by way of redeeming social importance, and thus they help to clarify the aversion to magic found in most of late medieval society. Yet these rites are interesting, in large part because of the way they fuse relatively simple and largely perennial conceptions of image magic with the formulas of Latin conjuration or exorcism derived more specifically from clerical culture. Guichard of Troyes and Eleanor Cobham were accused of employing both learned male magicians and popular female ones, but the psychological rites of the Munich handbook represent with particular clarity the mingling of magical traditions and ritual forms.

Notes

1 See Robert Mathiesen, 'Magic in Slavia Orthodoxa: the written tradition', in Henry Maguire, ed., *Byzantine Magic* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995), 174–6.

2 Domenico Mammoli, *The Record of the Trial and Condemnation of a Witch, Matteuccia di Francesco, at Todi, 20 March 1428* (Rome: Res Tudertinæ, 1972), trans. (with slight adaptation), pp. 28–40.

3 John G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 21.

4 *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the* Ghayat Al-Hakim, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986), and 'Thabit ibn Qurra's *De imaginibus*', in Francis J. Carmody, *The Astronomical Works of Thabit b.*

Qurra (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 180–97.

5 Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.xi.45, fols 134v–139; Juris G. Lidaka spoke about this manuscript and gave a transcription of the text at the International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, Michigan, 4 May 1995. The manuscript is associated with 'Bokenham', but its connection with Osbern Bokenham or any other individual is unclear.

6 Abel Rigault, *Le procès de Guichard évèque de Troyes, 1308–1313* (Paris, 1896). Cf. Guillaume Mollat, 'Guichard de Troyes et les révélations de la sorcière de Bourdenay', *Moyen Age*, 21 (ser. 2, 12) (1908), 310–14; Conrad Eubel, 'Vom Zaubereiunwesen anfangs des 14. Jahrhunderts (mit urkundlichen Beilagen)', *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 18 (1897).

7 George Lyman Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929; repr. New York: Russell & Russell, 1956), 81–84.

8 A partly conjectural reading of *duos lapides viuos et recondes* [*rotundos*?] *vnius ponderis, qui debent esse fluminei*.

9 I am reading *limen* for *limes* throughout.

10 For *ymo vno reliquum in innumerabili odio rebellis affligat.*

11 For *et maxime quando est in combustione, et ire versus solis ortum facias.*

12 Ugolino Nicolini, 'La stregoneria a Perugia e in Umbria nel Medioevo: con i testi di sette processi a Perugia e uno a Bologna', *Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria*, 84 for 1987 (1988), 30–38.

13 T.H. White, trans. and ed., *The Book of Beasts, being a translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), 79–80, says nothing whatever about the camel's urination, but one is presumably to imagine the man crouching with knees bent outward.

14 Lynn Thorndike described this portion of the MS in his article, 'Imagination and magic: force of imagination on the human body and of magic on the human mind', in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, 7 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1964), 353–8.

15 *Picatrix*, 161.

16 *Picatrix*, pp. 16 (friendship, love), 17 (obedience), 18 (destruction), 18–19 (construction), 19 (separation, wrath of king, release, flight), 20 (scorpions), 21 (love, destruction), 22 (fertility).

17 Edward Peters, *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 110–37.

18 Bodleian Library, MS Wood empt. 18, fol. 32r. On the famous SATOR-AREPO square see especially Heinz Hofmann, *Das Satorquadrat: Zur Geschichte und Deutung eines antiken Wortquadrats* (Bielefelder Papiere zur Linguistik und Literaturwissenschaft, 6) (Bielefeld: Universität Bielefeld, Fakultät für Linguistik und Literaturwissenschaft, 1977) and Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 77–8.

19 Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 219, fol. 186v.

20 Taking *semissi* for *semissis*, genitive of *semis*, a coin.

21 Jerry Stannard, 'Greco-Roman material medica in medieval Germany', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 46 (1972), 467.

22 E.g., British Library, Sloane MS 38, fols 24v (*multa mirabilia que videbis*) and 25v (*in ista operacione videbis mirabilia*); *De Nigromancia of Roger Bacon*, ed. and trans. Michael-Albion Macdonald (Gillette, N.J.: Heptangle, 1988), 81; *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the* Ghayat Al-Hakim, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986), 18–19. See also Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, V. 1, lines 11–12. For an off-colour adaptation of the theme see the text given in Charles Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot:

Variorum, 1996), IX, p. 7.

23 W. Braekman, *Magische experimenten en toverpraktijken uit een middelnederlands handschrift* (Ghent: Seminarie voor Volkskunde, 1966), 38–40 (also published separately in *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1966, 53–118). On the concept of lovesickness, see Mary Frances Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: The* Viaticum *and its Commentaries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

24 I have discussed the topic in my article, 'Erotic magic in medieval Europe', in Joyce Salisbury, ed., *Sex in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays* (New York: Garland, 1991), 30–55, giving fuller discussion and documentation. Ioan P. Couliano, *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance*, trans. Margaret Cook (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), interprets certain dimensions of the subject. See also Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (FF Communications, 204) (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Akademia Scientiarum Fennica, 1969), 242, nos 3,093 and 3,126. For early examples see, e.g., Marvin Meyer and Richard Smith, eds, *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (1994), 147–69.

25 John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal* Libri poenitentiales *and Selections from Related Documents* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 90; cf. 252, 305; *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Leges*, sect. 2, 2, ed. Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause (Hannover: Hahn, 1897), 44. The most famous literary example is in *The Romance Tristan & Iseult, as Retold by Joseph Bedier*, trans. Hilaire Belloc and Paul Rosenfeld (New York: Thistle Press, 1960) (and many other translations); see Dorothy James Roberts, *The Enchanted Cup* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953). De La Warr Benjamin Easter, 'A Study of the Magic Elements in the *Romans d'aventure* and the *Romans Bretons*' (Johns Hopkins University diss., 1905), 70–73, cites the love potions in *Cligés*, the *Tristan* romances of Thomas and Béroul, *Partonopeus*, and *La Violette*, and an ambiguous potion in *Dolopathos*.

26 Albertus Magnus, *Book of Minerals*, trans. Dorothy Wyckoff (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 73; Michael R. Best and Frank H. Brightman, eds, *The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus of the Virtues of Herbs, Stones and Certain Beasts, also A Book of the Marvels of the World* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 21; Evans, *Magical Jewels*, 197; Joan Evans and Mary S. Serjeantson, eds, *English Mediaeval Lapidaries* (Early English Text Society, orig. ser., 190) (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 59, 68.

27 P.V. Taberner, *Aphrodisiacs: The Science and the Myth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 58; Lynn Thorndike, *The History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Macmillan and Columbia University Press, 1923–58), vol. 2, 555.

28 *Book of Secrets*, ed. Best and Brightman, 81; British Library, Sloane MS 3l32, fols 56r–56v; Wardale, 'A Low German-Latin miscellany', 17; Alan Hull Walton, *Aphrodisiacs: From Legend to Prescription: A Study of Aphrodisiacs Throughout the Ages, with sections on Suitable Food, Glandular Extracts, Hormone Stimulation and Rejuvenation* (Westport, CI: Associated Booksellers, 1958), 99; McNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, 196, no. 15 and n. 94; Aldo Cerlini, 'Una strega reggiana e il suo processo', *Studi storici*, 15 (1906), 67.

29 See, for example, John M. Riddle, *Marbode of Rennes' (1035–1123) De lapidibus, Considered as a Medical Treatise*, with C.W. King's translation (*Sudhoffs Archiv: Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Beiheft 20) (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977), 69, lines 445–46. Regarding vervain, see Henry Ellis, 'Extracts in prose and verse from and old English medical manuscript, preserved in the Royal Library at Stockholm', *Archaeologia*, 30 (1844), 395f.; W.L. Wardale, 'A Low German-Latin miscellany of the early fourteenth century', *Niederdeutsche Mitteilungen*, 8 (1952), 11; British Library, Sloane MS 3,132, 56r–56v; Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS e Mus. 219, fol. 187v, and Wood empt. MS 18, fol. 33v.

30 *Book of Secrets*, ed. Best and Brightman, 8, 45, 91; Evans, *Magical Jewels*, 226; Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS e Mus. 219, fol. 186v (a series of characters to be placed beneath the threshold of a couple who have quarrelled).

31 Candida Peruzzi, ‘Un processo di stregoneria a Todi nel “400”’, *Lares: Organo della Società di Etnografia Italiana-Roma*, 21 (1955), fasc. I–II, 9–11; Cerlini, ‘Una strega reggiana’, 64f.

32 *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the* Ghaāyat Al-Hakīm, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986), 16, 21, 70–72, 113, 115f., 130–32, 156f., 229, 233.

33 Gene A. Brucker, ‘Sorcery in early Renaissance Florence’, *Studies in the Renaissance*, 10 (1963), 10f.; C. Kayser, ‘Gebrauch von Psalmen zur Zauberei’, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 42 (1888), 460; Peter Browe, ‘Die Eucharistie als Zaubermittel im Mittelalter’, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 20 (1930), 134–54. For similar use of holy chrism see Cerlini, ‘Una strega reggiana’, 67.

34 Jerzy Zathey, ‘Modlitwa z XIV wieku o charakterze zaklęcia, majaca zapewnić zonie miłość męża’, *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, 34/35 (1984/85), 63–4; Peter Dronke, ‘Towards the interpretation of the Leiden love-spell’, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 16 (1988), 61–75.

35 Thomas of Britain, *The Romance of Tristram and Ysolt*, ch. 46, trans. Roger Sherman Loomis (New York: Dutton, 1923), 129–35. On the theme see especially Helen Cooper, ‘Magic that does not work’, *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s., 7 (1976), 131–46.

36 Nicolaus Eymericus, *Directorium inquisitorum*, ii.43.8 (Rome: Georgius Ferrarius, 1587); translated in Alan C. Kors and Edward Peters, eds, *Witchcraft in Europe, 1100–1700: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), 84–92.

37 Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.xi.45, fols 137v–138.

38 Paul Fredericq, ed., *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae*, 1 (Ghent and The Hague, 1889–1906), 428f.

39 Braekman, *Magische experimenten*, 38–40.

40 The conjuration breaks off at this point.

41 Lea, *History*, vol. 3, 657–59. Cf. Hansen, *Quellen*, 449; Lea, *History*, vol. 3, 455f.

42 Margaret Aston, *Thomas Arundel: A Study of Church Life in the Reign of Richard II* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 63, 404f.

43 A. Germain, ‘Inventaire inédit concernant les Archives de l’Inquisition de Carcassonne’, *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de Montpellier*, 4 (1885), 305; reprinted in Hansen, *Quellen*, 454f.

44 Brucker, ‘Sorcery’, 19f., 23, from G. Sanesi, ‘Un episodio d’eresia nel 1383’, *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, 3 (1896), 384f.

45 Thomas Wright, ed., *A Contemporary Narrative of the Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler* (Camden Society, 24) (London: Nichols, 1843), 2.

46 Hartmann Ammann, ‘Der Innsbrucker Hexenprocess von 1485’, *Zeitschrift des Ferdinandeums für Tirol und Vorarlberg*, ser. 3, 34 (1890), 29.

47 See the experiment with a hoopoe heart mentioned in Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 142, from British Library, Sloane MS 3,132, fol. 56v.

48 Johann Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste, des Aberglaubens und der Zauberei*, ch. 79, ed. and trans. Falk Eisermann and Eckhard Graf (Ahlerstedt: Param, 1989), 90f. On the term *atzmann* in this context see Leander Petzoldt, *Kleines Lexikon der Dämonen und Elementargeister* (Munich: Beck, 1990), 25–7.

49 For this suggestion I am indebted to John Leland.

50 See Edward C. Dimock, Jr., *The Place of the Hidden Moon: Erotic Mysticism in the Vaisnava – Sahajiya Cult of Bengal*, new edn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 202. I am grateful to Amy Ong for this reference.

51 *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.2.3, trans. Montague Summers (London: Rodker, 1928; repr. London:

Pushkin, 1948), 170.

52 The manuscript does not say whether the hair is to be from the woman's head or from her pudenda. A famous instance of the magic requiring a woman's pubic hair occurred in the late sixteenth-century Scottish trial of Doctor Fian, who thought he had the hair of a young woman but in fact worked his magic over the hair from a cow, which became passionately attached to him; see James VI/I, *Doemonologie, 1597* [*and*] *Newes from Scotland, Declaring the Damnable Life and Death of Doctor Fian* (Bodley Head Quartos, 9) (London: John Lane; New York: Dutton, 1924).

53 One might have expected a black-handled knife; see Richard P.H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988), 256, and Richard P.H. Greenfield, 'A contribution to the study of Palaeologan magic', in Henry Maguire, ed., *Byzantine Magic* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995), 142, n. 83.

54 Or perhaps, rather, 'if she is anywhere on Earth [*in terra omnino*]'; in either case, I am reading *consumetur* for *consumatur*.

55 PGM IV.296–329, in Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 44–7; also D.G. Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI.: A Greek Love Charm from Egypt (P. Mich. 757)* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1991), and John G. Gager, ed., *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), no. 27, pp. 94–97. For the Egyptian statue see Gager, *Curse Tablets*, p. 98, fig. 13.

56 Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Behrman, 1939; New York: Atheneum, 1970), 125–26. Cf. the love spell of Klaudianos, in Betz, pp. 141–2 (PGM VII.862–918), and the parallels in Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief*, 266–7.

57 Gager, *Curse Tablets*, 81.

58 For one precedent see Meyer and Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*, 159.

59 *The Revelations of Mechthild of Magdeburg (1210–1297), or The Flowing Light of the Godhead*, ii.25, trans. Lucy Menzies (London: Longmans, 1953), 54–8.

60 Richard of Saint-Victor, 'Of the Four Degrees of Passionate Charity', in *Selected Writings on Contemplation*, trans. Clare Kirchberger, (New York: Harper, 1957), 213–33.

5

Learning Hidden and Future Things: Divinatory Experiments

A fifteenth-century manuscript from Yorkshire tells of a lord from whom food had been stolen.[1] As it happened, a labourer employed in digging, referred to as ‘a great worker and eater’, was staying in a room in the lord’s house, and when he was hungry he would slip downstairs to where meat was hanging, and would cook and eat it, even during Lent.

> The lord of the house, seeing that his meat was thus cut into, asked his servants about the matter. They all denied guilt and purged themselves with oaths, so he threatened to go to a certain necromantic wizard [*maleficum quendam nigromanticum*] and find out through him about this strange affair. On hearing this, the digger was terribly afraid, and went to the friars and confessed his offence in secret and received sacramental absolution. The lord of the house went as threatened to the necromancer, who anointed the fingernail of a young boy, then with his incantations inquired of him what he saw. [The boy] replied, ‘I see a menial worker with clipped hair.’ [The necromancer] told him, ‘Conjure him, then, to appear to you in the most comely form that he can assume.’ And the boy did so, and then declared, ‘Look at that! I see a really beautiful horse!’ And then he saw a man with the appearance of the aforesaid digger going down stairs and cutting off pieces of meat, with the horse following him. And the cleric [i.e., the necromancer] inquired, ‘What are the man and the horse doing now?’ And the boy replied, ‘Look at that! He is cooking and eating those pieces of meat!’ [The necromancer] asked further, ‘And what is he doing now?’ And the boy said, ‘They are going to the church of the friars, and the horse is waiting outside, and the man is going in and kneeling and speaking with one of the friars, who is putting his hand on his head.’ Again the cleric asked the little boy, ‘What are they doing now?’ [The boy] answered, ‘Both of

them have just vanished from my eyes. I cannot see them any more, and I have no idea where they have gone.'[2]

The manuscript clearly suggests not only that such divination can in principle work, but that it works through the cooperation of demons: it gives the tale the caption, 'How a penitent thief after confession vanished from the eyes of a demon', which is to say that the demon who was providing information through the boy could no longer do so once the thief had been absolved. As in other tales of the later Middle Ages, it is assumed that the demon has a certain power over a soul in a state of sin, and the capacity to know the sins in some detail, but the wiping away of sins through sacramental confession removes them from the sphere of demons' knowledge.[3] The narrator also assumes the reader will expect a necromantic wizard to be a cleric: the fact is mentioned quite incidentally, after the story is well under way, as a fact the reader might be trusted already to have known.

The form of magic here related figures prominently in John of Salisbury's catalogue of divinatory techniques in his *Policraticus*. When John himself was studying Latin grammar as a boy, the priest who taught him made John and a fellow pupil participate in such activities. The priest anointed the boys' fingernails, or used a polished basin, to provide a reflecting surface in which figures might be seen. He then recited incantations, which led the fellow pupil to see 'misty figures', although John himself saw nothing.[4] One entry in Robert Reynys's commonplace book reveals that unfallen angels as well as demons could be invoked by such means. In Reynys's version of the ceremony, the conjurer takes a child between seven and thirteen years of age, places the lad between his legs, winds a red silk thread around his thumb, scrapes his thumbnail clean, and writes on it the letters 'AGLA'. He then says devoutly, 'Lord Jesus Christ, king of glory, send us three angels to tell us the truth and not falsehood in all matters about which we shall inquire.' Three angels will appear in the boy's nail. The boy then repeats a formula addressed to these angels: 'Angels of the Lord, I command you by God the Father almighty, who created you and us out of nothing, and by the virginity of Blessed Mary and Blessed John the Evangelist and of all virgins, and by the virtues of all the holy names of God, to show us the truth and not falsehood in all matters about which we shall inquire.'[5]

The general term for such divination is ‘scrying’, which is sometimes subdivided into specific forms such as catoptromancy (divination by means of a mirror), crystallomancy (by a crystal), cyclicomancy or lecanomancy (by a cup or basin filled with liquid), hydromancy (by water in a natural body), onychomancy (by an anointed nail); ‘catoptromancy’ is sometimes also used as the generic term.[6] Synodal legislation as early as the fifth century condemned *specularii* who engaged in these practices, and the condemnation was often repeated. The *Fasciculus morum* condemns those *phitonici* and *specularii* who gaze into mirrors, bowls, polished fingernails, and so forth, and claim that marvellous things are thus revealed to them.[7] In 1311 the bishop of Lincoln instructed one of his officials to investigate people who were practising divination by conjuring spirits in their fingernails and in mirrors, as well as in stones and rings.[8] Surely the most famous of these reflecting surfaces is John Dee’s ‘show-stone’, through which Edward Kelly and other mediums communicated with angels.[9] One particularly dramatic notion about the magical properties of mirrors is the legend, most famously associated with Virgil, of a far-seeing mirror by which a ruler could guard his realm.[10] But the notion of perceiving hidden and future realities in a mirror receives its ultimate extension in the Neoplatonic notion of the divine mind itself as a mirror in which particularities can be foreseen, so that it can be said of a saint with the gift of prophecy that ‘in the mirror of divinity everything to be was present to him’.[11]

Johannes Hartlieb tells how a *zaubermaister* stands behind a child and recites secret words into his ear in the practice of hydromancy. In pyromancy as well, he says, the master may set an innocent child in his lap and lift his hand so he can see the fingernails; then he conjures the child and his nail with a long conjuration and recites three secret words into his ear. The master may take oil and soot from a pan and anoint the hand of an innocent girl or boy so that it shines brightly, then he speaks secret words into the child’s ear, thus making a vow and forming a pact. Another form of pyromancy involves engraving many characters and figures around a steel mirror, then whispering secret words into the ear of boy as a prelude to interrogation. Alternatively, the child may be made to gaze at a polished sword – Hartlieb knew one great prince who used an old executioner’s sword for this purpose – or a crystal. When the master is interrogating the boy, he asks if he sees an angel; if so, he asks what colour. If the angel is red

that means he is angry, or if black he is very angry, and they must pray more, light more candles, and offer more incense and other gifts to assuage his anger, until the angel who appears is white. Hartlieb, echoing the much earlier judgement of John of Salisbury, confirms the conventional wisdom when he speaks of such dealings with young children as a form of abuse: 'I was often witness to such proceedings and established that the children by exposure to such words suffered not insignificant harm'.[12]

Writers might differ in their interpretation of these phenomena. Ibn Khaldûn explained the scryers' visions as products of their imaginations: the scryer does not actually see a vision on the reflecting surface, but rather imaginative phantoms are projected outward from the eyes onto a sort of misty veil that forms between the eyes and the object.[13] The related interpretation summarized by Pedro García in the late fifteenth century was perhaps more influential and deserves to be quoted at some length:

> From what has been said and from the conclusions reached [in the preceding discussion] it is clear that divination of occult things and the wonders of magical art are brought about by the aid of demons. But because the proponents of natural magic attempt to reduce [the works of magic] to purely natural causes, we must inquire whether the divination of hidden affairs and the accomplishment of wondrous works can be done thru the power of nature. Let us first ask about the divination of hidden matters, concerning which some people say and write that a person can know and divine hidden things naturally, through the power of the soul. The first manner [of doing so] is by gazing at luminous bodies and instruments. The principle here is that the *acies* of the human mind in one who gazes on such instruments reflects back upon itself, for the luminosity of the instrument prevents direction or concentration of the mind on exterior things, and repels it, and turns it back upon itself, so that it is forced to gaze upon itself. Thus, according to the philosophy of Plato, if it is purged and cleansed of defilements, which come from the body and cling to the soul, they see as in a clear and clean mirror, and when they inquire about all hidden things, or some portion of them, or some particular hidden thing, it is no surprise that the soul, turned back into itself, should see such hidden things, for according to Plato the human soul is created fully inscribed with the forms of all knowable things, in respect of its intellectual power …

> Thus it is, according to the opinion of these magicians, that these luminous bodies function, and particularly mirrors. When the soul of the gazer is turned back on itself, it absorbs the attention and fixes the *acies* of the intellect in its inward turning, and the more inwardly it is fixed, the more fully and clearly it turns upon itself and knows and divines hidden things – and the more it is filled within by God, so that the beholding is turned into the soul, which can be so turned in to itself and as it were recollected within itself,[14] that the recollection becomes rapture or a state near to rapture, or ecstasy or a condition near to ecstasy. Thus, those who operate in works of this kind close the eyes of children, and hold their eyes tightly closed after they have seen such revelations, until the soul has returned from this recollection to its original state and is extended in the usual manner throughout the body and its organs – which is to say, until it recovers its powers and the organs from which it appears to have withdrawn, at least somewhat. Otherwise, it is said, there is threat of danger to the body of the child, or perhaps madness. According to the philosophy of the Platonists, this is one manner of saving the divinations of hidden matters through [demonstration] of purely natural causes without any aid of demons, explicit or secret.[15]

García goes on to refute these claims, chiefly by mounting an explicitly Aristotelian refutation of what he takes as standard Platonist psychology; most fundamentally, he denies that the mind is capable of grasping truth by being directed to innate knowledge found within itself. Both Ibn Khaldûn and García's opponents believe divination can be explained in natural terms, but the mechanisms they posit are different. For Ibn Khaldûn (a rationalist intending to deflate the claims of magicians to preternatural knowledge) attention is focused on an outward substance that reflects projections of the mind, while for the adversaries of García (Platonist mages intending to defend their practice against the charge of demonic inspiration) it is directed instead within the mind itself. Neither view sufficed to convince most contemporaries that the mind could so readily be converted into an instrument of divination without demonic aid – but the very attempt to formulate an explanation in natural terms is historically interesting, whether the point is to debunk the supernatural pretensions of the diviners or to defend the validity of the art.

Perhaps most often, those who wrote about these matters did so to

condemn them and warn of their danger. This was the point of John of Salisbury's tale of his own early experience. Nicolas Oresme, too, warned that if young boys stared for long intervals into polished surfaces they might become blind; worse, they might suffer disfigurement of their faces and disturbing changes in their personalities.[16]

Judging from the cases reported in the judicial records and chronicles – and judging also from the experiments contained in the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript – divination of this sort seems to have been used mostly to recover lost or stolen goods. At London in 1311, unspecified offenders were investigated for invoking spirits to appear in fingernails, mirrors, stones, rings, and so forth, to reveal the future or the location of lost objects.[17] When a band of monks and canons wished to recover stolen money near Paris in 1323, their plans involved standing in a circle made from the skin of a cat; within that circle they were to invoke the demon Berith, who would answer their inquiries.[18] In 1419 a chaplain named Richard Walker was arrested by the prior of Winchester and tried for using magical arts, the evidence against him included two books containing conjurations and figures, and he acknowledged that he had attempted to use the experiments in one of his books, but to no avail, so he did not believe in their power.[19] In 1440 the Augustinian canons at Leicester accused their own abbot, William Sadyngstone, of using such arts: when no one confessed to stealing certain funds, he had allegedly recited incantations, applied ointment to the thumbnail of a boy called Maurice, asked this medium what he saw there revealed, and learned that the culprit was one of the canons, Brother Thomas Asty. The other monks reported the incident to the bishop, who condemned the abbot for sorcery.[20] Again at Westminster during the 1450s, and at London repeatedly in the later fifteenth century, victims of theft were said to have solicited the services of alleged necromancers ('negremaunsers' or 'nigromansiers').[21]

The Devil being notoriously a liar and the father of lies, it is hardly surprising to find much concern with the question whether he could be constrained to tell the truth, even if their keen and subtle minds and long experience gave them command of exceptionally wide knowledge.[22] Peter Brown has spoken of exorcisms as forms of judicial torture, in which the demons, like criminals, were compelled even against their will to confess what they knew.[23] When the divination was intended to identify a thief, the obvious danger – and probably the chief reason for judicial action against

the diviners – was that of false accusation. One is not surprised to read in the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, which is devoted mainly to this kind of magic, that the spirits must be strictly enjoined not to defame any innocent parties.[24] The point is made forcefully in a story from Stephen of Bourbon, who does not hesitate to ascribe a diviner's revelation to demons, but argues how little the spirits can be trusted:

> While I was a student at Paris, one Christmas Eve when our companions were at Vespers, a certain most noted thief entered our hostel, and, opening the chamber of one of our fellows, carried off many volumes of law-books. The scholar would have studied in his books after the feast; and, finding them not, he hastened to the wizards, of whom many failed him, but one wrought as follows. Adjuring his demons and holding a sword, he made the boy gaze upon the blade; and he, after many things there seen, beheld at last by a succession of many visions how his books were stolen by one of our fellows, his own cousin, whom he thought the most upright of our fellowship; whom the possessor of the books slandered not only among the scholars but also among his friends, accusing him that he had stolen them. Meanwhile the aforesaid thief stole other things and was detected, whereupon he fled to a certain church where he lay in the belfry, and, having been duly examined, confessed all that he had stolen, and where, and what he had done with his thefts. When therefore certain scholars who lodged hard by our hostel had found by his means a mantle which they had lost and he had stolen, then he who had lost his books could scarce rest until he had gone to enquire of this thief; who answered and told him when and where he had taken his books, and the Jew's house where he had pledged them, where also my friend found them. This I have told that ye may clearly mark the falsehood of those demons who showed the vision in the sword-blade in order that they might slander that good man and break the bonds of charity between those kinsfolk, and bring the man who believed in them to eternal perdition, both him and his.[25]

Not surprisingly, the diviners themselves could be subject to prosecution on the ground of false accusation, as when the sum of £40 was stolen from John Haddon of Coventry in the mid-1480s, and he consulted necromancers to find the thieves; they charged one William Lee, a poor man, who had

been seen wearing the same garments that the necromancers had determined were worn by the guilty parties. Lee petitioned on his own behalf, pleading that the accusation rested on false and illicit proceedings:

> Humbly showeth and pitiously complaineth unto your good lordship your daily orator William Lee of the city of Coventry, that where forty pounds of money was taken and withdrawn from one John Haddon of the said city, draper, as the said John hath reported and said, whereupon the said John, to get knowledge of the takers of the said money, caused certain persons using the crafts of sorcery, witchcrafts and necromancy [*Nygromancy*] to inquire by their crafts of the takers of the said money, and thereupon the said persons using the said unlawful crafts advised and counseled the said John Haddon to take and examine your said orator for withdrawing of the said money, for as much as they perceived that your said orator used and wore such garments and clothing as they determined by their unlawful witchcrafts that the takers of the said money had and used at the time of the taking of the said money. And thereupon the said John Haddon, having no other cause against your said orator nor matter of suspicion, arrested and put in prison your said orator and kept him there by the space of a month and more. And after this the said John, having no other cause nor nothing of untruth could prove against your said orator, suffered him to depart and go at his large. And after this the said John Haddon, intending the further vexation and trouble of your said orator, made a plaint of trespass before the mayor and sheriffs of the said city against your said orator concerning the taking of the said money, supposing that your said orator the Wednesday next before the feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady last past took and bore away the said money. In the which plaint of trespass your said orator is like to be condemned, for as much as your said orator is in poverty and the said John Haddon is of great might and power and great alliance in the said city. Wherefore and for as much as the said cause of trespass and the said wrongful arresting and keeping of your said orator in prison was by means and judgment of the said persons using the said unlawful crafts of necromancy and witchcraft, to whom credence ought not to be given, for that is contrary to the faith of Holy Church. In consideration whereof that it would please your good lordship to grant a certiorare to be directed to the said mayor and sheriffs, etc.[26]

Divinatory conjuration could, of course, be used for other purposes as well, such as finding buried treasure. A group of men were tried in Norfolk in 1465 for using necromancy to discover such a trove. Allegedly they invoked and made sacrifice to accursed spirits. When a *spiritus aerialis* appeared, at Bunwell, they promised it the body of a Christian man in exchange for its leading them to treasure; the spirit revealed in a crystal the location of a hill filled with treasure, whereupon the adventurers baptized a rooster with a Christian name and sacrificed it to the spirit.[27] Thomas Forde was sentenced to the pillory at London in 1418 for having defrauded women by claims of magical power: he had extorted money from one woman, and attempted to gain her hand in marriage, by suggesting he could determine where her late husband had buried a chest containing over £200; he had told another of his victims that he could recover for her the gold cloth that had been stolen from her.[28] Other cases too may have involved a substantial measure of straightforwardly cynical charlatanry, but in these instances it seems all the more apparent. It is magic of this sort that gives rise to jest in the tale of Mary of Nijmeghen, where the Devil boasts:

> I am beginning to teach people how to find hidden treasure; and only yesterday it cost one of them his life. I told him where there was a treasure hidden and growing mouldy, in a stable, underneath a beam on which the whole weight of the stable was resting. I told him that he would have to dig deep into the ground, and he would find pound upon pound of the hidden treasure. At once he started to dig there, but as soon as he had dug so far that he undermined the beam and the posts supporting it, the beam fell to the ground and crushed this poor idiot under it![29]

At least in cases for detection of thieves, however, otherwise responsible individuals seem rather often to have placed credence in the claims of the diviners, perhaps because they were desperate, and perhaps because what they really sought was a way of persuading others to support a suspicion they themselves already harboured.

Divinatory experiments in the Munich handbook

The largest number of experiments in Clm 849, nineteen in all, is divinatory. While it is sometimes said that these experiments may be used for any of

various purposes, the usual end is detection of a crime or criminal (usually a thief, less often a murderer) and recovery of stolen goods, more rarely to determine the location of hidden treasure. The text of one experiment (no. 25) insists that the procedure must not be used for any base or frivolous purpose, but only for a serious one, because one must not take the name of God in vain.

As for the techniques used in these experiments, the characteristic features in most of them are two. First, the primary magical technique is scrying, combined with conjurations; magic circles either are not used or have little significance.[30] Second, cooperation of a medium, usually a young boy, is vital; it is he alone who actually sees the spirits that are conjured.

Approximately half of these experiments entail the use of a circle or some other figure among the means for conjuring the spirits. The medium typically sees the spirits in a mirror, crystal, vessel, bone, polished thumbnail or fingernail. In most cases the medium must be a virginal boy, who actually sees and communicates with the spirits.[31] Sometimes we are told that he must be younger than twelve, and born of legitimate marriage.[32] Occasionally a girl may be used as well as a boy,[33] but this provision is relatively rare. The use of young and putatively innocent boys in divination must be seen as part of a broader clerical fascination with the ideal of innocent boyhood. In liturgical drama young boys dressed and acted ‘in the manner of virgin women’, at least in part ‘to project the theme of virginity’, as Nicholas Orme has phrased it.[34]

The use of a medium could well be a means for expression of socially shared convictions about the likeliest suspects, but it is not entirely obvious that this mechanism came importantly into play. Because the ritual was private, it could more easily become a tool for the expression of individual prejudice and animosity. Yet the one who saw the visions was neither the client nor the master but instead a young boy, in all likelihood not one with a personal interest in the outcome of the experiment. Apart from the obvious matter of the youth’s sacred non-sexuality, his youth may have been important mainly because it put him at some remove from the preformed judgements of the adult principals and made possible a relatively neutral accusation. It is, of course, also possible that the mere pretence of childish innocence, neutrality and distance from adult biases was more important than any real immunity of this sort.

Experiments involving mirrors

In his account of scrying with a steel mirror, Johannes Hartlieb says, 'I have seen masters who maintain they can prepare mirrors such that any man or woman can see in them what they will.' He also says that other reflecting surfaces can be used; there are even priests who will use the very paten that serves at mass to hold the host; they believe (falsely, adds Hartlieb) that only angels and not demons can appear on such a consecrated object.[35] One might suppose that a mirror would make an ideal tool for divination that requires concentration on a reflective surface, because mirrors are designed specifically for reflection. A *modern* mirror, however, might be distinctly inappropriate for this purpose precisely because it reflects too well and too realistically, giving too little scope to imaginative play and the power of suggestion. Perhaps the mirrors used in divinatory experiments were less polished, but at least in some cases the magician is instructed to use a polished mirror. We must assume that the point was not for the child medium who gazed into the mirror to focus closely on his own face but to use the mirror as a means for perceiving more numinous revelations. To be sure, there are cultures in which the spectator's own face reflected in a mirror becomes a point of reference for visionary encounter; after staring for hours at one's own reflection one may identify one's face with that of an ancestor, or one may perceive it as a manifestation of one's own true, inner or archetypal self.[36] In the Munich manuscript, however, there is no suggestion that the medium's own realistic image plays any role whatever.

The handbook contains five such experiments: two versions of the Mirror of Floron (nos 18 and 19), the First Mirror of Lilith (no. 23), and two others (nos 20 and 33). The Mirror of Floron in its first version may serve as a useful introduction to these experiments:

> Have a mirror made of pure steel, measuring one palm around, with a handle for holding it, and have it bright and shiny like a sword. And have it made in the name of Floron, and around the rim of the mirror, on the part that is not polished, have these ten names [Latranoy, Iszarin, Bicol, Danmals, Gromon, Zara, Ralkal, Sigtonia, Samah and Meneglasar] inscribed with ten characters, with the name of the aforesaid spirit [Floron] written in the middle. After it has been made, it should be anointed with pure and bright balsam, and fumigated with aloes, ambergris, myrrh and white frankincense.

When this has been done, the master of this work should sit and have this mirror held with both hands by a virgin boy before his chest. The master himself should be bathed and dressed in clean garments. Before he begins to exercise this work he should sprinkle in the air honey, milk and wine, mixed together in equal proportions, while saying, 'O Floron, respond quickly in the mirror, as you are accustomed to appear.'

When he has said this, he should read this conjuration before the mirror: 'Bismille araathe mem lismissa gassim gisim galisim darrgosim samaiaosim ralim ausini taxarim zaloimi hyacabanoy illete laytimi hehelmini betoymi thoma leminao vnuthomin zonim narabanorum azarethia thathitat hinanadon illemay sard lucacef illemegiptimi sitaginatim viaice hamtamice tatiala taltarini alaoht haleytum gaptametuntij morto orfail geibel huabaton albital hualepin halmagrilie hualeon huastanie hualtamemeth huatorzor illenie giptimi tatgnie gathegine lesuma lesanim aptasale albweroahit vlleath alfard vsemeth aptisile abfluwarth vllelath ant clulamoralie hahysitimi waleles lithimi caegine catliegineles mirabolamini abtasile albiwahith alleath halamaton vnitia gaytatalon huaia gay soze cemeselis phalmorath bethathure huaba lagis illemeammitimi gelgine gathegine lesmiraptalibe albiwath vleuth.'

When he has recited this conjuration, the master should look in the mirror, and he will see an armed knight seated on a horse, and his squire accompanying him. The knight will dismount from the horse and his squire will hold the horse. He will greet the knight [with the words], *se desperata, decentissime visibiliter greciomo*. And then the master may ask him about past, present and future things, and he will at once give full response in writing.

This should not seem unbelievable to you, whoever may execute this work, for when you have carried out these things nine times this same spirit will clearly reveal face to face, orally, all things which previously he has indicated in writing.

And so, when you have completed everything according to your will, command this spirit to withdraw in peace, and to return according to the command of his master when he is summoned.

The second version of this Mirror of Floron adds certain details: the mirror should be made on the first hour on Friday, under a waxing moon; the sculptor or workman must be chaste for nine days beforehand, must be

bathed, and must wear clean clothes; the words in which the master conjures the spirit are identified, implausibly, as 'Chaldean'; the master's greeting to the knight is *Parate insilitio gytromon*, which approximates an obviously meaningful statement even less than the greeting in the first version; and the knight who has at first answered questions in writing will answer *per exercicium* at night and orally throughout the day, revealing all things beneath the moon.

The First Mirror of Lilith (spelled *Lilit* or *Lylet*) is dedicated to this ancient Hebrew demon and to her followers and her 'knights' – although the text seems to slip into calling the spirit Bylet before the experiment is over.[37] The master commands these 'demons' to appear in non-threatening form and answer questions. The mirror itself can be made in the form of a shield, but need not be. The master prays to Lilith to come in her own appearance, not in that of ravens, conjuring her to sit with him whenever the master wants. She will appear in a mirror with two or more servants, and will tell the truth or give appropriate signs regarding a theft, murder, or other circumstance.

In one of the remaining experiments (no. 20) the master goes to a secret place at a conjunction of Venus and Jupiter, with burning candles and a polished steel mirror, made under a particular phase of the moon. He makes a circle, and puts the mirror on a piece of wood in the form of a knife. He implores God to make the mirror grow and become bright. Then he recites a brief conjuration three times, and the mirror will seem to grow and become bright. Many people will appear, as in a field. The master may ask them anything he wants, and will obtain an answer. After the first time, he may work this procedure whenever and wherever he wishes, though he must always do so in a secret place; once consecrated for that purpose, the mirror can be used repeatedly. In the other experiment (no. 33), the master smears olive oil on a mirror, says a doxology, enters a magic circle that is sprinkled with verbena, turns to the east, and conjures a spirit. When it comes, he conjures it to tell him the truth, without causing any harm. If the spirit refuses, the master reads the unbreakable 'bond of Solomon', an extended conjuration.

As in some of the illusionist experiments, spirits who appear to divulge information are here designated as knights. But three of these experiments are more distinctive in being given titles, taken from the chief spirits to whom they appeal, Lillith and Floron. The former is familiar from Hebrew

tradition, while the latter is known from the writings of Cecco d'Ascoli.[38] The conjuration (and presumably also the greeting) in 'Chaldean' (actually garbled Arabic, as we shall see in Chapter 6) adds a touch of exoticism to some of these experiments. But perhaps the most curious feature, found in the Mirror of Floron, is the reference to the spirit's giving written responses, through a mechanism that is not clearly specified; perhaps the master is to see the spirit holding a written message for his inspection, or possibly patterns discerned on the surface of the mirror are to be interpreted as some form of writing.

Experiments involving crystals

For the use of crystals and related objects in scrying, Johannes Hartlieb is again a helpful source of information:

> Some take a clear, fine, polished crystal or beryl and have it consecrated, then keep it clean, and lay incense, myrrh, and so forth on it. Then when they wish to exercise their art they wait for a clear day, or use a clean room with many consecrated candles. The masters go to a bathing room, taking an innocent child, and dressing themselves in pure white clothes. They sit down and speak magic prayers (*zauber bätt*), and burn magic offerings (*zauber opffer*), then order the boy to look into the stone and whisper secret words into his ear, which are allegedly most holy – but are indeed devilish words.[39]

The Munich handbook gives two divinatory experiments entailing the use of crystals, both of them extremely brief and simple. The implement used may be something like the legendary crystal ball; when the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript refers to crystals it speaks of them as 'stones', which surely were polished, whatever their shape. In one experiment (no. 24) the master first takes a crystal and washes it with wine, then he writes certain names of Christ on it with olive oil, and asks for two or three angels to appear in that crystal and reveal the truth to a virgin boy. The boy conjures these angels to come in the crystal so he may see them. When they come, the boy conjures them thrice to sit on golden seats and not withdraw from the crystal without the master's permission. For the other experiment (no. 25) the master takes a crystal in the form of a seal or mirror and places it in wax. Then he writes the name 'Honely' on it with oil. He prays Christ

to bestow wondrous and useful powers upon this stone, as he has done to other stones, to herbs, and to certain words; the text refers to this prayer as a conjuration, but the writer does not have quite the temerity to conjure Christ himself. He does then conjure certain angels to come at once and appear in the crystal, and not withdraw from it until they have answered the questions he has to ask.

It is probably not an accident that in both of these experiments, unlike most, the spirits conjured are expressly referred to as angels, and in one of them names of Christ are invoked (which is not uncommon in these experiments), while in the other the conjuration is preceded by a prayer to Christ (which is altogether uncommon). The other reflecting surfaces have a kind of artificial reflectivity: some of them need to have oil applied to them, and a mirror is a manufactured object. The crystal, however, was thought to have natural luminosity as one of the properties bestowed on it in its creation. Perhaps for this reason it seemed more natural for a crystal to serve as a medium for the conjuring of unfallen spirits, although this explanation would have greater force if it were supported by substantial evidence from other sources.

A complex experiment involving apparitions in a thumbnail

Five divinatory experiments in the Munich handbook – as many as those using mirrors – require the medium to gaze into his own polished fingernail or thumbnail. These tend to be elaborate rituals, with preliminary measures followed by multiple conjurations, then interrogation of the spirits who appear, and in some cases procedures for terminating the experiment. Most of these rituals are intended specifically to learn about the circumstances of a theft, although the text indicates that no. 27 (and presumably others as well) can serve to provide information about whether a friend is well or sick, whether someone is on the road, or other matters. A fingernail may seem an odd instrument for divination, and the image of a boy carrying on a conversation with an elaborately described demon moving about on such a small screen may seem somewhat comic, but fixing the boy's attention on so narrow a space may in fact have been an aid to concentration: the smaller the surface, and the closer it is held to the eye, the more it will be in focus and potential distractions will be out of focus.

No. 27 is broken into two 'chapters', the first of which reads as follows:

To find out about a theft, take a virgin boy of legitimate birth, at whatever hour you wish before noon, and scrape well the thumb nail of his left hand with a knife. Then bind to the same thumb, beneath the nail, a slip with the following names written on it. And these are the names: Egippia, Benoham, Beanke vel Beanre, Reranressym, Alredessym, Ebemidyrr, Fetolinie [?], Dysi, Medirini, Alhea, Heresim, Egippia, Benoham [repeated], Haham, Ezirohias, Bohodi, Hohada, Anna, Hohanna, Ohereo, Metaliteps, Aregereo, Agertho, Aliberri, [and] Halba.

When this is done, if the boy does not see something, etc. [*sic*!]. But if he does see something, bind a strap of sheepskin, which you have had with you while hearing three complete masses, on the slip, around the thumb, while saying this conjuration: 'O you demons, who have appeared before me in the nail of this boy, by Him who is Alpha and Omega, I order and command and conjure you, by the most sacred names Ely, Eloy, Messias, Sother, Emmanuel, Sabaoth, [and] Adonay, and by On, which is the first name of the Lord, Pantoncraton [*sic*], Anetheten, and by the other names known and unknown to me, that you should have no power to withdraw with your companions until you have fulfilled my will completely, without any falsehood or harm to anyone. And if you disdain to do this, I command you to be bound beneath the deep waters of the sea, by these two names, Joth [and] Nabnoth, by which Solomon bound demons in a glass vessel. I conjure you by the seven signs of Solomon, and by his seal and wisdom, that you should have no licence to withdraw from here until you have told and shown me the truth about all that I ask.'

When you have said this, if the boy does not speak straightaway, recite this conjuration in his ear: 'I conjure you, virginal youth, by the true God Basyon, and by the name[s] On, Berion, Sabaoth, [and] Adonay, [etc.], to have no power of concealing from me, but to manifest all that you see.'

When you have recited these conjurations three times, if the spirits do not hasten to your service, add this conjuration: 'You demons from the east, you demons from the west, you demons from the south, you demons from the north, open up to us, Discobermath, Archidemath, Fritath, Altramat, Pestiferat, Helyberp, Hegergibet, Sathan.'

When you have spoken or repeated this conjuration three times, the boy will see all things clearly.

This experiment is good also if someone wishes to know the condition of his friends, whether they are well or ill, and it will determine whether or not they are under way.

The conjuration over the strap is as follows. When mass has been finished on any particular day, say this conjuration over the strap: 'I conjure you, Sona, by the name of the Lord Tetragrammaton, and by the name of God Joth, and by the name of God Nabnoth, [etc.], to receive such power that wherever you are bound, these spirits will have no power to withdraw until they fulfil the will of the one who binds.'

The second chapter begins with a lengthy conjuration summoning the spirits to appear in the boy's nail, and is followed by another conjuration commanding the boy to gaze into his nail and tell the truth about what is there revealed. The text continues:

Then ask the boy if the nail is brighter than before. If he says not, read the conjuration again from the beginning, and a third time if necessary. If he says it has become brighter, ask if he sees anything. If he says he sees a man, the master should have the boy conjure the one he sees, in the mother tongue, as follows: 'You who are before me, I conjure you by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by Saint Mary and her virginity, and by Saint John and his virginity, [etc.], to go quickly for your king and have him come before me, so that I may see and understand him clearly.'

Then ask the boy if the king has come. If not, have the boy conjure again, as before. If he has come, have the boy tell the king to dismount from his horse and have a throne brought forth on which he can sit. Then have the boy ask the king if he wishes to eat. If he says no, then ask about whatever you will. If he says yes, have the boy tell the king to send wherever he will for a ram to be skinned and cooked, and then he should have a table set, and should rise and wash his hands, and sit at the table and have the ram set before him, and he should go ahead and eat it. After he has eaten, he should get up, take water, and wash his hands.

Then have the boy tell the king to remove the crown from his head and place his right hand on top of his head and swear by his crown and by his sceptre and by that which he holds beneath his right hand, to respond truly to all the master's questions. Then the master should ask

> whatever he wishes, through the boy. After the master's questions have been answered properly, the spirits may be given licence to leave, and the boy should say, 'Go. Peace be between us and you. And when the master calls you, be prepared to obey him in all things and by all things.'

The conception of a demon as a king or prince is not uncommon (see Chapter 7), and it is in keeping with the dignity of the spirit that he is allowed the privilege of a throne and a meal, although he supplies them himself, within the scene played out on the fingernail of the medium. Elsewhere as well the spirits may be instructed or invited to seat themselves on thrones; in the Rawlinson manuscript the medium is told to have three white-robed spirits fetch three gold thrones for themselves.[40] It is perhaps not surprising that apparitions as elaborate as these might require repeated conjuration. No doubt they also assumed child mediums of exceptional virtuosity, and a master who had found such a child must have been proud indeed to have discovered such a resource.

Simpler experiments involving fingernails or thumbnails

While the preceding experiment is more complex than most, others resemble it in their essentials. In experiment no. 30, the master obtains a powder by burning resin and collecting the ash from the bottom of a basin that is inscribed with certain characters. He anoints four joints of the boy's left hand with olive oil and with this powder, in alternation, until the boy's fingers shine like a mirror. (Johannes Hartlieb gives a similar account of how child mediums are instructed to gaze not only into their fingernails but into their hands anointed with oil and soot from a pan.[41]) Then he summons twelve spirits. Three times the master makes the sign of the cross with his right thumb on the boy's forehead, each time praying that Christ himself may sign the boy, as he gave his blessing at Cana. Then he repeats the twelve names, and may make the sign of the cross on his own forehead as well as the boy's. The names are recited until six spirits appear on the boy's hand. Then the boy commands them to sit, except for one, who is to rise and answer the master's questions. When the spirits have answered the master's questions, the boy commands them to depart, in the name of the Trinity; if he wishes, the master may at this point sign the boy's forehead again.

The next three experiments all take place within a simple circle,

consisting of three concentric bands, within which the boy sits on a three-legged stool, around which are inscriptions (the boy's name, other names, the Tetragrammaton).[42] In no. 38 the master blesses the boy while waving a sword around his head. He gives the sword to the boy, then signs him with the sign of the cross (saying, 'May the cross sanctify you, and may the prayers of all priests bless you'), scrapes his nails with a knife, anoints them with olive oil, then blesses himself and his companions, who sit silently by the circle, with swords in hand. The boy shuts his eyes; the master blesses all those present by reading the opening verses of John's gospel. The boy looks at his anointed nail and conjures specified demons to make the nail grow large and bright so that various information can appear in it: the thief, the circumstances of the theft, and the place where the stolen object is concealed. The master conjures certain demon princes to come in the form of black men and appear in the boy's nail. If the boy cannot yet see any figures in his nail, the master repeats the conjuration. He asks the boy if he sees a demon leaping and rejoicing. The master and his companions speak to the boy to keep him from fear. Again the master conjures the demons to divulge the desired information. At the end of the experiment, the master rubs his fingernail clean with his tunic, and makes the sign of the cross over four parts of his body with the sword. Then the boy takes the sword and holds it before himself while leaving the circle. The companions and the master himself exit in the same manner.

In no. 39 the master scrapes the boy's right thumbnail, using a knife with a handle of black or white horn, and recites psalm verses. He then signs the boy's forehead with the sign of the cross, says a prayer asking God to have the boy tell the truth, and whispers the names of demons three times into the boy's right ear. Then he enters the circle and stands in front of the boy, anoints his nail with olive oil, gives him the knife, and recites a longer series of demons' names. He conjures the demons (repeatedly, if necessary) to make the boy's nail grow large and bright, so that the details of the theft will appear in it. When this happens, the master conjures the demons (again as often as needed) to come and appear to the boy in the forms of the thieves. When the demons appear, the master conjures them to give the boy power, so that he can make the necessary inquiry and behold the desired information. Afterward the master has the boy close his eyes, then he cleans his nail, signs him with the sign of the cross (*super eum*, *ante eum*, and *retro eum*), takes the knife from his hand, blesses both himself and the boy, erases

the circle, and departs along with the boy. The 'kings' will return to their own kingdoms, but the master conjures them to return whenever he wishes.

In no. 40, the master turns to the east, scrapes both of the boy's thumbnails, places one of the boy's thumbs over the other, writes the name of the boy and the name Astaroth on the knife handle, gives the knife to the boy and has him hold it beneath his thumbs, anoints with olive oil the uppermost of the boy's thumbnails, making the form of a cross on it with all devotion, then himself takes a seat, holding the boy between his knees, and instructing him to look carefully at his thumbnail. (The position of the boy suggests an intimacy that is surely erotic, even if subtly so.) The master conjures the demons to appear in the thumbnail in the form of the thief or thieves, 'as they have promised'. He also prays to Christ, to manifest the truth make the boy report it. Again he conjures the demons to appear, and to make the boy's nail grow large and bright. At the end of the experiment, the master says the prayer, 'Protect, save, bless, [and] sanctify all the people by the sign of the Lord's cross. Fend off afflictions of body and soul. Let no peril prevail against this sign. Amen. May Jesus Christ defend us by this sign of the cross. Amen.'

Experiments involving vessels

Perhaps among the most ancient and widespread means for divination is gazing at the surface of a fluid in a bowl or other vessel. The materials for such operations would have been available virtually anywhere, even if suitable mirrors were not on hand. A letter to King Psammetichos, included in the Greek magical papyri, gives instructions for bowl divination: one should take a bronze bowl or saucer and fill it with water, then add green olive oil, recite an incantation over it, and ask questions of whatever god one wishes; the deity will reply, after which he can be dismissed with a powerful name of a hundred letters, a name which commands gods and *daimones*, causing the universe to tremble.[43] Elsewhere there are bowls or other vessels on which magical formulas have been inscribed, but these are usually intended for types of magic other than divination.[44]

In two brief experiments from the Munich handbook, the reflecting surfaces that furnish information are vessels or basins. No. 22 involves tracing a circle on the ground with the point of a special knife, entering the circle with a virgin boy or girl, carving various sacred names on a vessel,

well cleaned inside and out, and writing on the vessel with a feather from the left wing of a black hen, with accompanying prayers. The master conjures the child to divulge the information revealed regarding a thief or murderer, then he invokes God to grant this knowledge to the child. The child gazes intently into the vessel, and continues doing so until figures appear. In 'The True Art of the Basin' (no. 29), the master recites ten names into a boy's ear, conjures spirits to appear in a basin and divulge information, writes three names on a slip of parchment or paper, and places it in the basin. Then he asks God with humble devotion to give the boy knowledge so that he can respond truly, and he asks Christ to illumine the boy's mind. He conjures the demons to appear to the boy in a mirror or on the blade of a sword. When the demons appear, the boy tells their king to sit down, and has him send for a ram, a feature reminiscent of no. 27. Then follow various conjurations. The experiment terminates with an exchange between the young boy and the demon king, again in the manner of no. 27.

These divinatory experiments are unusual in their emphasis on sitting: the master, the medium, any companions, and the spirits themselves are instructed or invited repeatedly to sit, whether on thrones, at table, on stools, or simply on the ground. It would perhaps be misleading to seek a single meaning in this posture; the spirits' being enthroned in their capacity as kings can hardly have the same significance as the medium's being seated on a stool. Yet this feature of the experiments is consonant with another peculiarity of this category which distinguishes it from the psychological and illusionist rituals: in these experiments the conjurations are intended specifically to bring about consultation between the magicians and the spirits, rather than their dialogue being a prelude to some further result, and thus the parties on both sides are in effect sitting down to do business. This is not to say that their being seated is necessary, but that it makes a kind of sense here that it would not make elsewhere.

An experiment involving a bone

For no. 28 the master anoints the right shoulder blade of a ram with olive oil and puts it beneath the handle of a knife. He holds a lighted candle and conjures six demons to appear in the reflective surface before a virginal boy (under twelve years of age) and answer questions. If the boy sees the shoulder blade grow larger and brighter, the master conjures the demons

again to appear. When a spirit appears in the form of a black man, the master asks him questions through the mediation of the boy. The master can conjure the boy so that he has the power to see a spirit, but not the power to lie. The experiment closes with miscellaneous instructions: While making a circle, the master should say 'Sator Arepo Tenet Opera Rotas', then two prayers, one for aid in undertakings, the other for sending the Holy Spirit upon the boy to illumine his mind so that he can see and reveal truths. Names of God are given, to be inscribed on the shoulder blade. And to send the demons away, the master makes the sign of the cross over the shoulder blade and says, 'Behold the cross of the Lord. Take flight, O hostile powers (*Fugite partes aduerse*). The lion of the tribe of Juda, the stem of David, has conquered. Go in peace to the places from which you came.'

Johannes Hartlieb tells how the shoulder blades of various large animals are examined in the form of divination known as spatulamancy,[45] but does not speak of operations performed over these bones in the manner prescribed by the Munich handbook.

Experiments involving visions in sleep

The last two divinatory experiments in the handbook, both short and simple in form, differ from the preceding divinatory rites because they do not involve gazing into reflective surfaces, but rather the inducement of revelatory dream visions. The Egyptians had been famous for their dream interpretation, whether the dreams were induced or spontaneous, and the Greek magical papyri from Egypt contain instructions for obtaining a revelation in sleep: according to one passage, the person seeking the vision goes to bed in the presence of a lamp fuelled with sesame oil mixed with cinnabar, and recites a prescribed formula; to ensure that the revelation is not lost to oblivion, he must have a small tablet nearby to write it down. No. 16 has the master write a series of sacred names within a double band on virgin parchment, plus specified names. Three times he conjures the names themselves, that they may send the angels Michael, Gabriel and Raphael to reveal whatever information he is seeking. The master then places this parchment beneath his right ear when he goes to sleep.

No. 41, designed to discover hidden treasure, is exceptional for the extent to which it blends magic with pious devotion:

To know where a treasure is hidden, first a person must make a general confession of all his sins, under a waxing moon, on a Sunday, when the Sun is in Leo, early in the morning. And when you first arise, sprinkle yourself with holy water, saying the antiphon, *Asperges me, domine, ysopo*, etc., in its entirety. Then go to a crucifix and say before it, *Miserere mei, deus* [Ps. 50 Vulg.], in its entirety, gazing constantly at the crucifix, with utter devotion. And when you say these things, then say most devoutly and with contrite heart, 'O rabbi, rabbi, my king and my God, and Lord of lords, you who are creator of all things, hear the prayer which I, a wretched and unworthy creature, make, and [be mindful?] of your redemption in this hour and always, and may my unworthy cry come unto Thee.'

When you have said this, go to your house and into your chamber, which should be thoroughly cleaned, and, facing east, say this prayer as devoutly as you can: 'O gracious Orient … strengthen my understanding in this work by the dominion of your kingdom, which is never lost. Guide and fear [?] me in this my supplication. And I pray you by your kings … that on the following night Haram, a benign spirit, may come to me in my sleep and enkindle my heart and my mind, that I may know how to find a treasure, if there is any in these parts or elsewhere, and may he lead me and make a sign there, so that I may know it as true, and [I may know] the truth itself…. I call out and implore that you may deign to send me a spirit of truth this night in my sleep, that he may reveal to me a hidden treasure.' Say this facing east, and on bended knees. Say this prayer three times.

When you go to bed, say nine times, 'Orient, Orient, Orient, I pray, beg, and ask, O most benign Orient, that you may fulfil my petition and desire to respect my entreaties.' Then a spirit will come to you, who will not displease you, but will make you dream of a treasure, and will lead you directly to the place.

The next morning, when you arise, give three portions of alms in honour of the great knowing King, and go out, accompanied or alone, to the place where there is treasure in your home [?], and take it. When you have the treasure, have three masses sung: the first in honour of the Holy Trinity, the second for the sins of the deceased, the third for the safeguarding of your life, etc.

It is by no means surprising to find orthodox, traditional prayers used in the practice of magic, or for non-standard petitions to be referred to as prayers, or even for the magician to prepare himself by a regimen of confession and purification. The offering of alms and the subsequent celebration of three masses is perhaps less expected; in any case, what we have here is a mixture of magic and devotion that assumes no incompatibility between the two, and in the mind of the practitioner there presumably was no incongruity.[47]

Possible Jewish sources

Magical practices are often so widespread that it is impossible to trace specific patterns of transmission, and the divinatory rituals found in the Munich handbook are at least as widely diffused as any other magical techniques. Nevertheless, there is some reason to suppose that these divinatory practices show the influence of Jewish divination in particular. This should not be surprising, in the light of frequent suggestions that Christians learned or obtained their magic from Jews.[48] One might suspect that this theme merely reflects stereotypes of the reprobate Jew,[49] but there is nothing implausible about Christians seeking to amplify their own repertoire of magical practices by borrowing from those of a people antecedently categorized as having a reprobate subculture. The formulas of the Munich handbook, like those of the Greek magical papyri from antiquity, often imitate those of Judaism, as if in homage to a culture perceived as having superior magic. The centrality of the Tetragrammaton,[50] the occasional use of Hebrew letters, and the use of the pentacle of Solomon in Clm 849 and other necromantic texts are evident signs of Jewish influence, however indirect and distorted the transmission may have been. No. 42 gives ‘the great name Semiforas’ (meaning the *Shem ham-M’forash*) as a series of Hebrew and pseudo-Hebrew words beginning ‘Saday, Hay, Resel’; the scribe seems uncomfortable with the material, and at one point leaves a blank space in his transcription of the name, but does recognize it as a Hebrew name for God, which he says was written on the forehead of Aaron the priest.[51]

Samuel Daiches has edited and analysed a series of Jewish magical texts that resemble the divinatory practices of the Munich manuscript closely.[52] Of special interest are the procedures in three manuscripts from the collection of Theodore Gaster. Codex Gaster 315 tells how to conjure the

‘princes of the thumb’ by tracing a circle in the earth with a black-handled knife and then placing a young boy in the circle, anointing the boy’s thumbnail and forehead with pure olive oil, and whispering a conjuration into his ear while he gazes at his nail. The conjuration reads, in part, ‘I adjure you, princes of the nail … that you should bring the king Minon in this nail, and the queen shall also come with him, and that his two servants shall come and that they shall bring there two lambs, one black and one white, and they shall slaughter them … and that they shall bring there three glass cups …’ When the king and queen appear in the boy’s nail, they should be invited to eat and drink, after which they will give all the information the operator desires.[53] Another ritual from the same manuscript, for conjuring ‘the princes of the hand’, requires invoking a series of names; if the boy sees nothing in his hand the master must repeat the invocation, then if necessary say, ‘I adjure you, Ator, Sator, Somani, Ator’ (a garbled version of the SATOR-AREPO formula). If the boy sees a man dressed in black he must have him don white garments, and then he invites him to eat and drink.[54] Similar rituals are prescribed in Codices Gaster 443 and 1,000. They all require as a medium a young boy (seven years old in one ritual) or girl, or in some cases a pregnant woman, in which case Daiches assumes it is the innocence of the unborn child that facilitates the divination.

The manuscripts Daiches uses are all late – from the sixteenth or seventeenth century, or, in the case of Codex Gaster 443, as late as 1775 – but Daiches argues for close parallels with much earlier Jewish and even Babylonian practice. One Babylonian ritual tablet of around 2000 BCE speaks of ‘the master of the nail of this finger’; the slaughter of the lambs, the use of three cups, the invitation of the spirits to eat and drink, and the assurance that they will answer questions truly all find parallels in Babylonian divinatory texts. Rashi in the eleventh century referred to ‘work of the demons’ called ‘princes of the thumb’ that involved use of a black-handled knife, a glass cup, and so forth. Further evidence for the continuity of such practices in medieval Judaism comes from the *Sefer Hasidim* and related texts, which report visions in which demons or the spirits of the dead were summoned to appear in dreams or on reflecting surfaces, often to identify thieves or to locate lost objects. Around the turn of the thirteenth century, Jacob of Marvège recorded a series of dreams in which he received answers to questions he had posed (*she’elat halom*).[55] None of this evidence proves that the rituals found in the modern manuscripts preserve in detail

the formulas used in medieval magic. Yet it seems likely that the divinatory rituals of the Munich handbook can be traced to medieval Jewish precedent, and thus indirectly to Babylonian prototypes; this is in any event more likely than the reverse, that the Gaster manuscripts contain Jewish borrowing from Christian sources.

An experiment for instruction

The very first experiment in the Munich manuscript fits only loosely into the category of divination: it is intended for acquiring knowledge of all the liberal arts through the instruction of a demon. Because the first two folios of Clm 849 are missing, this experiment begins *in medias res*, yet even in truncated form the experiment is reasonably intelligible; in all likelihood there was either prefatory material or another experiment on folios 1 and 2, and only a small part of the present experiment has been lost. In the missing lines the magician is evidently instructed to take a piece of cloth and draw on it a 'circle', meaning a simple band made of two concentric circles, within which the names of various demons are to be inscribed. The markings on this cloth are to be made with the blood of a bird, perhaps a hoopoe, and evidently the magician is to use the heart of this bird as a writing instrument: at later points in the experiment reference is made to writing with 'the aforementioned blood' by means of a heart.

This experiment is built around four conjurations: the first, addressed to three "kings" among the demons, results in the initial presentation of a teacher to the magician; the second, again addressed to these kings, is for the return of the teacher and inception of lessons; the third, addressed to the same demons plus four others, is for the same effect; the fourth, addressed to the teacher himself, leads directly to his return and to the instruction. The magician commands the demons Apolin, Maraloth and Berith to send yet another demon as a teacher, or *magister*, a term used elsewhere in the manual for the magician himself.

> … toward the east. Then you must say: 'Apolin, Maraloth, Berith, I, so-and-so, exorcise and conjure you … to send me a certain spirit who is expert in teaching of all the sciences, and may he be kindly, faithful, and pleasing to me, and teach every knowledge that I desire, coming in the form of a master, so that I may feel no sense of fear…. Likewise, I

conjure you … that you three great kings and companions of mine may endeavour to send to me, your petitioner, one of your subordinates, to serve as master of all the sciences and arts, coming to me in a pleasant and splendid human form, and instruct me lovingly, so that within thirty days I may acquire this knowledge, and after I have received this knowledge I may give them licence to withdraw.' And this must be said so many [=three?] times.

When you have said this, put down the sword and wrap it in the aforesaid cloth, and, having made a bundle, lie down on it and sleep for a little while. After sleeping, rise and clothe yourself (for when the bundle has been made a man must undress and enter a chamber, placing this bundle beneath his head). You must know that when these conjurations have been said, sleep comes by divine power. In the sleep, three great kings [will] appear to you with countless servants, knights, and footsoldiers, among whom there will appear a certain master, whom the three kings will command. [You will see] him ready to come to you. For you will see the three kings, shining with wondrous beauty, who will speak to you in this sleep with one voice, saying, 'Behold, we give you what you have many times requested.' And they will say to the master, 'Let him be your student, and we command you to teach him every science or art that he wishes to hear. Instruct and educate him so that within thirty days he will be regarded among others as supreme in whatever science he wishes.' And you will see him reply, 'My lords, I shall most gladly do whatever you wish.' When this has been said, the kings will depart and the master alone will remain, and will say to you, 'Arise, behold your master.' When this has been said, you will be aroused; at once you will open your eyes, and you will see a master, excellently attired, who will say to you, 'Give me the sword which you have beneath your head.' You will say, 'Behold your student, ready to do whatever you wish.' But you must have a tablet, and must write down all that he tells you.

First you must ask, 'O master, what is your name?' He [will] tell, and you must write it down. Second, from what order, and likewise write it down. When this has all been said, you must ask for the sword, and when you have it he will withdraw, saying, 'Wait until I return.' You will say nothing, but the master will leave and take the sword.[56] After his withdrawal, you must unwrap the cloth, as appears below. And you

should write in this circle his name, as you have written it down, and you must write it with the aforementioned blood. When it is written, wrap up the cloth and hide it well.

When all this has been done, you must dine on bread and pure water alone, and that day you must not exit your chamber. And when you have eaten, take the cloth and enter the circle facing Apolin. Say: 'O King Apolin, great, powerful, and venerable, I, your servant, believing and wholly trusting that you are strong and mighty, ask by your incomprehensible majesty that your servant and subject, so-and-so, my master, should come to me as quickly as he can, by your virtue and power, which is great and supremely great unto ages of ages. Amen.' And you must speak likewise facing Maraloth, changing the name. And likewise facing Berich. When all this has been said, take some of the aforesaid blood and write your name in the middle of the circle with the aforesaid heart, as is shown below. Then write these names, as shown here, with this heart on the corners of the cloth. But if the blood of one bird is not enough, you may kill as many as you wish.

When all this has been done, sit in the circle for the entire day, gazing at it, and saying nothing. When evening comes, wrap up the cloth, undress, and enter the chamber, placing it beneath your head. And as you lie down, say in a clear voice, 'O Apolin, Maraloch, Berith, Sathan, Beliath, Belzebuc, [and] Lucifer, I implore you to command the master – here naming his name – to come to me tomorrow before sunrise and teach me thus-and-such science, without any error …'

Beware and take caution not to make the sign ✠ of the cross, on account of the great danger in sleeping. You should know that you will see the master speak with you throughout the night, asking you which science you wish to learn. You should reply, 'Thus-and-such', so that, as said, you may speak with him throughout the night. If you awake during that night, rise and light a candle, and take the cloth and unwrap it, and sit on it – that is to say, in the circle, where your name is written on the spot ordained for you – and call on the name of your master, saying, 'O so-and-so, of thus-and-such an order, given to me by your greater kings as a master, I beseech you to come in a kindly form and teach me thus-and-such a science, in which I may become more expert than all mortals, learning it with great joy, without any effort, and with no tedium….'

When you have said this, looking toward the east you will see the

master come with many students, and you will ask him to command that they all depart, and at once they will withdraw. Then the master will say, 'Which science do you wish to hear?' You will say, 'This-and-such', and then you will begin.

Bear in mind that you will learn all that he tells you and commit it to memory, and within thirty days you will acquire every science that you wish to have.

And when you wish him to leave the chamber, fold and hide the cloth, and at once he will withdraw. And when you wish him to come, open the cloth, and at once he will appear there, continuing the lessons. After thirty days, having become well learned in science, have him give your sword to you, and then tell him to go, and he will withdraw in peace. You must repeat what you have said when you invoke him to gain knowledge of another science, and he will proclaim himself ready to oblige your will.

This is the end of the chapter on [gaining] knowledge.

The circle required for this first experiment is a single band inscribed within a square. Inscribed in and around the band are the names of seven spirits and the four cardinal directions. 'The name of the master, of such-and-such an order' and 'The name of the student' are marked in the centre.

This experiment contains one incidental feature of some interest: the sword, which the demonic teacher claims at the beginning of the lessons but relinquishes to the magician at the end of the month when instruction is over, may be intended as a kind of sacrifice, albeit a temporary one. It serves, at any rate, to symbolize the relationship between the magician and the demon that exists throughout the thirty days of instruction: although the magician (as the source and ultimate owner of the sword) has conjured the demon and has authority to command his presence, the demon (as temporary keeper of the sword) exercises the authority over his pupil that comes from his possession of superior knowledge. It is only when the demon has imparted knowledge of all the liberal arts that the magician has become, to that extent, his equal and thus regains the sword.

One might suppose that the magician conceives the sword further as a symbol for the power brought by his newly gained knowledge, but the manuscript gives little indication of a coherent and consistent quest for power, least of all in the political sphere. It is true that the writer claims to

have connections at court: in one experiment he reminds the reader, 'You have often seen me carry out this work at your court.' Elsewhere he tells of a trick that he played on an emperor and his courtiers. Even if we assume that this is not all pretence, however, the manual gives only meagre hints of specifically courtly interests. Only one experiment is designed to gain the favour of a potentate. Experiments to cause madness or to turn friends into enemies could be used at court, but could just as well be employed elsewhere. On the whole the manual is remarkably devoid of specifically political concern: there is little sense that the writer is intent on building or destroying kingdoms, nor does he display the combination of magical lore and practical engineering found in the real-life courtier Conrad Kyeser.[57] His procedures for divination seem to focus on personal rather than political matters. Some of the illusionist experiments bespeak the fanciful attitude toward magic often found in courtly romance: an illusory banquet is intended as an entertaining spectacle. The writer is perhaps here manifesting a distant fascination with courtly culture rather than a direct involvement in the life of any court. Any common necromancer, after all, might well fantasize about being called into the emperor's service and serving as Michael Scot was supposed to have served Frederick II.[58]

One might seek precedent here too in Jewish magic designed to foster learning. Formulas occur in various early Jewish mystical texts for mastery of the Torah. The assumption is that angels have opposed God's bestowal of the Torah upon humankind, and that this opposition accounts for students' failure to memorize the sacred text. The solution is to adjure the appropriate spirits, particularly the 'Prince of the Torah' (*sar ha-torah*), by the power of the sacred names; the specific purpose of such adjuration is to master and memorize the Torah.[59] More immediate precedent, however, may be found in the later medieval magic of the so-called *ars notoria*, which uses prayers and invocation of angels to gain mastery of the liberal and mechanical arts.[60] Although the *ars notoria* did not call upon demonic aid, and ostensibly revolved around the recitation of devotions to the Virgin and to unfallen angels, its techniques were untraditional and superstitious, and an unsympathetic observer might pardonably have categorized it with this first experiment in the Munich handbook.

It may also be instructive to compare the magic of this experiment with that narrated in a story told by Caesarius of Heisterbach, in the early thirteenth century, 'concerning a schoolboy who made homage to the devil

to have verses composed':

> In the church of Saint Simeon in the diocese of Trier there was a little schoolboy. One day his master gave him a subject on which he was to compose verses, but he was unable to do so, and sat about disconsolate. The Devil appeared to him in human form as he sat by himself, and said to him, 'Why are you so unhappy, little boy, and why are you sitting there looking so sad?' The boy replied, 'I'm afraid of my master, because I cannot compose any verses on the subject he has given me.' The Devil said, 'If you pay homage to me, I will compose the verses for you.' The boy was unaware that he was dealing with the Devil, the enemy of all, who was bent on mischief, so he replied, 'O yes, sir! I am ready to do anything you command, as long as I can have the verses and not get beaten!' For he did not know who it was. He stretched out his hand to the Devil, paying homage to him. At once he received the verses, written on tablets, and then he no longer beheld their writer. When he gave them to his master at the appropriate time, the latter was amazed at the excellence of the verses, and feared that the knowledge he found in them was supernatural [*divinam*] and not that of a human. He said, 'Tell me, who wrote these verses for you?' The boy said, 'I did, master.' But the master, not believing, repeated his interrogation of the lad many times over, until the boy confessed everything he had done, from beginning to end. Then the master said, 'My boy, that versifier was an evil one, the Devil himself.' Then he added, 'My dear child, are you sorry that you paid homage to that seducer?' The boy replied, 'O yes, master.' The master said, 'Now renounce the Devil and his homage, and all his pomps and all his works.' And he did so. Then the master cut off the sleeves of his surplice and offered them to the Devil, saying, 'These sleeves are yours, O seducer of men, but you will possess nothing more of this creature of God!' At once the sleeves were snatched away with a thunderbolt in the sight of all, while the boy's body remained unharmed. All this was told me by a prior from the church of Trier.[61]

The schoolboy's deed is both more innocent and more guilty than the necromancer of the Munich handbook: it is more innocent because he is unaware that the source of his verses is an evil spirit, and also because he does not conjure the spirit but merely accepts his offer, yet in itself his

action is more profoundly guilty because he makes homage to the demon. Joseph Hansen sees the concept of homage to a demon as a high medieval innovation inspired by the obvious feudal analogue, the vassal's homage to his lord.[62] It seems to be only in orthodox literature condemning magic, however, that those who profit from the demons are seen as making such homage, or that sacrifices to the spirits are perceived as involving the same worship that would be implied by sacrifice offered to God. The magicians themselves, as in the Munich handbook, typically perceive any sacrifice as merely a *quid pro quo*. Oddly, the lad's schoolmaster recognizes that the demon has some legitimate claim on the boy as a result of the transaction, and offers the spirit the sleeves of the pupil's surplice (*superpellicii*) as his due, even after the boy repeats his baptismal renunciation of Satan's works and pomps. The most basic difference between the two cases, in any event, is that Caesarius's schoolboy, unlike the Munich magician, receives no new knowledge: he has polished verses handed to him but does not himself become an accomplished versifier. The quest of knowledge through magical means seems to be a theme more deeply embedded in Jewish sources, and in the Solomonic literature related to those sources.

Notes

1 M.R. James, 'Twelve medieval ghost-stories', *English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), 420f.

2 *Ambo simul euanuerunt ab oculis meis et amplius non video eos, et nescio sine dubio vbi sunt*.

3 See the analogues in Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. H. von E. Scott and C.C. Swinton Bland, 1 (London: Routledge, 1929), 112–14. Barbara Newman has found parallels in several thirteenth- and fourteenth-century collections of exempla.

4 John of Salisbury, *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers*, ii.28, trans. Joseph B. Pike (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), 146–7.

5 *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes of Acle: An Edition of Tanner MS 407*, ed. Cameron Louis (New York: Garland, 1980), 169f.; C.L.S. Linnell, ed., 'The commonplace book of Robert Reynys of Acle', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 32 (1958–61), 114 (Linnell's edition of the text is badly flawed).

6 For the following see generally Benjamin Goldberg, *The Mirror and Man* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985), 3–25 (esp. 8–19), and Henry C. Bolton, 'A modern oracle and its prototypes', *Journal of American Folklore*, 6 (l893), 25–37. For early instances see W.R. Halliday, *Greek Divination: A Study of Its Methods and Principles* (London: Macmillan, 1919), 145–62 (which gives numerous parallels from various cultures) and A. Bouch–Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'Antiquité*, 1 (Paris: Leroux, 1879), 176–88.

7 Siegfried Wenzel, ed. and trans., *Fasciculus morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook*, v. 30 (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), 578–9.

8 George L. Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University

Press, 1929), 185.

9 See Peter J. French, *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972).

10 Domenico Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, trans. E.F.M. Benecke (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895), 303–5, citing the *Romans des Sept Sages*, *Cleomadès*, and the *Renart contrefait*. For parallels, see *ibid*., p. 304, n. 9.

11 Charles Plummer, ed., *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), 150: *in speculo enim diuinitatis omnia futura sibi presentia erant*.

12 Johann Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste, des Aberglaubens und der Zauberei*, ed. and trans. Falk Eisermann and Eckhard Graf (Ahlerstedt: Param, 1989), chs 56, 83–84, 86, 88–90.

13 Ibn Khaldûn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, i.194, trans. Franz Rosenthal, 2nd edn, vol. 1 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), 216–17; Bolton, 'A modern oracle', 37.

14 Reading *intra* for *infra*.

15 Petrus Garsia, *In determinationes magistrales contra conclusiones apologales Ioannis Pici Mirandulani Concordie Comitis proemium* (Rome: Eucharius Silber, 1489), sig. k iv verso through k v recto (the discussion continues through l ij recto); see Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 4 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 497–507.

16 Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 430.

17 *Registrum Radulphi Baldock*, ed. Fowler (Canterbury and York Series, 7), vol. 1, 144f.; Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 187.

18 Paris, *Les grandes chroniques*, vol. 5, 269–72; *Recueil des historiens*, vol. 20, 633f., 710–12; G.G. Coulton, trans., *Life in the Middle Ages*, l (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), l60–62. *Willelmi capellani in Brederode postea monachi et procuratoris Egmondensis chronicon*, ed. C. Pijnacker Hordijk (Amsterdam: Müller, 1904), 127–30.

19 Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 80, 187, from David Wilkins, ed., *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, 3 (London, 1737), 393f.

20 Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 187, from A. Hamilton Thompson, ed., *Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 1915–), 208–13.

21 *Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, 8 (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1881), 265; William Hale Hale, *A Series of Precedents and Proceedings in Criminal Causes from 1475 to 1640, Extracted from Act Books of Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of London, Illustrative of the Discipline of the Church of England* (London: Rivington, 1847); 10f.; C. Trice Martin, 'Clerical life in the fifteenth century, as illustrated by proceedings of the Court of Chancery', *Archaeologia*, 60 (=ser. 2, vol. 10) (1907), 371f., 377; Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 188, 195f

22 The demons' capacity for knowledge and foreknowledge is discussed in the influential work of Saint Augustine, 'The divination of demons', in Roy J. Deferrari, ed., *Saint Augustine: Treatises on Marriage and Other Subjects* (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1955), 415–40.

23 Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 106–13, esp. 109. Brown quotes Victricius of Rouen on the effects of exorcism: 'A torturer bends over the unclean spirit, but is not seen. There are no chains here now, yet the being who suffers is bound. God's anger has other hooks to tear the flesh and other racks to stretch invisible limbs.' The theme is one which Barbara Newman will address in forthcoming research on thirteenth-century accounts of exorcism.

24 Fol. 156r.

25 Translation from G.G. Coulton, ed. and trans., *Life in the Middle Ages*, new edn, 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), no. 46, pp. 85f.

26 Translation from C. Trice Martin, 'Clerical life in the fifteenth century, as illustrated by proceedings of the Court of Chancery', *Archaeologia*, 60 (=ser. 2, vol. 10) (1907), 377f.; see Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 188.

27 Augustus Jessopp, *Random Roaming and Other Papers*, 2nd edn (London, Unwin, 1894), 109–12. Cf. Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 94, 206.

28 Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 195.

29 *Mary of Nijmeghen*, attributed to Anna Bijns, in Eric Colledge, trans., *Medieval Netherlands Religious Literature* (New York: London House & Maxwell, 1965), 208; repr. in Elizabeth Alvilda Petroff, ed., *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 364.

30 Nos 19, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 41 (not used); nos 18, 20, 23, 33, 38, 39, 40, 22, 28, 16 (not highly significant).

31 For examples of the use of a boy medium in antiquity, see Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), PGM IV.88, I.42, VII.540, V.370, IV.850, V.1 and VII.348.

32 No. 28 specifies that the boy should be under twelve. See also Rawlinson MS D 252, fols 109r–109v.

33 No. 22 in the Munich handbook; Rawlinson MS D 252, fol. 114v; Johann Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste*, ch. 84.

34 Nicholas Orme, 'Children and the Church in medieval England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 45 (1994), 580f.

35 Chs 86, 88, 94.

36 On these possibilities see James W. Fernandez, 'Reflections on looking into mirrors', *Semiotica*, 30 (1980), 27–39.

37 The writer's B and L might readily be confused, especially in the lower case; see, for example, the references to Belial in no. 12. One might syppose that Bylet is simply an alternative spelling for Lilit, but there is in fact a spirit known as Beleth, Bileth, Bilet or Byleth, on whom see Gustav Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels, Including the Fallen Angels* (New York: Free Press, 1967), 73.

38 Lynn Thorndike, *Michael Scot* (London: Nelson, 1965), 120.

39 Ch. 89.

40 Rawl. 8v, 151v.

41 Chs 83–84.

42 In no. 41 he writes 'Tetragrammaton' (probably that word, though possibly the four letters for which it stands) beneath the boy's feet, then he puts two stones on top of this inscribed word, lest the boy touch the sacred name with his feet.

43 Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, 1, pp. 40–43 (PGM IV.154–285).

44 Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University; Leiden: Brill, 1985); see Michael Ofori Mankata, *Hohore – the Magic Bowl: A Ghanaian Folk Tale* (Accra: Afram, 1995).

45 Chs 115–31. See also Charles Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), XII–XV.

46 The dream oracle of Besas, in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 1, pp. 122–23 (PGM VII.222–49). On Egyptian dream interpretation see Joseph Kaster, trans. and ed., *The Wings of*

the Falcon (New York, 1968), 153–8.

47 Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 219, contains a miscellany of magical experiments, among which are similarly pious recommendations on fol. 187v: to recover a lost object, recall the cross of Christ (which was found) and give bread to four paupers; to avert affliction, recall the blows of Christ; for release from captivity, recall that of Christ; to survive a duel, fast, give as much as possible in alms, have three masses sung (those for the finding of the Holy Cross, the exaltation of the Holy Cross, and the Ascension), and wash the hands and feet of three paupers (or five, seven or thirteen).

48 E.g., Edmond Albe, *Autour de Jean XXII: Hugues Géraud, éveque de Cahors: L'affaire des poisons et des envoûtements en 1317* (Cahors, 1904); Margaret Harvey, 'Papal witchcraft: the charges against Benedict XIII', in Derek Baker, ed., *Sanctity and Secularity: The Church and the World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973), 109–16.

49 On this subject see especially Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Anti-semitism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), and more recently R. Po–chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) and Jeremy Cohen, ed., *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996); on the reputation of Jewish magic in late antiquity see John M. Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition* (Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1974), 30–35.

50 Jacob Z. Lauterbach, 'Substitutes for the Tetragrammaton', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* (1931), 39–67; Kaufmann Kohler, 'The Tetragrammaton (Shem ham-M'forash) and its uses', *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy*, 1 (1909), 19–32.

51 Robert Eisler, 'Le Mystère du Schem Hammephorasch', *Revue des études Juives*, 82 (1926), 157–9.

52 Samuel Daiches, *Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and in the Later Jewish Literature* (London: Jews' College, 1913).

53 No. B1, text 1, pp. 14–16, with notes on pp. 28–38.

54 No. B1 text 2, p. 16, with notes on p. 38.

55 *Ibid.*, pp. 28–38; *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter; New York: Macmillan, 1971–2), articles on *Visions* and *Jacob of Marvège*.

56 If one reads *presentare* for *postulare*, the context becomes clearer: rather than asking for the sword, the magician must give it to the spirit; *quo habito* then becomes 'when he has it' rather than 'when you have it'.

57 Conrad Kyeser, *Bellifortis*, ed. and trans. Götz Quarg (Dösseldorf: VDI, 1967).

58 Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), 272–98; J. Wood Brown, *An Enquiry into the Life and Legend of Michael Scot* (Edinburgh: Douglas, 1897); Lynn Thorndike, *Michael Scot* (London: Nelson, 1965).

59 Peter Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God: Some Major Themes in Early Jewish Mysticism*, trans. Aubrey Pomerance (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992), esp. 49–53, 73–5, 89–95, 109–17, 150–57; Michael D. Swartz, 'Patterns of mystical prayer in ancient Judaism', in Paul V.M. Flesher, ed., *New Perspectives on Ancient Judaism*, 6 (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989), 173–86; and esp. Michael D. Swartz,, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

60 Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 2 (New York: Macmillan, 1929), 281–3. Papers from a session on an *ars notoria* manuscript – Nicholas Watson, 'A fifteenth-century ritual magic manuscript in the McMaster University Library', Richard Kieckhefer, 'The historical background of the McMaster manuscript', and Michael Camille, 'Aspects of art in *ars notoria*

manuscripts' – delivered at the 30th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 5 May 1995, are to be published in a volume edited by Claire Fanger.

61 Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Die Fragmente der Libri VIII Miraculorum des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, ed. Aloys Meister (*Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte*, supplementary vol. 14) (Rome: Herder, 1901), 85f.

62 Joseph Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter, und die Entstehung der großen Hexenverfolgung* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1900; repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1964), 275–7.

6

Formulas for Commanding Spirits: Conjurations and Exorcisms

A collection of sermon *exempla* from the 1270s relates a story of considerable interest for later medieval notions of what it meant to conjure demons. The compiler has been discussing the feast of the Assumption, the primary Marian feast of the era, and adds this sidelight for its unexpected relevance to that occasion:

> Something further concerning the feast of the Assumption of the glorious Virgin, which was once told to me and to Brother Roger called Bacon at Paris, must not be passed over in silence. A certain surgeon from my home country, and in fact even a native of my very parish, named Master Peter of Ardene, well known to all clerics from Ireland at that time, had taken a wife at Paris and in my day was a Parisian citizen. He told me and Brother Roger Bacon that a certain Spanish magician [*magus*] was on close terms with him. Every now and then he would summon the man, and they would come to his home for company and amusement. So this magician, wishing to return the favour for Master Peter, took him outside the city one night, with companions whom he wished to take with himself, and made a circle according to his art, and called upon his demon [*vocavit demonem suum*], who, on coming, responded to all the questions they asked. The man took them there for five nights, and each night dealt similarly with the demon he summoned. But the fifth night was the vigil of the Blessed Virgin's Assumption, so when the demon was called by the rite of the art as it was passed down he delayed his coming. And so he was summoned repeatedly, to the point that the devilish master became much agitated in regard to the devil. Finally the devil arrived, mourning and sighing, and with deep and plaintive sighs like a boy that has been beaten he said to them, 'You people are really strange [*Mirum est de vobis*], for the angels in heaven are celebrating the feast of the Virgin Mary, and you cannot take your rest here on earth!' Hearing this, they were

astonished, and, not surprisingly, quite fearful. And Master Peter himself spoke to the demon, as he swore, taking pity on him, and said, 'What is your problem?' [The demon] said to him, 'Things are very bad for me.' Then they dismissed him and returned to their dwellings. So much for the story [*Explicit exemplum*].

Behold, O Christian, with what joy you should celebrate the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, when even the devil, the enemy of the glorious Virgin, is compelled to preach that it should be celebrated, and when the angels celebrate it with so much festivity. When the devil said that he was very bad off amid this festive solemnity, the reason for this, as a great man whom I consulted about the matter suggested, is that on the solemnities of the Blessed Virgin and the saints their punishment is augmented. How this happens I leave to the judgement of those wiser than myself.[1]

Among the interesting features of this story, three are of particular relevance here: first, the suggestion that the demon can be made to appear, but that the magician's summons is one element among many in a cosmic network of potentially competing forces; second, the notion that the demons are subject to punishment with varying degrees of severity (so that, as we shall see, the magicians themselves can threaten to bring greater torment upon these fallen spirits); and third, the representation of the magician and his friends as adventurous inquirers daring to conjure the forces of hell to satisfy their curiosity and their quest of forbidden entertainment. The *exemplum* speaks of the magician as summoning the demon by a traditional rite, but, being uninterested in advertising techniques for necromancy, does not give the actual words of conjuration. From other sources, however, we know what such a rite would involve.

Central to most of the experiments in the Munich manual are formulas of varying length that hinge on the terms *coniuro*, *adiuro* and *exorcizo*, which are essentially interchangeable with each other and with other words meaning 'I command'. Indeed, the conjurations are so centrally important to necromantic experiments that the art of necromancy (as that term is commonly used in later medieval parlance) can even be referred to simply as the conjuring of spirits. Reduced to its generic essentials, the typical conjuration is in the form, 'I conjure you, thus-and-such spirits, by the holy names, by all the saints of God, etc., to carry out my will.' We may speak of the declaration ('I conjure you'), the address ('thus-and-such spirits'), the series of invocations ('by the holy names,

etc.'), and the instruction ('to carry out my will') as the four primary elements virtually always found in conjurations. While each is of fundamental significance, they are important in different ways: the instruction indicates the nature of the command, the address makes it clear whom or what the necromancer is commanding, the declaration is the expression of intent to command, and the invocations are the sources of power by virtue of which he is able to command. In all these essential elements conjurations are analogous to exorcisms; indeed, the terms 'conjuration' and 'exorcism' are essentially interchangeable in medieval usage, regardless of whether the intent is to summon or to dispel the evil spirits.

Not all the verbal formulas used in the handbook are conjurations: there are also incantations that serve as glosses interpreting sympathetic magic (especially in the psychological experiments), and at times prayers addressed to God (especially in the *Book of Consecrations*, but note also that no. 22 speaks of a *coniuracio* with reference to the prayer *Deus, creator omnium rerum*, while no. 36 uses the term *oraciones* for a series of verses beginning 'I adjure you, King of kings and Lord of lords …').[2] But because the most common formulas are conjurations, it is entirely appropriate for necromancy to be known also as the art of conjuring demons.

The conjurations of the necromancer are in certain respects perhaps similar to the liturgical curses that Lester Little has analysed: they adapt ritual language to purposes that seem morally doubtful, although cursing a violator of monastic property rights might have appeared less problematic to a medieval monk than it does to a modern reader.[3] But while the necromancer's formulas do at times curse the spirits and threaten prospective victims,[4] in formal and structural terms the language of the conjurations does not closely resemble that of the curses Little discusses. Further, liturgical curses are inherently the communal acts of a community such as a religious house or cathedral chapter, whereas the conjurations express the will of a single necromancer. The curses assume direct divine agency, while the conjurations presuppose the compliance of created spirits.

The following (from no. 3) may be taken as a representative conjuration:

> **[Declaration:]** I conjure **[Address:]** you demons inscribed in this circle, to whom is given the power of seducing and binding women in the love of men, **[Invocations:]**
>
> - by the virtue and power of the divine majesty,
> - and by the thrones and dominations and powers and principalities of Him who spoke and they

were made,

- and by those [angels] who do not cease to cry out with one voice, saying, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest,'
- and by these names, which cause you fear and terror: Rator, Lampoy, Despan, Brulo, Dronoth, Maloqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascifin, Nartim and Lodoni,
- and by this ring which is here,
- and by the innumerable powers that you and your superiors possess,

[Instruction:] that wherever you are, you should rise up from your places without delay and go to so-and-so, and immediately without deception lead her here, and take her back when I wish. And let no one be aware of this or take account of it.

More complex in its structure is this conjuration (from no. 7):

[Address:] O Vsyr, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno, Syrtroy, Risbel, Cutroy, Lytay, Onor, Moloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor and Ym, arms-bearing spirits, whose role it is to bear arms and to deceive human senses wherever you wish, **[Declaration:]** I, so-and-so, conjure and exorcize and invoke you, **[Invocations:]**

- by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, who are called the holy Trinity,
- and by the creator of heaven and earth and of all things, visible and invisible,
- and by him who formed man from the mud of the earth,
- and by the annunciation of our Lord Jesus Christ,
- and by his nativity,
- and by his death and passion,
- and by his resurrection
- and by his ascension.

Likewise, **[Declaration:]** I conjure **[Address:]** all you aforesaid demons **[Invocations:]**

- by the gracious and most merciful and undefiled and incorrupt virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, who underwent death for us miserable sinners and recalled us to the heavenly fatherland.

Likewise, **[Declaration:]** I conjure **[Address:]** you aforesaid spirits **[Invocations:]**

- by all the holy men and holy women of God,
- and by all the apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins and widows,
- and by these most precious and ineffable names of the Creator of all, by which you all are bound, and which arouse fear in all things in heaven, on earth, and in hell, to wit Aa, Ely, Sother, Adonay, Cel, Sabaoth, Messyas, Alazabra and Osian.

Likewise, **[Declaration:]** I conjure and exorcize you **[Invocations:]**

- by the virtue and power of all your princes, kings, lords, and superiors,
- and by your virtue and capacity and power,
- and by your dwelling place, of which this [circle] is the form,

- and by all the figures present within it,

[Instruction:] that, inseparably bound to my power, you should come to me without delay, appearing in such a form that you will in no way frighten me, submissive and prepared to do and manifest to me all that I wish, and that you should do this by [the power of] all things on heaven and on earth.

To 'conjure' or 'adjure' someone meant basically to command him or her, and the terms had broad application. At one point in the Song of Songs the Bridegroom says, 'I adjure you, daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes and the hinds of the fields, not to arouse or awake the beloved.'[5] In the Merovingian era, a Bishop Nicetius wrote in a letter to one Clotsinda, 'I conjure you, Lady Clotsinda, by the tremendous Day of Judgement, that you both read this letter carefully and often try to expound it to your husband.'[6] Even in this context, where the message is clearly political and has nothing to do directly with incorporeal spirits, the command is supported by appeal to an eschatological event. In the *vita* of Saint Brendan, one sea monster says to another, 'I adjure you in the name of Saint Bridget … to leave me alone,' and the efficacy of the adjuration becomes a sore point in Bridget's holy rivalry with Brendan, whose power the monster does not bother to invoke even though he, unlike Bridget, is physically present.[7] In a context closer to that of demonic magic, ghosts too might be conjured, as becomes manifest from a series of fifteenth-century ghost stories emanating from a Cistercian house in Yorkshire. The ghosts typically cause disruption to arouse the attention of the living, but it is only when they have been conjured or commanded by someone with spiritual power, and in the name of that which is holy, that they can speak and accomplish the business for which they have come back to earth. In one case, for example, a spirit who wished poshumously to confess his sins (allegedly including murder) had to be conjured by a parish priest 'in the name of the Holy Trinity and by the power of Jesus Christ' to answer all the priest's questions, whereupon he 'spoke from his inmost bowels, not with his tongue, but as if inside an empty barrel', and received absolution.[8]

The conjurations used in late medieval Europe are no different in principle from those used in other cultures, but the precise forms are in part culturally specific. In medieval Jewish conjurations, many of which survive from the Cairo Geniza, God's authority may be brought to bear on angels or demons to induce them to do the magician's bidding. These formulas are similar in their overall force but different in structure from the conjurations used within Christendom.

Typically they are marked by six elements: first, the spirits are invoked in the name of God; second, they are adjured to perform specific tasks; third, the client is identified; fourth, the expected favours are listed; fifth, the requests are repeated and reinforced with quotations from the Bible and elsewhere, and sixth, the formulas conclude with a solemn liturgical 'Amen' or 'Selah'.[9] The resemblance to the conjurations of the Christian world is close enough that one might posit influence of Jewish magic on its Christian equivalent, but not so close as to prove simple and straightforward borrowing from one tradition to the other.

The conjurations of the Munich handbook are not always in the same form. One notable exception is a conjuration given in pseudo-Chaldean (no. 18): *Bismille araathe*…. This formula actually derives from an Arabic protoype: *Bismillahi ar-Rahma-n ar-Rahi-m*, the opening line of the Quran ('in the name of God, the merciful, the beneficent'), is a standard beginning to a Muslim invocation, and other words in the formula appear also to be garbled versions of Arabic. Shorter or longer texts of such pseudo-Chaldean appear elsewhere as well (nos 19, 20 and 21), but in these cases the very esotericism is more important than any vestigial structure.

Normally the language for conjurations in late medieval Western sources was Latin, but at times – perhaps most often when a young child was being used as a medium – the conjuration is translated into the vernacular. The Munich handbook instructs the master at one point to have the child conjure the spirit in the mother tongue (no. 27). In the Rawlinson manuscript, the text shifts to the vernacular particularly for formulas addressed to the spirits when they have come, in one case for a threat addressed to them if they do not come, and once for a 'binding' conjuration (*coniuracio ligacionis*); the intent in at least some of these cases may be that the master's young companion, who might be a mere beginner in Latin, should use the vernacular.

The declaration

One of the most widespread ways of distinguishing between magic and religion is the notion that magic is coercive whereas religion is petitionary. Martin Buber seems to assume such a contrast when he says that 'Magic desires to obtain its effects without entering into relation.'[11] Yet this distinction is questionable, partly because it is not a mode of distinction that would have been familiar to medieval Europeans, also because it provides little aid in disentangling magical

and religious elements that tend to be inextricably intertwined or even fused. It seems more useful to view demonic magic as inherently a kind of religious activity, and natural magic as lending itself readily to the intermingling of devotional elements.[12] It is the case, however, that the necromancers typically saw themselves as commanding, constraining and binding the spirits they invoked, and one of the arguments most insistently made in the theological condemnations of magic in the late Middle Ages is that such constraint is in fact not possible.[13] The magicians' conception of what they were doing is signalled already in the very opening of a formula of conjuration: the declaration is a statement of intent, indicating how the conjurer perceived his relationship with the spirits. They saw themselves as having a power analogous to that by which Christ astonished those about him (Mk 1:27, Lk 4:36), that of commanding unclean spirits and compelling their obedience.

At times the declaration is simple and unrepeated: 'I conjure you' (*coniuro vos* or *coniuro te*) is by far the most common declaration, occurring fully 147 times in the Munich handbook; equivalent formulas, such as 'I order you', 'I adjure you', 'I exorcize you' and 'I invoke you', are also common.[14] Elsewhere the declaration is compound: 'I invoke and adjure you' or 'I conjure you and command you'.[15] In longer conjurations, the declaration may be repeated intermittently as a way of breaking the litany of invocations: 'I conjure you' is in six conjurations repeated once or twice, but may occur as often as five or even eleven times.[16] Elsewhere the recurring declarations vary in their form:

> I conjure … I conjure you … I conjure you and exorcize you [and] command you …
>
> I conjure you … I conjure you and call you to witness … I adjure you [followed by eight more occurrences of 'I conjure you'].

At times the recurrence and compounding of declarations becomes forceful and dramatic:

> I conjure you and exorcize you and call you forth … I conjure you … I conjure you and order and command you … I call you forth …
>
> I invoke you powerfully … I invoke and conjure you powerfully and exorcise you … I invoke and conjure and exorcize and constrain you …

> we exorcize and command you … we exorcize and manfully command you.
>
> I invoke you on behalf of [*ex parte*] the Father, I provoke you on behalf of the Son, I invoke you on behalf of the Holy Spirit[17]

Approximately 43 per cent of the time the second and following declarations are preceded by 'likewise' (*item*), which reinforces the sense and the force of the serial construction.

But while the declarations are most often statements of command, not infrequently they express supplication: 'I supplicate you'; 'I beseech you'; 'I beseech you, I supplicate you, I request of you'; 'I pray you'; 'I pray, ask, and entreat'.[18] Alternatively, the declaration may be one not of command alone but also of constraint ('I invoke, conjure, and constrain you'), a claim to yet higher power over the spirits.[19] A command may in principle be refused; coercion may not. As with humans, however, so too with demons, the distinction becomes blurred: a command supported by sufficient authority, or coupled with compelling threats, may be as compelling psychologically as brute force is physically.

The address

If the declaration is the conjurer's statement of intent, indicating how he perceives his action *vis-à-vis* the spirits, the address is the element in the conjuration that shows which spirits were being called upon – not an insignificant matter, either from the magicians' perspective or from the viewpoint of authorities investigating the practice of magic. The address is our chief source of information for the demonology and angelology of the magicians. This topic will be explored more fully in the next chapter, but may be touched upon here. The address is sometimes an apostrophe, in the vocative case ('I conjure you, O Brimer, Suburith, Tranayrt, Lyroth, Berien, Damay'), and sometimes an appositive phrase, in the accusative case ('I conjure all you demons inscribed on this ring').[20] While the spirits are commonly both named and characterized, the name and the description do not always occur in the same part of the conjuration. And the conjuration mentioned above refers first to 'all you demons inscribed on this ring' and then addresses them twice by name. When the declaration is repeated, the address is sometimes replicated exactly as it was first given, but frequently the later declarations addresses merely the 'aforesaid demons' (*prenominatos demones*), as often as ten or eleven times in a

single conjuration.[21] When multiple demons are being conjured they are usually all named, but one conjuration addresses the demon Lylet along with her companions (*socii*), who remain unnamed.[22]

In divinatory experiments, not only the informing spirits but also the boy serving as the necromancer's medium are often conjured to tell the truth. In such cases the conjuration is addressed to the boy simply as *puer* (no. 22) or, more often, as 'young virgin' or 'virginal youth' (*virgo iuuenis*).[23] Less often, objects used in the experiments are at times conjured and thus addressed: an image or a cloak. Power-bearing names are also addressed ('O ye most holy names').[24] Two experiments have conjurations addressed to the spirit who has taken the form of a horse.[25] In most contexts, the beings whose support is most needed and whose resistance is most feared are the spirits, and they are thus the ones chiefly subject to the magician's conjuration.

The invocations

As the fundamental source of efficacy by which a conjuration works, the invocations call upon the sacred power of numinous beings, names and events, power that can be wielded against the addressees and can make them to carry out the master's will. For example, a conjuration in one experiment (no. 7) invokes the power of God; events in the life of Christ; various sacred personages (Mary, the saints, then specifically the apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and widows); the sacred names of God (which bring great fear to 'all things in heaven, on earth, and in hell'); the power of the demons' own princes, kings, lords, and superiors; the spirits' own powers; their habitation, of which the circle is a representation, and 'all the figures present within it', although in fact there are no figures thus depicted. The invocations are strung together in a manner reminiscent of a litany, in most cases between two and eight in a single conjuration, but not uncommonly as many as twenty-four. Only four experiments, all divinatory and involving the cooperation of a child medium, have conjurations with more than twenty-four invocations, and one of these runs to fully fifty-eight.[26]

Invocations can be found in mainstream Christian prayers from the late Middle Ages as well as in conjurations. The *Obsecro te* found in the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, invoked Mary by the joy she experienced at the Annunciation, by the tender care with which the Son of God entered her womb, by the joys she had in her Son, by the compassion she felt before the cross, and

so forth.[27] The difference is that here the events are conceived as having psychological force: they are persuasive because they are remembered, and the point of the prayer is to call them to the Virgin's mind so that, moved by the recollection of what she herself experienced, she will have compassion on those for whom the events of Christ's life were performed – just as Christ himself is reminded of his Passion in the *Dies irae* and urged to mercy so that his suffering may not be in vain. In magical conjurations, the sacred persons, events, and objects cited serve more as powerful but impersonal weapons in a contest of wills, by which the magician may gain the upper hand over an unwilling spirit – as *arma nigromantica*, so to speak. A closer orthodox equivalent would be the petitions in the Litany of the Saints in which Christ is asked to 'free' humanity (*libera nos, domine*) by the successive acts of his life and death (*per natiuitatem tuam*, and so forth), but here the wording posits a natural and objective relationship between the sacred events and the desired effect: the normally expected effect of Christ's passion and death is to redeem humankind, not to give necromancers power over demons. Although the invocations are often by far the lengthiest in the elements of a conjuration, their meaning thus depends on the far shorter wording of the declaration and the instruction. If the purpose of the invocations is to call upon the sacred power of persons, objects and events, this power is like electricity, capable of running the most various machines and working diverse effects, both beneficent and brutally maleficent.

The subjects whose power is invoked fall into nine general categories. The examples given here are more than merely illustrative – they include the most common and significant cases within each category – but not exhaustive:

1. ***God:***

'by God' (no. 20)

'by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit' (no. 11)

'by the undivided and inseparable Trinity in which are three persons, namely the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from both' (no. 8)

'by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, to which every name is bowed [*sic* – cf. Phil. 2:10] and every tongue proclaims Hosanna' (no. 11)

'by the living and true God' (no. 25)

'by Him who is everlasting and eternal, and by Him who gave us the grace not to stand in Hell' (no. 8)

'by God almighty, by Jesus Christ his Son, and by his Trinity, and by that providence which God had in [His] mind before the world was made, by the wisdom of God's eternity by which he made heaven stand above and established and perfected the world below … and by the prudence by which God separated light from darkness and created both, by the Word of God by which he made heaven and earth …' (no. 39)

'by the creator of heaven and earth, and by Him who created all things for the praise and glory of

his name, and by the living God, and by the holy God, and by the true God' (no. 43)
'by the virtue and power of the divine majesty' (no. 3)
'by the ineffable virtue and omnipotence of the creator' (no. 33)

2. ***Sacred names for God or Christ:***
'by the names which strike fear and terror in you' (no. 3)
'by the holy names by whose power you are bound' (no. 1)
Tetragrammaton (*passim*)
Adonay (nos 1, 7, 10, 13, 23, 25, 27, 28, 33, 35, 39)
El (nos 14, 28, 33, 39)
Ely (nos 7, 14, 23, 25, 27, 28, 35)
Eloy (nos 25, 27, 28, 33, 35, 39)
Alpha et O (nos 10, 25, 27, 28, 33, 39)
Emanuel (nos 20, 23, 23, 25, 27, 28, 33, 39)
Messyas (nos 7, 10, 23, 27, 28, 39)
Soter (nos 7, 10, 25, 27, 28, 39)
Sabaoth (nos 1, 5, 7, 10, 13, 23, 25, 27, 33, 35, 39)
62 unspecified names of Christ (no. 39)
99 names spoken by the daughters of Israel (no. 33)

3. ***Events from the life of Christ (usually emphasizing the Passion):***
'by the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the baptism of Christ; by the fast of Christ; by the death of Christ; by the Passion of Christ; by the resurrection of Christ; by the ascension; by the coming of the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete' (no. 40)
'by the annunciation of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the sacred fast of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the baptism of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the temptation of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the 1,006 wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the 106 wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the 56 wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ, not including the others from his head to his feet; by the crown of thorns which they placed on the head of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and they knelt down [and] mocked him, saying "Hail, king of the Jews"; by the reed and the blows with which they struck Christ; and by the three nails; by the lance with which the sacred body of Our Lord Jesus Christ was pierced, and at once blood and water flowed out; by the outburst of the holiness of Our Lord Jesus Christ, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit"' (no. 38; cf. no. 39)

4. ***The saints:***
'by all the holy men and holy women [*sanctos et sanctas*] of God'
'by the four evangelists, Luke, Mark, Matthew, [and] John; by the four sermons; by the twelve apostles; by the three magi, Caspar, Balthasar, [and] Melchior; by the patriarchs [and] prophets; by the martyrs and confessors; and by all the popes of Rome, and all the virgins and widows; and by all the bishops; and by all the abbots; by all the priors; by all the provosts; by all the archdeacons; and by all deacons; by all monks; by all nuns; by all priests; by all deacons and subdeacons; by all the saints of God; by the merits of all the saints; by all the Christian people; and by all the saints who are in heaven and on earth; and by the 144 thousand innocents …' (no. 38)
'by the faith of the prophets, by the proclamations of the patriarchs, by the dignity of the twenty-four elders, by the creed of the apostles, by the passion of the martyrs, by the confessing of the confessors, by the chastity of the virgins, by the gospels of the evangelists …' (no. 39)
by the virginity of Mary, John the Evangelist, Catherine, Agatha, Cecilia, and Barbara (nos 27, 28).[28]
'by all the bodies of the saints that lie in Rome' (no. 12)

5. ***The Virgin Mary:***

'by Saint Mary the virgin' (no. 29)

'by the gracious and most merciful and undefiled and uncorrupt virgin Mary, the mother of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who, dying for us wretched sinners, called us to the heavenly fatherland' (no. 7)

by her virginity (no. 28)

by her tears (no. 40)

by her milk (no. 12)

by her names – Queen, Flower, Rose, Lily, Ladder, Wisdom, Life, Sweetness, Mercy, and Hope (no. 10)

6. ***The angels:***

'by the angels and archangels, thrones and dominations, principalities, powers, virtues of the heavens, cherubim and seraphim' (no. 40)

'by the thrones, dominations, powers, and principalities of Our Lord Jesus Christ; and by all the angels and archangels who dwell before the throne of God, crying out with one voice, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest."' (no. 9)

'by the nine orders of angels' (no. 29)

by the archangels Michael, Gabriel and Raphael (no. 38)

7. ***Material creatures:***

'by all things that were and are and will be' (no. 2)

'by all things that exist beneath the heavens' (no. 35)

'by all the powers of heaven and earth' (no. 35)

'by heaven and earth, by the sea, by all things that are in them, by all emperors, by all kings, by all princes, by all counts, by all knights, by all citizens' (no. 38)

'by all things that the four parts of the world contain, and by the ages of the world, and by all animals that exist beneath the heavens, and by serpents and flying things, bipeds, tripeds, quadrupeds' (no. 40)

'by heaven and earth, the sea and hell, and all things existing in them' (no. 11)

by the heavenly and earthly Paradise (no. 10)

'by the eternity of all creatures' (no. 5)

by the five *secula* and seven *etates* of the world (no. 39)

'by the Sun and Moon and all the heavenly stars, and by all those things which have [power] to frighten and constrain you, and by the power of which it behoves you to come to us who summon you' (no. 6)

'by all things which have [power] to terrify, constrain, and bind you, and whose command it behoves you to fulfill completely' (no. 11)

'by your virtue and power, and by all things that have power against you' (no. 11)

by the sacraments of baptism (no. 33)

by the eucharist (nos 12, 38, 39)

by the four rivers of Paradise (no. 8)

8. ***The Last Judgement:***

'by the fearful day of judgement' (no. 35)

'by the fearful day of judgement of God most high, and by the fiery consumption, and by the glassy sea which is before the gaze of the divine majesty, and by the four animals … before the throne of the divine majesty, with eyes before and behind' (no. 33)

'by the fearful day of judgement, on which you are all to be damned' (no. 40)

9. The rulers of the demons:

'by Toth, your prince; by Zambrim et Mambrim; by Vsuel [and] by Saduel, to whom you are held to obey and tell the truth' (no. 33)

'by the power and dignity of Lucifer, Aphaleon and Neutrion' (no. 8)

'by your master Astaroth' (no. 40)

'by all your princes, kings, lords and superiors, and by your hell, and by all those things that exist in it'. (no. 10)

'by the virtue and power of all your princes, kings, lords and superiors, and by your [own] virtue and potentiality and potency [*possibilitatem ac potenciam*], and by your dwelling place, of which this [circle] is a form, and by all the figures abiding in it' (no. 7)

The invocations used by far most often and consistently are those in the first two categories – those appealing to the power of the divine persons, powers and names. Of these, the most common is the Tetragrammaton, the *nomen altissimum* in no. 14, spelled *Tetragramaton* (nos 1, 10, 13, 14, 25, 27, 28, 35), and also produced as Y-V-E and HX-V-V-HV, while Y-V-E-X is given as a name used by Abraham (no. 33).[29] The most extended and perhaps the most interesting series of invocations referring to the divine names is one (no. 33) with thirty-one specific names associated with events from salvation history, particularly the Exodus:

> We exorcise and command you by the most mighty and potent name of God, El, strong and wondrous; by Him who spoke and it was made; by all his names; and by the Name YVE, which Moses heard and spoke … and by the name YVEX, and with the name [Y]V[E]X, which Abraham heard, and he knew the almighty God; and by the name Joth, and with the name Joth, which Jacob heard from the angel accompanying him, and he was freed from the hand of his brother Esau; and by the name Eyzaserie, and with the name Eyzaserie, which Moses heard on the mountain, and he merited to be now with God, and to hear him speaking in the flame; and by the name Anathematon, and with the name Anathematon, which Aaron heard, and he became eloquent and wise …

This conjuration proceeds to invoke the names the names Sabaoth, Oristion, Eloy, Yephaton, Arbitrios, Elyon, Adonay, Pantheon and Arimon, by which Moses caused the plagues in Egypt; Geremon, by which he freed the Israelites; Yegeron, by which he divided the Red Sea; Anabona, by which he merited to receive the tablets of the law; Egyryon, by which Joshua overcame his foes; Patheon, by which David was saved from Goliath, and so on.[30]

Names for Christ are sometimes derived from biblical images, especially in

one extended series (no. 39):

> Messyas, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Panthon, Panthocrathon, Eloy, Theos, Hon, Vision, Saviour, Alpha and Omega, First and Last, First Born, Beginning and End, way, truth, and wisdom, virtue, Paraclete, I am who am, who are, mediator, lamb, sheep, ram, calf, serpent, kid, Word, image, glory, grace, salvation, light, salt, peace, splendour, bread, font, vine, shepherd, prophet, undying hope, king, father, almighty, merciful, eternal, highest good, Trinity, unity, Father, El, Eloy, Eloe, Eleon, Saday, Symator, Tu, Ye, Ye, Prince of Peace, Enstriel, spirit, fear, goodness, thou, unity of unities, threefold godhead.

Occasionally names for God are derived from Hebrew or Greek liturgical formulas: AGLA (no. 33), the common magical abbreviation for the Hebrew *Ata gibor leolam Adonai* ('Thou art mighty for ever, O Lord'); *Theos* (no. 39), *Yschiros* (no. 28), and *Athanatos* (nos 28, 33), names derived from the liturgical *trisagion*, taken over into the Latin liturgy of Good Friday in the original Greek); *Eleyson* (no. 28), from the *Kyrie eleison*. Other names derived from Greek titles are *ho ōn* (nos 14, 23, 27, 28, 33) or simply *Hon* (no. 25) ('The Existing One'), and Pancraton (nos 28, 33) or Panthocrathon (no. 39), presumably variants on *Pantocrator*, 'the Almighty' or 'Ruler of All'.[31]

In short, what Joseph Kaster says about mastery of the divine names in ancient Egyptian ritual applies in Jewish and Christian contexts as well: 'whoever knows the god's real name, secret and ineffable and taboo, has control over him in the sense that he can evoke his power. In all ceremonial magic, the essential portion of the spell is the calling forth of the spirit or deity by *name*; when he is evoked by his real name, he must work the desire of the magician who "controls" him. This is "a name to conjure with".'[32]

On occasion the names of the demons, like those of God and Christ, are represented as possessing power: one invokes the demonic names Apolyn, Gebel, Astaroth, Tereol, Falmar and Tyroces (no. 5); another has an invocation 'by the name of your highest prince' (no. 27).

Certain conjurations invoking events from the life of Christ make explicit what is presumably implied elsewhere, that they are calling not so much upon the events themselves as upon the power manifested in the events: 'by the power by which Our Lord Jesus Christ entered in to his disciples when the doors were closed' (no. 35); 'by the power of Our Lord Jesus Christ, to wit that for us

humans he descended from heaven and was born of the virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate …' (no. 38).

On rare occasions the invocations appeal to the very practice of magic, whether historical or present: spirits are conjured by 'all the experiments of Virgil [the necromancer]' (no. 38),[33] by the ring brought for the experiment (no. 3), or by the magical circle used for the experiment, 'by which you are effectively called forth' (no. 9). In view of the magical powers often ascribed to Solomon, it is not surprising to find his rings invoked, along with the signs and names inscribed on them (nos 28, 33); his seven signs, his seal, and his characters (nos 27, 38); or his wisdom (nos 12, 30, 38).[34] Often the invocations show a preference for saints grouped in threes: most especially the three magi, Caspar, Balthasar and Melchior; also the three young men Sydrac, Mysaach and Abdenago and the three patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.[35] The virgin child medium conjures spirits by his own virginity, and the master conjures him by the virginity he has maintained and the baptism he has received (nos 27, 28).

When Oriens is conjured, the invocations refer to his own dignities and subordinate spirits: 'by your kings, and by all your royal powers; by Sotuem [and] Sortfen; by your Sun, a most holy and sacred radiant treasure, bright and shining, which your excellence sends forth and which your manifest and benign power sends back; and by all your dignities and commands' (no. 41).

A conjuration from the supplementary material in Clm 849 commands the demons by virtue of two biblical analogies:

> O you demons, and all princes and every kind of demons, whom your guilt cast out from heaven on high, I adjure you and order you to obey my command and my precepts. Just as God commanded the Jordan and it stood still that the children of Israel might walk across without hindrance, so to I command you to obey my precepts day and night, at all hours and moments, [and be subject] to my precepts. Just as the Red Sea obeyed Moses and Aaron when it divided and presented a dry path for the children of Israel, so by invocation of Our Lord Jesus Christ I command you to obey me without delay, without harm or deception to me or any living thing …[36]

The Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, too, uses analogies in some of its conjurations: as Christ was 'fixed' to the cross by the Jews, so may the aerial spirits be 'fixed' by the power of the holy names; as the almighty Father (*sic*!) lay in the tomb for two days and arose on the third day, so may the aerial spirits

rise up and come forth; may the master proceed securely along his way, as Jesus proceeded through the midst of his enemies and none of them laid a hand on him because his hour had not come.[37] These formulas are similar in form to invocations, and presumably the intended force is the same: the purpose of the analogy is presumably not only to clarify what the conjurer intends (in which case it would be ancillary to the instruction) but to call upon the power of the sacred event that is recalled.

The instruction

The part of the conjuration directing the addressee what to do is typically introduced with the conjunction meaning 'that' (*ut*, or sometimes *quatenus*, more rarely *quod*). The formula of instruction may be repeated once, twice, or more often (in one conjuration for experiment no. 39 as many as ten times), in which case the manuscript may give the full version only the first time and only the incipit for subsequent occurrences.[38] Necromantic texts sometimes speak of 'obediencial conjurations', intended to compel the spirits' submission; 'bonds' or binding conjurations such as the 'bond of Solomon' (*vinculum Solomonis*), used in the Munich handbook's divinatory experiments to keep the spirits from departing until they have answered all questions;[39] and 'licencial conjurations', dismissing the spirits and requiring them to return at the magician's will.[40] The conjurations found in the Munich handbook, however, can most usefully be divided into 'summoning conjurations' and 'executing conjurations'.

Summoning conjurations are used to instruct a spirit or spirits to come before the necromancer ('that you come in a benign form', 'that you should come to me', 'that you should have no rest until you come to me', 'that you should at once proceed here', or 'that you should be compelled to come here').[41] They may be commanded to appear in a reflecting surface as part of a divinatory experiment ('that you should all appear') or to send another spirit or spirits for that purpose ('that you should command your master that he himself should come', 'that you should take pains to send one of your subordinates', 'that you should send me a certain spirit', 'that you should have your subordinates come here', 'that you, N., should make spirit N. come to me').[42]

Executing conjurations, which require the spirit or spirits to carry out the will of the master, are more varied in proportion to the various purposes of the experiments. In psychological experiments the spirits are enjoined to affect the minds and hearts of the individuals singled out as victims ('that you should sow

and stir up hatred between them', 'that you should seduce the heart and mind of N. to my love', 'that you should never have rest until you make her heart burn with my love').[43] In divinatory experiments involving a young boy as medium, either the master or the boy may conjure the father of lies or his minions to tell the truth, or the master may conjure the boy himself to do so ('that you should relate to us whatever you see', 'that you should tell me the truth', 'that you should show me the truth', 'that you should have no rest unless you reveal to this boy the thief and the theft').[44] The spirits may be instructed to make possible the conditions for the bestowal of information – to enlighten the boy's mind, or to cause his fingernail to grow bright and appear large.[45] These conjurations may even involve the explicit insistence that the spirit or the child not lie, nor even have the power to conceal or deceive ('that you should have no power of concealing, but should manifest all that you see').[46] The spirits may be conjured to entrust a treasure to the master ('that you should leave me a treasure'), to fetch and replace a woman ('that you should go to so-and-so and immediately fetch her here, and return her when I wish'), to guard some object, not to harm the master in the course of the experiment ('that you should have no power to harm me'), to protect the master ('that you should forthwith have these terrors removed', 'that you should avenge me against him who is trying to harm me'), or to obey the master's command generally ('that you should obey my command').[47] The child medium may be conjured not only to tell the truth but, at an earlier stage, to gaze into his fingernail ('that you should gaze into [your] nail and see whether it becomes bright or not').[48]

In some conjurations, to be sure, the distinction between summons and execution breaks down. In divinatory experiments the spirits may be simultaneously commanded to come, to make themselves seen, and to provide information ('that you should appear to me and give true responses', 'that you should come and appear and tell me the truth', 'that you should come and appear and reveal this to us', 'that you should appear and respond and reveal all the truth', 'that you should appear and reveal to us the truth', 'that you should come and answer me and tell the truth').[49] Elsewhere they may told to come and bring an object ('that you should come to me, bringing a consecrated ring'), to come and transport the necromancer ('that you should come to me without delay, and carry me to such-and-such a place'), to come and consecrate an object ('that you should come here and consecrate this ring'), or simply to come and fulfill the master's will ('that you should come to me and carry out my entire will').[50]

Executing conjurations need not be addressed to the spirits by whose power

the operation is done. Experiment no. 12 contains two instructions to the woman whose passionate love is required, although the second of these vacillates between the second and the third person: 'that you should be unable to sleep until you complete my libidinous desire' and 'that, as the hart longs for the fountain of water [Ps. 41:2 Vult.], so you, N., should long for my love; and as the raven longs for the carcasses of dead people, so you should long for me [*sic*!]; and as this wax melts before the fire, so you, N., should long for my love, so that you are unable …' In experiment no. 11, for a cloak of invisibility, the master conjures the cloak itself 'that no one may be able to see me'. In the simple experiments to obtain a horse, as in the complex experiment to procure a flying throne, the master conjures the horse or the throne to transport him, usually to a specified location ('that you should carry me', 'that you should lead me to such-and-such a place').[51]

A bond of Satan or Mirage

One lengthy conjuration appears both in the Munich necromancer's handbook (no. 32) and again twice in the appended material; versions of it by three different hands are thus included in Clm 849.[52] The two isolated versions, which agree quite closely in their wording, are addressed to the demon (or 'ancient serpent') named Mirage; the version incorporated into the manual, which differs markedly from these at many points, addresses the Devil, or Satan, 'most wicked enemy of the faith, death of the human race, tempter of righteousness, lover of evils, root and kindling of vices, seducer of humans, and master', 'most wicked dragon', 'accursed and most mendacious spirit' and 'author of diabolical power, inventor of evils'. The conjuration begins anomalously with a statement regarding the powers being brought to bear against the Devil ('may the angels and archangels accuse you … may the elect of God accuse you'), followed by a prayer for divine aid ('God … I invoke your holy name … I humbly implore that you may deign to give me aid against this spirit Satan'). These elements are followed by simply commands addressed to the spirit himself ('Hear, therefore, Devil … come forth … I adjure you … to be subject to my commands and carry them out'). The instructions are for the most part purely generic: 'I adjure you … to do quickly whatever I command you', or 'to do quickly whatever I order and command of you', or 'I adjure and constrain and command you … to obey me without any impediment or harm or wound or affliction to my body or soul'. At the end, however, the instruction is specific but allows for such variation that the

effect is still to make this a generic conjuration, for virtually any purpose:

> [Come] to me in this hour, without any harm or injury or affliction to my soul or my body, or send another [spirit] or have him come, who will know perfectly how to fulfil my every desire, and will not withdraw from me until I have given him leave and he has fully satisfied my will. I conjure you by all that is written above to make a spirit come to me carrying gold and silver [coins] and [hidden] treasures, before I withdraw from this place. And as often as I invoke him, let him appear at once, benign and humble, harming no one, and ministering to me in all things, and fulfilling my will. So be it, so be it, amen. And bring or send me a spirit willing and competent in all knowledge. May he have the power to make me invisible whenever I wish. And let him please me, and be always under my power. And provide him also with the power to consecrate books and experiments, and everything that I wish. Amen, amen, amen.

Repeatedly the will of the conjuror is identified with that of God: the spirit is told that God himself commands him, or that the conjuror does so not by his own power but by that of God, or 'by the power which I have over you, Mirage, given me by God almighty in baptism and the other sacraments'. At one point the conjuration reads, 'The Word made flesh commands you, He who was born of the virgin commands you, Jesus of Nazareth commands you, He who created you commands you to carry out quickly what I ask or wish to have from you or desire to know; the more you delay in doing what I command you, the greater will be your punishment from day to day.' The reminder of the punishment awaiting the spirit on the Day of Judgement, and the threat of heightened torment as a penalty for disobedience, is also repeated – somewhat as elsewhere (no. 2) a spirit is threatened with being cast forever into the depths of the sea.[53]

The conjuration of Mirage, from the supplementary material in the codex, is followed by material that the main block does not take over: a set of instructions for constructing a circle in a secret location, with various prayers, and supplementary conjurations in which Mirage is threatened with intensified pains if he does not present himself: 'If not, I exorcize you that the chains of your punishment may be rife with sulpur and pitch.'[54] The spirit is to be conjured a second and third time, if necessary, but no more.[55]

Adolf Franz published a lengthy formula of exorcism taken from a West Frankish manuscript of the ninth century, which reads in part:

… I conjure you, Devil, Satan, Enemy,

- by God the Father almighty;
- and by those virtues which the Lord himself made and makes;
- by those angels he has before himself in [his] mind; …
- by those four animals which uphold the world itself;
- by every good creation that God has made in heaven and on earth;
- and by the light and the earth and all its creeping things;

by all these things I conjure you that you should not have power to remain, for he commands you who ordered you to be cast down from the kingdom of heaven on high. Hear, therefore, and be afraid [*Audi ergo et time ergo*], Devil, Satan, Enemy; you are banned, and again I speak to you and conjure you

- by that king who rules and commands all things …

Again I have said to you, O infernal enemies, by all things that I have had in mind for you [in] so great a conjuration as this, that you should not have power to remain or to do harm or to rebel…. I exorcize you, O accursed one, most unclean spirit, basilisk dragon, noxious serpent … that you should go out from this temple of God … I exorcize you, O unclean spirit, author of sins, deceiver of souls, envious one, insatiable homicide who endeavoured to kill the immortal man whom God created by his power…. In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ I adjure you, O enemy … I conjure you and entreat [*obtestor*] you, O enemy, [that] you should not have power to remain here in this person's soul or body … I adjure you

- by the gates of Paradise;
- by the six golden candlesticks [Apoc 1:12]…

I speak to you in truth, O unclean spirit, dragon, I adjure you,

- by the Holy Spirit;
- I adjure you by the six fiery furnaces;
- I adjure you by the cherubim and seraphim;
- I adjure you by the wings of the winds;
- I adjure you by the mystery of Christ's [passion];
- I adjure you by the resurrection of Christ the Lord;
- I adjure you by the precious pearls;
- I adjure you by the years [and] by the days;
- I adjure you by the passion of the saints;
- I adjure you by him who who freed the people Israel from the Red Sea, who freed Daniel from the lion's den, who illumined the blind, healed the paralytics, [and] cleansed the lepers.

I adjure you now by him, O enemy, unclean one, inveterate dragon, [that] you should depart from the soul and withdraw from the body or from all the inward parts of [this] servant of God….

It is not I who command you, nor my sins, O most unclean spirit, but the immaculate lamb, Jesus Christ Our Lord, the Son of God, commands you.

The angels press upon [*urguent*] you, the archangels press upon you, the prophets press upon you, the apostles press upon you, the martyrs press upon you, the confessors press upon you. Therefore may the arts of the Devil fail [*defici[a]nt ergo artes diaboli*] by day [and] by night …

I exorcize you, O author of diabolical power, inventor of malice …[56]

The essential elements of this formula are exactly those seen in necromantic conjurations of a much later era. There are, to be sure, distinctive embellishments. First, the devil being expelled is not only named (Devil, Satan, Enemy) but characterized: he is the 'accursed one, most unclean spirit, basilisk dragon, noxious serpent', or the 'unclean spirit, author of sins, deceiver of souls, envious one, insatiable homicide who endeavoured to kill the immortal man whom God created by his power', and as the 'author of diabolical power, the inventor of malice', and so forth. Second, he is expelled from the energumen's body as well as his soul. Third, it is expressly said not merely that the exorcist commands in the name of Christ (as in Acts 16:18) but that Christ himself is the one who commands, even if through the exorcist. Fourth, various sacred figures are represented as participating in the exorcist's struggle with the malign spirit: the angels, archangels, prophets, apostles, martyrs and confessors all place pressure upon the possessing devil (*urguent*, for *urgent*), or denounce him (reading *arguunt*). And fifth, the second-person address is interrupted with a third-person subjunctive urging that the Devil's arts or snares may come to naught. The essential structure of the formula remains unaffected by these elements, but the network of relations is rendered more complex. The exorcist insults the spirit with whom he is engaged in struggle, identifies his own action as that of Christ, and calls upon the angels and saints not simply as possessors of power that can be tapped through invocation but as active participants in the contest. The representation of the exorcism as a cosmic combat, perhaps a local instance of that apocalyptic conflict that Christ initiated in his own exorcisms and carried forward in his passion and resurrection, here becomes exceptionally dramatic and explicit.

As already indicated, the conjurations of the necromancer are identical in form to the exorcisms designed to dispel demons. The resemblance may be seen in a manual for exorcizing the possessed that was printed several times in the late fifteenth century went by the title *The Conjuration of Malign Spirits*

Dwelling in the Bodies of People, as it is Done in Saint Peter.[57] The simplest form of exorcism used here is simply, 'I exorcize you, unclean spirit, in the name of God the Father almighty ✠ and in the name of Jesus Christ his Son ✠ and by the power of the Holy Spirit ✠ that you should recede from this servant of God, N.' Like the conjurations of exorcists, however, the formulas used here become extended through repetition of the instruction and through numerous invocations:

> I conjure you, O Devil, by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by the patriarchs and prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and all the holy men and holy women of God … and by our Lord Jesus Christ I conjure you, that you should recede from this servant of God, N. I conjure you, O Devil, by the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he endured for the human race, that you should recede from this servant of God, N. I conjure you, O Devil, by the holy cross on which our Lord [died for] the servant of God, N., that you should not be able to conceal yourself in his body, nor in his members, nor in his head. I conjure you, Devil, by the nails of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which his hands and feet were affixed to the cross, that you should withdraw from this servant of God, N., that you not be able to conceal yourself in his mouth or head. I conjure you, Devil, by the lance that Longinus held, by which he pierced the side of our Lord Jesus Christ, and blood and water flowed out, that you not be able to conceal yourself in his throat or on his tongue or under his tongue, or in his other members. I conjure you, Devil, by the death and burial of Christ, from which he rose from the dead on the third day, that you not be able to conceal yourself in his bowels or inward parts. I conjure you, Devil, by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, in which he appeared to his disciples, saying, 'It is I, do not be afraid,' and he commanded them, saying, 'Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creatures; he who believes and is baptized will be saved, but he who does not believe will be condemned'; by the aforesaid words I conjure and admonish you that you should recede from this servant of God, N. I conjure you, O Devil, by the ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you should recede from this servant of God, N. I conjure you, Devil, by the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete most high, whom our Lord Jesus entrusted to his disciples in fiery tongues, that you should recede from this servant of God, N., and not return any more, nor make any [spirit] return to him, and as God separated heaven from earth, truth from falsehood, good from evil, sweet from bitter, so

> may you be separated from this servant of God and not be able to approach him any more …

The exorcist claims directly the authority of Christ, proclaiming that Christ himself commands the spirit to withdraw:

> He commands you, accursed devil, who walked on the sea with dry feet…. He commands you, accursed devil, who commanded the winds and the sea and the storms. He commands you, accursed devil, who ordered that you be cast from the heights of heaven to the depths of Earth….

He further threatens the spirit by reminding him of the punishments prepared for him: 'Nor should you be unaware, Satan and Belzebuch, that pains and torments will come upon you in the day of judgement and in that eternal day when God will come like a fiery furnace to judge the living and the dead….' Not only the general structure of the formulas but even the precise wording echoes the conjurations of the Munich handbook and other necromantic texts. At one point, for example, the manual for dispelling a demon parallels the conjuration of Mirage:

> You, therefore, most evil spirit, enemy of humankind, death's plunderer [*raptor*], evader of justice [*iustitie declinator*], root of evils, font of vices, seducer of humans [*deductor hominum*] … master of demons …
>
> You, therefore, most evil Mirage, enemy of the faith of humankind, inventor [*repertor*] of death, herald of injustice [*iniusticie declarator*], root of evils, inciter of vices, seducer of humans [*seductor hominis*], master of demons …[58]

Unlike the rite in this oft-published work, the exorcism of elves and other 'demons' from a fifteenth-century medico-magical manuscript makes no pretence of official status, yet it is identical in its basic form to other exorcisms and conjurations:

> In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, amen. I conjure you, elves and all kinds of demons, of the night or of the day, by the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and the undivided Trinity, and by the intercession of the most blessed and glorious ever virgin Mary, by the prayers of the prophets, by the merits of the patriarchs, by the intercessions

[*suffragia*] of the angels and archangels, by the intervention of the apostles, by the passion of the martyrs, by the faith of the confessors, by the chastity of the virgins, and by the intercession of all the saints, and by the Seven Sleepers, whose names are Malchus, Maximian, Dionysius, John, Constantine, Serapion, [and] Mortian [*MS* Martimanus], and by the name of the Lord God which is blessed forever ✠A✠G✠L✠A✠, that you should cause or inflict no harm or any evil on this servant of God, N., whether in sleep or while awake. ✠ Christ has conquered [*sic*] ✠ Christ reigns ✠ Christ rules ✠ may Christ bless us ✠ [and] defend us from every evil. ✠ Amen.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, amen. ✠ In my name they will cast out demons, they will speak with new tongues, they will take up serpents, and if they drink any poison it will not harm them, [and] they will put their hands on the sick and will cure them. ✠ Wondrous cross, dispeller of sorrow, recovery of health. ✠ Behold the cross of the Lord; flee, adverse ones [*partes adverse*]. ✠ The lion of the tribe of Judah has conquered, the root of David has sprouted [*allam?*]. ✠ Christ conquers ✠ Christ reigns ✠ Christ rules ✠ may Christ defend this servant of God from every fantasy and every vexation of the Devil, and from every evil, at every hour and everywhere, by the power of the holy cross ✠ Amen ✠ agios ✠ hyskyros ✠ athanathos ✠ eleyson ✠.[59]

The same may be said of an exorcism of ‘malignant spirits’ found in the same manuscript:

Hear, O accursed Satan, I adjure you by the name of the eternal God and of Our saviour, His Son Jesus Christ. Depart, trembling and sighing, overcome with your envy. Let there be nothing in common between you and your angels and the servant of God, N. Do not harm him or appear visibly before him, in his sleep or while he is awake. Again I conjure you demons or malignant spirits, whoever you are, by the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ on the cross, and by his bloody wounds. Again I conjure you by the death of Jesus Christ on the cross and the giving up of his spirit, which descended into hell and despoiled it, that now and henceforth you should always flee from this servant of God, N., and never enter into him, but go out and withdraw from him. Again I conjure you by the power of the words written here, if thou are or ye are within him, that thou shouldst or ye should (if you are many) go out from him, so that he may have no terror or disturbance from henceforth. This

> compels you: may the Word made flesh ✠ the holy cross of Christ, the nails, [and] the crown of thorns drenched in the blood of the Lamb of God on the cross save him, defend the bearer here and everywhere from every adversity and perversity of the Devil. In the name of the Father, etc.[60]

In exorcisms the boundary between mainstream tradition and deviant usage is difficult to define with precision, but the extreme cases are easy enough to determine. One late medieval manuscript requires that the energumen be laid before an altar after mass, inside a chalk diagram, with three stoles binding his body; another requires that the possessed person be dressed in a chasuble and stole and made to lie on his back, with feet turned toward the altar, while the exorcist recites a ritual bond (*vinculum*) to control the evil spirits by the power of various divine names.[61] When Niccolò Consigli was tried at Florence in 1384, for example, he was accused not only of summoning demons to work harm but also of exorcizing the possessed and thus usurping clerical prerogatives. When a ten-year-old girl was brought to him he cured her of possession by laying her on a rug, and intoning a diabolical incantation that began 'Tant muructa? tiri?'[62] In comparison, the exorcisms cited above share their basic form (from declaration through instruction) with the necromantic conjurations we have examined, and they all rest on the mainstream theological assumption that the will of the demons can be constrained, with God's permission and aid, and through the power of the sacred. The necromancers shared with fully official exorcists a belief in the power of the holy to command and ultimately constrain the unclean spirits.

Following a suggestion of Lynn White, André Goddu has sought to explain what he sees as the 'failure of exorcism' in the fifteenth century largely in terms of a heightened consciousness of the possibility that exorcism may be ineffective. Faced with these diminished expectations, theologians began to argue that exorcism was indeed effective on the spiritual plane even if residual bodily effects remained. Alternatively, one could fall back on the time-honoured notion that if exorcism did not succeed then *prima facie* the condition was not truly one of demonic possession.[63] Interesting as his argument is, it rests upon the questionable assumption that the use of exorcism in fact declined. What Goddu shows is that in the October volumes of the *Acta sanctorum* there is diminished occurrence of exorcism in materials from the fifteenth century. But he seems to be referring mainly not to actual exorcisms performed by saints while they were alive, but rather expulsion of demons worked at the tombs of

deceased saints, which have indirect relevance at most to the study of exorcism. More compelling is the suggestion of Nancy Caciola, that precisely in the fifteenth century there was *increasing* interest in exorcism as a quasi-liturgical ritual, and that extensive manuals on exorcism, with formulas and instructions for its use, are chiefly the produce of this century. To be sure, there were lengthy formulas in earlier eras, mainly derived from baptismal exorcisms, but before the fifteenth century exorcisms tended to be more concise, and the techniques in large measure improvised.[64] The Munich handbook was thus riding on the crest of a new development: what it represents is a particular version (or, from an orthodox perspective, perversion) of a more general interest in the elaboration and assembly of materials for the commanding of malign spirits. Once again we can see conjuration as the reverse side of a tapestry whose obverse consists of orthodox exorcism – both taking on new significance, as it happens, at the same time that literal tapestries were becoming more significant and more elaborate in European artistic practice.

Notes

1 A.G. Little, ed., *Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicantium, saeculo XIII compositus a quodam Fratre Minore Anglico de provincia Hiberniae, secundum codicem Dunelmensem editus* (Aberdeen: Typis Academicis, 1908), 22. Barbara Newman, who is working on the theme of demon-preachers in and around the thirteenth century, called this text to my attention.

2 See Richard P.H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988): 277, on texts in which it appears that God is being commanded or conjured.

3 Lester K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993).

4 See the curse directed against thieves in the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, fols 121r–121v: *Obscurentur oculi eorum ne videant et dorsum eorum semper incurua. Irruat super eos formido et pauor in magnitudine brachij tui. Fiant inmobiles quasi lapis, donec pertranseat populus tuus, domine, donec pertranceat* [*sic*] *populus tuus* [*sic*] *iste quem possedisti, etc* …. (Cf. 124r–124v.)

5 In the Vulgate, Song of Songs 2:7, *Adiuro vos, filiae Hierusalem, per capreas cervosque camporum, ne suscitetis neque evigilare faciatis dilectam*.

6 C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939–1210* (Philadelphia, 1985), 238, citing Nicetius, *Epistulae Austrasicae*, in MGH Epp. Merow. et Karol. aev., 1/3/9, 119–22.

7 Charles Plummer, ed., *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), 143: *illa bestia fugata ad persequentem se uoce humana dixit: 'Adiuro te in nomine Brigide, uirginis Hibernensis, ut me dimittas.'*

8 M.R. James, 'Twelve medieval ghost-stories', *English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), 413–22 (no. 3). On these cases see Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Les revenants: les vivants et les morts dans la société médiévale* (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 168–73.

9 Michael D. Swartz, 'Scribal magic and its rhetoric: formal patterns in medieval Hebrew and Aramaic

incantation texts from the Cairo Genizah', *Harvard Theological Review*, 83 (1990), 163–80.

10 Rawl. 19r–20r, 124v, 139r–142r, 151v, 155r–156r; 148r–149r; 153r.

11 Martin Buber, *I and Thou*, 2nd edn, trans. Ronald Gregor Smith (New York: Scribner, 1958), 83.

12 See Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 78–80.

13 See Iohannes de Francofordia, *Quaestio, utrum potestas cohercendi demonis fieri possit per caracteres, figuras atque verborum prolationes* (1412), in Joseph Hansen, ed., *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter* (Bonn: Georgi, 190l; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 71–82. See also the conclusions of the Paris theologians, from 1398, in Jean Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Palemon Glorieux (Paris: Descle, 1961–73), vol. 10, p. 89: article 17 condemns the belief 'That by such arts demons are truly coerced and compelled and do not feign such compulsion to seduce people'.

14 *Precipio vobis* occurs six times (e.g., no. 38 and no. 39); *adiuro vos/te* twice; *exorzizo te*, *voco vos*, *invoco vos*, and *absoluo vos* also occur.

15 *Te invoco et adiuro* (no. 14); *coniuro vos et precipio vobis* (no. 39).

16 No. 27 (five times in a single conjuration), no. 39 (eleven times).

17 No. 12 (*coniuro ... coniuro te ... coniuro vos et exorcizo vos* [*et*] *impero vobis*); no. 39 (*coniuro vos ... coniuro et contestor vos ... adiuro vos* followed by eight more occurrences of *coniuro vos*); no. 8 (*vos coniuro et exorcizo, et prouoco vos ... coniuro vos ... coniuro vos et impero atque precipio vobis ... vos advoco*); no. 15 (*vos potenter invoco ... vos invoco et coniuro potenter et exorziso ... vos invoco et coniuro et exorcizo et constringo*); no. 33 (*vos exorcisamus atque imperamus ... exorcizamus atque viriliter imperamus*); no. 11 (*invoco vos ex parte Patris, prouoco vos ex parte Filij, invoco vos ex parte Spiritus Sancti*). Further examples: *coniuro vos et advoco*, followed by *coniuro vos* twice; *coniuro vos* six times, followed by *precipio vobis*; *vos exorciso et coniuro ... coniuro vos*; *vos coniuro et exorcizo et invoco ... coniuro vos ... coniuro vos et exorcizo*; *vos coniuro ... coniuro vos ... precipio vobis*; *vobis precipio ... precipio vobis*; *coniuro vos ... precipio vobis*; *vobis impero et precipio et coniuro ... coniuro vos*.

18 No. 1 (*supplico vobis* and *te deprecor*); no. 4 (*vos deprecor, vobis supplico, vos rogito*); no. 22 (*te deprecor*); no. 23 (*te exoramus*); no. 24 (*rogo ... rogo vos*); no. 29 (*te deprecor*); no. 41 (*precor te ... vocor et contestor* and *precor, rogo, et peto*).

19 E.g., no. 6 (*rogo vos, coniuro et adiuro*). no. 15 uses the forms *coniuro et constringo te*; *te invoco, coniuro, et constringo*, and *te invoco et coniuro et constringo*.

20 Both from no. 10; the latter reads *Coniuro vos, omnes demones scriptos in hoc anulo*.

21 No. 39 and no. 40.

22 No. 23.

23 In no. 27 he is addressed several times by that designation and also as simply *virgo* or *infans*.

24 Nos 4 (*ymago*), 11 (*cappa*), 24 (*O vos sanctissima nomina*). no. 40 addresses *Jaspar, Balthasar, Melchior, Smoagel, Emanuel, et deus fortis*, but this appears to be a mistake; these names should appear in invocations rather than in an address.

25 Addressed as *eque bone* in nos 17 and 43.

26 A conjuration in experiment no. 38 has thirty-four, one in no. 40 has forty-six, one in no. 33 has forty-nine, and one in no. 39 has fifty-eight.

27 Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England*, c. *1400*–c. *1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 262f.

28 Cf. *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes of Acle: An Edition of Tanner MS 407*, ed. Cameron Louis (New York: Garland, 1980), 169–70.

29 Nos 1, 10, 13, 14 (where it is called the *nomen altissimum*), 25, 27, 28, 33 (where it is said to have been used by Abraham) and 35. On the Jewish background for magical use of the divine name see K. Kohler, 'The Tetragrammaton (Shem ham-M'forash) and its uses', *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy*, 1 (1919), 19–32.

30 Compare the wording of the conjuration in Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D 252, fols 87v–89v.

31 Nos 33 (AGLA); 39 (Theos); 28 (Yschiros); 28 and 33 (Athanatos); 28 (Eleyson); 14, 23, 27, 28, 33 (On); 25 (Hon); 28, 33 (Pancraton); 39 (Panthocrathon). One of the more extraordinary invocations is *per legem legalem et per spem sperantem et per karitatem karitatiuam* (no. 14), presumably an adaptation or garbling of the three theological virtues.

32 Joseph Kaster, trans. and ed., *The Wings of the Falcon* (New York, 1968), 60.

33 On the lore of Virgil see Domenico Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, trans. E.F.M. Benecke (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895), and J.W. Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer* (Cambridge, MA, 1934).

34 See esp. F.C. Conybeare, 'The Testament of Solomon', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 11 (1899), 1–45, but also John M. Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition* (Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1974), 30–35.

35 E.g., no. 20.

36 Fols 141r–141v.

37 Rawl. MS D 252, fols 16v–17v., 72r–72v.

38 E.g., nos 27, 35, 40.

39 No. 25, *vt non recedatis ... quousque certificati fuerimus de omni re dubitabili*; no. 27, *vt non habeatis licenciam recedendi ... donec ... michi dicatis ... veritatem*, and *vt non habeatis potestatem recedendi ... donec ... meam voluntatem adimpleueritis*, and *vt virtutem talem recipias quod quocumque fueris ligata, ipsi spiritus non habeant potestatem recedendi quousque velle ligatoris perficiant*). They may also be used to ensure that the spirits will repeat the desired effect on later occasions, at the master's will (no. 9, *vt iurare vos debeatis vt predictum equum semper ad me venire cogetis*). The term 'bond' (*hoc vinculum est legendum*) occurs in no. 33.

40 E.g., Rawlinson D 252, 4v, 43v (*coniuracio obediencialis*) and 12r, 14v, and 36v (*coniuracio licencialis*).

41 Nos 1, 6, 8, and 9. Also nos 7 and 9, *quatenus ... ad me venire debeatis*, and *vt hic venire debeatis*; and no. 11, *quatenus ... huc venire debeatis*.

42 Nos 1, 6, and 13. Also no. 24, *vt mittatis ... angelos ... qui dicant michi veritatem*; no. 27, *vt ... vadas pro rege tuo et facias eum venire*; no. 38, *vt vestrum vnus ... veniat vt iste puer possit eum ... videre*; no. 41, *vt michi spiritum veritatis ... mittere digneris*.

43 Nos 5, 13, and 35. Also no. 2, *vt eatis ... et relinquatis talem in statu priori*, and *vt ...* [*talem*] *personam ... circuatis, et sensus eius ... affligatis*; no. 4, *vt ... ipsum* [?] *iuxta me taliter aligetis, vt me ... veneretur*; and no. 5, *quatenus ... odium ... inseratis*.

44 Nos 22, 24, 27, and 38. Also no. 38, *vt michi sitis obedientes et isto puero ... quod verum est ... dicatis*, and no. 39, *quod ... ostendatis et dicetis huic puero ... vbi acceptum uel reconditum sit hoc furtum*.

45 No. 22, *quatenus isti puero tribuas scienciam et intellectum, vt michi veritatem annunciet*; no. 29, *illumina istius pueri cor* [*et*] *mentem, et fac vt michi veritatem ... dicat ... vt* [?] *indicet omnia*, and *vt isti puero tribuas scienciam et intellectum, vt michi veritatem ... dicat*; no. 38, *vt ... iste puer ... possit videre furem cum furto*; no. 39, *quod vobis detis auctoritatem huic puero ... audiendi, interrogandi, et videndi*, and *vt ... vngwem huius pueri ... crescere et clarescere faciatis ... vt apparere possit ... et videre in eo furem et furtum*; no. 40, *vt ... faciatis vngwem istius pueri ... crescere et clarescere ... quod iste puer ... in eo videre possit furem uel fures et furtum*.

46 No. 27.

47 Nos 33, 3, 43, 15, 39, 40.

48 No. 27; cf. no. 22.

49 Nos 23, 27, 28, 29, 33.

50. Nos 10, 15, 10, 39.

51 Nos 14, 15, 17, and 43.

52 The conjuration on fols 59v–69v is abbreviated; the full text is given on fols 109r–118r and 139r–146r. Compare the conjuration in Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D 252, fols 24r–29r.

53 For parallels see Marvin Meyer and Richard Smith, eds, *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (1994), 157, and Kaster, *Wings of the Falcon*, 151–2. See also *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.1.13, p. 141.

54 Fols 115v and 144r, *Alioquin exorcizo te ut cathene penales tue fecundantur* [or, on 144r, perhaps *secundantur*] *sulphure et pice*.

55 Fols 111v–118r and 141r–146r.

56 Adolf Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, 2 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909), 587–96.

57 *Coniuratio malignorum spirituum in corporibus hominum existentium prout in Sancto Petro* (Rome: Stephan Plannck, ca. 1492; also Rome: Eucharius Silber, ca. 1495, and other editions).

58 Clm 849, fols 109r–109v, 139v.

59 British Library, MS Sloane 962, fols 9v–10r: *In nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti, amen. Coniuro uos elues et omnia genera demonum nocturna siue diuturna per patrem, et filium, et spiritum sanctum, atque indiuiduam trinitatem, et per intercessionem beatissime et gloriose semperque virginis Marie, per oraciones prophetarum, per merita patriarcharum, per suffragia angelorum et archangelorum, per int*[*er?*]*uentum apostolorum, per passionem martyrum, per fidem confessorum, per castitatem virginum, et per intercessionem omnium sanctorum, et per septem dormientes, hos quorum nomina sunt hec: Malchus, Maximianus, Dionisius, Iohennes, Constantinus, Seraphion, Martimanus, et per nomen domini dei quod est benedictum in secula ✠ A ✠ G ✠ L ✠ A ✠ vt non noceatis neque aliquid mali faciatis vel inferatis huic famulo dei N. neque dormiendo neque vigilando. ✠ Christus uicit* [*sic*] *✠ Christus regnat ✠ Christus imperat ✠ Christus nos benedicat ✠* [*et*] *ab omni malo deffendat ✠ Amen. In nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti, amen. ✠ In nomine meo demonia eicient, linguis loquentur nouis, serpentes tollent, et si mortiferum quid biberint non eis nocebit, super egros manos imponent et bene habebunt. ✠ Crux admirabilis, euacuacio doloris, restitucio sanitatis. ✠ Ecce crucem domini, fugite partes* [*sic?*] *adverse. ✠ Vicit leo de tribu iuda, radix Dauid* [Apoc 5:5] *allam* [*sic?*]. *✠ Christus vincit ✠ Christus regnat ✠ Christus imperat ✠ Christus hunc famulum dei N. ab omni fantasia et ab omni vexacione diaboli et ab omni malo omni hora et vbique per virtutem sancte crucis deffendat ✠ Amen ✠ agios ✠ hyskyros ✠ athanathos ✠ eleyson ✠.*

60 Fol. 10r: *Contra malignos spiritus. Audi maledicte Sathana, adiuro te per nomen eterni dei et saluatoris nostri filij eius Ihesu Christi, cum tua victus inuidia, tremens gemensque, discede. Nichil tibi neque angelis tuis sit commune cum famulo dei N., neque noceas ei, neque appareas coram illo visibiliter, sompniendo neque vigilando, et iterum coniuro vos demones siue spiritus malignos, quicumque sitis, per aspercionem sanguinis Ihesu Christi in cruce, et eius vulnera cruentata. Et iterum coniuro vos per mortem Ihesu Christi in cruce et spiritus emissionem, qui ad infernum descendit et ilum spoliauit, vt nunc et a modo semper fugiatis ab hoc famulo dei N. et nunquam in eum introeatis sed exeatis et recedatis ab eo. Et iterum coniuro vos per virtutem verborum istorum infrascriptorum hic* [MS *hoc*?], *si infra eum sis vel sitis, vt exeas vel exeatis, si plures sitis, ab illo vt nullum a modo habeat terrorem neque vexacionem. Hoc vos cogat, verbum caro factum ✠ crux Christi sancta* [MS *sancea* or *santea*], *claui, corona spinea in sanguine agni dei in cruce perfusa, saluent ei, deffendant hic et vbique ferentem* [*sic*] *ista ab omni aduersitate diaboli*

et peruersa. In nomine patris, etc.

61 Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, 2, p. 573.

62 Gene A. Brucker, ed., *The Society of Renaissance Florence: A Documentary Study* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 261–6; Gene A. Brucker, 'Sorcery in early Renaissance Florence', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 10 (1963), 13–16, 22f.

63 André Goddu, 'The failure of exorcism in the Middle Ages', in A. Zimmermann, ed., *Soziale Ordnungen im Selbstverständnis des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1980), 540–57.

64 Nancy Caciola, 'Discerning Spirits: Sanctity and Possession in the Later Middle Ages' (University of Michigan dissertation, 1994), Ch. V: 'Exorcism from spectacle to ritual'.

7

Demons and Daimons: The Spirits Conjured

In his recent study of late Byzantine demonology, Richard Greenfield distinguishes between a 'standard orthodox' tradition of demonology and 'alternative' traditions. The former sees demons as immaterial, as ranked under a single chief (Satan, the Devil), and as acting only with God's permission or through illusion (which they use because, weakened by Christ, they must dupe humans into believing they still wield power). The latter ascribe some degree of materiality to them, classify them in various hierarchies with multiple leaders, and ascribe some power to the demons themselves.[1] Greenfield says that in the alternative traditions, 'it is always assumed that the demons are free to obey the practitioner or are capable of doing what he wants as long as sufficient or coercion is provided. There is no suggestion that they can only do so if allowed to by God for the ends of divine providence or economy, the state of affairs required by standard belief – indeed, many of the purposes for which they are employed would seem to be most inappropriate, if not actually contradictory to normal Christian concepts of God's purposes.'[2] Greenfield does not mean to suggest a clear or sharp dichotomy, but rather a strong difference in tendency between the theological purists and those with alternative and at least implicitly non-orthodox views.

With perhaps some differences in nuance, one can make the same rough distinction for the later medieval West as well, and some if not all of the specific contrasts that Greenfield isolates would apply in the West. Most fundamentally, one can discern – in the Munich manuscript, as in Western magic generally – a tension between the early Christian notion of demons as fallen angels, whose status is determined by their free moral act of rebellion against God, and the Graeco-Roman conception of *daimones* (or *daemones* in Latin) as spirits linked with the world of nature, whose status is fixed by their natural position within the hierarchy of beings. Apuleius's *De deo Socratis* remained long influential in Christian tradition, despite its incongruence with the notion of demons as fallen

angels; for Apuleius, *daemones* were rational beings whose natural sphere was the sublunary air, just as gods and humans are rational beings residing in the ether and on earth respectively. They are not naturally evil, but may be either good or evil.[3] The conjurations of late medieval necromancers, resembling as they do the exorcisms intended for the possessed, presuppose that the spirits in question are the same sort of fallen ones that Christ expelled from the energumens of first-century Palestine. But intermingled with references to such manifestly maleficent beings are notions of benign or neutral spirits, neither angels nor demons in classical Christian terms, a category not recognized in the orthodox theology of the late Middle Ages.[4] One might thus say that the conjurations betray a tension between 'demonology' and what we might call 'daimonology'.

Theologians as well as necromancers believed that the demons held various ranks, in a kind of hierarchy that parodied that of God's heavenly court, or rather a 'Lowerarchy', as C.S. Lewis called it.[5] The notion of a demonic hierarchy, with a multiplicity of named and ranked spirits, stems chiefly from the Neoplatonists, and above all Iamblichus. Proclus, drawing on Iamblichus's elaborate categorization, spoke of *daimones* as ruling the fire, the air, the water, the earth and the underground region; to this system Psellus added lucifugues (or light-fleeing) demons, and Johannes Trithemius lent the weight of his authority to this system.[6] The basic notion became part of mainstream theological tradition: that demons are organized into an infernal parody of the celestial hierarchy is an assumption that the *Malleus maleficarum* shared with Thomas Aquinas.[7] For the later medieval West, at least, one thus cannot speak of such conceptions as part of an alternative tradition, although it is true that a fascination with the details of the infernal hierarchy was left to the fringes of the theological community.

Altogether 189 spirits are addressed by name in the Munich handbook's conjurations, of whom 88 are referred to expressly as *demones*. Further specification is common: 'malign demons'; 'most inimical spirits'; 'all hateful and malign, invidious and discordant demons'; 'arms-bearing [or squire] spirits, whose role it is to bear arms and … deceive human senses'; 'spirits who dwell in the water [and] endanger ships'; 'spirits who attend to sinners'; 'infernal spirits'; 'fornicator, tempter, seducer, possessor of humans'.[8] In short, the compiler of this manual was far from squeamish about invoking clearly and explicitly fallen angels.

The conjurations of the Munich handbook sometimes refer to demons by their rank in the infernal hierarchy: five are 'princes of the demons'; three are

powerful, magnificent, and illustrious spirits; Bartha is a king; Baltim, Galtim, and Saltim are dukes; Belial is ‘foremost prince’; seven demons are ‘subjects’ of Lytim.[9] On rare occasion the spirits referred to in the Munich handbook are clearly conceived as unfallen – a claim that would elicit skepticism from orthodox authorities. Experiments no. 24 and no. 25 both refer to ‘angels’, and in other cases as well the characterizations could be taken as implying unfallen angels: ‘most benign spirits, who sow concord’; ‘most pleasant, happy, joyful spirits’; ‘powerful, magnificent, and illustrious spirits, in whom I place full trust’.[10] In two experiments the spirit addressed is named Orient, and in both cases he is explicitly conceived as a benevolent figure: he is addressed, ‘O most high and benign king Orient’, ‘O benign Orient, maker of the greater part of the world, heaven, and earth, at whose command all things on heaven and on earth were wisely made’.[11] It would be hazardous to posit a direct connection here with the goddess-figure Oriente said to have been venerated in the territory of Milan in the late fourteenth century,[12] but in both cases the traditional medieval primacy of the direction east obviously lies behind the construction of a chief deity. In several experiments God himself is addressed: ‘God, creator of all things’; ‘Almighty, everlasting God, Lord Jesus Christ’; ‘God of heaven, God of earth, God of the angels, God of the archangels, you who are king of all the saints, the patriarchs, and the prophets’; ‘Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who, according to the will of the Father, with the cooperation of the Holy Spirit, by your death gave life to the world’; and ‘King of Kings and Lord of Lords, eternal and unchanging Lord God’.[13]

Sometimes the nature of the spirit addressed cannot be determined. In one case the subject of the address is the indeterminate ‘N.’ (no. 12), and elsewhere the spirit who appears to a boy is addressed simply as ‘you who are before me’ (no. 27). Another experiment provides a conjuration with the indeterminate address, ‘O so-and-so, of thus-and-such an order’ (no. 1).

A few of the experiments list demons whose names are familiar from other sources: Astaroth, Baruch, Belial, Belzebub, Berith, Castiel, Lucifer, Mirael, Paymon and Satan or Sathan.[14] The experiments that list such familiar spirits do not restrict themselves to these, however, but also address less familiar or entirely unfamiliar names: one conjures not only Belzebub, Berith, Lucifer and Sathan, but also Apolin, Beliath and Maraloch; another addresses not only Mirael and Astaroth but also Belferith, Camoy, Noryoth, Ocel, Oreoth, Pinen, Sismael, Sobronoy and Tryboy; a third gives the altogether well established name Satan (spelled ‘Sathan’) but also the exceptional ones Altramat,

Archidemath, Discobermath, Fritath, Hegergibet, Helyberp, Pestiferat and Sona; a fourth lists not only Berith, Belzebub and Astaroth, but also Althes, Cormes, Dies, Diles, Dilia, Fabar, Felsmes, Mithiomo, Molbet, Natheus, Onaris, Pist, Progemon, Thobar, Vmon and Vralchim.[15] In some cases the names listed could be corrupt or variant forms of more familiar ones: Apolin could be Apollion, Arath could be Arathiel, Astra could be Astrael, Damay could be Dahnay, Erlain could be Erel(l)im, Gana could be Ganael, Gebel could be Gebiel, Lamair could be Lama, Oor could be Or, Safrit could be Safriel, Tami could be Tamiel, Taraor could be Tara, Tatomofon could be Tatonon, Thomo could be Thomax, Ym could be Im, and Zanno or Zaimo could be Zainon.[16] Even so, of the 189 names addressed in the conjurations, only 17 per cent at most seem to be well established ones. Of the eleven spirits named in experiment no. 34, only Curson has broad currency (unless Hanni is equated with Haniel). When the list of spirits in this manual is compared with that in *Picatrix*, what is striking is the singular lack of correspondence.

The crucial question for the necromancers of Western Europe is whether the demons can be compelled to appear, and their own assumption – that the demons can be so compelled, but only with God's permission and aid – is not fundamentally different from the assumption that underlies orthodox exorcism and mainstream theology. John of Frankfurt devoted a treatise in 1412 to the question, 'whether it is possible to have the power of coercing a demon through characters, figures, and recitation of words' (*utrum potestas cohercendi demonis fieri possit per caracteres, figuras atque verborum prolationes*), and he insisted that it was not – that the demons may pretend to be compelled only to lure the conjurers deeper into their own perfidy, but that they come, if at all, of their own free will.[17] He seems not to have taken fully into account that the necromancers, exactly like orthodox exorcists, claimed the power of coercing demons specifically with divine aid. To be sure, their goals were at variance with orthodox morality, yet they saw their appeal to sacred powers as itself a sacred activity, and if it led to the killing and coercion of other individuals, that did not sway them from this conviction.[18] In any event, while their critics and judges saw the necromancers as in league with the demons, they perceived themselves as calling upon God to help them control and exploit the spirits.

One reason it appeared to critics that the necromancers were bound to the spirits they conjured, rather than vice versa, is that they seemed to make sacrifice to these spirits: fumigations and other acts could readily be seen as sacrifices. Nicholas Eymericus explains that some conjurers exhibit the honour of latria to

the demons they invoke by sacrificing to them, adoring them, reciting execrable prayers to them, dedicating themselves and promising obedience to the demons, swearing by them and adjuring one demon by the name of a higher one, singing songs in their honour, genuflecting and making prostrations, observing chastity out of respect for them, fasting and otherwise macerating the flesh in their honour, wearing black or white out of reverence to them, using characters and unknown names, lighting lamps and offering fumigations, sacrificing birds and beasts and even their own blood, and so forth.[19]

Some of the experiments in the Munich handbook and elsewhere do indeed involve offering something, such as a hoopoe, to the demons. Whether such offerings count as sacrificial depends on one's definition of sacrifice. If any exchange with spirits implying *do ut des* is a sacrifice, then the term applies. From the necromancers' perspective, however, a fumigation would surely be more a means for alluring and gaining power over the spirits, and the offering of a hoopoe would be payment for services rendered. There is no explicit acknowledgement in the handbook that the magician is *serving* the spirits; to the contrary, he sees himself as commanding and exploiting them.

The spirits invoked may on occasion be represented as unfallen ones. Some are referred to as 'most benign', which could suggest but does not prove that they are unfallen; even an evil spirit may relate in a kindly manner toward his own. In one experiment (no. 9) the master greets the spirits when they appear with a wish that God may restore them to their original status, which makes it clear that they are fallen yet suggests that they are none the less redeemable.[20] Most interesting is the suggestion that the spirits who provide a magic ship (no. 8) are of intermediate status: 'And you should note carefully that in this ship you are able to mention holy things, as in true Christianity, because these spirits are between good and evil, dwelling neither in Hell nor in Paradise.' The Paris theologians in 1398 condemned the belief that there are good and benign demons, omniscient demons, and demons who are neither saved nor damned but somewhere in between.[21] At times the spirits summoned are threatened with damnation if they refuse to obey the master, which assumes either that they are unfallen spirits or that they occupy some middle ground, perhaps being fallen but capable of redemption.[22]

The problem of distinguishing between fallen and unfallen spirits had long been a vexed one, and it was not made easier by the necromancers' habit of calling more or less indiscriminately on spirits of both kinds, as well as allegedly neutral spirits. The Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, for example, sometimes

prays for power over all malign spirits, or for power over Satan, or for protection from malign spirits. It explicitly invokes Satan and other 'infernal demons'.[23] At other times it implicitly identifies the invoked spirits as demons, conjuring them 'by the power by which [Christ] destroyed hell and despoiled and tormented your companions [*socios*]' or 'by him who cast you from heaven'. While magicians were not at all shy about conjuring angels directly, the tendency in the Rawlinson manuscript perhaps more often than in other manuscripts is to pray that good angels be sent. It even includes a lengthy prayer to the master's guardian angel for protection. At one juncture it conjures 'benevolent spirits and demons', without making altogether clear whether these are distinct categories.[24]

One rule of thumb was that spirits explicitly known from traditional sources as unfallen angels could be prayed to, but others were at best suspect. The archangels mentioned in the Bible and the Old Testament apocrypha (Gabriel, Michael, Raphael) were mentioned from the seventh century onward in the Litany of the Saints, although it was not until the twentieth century that Benedict XV made the feast of the last two obligatory. The names of other angels were deemed apocryphal: the Book of Enoch adds Uriel, Raguel, Seraqael and Haniel to the list of archangels. In the mid-eighth century a Frankish priest named Adalbert was condemned, *inter alia*, for praying to Uriel, Raguel, Tubuel, Adin, Tubuas, Sabaok and Samiel, all of whom a Roman synod declared to be in fact demons. In 789, Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis* condemned the invocation of 'unknown angels', presumably for the same reason.[25] Even if a petitioner intended to call upon unfallen angels, the spirits he summoned might not be the spirits he got.

Johann von Frankfurt noted in the early fifteenth century that Plato distinguished between good daimons (*calodemones*) and evil (*cacodemones*), but for scriptural and dogmatic reasons he rejects this distinction and insists on a rigid dichotomy between unfallen angels and demons, the latter being always evil.[26] Invoking demons, he says, is prohibited both by scripture (Deut 2:18, also IV Kgs 1 and I Kgs 28) and by canon law (the canon *Episcopi*). He insists that demons cannot be coerced: they are free agents, with intellect and will, and cannot be bound by human actions; Job attests that no power on earth is comparable to the Devil;[27] and many later medieval authorities are cited to confirm this stance. He argues that 'although demons often do come when they are summoned by invocations, they do so not coerced, but fraudulently, so as to deceive them [the conjurers] and others" (p. 78). (Not long before Johann wrote, the theologians at the University of Paris had in 1398 condemned the belief that

God is induced to compel demons to obey invocations, and that by magical arts the demons are compelled to speak truthfully.[28]) To be sure, Solomon is said to have exorcized or commanded demons, but if he did so at the time that he himself had the spirit of God, then he expelled the demons by divine power and with the cooperation of God, whereas if he do so after he had fallen into idolatry (III Kgs 11 Vulg.), then *fuit factum arte magica*, and the demons pretended to be expelled so as to lead people into error. When Tobias placed a fish's liver on coals, demons were expelled (Tob 6) – but the book of Tobias is not canonical, so it may have edifying value but no probative force. Experience itself may suggest that demons come or depart when certain words are uttered, but it is prayer and not fumigation that has the effect of expelling demons.

Notions of demonic corporeality are more rarely expressed but not unknown. The Rawlinson manuscript says at one juncture that if the spirit refuses to withdraw, the master should trace a circle with the point of his sword and then 'strike' the spirit who is left standing outside the circle. The text goes on to explain that the reader should not be astonished at this reference to striking, because the spirits can indeed be struck when they assume bodies for the sake of apparition.[29] More extraordinary is the tale – involving a ghost rather than a demon, to be sure – of 'a woman who captured a spirit, carried it into a house on her back in the presence of certain men, one of whom later told that he saw the hands of the woman sunk deep into the spirit's flesh, as if its flesh were putrid and not solid, but fantastic'.[30] More often the spirits' corporeality is presupposed but not the subject of comment: they presumably cannot carry the magicians about in the form of horses or usher forth elaborate banquets without some sort of bodies, but the precise nature of their flesh seems not to have concerned the writer of the Munich handbook.

When the demons appear, they presumably do so either through phantasms impressed directly on the viewers' senses or in assumed bodies.[31] They may be able to take on any appearance they wish, conceivably even that of a famed beauty such as Helen of Troy, since their bodies are in any event assumed, but it seems to have been agreed that their most natural shape is terrifying. The Munich handbook thus routinely conjures the spirits to appear in pleasing and non-threatening form, the implication being that it is natural for them to appear otherwise. Indeed, the treatise on necromancy ascribed to Roger Bacon warns that demons will try to frighten the magician with illusions, with hissing like that of a serpent, and with terrifying shapes, but bold use of the Tetragrammaton and the sign of the cross will compel them to adopt pleasing forms.[32] The spirits are

conjured to appear in human form, because they are assumed closer to beasts, and thus it is more natural for them to assume grotesque versions of bestial appearance,[33] as they did in hagiography since the life of Saint Anthony.[34] In one case they are told to take on the pleasing form of a ten-year-old boy, evidently by cross-fertilization of the instruction with the requirements for a medium.[35]

The most sustained discussion of demons in the Munich manual is an extended list which names and describes eleven spirits (no. 34). Each has a rank: marquis, 'president' (*preses*), count, duke, prince or king. They appear in diverse forms: as a seneschal; as a man with large teeth and three horns, carrying a sharp sword in his hand; as a crowned man with leonine face, bearing a viper in hand, riding horseback, and preceded by trumpets; as a splendid knight, with lance, banner, and sceptre; as a boy with the wings of an angel, riding on a dragon with two heads;[36] as a beautiful and crowned woman, riding on a camel; as a knight, riding on a black horse; as a benevolent man with a woman's face. Hanni comes in a fiery flame, but also takes human form. Curson is said readily to assume a human and aerial body; presumably the others as well take on aerial bodies when they come visibly.[37] Their functions are likewise diverse. Six of the spirits are said to disclose the location of hidden treasure, or to reveal and open treasures, and although in one case it is specified that the treasure must not be protected by magic or charms, in another case the spirit in question can reveal treasures guarded by other spirits. Four of them respond to questions about present, past, future, and hidden matters; Curson can reveal divine and hidden matters, even regarding divinity and the creation of the world. Another gives knowledge about occult matters and duels. Three specialize in imparting particular knowledge: the trivium, astronomy and other liberal arts, and languages. Two can procure the love of women, especially beautiful women in one case, widows in the other; a third makes women burn with love for men, on demand will transform them into another form until they come to their beloved, and makes them sterile. Others can enable a person to cross seas and rivers quickly, or to pass quickly from one region to another. Four can secure the favour of all, enemies as well as friends, or that of magnates and princes, or of all kings, marquises and knights. One gives dignities; another gives an exorcist power over serpents; yet others provide excellent familiars or knights. Each has command of legions of subordinate spirits (perhaps an allusion to Mark 5:9), as few as twenty-two, and as many as fifty.

Identical in form but independent in content is the list contained in *Le livre des esperitz* found in a fifteenth-century French manuscript (Trinity College,

Cambridge, MS 0.8.29). This compilation lists forty-seven spirits: the triad Lucifer, Bezlebuth and Satan; four associated with the cardinal directions; then others for whom title, appearance, function, and number of subordinate legions are given, as in the Munich handbook. Most commonly the spirits here listed are said to give accurate response to the master's questions (Vaal, Bucal, Oze, Bulfas, Artis, Gazon, Diusion, Orient, Poymon, Am[m]oymon, Barthas, Samson, Vipos, Berteth, Distolas, Asmoday, Flauos, Carmola, Abugor, Caap, Bune, Amon). They also furnish instruction (Bezlebuth, Barthas, Artis), sometimes in all sciences (Cerbere, Parcas, Tudiras hoho, Am[m]oymon), often regarding more specific matters: the virtues of herbs and precious stones (Machin, Parcas, Forcas, Gemer); transformation of metals into gold or silver (Berteth); all language (Ducay, Agarat); astronomy and other sciences (Barthas, Furfur); the sounds of birds and dogs (Barbas). They disclose or provide buried treasure (Diusion, Parcas, Abugor, Bezlebuth, Barbas, Samson, Forcas). They make a person invisible (Parcas, Beal, Forcas). They obtain the love of women (Ducay, Furfur [?], Bitur), or of queens and women generally, whether maidens or not (Samson). They secure provision of dignities, seigneuries and favour (Agarat, Bitur, Vaal, Am[m]oymon, Poymon, Berteth, Gazon, Artis, Beal), as well as wealth (Bune, Cerbere, Distolas), or specifically of gold and silver (Caap, Dam, Bezlebuth). They can furnish means by which the 'master' or someone else at the master's will may be transported from place to place (Ducay, Machin, Malpharas, Bune, Parcas), and the spirit Distolas can provide a horse to transport the master in an hour 100, 200 or 300 leagues but no further. Unlike the list of spirits in the Munich handbook, however, the *Livre des esperitz* also indicates that certain spirits specialize in maleficent magic: they can bring death or illness, deformity, destruction of adversaries, discord and battles. The service Bezlebuth performs, which would have endeared him to Faustus, is to reveal all the secrets of hell.

Such lists of demons derived their basic conception from early Jewish sources such as the *Testament of Solomon*, which listed various demons and told how Solomon employed them.[38] These catalogues were especially common in the treatises and grimoires of the early modern era (Johannes Weyer's *Pseudomonarchia daemonum* lists sixty-nine demons with their offices and functions), but the basic idea can be traced to medieval sources. Trithemius speaks of a *Liber officiorum* that catalogues four emperors and various kings, dukes, marquises, and counts. The *Lemegeton* lists seventy-two demons with their functions, including Asmoday (a great king with three heads, who furnishes

a ring of virtues, teaches mathematics, answers questions truly, makes a person invisible, reveals hidden treasure, and so forth), Berith, and others.[39]

Among other specializations, there were demons who ruled over one or another of the cardinal directions. Thus, the Paris theologians repudiated the notion that one demon is king of the east and holds special prominence, known in the Munich handbook and elsewhere simply as Oriens, while others ruled the west, the north and the south.[40] No doubt the identification of these demons with special competence had much practical value for those wishing to make use of their services, but the formation of the lists was in itself a display of theoretical knowledge that might appeal greatly to those curious about the secrets of hell. One can perhaps understand why stern medieval moralists, never favourable to *curiositas* in the first place, would condemn this particular sort of curiosity in particular as vain and perilous.

Presupposed throughout the Munich handbook is that the experiments described are worked through the power of spirits, often overtly referred to as demons. The writer makes no pretence that his magic is in any way 'natural', as opposed to demonic. Classical notions of magic as either implicitly or explicitly grounded in the instruction and aid of demons come here to their fullest development: far from shrinking from this suggestion or defending himself against it, the writer candidly acknowledges and perhaps even boasts, no doubt like other necromancers of the era, that the commanding of malign spirits is the essence of his art.

Table C. Spirits named in the conjurations

Abgo (*demon*, no. 39)
Abgoth (*demon*, no. 40)
Achalas (*spiritus*, no. 26)
Althes (*demon*, no. 38)
Altramat (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Andyron (*demon, subditus* of Lytim, no. 39)
Apolin (or Apolyn) (no. 1) (no. 5 inv.)
Arath (*demon*, no. 40)
Arbas (or Arbes?) (no. 28)
Archidemath (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Astaroth (or Astoroth or Astarotht) (*demon malignus*, no. 2; no. 12; no. 33; *princeps demoniorum*, no. 38) (no. 5 inv.)
Astra (no. 33)

Asyel (no. 13)
Azathi (*demon*, no. 39)
Baltim (or Balthym? or Balthim or Baltym) (*dux*, no. 15)
Bartha (or Bartham?) (*rex*, no. 15)
Baruth (*demon, subditus* of Lytim, no. 39)
Basal (no. 29)
Bel (*spiritus infernalis*, no. 35)
Belam (no. 13)
Belferith (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Belial (*inicialis princeps*, no. 12)
Beliath (no. 1)
Belzebub (or Belzebuc?) (no. 1; *princeps demoniorum*, no. 38)
Berien (or Beryen, no. 10)
Berith (or Berit) (no. 1; *spiritus potens, magnificus, et illustris*, no. 11; *princeps demoniorum, fornicator, temptator, et seductor, possessor hominum*, no. 38)
Bireoth (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Bos (*demon*, no. 39)
Brimer (no. 10)
Camoy (or Canay) (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Carab (or Careb?) (no. 29)
Cargie (no. 28)
Castiel (no. 13)
Cebal (no. 33)
Cormes (*demon*, no. 38)
Cutroy (or Cotroy?) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7; *spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8)
Damay (or Damayn, no. 10)
Demefin (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Demor (or Denior) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Dies (*demon*, no. 38)
Diles (*demon*, no. 38)
Dilia (*demon*, no. 38)
Discobermath (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Dorayl (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Dyacon (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Dydones (*demon*, no. 40)

Dyrus (*demon*, no. 39 and no. 40)
Dyspil (or Dyspyl) (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8)
Ebal (*spiritus infernalis*, no. 35)
Elam (no. 13)
Emogeni (*demon*, no. 40)
Ergarrandras (no. 28)
Erlain (no. 13)
Fabanin (no. 29)
Fabar (*demon*, no. 38)
Fabath (*demon*, no. 40)
Fabin (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Falmar (no. 5 inv.)
Faubair (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Febat (*demon*, no. 39)
Felsmes (*demon*, no. 38)
Feremin (*spiritus peccatoribus insistens*, no. 9)
Finibet (*demon*, no. 40)
Foliath (*demon*, no. 39)
Fritath (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Fyriel (or Firiel) (*spiritus potens, magnificus, et illustris*, no. 11)
Fyrin (or Syrim) (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8)
Fyrus (*demon*, no. 40)
Gallath (*demon*, no. 40)
Galtim (or Galtym? or Galtyra?) (*dux*, no. 15)
Gana (*demon*, no. 39)
Gebat (or Gebath?) (*demon*, no. 39)
Gebel (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4) (no. 5 inv.)
Gemitias (*demon*, no. 39)
Geremittarum (*demon*, no. 40)
Gyton (*demon*, no. 40)
Haram (*spiritus benignus*, no. 39)
Hegergibet (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Helyberp (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Jubutzis (*demon*, no. 40)
Lamair (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Lamisniel (or Lamsiyel, no. 13)
Lautrayth (*spiritus peccatoribus insistens*, no. 9)

Leutaber (or Zeugaber) (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Lotobor (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Lucifer (no. 1)
Lylet (or Bylet or Bylent) (no. 24; *demon, subditus* of Lytim, no. 39)
Lyroth (no. 10)
Lytay (or Lytoy or Litor) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Lytim (*demon*, no. 39)
Maraloch (no. 1)
Masair (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Mememil (or Melemil) (*spiritus potens, magnificus, et illustris*, no. 11)
Memoyr (or Memoir) (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Midain (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Mirael (no. 2)
Mistal (no. 29)
Mithiomo (*demon*, no. 38)
Molbet (*princeps demoniorum*, no. 38)
Moloy (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Motmyo (*demon*, no. 39)
Natheus (*princeps demoniorum*, no. 38)
Neyilon (*spiritus*, no. 26)
Non (no. 29)
Noryoth (or Moryoth) (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Nubar (*demon*, no. 39)
Ocel (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Oliroomim (*spiritus peccatoribus insistens*, no. 9)
Onaris (*demon*, no. 38)
Onor (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Onoroy (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8)
Oor (or Dor) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Oreoth (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Oriens (or rex Orientis) (*altissimus et benignissimus rex*, no. 4; *benign[issim]e*, no. 41)
Ornis (no. 28)
Oronothel (no. 29)
Orooth (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8)
Oymelor (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Panite (or Panyte) (*demon*, no. 38 and no. 40)

Paymon (no. 12)
Peamde (*demon*, no. 39)
Peripaos (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Pestiferat (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Pharachte (*demon*, no. 39)
Pinen (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Pist (*demon*, no. 38)
Progemon (*demon*, no. 38)
Pumeon (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Pumotor (or Pumiotor) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Rabam (no. 13)
Rayma (*demon*, no. 40)
Riasteli (no. 29)
Rimasor (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Rimel (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8)
Risbel (or Ristel) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Rodobayl (or Rodobail) (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Rofanes (*demon*, no. 40)
Safrit (*demon*, no. 39)
Salaul (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Saltim (*dux*, no. 15)
Sanfrielis (*demon*, no. 40)
Sathan (no. 1; *demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Selentis (*demon*, no. 40)
Selutabel (or Belutabel) (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Sertugidis (*demon*, no. 40)
Silitor (or Silitol) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Sismael (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Sobronoy (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Sona (no. 27)
Suburith (no. 10)
Symofor (or Simofor) (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Syrama (or Sirama) (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Syrtroy (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Sysabel (or Sisabel) (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8)
Tamafin (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Tami (or Tamy – Tamer?) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)

Taraor (*spiritus potens, magnificus, et illustris*, no. 11)
Tatomofon (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Tentetos (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Tereol (no. 5 inv.)
Tereoth (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Termines (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Thitodens [?] (*demon*, no. 39)
Thobar (*demon*, no. 38)
Thomo (*demon*, no. 40)
Tranayrt (or Tramayrt, no. 10)
Tryboy (or Triay) (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Tyroces (no. 5 inv.)
Tyros (*demon*, no. 39)
Tyroy (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8)
Va (no. 29)
Vatuel (no. 29)
Vijas (*demon*, no. 39)
Virus (*demon*, no. 39)
Virytus (*demon*, no. 40)
Vm (*demon*, no. 39)
Vmeloth (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
Vmon (*demon*, no. 38)
Vniueny (*demon*, no. 40)
Vnyrus (*demon*, no. 39)
Vom (*demon*, no. 39)
Vralchim (*demon*, no. 38)
Vresius (*demon*, no. 39)
Vsyr (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Vtimo (*demon*, no. 40)
Vzmyas (*demon, subditus* of Lytim, no. 39)
Ygrim (*demon, subditus* of Lytim, no. 39)
Ym (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Ytelteos (*demon, subditus* of Lytim, no. 39)
Zanno (or Zaimo) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Zelentes (*demon*, no. 39)
Zymens (*demon, subditus* of Lytim, no. 39)

Table D. Spirits listed in no. 34

Name	*Rank*	*Appearance*	*Function*	*Number of legions*
Barbarus	count and duke		discloses treasures not protected by magic	36
Cason	duke	seneschal	responds about present, past, future, and hidden things; gives favour of friends and enemies; gives dignities	45
Otius	*preses* and count	human, with large teeth and	responds about present, future, and hidden matters; gives	36

		3 horns, sharp sword in hand	favour of friends and enemies	
Curson	king	man, with crowned leonine face, viper in hand; rides horseback, trumpets proceeding	reveals present, past, future, and hidden matters; reveals and opens treasures; assumes human and aerial body and responds about divine and hidden matters (including deity and creation of world); gives excellent familiars	22
Alugor	duke	splendid knight, with lance, banner, and sceptre	responds about occult matters and duels; provides knights; gives favour of all kings, marquises, and knights	50
Taob	prince	human	excellent physician for women, making them burn with love for men, on request transforming them into another form until they come to their beloved; makes sterile	25
Volach	president	boy, with wings of angel; rides on dragon; has two heads	responds about hidden treasures; serpents appear, gives over serpents into the hands of exorcist	27
Gaeneron	duke	beautiful woman, crowned, riding on camel	responds about present, past, and future matters, and hidden treasures; gives love of women, especially beautiful ones	27
Tvueries Tuveries?	marquis	knight, riding on black horse	teaches trivium, reveals hidden treasures and other hidden things; causes person to cross sea and rivers quickly	30
Hanni	president	fiery flame, but takes human form	teaches astronomy and other liberal arts; gives excellent familiars; gives favour of magnates and princes;	30

			reveals treasures guarded by spirits	
Sucax	marquis	man, with woman's face; appears benevolent	gives love of women, especially widows; gives command of languages; makes person pass quickly from region to region	23

Notes

1 Richard P.H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988), *passim*, esp. 307–26.

2 *Ibid*., 275–6.

3 C.S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), esp. 40–44 and 117.

4 See the Paris conclusions of 1398, in Jean Gerson, *OEuvres complètes*, 10, ed. Palemon Glorieux (Paris: Desclée, 1961–73), p. 89: the 23rd condemned article is 'That some demons are good, some benign, some omniscient, others neither saved nor damned'.

5 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, i.109.1; *Malleus maleficarum*, i.4, trans. Montague Summers (London: Rodker, 1928; repr. London: Pushkin, 1948), 28–31; C.S. Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters*, xx (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 102.

6 E.M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949), 29–36, esp. 35.

7 *Summa theologiae*, i.109.1; *Malleus maleficarum*, i.4, 28–31.

8 No. 2 (ten named *demones maligni*); no. 5 (*spiritus inimicissimos*); no. 5 (*omnes demones odiosos et malignos, inuidios et discordes*); no. 7 (fifteen named *spiritus armigeri, quibus proprium est arma deferre et … sensus humanos decipere*); no. 8 (*spiritus habitatores aque, qui naues … periclitare conamini*); no. 9 (three named *spiritus peccatoribus insistentes*); no. 35 (*spiritus infernales*); no. 38 (Berith, described as *fornicator, temptator, et seductor, possessor hominum*). See also no. 3 (*omnes demones in hac ymagine scriptos* and *demones in hoc circulo sculptos*) and no. 5 (*spiritus inimicissimos* and *omnes demones odiosos et malignos, inuidios et discordes*).

9 No. 38 (*principes demoniorum*); no. 11 (*spiritus potentes, magnifici, et illustres*); no. 15 (Bartha as *rex*, and Baltim, Galtim, and Saltim as *duces*); no. 12 (Belial as *inicialis princeps*); no. 39 (seven demons as *subditi* of Lytim).

10 No. 4 (eleven *spiritus benignissimi et concordiam seminantes*); no. 6 (sixteen *spiritus iocundissimi, ylares, et gaudentes*); no. 11 (*spiritus potentes, magnifici, et illustres, in quibus omnino confido*).

11 No. 14 (*O altissime et benignissime rex Orientis*); no. 41 (*O Oriens benigne, maior pars mundi, celi, terreque sator, cuius nuta* [*sic*] *omnia, tam celestia quam terrestria, prouide facta sunt*; *benignissime Oriens*).

12 Ettore Vergo, 'Intorno a due inediti documenti di stregheria Milanese del secolo XIV.', *Rendiconti del Reale Instituto Lombardo si Scienze e Lettere*, ser. 2, vol. 32 (1899), 166–8; on Madonna Oriente see Carlo Ginzburg, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Pantheon, 1991), esp. 92–6, 100–102, 131–6, 247–8.

13 No. 22 (*Deus, creator omnium rerum*); no. 25 (*Omnipotens, sempiterne deus, Domine Ihesu Christe*); no. 29 (*Deus celi, deus terre, deus angelorum, deus archangelorum, qui es rex sanctorum omnium,*

patriarcharum ac prophetarum and *Domine Ihesu Christe, fili dei viui, qui ex voluntate Patris, cooperante Spiritu Sancto, per mortem tuam mundum viuificasti*); no. 36 (*rex regum et dominus dominancium, eterne et incommutabilis deus dominus*).

14 Nos 2, 5, 12, 33, and 38 (Astaroth); no. 20 (Baruch); no. 12 (Belial); nos 1 and 38 (Belzebub); nos 1, 3, 11, and 39 (Berith); no. 13 (Castiel); no. 1 (Lucifer); no. 2 (Mirael); no. 12 (Paymon); nos 1 and 27 (Sathan). See the listings for each of these in Gustav Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels, Including the Fallen Angels* (New York: Free Press, 1967), and for general information on demons see also Leander Petzoldt, *Kleines Lexikon der Dämonen und Elementargeister* (Munich: Beck, 1990). On the naming of demons see Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 248–50.

15 Nos. 1, 2, 27, and 38.

16 Nos 1 and 5 (Apolin or Apolyn); no. 40 (Arath); no. 33 (Astra); no. 10 (Damay); no. 13 (Erlain); no. 39 (Gana); nos 4 and 5 (Gebel); no. 6 (Lamair); no. 7 (Oor); no. 39 (Safrit); no. 7 (Tami); no. 11 (Taraor); no. 6 (Tatomofon); no. 40 (Thomo); no. 7 (Ym); no. 7 (Zanno or Zaimo). For these too see Davidson's *Dictionary*.

17 Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen*, 71–82.

18 Richard Kieckhefer, 'The holy and the unholy: sainthood, witchcraft, and magic in late medieval Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 24 (1994), 355–85; and in Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl, eds, *Christendom and its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 310–37.

19 Nicolaus Eymericus, *Directorium inquisitorum*, ii. 42–3 (Rome: Georgius Ferrarius, 1587), translated in Alan C. Kors and Edward Peters, eds., *Witchcraft in Europe, 1100–1700: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), 84–92. See also Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief,* 252–5.

20 The classic source of the notion that Satan and the demons are redeemable is Origen; see on this theme Joseph Wilson Trigg, *Origen: The Bible and Philosophy in the Third-century Church* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1983), 89, 106, 138f., 206, 208. Whatever indirect influence Origen may have had on the necromantic tradition, it is difficult to believe that writers such as the compiler of the Munich handbook had any direct acquaintance with his works.

21 Ch. 23.

22 Rawlinson MS, 148r–149r, 150v, 154r.

23 *Coniuros vos demones infernales* (fol. 121v).

24 Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson MS D 252, fols 24r (prayer for power over all malign spirits); 40v (prayer for power over Satan); 37r, 50r–50v, and 72r (prayers for protection from malign spirits); 152r (invocation of Satan); 121v (*Coniuro vos demones infernales*); 4v and 5v (implicit identification of spirits as demons); 78r–78v (prayer for vision of good angels); 123v (prayer that good angels be sent); 159v (prayer for three good angels to appear in a crystal); 135v–139r (prayer to guardian angel); 73r (*Coniuro vos spiritus beneuolos et demones*).

25 Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*, trans. János M. Bak and Paul A. Hollingsworth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1988), 65–8 and Jeffrey B. Russell, 'Saint Bonaventure and the eccentrics', *Church History*, 33, (1964), 235–47, esp. 237–8. For general information on the cult of angels see A.A. Bialas, 'Devotion to angels', *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 514–15, and the sources cited there.

26 Iohannes de Francofordia, *Quaestio, utrum potestas cohercendi demonis fieri possit per caracteres, figuras atque verborum prolationes*, in Joseph Hansen, ed., *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte*

des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter (Bonn: Georgi, 190l; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 71–82.

27 Page 72, citing the depiction of Leviathan: *Et eciam Iob 4.* [i.e. 41:24 Vulg.] *dicitur: non est potestas super terram, qui ei comparetur, et textus ibidem loquitur de dyabolo*.

28 Gerson, *OEuvres complètes*, 10, pp. 88f., art. 9, 17.

29 Fols 77v–78r.

30 M.R. James, 'Twelve medieval ghost-stories', *English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), 418f.

31 The *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.1.4, pp. 109–14, discusses the nature of these assumed bodies in connection with the nature of incubi, and concludes that the demons confect ad hoc flesh from the elements in the surrounding air.

32 *De Nigromancia of Roger Bacon*, iv.3, ed. and trans. Michael-Albion Macdonald (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1988), 33, 56f.

33 On demons in the form of beasts, see Russell, *Lucifer*, 209: 'Until the eleventh century the Devil was generally portrayed either as a human or as an imp, and this tendency persisted in Byzantine art. In the West, beginning in England about 1000 and spreading to Germany about 1020 and then beyond, the Devil tends to be a monstrous composite of human and animal.'

34 St. Athanasius, 'Life of St. Anthony', ch. 9, in Roy J. Deferrari, et al., trans., *Early Christian Biographies* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1952), 144.

35 Fol. 27v.

36 It is evidently the dragon that is two-headed, although the context does not make the point clear.

37 On this point see the *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.1.4 (p. 109), and Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*, I.51.2 ad 4.

38 F.C. Conybeare, 'The Testament of Solomon', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 11 (1899), 1–45.

39 On this material see generally Butler, *Ritual Magic*, 47–89, and Arthur Edward Waite, *The Book of Ceremonial Magic* (repr. Secaucus, NJ: Citadel, 1961), 58–66.

40 Gerson, *OEvres complètes*, 10, p. 90, art. 25.

8

The Magic of Circles and Spheres

If necromancy was in one sense chiefly the art of conjuring, it was also widely associated in the popular mind with the drawing of magic circles. The *Fasciculus morum* says of necromancers (*nigromantici*) first of all that they 'raise devils in their circles that are expected to answer their questions', and only secondly that they also 'make figures of people in wax or some other soft material in order to kill them'.[1] In *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, the messenger of Necromancy traces a circle on the ground, with characters and figures, and informs the Pilgrim that his invocation causes the spirits to answer and obey, and they cannot withstand his prayers, characters, and conjurations because he holds a commission from 'the King', meaning God, to whom they are subject.[2] The Yorkshire manuscript mentioned earlier tells how one man used a magic circle in conjuring not a demon but a ghost:

> … he came to the assigned place and made a large circle with a cross, and it had on it [the opening words of ?] the four gospels and other sacred words, and he stood in the middle of the circle, placing four small reliquaries in the form of a cross on the rim of the circle, and saving words such as 'Jesus of Nazareth' and so forth were inscribed on the reliquaries. Then he waited for the spirit to arrive. Finally he came, in the form of a goat, and three times he went around the circle, going 'a-a-a, a-a-a, a-a-a'. But when he was conjured he fell to the ground and rose up again in the form of a man of great height, horrid and gaunt, like one of the dead kings shown in paintings.[3]

Like conjuration, the use of magic circles appears to have spread beyond the sphere of clerical necromancy. For example, a woman charged with witchcraft at Provins in 1452 was said to have belonged to a 'sect' of witches that conjured the Devil by tracing three evidently concentric circles on the ground.[4] What this incident probably represents is not a popular tradition parallel to that of the

necromancers, but influence from their tradition.

Form and preparation of the magic circle

These magic circles could at times be very simple, but sometimes they were elaborate diagrams made on specially constructed platforms.[5] The *Sworn Book* ascribed to one 'Honourius, son of Euclid', gives elaborate instructions for constructing a magic circle. The magician must construct a square platform fourteen feet across of good and well dressed stone, or of tile, or (if necessary because of poverty) of pure earth. On top of it he must fashion a circular platform, seven feet across and three feet high. The site must be ritually purified and consecrated, with blessings, incense, and invocation of angels. Then, presumably on top of the circular platform, he must make two concentric circles, carved with a new knife or inscribed in chalk, with the names written in the band between the circles. In a later chapter the magician is told that in an elaborate ceremony of consecration he should carve or inscribe four concentric circles, the smallest nine feet and the largest twelve feet across, with names of God and of angels in the bands and the seal of Solomon in the centre. Then there must be two concentric squares around these circles, with the corners pointing in the cardinal directions, names of God between the squares, and lighted censers placed within two smaller concentric circles at each of the four corners.[6]

The *De nigromancia* associated with Roger Bacon provides even fuller and more elaborate instructions for preparing and consecrating a magic circle. The magician must have a square 'secret vault' constructed in some remote place, twenty feet to each side at most, and twenty feet high at least, with windows facing the cardinal directions. Inside this building he must inscribe two concentric circles in chalk, fifteen feet at the most across, with characters and names of spirits inscribed. There are distinct kinds of circles for spirits of the air, fire, water, and earth, but the treatise is not altogether clear regarding the distinguishing features. The consecration entails, among other things, having a priest say a mass in honour of Saint Cyprian, famous for having been a magician.[7] A later chapter gives further details: the pentacle of Solomon should circumscribe the circle; the Tetragrammaton must be inscribed on all circles, because without it 'all conjurations of the spirits will fail, and no spirit will answer truth, but falsehood'; and an appropriate time must be observed for making the circle.[8] Elsewhere the treatise recommends a circle for discovery of hidden treasure that is inscribed on a circular sheet of vellum eight feet in

compass, which should have ten loops with which it can be pinned to the ground.[9]

The Rawlinson necromantic manuscript is more interested in conjurations than in circles, but does prescribe and depict circles in connection with some of its conjurations, sometimes very simple, sometimes with pentangles and words and characters inscribed, and says at one point that the master should trace a circle with the point of his sword. There as elsewhere, however, circles may be inscribed not on the ground, as a location for conjuring, but on a moveable object, as a means for gaining power over the spirits: at one point the reader is told to draw a circle on a tablet, with the name 'Satan' inscribed in it.[10]

Magic circles in the Munich handbook

The circles in Clm 849 consist most fundamentally of single circular bands or varying numbers of concentric bands, between two and four.[11] Beyond this simple composition are various complicating factors: a single band inscribed within a square (no. 1); an inverted triangle inscribed within the outer boundary of a single band (no. 15); a double band divided into ten segments, and a rectangle inside the circle divided into six sections (no. 18); a double band with its interior divided into six wedges (no. 22); a triple band with a cross dividing the interior into four wedges (no. 40); a square inscribed in a single band, with a circle inside the square, and short bars extending outward from the middle of each side of the square and touching the inner side of the circular band (no. 9); a single band bisected by a horizontal band, while a vertical band bisects the upper portion of the circle, and a closed crescent shape (presumably representing a ship) appears in the upper two-thirds of the circle, with two dots beneath it at the prow and the stern (no. 8). Another experiment (no. 13) is unusual in having not a circle but a shield with a single band around its edge.

Inscriptions are of various kinds:

1. Four cardinal directions, with east on top in the fashion of traditional medieval cartogarphy: nos 1, 6, 9, 15, 36; at times not all the directions are explicitly given (nos 8, 10, 11).

2. Positions of the master and child medium: The position of the master is often marked in the centre of the circle, with the term *Locus magistri* (nos 3, 7, 9, 12) or simply *Magister* (nos 10, 11). The circle for no. 8 marks the position with the inscription *Hic magister cum suis sociis*. No. 1 has *Nomen*

magistri, de tali ordine and *Nomen discipuli* are marked in the center. The positions for no. 22 are in the literal sense eccentric: inscriptions indicate that the master and boy are to sit on top of pentagrams on opposite sides of the circle: *Hic sederat* [=*sedeat*] *puer super signum* (at the top), and *Hic sedeat magister super signum a latere sinistro* (at the bottom). Toward the middle of the circle for no. 40 are word fragments and *N.p.* (presumably for *Nomen pueri*).

3. Names of spirits, given most frequently within the bands: no. 1 has the names of the spirits Belial, Satan, Osendior, Matalot, Belzebub, Lucifer, Sententino and Apolin inscribed in and around its band; no. 2 has Oreoth, Pinen, Otel, Tryboy, Noryoth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy and Sismael inscribed in its band, and the names Mirael and N. (for the name of the intended victim) inscribed in its centre; no. 3 has the names Rator, Lampoy, Despan, Brunlo, Dronoth, Maloqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascifin, Nartim and Lodoni; no. 6 has the names Oymelor, Symofos, Manoir, Faubair, Demefin, Rodobayl, Tamafin, Abelutabel, Lamair, Tentetos, Leutaber, Rimasor, Masair, Lotobor, Tatomofon and Sirama; no. 7 has O Vsyr, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno, Syrtroy, Risbel, Cutroy, Litor Onor, Moloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor and Ym, *spiritus armigeri*, in its bands; no. 8 has the names Fyron, Dyspil, Onoroy, Sysabel, Cotroy, Tyroy, Rimel and Orooth; no. 9 has the names Lantrayth, Feremni and Oliromim; no. 10 has O Brimer, Suburith, Tranauit, Lyroth, *vnq* (?) Berien, Damayn; no. 11 has the names Firiel to the west, Melemil to the south, Berith to the east, and Taraor to the north; no. 18 has the names Latranoy, Iszarin, Bicol, Danmals, Gromon, Zara, Ralkal, Sigtonia, Samah and Meneglasar written in the ten segments of its outer band, corresponding figures in its inner band, and the letters F-L-O-R-O-N in the six sections of its inner rectangle; no. 12 has the invocation *Tu Belial, tu Astaroth, tu Paymon, ad hoc sitis opus michi adiutores*; no. 13 has the names Asyel, Castyel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Olam and Belam in horizontal bands; no. 23 has the name Lylet (or Bylet) inscribed in its centre.

4. Sacred names: no. 16 has *Agla / Michael virtus dei / Gabriel fortitudo / Emanuel Paraclitus / Raphael medicina dei / Alpha et O, Oli, Ely / Tetragrmaton, amen / Agla* inscribed inside a double band, with a cross inside a square before and after each line of text; no. 36 has four divine names outside its triple band: Sabaoth at the top, Tetragramaton at the right, and Adonay at the bottom, Agla at the left.

5. Miscellaneous inscriptions: no. 15 has characters in what appears to be pseudo-Hebrew; to the right of the circle for no. 22 is a rectangular *signum* with the inscription *Esto altissimus, vnus, eternus, amen*, on five horizontal bands; no. 40 shows the word *onus* (possibly for *On*) four times.

Various types of sign and other objects also appear:

1. Pentagrams (or pentangles). No. 6 has a pentagram inscribed in its centre; no. 10 has a pentagram inscribed; no. 23 contains two pentagrams with the name *On* just beyond each point inscribed in the upper and lower wedges, and two more to the lower left and right of the circle.

2. Astronomical characters and miscellaneous figures: no. 6 shows radiating figures extending across its bands on the upper left, upper right, lower right, and lower left; nos 9 and 10 show astronomical and other signs alongside the names of spirits; no. 11 has two figures.[12]

3. Objects to be used in the experiments: no. 6 shows a sword at the top, extending downward, with its point on the top of a pentangle); no. 11 shows a sword lying toward the east with its point near the centre; no. 15 has dots evidently denoting positions for jars. These objects are presumably not meant to be drawn, but rather positioned where they are shown. Alongside the circle for no. 2 runs a vertical band labelled *Hoc* [or *hic*] *est candela* and inscribed with the names Oreoth, Pinen, Ocel, Triboy, Norioth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy.

When prayers are shown inscribed on the bands, these may be meant to be inscribed, but are perhaps more often to be recited as the circles themselves are traced:

The first circle for no. 39 has *In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti; In nomine indiuidue trinitatis, Alpha et O, deus et homo*; and *Ego te facio per illum qui creauit celum et terram, mare et omnia que in eis sunt* in its three bands.

The second circle for no. 39 has *In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti, Celi enarrant* in the middle band, and *Deus tuum* [sic] *regi da* in its three bands.

No. 36 has inscriptions in each of its three bands: ✠ *Hunc circulum facio in*

nomine dei Patris omnipotentis, qui solo verbo vniuersa creauit in the outermost; ✠ *Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei viui qui humanum genus humano sangwine redemit* in the middle, and ✠ *Hunc circulum facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracliti, quia* [*sic*] *apostolorum et prophetarum corda sua gracia illustrauit* in the innermost. In the upper left, a further inscription begins in the outer circle and ends in the middle one: *Per hoc signum sancte crucis gracia dei defendat nos ab omni malo*.

No. 40 has ✠ *Hunc circulum facio in nomine Patris omnipotentis dei, qui solo verbo cuncta creauit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, dextera domini exaltauit me, non moriar sed viuam et narrabo opera domini. Castigans castigauit dominus* in (and extending beyond) its outermost band; ✠ *Hunc circulum facio in nomine filij unigeniti dei viui, qui humanum genus proprio sangwine redemit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, dextera domini exaltauit me, non moriar sed viuam et narrabo opera* in its middle band; and ✠ *Hunc circulum facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracliti, qui corda apostolorum et prophetarum suorum sanctissimam graciam* [*sic*] *illustrauit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, etc.* in its outermost band.

No. 23 has *Deus sanctus, deus omnipotens, deus fortis, deus inmortalis, pater futuri seculi*.

No. 12 gives a modified conjuration that is shown on the circle for no. 12: *Tu Belial, tu Astaroth, tu Paymon, ad hoc sitis* [*michi* deleted] *opus michi adiutores*.

One of the experiments in the Munich handbook (no. 7) speaks of the circle as a representation of the spirits' habitation, perhaps implying a conception of Hell related to Dante's, but the point remains implicit and undeveloped. And in one of the handbook's experiments (no. 33) an unusual kind of magic circle is required: the master goes to a cemetery and gathers as many stones as there are verses in Psalm 50, and with them he makes a circle, then sprinkles it with verbena.

The function of the magic circle: protection or heightening of power

Magic circles are usually represented in histories of magic as protective devices,[13] and at least sometimes they performed that function. In one of the *exempla* told by Caesarius of Heisterbach, a cleric famed for his skill in necromancy agrees to conjure demons to persuade a knight who does not believe

in them. The cleric inscribes a circle on the ground at a crossroads, and warns the knight that he must remain within the circle as protection from the demons, and within this protective confine the knight remains secure (albeit terrified) when demons and the Devil himself arrive. In another *exemplum*, individuals who dare to step outside the circle are immediately attacked by the fiends.[14]

This notion of the magic circle as a protective device occurs at times in the magicians' own writings. In the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript the spirits are commanded to approach the master 'beside the circle here inscribed' (*iuxta circulum hic circumscriptum*). Elsewhere the spirits are commanded to come to the 'place and circle' (*locum et circulum*) ordained for their appearance. The master is to 'sign' or bless the circle with his rod, saying 'I make this circle in honour of the Holy Trinity, that [it] may be for him and his companions a place of protection and a refuge which the demons cannot violate, enter, defile, touch, or even fly over; they must appear in a place designated for them outside the circle.'[15] The notion of the circle as a protective device is found again in an early sixteenth-century text pseudonymously ascribed to Cornelius Agrippa.[16] But it is probably not the magicians' original understanding of how the magic circle functioned. The circle as a locus of power, enhancing the power of the operator, is ancient; it appears, for example, in the early Jewish story of Honi the Circle-Drawer and in the Greek magical papyri.[17] The further notion that the circle protects the magician from demons may well have originated with moralists such as Caesarius, as a symbolic way of talking about how hazardous it is to conjure demons, even if it was eventually taken over by the necromancers themselves.

In the Munich handbook it is clear that the circle is a focus of power meant to gain control over spirits. The circles have power to convoke the demons (no. 9) and to terrify them (no. 7). In one case the circle is identified as the insignia of the spirits being conjured (no. 8). In another experiment the circle seems to be identified as a representation of the spirits' dwelling place (no. 7). Apart from its power over spirits, a circle may be inscribed on horsehide, and then it will exert power over any horses to whom it is displayed, or keep unwanted horses from approaching its bearer (no. 9). At one point it is said that the spirits cannot enter a circle (no. 3), but elsewhere they are said in fact to do so (no. 11). The instructions for conjuring Mirage in the supplementary sections of the codex do suggest that the circle has a protective function, more for the magician's companion than for the master himself: the master makes a circle with a knife and has his companion sit inside it, carefully instructing him not to stretch hand,

foot, clothes or hair outside it until all is done, ‘lest through some error he should seem to enter into danger’.[18] The role of the circle in one of the manual’s erotic experiments (no. 3) is ambiguous: it is clearly a focus of magical power, and it may also play a protective role. The text says that the larger the circle, the better; if anything of the master’s should extend beyond the circle, ‘it would be bad for you’. Does this imply that the circle is a protective enclosure against the assaults of the demons? Perhaps, but this function is not clearly expressed. At no point does the author expressly state that the demons may cause harm and that the circle is necessary for protection; indeed, the experiment is explicitly said to be without danger. While the master sports with the woman inside his capacious circle the demons have in fact vanished; there is no sense that they remain as invisible yet menacing presences. The master’s greatest fear may be not assault but interruption: having gone to such effort to secure the woman’s presence and guard the secrecy of his magic, he does not want to be disturbed in his lovemaking by forces demonic or otherwise, and the circle provides an enclosure within which his privacy is secure. Exceeding the bounds of this enclosure will probably have the worst result he envisions: the spell will be broken and he will be disappointed in his love.

Astral magic

Magic circles are not explicitly linked with the celestial spheres, at least in the Munich handbook, yet the magic of circles and that involving heavenly bodies are perhaps related, at least indirectly. In each case the circular form – the perfect shape, according to ancient Greek thought – was conceived as a centre of power that radiated outward. The elegance of the simple form, made with a single and uniform line, seems to have been suggestive of inward-looking strength combined with maximal power to influence other beings. Even if the magic circle could also serve as a protective boundary, defining a safe space within itself, the Munich handbook makes it clear that the circle exerted force over demons, whether traced on the ground or transferred to a sheet of parchment. More clearly and perhaps more obviously, in medieval thought, the stars and planets emitted powers that affected life on earth and could be put to use by a magician for good or for ill. The possibility of such astral magic was not merely a belief of the magicians themselves; philosophers and theologians, indeed educated people generally, accepted the premise that the heavenly bodies influenced affairs here below.[19]

In 1441 Eleanor Cobham, the Duchess of Bedford, was tried for treasonous magic along with accomplices who included Roger Bolingbroke. His part in the matter is summarized by one contemporary source in these terms:

> And a certain clerk, one of the most renowned in all the world in astronomy and the magical art, master Roger Bolingbroke, was arrested, and publicly in the cemetery of St Paul's, with the vestments of his magic and with waxen images, and with many other magical instruments, he sat in a certain high throne, so that people from everywhere might see his works; afterwards he was hanged, drawn and quartered, and his head placed on London Bridge. This master Roger was one of the most notable clerks in the whole world, and he was accused on account of … Lady Elianora [Cobham], to whom he was an advisor in the magic art, and after his death many lamented exceedingly greatly.

For our purposes it is not necessary to explore all details and implications of the affair.[20] Suffice it to point out that this Bolingbroke clearly was an 'astronomer' or astrologer, and surely had cast the horoscope of Henry VI, already an activity that smacked of treason, but whether he had actually compassed the monarch's demise is another matter. In any case, we have here a classic case of the intersection between astrology, astral magic and necromancy. Whether or not this particular astrologer was also a necromancer, to lend further force to its conjurations necromancy clearly did borrow techniques, however superficially, from the traditions of astral magic derived from Arabic treatises such as *Picatrix*. This and similar writings had been translated from Arabic into Western European languages in and around the thirteenth century and seem to have had profound influence on necromantic practice. This influence manifests itself in the Munich manual chiefly in instructions to observe certain astrological conditions and in the use of fumigations.

In various ways the magical apparatus contained in the Munich manual draws from the tradition of astral magic. Eleven experiments specify that their operations, or certain of them, should be done under specified astrological conditions, which most often entail phases of the moon: the work should be done under a waxing or waning moon, or in a particular phase of the moon. The day of the week is sometimes specified. The time of the day may be indicated: the first hour, before sunrise, morning or noon. Thus, an erotic experiment (no. 12) must be initiated in the hour of Venus or the hour of Jove, not simply because of

the obvious erotic associations of Venus, but because Venus and Jupiter were seen as 'favourable' planets. At times the manual says that operations should be carried out under a clear sky. Astrological specifications of slightly greater sophistication occur only rarely: an experiment is to be carried out under a conjunction of Venus and Jupiter, or when the Sun is in Leo.[21]

Fumigations (or suffumigations) occur in eight of the manual's experiments. In psychological experiments it is the image or the object sympathetically representing the victim that is fumigated: with myrrh and saffron (no. 3); with cinnamon, pepper and agrimonia (no. 4), or with sulphur fumes (no. 5). In illusionist experiments it is the circle that is thus treated: with the marrow of a dead person (no. 8), or with incense and myrrh (no. 11). An all-purpose experiment (no. 36) likewise instructs the master to place incense and myrrh in a thurible (presumably of gold) and walk around the outer edge of the circle, saying, 'I make this fumigation in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.' Both versions of the Mirror of Floron require that the mirror itself be fumigated.

The portion of the manual most fully reflecting the influence of Arabic astral magic is the compendium devoted specifically to the subject (no. 37). This section of the manuscript, which is deeply indebted to works such as *Picatrix* and other manuals of astral magic,[22] contains two types of material: integrated instructions for magical rites utilizing the powers of the heavenly bodies, and lists of supplementary information regarding each day of the week (the seals to be used, the names of angels and other spirits who rule and serve on each day, suffumigations to be employed) and each hour of the day and night (the name and function of each, names of angels that rule each hour, images to be used for each hour, and so forth).[23] The latter form of material can perhaps best be conveyed in tabular form (see Tables E–G), even if some nuance is lost in this presentation. Those subsections which give integrated instructions for rites are, in particular, no. 37a (conjurations for each day of the week), nos 37m and 37n (uses of images for each day and night hour), and no. 37q (uses of images and conjurations for each day of the week).

Two examples (one from no. 37m, the other from no. 37q) will illustrate how the integrated experiments draw upon the schemata found in the mere lists:

> During the fifth day hour one should make an image to tame wild beasts, such as lions, bears, wolves, and any other wild and harmful beasts. At this hour cast an image of the animal of the sort you wish to control or tame, and on the

head of the image carve the name of the animal, and on the chest the name of the hour and the name of the lord of the hour, and on the stomach the seven names of the first hour, and fumigate the image with Indian wood and with red sandalwood, and bury the image in a place of your choosing, and with the Lord's help aiding you, you will see that all those animals will be turned to your will.

Somewhat more elaborate is a procedure for bringing concord between humans:

> The fifth image is that of Thursday, and the angels constituted over it are Satquiel, Pattar, Constiel, [and] Assassayel, and these are the winds constituted over the image: Silite, Maraben, Halharit, and their helpers are Yse, Riron, Naasay, [and] Eladab. And when you wish to perform this work, make an image of yellow bronze or of yellow wax on a Thursday, and tint it with green, and make it for a man [or] for a woman, if you wish thereby to bring friendship between two men or women, or between a man and a woman. Make two images of green wax in the month of May, at the height of Pisces, or in the month of January in the height of Sagittarius, and write the name of the man on the heart of the woman's image, and the name of the woman on the heart of the male, and say this conjuration:
>
> 'O Lord God, almighty creator of [all] things, visible and invisible, establish gentle concord between thus-and-such woman, daughter of so-and-so, and so-and-so, son of so-and-so, such as you established between Adam and Eve, and between Jacob and Rachel, and between Michael and Gabriel (one of whom is fiery and the other watery, [yet] the one does not harm the other, but there is great concord between them), and such concord as you established between the angel whose medium is fire and the one whose medium is snow, so that the snow does not extinguish the fire, nor does the fire consume the snow, and so you likewise turn envy into concord. Thus, O Lord, by your most holy kindness and mercy, may you cause so-and-so, daughter of so-and-so, to accord with, to love, and to cherish so-and-so, son of so-and-so. I conjure you angels by the name Yafaa, Safaa, Alleya, Hayala, Haya, Halix, Hayul, Ataya, Hytoia, Saffetaba, Coffossol, Remlestar, El, Lord God, you who know the secrets of [all] hearts and are the end and the beginning, [and] who never die. Hasten, Sarafem [and] Custyeli, and command Amaris and his helpers, that they may quickly carry out and accomplish my request.'

> And bury the image in a place by which they pass, and you will see the marvels of almighty God.

No. 37a consists chiefly of conjurations for the days of the week; the conjurations differ in two main ways from those found in the main block of material: their purpose is left unspecified, there being no explicit instruction to the spirits conjured; and they involve word play and near repetition of a sort often associated with Kabbalah: 'In the name Adonay, Adonay, Eye, Eye, Eyu … Eye, Aloraye; in the name Sadaye, Saday, Cados, Cados, Cados, the high one, sitting upon the cherubim …'; 'In the name Adonay, Adonay, Adonay, Eye, Eye, Eye, Cados, Cados, Cados, Hatyn, Hatyn, Hatyn, Va, Va, strong one, Va, who appeared on Mount Sinai with glorification of his reign, Ya, Adonay, Saday, Sabaoth, Hanath, Hu, Haxi, Ya, Ya, Ya, Marmalita, Abym, Yea …'; and 'by the name Ya, Ya, Ya, A, A, Va, Hy, Hy, Haa, Haai, Va, Va, Han, Han, Hon, Hy, Hyen, Haya, Haya, Hol, Hol, Hay, Hael, Hon; by the names of the Lord Adonay, Haya, Hol, creator of the ages, Cados, Cados, Cados, Ebel, El, Ya, Ya, Ya, Eloy, Arar, Eloym, Eloym …'

Elements of simple lunar astrology, too, are found toward the end of the compilation, in a listing of what were called *lunationes*, or days of the lunar cycle that are good or bad for making magical inscriptions (no. 46). In general, lunar astrology lent itself more to popular use than did the more technical science of solar astrology; while it is found in varying degrees of complexity, it could easily be reduced to a simple list of days in the lunar cycle, identified as favourable or unfavourable, whether in general or for a particular operation such as the working of magic.[24]

When all is said and done, however, the use of astrology and astral magic in the Munich handbook – and probably in other, similar necromantic texts – is fairly superficial. One does not find detailed or rationalized efforts to exploit the powers of celestial bodies, and even the concise treatise of astral magic is more a catalogue than a fully developed work, presumably included simply because the compiler was highly eclectic, but not genuinely integrated into the drift of the compilation as a whole.

The *Speculum astronomiae,* probably written by Albert the Great, explains the basic principles of astrology, then touches at the end on necromancy and related arts. The author says he does not mean to speak in favour of astrological images, because of their similarity to necromantic (*necromanticas*) ones. He then goes on to say that necromantic books should be set aside without being

destroyed, ‘For perhaps the time is already at hand, when, for certain reasons about which I am now silent, it will be useful on occasion to have inspected them, but, nevertheless, their inspectors should be wary of using them.’[25] Coy as it is, this statement makes clear that the boundary between astral magic and necromancy was fluid in practice even if in theory it could be stated with clarity: astral magic invoked the natural powers of the stars and planets, while necromancy called upon demons; but if there were spirits associated with the heavenly bodies, these might be difficult to distinguish from the spirits of the air traditionally conceived as demonic.[26] One can well understand why orthodox authorities and writers would be suspicious of that which even bordered on the forbidden. The works translated from the Arabic might include a great deal of material that was straightforwardly astrological and clearly non-demonic, but a work such as *Picatrix* appealed to both the powers of the planets and those of spirits, and identified its art as that of necromancy. The Munich handbook is important in part because it extends the spectrum to the furthest extreme, giving us nearly in its entirety a work expressly devoted to demonic magic, worked out in considerable detail and for the most part with only token borrowing from the astral magic with which necromancy was so richly intertwined.

Table E. Specifications for each day of the week

	Angels serving (37a, 37b, 37d, cf. 37h)	*Spirits ruling (and co-adjutors) (37e)*	*Suffumigations (37f)*	*Purposes (37g)*	*Images (37q)*
Sun.	Raphael	King Saytam (Taatus, Candas, Vanibal)	yellow or red sandalwood	binding tongues otherwise binding people	gold or yellow wax, for binding tongues
Mon.	Gabriel	King Almodab (Sylol, Millalu, Abuzaba)	aloes, *anacap*	benevolence, concord, friendship	gold or steel or white wax, for concord
Tues.	Samael	'*rex filius dyabuli*' (Carmath, Utanaual, Pascami)	pepper, *abana*, *cyg*	illness and destruction	red copper or red wax, for depopulating a house, causing bloodshed or illness, or other harm
Wed.	Michael	King Saba (Conas, Pactas, Sanbras)	*altast*	enmity and hatred	lead, for enmity
Thurs.	Satquiel	Madrath, son of Arath (Hyrti, Ignaro Quiron, Saalalebeth)	yellow incense	peace	yellow copper or yellow wax, for concord between man and woman
Fri.	Anael	King Saabotes (Nassath, Ynasa)	*almastic* or *lignum radim*	friendship	white wax, for love of a woman
Sat.	Captiel= Caffriel	Hayton, Assayby (Abimalyb, Haybalydoth, Yfla)	*assandaron*, sulphur	binding locations	*pix clara*, for binding tongues or places, for discord

Table F. Specifications for day hours

	Names (37j)	*Functions (37j)*	*Ruling angels (37l)*	*Functions of images (37m)*
1st	Yayn	binding tongues	Raphael	binding tongues
2nd	Yan, Or	friendship, favour of potentates	Anael	benevolence
3rd	Nassura	hunting, fishing	Michael	congregating birds and fish
4th	Sala	binding wild beasts	Gabriel	dispelling beasts
5th	Sadadat	binding beasts	Gaffriel	taming wild beasts
6th	Tamhut	freeing captives	Satquiel	freeing captives
7th	Caror	peace between kings	Samael	hunting and fishing
8th	Tariel	discord	Raphael	destroying houses and other places
9th	Karon	travel, safe passage among robbers	Anael	travelling without harm
10th	Hyon	work with demons or demoniacs, foul wind, aid to ladies	Michael	obtaining one's will with kings and princes
11th	Nathalon	causing bleeding in women, binding men to women and vice versa	Gabriel	concord
12th	Abat	peace (between men and women)	Cafriel	binding tongues

Table G. Specifications for night hours

	Names (37k)	*Functions (37k)*	*Ruling angels (37l)*	*Images (37n)*
1st	Leron	working with demoniacs, foul winds	Satquiel	illuminating dark places
2nd	Latol	working with fish	Samael	knowing fortunes
3rd	Hami	working with fire	Raphael	dispelling reptiles
4th	Atyn	destroying houses, expelling people	Anael	destroying or depopulating villages, causing enmity
5th	Caron	asking questions of sleepers	Michael	scattering armies
6th	Zaia	working with fruit trees and other plants	Gabriel	putting enemies to flight
7th	Nectius	expelling people, causing sickness and death	Cafriel	burning vegetation
8th	Tafat	causing enmity	Satquiel	gathering bees or birds
9th	Conassuor	binding tongues, entering before kinds and lords	Samael	attracting and capturing birds
10th	Algo	destroying evil speech or thought	Raphael	scattering besieging armies
11th	Caltrua	binding or catching birds	Anael	Not to be used for making images
12th	Salaij	telling fortunes, disclosing theft or other crime	Michael	

Notes

1 Siegfried Wenzel, ed. and trans., *Fasciculus morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), v. 30, pp. 578–79.

2 Guillaume de Deguileville, *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, Englisht by John Lydgate, A.D. 1426, from the French of Guillaume de Deguileville, A.D. 1330, 1355*, ed. F.J. Furnivall (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1899–1904), vol. 2, pp. 493–505, lines 18,471–924. See Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 172–3, where the drawing of the meeting with the necromancer is reproduced.

3 M.R. James, 'Twelve medieval ghost-stories', *English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), 416f.

4 Hansen, *Quellen*, 556–9; *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, ser. 2, vol. 3 (1846).

5 A classic Byzantine treatise on magic instructed its reader to make two concentric circles wide enough

to accommodate two people; they should be drawn inside a square, with an entrance corridor to the south, and various words and signs are to be inscribed. See Richard P.H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988), 286–7.

6 *The Sworn Book of Honourius* [sic] *the Magician, as Composed by Honourius through Counsel with the Angel Hocroell*, ed. and trans. Daniel J. Driscoll (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1983), chs 26 and 38.

7 *De Nigromancia of Roger Bacon*, ii.4–6, ed. and trans. Michael-Albion Macdonald (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1988), 13–26. On the legend of St Cyprian of Antioch see *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater (New York: Kenedy, 1956), under 26 September.

8 *De Nigromancia*., iii.1, 28f.

9 *Ibid*., 51.

10 Rawl. 29r, 73r, 77v–78r, 79r, 103v, 104v.

11 One (nos 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 12, 15), two (nos 7, 10, 16, 18, 22), three (nos 36, two in 39, 40), or four (no. 6).

12 For parallels and possible sources in Arabic culture see H.A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei* (Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1930).

13 E.g., Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief*, 286.

14 Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. H. von E. Scott and C.C. Swinton Bland, vol. 1 (London: Routledge, 1929), 315–17. See also Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books, and Local Legends*, rev. edn (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955–58), nos. D1272 (magic circle), D1381.11 (magic circle protects from devil) and G303.16.19.15 (devil cannot enter magic circle made to keep him out); and Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (FF Communications, 204) (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Akademia Scientiarum Fennica, 1969), p. 86, nos. 1,069–71.

15 Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson MS 252, fols 25v, 59v–61v.

16 Cornelius Agrippa, *Of Occult Philosophy, Book Four: Magical Ceremonies*, ed. and trans. Robert Turner (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1985), 72.

17 *Taanith*, 3.8, in C.K. Barrett, *New Testament Background: Selected Documents* (London: SPCK, 1956; rev. edn 1987), pp. 191–2; and Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 141 (PGM VII.846–61), 73 (IV.2006–2125).

18 Fols 112v–113v, 142r–142v: *magister facit circulum cum cutello, et faciat socium suum intus sedere, et precipiat sibi magister quod nec pedes neque manus nec vestes nec capillos foras extendat, donec magister exeat expeditus ab omnibus ordinatis…. Postea faciat circulum cum cultello suo, et assignat locum in quo socius suus sedere debeat. Postea iubet eum sedere, et ostendit ei sub qua forma sedere debeat in circulo, et qualiter se regere in omnibus debeat, et qualiter spiritum in aduentu suo recipere debeat, et quomodo exire debeat de circulo, et qualiter in recessu suo eum licenciare tenetur, et quomodo exire debeat de circulo, et quo debeat se diuertere. Et hec omnia debet magister socio suo ostendere antequam eum in circulo incurrere permittit, ne ex defectu periculum intrare videatur.*

19 See Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 131–3.

20 See Hilary M. Carey, *Courting Disaster: Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1992), ch. 8, from which the translation is taken.

21 Nos 4, 6, 8, 11, 19, 41 (waxing moon); 2, 5 (waning moon); 7 [?] (first phase of the moon); 9 (sixth phase); 20 (other phases); 4, 41 (Sunday), 9 (Tuesday), 11 (Wednesday), 6 (Thursday or Sunday), 2, 5 (Saturday); 4, 11 (first hour); 5 (before sunrise); 41 (morning [*de mane*]); 6 (noon); 7, 8 (clear sky); 20

(conjunction of Venus and Jupiter); 41 (Sun in Leo); 5 (under a waning moon *et maxime quando est in combustione*).

22 *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the Gha-yat Al-Haki-m*, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986), esp. passages such as those on pp. 15–22 (images to effect peace, love, the favour of a lore, etc.); pp. 68–73 (images of planets), and 200–2 (fumigations for various planets); for further examples see 'Thabit ibn Qurra's *De imaginibus*', in Francis J. Carmody, *The Astronomical Works of Thabit b. Qurra* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 180–97. See Lynn Thorndike, 'Traditional medieval tracts concerning engraved astrological images', in *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer: Etudes d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale de la Scolastique médiévale offertes à Monseigneur Auguste Pelzer* (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1947), 217–73.

23 Nos 37a (conjurations for days of week), 37b (signs of angels), 37c (signs of days), 37d (angels ruling days), 37e (spirits ruling days), 37f (fumigations for days), 37g (purposes served each day), 37h (angels of days), 37i (names of God), 37j (names and functions of day hours), 37k (names and functions of night hours), 37l (names and functions of hourly angels), 37m (images for day hours), 37n (images for night hours), 37o (angels of times), 37p (names of planets and parts of Earth), 37q (images and conjurations for days) and 37r (summary). The association of angels and demons with specific days and hours had been worked out in Byzantine sources; see Armand Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 1 (Liège: Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 1927), 403–4, 434–8. For material similar to that in no. 37j, see Charles Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), IX, p. 2.

24 On the tradition from which this text draws see Ute Müller, *Deutsche Mondwahrsagetexte aus dem Spätmittelalter* (diss. Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, 1971); *The Works of John Metham, including The Romance of Amoryus and Cleopes*, ed. Hardin Craig (EETS, o.s. 132) (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1916), xxxviii–xlii (a survey of the genre), 148–56; L. Braswell, 'Popular lunar astrology in the late Middle Ages', *University of Ottawa Quarterly*, 48 (1978), 187–94.; Robert Vian, ed., *Ein Mondwahrsagebuch: Zwei altdeutsche Handschriften des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts* (Halle, 1910); and Frank Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb: Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), 49–57. W. Braekman, 'Magische experimenten en toverpraktijken uit een middelnederlands handschrift', *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1966, 54–68, gives the first six sections of a moon-book for when the moon is in each zodiacal sign.

25 Paola Zambelli, *The 'Speculum astronomiae' and its Enigmas: Astrology, Theology and Science in Albertus Magnus and His Contemporaries* (Dordrecht, Boston, and London: Kluwer, 1992), chs 16–17, pp. 270–73.

26 On this issue see especially D.P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic, from Ficino to Campanella* (London: Warburg Institute, 1958; repr. Notre Dame, ID: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975).

9

Conclusion

Some time around the 1530s, Benvenuto Cellini witnessed the conjuring of demons in the Colosseum at Rome – or at least so he reports in his autobiography.[1] He had met a Sicilian priest who knew Latin and Greek, and who agreed to introduce him to the art of necromancy. Along with two companions they went to the Colosseum, traced circles on the ground, and undertook 'the finest ceremonies that can be imagined', amid various suffumigations and an hour and a half of conjurations. When legions of demons filled the Colosseum, the priest urged Cellini to make some inquiry, and he asked them to restore to him his Sicilian girlfriend, Angelica, to which they made no reply. Cellini and the priest went to the Colosseum a second time, with a twelve-year-old boy and two other companions. In Hebrew and Greek as well as Latin, the necromancer conjured multitudinous demons by name, invoking the power of God, and there appeared a hundred times as many spirits as previously. Cellini repeated his request, and the spirits promised that within a month he would be together with Angelica. But the ceremony was soon out of control: the necromancer declared that the demons were a thousand times more than he had conjured, and they were the most dangerous of spirits; the boy shrieked that a million threatening figures were swarming around them, while four 'giants' were endeavouring to break into the circle. Eventually, however, the numbers of spirits dwindled, so that by the time the conjurers left their circle the boy reported there were only two demons left, skipping along the road or on the rooftops. The necromancer insisted that he had never before encountered such a ferocious display of demons. The experience did not dissuade him, however, from urging Cellini to join him in another ritual, the consecration of a book by which they could discover buried treasure. Cellini agreed, but was soon so preoccupied with his work that he abandoned both this new project and his hopes regarding Angelica.

E.M. Butler inclined to accept Cellini's story essentially at face value, although she noted that only the boy seems actually to have seen the conjured spirits – the rest of the party relied chiefly on the lad's reports – and she ascribed

the exceptional success of the necromancer's rituals to the boy's impressionable nature.[2] No doubt it could have happened. Conjuring demons is hardly the most implausible undertaking humans have devoted themselves to, and it seems *prima facie* unlikely that books of necromancy would have circulated in late medieval and early modern Europe without occasional use of the experiments they contained. The results may more often have been those experienced by Gilles de Rais, who engaged more than one clerical necromancer in an effort to recoup his finances with demonic aid, but who found the conjurations utterly without effect – except when he was not looking, at which point the necromancer would assure him that ferocious spirits had come and beaten him mercilessly.[3] Gilles de Rais's necromancers were perhaps typical in their skilful deception of a gullible client. One is reminded of the necromancers, including a former Templar, who strung Cardinal Francesco Caetani along, begging for time to complete their experiments, and pleading that they could not do so because they were unable to locate such necessary items as a hoopoe.[4] The necromancer appears often to have been a mountebank, and the most important factor in his success was perhaps the credulity of his client. Yet one hesitates to generalize; if clients could place faith in necromancy, this was in part because the broader culture took the matter seriously enough to prosecute people for exercising the art, and few doubted in principle that conjuring could succeed, so there must have been necromancers and would-be necromancers who copied out experiments into their books in the hope of having close encounters with malign but potentially useful spirits.

In some respects the story of Benvenuto Cellini is consonant with the picture of necromancy given in the Munich handbook, while in other ways it is not. The use of circles, conjurations and suffumigations, the recruitment of a young boy, and the presence of a few companions – all this is typical of what we have seen in the necromancer's manual. The use of a classical language is again expected, although Greek and Hebrew may have been exceptional. The experiments in the Munich handbook sometimes instruct the spirits to come in pleasant and nonthreatening form, as if the conjurers were aware that the experience of Cellini and his friends – a veritable temptation of Saint Anthony – might befall them. What is most unusual about Cellini's report is precisely its drama. The demons foreseen in the Munich manuscript are made tame, domesticated, even docile in comparison. The conjurations are intended to coerce the spirits, and the expectation is that these spirits will present themselves in a mood of submission to the necromancer's constraint. Yet the writer surely knew the alternative

possibility, and if he insisted on using conjurations as spiritual weapons against the spirits he did so because he knew that precautions were necessary, that docility did not come naturally to demons.

I have argued that material such as the Munich handbook is historically important because it helps us grapple with the mentality of the clerical necromancers, but that this mentality was not a simple or stable entity. Its variations depended largely on the type of ritual in question. The illusionist experiments display a playful and imaginative impulse, but one that could nurture the profoundly serious anxieties seen in the early witch trials. In the psychological rites we find a quest for power over other people's minds, wills, and bodies, often manifesting itself as an expression of violent impulse, and in any case revealing tension in the clash of wills. In the divinatory operations a desire for knowledge often combines with pecuniary motives, and we see an almost obsessive concern with the truth of the knowledge gained, in the face of the danger of falsehood. In the Munich handbook we find all three types of material, but in shifting proportions: if I am right in my hypothesis that we have the experiments substantially in their original order, the compiler seems to have become less interested in the glamorous forms of magic, more absorbed in workaday divination, and more prosaic in his manner of presentation as he pursued his task. To read the work in this way is to find in it an element of implicit autobiography, even when the first person is not used. It is also to see the compiler as reflecting both synchronically and diachronically the diversities of magical tradition: not only does he bring disparate practices into fusion, combining sympathetic magic or scrying with conjuring and other techniques, but as he continues the process his work loses some of its earlier brio and he settles for kinds of magic more likely to draw money-bearing clients.

Furthermore, I have suggested that books such as the Munich manual of necromancy are significant for the light they shed on broader tendencies in late medieval culture. First, attention to such a compilation expands our conception of how a book could function and how it could be perceived in late medieval culture. Cellini's story reminds us of what we have already seen, that a book was a sacred object, particularly when consecrated, and that its sacrality was a factor enabling the necromancer better to attain his goals. Second, awareness of what magicians set out to do is needed for a realistic of their enemies' reactions and refutations. Cellini knew, as everyone at the time knew, that the behaviour of his priest friend was transgressive. One might view it as frivolous transgression; it certainly had no obvious political significance. Be that as it may, it takes on

more sober significance in light of the virulent attacks on necromancy by people whose opinion weighed heavily, including popes and theologians, inquisitors and secular judges, those instrumental in forging the cumulative concept of witchcraft as a hammer for crushing women in particular, and the Humanist mages who wished to distance themselves as effectively as possible from common and vulgar necromancers. Third, study of this material helps us see the essential continuity in form between necromancy and exorcism, and the grounding of both in the established liturgy of the medieval Church. As the reverse side of the liturgical tapestry, the necromancer's experiments help us to see how ritual could be perceived and perverted by those making private use of it for transgressive purposes.

From a slightly different perspective, we might say that a text such as the Munich handbook is historically significant because it elucidates the connection between dreams and nightmares. The necromancers and their clients dreamed of discovering wealth, sexual fulfilment, favour and promotion, power over adversaries, entertainment, and knowledge of secret and future matters. In pursuing these dreams they risked entering into nightmares that they shared with those about them. Cellini experienced what any necromancer other than a sheer impostor must have feared, the traumatic disruption of psychic and spiritual security, the terrifying irruption of sinister forces into the private space they occupied. The thrill of flirting with such danger was surely one reason for the art's powerful appeal. Like the Ouija board, the necromancer's circle could begin as a game but turn unexpectedly nasty and threatening. On a purely rationalist reading, the danger of the means might be balanced against the allurement of the ends. More realistically speaking, the hazards were surely among the attractions of such activity, and as Freud would remind us, the nightmare was itself the distorted fulfilment of a wish, at least for those mysterious souls who took delight at venturing into a Boschian landscape, in the hope that when they finished they would not be trapped within its frame.

Notes

1 *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*, lxiv–lxv, trans. John Addington Symonds (repr. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1946), 118–22. For background see Franco Cardini, 'I diavoli al Colosseo: note su alcuni luogli "magici" della città di Roma nel Medioero', in F. Troncarelli, ed., *La città dei segreti: magia, astrologia e cultura esoterica a Roma (XV–XVIII secolo)* (Milan: Angeli, 1985), 43–54.

2 E.M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949), 118–29.

3 Reginald Hyatte, intro. and trans., *Laughter for the Devil: The Trials of Gilles de Rais, Companion-in-Arms of Joan of Arc (1440)* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London: Associated

University Presses, 1984).

4 Charles Victor Langlois, ‘L’affaire du cardinal Francesco Caetani (Avril 1316)’, *Revue historique*, 63 (1897), 56–71; Conrad Eubel, ‘Vom Zaubereiunwesen anfangs des 14. Jahrhunderts (mit urkundlichen Beilagen)’, *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 18 (1897), 628.

The Necromancer's Handbook in Clm 849: Fols 3r–108v

The disposition of the manuscript

The manuscript is from the first half of the fifteenth century, of unknown provenence. It is not mentioned in Otto Hartig, *Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht V. und Johann Jakob Fugger* (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosoph.-philolog. und hist. Klasse, vol. 28, sect. 3, 1914). It is on paper, without discernible watermark. The present binding is probably from the end of the nineteenth or beginning of the twentieth century; the inner side of the rear binding bears a sticker referring to Georg Winkler Buchbinderei KB, Hoflieferant, München, Kreuzstr. 9. Fol. 3 is heavily worn. In the middle of the lower margin of fol. 3r (as on fol. 156v) is a stamp with the inscription *Bibliotheca Regia Monacensis*. In the middle of the upper margin of fol. 3r, *Clm 849* is marked in pencil. The manuscript is 14.7 cm wide and 21 cm high. The text is in a single column, with lineation still discernible on almost all pages. Initials are rubricated. Foliation runs from fol. 3 through fol. 152, and was probably executed after the earliest binding; earlier foliation occurs on individual folios, and is largely erroneous. Various hands are represented, but these do not always correspond to the gatherings of the manuscript; gatherings 12 through 14, however, are written by entirely different hands from those that precede, and the condition of the paper is also different from that in gatherings 1 through 11.

There are fifteen gatherings:

Table H. Gatherings of Clm 849

	Folios	*Experiments*	*Codicological particularities*
1	3–11	No. 1 to beginning of no. 4	Sheet with fol. 10 is separately inserted.

2	12–23	End of no. 4 to beginning of no. 9	Sheet with fols 12–13 is separately inserted.
3	24–35	End of no. 9 to beginning of no. 16	Sheet with fols 24–25 is separately inserted.
4	36–45	End of no. 16 to beginning of no. 27	Fol. 45 is also marked as fol. 59 (in earlier hand).
5	46–50	End of no. 27 through no. 30	Postponement of the middle of no. 27 results in textual discontinuity at the beginning o this gathering. After fol. 50 (on which no. 30 is completed), five uncounted folios (i.e., the secon half of the gathering) are excise
6	51–59	Middle of no. 27, then no. 31 and beginning of no. 32	Between fol. 51 (which is inscribed only recto) and 52 (which begins with an incipit) five uncounted folios are excise Fol. 59r is also marked as 79 (in earlier hand).
7	60–68	End of no. 32 to beginning of no. 37	Between fol. 66 and fol. 67 is fo 65 bis.
8	69–82	Continuation of no. 37	Fol. 70r is also marked as fol. 8 (in earlier hand). Fol. 71r is also marked as fol. 70 (in later hand) Fol. 82 is also marked as fol. 9 (in earlier hand).
9	83–95	Continuation of no. 37	Three sheets – fols 91, 92, and 9 – are separately inserted. Fol. 9 is also marked as fol. 10 (in earlier hand).
10	96–103	End of no. 37 to beginning of no. 40	Fol. 96r is also marked as fol. 104 (in later hand).
11	104–108	End of no. 40 through no. 47	After fol. 108, three uncounted folios are excised. Fols 106–7 a also marked as fols. 114–5 (in later hand). No. 44 is a fragmen

			on the middle of fol. 107v. No. 47 is a fragment on the middle c fol. 108v.
12	109–118	Related materials, written by various hands	After fol. 118, two uncounted folios are excised. In this gathering there is no lineation.
13	119–32		
14	133–146		Fols 133–139 are also marked a fols 1–7.
15	147–156		Six sheets – fols 147–151 and 156 – are separately inserted.

Textual discontinuities

Apart from the abrupt beginning of the text at the beginning of the main block (on fol. 3r) and the occurrence of textual fragments at the end of this block (on the middle of fol. 107v and on the middle of fol. 108v), discernible breaks in textual continuity occur at three points within the block: (1) Between fols 45 and 46, one text ends abruptly (45v) at the end of the fourth gathering, the fifth gathering begins with a blank page (46r), and a new text begins *in medias res* (46v). (2) Between fols 50 and 51, one text ends with an *explicit* (50v), five folios are excised at the end of the fifth gathering, and the sixth gathering begins *in medias res* (51r). (3) Between 51 and 52, one text ends abruptly (51r) even though the verso is blank, five following folios are excised within the gathering, and the same gathering resumes with an *incipit* (52).

The discontinuities on fols 45–51 are related, in the sense that the central portion of an experiment (no. 28) has been postponed to fol. 51r, which evidently supplies the missing link between the beginning (fols 44v–45v) and the end (fols 46v–47v) of this experiment. Note that experiment no. 28 is divided into two ‘chapters’: the end of the first is marked by the words *Explicit primum capitulum* near the bottom of fol. 46r; the second begins with a list of names at the very bottom of that folio, which continues at the top of fol. 51r and continues with a conjuration that occupies the remainder of fol. 51r (fol. 51v is blank), only to conclude with the material on fols 46v–47v, which terminated with the notation *Explicit secundum capitulum*. The textual continuity produced by this rearrangement is corroborated by

the identification of two chapters as part of a continuing experiment. The discontinuity is not fully explainable in terms of erroneous binding, which would not account for the scribe's not using the verso of fol. 51. Rather, the lack of continuity is more plausibly explained on the assumption that the scribe recognized belatedly that he had material at hand that belonged to an earlier experiment; he may not have taken the trouble to determine exactly where the fragment inserted on fol. 51r belonged.

It is possible that the only material actually deleted from the miscellany is that on the first two folios. Although folios are elsewhere excised (between fols 50 and 51, between fols 51 and 52, and between fols 108 and 109), the evident textual discontinuities can be emended by rearrangement, and there are no further deletions from the original foliation.

At the end of this block, three folios between 108 and 109 are excised at the end of a gathering, after which new material begins, written by different hands. Within this new material there are three further breaks in textual continuity: between 118 and 119, where two folios are excised at the end of a gathering; between 132 and 133, with the beginning of a new gathering; and between 146 and 147, again with the beginning of a new gathering.

Editorial principles

Punctuation and capitalization have been standardized. Non-standard but clearly intentional forms and spellings have been allowed to stand: *abilem* for *habilem* (no. 34), *aparuisti* for *apparuisti* (no. 31), *beniuolus* for *beneuolus* (no. 34), *blica* for *plica* (no. 1), *colido* for *collido* (no. 5), *commitantem* for *comitantem* (no. 19), *commitiuam and commitiua* for *comitiuam and comitiua* (no. 7), *decim* for *decem* (no. 18), *desparsit* for *dispersit* (no. 33), *dissipulos* for *discipulos* (no. 35), *duodecim* for *duodecem* (no. 27), *genubus* for *genibus* (nos 10 & 11), *hillariter* for *hilariter* (no. 6), *hostio* for *ostio* (no. 17), *inungas* for *inunguas* (no. 22), *karacteribus* for *characteribus* (no. 19), *karitatem karitatiuam* for *caritatem caritatiuam* (no. 14), *kathedram* for *cathedram* (no. 15), *legittimo* for *legitimo* (no. 27), *letania* for *litania* (no. 31), *lingnum* for *lignum* (no. 13), *loycam* for *logicam* (no. 34), *magestas* for *majestas* (no. 1), *magestatis* for *majestatis* (no. 33), *navim* for *navem* (no. 8), *optinere* for *obtinere* (no. 31), *pallificando* for *paleficando* (no. 19), *patifacere* for *patefacere* (no. 6), *pulcherimi* for *pulcherrimi* (no. 13), *quadruuio* for *quadriuio* (no. 26), *rethoricam* for

rhetoricam (no. 34), *ribelles* for *rebelles* (no. 33), *senephali* for *seneschali* (no. 34), *sepellire* for *sepelire* (no. 4), *sepellitur and desepelliendo* for *sepelitur and desepeliendo* (no. 2), *Septemtrione* for *Septentrione* (fols 115r and 144r), *thesaurum* for *thesaurus* (no. 43), *vppupa* for *upupa* (no. 6). The text has been corrected conservatively when it was necessary to do so for the sense of a passage, but not simply to correct errors; e.g., on fol. 56r *quod vij die hominem ad ymaginem plasmasti tuam* is corrected to *qui vij*[*a*] *die hominem ad ymaginem plasmasti tuam* but *vij* is not corrected to *vi*, and on fol. 13r *discedat ... seruiet* [for *seruiat*] … *diligat* has been allowed to stand. Necessary additions have been made in square brackets; deletions and substitutions are indicated in the notes. Lower-case *c* and *t* are sometimes distinguished but often not; when the context allows either, *c* is used. In occult names and 'Chaldean' formulas especially it is often impossible to distinguish between *c* and *t*, to determine whether a superscript line over a vowel represents *m* or *n*, or to make other editorial judgements which depend on context; in these cases the transcription is perforce largely arbitrary.

Italics are used for ritual text that is to be recited, but not for dialogue. In the conjurations, chains of invocations given in unbroken sequence in the manuscript are broken into individual units (beginning with *per* or *et per*), each marked with a bullet, to clarify the structure of each invocation.

No. 1. For gaining knowledge of the liberal arts (fols 3r–5v)

[…] versus orientem. Deinde dicere [debes]:

Apolin, Maraloth, Berith, ego, talis, vos exorciso[a] *et coniuro ex parte dei omnipotentis, qui vos vestra eleccione iussit antra subire profundi, ut debeatis michi mittere quendam spiritum peritum dogmate omnium scienciarum, qui michi sit beniuolus, fidelis, et placidus, ad docendum omnem scienciam quam voluero,*[b] *veniens in forma magistri, vt nullam formidinem doleam percipere. Fiat. Fiat. Item coniuro vos*

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum*,
- *et* [*per*] *hec sancta nomina quorum virtute ligamini – scilicet Dobel, Vriel, Sabaoth, Semoni, Adonay, Tetragramaton, Albumay, Siloth, Moreth, Sadabin, Rodobel, Domiel, Perarabiel,*[c] *Alatuel, nominem, nominam,*[d] [*et*] *Vsobel,*

quatenus vos tres reges maximi et michi socii michi petenti vnum de subditis vestris mittere laboretis, qui sit magister omnium scienciarum et

arcium, veniens in forma humana placabilis [*et*] *splendens*[e] *michi, et erudiens me cum amore, ita et taliter quod in termino 30a*[*rum*] *dierum talem scienciam valeam adipisci, permittens post sumpcionem sciencie dare sibi* [3v] *licenciam recedendi.*

Et hoc eciam tociens dici debet.

Hec vero dicta,[f] depone ensem et involue in dicto panno, et facto fasciculo cuba super ipso, et aliquantulum dormias. Post sompnum vero surge et induas te, quia facto fasciculo homo se spoliat et intrat cubiculum, ponendo dictum fasciculum sub capite. Est autem sciendum quod dictis hiis coniuracionibus sompnus accidit virtute diuina. In sompno apparent tibi tres maximi reges cum famulis innumeris, militibus et peditibus, inter quos est eciam quidam magister apparens, cui ipsi tres reges iubent. A[d] te ipsum venire paratum videbis. [Videbis] enim tres reges fulgentes mira pulchritudine, qui tibi in dicto sompno viua voce loquentur, dicentes, 'Ecce, tibi damus quod multociens postulasti.' Et dicent illi magistro, 'Sit iste tuus discipulus, quem docere te iubemus omnem scienciam siue artem quam audire voluerit. Doce ipsum taliter et erudi, vt in termino 30a[rum] dierum in quacumque sciencia[g] voluerit summus inter alios habeatur.' Et videbis ipsum respondere, 'Domini mei, libentissime faciam quidquid [4r] wltis.' Hiis dictis, reges abient et magister solus remanebit, qui tibi dicet, 'Surge, ecce magister tuus.' Hiis vero dictis, excitaberis; statim apperies oculos, et videbis quendam magistrum optime indutum, qui tibi dicet, 'Da michi ensem quam[h] sub capite tenes.' Tu vero dices, 'Ecce discipulus vester, paratus facere quidquid wltis.' Tamen debes habere pugillarem, et scribere omnia que tibi dicet.

Primo debes querere, 'O magister, quod[i] est nomen vestrum?' Ipse dicit,[j] et tu scribas. Secundo, de quo ordine, et similiter scribe. Hiis scriptis, debes sibi postulare[k] ensem; quo habito ipse recedit, dicens, 'Expecta me donec veniam.' Tu nichil dices. Magister vero recedet et fert ensem. Post cuius recessum, tu dissolues pannum vt ap[p]aret inferius. Etiam scribas in dicto circulo nomen eius scriptum per te, et scribi debet per te cum predicto sangwine. Quo scripto, involue dictum pannum et bene reconde.

Hiis factis, debes prandere solo pane et pura aqua, et illa die non egredi cameram. Et cum pransus fueris, accipe pannum et intres circulum versus Apolin. Dic sic: 'O rex Apolin, magne, potens, et venerabilis, [4v] ego famulus tuus, in te credens et omnino confidens quod tu es fortis et valens,

rogo per incomprehensibilem magestatem tuam vt famulus et subiectus tuus, talis, magister meus, debeat ad me venire quam[l] cicius fieri potest, per virtutem et potenciam tuam, que est magna et maxima in secula seculorum. Amen.' Et similiter dicere [debes] versus Maraloth, mutando nomen. Et versus Berich similiter. Hiis dictis, accipe de dicto sangwine et scribe in medio circuli nomen tuum cum supradicto corde, vt hic apparet inferius.[m] Deinde scribe cum dicto corde in angulis panni illa nomina, vt hic apparent. [5r] Si autem sangwis unius auis non sufficeret, potes interficere quantum tibi placet.

Quibus omnibus factis, sedebis per totam diem in circulo, aspiciens ipsum, nichil loquendo. Cum vero sero[n] fuerit, blica dictum pannum, spolia te, et intra in cubiculum, ponendo ipsum sub capite tuo. Et cum posueris,[o] dic sic plana voce:

> *O Apolin, Maraloch, Berith, Sathan, Beliath, Belzebuc,* [*et*] *Lucifer, supplico vobis vt precipiatis magistro – in eo* [*loco*] (nominando eius nomen) *– vt ipse debeat venire cras ante solis ortum ad me et docere me talem scienciam sine aliqua fallacia, per illum qui venturus est iudicare viuos et mortuos et seculum per ignem. Amen.*

Caue igitur et precaue ne signum ✠ crucis facias, propter magnum periculum in sompno. Scias quod videbis magistrum tota nocte loqui tecum, interrogans a te quam scienciam velis addiscere. Et cum dices, 'Talem', ita quod, vt dictum est, tota nocte cum eo hoc loqueris. Cum itaque excitatus fueris, quod e[s]t in ipsa nocte, surge et accende candelam, et accipe dictum pannum et devolue, et in eo sede, videlicet in circulo vbi nomen tuum scriptum est ad tuum commodum, et voca nomen magistri tui, sic dicens:

> *O talis, de tali ordi-* [5v] *ne, et in magistrum michi deditus per maiores reges tuos, te deprecor vt venies*[p] *in forma benigna, doctum me talem scienciam,* [*in*] *qua*[q] *sim promcior omnibus mortalibus, discens ipsam cum magno gaudio, sine aliquo labore, et omni tedio derelicto. Veni igitur ex tuorum parte maiorum, qui regnant per infinita secula seculorum. Amen. Fiat, fiat, fiat.*

Hiis itaque dictis, tunc aspiciens versus occidentem videbis magistrum venire cum multis discipulis, quem rogabis vt omnes abire iubeat, et statim recedunt.[r] Quo facto, ipse magister dicet, 'Quam scientiam audire

desideras?' Tu dices, 'Talem,' et tunc incipies.

Memento enim quod quantum tibi dicet, tantum addisces[s] et memorie commendabis, et omnem scienciam quam habere volueris addisces in termino xxx[a][rum] dierum.

Et quando ipsum de camera abire volueris, plica pannum et reconde,[t] et statim recedet. Et quando ipsum venire volueris, aperi pannum, et subito ibidem apparebit, continuando lecciones. Post vero terminum 30a[rum] dierum, doctus optime in scientia, fac tibi dare[u] ensem tuum et dic vt vadat, et cum pace recedat. Debes iterum dicere cum pro alia ipsum invocabis habenda sciencia, qui tibi dicit ad tui libitum esse paratum.

Finis est capituli sciencie, etc.

a *Corrected from* exorcisor.
b *MS* volueris, *although the final letter is uncharacteristic for this hand*.
c *Or* Pararabiel.
d Sic *in MS*.
e *MS* splandens.
f Sic in *MS*.
g *MS* in quam scienciam.
h Sic in *MS*.
i Sic in *MS*.
j Sic in *MS*.
k *Meaning* presentare?
l *Followed by* ci *(?), deleted*.
m *Circle at the bottom of fol. 4v: a single band inscribed within a square. The names of the spirits* Belial, Satan, Mendior Matalot, Belzebub, Lucifer, Sententino *and* Apolin *are inscribed in and around the band, as are the four cardinal directions*. Nomen magistri, de tali ordine *and* Nomen discipuli *are marked in the centre*.
n *The final* o, *written with a superscript line, has been corrected, with the correct form* sero *also in the margin*.
o *Meaning* reposueris?
p Sic *in MS*.
q *MS* quam.
r Sic *in MS*.
s *MS* addiscens.
t *MS* retunde.
u Sic *in MS*.

No. 2. For causing a person to lose his senses (fols 6r–7v)

Ad hoc igitur, vt sciencia siue ars possit ab aliquo auferri, vnde diligenter

attende.[a] Debes enim primo decrescente luna die sabbati ire ad illum quem ad mentem venire volueris et coram eo sic dicere plana voce:

Subintret Mirael cerebrum tuum et omnem sapienciam, sensum,[b] discrecionem, [et] cogitationem diluat et aboleat. Coniuro te, Mirael,

- *per omnes principes et maiores,*
- *et per omnia que facere voles,*

vt in tali quem aspicio debeas permanere donec michi libuerit, et ipsum obfuscare,[c] et omne quod agnoscit ammittat,[d] alioquin mittam te in maris profundum, quod non egredieris in secula.

Quibus dictis, recede et prestolare donec sero fuerit. Quo facto, vade ad hostium eius et incide de ligno ipsius hostij tantum quod de ipso calamum facere possis, et ad domum redeas, et fac de ipso calamum, et de sangwine murilogi in panno lini cum ipso calamo scribe:

O Mirael, ablator sapiencie, sciencie, cognicionis, et artis, adsis in sensibus talis, et spiritum facere debeas animo dementem.[e]

Qua conuocacione scripta, fit in dicto panno circulus cum dicto sangwine vt hic apparet,[f] vbi scribitur vt sequitur: nomen illius quem priuare volueris in medio circuli conscribitur, [cum] hoc nomine ‘Mirael’. Quibus factis, debes dicere sic:

Coniuro vos decem demones [6v] *malignos, videlicet Oreoth, Pinen, Ocel, Tryboy, Noryoth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy, Sismael,*

- *per indiuiduam trinitatem, videlicet Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum ab vtroque procedentem,*
- *et per tremendam et timendam diem judicij,[g]*
- *et per omnia que fuerunt et sunt et erunt,*

vt[h] sicut in hoc circulo figurati,[i] circuitis talem,[j] ita vere et efficaciter et existenter personam eius circuatis, et sensus eius taliter affligatis quod ignorans, demens, stultus, et mente captus[k] [7r] *efficiatur. Et tu, Mirael, de cerebro eius nunquam egrediaris, manens in eo die noctuque donec ab eo abire iubebo.*

Quibus sic dictis ter, iterum redeas in eadem nocte ad domum ipsius cum dicto panno et cum quodam cultello, et cum ibi fueris, volue humeros versus suum hostium, et flectens te in terram, minge in parte eius more cameli. Faciendo foueam subter[r]ando dictum pannum in eius limite,[l] dic sic:

Subterro te, talem, in nomine demoniorum scriptorum circa te, quod semper ipsi demones [*sint*] *circa te et omnis tua virtus sepulta sit.*

Et cooperto dicto circulo cum terra, redeas iterum ad domum, et fac candelam, in qua sint scripta omnia contenta in circulo. Et debes ipsam facere de cera primo empta, [in] nomine et [pro] destrvccione eius, cum vna acu similiter empta. Qua facta, accende ipsam et dic sic:

Sicut hec candela,[m] *facta in destruccionem talis, comburitur et consumatur,*[n] *ita omnis virtus et sciencia existens in ipso in demenciam conuertatur, per virtutem demoniorum in hac candela scriptorum. Et sicut vos demones hic scripti ardetis, ita nullam requiem habere possitis donec hoc duxeritis ad effectum.*[o]

Quibus verbis semel prolatis, dictam candelam extingwe, dicendo hec verba:

Sicut hec candela extingwitur, ita omnis virtus in tali permanens penitus consumetur.

Mane vero ipsam accende, dicendo, *Sicut hec* [7v] *candela, etc.* Item alio mane, vsque ad terminum septum dierum, computato primo die; in octavo vero die, videbis istum dementem omnino, de quo omnes mirabuntur. Mirabile est autem quod non credit se aliquem habere defectum, et omnes alios mente putat esse carentes.

Hanc igitur experienciam apud te tene, quia magne virtutis est.

Cum autem ipsum volueris in statum priorem deuenire, optime fieri potest.

Die iouis, 1. hora noctis, vade ad suum hostium vbi sepelisti pannum, quod dum sepellitur debet poni pannus in quodam vase vt non putrescat; sic factis omnino ipsum liberandi, et ipsum pannum desepelliendo, sic dicas:

O Mirael, Oreoth, Pinen, Ocel, Triay, Moryoth, Belferith, Canay, Astaroth, Sobronoy, [*et*] *Sismael, ego, talis, absoluo vos vt eatis ad vestri libitum, et relinquatis talem in statu priori.*

Quibus dictis, fer domi[p] istum pannum, et accenso igne ligni oliue et[q] prouincula et herba verbena,[r] priocias dictum pannum sub dicto igne,

dicendo,

> *Sicut ignis iste consumit hunc pannum, ita omnis ars facta per*[s] *me contra talem penitus consumetur.*

Combusto igne, proice dictum puluerem in aqua currenti, et omnis ars destructa erit. Cognoscet eciam se postea vir quod fuerit primo omni prefectura priuatus, credens se habuisse egritudinem, cuius occasione hec accessisse putabit, etc.

a Sic *in MS*.
b *Followed by* et.
c *Corrected in margin from* abfuscare.
d *MS* amittit.
e Sic *in MS*.
f *Figure on fol. 6v: a single circular band, with* Oreoth, Pinen, Otel, Tryboy, Noryoth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy *and* Sismael *inscribed in it. In the centre of the circle* Mirael *and* N. *(for the name of the intended victim) are inscribed. Along the left side of 6v is a band labelled* Hoc [*or* hic] est candela *and the following names inscribed along it:* Oreoth, Pinen, Ocel, Triboy, Norioth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy.
g *The writer began to write* judij-, *then corrected the second* j *to* c.
h *MS* et.
i *Followed by* estis.
j *Followed by* vt.
k *MS* capitis.
l *Corrected from* limate.
m *Followed by* est.
n *Presumably meaning* consumitur.
o *MS* affectum.
p *Sic, for* domum?
q *Meaning* cum?
r *MS* herbam verbenam.
s *Inserted above the and in margin*.

No. 3. For arousing a woman's love (fols 8r–11v)

… maxima diligencia probaui ipsam, et est periculosa, cum hec scilicet in persona, et …[a]

Cum volueris habere amorem a quacumque muliere vis, siue longinqua siue propinqua, tam nobili quam prolipia,[b] in quacumque die vel nocte vis, siue in augmento siue in amicicie detrimento, primo debes habere quandam

columbam totam albam et cartam factam de cane femina dum est in amore, de qua est habere leuissimum. Et debes scire quod predicta carta potentissima est ad amorem mulieris habendum. Debes eciam habere calamum aquile. Et in loco occulto accipe dictam columbam et cum dentibus morde eam penes cor ita vt cor egrediatur, et cum calamo aquile in dicta carta cum dicto sangwine scribe nomen illius quam vis. [Debes] formare ymaginem mulieris nude quam melius scis,[c] dicendo,

> *Formo talem, N., filiam talis, quam habere desidero, nomine[d] istorum sex spirituum calidorum, videlicet Tubal, Sathan, Reuces, Cupido, Afalion, Duliatus, quod ipsa me diligat super omnes viuentes istius mundi.*

Qua facta, scribe in fronte nomen eius et hoc numen ‘Tubal’, dicendo,

> *Tu es talis, filia talis, de cetero ad meam voluntatem disposita, et tu es Tubal in fronte eius. Te iubeo permanere, ligando sensus eius capitis sui[e] ad me tantummodo cupientem.*

Postea adhuc scribe in brachio suo dextro ‘Sathan’, et in [8v] sinistro ‘Reuces’. Quibus scriptis, sic dic:

> *Sicut tu, Sathan, et tu, Reuces, estis scripti in hac ymagine facta nomine talis, ita continuo affligatis brachia ista sua vt aliquid facere nequeat sed me amplecti desideret.*

Quo facto, iterum scribe penes cor ymaginis nomen tuum, dicendo,

> *Sicut in corde istius ymaginis sum, ita talis, N., die noctuque me in corde suo habeat.*

Quo facto, scribe supra wuluam imaginis hoc nomen ‘Cupido’, dicendo sic:

> *Sicut tu, Cupido, es super wuluam istius ymaginis, ita semper maneas super wuluam talis, accendendo ipsam vt omnes viros istius mundi despiciat et me tantummodo cupiat, et ignis amoris mei ipsam torqueat et inflammet.*

Quo facto, scribe in crure dextro ‘Afalion’, in sinistro ‘Duliatus’. Quibus scriptis, dic:

Sicut tu Afalion et tu Duliatus estis scripti in hac ymagine, ita sedeatis in cruribus talis, affligendo crura eius propter amorem vehementem mei, quod non velit ire nec ire desideret aliquo nisi huc.

Quibus dictis, accipe[f] ipsam ymaginem ambabus manibus, et flexis genibus dic sic:

Adtraxi cor et mentem talis per hanc ymaginem, et prouoco in ipsam invocacione forti quod ipsa me diligat, cupiat, et affectet, et eciam tota nocte in sompno aspiciat, per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, qui viuit [9r] *et regnat et imperat in eternum.*

Quibus dictis, habeas mirram et saffranum, et facto igne, dictam ymaginem suffumiga, dicendo hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos omnes demones in hac ymagine scriptos, per dominos vestros quibus obedire tenemini: Sobedon, Badalam, et Berith,[g] *quatenus talem, cuius ymago est hoc nomine figurata, in amore meo accendere debeatis, vt die noctuque in me cogitet, in me speret, donec cum affectu meam compleuerit voluntatem. Et sicut in hac ymagine scripti et fixi estis, ita in ipsa recumbaris donec de ea faciam quidquid velim.*

Hac igitur coniuracione ter dicta, et facta suffumigacione, habeas[h] caude pilum cuiusdam equi, et suspende dictam cartam cum dicto pilo, ita vt moueatur ab aere, et dimitte stare; illa[i] vero die, vel sequenti, vel alia, vel quando potes, ad illam mulierem accedas, et procul dubio libentissime te videbit, dicens [se] sine te stare non posse. Et hoc habeas pro constanti, et tuo animo[j] faciet voluntatem, et super te omnia diliget[k] in eternum.

Si bene seruaueris ymaginem eius nomine figuratam, in qua virtus talis existit, ymmo et de hoc magis est admirandum: hoc est signum: antequam vidisses ipsam, statim facta hac ymagine [9v] cum ad eam accesseris erit de [te] taliter filocapta quod dum te viderit, quod non recedas ab ipsius coniunccione priuatus, ymmo de omni quod volueris contentus habebis.[l]

Si vero ad eam non possis accedere, siue[m] timore aut loci distancia aut aliquo interueniente, tamen potes ipsam apportari facere per supradictos demones, qui ita efficaces sunt quod si esses in Oriente in vna hora ipsam ab Occasu portarent sine aliquo periculo, et similiter reportarent sine aliqua diwlgacione. Et vt sit facta ymago vt dictum est et suspensa illa die, in

aliqua hora diei, sufflas in ipsa ita quod flatu tuo moueatur. Et similiter secunda die et tercia die. In nocte vero ipsius diei tercij, vel eciam in ipsa die, solus uel cum tribus sociis fidelibus, accipe dictam ymaginem et cum illo pilo liga ipsam ad collum tuum, et pendet in pectore tibi. Et habeas quandam ensem, et in terra fac circulum cum dicto ense. Facto circulo, stans intus, voca socios si habeas, qui nichil faciant nisi quod in circulo sedeant et ludum videant; quos si non habueris, quod melius est.[n] Habeas stilum ferreum, et circa circulum scribe vt hic apparet,[o] cum silentio semper.

Quo facto,[p] [10r] dic hanc coniuracionem:

> *Coniuro vos demones in hoc circulo sculptos, quibus data est potestas et potencia ducendi et alligandi mulieres in amore virorum,*
>
> - *per virtutem et potentiam maiestatis diuine,*
> - *et per thronos et dominaciones et potestates et principatus illius qui dixit et facta sunt,*
> - *et per illos qui non cessant clamare vna voce, dicentes, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus sabaoth, pleni sunt celi et terra gloria tua. Osanna in excelsis.* [10v] *Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini. Osanna in excelsis',*
> - *et per hec nomina pauencia et tremencia vos,[q] scilicet Rator, Lampoy, Despan, Brulo, Dronoth, Maloqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascifin, Nartim, et Lodoni,*
> - *et per anulum istum qui hic est,*
> - *et per innumerabiles potencias vestras et maiorum vestrorum,*
>
> *quod vbicumque sitis de locis vestris sine mora surgatis et ad talem pergatis, et statim sine fallacia ipsam huc ducatis, et cum voluero ipsam reportabitis. Et de hoc nemo senciat vel perpendat.*

Qua[r] dicta ter, versus anulum aspiciendo, audies quandam vocem dicentem, 'Ecce nos sumus,' et statim eos videbis sex domicellos pulcriores et mites, tibi eadem voce dicentes, 'Assumus hic, parati tibi parere[s] benigne. Dic igitur quid vis, et statim subito faciemus.' Tu autem dices, 'Eatis ad talem et michi ipsam sine mora ducatis.' Quibus dictis, subito recedent; ante horam ipsam sine lesione portabunt.

Et scias quod nullus ipsorum potest ingredi circulum, sed ipsam apportent apud ipsum, et ipsa porriget tibi manum, et intus ipsam trahis, que aliquantulum est attonita tamen wult libentissime [11r] tecum stare. Doceo eciam te quod quanto maiorem circulum facis, melius est tibi, quia in eo potes facere circulum et in ipso melius extendere. Si enim aliquid tui esset vltra signum circuli, malum esset tibi. Venta itaque muliere, omnes spiritus euanent.

Potes enim retinere hanc mulierem in dicto circulo quantum tibi placet,

quia cum mulier ingreditur circulum dicere debes illis spiritibus, ‘Vnus vestrum vadat ad locum a quo[t] talem a[p]portauistis, et in forma [eius] ibidem maneat donec ipsam hic habuero.’ Hiis dictis, omnes abient cum silencio. Cum autem, illa die ac nocte ac mense ac anno quando tibi placuerit quod ipsam ad domum volueris reuertere,[u] dic sic:

> *O vos spiritus, qui talem huc duxistis, accipite ipsam et ad domum suam portate. Et quotiens ipsam reuoluero, ipsam sitis in reportando subiecti. Venite igitur per miras valencias quas ineffabiliter exercimini.*

Quibus ter dictis, venient quinque spiritus, qui eam te vidente portabunt.

Memento enim, quando ipsa egreditur circulum, in dicendo ‘Vale’, tangere ipsam cum ymagine quam habes ad collum, quia in eternum pro hac te diliget et neminem preter te videre curabit; ymaginem semper interim quod cum muliere [11v] moraris, ad collum retinere debes, qui semper ipsi mulieri invisibilis apparebit, et cum ipsa abierit, dissolue ipsam a collo tuo et in quoddam vasculum diligenter reconde. Et ipsa recondita, dilue totum circulum et secure egrediaris. Et quando [eam] iterum ad te venire volueris, fac vt desuper dictum est.

Et nota quod experimentum est efficacissimum, et in eo nullum periculum est. Quo solo experimento Salomon habebat quascumque mulieres volebat. Et hec dicta sufficiant pro habendis mulieribus. Et debet fieri cum sollempnitatibus maximis, etc.

a *Introductory line at top of folio, partly cut off.*
b *Meaning* plebeia?
c Sic *in MS*.
d *Meaning* in nomine?
e Sic *in MS*.
f *MS* accipit.
g *MS* Lerith.
h *MS* habeat *or* habeac.
i *MS* illam.
j *Perhaps for* tui animi.
k Sic *in MS*.
l Sic *in MS*.
m *MS* sine.
n Sic *in MS*.
o *The upper portion of 10r is occupied by a single circular band containing the names* Rator,

Lampoy, Despan, Brunlo, Dronoth, Maloqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascifin, Nartim *and* Lodoni. *The centre is labelled* Locus magistri.

p Quo facto *repeated at top of 10r.*
q Sic *in MS*.
r *Sc.* coniuracione.
s *MS* parare.
t *Corrected from* qua.
u Sic *in MS*.

No. 4. For gaining dignity and honour (fols 11v–13v)

Dicto de habendo amore mulieris, volo tibi legare artem probatissimam ad obtinendum dignitatem et honorem, statum et maximam incorruptibilem dileccionem a rege uel a pelato siue domino, et generaliter a quocumque viro volueris.

Primo igitur habeas duos lapides molles quos ad inuicem ita fricabis vt superficies ipso[rum] plane eque concordent. Quo facto, in vno sculpes formam illius quem volueris,[a] incipiendo a capite, deinde vsque ad pedes, faciendo primo a parte anteriori, deinde a posteriori, sculpendo eciam coronam in capite si rex est, et sic [12r] secundum dignitatem. Qua sculpita,[b] formabis in illo eciam lapide apud aliam formam tuam figuram, quam melius scieris, incipiendo a capite, vt dictum est, et a parte anteriori deinde a tergo. Quibus factis, scribe in fronte primo more sigilli nomen illius, et in tua nomen tuum. Quo facto, luna crescente die dominica in prima hora diei, habeas argentum siue stagnum, et ad ignem decola. Quo decolato, proicias in formam illius, dicendo sic:

> *Ego, talis, volens talem graciam obtinere et ab eo venerari, semper honorari, similiter et timeri, formo*[c] *ymaginem factam et sculptam nomine eius virtute cuius ipse me perpetue diligat vltra modum.*

Qua[d] facta, habeas stilum ferreum, et in eius fronte sculpes hoc nomen ‘Dyacom’; in pectore eius hec tria nomina, scilicet ‘Pumeon’, ‘Terminas’, et ‘Peripaos’; et in spatulis hec sex nomina, videlicet ‘Midam’, ‘Fabni’, ‘Gebel’, ‘Darail’, ‘Vmeloth’, et ‘Thereoth’; et in vmblico hoc nomen ‘Byreoth’.[e] Quibus scriptis, habeas pannum lineum candidissimum, et hanc ymaginem in ipsam involve. Quam involutam bene recondas.

Die vero iouis, in prima hora diei, facto igne, cola similiter stagnum et in tua forma ipsum infunde, dicendo,

Ego, talis, formo ymaginem meam et ad mei similitudi- [12v] *nem, qua*

ego semper dominer tali et ab ipso diligar et timear in eternum.

Qua formata, similiter in alio linteolo involuas.

Et est aduertendum quod ymago illius cuius vis graciam obtinere debet esse longitudinis ipsius unius semissi, cum sculpitur in ipso lapide. Qui eciam lapis tantus debet esse quod ymago tua tercia parte ymaginis illius debeat esse maior. Et eciam in ymagine tua[f] debes imponere sceptrum.

Quibus factis omnibus diligenter, ut dictum est, in sequenti die veneris, prima hora eius, suffumiga ymaginem illius ad fumum horum aromaticum, scilicet cinamomi, piperis longi, et herba agrimonia, dicendo sic:

Ego, talis, exorzizo[g] *te, ymaginem,*[h] *nomine talis formatam,*

- *per inseparabilem vnicam et indiuiduam trinitatem,*
- *et per omnes thronos, dominaciones, et potestates, et principatus,*
- *et* [*per potenciam*] *omnium creaturarum,*

vt per tui virtutem obtineam graciam et amorem talis cuius nomine facta es.

Quibus ter dictis, sic proferas:

O Dyacon, Pumeon, Termines, Peripaos, Midain, Fabin, Gebel, Dorayl, Vmeloth, Tereoth, et Bireoth, spiritus benignissimi et concordiam[i] *seminantes, ego, talis, cum instantia magna vos deprecor, vobis supplico, vos rogito, per vnicum dei filium, qui sui sangwinis effusione humanum genus mortuum suscitauit, vt per hanc ymaginem forma-*[13r] *tam nomine talis ipsum iuxta me taliter aligetis, vt me super omnes mortales veneretur, nunquam a meo consensu*[j] *discendens, sed meis semper parens preceptibus. Michi studeat complacere, per eundem dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, qui viuit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen.*

Qua oractione dicta, accipe tuam ymaginem et ipsam in dextra teneas, aliam autem in sinistra, et iunge illam tue, sic dicendo ter: ‘Subiecit populos nobis, et gentes sub pedibus nostris’ [Ps. 46:4 Vulg.]. Quo dicto, habeas quandam catenulam ferream, et ad collum ipsius ymaginis liga, ponendo aliud capud in manu dextera tue ymaginis. Quo posito, bene ligato, ita sic dices:

Sicut tu, ymago formata nomine talis, es subpedita et ligata mee ymagini, ita talis in eternum sit michi penitus alligatus.

Quo dicto, capias cum tuis manibus ambas manus ymaginis, et retro flectens dic,[k]

> *Ligo per hanc ymaginem manus talis, quod manus eius perpetuo nullam vim habeant contra me.*

Flecte eciam predicte ymaginis caput versus terram, sic dicendo:

> *Sicut ymago hec, facta nomine talis, manet coram me flexa ceruice, ita talis nunquam a mei voluntate discedat, sed me continue sequatur et michi semper seruiet[l] et me in eternum diligat super omnes, me veneretur, et michi studeat applaudere.*

Quo dicto, faciendo semper suffumigacionem, accipe [13v] tuam ymaginem et a tergo ipsius pone aliam, ita quod os suum tangat humeros tue ymaginis, et ponendo sic dicas:

> *Sicut hec ymago, facta et condita nomine talis, stat apud istam ymaginem factam nomine mei cum maxima subieccione; ita talis sit subtritus et subiectus michi donec iste ymagines fuerint conseruate.*

Quibus dictis, involue ipsas, vt dictum est, in quodam alio linteolo mundissimo.

Quas involutas in quodam vasculo pone et clam porta per ciuitatem et coram eius presenciam in habitaculo eius, si potes; et hoc facere debes per totam diem.

In sero, autem, debes sepellire has ymagines in tali loco et ita infra, vt [non] reperiantur, et videbis mirabilia. Si autem coram ipso aut eius habitaculum pergere non valeres, subterra, vt dictum est, et ipsas[m] vbicumque tibi placet, et ab ipso super omnia diligeris.

Hoc enim experimentum[n] vsus fuit Parmen[i]des ad regis Persarum graciam obtinendam.

a *Followed by* jncip, *deleted*.
b Sic *in MS, for* sculpta.
c *MS* formam.

d *Sc.* ymagine.

e *The forms of these names vary even within this experiment:* Dyacom *appears on fol. 12v as* Dyacon; Terminas *as* Termines; Midam *as* Midain; Fabni *as* Fabin; Darail *as* Dorayl; Thereoth *as* Tereoth, *and* Byreoth *as* Bireoth.

f *Corrected in MS from* tuam.

g *Sic in MS, corrected from what appears to be* exerzizo.

h Sic *in MS*.

i *MS* concordium.

j *Corrected in both text and margin from* sensu.

k *MS* dicendo.

l Sic *in MS for* seruiat.

m Sic *in MS; meaning not altogether clear, but perhaps* et *should be deleted*.

n Sic *in MS*.

No. 5. For arousing hatred between friends (fols 13v–15r)

Ad faciendum odium inter diligentes.[a]

Restat etiam vt de odio et inimicitia inter diligentes ponere pertractemus.

Cum igitur inter duos viros siue mulieres siue masculum et feminam seminare volueris inimiciciam et[b] odium capitalem, necesse est vt accipias duos lapides viuos et recondes[c] vnius ponderis, qui debent esse fluminei, et in vno debes sculpire nomen vnius cum hiis [14r] nominibus: Cartutay, Momabel, Sobil, et Geteritacon. Et in altero, nomen alt[er]ius et hec nomina, scilicet Puzanil, Pimaton, Folfitoy, et Mansator. Que nomina sunt valde se odencia. Quibus sculptis, vni videlicet illum qui factus est nomine illius, debes sub ianua eius limine[d] subterrare si potes, si autem non, sepelias sub limine[e] cuiusdam domus inhabitate, et similiter alium sub limine[f] alterius, vt dictum est, vel sub cuiusdam domus, vt supra scriptum est, et[g] ibi stare permittas septem diebus et septem noctibus.

Quo facto, ante solis ortum remoueas et in locum ocultum ambas facias[h] et ipsas in ignem

proicias, sic dicendo:

> *Coniuro vos spiritus inimicissimos, per eterni dei gloriam, quod inter talem et talem, quorum nomina hic in illis lapidibus sculpta permanent, quantum odium inter vos est, tantum inter ipsos seminetis et inseratis.*

Quibus ter dictis, ipso[s] lapides de igne afferas, sic dicendo: ‘Cum irascetur furor eorum in nos, forsitan aqua absorbuisset nos’ [Ps. 123:3f. Vulg.]. Quo dicto, proiciamus[i] ipsos in aqua frigidissima, et in ipsa stare permitte sereno celo tribus diebus et noctibus.

Quarto autem die, accipias ipsos et suffumiga eum cum fumo sulphuris, dicendo sic:

Coniuro vos omnes demones odiosos et malignos, inuidios et discordes,

- *per vnitatem Sancti Spiritus Paracliti manentis in Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto,*[i]
- *et per eternitatem omnium creatorum,*
- *et per omnes sanctos et sanctas dei,*
- *et per hec sancta nomina, virtute quorum dominator olimpi celum et terram est formare dignatus, scilicet 'Aa',* [14v] *'Sabaoth', 'Helyn', et 'Abacel',*
- *et per omnes reges et dominatores inferni,*
- *et per hec nomina demonum, videlicet 'Apolyn', 'Gebel', 'Astaroth', 'Tereol', 'Falmar', et 'Tyroces',*

quatenus quantum odium inter vos existit et quantum inter Caym et Abel fuit, tantum inter talem et talem protinus inseratis. Accendite itaque ipsos, et taliter inflametis quod vnus alterum videre non valeat, ymo vno reliquum in innumerabili odio rebellis affligat.[k] *Remoueatur ab ipsis omnis amor, dileccio, fraternitas, et compago; ad inimiciciam ac omne odium maximum conuertantur.*

Quibus ter dictis, suffumigando ipsos semper, reconde.

Nocte vero sequenti, colidas dictos lapides simul et vnum super reliquum proicias, sic dicendo:

Non collido hos lapides, ymo col[*l*]*ido talem et talem, quorum nomina hic sculpta sunt, quod vnus alterum continuo affligat et inmitigabili odio se ad inuicem de cetrero crucient.*

Et sic facias singula nocte et singula die ter per aliquos dies. Et videbis statim siue audies quod inimici efficientur et se odient animo, et vnus alterum videre non valent.[l]

Si enim omnino ipsos disiungere voles, et voles vnum ab altero disgregare et vnus alterum fugiat, facias hoc modo. Surge die sabbati ante solis ortum, decrescente luna, et maxime quando est in combustione, et ire versus solis ortum facias.[m] Qua facta, habeas dictos lapides illuc tecum [15r] latos, et fortiter ipsos ad inuicem frica, pulsando vnum super alterum, sic dicendo:

Non colido has[n] *lapides, etc.*

Quo dicto ter, sepelias quem volueris. Deinde recede et versus occidentum

vade et ibi fac foueam, et aliam[o] ibi sepelias, dicendo sic:

> *Sicut disiunxi hos lapides, ita talis[p] se disiungat a tali, et oppositi sint sicut isti lapides.*

Quo sepulto, rec
ede. Et videbis disiungi et vnum ab altero separari.

Hoc enim experimentum occultandum est, quia ineffabilis in eo virtus existit. Nullum enim remedium invenitur ante[q] ipsi disiungantur et se mordaciter odiant.

Cum vero volueris ad primam amiciciam remeare, desepeliendi sunt predicti lapides et in fornace ponendi; qui, bene cocti, minutissime terantur, et ipsos cum aqua ad invicem inpasta et siccare permitte. Quo siccato, in fluminis aqua proicias, dicendo,

> *Tollatur omnis inimicicia et ira que fuit inter talem et talem, et in amorem pristinum reuertantur, per misericordiam pii dei, qui non respicit malicias peccatorum. Amen.*

Et scias quod per hec statim coniunguntur, et omnis ira tollitur, et pristina pace fruuntur.

a *Title repeated in margin*.
b ac *added between lines*.
c vn *deleted*.
d *MS* limite.
e *MS* limite.
f *MS* limite.
g *MS* et et.
h Sic *in MS*.
i Sic *in MS, for* proice?
j Sic *in MS*.
k Sic *in MS*.
l Sic *in MS*.
m Sic *in MS*.
n Sic *in MS for* hos.
o Sic *in MS*.
p *MS* talis et talis.
q Sic *in MS*.

No. 6. For obtaining a banquet (fols 15r–18v)

Artem quam in tua curia vidisti me tociens exercere, videlicet ad prouocandum dapiferos. Primo debet fieri invocacio xv[a] spirituum hoc modo: In primo, extra villam debes accedere, luna crescente, die iouis [15v] vel die dominica, in meridie, et debes tecum ferre ensem lucidissimum et auem vppupam, et cum dicto ense in quodam remoto loco facere circulos. Quibus factis, cum acie predicte[b] ensis scribere debes xvj nomina vt inferius apparebit in[c] illa figura. Quibus factis, debes figere versus orientem in interiori circulo dictum ensem, vt hec racio demonstrat.[d] Quo facto, debes tibi taliter alligare dictam vppupam vt discedere non valeat de in- [16r] teriori circulo, in quo tu stare debes.

Quo facto, genibus flexis, respiciendo versus orientem et capiendo dictum ensem ambabus manibus, sic[e] proferas:

> *Oymelor, Demefin, Lamair, Masair, Symofor, Rodobayl, Tentetos, Lotobor, Memoyr, Tamafin, Leutaber, Tatomofon, Faubair, Selutabel, Rimasor, Syrama, spiritus iocundissimi, ylares, et gaudentes, ego, talis, vos adiuro*
>
> - *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
> - *et* [*per*] *filium vnici dei potentissimi, viui et veri, qui propter nos et nostram salutem descendit de celis et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto, ex pura et intemerata ac incorrupta virgine Maria,*
> - *et per natiuitatem et passionem ac resurreccionem domini nostri Iesu Christi, filij dei veri,*
> - *et per sanctum lauacrum baptismatis quo quisque saluatur,*
> - *et per solem et lunam et omnia sidera celestia,*
> - *et per omnia illa que* [*potenciam*] *habent vos terrere et constringere, et virtute quorum ad nos vocantibus[f] oportet accedere,*
>
> *quatenus huc sine mora ad me venire debeatis in forma miti, placida, et iocunda, patifacere quidquid dicam.*

Qua dicta duodecies[g] – videlicet primo quater versus orientem, secundo quater versus meridiem, tercio quater versus occidentem, quarto et vltimo quater versus aquilonem – portando semper ensem in manu, et cum [16v] dicis coniuracionem, figiendo[h] semper ipsum in quolibet loco; deinde pone vbi primo erat dicta coniuracio, vt dictum est.

Qua dicta, semper genibus flexis, iterum volue te versus orientem, tenendo nunc ensem per

manum dexteram, et accipiendo vppupam per sinistram, sic dicas:

Venite, o prenominati[i] *spiritus, venite ad me, venite, quoniam ego precipio vobis per eternam dei gloriam. Amen.*

Qua dicta semel, volue te cum ense et vppupa versus occidentem, et videbis xvi milites decoros et strenuos, qui tibi dicent, 'Vocasti nos et ad te venimus, parare[j] subiecti. Pete secure quid vis, quoniam tibi sumus in obediendo parati.' Tu autem dices, 'Facite michi videre vestram potenciam, vt aspiciam mensas cum discumbentibus multis cum inprandionibus infinitis.' Qui tibi respondebunt [se] libenter velle facere.

Et statim venient domicelli multi, apportantes mensas tripedes, manutergia, et alia necessaria. Post hec venient nobilissime gentes, qui discumbent, et pincernas ibidem seruientes et apportantes infinita cibaria. Et audies cantus, melodias, et tripudiantes videbis et ludos innumeros. Et scias quod illi duodecim[k] non discedant a te, stantes apud circulos et extra, et tecum loquentes et videntes. [Debes] eciam scire quod ad te de illis discumbentibus apud circulos venient tres reges, [17r] rogantes te vt cum ipsis commestum vadas. Et tum respondebis te aliquo modo non posse discedere. Quibus dictis, ipsi subito ad discumbentes reuertentur, dicentes eis de circulo te mouere non velle, quos audies. Quibus dictis, mittebunt[l] per vnum pincernam de qualibet dape, de qua secure comedas, et de ipsa porrige illis xvi apud circulum stantibus, et ipsi eciam de ea comedent.[m] Post hec, videbis omnes a mensis discedere et ordinate equos ascendere.

Et demum omnes a tuis oculis euanebunt, preter illos xij,[n] qui, stantes coram te, dicent, 'Nonne placuit tibi ludus noster?' Quibus tu hillariter respondebis quod sic. Et facta responsione, ipsi petent a te vppupam, que continuo trepidabit, quod mirum est. Quibus tu sic dices: 'Volo vobis vppupam dare si iurabitis ad me venire, faciendo hunc ludum quotiens michi placuerit.' Qui dicent se esse iurare paratos. [Ad] quos librum quendam facias apportare, quem subito apportabunt, et in ipso hoc modo iurare facias:

Iuramus omnes duodecim[o] *in hoc sacrato libro*

- *per illum deum viuum et verum, qui nos et omnia creauit,*
- *et per dominos quos timemus et adoramus,*
- *et per legem quam obseruamus,*

ad te sine mora venire quocienscumque vocaueris nos, et mensas parari facere, [17v] *sicut et adhuc melius vt vidisti.*

Et statim iurabunt.

Et cum iurauerint, dabis eis vppupam, quam cum habuerint a te petent licenciam recedendi. Quibus dabis hoc modo, dicendo, ‘Pergite quo affectatis accedere, et estote solliciti[p] michi.’ Qui dicent [se] esse tibi de cetero obligatos. Hiis dictis, abeunt, similiter et tu egredere de circulis et ipsos aboleas vt nullus appareat, et tuum ensem ferendo recedas.

Debes igitur attendere quod vppupa magne virtutis est nigromanticis et demones invocantibus,[q] quapropter ipsa multo[r] vtimur ad[s] nostri tutelam.

Cum enim clam aut palam aut vbicumque ipsos ad te venire volueris, respicias in libro suprascriptos circulos et figuras, legendo submissa voce nomina in ipsis existencia. Quibus inspectis et semel lectis, lege hanc coniuracionem semel:

> *Oymelor, Demefin, Lamair, Masair, Simofor, Rodobail, Tentetos, Lotobor, Memoir, Tamafin, Zeugaber, Tatomofon, Faubair, Belutabel, Rimasor, et Sirama, rogo vos, coniuro et adiuro per dei veram maiestatem, vt hic venire faciatis subditos vestros, qui apportent huc cibaria, et primo talem et talem, et faciant pulcherimum festum cum iocis, canticis, choreis, et tripudiis, et ge-* [18r] *neraliter cum omnibus que[t] circumstantibus corda letificent* [cf. Ps. 103:15 Vulg.].

Qua semel lecta, splendidissimi venient domicelli parantes mensas pulcherrimas. Quibus paratis, audies tubas, cytaras, et cantus innumeros. Cum enim alta voce dices, ‘Apportate aquam’, statim apportabitur. Et similiter, ‘Ferantur epule’, et statim feruntur. Et erunt pincerne et dappiferi optime seruientes, et domicelle pulcherrime, et instrventes, facientes innumerabilia sollacia. Et potes facere apportari, si tibi placet, inprandioni[um] mille maneries, que valde et[u] ultra modum sapient comedentibus.

Debes itaque scire quod quanto magis comedunt, multo plus famescunt, quia apparentur sicut dapes, tamen non[v] existent, ita quod si famelicus in illis esset credens illis dapibus saciari, vt si non comederet procul dubio moreretur.

Et quando volueris ludum destruere, dic vt mensas accipiant. Eciam acceptis statim mensis,[w] omnes astantes ibidem permanebunt. Quos si voles cantare aut sonare aut omnem ludum facere, dic, ‘Sic fiat,’ et videbis affectum,[x] quoniam hij sunt spiritus ludi et omnis solacij, qui facient omnia dicta sibi. Et cum volueris ipsos abire, dic sic: ‘O vos omnes, recedite, et

quociens vos vocabo ad me, omni causa remota pergetis.' Qui respondebunt, 'Libentissime faciemus.' Et ipsis recessis, omnes [18v] exiuerint, de hac arte stupentes.

Et hic finitur ars illa, que est quasi apud hodiernos ignota, quam Matheus Hispanus totaliter ignorauit, etc.

a Sic *in MS*.
b Sic *in MS*.
c *MS* et.
d *Diagram on fol. 15v: a quadruple band with a pentangle inscribed in the centre, a sword depicted at the top (extending downward across all four bands, with its point on the top of the pentangle) and other figures (likewise extending across all four bands) on the upper left, upper right, lower right, and lower left. The cardinal directions are given outside the outermost band, with* Oriens *on top. Within the bands sixteen names are inscribed:* Oymelor, Symofos [*on 16r:* Symofor; *on 17v:* Simofor], Manoir [*on 16r:* Memoyr; *on 17v:* Memoir] *and* Faubair *in the outermost band;* Demefin, Rodobayl [*on 17v:* Rodobail], Tamafin *and* Abelutabel [*on 16r:* Selutabel; *on 17v:* Belutabel] *in the next;* Lamair, Tentetos, Leutaber [*on 17v:* Zeugaber] *and* Rimasor *in the next; and* Masair, Lotobor, Tatomofon *and* Sirama [*on 16r:* Syrama] *in the innermost*.
e *Corrected in MS from* sicut.
f Sic *in MS, for* ad nos vocantes oportet vos accedere?
g *Sic in* MS.
h Sic *in MS for* figendo *or, rather,* fige.
i *Corrected from* prenominate.
j Sic *in MS for* pareti et *or* parere?
k Sic *in MS*.
l *MS* mittentibus.
m *MS* comedentur.
n Sic *in MS*.
o *Sic in* MS.
p *MS* sollicite.
q *Followed by* quem.
r *MS* multa.
s *MS* in ad.
t *MS* qui.
u *Followed by* p, *deleted*.
v *Followed by* sunt.
w *MS* mensas.
x *Meaning* effectum?

No. 7. For obtaining a castle (fols 18v–21r)

Experimenta formosissima ad conuocandum spiritus vt homo faciat[a] apparere castrum pulcherrimum et fulcitum, siue ad prouocandum

armatorum innumeras[b] legiones.[c]

Et eciam[d] vna[e] alia experiencia ad prouocandum spiritus vt homo faciat apparere castrum pulcherimum et fulcitum, siue ad prouocandum armatorum innumeras legiones,[f] quod leuiter fieri potest, et intra alia pulcherimum reputatur.

Vade primo, luna 10, sereno celo, extra villam ad aliquem locum segregatum et secretum, portans tecum lac et mel, de quo per aerem aspergere debes. Et discalciatus, nudo capite, genibus flexis, versus occidentem sic lege:

O Vsyr, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno, Syrtroy, Risbel, Cutroy, Lytay, Onor, Moloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor, et Ym,[g] spiritus armigeri, quibus proprium est arma deferre et vbicumque wltis sensus humano[*s*] *decipere, ego, talis, vos coniuro et exorcizo et invoco,*

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, que sancta trinitas nu*[*n*]*cupatur,*
- *et per creatorem celi et terre et visibilium omnium et invisibilium,*
- *et per illum qui hominem de limo terre formauit,*
- *et per enunciacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *et per eius natiuitatem,*
- *et per eius mortem et passionem,*
- *et per eius resurrexionem,*
- *et per eius ascensionem.*

Item [19r] *ego coniuro vos omnes prenominatos[h] demones,*

- *per piam et misericordissimam et intemeratam ac incorruptam virginem Mariam, matrem domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui pro miseris peccatoribus mortem sumens nos ad celestem patriam reuocauit.*

Item ego coniuro vos supradictos spiritus,

- *per omnes sanctos et sanctas dei,*
- *et per omnes apostolos, martires, confessores, virgines, et viduas,*
- *et per hec preciosissima ac ineffabilia nomina omnium creatoris, quibus omnes ligamini, et que[i] terrent omnia celestia, terrestria, et infernalia, scilicet Aa, Ely, Sother, Adonay, Cel,[i] Sabaoth, Messyas, Alazabra, et Osian.*

Item ego coniuro vos et exorcizo

- *per virtutem et potenciam omnium principum, regum, dominorum, et maiorum vestrorum,*
- *et per virtutem et possibilitatem ac potenciam vestram,*
- *et per habitaculum vestrum, cuius hec est forma,[k]*
- *et per omnes figuras in ipso permanentes,*

quatenus vos, insolubiliter ad mei potenciam alligati, ad me sine prestolacione venire debeatis, in tali habitu vt me aliqualiter non terreatis, [19v] *subiecti et parati facere ac demonstrare michi omnia que voluero, et hoc facere debeatis et velit*[*is*] *per omnia que in celo et in*

terra morantur.

Qua lecta semel versus occidentem, similiter [lege] versus meridiem, orientem, et aquilonem.

Et a longe videbis continuam commitiuam turbam armatorum versus te venientem, qui premittent[l] tibi quendam scutiferum, dicentem quod illi ad te veniunt quos vocasti. Cui dices sic: 'Vade ad eos, et dic ipsis vt in tali condicione ad me veniant vt nullum timeam,[m] sed secure permaneam cum ipsis.' Quo dicto, statim ad eos redibit.

Qui post modicum interuallum venient ad te. Quibus visis, ostende eis[n] statim hunc circulum, qui habet multum ipsos 15 demones pauentare (uel spanentare),[o] quem ipsi aspicient, dicentes, 'Secure quid vis pete, quoniam per nos tibi omnino fiet.' Quibus tunc dices quod istum suum circulum taliter debeant consecrare vt quandocumque ipsum aspexeris, vocando ipsos, ad te debeant velociter venire,[p] debentes illud facere quod est in ipsis naturale, scilicet facere[q] apparere fortilicias et castra cum foueis et cum multitudine armatorum. Qui dicent [se] hoc facere velle. Quibus porriges librum, et videbis quemlibet ipsorum super ipsum manum inponere et aliqua verba loqui, que non intelliges. Hoc facto, ipsum tibi restituent.

Quo restituto, rogabunt te vt ipsos abire permittas, quia a te non possunt nisi licencia petita. Quibus dices, 'Facite hic castrum, vt vi- [20r] deam vestri efficaciam.' Qui statim circa te castrum facient, cum multis aliis, in medio cuius castri te videbis, et ibidem militum maxima multitudo [erit]. Tamen isti quindecim a te discedere non valebunt. Post enim huius hore spacium, te[r] rogabunt vt a te discedere possint. Quibus dic, 'Estote michi parati quocienscumque hunc circulum aspiciam, vocando vos, et subito recedetis.'[s] Qui iurabunt a[d] te venire continuo. Quo dicto, dic vt recedant quocumque ire desiderant. Et tunc ludus totaliter destruetur, et nullus ibidem apparebit.

Hiis factis, domum remea, custodiendo librum bene in quo virtus totalis existit. Quando vero enim pulcherime artem volueris operari, aspicias circulum, legendo nomina; incipiendo ab oriente, sic dices:

O Vsyr, Salaul, Silitol, Denior, Zaimo, Syrtroy, Ristel, Cutroy, Lytoy, Onor, Moloy, Pumiotor, Tamy, Dor, Ym, voco vos vt hic venire debeatis per consecracionem huius circuli, in quo signa vestra permanent, et michi in omnibus istis apparere faciatis castrum fortissimum, cum

profundis foueis, et militum et peditum cum maxima commitiua.

Et subito videbitur ibi castrum pulcherrimum[t] cum omnibus necessariis. Quod si vis ingredi, poteris, quia continuo miles tecum stabit,[u] cui omne quod voles apparere precipias et fieri faciat.

Cum semel ego hanc artem [probare volebam], exercui eam cum imperatore, quem multi nobiles comitabant, qui venando per quandam obscuram siluam pergabant. Et hunc modum tenui. Primo inspexi circulum, vocando supradictos demones [20v] plana voce. Et tunc statim venit ad me quidam speciosus miles, quem nullus preter me valebat aspicere, qui ad me dixit, 'Ego sum vnus de vocatis spiritibus, ab aliis ad te missus, qui nominor Salaul, cui precipias quid tibi placet petere, et statim fiet.' Cui dixi, 'Volo vt apparere facias istis vnam legionem armatorum, quam imperator et alij secum stantes ipsos[v] credent esse rebelles.' Qui dixit, 'Factum est.' Et tunc omnes comites et eciam imperator[w] respexerunt versus aquilonem, et a longe viderunt versus ipsos venire et equitum et militum innumerabilem multitudinem, a quibus vnus discessit, et ante magne hore spacium venit ad imperatorem, tremendo dicens, 'Domine imperator, ecce videte gentes sine numero qui contra vos veniunt, iurantes vos et omnes vestros comites mori tradere, et vestros dure[x] interficere.' Quo audito, imperator et comites[y] quid deberent agere nesciebant.[z] Et interim ipsi spiritus apropinquabant. Quos imperator et alij videntes et audientes, ipsorum instrumenta terrencia fugere tunc ceperunt, et isti sequentes ipsos et sagitando vna voce clamabant, 'Fugere non potestis hodie mortem!' Et tunc ego dixi, 'O Salaul, fac ante imperatorem et suos unum castrum mirantissimum,[a] quod imperator et alij ingredientur.' Et factum est. Tunc factum est tutissimum castrum comitum optime,[b] cum turribus et foueis, depresso[c] ponte, quod vide-[21r] batur optime et plenum esse[d] dispendiariis, clamantibus, 'O domine imperator, ingredere cum tuis sociis festinanter!' Qui ipsum intrauerunt, in quo videbantur esse famuli et multi amici imperatoris; existimauit se ibi invenisse se viriliter defendentes. Quibus ingressis, leuauerunt pontem et se defendere ceperunt. Tunc illi spiritus cum machinis[e] castrum mirifice totaliter expugnabant. Quapropter imperator et alij sui, valde territi, magis timebant.

Tunc dixit michi Salaul, 'Non habemus potenciam hic[f] morandi nisi vno quadrante, ita quod recedere nos oportet.' Et tunc, recesso castro et expugnantes[g] et ipsis recedentibus castrum et omnia euanerunt.[h] Imperator

et alij sui tunc viderunt et invenerunt se in quadam[i] palude, de quo admirati sunt valde. Quibus dixi, ‘Negocium ex hoc maximum fuit festum.’ Et ad ciuitatem remeatis, de sero cenauimus. Quibus sequentem experienciam post cenam feci.

Memento quod ars predicta nisi vno quadrante durare non potest, nisi durabit vnum quadrantem vna vice, etc.

a *MS* faciant.
b *MS* innumerasl.
c *Heading underlined in text and repeated in margin*.
d enim *written above, invading preceding line*.
e *Written above* alia, *also invading preceding line*.
f *This repetition may be erroneous, or may be a reference to the repetition of the experiment (fol. 20r) or to the testimonial anecdote (fols 20r–21r)*.
g Silitor *appears on fol. 20r as* Silitol; Demor *appears on fol. 20r as* Denior; Zanno *appears on fol. 19r as* Zanno, *with the note added* uel Zaimo, *and on fol. 20r as* Zaimo; Risbel *appears on fol. 20r as* Ristel; Lytay *appears on fol. 19r as* Litor *and on fol. 20r as* Lytoy; Pumotor *appears on fol. 20r as* Pumiotor; Tami *appears on fol. 20r as* Tamy; Oor *appears on fol. 19r as* Oor, *with the note added* uel Dor, *and on fol. 20r as* Dor.
h *Followed by* spiritus, *deleted*.
i *MS* quem.
j *Meaning* El?
k *Figure at bottom of fol. 19r: double band, with* O Vsyr, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno [*outside outer band:* uel Zaimo], Syrtroy, Risbel, Cutroy, Litor *in the outer band, and* Onor, Moloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor [*inside inner band:* uel Dor], et Ym, spiritus armigeri, *in the inner band*. Locus magistri *is marked in centre*.
l *MS* permittent.
m *First two letters corrected in MS*.
n *Followed by* hoc circulum, *deleted*.
o *Parentheses inserted on the assumption that* uel spanentare *is meant as an alternative reading. For* qui habet … pauentare uel spanentare *read perhaps* qui facit … pavere *or* pavescere.
p *Followed by* et proficisti, *deleted*.
q *MS* faciendi.
r *The* e *is misshapen, and another* e *is written above it*.
s Sic *in MS*.
t *Added in margin*.
u *Note added in bottom margin:* uel quia continuo quidam milites tecum stabunt.
v Sic *in MS*.
w *MS* imperator et eciam.
x e *repeated above line*.
y *Followed by* territus, *deleted*.
z *MS* nesciebat.

a *Followed by* comitum, *deleted*.
b optime *added in margin*.
c *MS* depresse.
d *Followed by* stipendariis, *deleted*.
e *Followed by* et.
f *Followed by* manendi, *deleted*.
g *MS* expungnantes.
h *Perhaps for:* recesso castro, et expugnantibus recedentibus, castrum et omnia euanuerunt.
i *Followed by* plade *(deleted)* plaude *(deleted)* uel.

No. 8. For obtaining a boat (fols 21r–23r)

Vt vbicumque sis possis habere nauem, in qua tu cum quibuscumque voles quocumque ferris[a] vadas: ieiunus[b] die lune; ipsa die, luna crescente, ad celum serenum, id est sereno celo, solus [sis] in loco remoto, et fer tecum vnam [21v] costam hominis siue mulieris mortui, quam primo acuere debes, et facere cum ipsa in terra has figuras cum nominibus et aliis omnibus contentis in ipso circulo, vt hic apparet.[c] Quo facto, debes ingredi signatum locum, et voluendo te circa circulum, suffumiga ipsum cum medulla mortui, vt dictum est.

Quo facto, audies per aerem voces, facta suffumigacione; quibus auditis, hanc coniuracionem dices versus occidentem, vt scriptum est:

Fyrin (quod[d] sic dicas: *O Fyrin*), *Dyspil, Onoroy, Sysabel, Cotroy, Tyroy, Orooth,* [22r] *Rimel, spiritus*[e] *habitatores aque, qui naues nauigantium periclitare conamini, ego vos coniuro et exorcizo, et prouoco vos, vbicumque sitis, aut in oriente aut in occidente aut in meridie aut in aquilone, aut in aquis aut in terris,*

- *per indiuiduam ac inseparabilem trinitatem que in tribus personis existit, scilicet Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum ab vtroque procedentem,*
- *et per illum qui perpetuus et eternus est,*
- *et per illum qui concessit nobis graciam in inferno non stare.*

Item, ego coniuro vos[f] *et constringo vos*

- *per quatuor flumina paradysi,*
- *et per aduentum domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui frangens vectes ferreos sanctos patres de tenebris extraxit ad lucem.*

Item ego coniuro vos

- *per wltum, manus et pedes, atque plagas Ihesu Christi,*

vt hic venire debeatis, vos octo[g] *spiritus prenominati, vt vos videam in forma na*[u]*tarum, et hoc sine prestolacione*[h] *aliqua faciatis. Item ego coniuro vos et impero atque precipio vobis*

- *per potenciam et dignitatem Luciferi, Aphaleon, et Neutrion,*

vt nullam requiem habeatis donec ad me veniatis,[i] *vt dixi. Venite, quia ego vos advoco ex parte domini dei Sabaoth, quo et gloria cuius celi et vniversa terra est repleta.*

Qua semel dicta, tenendo costam semper in manu dextra, videbis octo nautas[j] cum magna reuerencia et timore dicentes, [22v] 'Ecce, mittimur ad te; precipe nobis de omnibus ad nos pertinentibus, et erit sine mora fulcitum.' Quibus dicis, 'Volo vos coniurare ac promittere michi tot debeatis ad me venire teneamini cum a me fueritis coniurati.' Qui maximum[k] facient sacramentum ad te venire et redire quandocumque libuerit, tuam parati facere voluntatem. Hoc iurato, sic dices: 'Ego precipio vobis vt hunc circulum cum naui capiatis et ad talem locum sine mora me feratis.' Hiis dictis, videbis ipsos cum ramis[l] ingredi nauim et imponere vela, et incipient nauigare. Et scias quod tibi videbitur esse in profundo maris, et in paruo temporis spacio voles quocumque ferris.[m] Quibus eciam precipias vt ad locum a quo acceperunt te instantissime reportent, qui statim facient. Et cum illic[n] fueris reportatus, dic eis eciam quod revenient, quod hec omnia sine fraude facient, eis quocienscumque iubebis, qui statim iurabunt ad te venire velociter quando eis vocaueris, et te solum vel cum quibus volueris in naui portare quocumque tibi placuerit accedere.

Quibus iuratis, des licenciam recedenti. Quibus recessis, aboleas circulum, et costam subterra ibi.

Cum igitur tu solus uel cum aliis voluntatem habueris nauigandi, cum ferro uel cum ligno uel digito vel cum aliquo signante fac circulum cum aliis, vt superius demonstraui, et cum aliis ingredere supradictum locum, dicens eis vt timere non de- [23r] beant, fingens eis aliquid.[o] Et cum omnes ingressi fuerint, sic legas semel:

O Syrim, Dyspyl, Onoroy, Sisabel, Cotroy, Tyroy, Orooth, [*et*] *Rimel, sculpti in hoc circulo, ego invoco vos per vestram subieccionem michi factam, vt statim sine mora subito et incontinenti hinc*[p] *debeatis accedere, mites, subiecti, parati et obedire michi et tanquam na*[*u*]*te hunc circulum cum hac naui figuram vestram debeatis assumere, et nauigando debeatis nos portare ad talem locum ad quem intendimus profiscissi.*[q]

Et[r] conuocatione lecta, venient statim in naui octo naute placabiles, dicentes tibi, 'O viri,[s] quo ire intenditis?' Quibus tu dices, omnibus audientibus, 'Ad

talem locum.' Tunc nauis et omnes[t] in aqua esse videbuntur,[u] et istos velociter nauigare, aspiciens qui nauigant,[v] et[w] ad locum optatum [venietis] vnius in[fra] hore spacium. Et cum ibi fueris, si in ipso loco manere volueris, dic nautis vt abiant, parati ipsum officium reassumere[x] et execucioni mandare quando eos invocaueris. Qui[y] subito, hoc audito, recedent. Et cum volueris remeare vel alias pergere, voca ipsos vt dictum est, et omnia facient.

Et scias diligenter quod in ipsa naui similiter potest fiere nominacio sanctorum, sicut in vera cristianitate, quia hij spiritus sunt inter bonum et malum, non in inferno, non in paradyso morantes, quibus hanc artem facere proprium est. Et circulus ille insignia sua est.

Hoc enim experimentum vidi multos esse peritos, tamen aliter et aliter; hic autem modus est verus, pauci laboris,[z] et nullius periculi.

Et nota quod in isto libro sunt nomina et figure spirituum secundum suas proprietates, que ignota sunt; igitur occultande sunt et celande, propter ipsorum ineffabilem efficaciam pro certo, etc.

a *Meaning* voles?

b u *partly covered by blot*.

c *Figure on fol. 21v: a single circular band in which are inscribed the names* Fyron, Dyspil, Onoroy, Sysabel, Cotroy, Tyroy, Rimel *and* Orooth. *A horizontal band bisects the circle, and a vertical band bisects the upper portion of the circle. A closed crescent shape (presumably representing a ship) appears in the upper two-thirds of the circle, with two dots beneath it at the prow and the stern. Within this crescent shape, below the horizontal band, is the inscription* Hic magister cum suis sociis. *The position* Occidens *is marked just inside the circular band, at the bottom*.

d *MS* qui.

e *Followed by* habitares, *deleted*.

f *MS* te.

g *Initial* o *corrected from* v.

h *MS* prestilacione.

i *MS* veneatis.

j *MS* naues.

k *MS has extraneous line over the* x.

l *MS* romis.

m *Sic in MS, perhaps for* quocumque vis te feret *or* volabis quocumque vis.

n *MS* illis.

o Sic *in MS*.

p Sic *in MS, meaning* huc.

q *Corrected in margin from* perfecisti.

r *MS* Aut.

s O viri *added in margin*.

t et omnes *added in margin*.
u *MS* videbitur, *assuming* nauis *alone as the subject*.
v Sic *in MS*.
w *Followed by* epulent, *deleted*.
x *MS* reasumere.
y *MS* Quo.
z *MS* laborum.

No. 9. For obtaining a horse (fols 23v–25v)

Volo eciam tibi mittere[a] quomodo equus, hoc est spiritus in equi forma, possit haberi, ferentis te tam per aquas quam per terram, tam per colles quam per planicies, quocumque volueris.

Primo enim, 6a luna, die Martis, ieiunus, forinsecus egrediaris cum quodam freno nunquam operato, et in loco secreto cum quodam clauo siue stilo ferreo fac circulum, vt hic apparet,[b] sculpiens in eo nomina et figuras ibidem apparentes.[c] Quibus factis, permanens in medio, genibus flexis, super freno versus orientem aliquantulum alta voce sic dicas:

> *O Lautrayth, Feremin,* [*et*] *Oliroomim, spiritus peccatoribus insistentes, ego, talis, in vestra* [24r] *virtute confidens, vos coniuro*
>
> - *per illum qui dixit et facta sunt, et omnia scit et cognoscit antequam fiant,*
> - *et per celum et terram, ignem et aerem et aquam, solem et lunam et stellas,*
> - *et per thronos, dominaciones, potestates, atque principatus domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
> - *ac per omnes angelos et archangelos qui morantur ante thronum dei simili voce clamantes, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus Sabaoth, pleni sunt celi et terra gloria tua, osanna in excelsis; benedictus qui venit in nomine domini, osanna in excelsis',*
>
> *quatenus vos tres ad me venire debeatis suauiter, vt non terr*[*e*]*ar nec timeam, sed securus existam,*[d] *et quidquid vobis imperabo debeatis totaliter adimplere et cum maxima efficacia execucioni mandare. Item ego coniuro vos supradictos spiritus*
>
> - *per illum qui venturus est judicare viuos et mortuos et seculum per ignem,*
> - *et per tremendam diem judicij,*
> - *et per sentenciam quam audire debetis in ipsa die,*
> - *et* [*per*] *hunc circulum, quo efficaciter prouocamini,*
>
> *vt sine mora huc meare cogamini, et precepta mea suppliciter obseruetis.*

Quibus dictis ter, tres equites videbis a longe venire. Quos cum videris, dic donec ad te fuerint, *Leuaui ad te oculos meos in montes, vnde veniet auxilium michi. Auxilium* [24v] *meum a domino, qui fecit celum et terram* [Ps. 120:1f. Vulg.; cf. Ps. 122:1]. Et quando apud circulum fuerint, statim descendent equos, et tunc hilariter [te] salutabunt. Quibus dices, 'Dominus

per sui misericordiam in statum pristinum vos reducat.' Hoc dicto, ipsi dicent, 'O magister, ad te venimus, vnanimes tuis preceptis seruire parati. Precipe igitur nobis illud, propter quod[e] nos huc venire fecisti, et erit penitus expeditum.' Quibus respondere debes, 'Volo vt presens frenum' – tenendo ipsum ambabus manibus – 'taliter consecretis vt quocienscumque ipsum squassauero ante me veniat equus, ori cuius ipsum possim imponere, et ipsum ascendere possim, ipsum equitare tute et accedere quo michi libuerit proficisci.' Hoc dicto, ipsi asserunt[f] dictum frenum velle secum ferre et ibidem tercio die reportare. Quibus ipsum[g] dabis. Et cum dederis, ascendent equos et sine mora recedent. Quibus recessis, egredere circulum, non abolendo [illum], et deinde recedas.

Tercia vero dei, in vesperis, reuertaris illuc, et invenies ibidem predictos spiritus offerentes tibi dictum frenum, asserentes tuam peticionem esse fulcitam. Et accepto freno, sic dicas: 'Ego coniuro vos per deum deorum vt sine mei licencia de hinc[h] discedere non possitis.' Hoc dicto, tibi respondebunt quod quantum voles ibidem [25r] permanebunt. Quo dicto, squassabis frenum, et subito illuc veniet equus niger, cui inpones frenum, et equitabis. Hoc facto, descendes[i] et remouebis frenum, et subito equus abibit. Quo recesso, sic dices:

Ego iterum coniuro vos,

- *per omnia antedicta,*
- *et per omnia habencia contra vos potestatem,*

vt iurare vos debeatis vt predictum equum semper[j] ad me venire cogetis.

Qui iurabunt et promittent expresse hoc continuo cum efficacia facere. Quod cum iurauerint, dic quod cum salute recedant. Quibus recessis, egredere circulum et ipsum totum aboleas, et frenum tecum portes.

Et cum volueris equum venire, dic, squassando frenum, *Lutrayth, Feremim, Oliroomim*, et statim equuus veniet, cui[us] ori inpones frenum, et equitabis. De cuius cluni[bu]s aliquantulum incidere debes, quia micior erit, et hoc omni vice facere debes. Et cum volueris ipsum currere, punge ipsum uel verberes, quia illic more sagitte [volabit], de quo nunquam cadere poteris, nec timere poteris. Et quando voles descendere, nunquam recedet donec frenum de ore eius auferes.[k] Quo ablato, subito euanescet.

Facimus enim talia frena tenuissima, ita quod in paruo loco portare possimus, que nunquam frangi possi[n]t nec putrefieri, [25v] propter ipsam consecracionem.

Item est aduertendum quod si supradictum circulum, in corio equi cum sangwine equi scriptum, cum dente eciam equi, est[l] ostensum equis, subito moriuntur. Et si ipsum, vt dictum est scriptum, erga te tuleris, nullus equus ad te poterit appropinquare. Et [de] virtute huius circuli eciam ait Socrates in libro magice.

a Sic *in MS*.

b *Figure on fol. 23v: a single circular band, with a square inscribed, and a circle inside the square. Short bars extend outward from the middle of each side of the square and touch the inner side of the circular band. Names of the cardinal directions flank each of these bars*. Locus magistri *is marked in the centre of the circle. The band contains the names* Lantrayth, Feremni *and* Oliromim, *plus astronomical and other signs*.

Lantrayth *appears as* Lautrayth *in the text on the same folio, and as* Lutrayth *on fol. 25r.* Feremni *is given as* Feremin *on the same folio, and as* Feremim *(with a misshapen final m) on fol. 25r.* Oliromim *appears as* Oliroomim *in both later contexts*. *gloria tua, osanna in excelsis; benedictus qui venit in nomine domini, osanna in excelsis',*

c *MS* apparencias.

d *Followed by* t, *deleted*.

e *MS* illud, quidquid.

f Sic *in MS.*

g *MS* ipsius.

h *Followed by* poss, *deleted*.

i *MS* descendens.

j *MS* predictum equum semper vt.

k *MS has recedent and* euanescent, *but the line over the last* e *in* euanescent *is faint. Evidently the writer meant to correct the plural to the singular*.

l *MS* eciam.

No. 10. For resuscitating a dead person (fols 25v–28r)

Cum volueris [in] aliquem mortuum infundere spiritum, ita quod viuus, [vt] erat prius,[a] videbitur, talis ordo tenendus est. Primo quidem ex auro anulum fieri facias. Eciam sculpta sint[b] in parte[c] exteriori hec nomina: Brimer, Suburith, Tranauit; in parte vero interiori sculpta sint hec nomina: Lyroth, Beryen, Damayn.[d] Quibus sculptis, die dominico ante ortum solis accedas ad aquam currentem et in ipsa pone dictum anulum, et quinque diebus ipsum in ea stare permittas.

Sexta vero die, ipsum extrahe et fer ad quoddam monumentum, et in ipso pone, ita quod moretur ipsa die Veneris et Sabbati die. Vero dominica die, ante solis ortum, accedas extra villam, sereno celo, in loco occulto et

remoto, et fac circulum cum quodam ense, et in ipso scribe cum dicto ense nomina et figura[s] vt hic apparet.[e] [26r] Quibus scriptis,[f] ingredere in eum vt signatum est, et pone ensem sub genubus tuis, dicendo versus meridiem hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos, omnes demones scriptos in hoc anulo – quem in manibus habeas,

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *et per omnipotentem deum, factorem celi et terre,*
- *et per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, eius filium, qui propter humani generis salutem mortem sufferre dignatus est,*
- *et per gloriosam virginem Mariam, matrem eius,*
- *et per lac* [26v] *eius sanctissimum Christi,[g] per quod angeli denunciando pastoribus locuti sunt, 'Gloria in excelsis deo, etc.'*

Item ego coniuro vos, O Brimer, Suburith, Tranayrt, Lyroth, Berien, Damay,

- *per omnes sanctos et sanctas dei,*
- *et per hec nomina sancta dei: Tetragramaton, Oel,[h] Messyas, Soter, Adonay, Alpha et O, Sabaoth,*
  - *et per hec sancta nomina virginis Marie, scilicet regina, flos, rosa, lilium, scala, sapiencia, vita, dulcedo, misericordia, et spes,*
  - *et per paradisum celestem et terrestrem,*
  - *et per omnes angelos et archangelos, thronos, dominaciones, potestates, atque principatus, et maiestates et glorias regis celi et terre,*
  - *et per omnes principes, reges, dominos, et maiores vestros,*
  - *et per infernum vestrum,*
  - *et per omnia in eodem existencia*

quatenus vos omnes, constricti et ligati in voluntate mea et in potestate mea, debeatis huc accedere in benigna forma, vt nullum timeam, et consecrare ita et taliter presentum anulum, vt in eo hec virtus existat, videlicet quod quandocumque inposuero ipsum in digito alicuius mortui, vnus vestrum ipsum ingrediatur, et vt primo viuus[i] appareat in illa similitudine et forma, per illum qui viuit et regnat in vnitate Spiritus Sancti deus, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Hiis semel dictis, apparebunt subito apud circulum 6 spiritus, [27r] petentes dictum anulum; quibus dabis. Quo dato, ipsi abient, et similiter tu egredere circulos, ferens tecum ensem, non destruens circulum.

Sexta vero die, cum predicto ense, reuerteris et versus meridiem sic dices:

Ego coniuro vos, O Brimer, Suburith, Tramayrt, Lyroth, Beryen,

Damayn, per deum vnum, viuum, solum, et verum, vt nunc sine mora ad me venire debeatis, apportando anulum consecratum, ita quod quando inposuero ipsum in digito siue in manu alicuius persone viue cadat in terram sicut mortua, et quando abstulero ab ipsa in statum pristinum reuertatur, et eciam in quocumque[j] *mortuo inposuero, vt dictum est, ipsum spiritus ingrediatur et viuus vt prius fuerat videatur, per omnia que possunt vos terrere et omnino constringere.*

Hiis dictis quater, videlicet primo versus meridiem semel, et similiter versus occidentem, deinde versus aquilonem et versus orientem,[k] videbis versus orientem venire quendam equitem, qui cum fuerit apud circulum sic dicet: 'Tales mittunt' – nominando[l] nomina suprascripta – 'tibi hunc anulum consecratum, dicentes [se] ad te venire non posse, quia non expediens est; experieris anuli virtutem, et si non habuerit virtutem a te postulatam, dicent quod quandocumque [vis] sunt ad te venire parati.' Quem anulum accipies,[m] dicendo ei, [27v] 'Graciam tibi et ipsis.' Hoc dicto, statim recedet,[n] et tu eciam exies de circulo, ipsum totaliter destruendo.

Et predictum anulum bene teneas involutum in syndone albo. Cum vero volueris vt aliquis viuus mortuus videatur et ab omnibus videtur vita carere, pone in digito eius hunc anulum, et cadauer videbitur; et quando remouebis, veniet in primum statum. Et quando volueris aliquod cadauer animatum apparere, pone vt dictum est anulum, uel ad manum siue ad pedem liga, et ante horam surget in forma primo habita, et viua voce coram omnibus loquetur, et hoc monstrare poterit sex diebus, quia quilibet eorum sua die in ipso permanebit. Et si volueris [illum] ante dictum terminum vt primo erat esse, remoue anulum. Et hoc modo resurgere poteris defunctum.

Hec enim experiencia dignissima est et occultanda, quia in ipsa magna virtus existit.

Circulus eciam suprascriptus multas virtutes habet, cuius tres per me notas[o] exponam. Si enim die Veneris ipsum cum calamo vppupe et cum eius sangwine in carta edina nouata[p] scripseris,[q] et aliquam personam cum eo tetigeris, in eternum super omnes ab ipsa diligeris. Et si predictum circulum, scriptum vt dictum est, posueris super caput egroti, ipso ignoranti, si mori debet dicet se nullatenus euadere posse; et si debet euadere dicet se omnino [28r] liberatum. Et si predictum circulum, scriptum similiter, super te habueris, nullus canis tibi latrare valebit. Et ista sunt per me experta; inexperta[r] vero per me relinquo.

a *MS* primo; *cf. fol. 27r*.
b *MS gives* sit, *with a line over the* t, *which elsewhere in the MS is used for* sicut.
c *MS* ex parte.
d *The names are given on fols. 25v, 26r, 26v, and 27r. Spelling is consistent, except that* Tranauit *appears on 26v as* Tranayrt *and on and 27r as* Tramayrt, Beryen *is given on 26r and 26v as* Berien, *and* Damayn *lacks the final* n *on 26v*.
e *Figure on fol. 26r: a double circular band, with a pentagram inscribed*. O Brimer, Suburith, Tranauit *is inscribed in the outer band, with astronomical signs;* Lyroth, vnq *(sic)* Berien, Damayn *is inscribed in the inner band, with further signs*. Magister *is written in the centre of the pentagram. The cardinal directions* meridies, occidens *and* oriens *are marked outside the band. For alternative forms of the names, see above, n. e*.
f *Followed by* ingrediar, *deleted*.
g *Something missing – perhaps* et per cantum?
h *Presumably for* O El.
i *MS* vnus.
j *MS* cuicumque.
k *Followed by* et.
l *MS* nominando nominando.
m *MS* accipiens.
n *MS* recedes.
o *MS* notans.
p Sic *in MS*.
q *In margin:* Nota.
r *MS* inexperto.

No. 11. For invisibility (fols 28r–29v)

Tracto eciam de arte invisibilitatis, hodie quasi ab omnibus ignorata.[a]

Cum itaque volueris apud omnia, tam racionabilia quam non, invisibilis ac insensibilis haberi, primo, crescente luna die Mercurij, in prima hora diei, castus ante per triduum, et tonsus capillos et barbam, et albo indutus, extra villam in loco occulto, sereno celo, in plano solo, cum ense splendidissimo fac circulum vt hic apparet,[b] scribendo hec nomina [et] cum eis omnia ibidem apparencia. [28v] Hoc facto, fingas versus occidentem super Firiel dictum ensem. Et cum figeris, habeas vas in quo sit ignis cum thure, mirra, et olibano, et cum fumo ipsorum [circum]vade circulum, suffumigando ipsum, incipiendo a Fyriel et ibi finiendo. Hoc facto, habeas aquam benedictam et aspergas te et circulum, dicendo, *Asperges*[c] *me, domine, ysopo et mundabor; lauabis me et super niuem dealbabor* [Ps. 50:9 Vulg.]. Quo facto, voluendo te genubus flexis versus occidentem, emissa voce, sic dicas:

Ego, talis, coniuro vos, O Fyriel, Mememil, Berith, [*et*] *Taraor, spiritus potentes, magnifici, et illustres,*[d] *in quibus omnino confido,*

- *per vnicam, inseparabilem, ac indiuiduam trinitatem, scilicet Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *et per deum vnicum, solum, viuum, et verum, qui omnia de nichilo formauit, et cui subdita sunt omnia, celestia, terrestria,*[e] *et infernalia,*
- *per celum et terram, mare et infernum, et omnia in ipsis existencia,*
- *et per omnes principes, reges, et dominos vestros,*
- *et per illum deum quem timetis et adoratis,*
- *et per omnia que habent* [*potenciam*] *vos terrere, constringere, et alligare, et quorum preceptum vos oportet totaliter adimplere,*

quatenus vos omnes 4or cum humilitate maxima huc venire debeatis, ligati, constricti, et iurati ad execucioni mandandum quidquid a uobis petiero. Venite sine mora; venite, quia invoco vos ex parte Patris, prouoco [29r] *vos ex parte Filij, invoco vos ex parte Spiritus Sancti.*

Hac invocacione dicta quater, scilicet semel versus Firiel, semel versus Melemil et versus Berith et Tarator, aderunt subito in circulo 4or spiritus, dicentes tibi, ‘Dic nobis quid vis, et plene tibi obediemus.’ Quibus dices, ‘Ego volo quandam cappam invisibilitatis, que sit tenuis et incorruptibilis, qua cum indutus fuero nullus videre nec me sentire valeat.’ Hoc dicto, vnus discedet, et ante horam apportabit ibi quandam cappam, quam ab ipsis petebas[f] vt tibi dare deberent. Qui respondebunt tibi dare non posse si primo ipsis non das tuum indutum album; quibus dabis, et cum dederis eis, ipsi tibi dabunt cappam. Quorum vnus statim induet indutum eis datum; similiter tu statim induas cappam. Quam cum indueris, illis spiritibus dices, ‘Abite cum pace,’ et statim recedent. Et cum abierint, debes dimittere circulum, ferendo ensem.

Tercia vero dei, cum cappa illuc reuertere, et invenies tuum indutum, quem accipies. Memento enim, si ipsa tercia die non reuerteris, siue tuum indutum ibi dimissum non accipias, quarta die nullum invenires, sed in septem diebus moreris. Accepto enim tercia die induto, ipsum in eodem loco combures. Et scias quod quando ipsum combures audies maximos planctus [29v] et querelas. Et cum combureris, aspergas cinerem per aerem, sic dicendo:

Coniuro vos, Firiel, Melemil, Berith, [*et*] *Taraor,*

- *per virtutem et potenciam vestram,*
- *et per omnia habencia contra vos potestatem,*

vt non habeatis virtutem nec potenciam ledendi me per hanc cappam, sed

Ihesus Christus protegat et defendat me per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Quo dicto, habeas aquam benedictam et aspergas dictam cappam, sic dicendo:

Ego coniuro te, cappa,

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *et per hanc aquam,*

vt quandocumque te indutus fuero, nullus sentire nec videre me valeat, per dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, filium dei viuum, qui viuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

a *At top of page, in margin:* de invisibilitate.

b *Figure on fol. 28r: a plain circle, with the positions* oriens, meridies *and* occidens *labelled, a sword lying toward the east with its point near the centre,* Magister *inscribed near the centre (with* Firiel *to the west,* Melemil *to the south,* Berith *to the east, and* Taraor *to the north), and two figures*.

The names occur on fols 28r, 28v, 29r, and 29v. Spelling is consistent, except that Firiel *occurs twice on 28v as* Fyriel, Melemil *appears on 28v as* Mememil, *and* Taraor *is given on 29r as* Tarator.

c *MS* Asperiges.

d *MS* illustros.

e *The second* t *appears marked for deletion, erroneously*.

f *MS* petiebas.

No. 12. For obtaining a woman's love (fols 29v–31v)[a]

Recipe ceram virgineam, arte virginizatam, et hoc[b] in die Jouis vel in die dominico, hora Veneris vel hora Jouis; ex dicta cera facias ymaginem ad carbones accensas sine fumo in vna olla positos. Et habeat magister de capillis mulieris pro qua wult facere, et tres fillos sete rubee, et habeas tecum cultellum albi manubrij ad hoc facti. Et vade ad locum vbi artifex facit acus, et tu facias facere ab eodem artifice, hora Solis vsque ad horam Saturni. Deinde magister [30r] habeat duos socios fideles, et vadat ad arborem fructiferam, et faciat magister circulum.[c] Et incipiat magister artem facere, siue ymaginem mulieris pro qua facis, semper murmurando in corde tuo,

Tu Belial, tu Astarotht,[d] tu Paymon, ad hoc sitis opus michi adiutores.

Et similiter murmurando dices,

> *Ego, N., formo istam ymaginem in amorem talis, vt valeat ad quod facta est. Et tu, Belial, inicialis princeps, ad hoc opus sis michi adiutor.*

Et tunc[e] magister faciat ymaginem de predicta cera, incipiens hora Jouis, descendendo vsque ad horam Saturni. Et sic formata ymagine, faciat fieri [30v] magister ab artifice perito nouem acus, qui eas faciat corpore balneatus et nitidis vestibus indutus; faciat dictas acus hora Solis vsque ad horam Saturni. Postea magister fingat dictas acus in ymagine, ita collocando vnam in capite, aliam in humero dextro, terciam in sinistro, 4am vbi cor consueuit ab hominibus assignari, ita dicendo:

> *Sicut ista acus fingitur in cor istius ymaginis, ita fingatur amor N. in amorem N., quod non possit dormire, vigilare, iacere, sedere,* [*uel*] *ambulare,*[f] *quousque in meum exardescat amorem,*

quintam in vmbilico, sextam in femore, septimam in latere[g] dextro, octauam in sinistro, nonam in ano. Sic formata ymagine, christianizes ipsam, inponendo sibi nomen [mulieris] pro qua facis, submergendo ter et dicendo, ‘Quomodo vocatur?’; et respondetur, ‘N.’ Et tu debes dicere, *Ego baptizo te, N., in nomine Patris, et Filij, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.* Et postea pone ymaginem in panno nouo et mundo, dimittendo ab hora Solis vsque ad horam Martis. Deinde facias istam coniuracionem sub arbore fructifera ad carbones accensos, et voluas te versus orientem, et dicas,

> *Coniuro, talis, N., caput tuum, crines tuos, oculos tuos, aures tuas, genas tuas; coniuro, talis, cerebrum tuum; coniuro, N., tunicas*[h] [31r] *cerebri*[i] *tui, scilicet duram et piam matrem; coniuro, N., oculos tuos; coniuro, N., tunicas oculorum tuorum; coniuro, N., frontem tuam; coniuro, N., dentes tuos; coniuro, N., os tuum; coniuro, N., mentum tuum; coniuro, N., nasum tuum; coniuro, N., nares tuas; coniuro, N., palatum tuum; coniuro, N., gingiuas tuas; coniuro, N., guttur tuum; coniuro, N., humeros tuos; coniuro, N., spatulas tuas; coniuro, N., pectus tuum; coniuro, N., mammillas tuas; coniuro, N., corpus tuum; coniuro vmbilicum tuum; coniuro, N., femur tuum; coniuro, N., renes tuos; coniuro, N., latera tua; coniuro, N., anum tuum; coniuro, N., costas tuas; coniuro, N., wuluam tuam; coniuro, N., genua tua; coniuro, N., crura*

tua; coniuro, N., talos[i] *pedum tuarum; coniuro, N., brachia tua; coniuro, N., digitos manuum tuarum; coniuro, N., manus tuas; coniuro, N. vngwes manuum tuarum; coniuro, N., cor tuum; coniuro, N., pulmonem tuum; coniuro, N., bucellas tuas; coniuro, N., stomachum tuum; coniuro, N., totam personam tuam; coniuro, N., totam substanciam tuam, vt non possis dormire nec sedere nec iacere nec aliud artificiale facere donec meam libidinosam compleueris voluntatem. Coniuro te*

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *per magistratum*[k] *artis,*
- *per virtutem ipsius,*[l]
- *per sapienciam Salomonis,*
- *per verum Sabaoth,*
- *per verum seraphin,*
- *per verum Emanuel,*
- *per omnia corpora sanctorum* [31v] *que iacent in Roma,*
- *per lunam et solem et dominum maiorem,*
- *et per lac virginis,*
- *per sanctam Mariam, matrem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per eukarisma sanctum,*
- *per corpus et sangwinem Ihesu Christi.*

Coniuro vos ex exorcizo vos [*et*] *impero vobis, vt sicut ceruus desiderat fontem aquarum* [Ps. 41:2 Vulg.], *ita desideres,*[m] *N., ad meum amorem. Et sicut coruus desiderat cadauera mortuorum, ita desideres*[n] *tu me. Et sicut cera ista liquefacit a facie ignis, ita desideret N. in meum amorem, quod non possit, etc.*

Signa autem mulieris hec sunt et sequentur: solitudo, inuolucio capitis, ploratus, gemitus, percussiones, euigilaciones, [et] eiulaciones. Tunc magister siue ille qui facit vadat ad illam, et si viderit illam solam stantem aut[o] sedentem, tunc corroboret magister coniuracionem vsque ad quintam diem. Et si illa in terra omnino fuerit, consumatur; si autem fuerit in villa aut aliam ciuitatem transierit, tamdiu magister faciat coniuracionem quousque illa possit venire.

Et in hoc fuerunt concordes nigromantici omnes astroloyci Hyspanici, Arabici, Hebrei, Caldei, Greci, et Latini. Et extractum fuit istud experimentum [ex libro] de secretis artibus ymaginarie artis, [ex libro] de floribus omnium experimentorum, etc.

a *In margin:* de amore.

b *Inserted above line*.

c *Figure on fol. 30r: a double circular band, with* Tu Belial, tu Astaroth, tu Paymon, ad hoc sitis [michi *deleted*] opus michi adiutores *inscribed in the band, and* Locus magistri *marked in the centre*.

The names appear on the same folio in the text. Spelling is consistent for two of them, but Astaroth *is rendered in the text as* Astarotht.

d Sic *in MS*.

e *Added both between lines and in margin*.

f *Followed by* sic.

g *MS* lattere *or* lactere.

h *Followed by* tuas, *deleted*.

i *MS* cerebrum.

j *MS* tales.
k *MS* mgrm *with line over last three characters*.
l *Presumably either incomplete or intended with reference to the previous phrase*.
m *MS* desiderat, *following the Psalm verse*.
n *MS* desideras.
o *MS* et.

No. 13. For constraining a man, woman, spirit, or beast (fols 32r–33r)

Per hoc experimentum constringitur homo, mulier, vir, spiritus, [vel] bestia, cuiuscumque condicionis existat.

Hec nomina in hunc modum sint scripta in spatula.[a] Postquam hoc totum adinpletum fuerit, quod vis eligere tibi. Si aliquem spiritum constringere volueris, scribe nomen eius in spatula inter b et e et in nomine quod est Bel. Si aliquem hominem constringere volueris, scribe nomen illius inter l et a. Si vero aliquam bestiam constringere volueris, scribe nomen eius inter a et n, et colorem eius. Pro spiritibus vero atque hominibus et pro mulieribus, agendum est ita et in eadem hora in qua expleta spatula fuerit ab accione,[b] ibi oportet vt in primis perquirantur lingna ex spina alba vel lingna que vagantur in aquis, et faciat inde ignem, carbonesque collige et in ollam nouam mitte, et desuper paulatim pone spatulam, et paulatim augmentando ignem donec spatula calefiat.

Et tunc invoca predictos spiritus, et dic hanc coniuracionem:

Asyel, Castiel, Lamisniel, Rabam, Erlain, [*et*] *Belam,*[c] *vobis precipio*

[A1] Si pro homine uel muliere quem uel qua[m] in tuo amore accendere volueris, sic dicas:

vt statim, etc.

secundum quod infra continetur.[d] [B] Si vero pro spiritu, [32v] nomina illum spiritum quem vis vt veniat ad te patenter, humiliter, pulcra facie, et blando sermone, dicendo,

Coniuro vos, Asyel, etc., vt N. spiritum N.,[e] *qui potestatem habet super omne quod ab eo querere volo, ad me venire faciatis patenter, humiliter, blando sermone, eius forma vt dixi, scilicet militis* [*et*] *pulcherimi, ad complendum omnia que ei precipere voluero.*

[A2] Et cum pro viro aut muliere hoc facere volueris, fac ei prius notum vbi te invenire possit, quia nisi te inveniet pro cuius furore suo insaniet.[f] [C] Si pro bestia, [dic:]

Coniuro predictos spiritus vt constringant illam bestiam

quam vis, ne de loco in quo est se remouere valeat donec volueris.

[A3] [Conjuration to constrain a man or woman:]

Asyel, Castiel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Elam, Belam, ego vos coniuro

- *per deum verum,*
- *per deum viuum, qui vos creauit,*
- *et per eum qui Adam et Euam formauit,*
- *et per eum qui mare creauit aridamque fundauit, qui facit angelos suos spiritus et ministros suos ignem vrentem* [Ps. 103:4 Vulg.], *qui nouit ea que non sunt sicut ea que sunt, qui habet claues mortis* [*et*] *inferni, ipse enim primus et nouissimus, principium et finis, Alpha et O, et qui viuit et fuit mortuus et revixit,*[g] *qui vocauit deum patrem eius.*
- *Alphagramaton, per hoc nomen*

vos coniuro,

- *et per sanctum et ineffabile nomen dei Tetragramaton,*
- *et per id nomen quod nemo nouit nisi ipse* [33r] *qui est verbum dei,*
- *et per hec nomina dei: Hely, Heloy, Heloe, Sabaoth, Elion, Adonay, Saday,*
- *et per omnia nomina eius,*
- *et per ipsius virtutem,*
- *et per omnes virtutes celorum;*

item coniuro vos

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *et per sanctam trinitatem et vnitatem dei,*
- *et per illam coronam quam dominus noster Ihesus Christus in suo capite habuit,*
- *et per lac beate Marie virginis,*
- *et per hec predicta nomina et per omnes virtutes eorundem,*

et per istam coniuracionem precipio vobis, vt statim et cito et velociter et sine mora seducatis cor et mentem N. in amorem meum. Et sicut hec spatula calefit et incenditur, ita illum vel illam, N., incendatis et calefaciatis igne mei amoris, et ita vt nu[*n*]*quam quiescere valeat donec meam adimpleuerit voluntatem. In nomine quod est Bel, etc.*

a *Figure at the bottom of fol. 33r (i.e., at the end of the experiment): a shield divided into 16 horizontal bands, with one vertical band down the centre. In the top band is inscribed,* Hec est figura spatule. *Succeeding bands bear the names* Asyel, Castyel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Olam *and*

Belam, *each of which straddles the vertical band. In the vertical band are the letters* A *(at the intersection with the second horizontal band),* B *(fifth),* E *(seventh),* L *(ninth),* A *(eleventh) and* N *(thirteenth). Across the intersection of the vertical band and the twelfth horizontal band* Leo *is written*.

To the side is the note: Item nota quod spatula supradicta debet esse asinina vel leporina vel anserina vel caponina, secundum diuersos [usus?].

b Sic *in MS*.
c *Corrected in lower margin from* Bolam.
d *This phrasing occurs toward the end of the conjuration given in the next paragraph*.
e Sic *in MS*.
f Sic *in MS*.
g *Corrected above line from* refixit.

No. 14. For obtaining a horse (fols 33v–34r)

Vt equum habeas ad eundum quo vis, [debes] respicere aerem versus orientem, flexis genibus [et] iunctis manibus et si esses[a] in carcere, et dic cum magna fiducia et spe firmissima obtinendi,

O altissime et benignissime rex Orientis, exaudi oracionem meam et clamor meus ad te veniat; fiant aures tue intendentes in vocem deprecacionis mee [Pss. 101:2, 129:2 Vulg.], *per nobilissimam sedem maiestatis tue. Te invoco et adiuro*

- *per illum dominum quem cones*[b] *diligis, confidis, et speras,*
- *per legem legalem*[c] *et per spem sperantem et per karitatem karitatiuam,*
- *per On, El, Ely,* [*et*] *Tetragramaton, quod est nomen altissimum,*
- *et per locum vbi sedes in solio magne nobilitatis tue.*

Mitte ad me spiritum aereum, quo[d] *in eo valeam ad plenum, quod opto, proficere. Potens es,*[e] *domine, ipsum mittere, vt michi in hac hora tua magna potencia in omnibus et per omnia sit obediens et legalis.*[f] *Et ideo te, domine, invoco, adoro, et laudo nomen tuum in eternum, qui oriens omnes benedicte et gloriossisimus*[g] *per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.*

Hoc igitur dicto septies, dic audaciter:

Volo ire ad talem partem, et statim veni.

Vt si volueris spiritus uel equus, vel dormiendo uel vigilando.[h] Cum equus venerit, dic,

Coniuro te per dominum, qui creauit celum et terram, mare, et omnia que in eis sunt, tam visibilia quam invisibilia, vt[i] *sine strepitu et timore,*

dampno aliquo uel periculo seu[i] *angustia mei cor-* [34r] *poris et anime portes me suauiter et depones me sine aliqua lesione presenti uel futuri, vsque ad talem locum suauiter me deponas.*

Cum enim deposuerit te vbi affectabis, dicas humiliter,

Gracias tibi ago, Oriens, qui dignum me fecisti in hac parte mea[k] *et pro tanta gracia et beneficio meo,*[l] *et me tibi offero, seruire et semper tuis obedire mandatis. Benedictum* [*et*] *laudatum sit semper nomen tuum, regnaturum super omnia secula seculorum. Et tibi eciam gracias ago, qui per coniuracionem nominum altissimi dei per me fatigare*[m] *dignatus es, etc.*

a *MS* esset, *perhaps meaning* vt si esses?
b *Or* tones, *perhaps intending* toto corde?
c *Meaning* fidem fiducialem, *corresponding to the other theological virtues?*
d *Meaning* vt?
e *MS* est.
f Sic *in MS*.
g *Perhaps meaning* qui Oriens es, benedictus et gloriosissimus.
h *Probably meaning* Et si volueris spiritum uel equum, uel dormiendo uel vigilando.
i *MS* et.
j *Followed by* et.
k Sic *in MS*.
l *MS* mea.
m *Probably meaning* pro me fatigari.

No. 15. For obtaining a flying throne (fols 34r–35v)

Vade ad locum secretum et altum, tempore sereno et absque ventu, et dic: *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis, Secundum magnam misericordiam tuam* [Ps. 50 Vulg.], cum *Gloria Patri* totum,[a] *In manus tuas, domine, commendo spiritum et totum spiritum et corpus meum,*[b] *Domine deus, Pater omnipotens*, [et] *Iudica me* [Ps. 42 Vulg.]. Postea fac talem circulum vt inferius designabitur,[c] cum ollis, et [34v] pone in ollam septentrionis cinerem et farinam, et in orient[al]em ignem cum sale, in occidentalem[d] aquam et calcem. Et sede in medio circuli et verte te versus septentrionem, et voca regem nubium, nomine Bartha, vt mittat 3es de ducibus qui habent posse[e] [super] nubibus et ventris, scilicet Saltim,[f] Balthim, Gehim, qui

ducent te absque lesione et absque periculo tui corporis et anime ad locum quem volueris. Et tunc apparebit tibi parua nubes, et de tribus ollis exibunt tres alie olle, dicen[te]s, *Ascende, ascende, ascende*. Tunc autem inperterrite ac et cum audacia parate[g] sellam magistro, hec dicas ter. Tunc videbis kathedram in medio nubis, et tu ascende illam, et dic,

> *Rex Bartha, et duces Saltim, Baltim,* [*et*] *Galtim, portate me placabiliter, sine timore et inpedimento et periculo aliquo mei corporis*[h] *et anime, vsque ad talem locum, et suauiter me leuate et suauiter me deponite. O tu rex Bartha, et o vos principes Saltim, Balthim, Galtyra,*[i] *vos potenter invoco vt cito et velociter me ducatis vsque ad talem locum sine omni timore et periculo mei corporis et anime, et ad hoc*[j] *vos invoco et coniuro potenter et exorziso per hec angelorum nomina altissima qui in aere sunt potentes: Mastiesel,*[k] *Emedel, Emethel, Sangel, Eymeal, Venoel, Gerbon, Seutan, Ty-* [35r] *robay, Teneyn, Teregey, Gerebon, Gamelorum, Tubairum, Ficary, Gysay, Austeron, Boreal, Gemeloy, Garoen, Sypro, Ebely, Aurora, Subseloy, Siego, Afonei, et Zephirim, Boreoth, Beolthoray, Aforax,*[l] *Aquelyo, Eureal, Fauelyon. Per hec nomina vos invoco et coniuro et exorcizo et constringo, vt sine mora veniatis ad me existentem in hoc loco, et multum*[m] *me suauiter et benigne deferatis et ducatis ad talem locum, sine omni timore, lesione, et periculo mei corporis et anime. Sic fiat, fiat, amen.*

Vade securus et non timeas, quia portabunt te quo volueris. Si forte socios habere volueris in via et in opere, oportet quod sitis impares, tamen plus.[n] Hec nomina dices, scilicet Semegibetelye, Sabolaay,[o] Saroten, Saramey, Cerbelli, Tyaurax.[p] Et sic ire poteris in omnem partem et terram securus quo volueris.

Si quis tibi forte nocere voluerit vel attemptauerit: Si a parte septentrionali senseris kathedram descendere, dic,

> *O Balthym, te invoco, coniuro, et constringo vt vindices me de isto qui michi nocere temptatur,*[q] *per hec septem nomina que in omnibus potestatem habent, scilicet Flegely, Stygeloy,*[r] *Melyon, Babaia, Regale, Setgaboy, Guitipabey.*

Et statim veniet tempestas super eum et timeas.[s] Si vero a parte occidentali quis tibi nocere temptauerit, dic audacter,

O Saltim, coniuro et constringo te per ista semptem nomina, [35v] *scilicet Sebegyol, Sebely, Serbaton, Tymelyy,*[t] *Gerotal, Tyboel, Galtym. Fiat vt sit pluuia et nubes super illum, in tantum quod non possit videre nubem.*

Si vero ex parte orientali quis temptare voluerit, dic,

Veniatis, Galtym [*et*] *Baltym, per ista nomina, scilicet Flegely, Stygeloy, Melyon, Barbaia, Regale, Segaboy, Guitipabey, et cadant tonitrua super*[u] *illum et nubes et tempestas, ita* [*quod*] *me temptare non audeat.*

Si forte in via videris super te tempestates uel serpentes aut aues aut alia terribilia, quibus forte posses terreri, dicas,

O tu rex Bartham, ego te invoco et coniuro et constringo, rex sapiens et fortis, per hec nomina, scilicet Alrogen, Segeuratetho, Spitalote, Frigonay, Gebelsey, vt hec terribilia[v] *facias protinus remoueri statim.*

Dictis hiis verbis, sine mora recedent, et vltra non habebis contrarium.

Hic circulus debet fieri ad istud opus, etc.[w]

a Sic *in MS*.
b Sic *in MS; cf. Lk. 24:46*.
c *Figure at bottom of fol. 34r: a single circular band, with an inverted triangle inscribed within its outer boundary. Characters (in pseudo-Hebrew?) are inscribed along two sides of the triangle, within the band. In the intersections of the band and the triangle, circles with dots in them (evidently denoting positions for jars) are marked. Cardinal directions are shown*.
d *MS* occidentali.
e *Possibly meaning* potenciam; *followed by* michi, *deleted*.
f *Followed by redundant* Baltim, *deleted*.
g Sic *in MS*.
h *Corrected in MS from* corperis?.
i Sic *in MS*.
j *Or* hec.
k *Or* Masciesel.
l *Or* Afforax.
m Sic *in MS*.
n Sic *in MS*.
o *Corrected in MS from* Sabalaay.
p *Or* Tyanrax.
q *Meaning* temptat?

r *Or* Scygeloy.
s *Possibly meaning* et timebit *or* quem times.
t Sic *in MS*.
u *Partly covered by blot*.
v *MS* terrebilia.
w That is, the circle given already on fol. 34r, but perhaps drawn at the end of the experiment in an earlier manuscript.

No. 16. For finding something in sleep (fols 35v–36r)

Ad inveniendum in sompnis que vis, scribe hec nomina in carta virginea cum nominibus illius diei in hunc modum sicut inferius patebit. Postea pone sub dextra aure quando vadis dormitum, et videbis quidquid vis de preteritis, presentibus, et futuris.

Hec est con- [36r] iuracio que debet fieri super cartam:

> *O vos gloriosa nomina summi dei, cui omnia, presencia, preterita, et futura presencia sunt, rogo vos ego, seruus et subditus vester, quod mittatis michi angelos vestros*[a]*, qui scripti sunt in circulo isto, vt michi reuelare debeatis*

quidquid super talem rem, uel de quocumque vis negocio quod venturum est. Et hec dicas tribus[b] vicibus, et videbis quidquid vis, per potenciam dei.

Hic est circulus qui debet scribi cum ibis dormitum.[c]

a *Blot between* o *and* s.
b *MS* dicat.
c *Figure on fol. 36r: a double circular band, with eight lines of text inscribed within it:* Agla / Michael virtus dei / Gabriel fortitudo / Emanuel Paraclitus / Raphael medicina dei / Alpha et O, Oli, Ely / Tetragramaton, amen / Agla. *Each line of text has a cross inside a square at either end*.

No. 17. For obtaining a horse (fol 36r–v)

Ad equum habendum[a] scriba[n]tur in hostio domus vacui, in crepusculo noctis, more he- [36v] brayco, hec nomina cum sangwine vespertilionis: Tuditha, Stelpha, Alpha, Draco, Mariodo, Ypation. Quibus scriptis, recede modicum a loco.

Post horam paruam reuertaris, et inuenies equum paratum, quem[b] cum

uolueris ascendere pone sinistrum pedem ad strepam et dic hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro te, eque bone,

- *per creatorem celi et terre,*
- *et per illum qui creauit vniuersa et omnia ad laudem et gloriam sui nominis,*
- *et per deum viuum,*
- *et per deum sanctum,*
- *et per deum verum,*[c]

vt non in corpore nec in anima nec in minimo membro meo vere obesse[d] *valeas, nec in aliquo me perturbes, sed me, N., ad locum talem deferas, placide, hilariter, jocunde, et velociter, absque omni inpedimento.*

Deinde ascende audacter et secure, quia omnino tibi nocere non potest. Signo vere crucis non te signabis, quia ipsum a te fugabis.

Cum autem perveneris ad locum prenominatum, descende de equo et accipe frenum, et absconde sub terra. Peracto autem tuo negocio, recipias frenum et scucte[e] firmissime, et statim veniet. Cum autem ascendere volueris, dic[f] precedentem coniuracionem et hec tria verba: *Rastelya, Elogo, Yetas*, etc.

a *Followed by* hec.
b *MS* quod.
c *Followed by a blot*.
d *Corrected from* abesse.
e Sic *in MS*.
f *MS* ac.

No. 18. The mirror of Floron, for revelation of past, present, and future (fols 37r–38r)

Hic incipit speculum Floron.

Fac fieri speculum de puro calibe, ad mensuram palme vnius in rotundo; habeatque manubrium ad tenendum, et sit illuminatum et lucidum vt ensis. Sitque factum in nomine Floron, et in circuitu istius speculi ex alia parte non lucida sint hec decim nomina, cum hiis decem caracteribus descripta, et nomen spiritus predicti sit in medio scriptum.[a] Postquam fuerit factum, in loco secreto vngatur ex puro balsamo ex parte lucida, et subfumiga, scilicet

[37v] cum ligno aloes, ambra, et mirra, et olibano albo.

Hoc peracto, magister huius operis sedens faciat ipsum speculum teneri per manubrium cum ambabus manibus pueri virginis ante pectus suum, et ipse magister sit balneatus, eciam mundis vestibus indutus, qui antequam incipiat exercere hoc opus mel, lac, et vinum equaliter insimul mixtum in aerem aspergat, dicendo,

O Floron, in speculo sicut solitus es apparere citissime respondeas.

Hoc dicto, hanc coniuracionem coram speculo legat:

Bismille araathe mem[b] *bismissa gassim gisim galisim darrgosim samaiaosim ralim ausini taxarim zaloimi hyacabanoy illete laytimi hehelmini betoymi thoma leminao vnuthomin zonim narabanorum azarethia thathitat hinanadon illemay sard hucacef illemegiptimi sitaginatim viaice hamtamice tatiala taltarini alaoht haleytum gaptametuntij mortoorfail geibel huabaton albital hualepin halmagrilie hualeon huastanie hualtamemeth huatorzor illenie giptimi tatgnie gathegine lesuma lesanim aptasale albweroahit vlleath alfard vsemeth aptisile abfluwarth vllelath ant clulamoralie hahysitimi waleles* [38r] *lithimi caegine catlieginеles mirabolamini abtasile albiwahith alleath halamaton vnitia gaytatalon huia gay soze cemeselis phalmorath bethathure huaba lagis illemeammitimi gelgine gathegine lesmirapta libe albiwath vleuth.*[c]

Dicta vero hac coniuracione, magister in speculo aspiciat, et videbit militem armatum in equo sedentem et armigerum suum comitantem secum, qui miles de equo descendet, et armiger eius equum tenebit. Cui militi sic dicet: ‘Se desperata, decentissime visibiliter greciomo.’[d] Et tunc magister ipsum interrogat de preteritis, presentibus, et futuris, et ipse continuo certo scripto interrogata plenius insinuabit.

Non ergo tibi incredibile sit, quicumque fuerit[e] huius operis artifex, quia dum nouies ista perfeceris, idem spiritus manifeste vniuersa que prius per scripta insinuauerat ore ad os viua voce palificando denunciabit.

Dum ergo cuncta pro tuo velle perfeceris, eidem spiritui[f] cum pace precipe vt recedat, et iuxta preceptum sui domini redeat cum fuerit vocatus.

a *Figure on fol. 37r: a double circular band, divided into ten segments. Outer band has the names* Latranoy, Iszarin, Bicol, Danmals, Gromon, Zara, Ralkal, Sigtonia, Samah *and* Meneglasar *written in the ten segments; inner band contains corresponding figures. Inscribed within the bands is a rectangle, subdivided into six sections, which contain the letters* F-L-O-R-O-N.

b *Second* m *written with superscript line over it*.

c *Individual words in almost all cases separated by punctus*.

d Sic *in MS*.

e *Meaning* fueris?

f Sic *in MS*.

No. 19. The mirror of Floron, second version (fols 38r–39v)

Hic incipit speculum Floron, et alio modo quam supra sit notatum, quamuis cum eisdem regulis.

Fac fieri speculum de puro calibe, ad mensuram palme vnius in rotundo, et habeat manu- [38v] brium ad tenendum, et sit illuminatum et lucidum vt ensis. Sitque factum in honore et in nomine spirituum inferiorum, et in circuitu speculi et ex alia parte non lucida sint 10 nomina cum decem karacteribus suprascriptis, vt pateat in speculo, et hoc nomen Floron in medio sit sculptum. Et postquam factum fuerit, in loco tali secreto sicut scis vngatur puro balsamo in parte lucida. Et sit subfumigatum hiis speciebus, scilicet ligno aloes, ambra, mirra, splendenti,[a] et olibano albo.

Hoc facto, magister huius operis sedens faciat ipsum speculum teneri ambabus manibus alicuius pueri virginis[b] ante pectus suum. Et ipse magister sit primo balneatus et mundis vestibus indutus, et ab omnibus aliis modis, vt bene nosti, ordinatus,[c] antequam incipiat hoc opus exercere. Mel, lac, et vinum mixta aspergantur in aere, et magister predictum spiritum proprio nomine[d] advocet vt in speculum sicut solitus est veniat et vera responsa de omnibus interrogatis per certa scripta vel verba respondeat.

Hoc dicto, magister coniuracionem sequentem C[h]aldaycis verbis scripta[m] perlegat hoc modo:

> *Brismassa cassini gossini gaissini gratagossini samalaosini raxini gratini caraxini maraxini sobohini herura banor allegalte alitisti alaro haletum ha-* [39r] *maymon hyalermon bispelimi bristedelimin hybelim bytho yhan bythoimin chosuma lonym lonynti torrimernum vitabanor atheretatat hyathet huyazalon vtaref illemegyptum biragyarius hyarite*[e] *heramenice conolar ganstraximi aloryoli helytum gayta mementum montoro lazyabel hubaton albnetal*[f] *hyxalepini almagarie hualeon hyaltanixe hualenyefet huatosor allemegitum cagine satogyne laminy*

lesymaybdo abtysilthi alluhuait valehat arfard huzeniecht aptihle abimerahit vllehath enzebula morabe balitum veralesucum teagyne lesmyro valanum aptalile asugnathecht valleaath hyamatharon hyabia gaytatalon hya yagapolozol phalmolmeth bethaure huaba laygip illenietentum taygine oragine deragrineles myraptalile vlleytith setrataha conox.[g]

Magister inspiciat in speculo et videbit militem armatum in equo sedentem et armigerum suum commitantem secum. Qui miles de equo descendet, et armiger eius equum tenebit. Cui militi sic dicet: 'Parate insilitio gytromon.' Tunc magister interroget ipsum de preteritis, presentibus, et futuris, et ipse continuo certo scripto interrogata plenarie inti- [39v] mabit. Non sit igitur incredibile tibi, quicumque fueris huius operis artifex, quod cum con[iuracionem] predicta[m] feceris, idem spiritus qui prius manifeste insinuauerat per scripta postea vna nocte per exercicium et in die omni hora ore ad os pallificando denunciabit, et eciam omnia que sub circulo lune sunt et eciam in terra et super terram, visibiliter et[h] aperte demonstrabit.

Cum igitur cuncta perfeceris, precipe vt in pace recedat et iuxta preceptum magistri quacumque[i] hora vocatus fuerit quod festinanter veniat et sine mora.

Nota quod 10 nomina cum suis caracteribus debent sculpi in speculo prima die Veneris, luna[j] crescente, et eciam speculum eadem die debet fieri. Et si non potest ex toto perfici eodem die Veneris, compleatur [secunda] uel tercia die Veneris, et semper luna crescente. Videat bene sculptor vel faber quod non sint poluti luxuria per 9 dies antequam accedant ad opus. Sint eciam balneati et loti et mundis vestibus induti, vt scis.

a Sic *in MS*.
b *MS* alicui puero virgini.
c Sic *in MS*.
d *Partly covered by blot*.
e *Followed by* heramite, *deleted*.
f *Or* albuetal.
g *Or possibly* conrox.
h *Followed by* apere, *deleted*.
i *MS* quecumque.
j *MS* lune.

No. 20. Another way of using a mirror (fols 39v–40v)

Item, secundum alium modum.

In coniunccione Veneris et Jouis, vade ad locum secretum ac secretissimum, vt infra assignabitur. Et habeas tecum candelas accensas, et tene tecum speculum calibeum limpidum et politum, factum luna 4a uel 7a vel xiija.[a] [40r] Et in sequenti die ieiunabis. Et cum operare volueris, vade ad locum vt supra dictum est, et fac circulum, et finge ibi speculum supradictum supra[b] lignum ad modum cultelli factum, et dicas hec verba:

> *Siclis piclis ticlis moturas baruch cortex garyn ruent hismuie haruel fuganes furtym fermal faruc cornalis bosuo zelades pasapa phirpa tirph. Tu qui es deus, Alpha et O, fac hoc speculum crescere et clarescere donec ad visum meum sufficiat.*

Hic non est defectus.

Sequitur [alia] coniuracio:

Coniuro te

- *per deum,*
- *et per tres pueros Sydrac, Mysaach, et Abdenago,*
- *et per tres magos Caspar, Balthasar, et Melchior,*
- *et per tres patriarchas Abraham, Ysaac, et Iacob,*
- *et per illum cui nomen est Theoden, Lien, Elyon, Vergiton, Christus, Deus fortis, Emanuel, Caspar, Caspan, Caspar, Corpion, Asmal.*

Hec dic tribus vicibus, et videbitur tibi clarescere et crescere, et apparebunt tibi multi in speculo tamquam in campo.[c] Tunc inquire secure de quacumque re quod volueris, et sufficienter tibi respondebunt.

Post primam autem vicem, [40v] quandocumque vis, vbicumque vis, in secreto tamen loco, hoc facere poteris dicens verba supradicta. Hoc enim speculum tibi consecrabitur ad illam quam tu vnquam plus affectasti in circulo nobilissimo de tribus militibus.[d]

Et nota quod omnis circulus et dicti circuli debent fieri quando[e] nubes non appareant, quod si postea apparuerint non est timendum, quia spiritus sunt, etc.

a xiija *duplicated in lower margin*.
b *MS* supera.

c *MS* canpo.
d Sic *in MS*.
e *MS* quod.

No. 21. For invisibility (fol. 40v)

Studeas invenire vnam cattam nigram, natam in mense Martij, et exviscera eam, corde tamen remanente; tunc abscide cor cum cultello qui sit de Venere facto,[a] et oculos erue dicte catte cum eodem cultello, et imple[b] foramina oculorum semine cuiusdam herbe que elyotropia dicitur, vnum in oculo dextro et aliud in sinistro, et tercium in cor[de], semper hec verba dicendo: *Sapreson lampsones sampsanay, invisibilis fiat homo*. Et reple eam cora,[c] et sepeli eam in ortu tuo in quo nemo intrat, et eam riga[d] cum sangwine humano et aqua commistis, hoc continuando per xv dies vsque quo crescit herba alba, cuius semen suo opere[e] semper illa verba repetendo. Scias tamen quod quelibet herba dabit semen, sed granum unum bonum, quod quidem sic eligere debes, et nomina semper repetendo. Habeas igitur speculum coram te, et respiciendo vnum granum post aliud in speculo, et ponas omnia grana in ore tuo sub lingwa tua, et bene semper consideras granum illud quod ponis in os tuum. Et si in[f] quocumque grano posito in ore te videre non poteris in speculo, scias id esse bonum et vtile pro te, etc.

a *Meaning* cum cultello die Veneris facto*? The* e *in* de *is blotted out, but the word is replicated in the margin*.
b *Followed by* fro, *deleted*.
c Sic, *an alternative form of* cera.
d *MS* rega.
e Sic *in MS*.
f *Meaning* cum?

No. 22. For discovering a thief or murderer by gazing into a vessel (fol. 41r–42r)

Ad furtum inveniendum, recipe cultellum cum manubrio nigro vel albo, et facias circulum in terra,[a] dicendo has oraciones: *Deus, qui corda fidelium Sancti Spiritus, etc., Concede nos famulos tuos, etc.*, et *Homines sancti tui*. Et habeas puerum uel puellam virginem. Et magister intret[b] cum ea vel cum eo in circulum, et accipiet[c] magister serraginem bene mundatam intus et

extra, et scribat super eum predicto cultello hoc signum et hec nomina similiter:

Onel,[d] *On, Adonay, Emanuel, sanctus deus fortis, sanctus Ely, sanctus Elyon, sanctus dominus deus Sabaoth, mirabilis splendor, Alpha et O. Fiat.*

Quo scripto, accipias lumen et invngas desuper serraginem cum penna galline nigre, et de sinistra ala, hoc modo dicendo *Pater Noster* ter, tot cum *Kyrieleison, Christeleison, Kyrieleison* tribus vicibus, *Christus ab antiqua fraude, magnus, magnus et eternus; fiat, amen, Exaudi nos* tribus vicibus, *Pater de celis, miserere nobis; sancta Maria, ora pro nobis; sancte Michahel, orate pro nobis; sancte Raphahel, ora pro nobis; sancte Johannes Baptista, precursor domini, ora pro nobis; omnes sancti et sancte, ora pro nobis; Kyrieleison, Christeleison, Kyrieleison; Christe, audi nos.*

Hoc vero supra scriptum periurato,[e] dicat magister in auriculo pueri coniuracionem istam:

Coniuro te, puer,

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, cui omne nomen flectitur et omnis lingwa proclamat Osanna* [cf. Phil. 2:10];

Coniuro te

- *per sanctam Mariam semper virginem,*
- *per angelos et archangelos,*
- *per xxiiijor seniores,*
- *et per cxla milia martirum* [41v] *qui pro nomine Christi iugulati sunt,*
- *et per sanctum Johannem Baptistam,*
- *et per omnes patriarchas et prophetas,*
- *et per xij apostolos,*
- *et per 4or ewangelistas,*
- *et per septuaginta discipulos domini,*
- *et per omnes sanctos et sanctas dei,*
- *et per omnes virtutes omnipotentis dei, celestes, terrestres, et infernales,*

vt quidquid tu videas nobis insinues, et vt tu veraciter videre posses quis vel qui eciam sit vel sint qui furtum istud uel homicidium fecerunt, virtute omnipotentis dei[f] *et gracia.*

Coniuracione vero facta, dicas super caput pueri hanc coniuracionem:

Deus, creator omnium rerum, te deprecor humili deuocione, per tuam mirabilem potenciam, quatenus isti puero tribuas scienciam et

intellectum, vt[g] *michi veritatem annunciet de furtis uel homicidiis, vt*[h] *cogatis, omni fallacia remota, inimicos,*[i] *vt exaltent nomen tuum, quod est benedictum in secula seculorum. Amen. Domine Ihesu Christe, qui cooperante Spiritu Sancto per mortem tuam mundum viuificasti, illumina cor*[j] *et corpus istius pueri, vt veritatem michi annunciet de furtis que interrogauero, per hec sanctissima nomina: Nazarenus, Messyas, Adonay, qui cum Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto viuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum.*

Precipiat magister puero vt intente inspiciat in vase illo idem ehimurili,[k] hoc vero modo vt alibi non respiciat aut aliquo modo visum suum ab eo auertat. Et si aliquo modo puer in prima vice nichil viderit, iterum coniuret illum puerum secunda vice, quousque videat puer hoc furtum vel homicidium et rem illam de qua dubitas. Etc.

a *Figure at the top of fol. 42r: double circular band, the interior of which is divided into six wedges. Pentagrams with* On *just beyond each point are inscribed in the upper and lower wedges, and to the lower left and right of the circle. Within the circle is inscribed* Hic sederat [=sedeat] puer super signum *(in the inner band, at top);* Hic sedeat magister super signum *(in the inner band, at bottom)* a latere sinistro *(in the outer band, at bottom). To the right of this figure is a column containing five horizontal bands and labelled* Istud est signum; *in the bands is inscribed* Esto altissimus, vnus, eternus; amen, *with one word per band*.

b *Followed by blot*.

c *Altered in MS from* accipiat.

d *Meaning* On, El.

e Sic *in MS*.

f *MS* virtute dei omnipotentis dei.

g t *malformed, and duplicated above line*.

h *Meaning* et?

i *MS* inimici.

j c *blotted out, and word duplicated in margin*.

k Sic *in MS*.

No. 23. First mirror of Lilith (fol. 42r–43r)

Hoc est primum speculum Lilit et suorum virorum suorumque militum seniorum. Et hoc speculum debet fieri in magistratu sui speculi, et in memoria omnium nominum suorum seruorum, qui omnes res ante Caym faciunt in mundissimo loco.[a]

Coniuro vos demones vt veniatis et compareatis et dicatis michi de quocumque interrogauero vos omnem veritatem, in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Christus ✠ vincit ipsum ✠ Balbieit ✠ Zelans,[b] *Zelles, Dimedero, Cadar, es qui cottidie astra celorum ascendunt vbi sunt tres dogie*[c] *cruci uel breues actu uel ictu seculorum in quatuor partes seculi, ad faciendam totam voluntatem in eam, per deum vbi probabilit*[er][d]*et licencia placabiliter et effabiliter, sine terrore, absque tocius ineffabili poten-* [42v] *cia deitatis summi viui, in hac veri dei virtute te exoramus, Lylet, per honorem patris tui Arieth, et per illud sacramentum quod tu Nocma matri tue fecisti verbo, vt in similitudine tua et non in coruorum similitudine, ad sermocinandum et ad sedendum nobiscum in quacumque hora requisierimus te in speculo isto, pacifice ac humiliter ac sine vlla deformitate, te michi ostendas; et amplius vt duo uel plures de seruis tuis, qui vero tam de furto quam de homicidio aut de quacumque alia re dubitabili de qua scire voluero michi dent vera responsa vel signa, in dei virtute et obediencia.*

Istud vero speculum debet formari ad modum Clypei, vel[e] alio modo [si] volueris, in cuius giro hec nomina depingantur: *Deus sanctus, deus omnipotens, deus fortis, deus inmortalis, pater futuri seculi*. Et circa duo lattera superiora sigilla Salomonis depingantur majora, in fine vero clypei minus sigillum Salomonis, et in medio speculi hoc nomen 'Lylet'[f] depingatur, prout in hac patebit figura que infra ponitur.[g] [43r] Postea vero sicut alio vitro, sicut alia specula solent, circumdetur.[h] Quo vero facto, tacite et secrete defer ad quadriuium vel ad sepulc[r]um alicuius hominis interfecti, in crepusculo noctis, diei Martis vel Saturni, dicendo hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro te, Lylet,[i] *ac socios tuos*,

- *per Alpha et O*,
- *per primum et nouissimum, Abiel, Rotbons, Cafre, O deus, O male Christe, inclitus, On, Ely, Elyon, Messyas, Sabaoth, Adonay, Emanuel;*

coniuro [*te*] *eciam, Lylet,*[i] *atque socios tuos*,

- *per annunciacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi*,
- *et per natiuitatem eius*,
- *et per aduentum Spiritus Sancti paracliti,*

vt in quacumque hora te vocauero, in hoc speculo michi appareas cum tuis sociis atque de re illa de qua scire voluero michi vera dando responsa vel signa.

Oracione vero ista completa, per aliam viam reuertaris ad hospicium tuum. Postea vero, eadem hora ac die, ad quadriuium vade et accipe speculum, et cum de re aliqua volueris scire dubitabili, ipsos per coniuracionem iam dictam venire compellas. Et quere quidquid volueris, et dicent tibi. Etc.

a Sic *in MS*.
b *Followed by* zo *(?), deleted*.
c Sic *in MS*.
d Sic *in MS?*
e *Largely blotted out*.
f *MS* Bylet.
g *Figure given at bottom right of fol. 42^{v}: shield with a single band around its edge. In the band is inscribed*, Deus sanctus, deus omnipotens, deus fortis, deus inmortalis, pater futuri seculi. *The name* Bylet [=Lylet] *appears in the centre. In the upper left- and right-hand corners are pentagrams with* On *just beyond each point; smaller version appears at bottom*.
h *Perhaps meaning:* Postea vero vitro, sicut alia specula solent, circumdetur.
i *MS* Bylet.
j *MS* Bylet.

No. 24. For learning about any uncertain thing by gazing into a crystal (fol. 43r–v)

Si vis scire de omni re de qua dubitaueris, accipe puerum virginem et cristallum, quem laua cum vino. Deinde scribe in illo cum oleo oliue hec nomina: [43v] Hon, Hely, Sabaoth, Adonay, Hel, Hely, Heloym, Sother, Emanuel, Alpha et O, [et dic,]

> *O vos sanctissima nomina, rogo vt mittatis michi duos angelos uel tres in hunc cristallum, qui dicant michi veritatem de hiis que ego inquiram. Et rogo vos angelos vt dicatis michi veritatem quam*[a] *ego inquiram a vobis*.

Primo hec[b] dicat puer:

> *Coniuro vos in nomine Dedeon, et dij Egarias et Semisonay, et ex parte magistri mei, quod veniatis in hunc cristallum, ita quod aperte*[c] *possim videre*.

Et repete nomina superius habita donec venerint.

Et cum venerint, puer dicat nomina supradicta et coniuret eos *in nomine Dedeon et dij, etc*.; quod fiat ter. Et super sedes aureas sedeant, et cum sedeant puer dicat,

Coniuro vos in nomine Bessabes, et Hint, et Serem, et Salaboni, et Lethem, vt non recedatis ab hoc cristallo sine licencia mei magistri, qui hic presens est.

a *MS* que.
b *Or* hoc.
c *MS* apperte.

No. 25. For information about a theft by gazing into a crystal (fols 43v–44r)

Experimentum cristalli ad inveniendum furtum.

Accipias cristallum planum et lucidum, ad modum sigilli factum vel speculi, quem in cera reconde ex una parte virginea. Postea scribas in ipso cum oleo viridi hoc nomen: Honely. Postea dicas hanc coniuracionem:

Omnipotens, sempiterne deus, Domine Ihesu Christe, fili[a] *dei viui, qui lapidibus, herbis*, [*et*] *predicacionibus virtutes michi gentissimas*[b] *atque* [44r] *mirabiles contulisti*, [*et*] *lapidem istam; item*,

- *per natiuitatem sanctam tuam*,
- *ac per passionem ac gloriosam resurreccionem tuam et ascensionem*,
- *atque per hec sancta nomina tua: Adonay, Sabaoth, Hon, Ely, Eloy, Elyon, Honely, Sother, Tetragramaton, Emanuel, Alpha et O*,

consecrare [*et*] *benedicere digneris, per*[c] *tui honorem et gloria*[*m*], *qui viuis et regnas deus, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen. Agla, Otmonta, Panoneogens, Origmaria, non obstet Asya, Africa, nec Europa,*[d] *nec eius partes, quin ad nos veniatis. Fiat, fiat, fiat sine mora*.

Postquam vero apparuerint tibi in cristallo, dicas hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos angelos,

- *per deum viuum et verum*,
- *et per natiuitatem*[e] *sanctam eius*,
- *et per eius passionem,*[f]
- *et per eius resurreccionem sanctam*,
- *et per eius missionem Sancti Spiriti paracliti*,
- *et per sanctam eius aduentum*,
- *et per hec sancta nomina dei: Honay, Sabaoth, Onel, Ely, Eloym, Sother, Emanuel, vt superius dictum est*,
- *et per omnia nomina sancta dei,*

vt non recedatis ab hoc lapide quousque certificati fuerimus de omni re dubitabili de quo scire voluerimus, virtute dei omnipotentis et obediencia. Amen.

Notandum eciam est quod non debet aliquis vti hoc experimento pro re vili vel modica, sed pro causa[g] ardua, et ne eciam secundum quod dictum est alibi, 'Ne sumas nomen dei tui in vanum [Ex 19:7], nec invoces invtiliter, etc.'[h]

a *MS* filij.
b *Meaning* gratissimas?
c *Followed by* te.
d *MS* Eroupa.
e *MS* natifitatem.
f *Followed by two (?) deleted words*.
g *MS* casa.
h *Ex. 20:7 Vulg.:* Non adsumes nomen domini dei tui in vanum.

No. 26. Key of Pluto, to open all locks (fol. 44v)

Sume tibi ferrum inventum ex inprouisu, et fac tibi fieri clauem huiusmodi, factam die Veneris.[a] Et cum facta fuerit, repone eam per noctem cum sacrificio galli albi in quadruuio, dicens,

O spiritus Neyilon [*et*] *Achalas, accipite sacrificium vt nichil contra me et contra clauem istam valeat sera vbi ista clauis ponetur*.

Et fac super istam clauem antequam posueris subtus terram hanc figuram de sangwine galli albi.[b] Et dimitte ibi tribus diebus. Tercia autem nocte, ante gallicinium, accipe eam inde. Cum transieris vrbem, recipe clauem cum sinistra manu de occidente in orientem, omnesque[c] seras aperiat. Et[d] dicitur

hec[e] clauis Plutonis.

a *Figure on upper right of fol. 44v: a key, with a single tooth extending to the left and a single tooth to the right*.
b *Figure part-way down fol. 44v: a large cross, followed by* XL.
c *MS* omnia qui.
d *Deleted, but re-added in margin*.
e *Or* hoc.

No. 27-A. For obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail (fols 44v–45v)

Ad furtum inveniendum, accipe puerum virginem de legittimo thoro, hora qua vis ante meridiem, et illius vngwem de pollice sinistre manus cum cultello bene purgabis. Deinde cedulam subnotatis nominibus scriptam in eodem digito ligabis sub ungwe. Et hec sunt nomina: Egippia, Benoham, Beanke (vel Beanre), Reranressym, Alredessym, Ebemidyri, Fecolinie, Dysi, Medirini, Alhea, Heresim, Egippia, Benoham,[a] Haham, Ezirohias, Bohodi, Hohada, Anna, Hohanna, Ohereo, Metaliteps, Aregereo, Agertho, Aliberri, Halba.

Hoc facto, si puer non vi- [45r] det aliquid, etc.[b] Si autem videt, liga corrigiam ouinam, quam ad tres missas quas perfecte audiuisti tecum habuisti, supra cedulam circa digitum, dicendo hanc coniuracionem:

O vos demones, qui coram me in vngwe istius pueri apparuistis,
- *per eum qui est Alpha et O,*

vobis impero et precipio et coniuro,
- *per hec sacratissima nomina: Ely, Eloy, Messyas, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay*,
- *et per On, quod est primum nomen domini Pantoncraton,[c] Anetheten*,
- *et per alia nomina michi cognita et incognita,*

vt non habeatis potestatem recedendi cum vestris sociis donec omnino omnem meam voluntatem adimpleueritis, et sine omni mendacio et lesione alicuius. Et si hoc facere contempseritis, iubeo vos ligari sub profunditate aquarum maris, per hec duo nomina: Ioth [*et*] *Nabnoth, per que Salomon constringebat in vase vitreo demones. Coniuro vos*
- *per vij signa Salomonis*,
- *et per sigillum et sapienciam eius*,

vt non habeatis licenciam recedendi hinc donec de quacumque re

interrogauero michi dicatis et ostendatis veritatem.

Hiis dictis, si puer non dicat directe, dic in aure eius hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro te, virgo iuuenis,
- *per deum verum Basyon*,
- *et per nomen On, Berion, Sabaoth, Adonay; coniuro te*
- *per baptismum* [45v] *et castitatem tuam sacratam, qua te regenerauit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto*,

vt non habeas potestatem celandi, sed omnia que videris manifestes.

Hiis coniuracionibus ter dictis, si te expedire[d] non expediant spiritus, adde hanc coniuracionem:

Vos demones ab oriente,[e] *vos demones ab occidente, vos demones ab meridie, vos demones a septentrione, aperite nobis, Discobermath, Archidemath, Fritath, Altramat, Pestiferat, Helyberp, Hegergibet, Sathan*.

Qua coniuracione ter dicta seu repetita, clare videbit puer omnia.

Hoc eciam experimentum valet adhoc si aliquis vellet scire statum amicorum suorum, vtrum essent sani vel egri, et denunciat si essent in via vel non.

Coniuracio super corrigiam, de qua iam dictum est: Finita missa qualibet die, ter dicas hanc coniuracionem super corrigiam:

Coniuro te, Sona,
- *per hoc nomen domini: Tetragramaton*,
- *et per hoc nomen dei: Ioth*,
- *et per hoc nomen dei: Nabnoth*,
- *et per omnes virtutes et potestates herbarum et lapidum et verborum,*

vt virtutem talem recipias quod quocumque fueris ligata, ipsi spiritus non habeant potestatem recedendi quousque velle ligatoris perficiant.

Explicit primum capitulum.

Cemay edo cuscutas, feferaton, San.[f]

a *These two names, already given at the outset of the series, are here repeated.*

b *Partly blotted out*.
c Sic in *MS, for* Pantocrator?
d *Or possibly* expedite.
e *Followed by* ab occidente, *deleted*.
f *Fol. 46^{r}, following, is blank*.

No. 27-C. For obtaining information (fols 46v–47v)[a]

[...] *pueri; et*

- *per nomen principis vestri summi*,
- *per coronam capitis sui*,
- *per obedienciam quam sibi debetis,*

vt veniatis ab omnibus partibus mundi, omni occasione postposita, et in vngwe istius pueri appareatis, et nobis sine dubio et sine fallacia illud quod a vobis scire volumus veraciter manifestetis. Fiat, fiat, fiat.

Coniuro te, virgo iuuenis,

- *per*[b] *deum On, Orion, Sabaoth, Adonay,*

vt non habeas potestatem menciendi uel celandi de quocumque interrogauero; item[c] *coniuro te, virgo juuenis*,

- *per deum tuum, Alpha et O, qui est primus et nouissimus,*

vt michi veritatem dicas de hac re de qua te requiro; item coniuro te, virgo,

- *per baptismum quem*[d] *recepisti in nomine sancte et indiuidue trinitatis*,
- *per castitatem et potenciam qua te reg*[e]*nerauit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto,*

vt non habeas potenciam neque licenciam celandi uel menciendi quodcumque videris; item coniuro te, virgo iuuenis,

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum*,
- *per sanctum nomen dei Elthie*,
- *per sanctum Tetragramaton*,
- *per sancta nomina dei On, Ely, Eloy, Eloe,*

vt non habeas licenciam seu potestatem celandi[e] *quodcumque sciueris; coniuro te, virgo iuuenis*,

- *per baptismum quem accepisti de sancta credulitate, per castitatem et potenciam sacramenti qua te reg*[e]*nerauit de anima Spiritus Sancti*,

vt tam cito et sine mora, aperte et breuiter, in vngwe istius pueri veritatem [47r] *nobis ostendas, aliter, etc.*[f] *Infans, coniuro te*

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum*,
- *per nomen*[g] *dei*[h] *Elthie*,
- *per Tetragramaton*,
- *per hec nomina domini nostri Ihesu Christi: Ely, Eloy, Eloem*,
- *et per baptismum quem accepisti in nomine sancte et indiuidue trinitatis*,
- *per caritatem dei, Alpha et O, quod est principium et finis,*

vt aspicias in vngwe ita vt si deveniat clarus uel non.

Tunc interroga puerum si vngwis sit clarior quam ante. Si dicat non, lege iterum coniuracionem ab inicio, et tercia vice si necesse fuerit. Si dicit quod sit clarior, quere si videat aliquid. Si dicit quod videat hominem, faciat magister coniurare puerum illum[i] quem videt, in materna lingwa, sic:

Tu qui es coram me, coniuro te

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum*,
- *et per sanctam Mariam et eius virginitatem*,
- *per sanctum Iohannem et eius virginitatem*,
- *per sanctam Katherinam et eius virginitatem*,
- *per omnes sanctos et sanctas virgines*,
- *et per virginitatem meam*,

vt cito vadas pro rege tuo et facias eum venire coram me, ita vt ipsum possim expresse videre et intelligere.

Postea quere a puero si rex venit. Si non, coniuret iterum puer vt prius. Si venit, dicat puer regi quod descendat de equo suo et faciat afferri cathedram super quam sedeat. Tunc querat puer a rege si velit comedere. Si dicit quod non, tunc de quo volueris queras. Si dicit quod sic, dicat puer regi quod mittat pro vno ariete [47v] ad quemcumque locum voluerit et faciat ipsum excorriari et decoqui, et tunc dicat quod faciat poni mensam, et surgat et lauet manus, et sedeat ad mensam et faciat arietem poni coram se, et cito comedat. Postquam comedit, surgat et accipiat aquam et lauet manus.

Postea dicat puer regi quod remoueat coronam de capite et ponat manum dextram super caput suum et iuret per coronam suam et per ceptrum suum et per illod quod tenet sub manu sua dextra quod veraciter respondeat ad omnes questiones magistri. Deinde querat magister per puerum quidquid voluerit. Postquam satis factum questionibus magistri, detur spiritibus licencia, et puer sic dicat: ‘Ite. Pax sit inter nos et vos. Et quando magister vos vocauerit, estote parati sibi obedire in omnibus per omnia.’

Explicit secundum capitulum.[j]

a *Text continued from fol. 51r*.
b per *repeated*.
c *Followed by blot*.
d *MS* quod.

e *MS* scelandi.
f *This element of conjuration, addressed to the spirit, seems misplaced in the midst of a conjuration addressed to the boy*.
g *MS* nomina.
h *Followed by* Elith, *deleted*.
i *Followed by* quod, *blotted out*.
j *Written twice*.

No. 28. For obtaining information by gazing at a bone (fols 47v–49r)

De[a] omni re dubitabili, eciam incerta, [pro] veritate habenda, accipe spatulam arietis dextram, oleo oliue invnctam, quam ponendo super manubrium cultelli, inspiciat puer[b] virgo. Tu vero ex alia parte, tenendo candelam accensam, dicas hoc modo:

Ergarrandras, Ornis, Arbes, Cargie, Ornis, Arbas, ego in virtute domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui est Alpha et O, primus et nouissimus, inicium et finis, coniuro vos demones et advoco,

- *per eum qui dixit omnia et facta sunt*,
- *et per* [48r] *eum cui obediunt omnes creature*,
- *et per eum* [*ante*] *quem tremunt omnes exercitus angelorum, celestium et terrestrium et infernorum*,
- *et per ipsius virtutem et omnipotenciam*,
- *et per tremendum diem iudicij summi dei*,
- *et per ipsius nomina hec sancta: On, El, Ely, Eloy, Adonay, Alpha et O, Messyas, Soter, Emanuel, Pancraton, Occinomos, Tetragramaton, Agyos, Otheos, Athanatos, Yschiros, Kirios, Alleluia, Eleyson, Ymas,*[c]

quatenus sine mora visibiliter in hac spatula compareatis, ante faciem istius pueri virginis, et respondeatis et demonstretis omnem veritatem de hac re,[d] *N., nobis dubitabili*[e] *et incerta. Britonia, Bresis, Diton, Crasis, Sanete, Garbamion, libera nos famulos ab omni malo. Pater noster, etc. Item coniuro vos demones*

- *per caput et coronam principis vestri*,
- *et per vestram potestatem, vobis a summo deo datam*,
- *per anulum Salomonis, et per signa et sancta nomina in ipsis descripta*,
- *et per vij celos et per omnes angelos in ipsis dispositos*,
- *et per omnes potestates aereas*[f] *et infernales*,

quatenus cito, etc. Gospar, Dasper, Gespar, Lapir, Sparsis, Nota, Calius,[g] *Asper. Item coniuro vos demones*

- *per caput et coronam principis vestri*,
- *et per*[h] *vestram potestatem, vobis a summo deo datam*,
- *per anulos Salomonis et per signa et sancta nomina in ipsis descripta;*[i]
- *per angelos et archangelos, per thronos et dominaciones, per principatus et potestates*

[48v] [*et*] *virtutes, per cherubin et seraphin, et per omnes virtutes celorum*,

- *per celum et terram et mare et omnia que in eis sunt*,
- *per xij apostolos*,
- *per martires et confessores, virgines* [*et*] *viduas*,
- *per patriarchas et prophetas et ewangelistas*,
- *per*[j] *xxiij seniores*,
- *per cxl milia innocentum*,
- *et per omnes sanctos et electos dei qui sunt in celo et in terra,*

quatenus cito et sine mora, etc.

Tunc inquiras a puero si videat spatulam crescere et clarescere, quod si sic, tunc dicat postea hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos spiritus

- *per virtutem domini nostri Ihesu Christi*,
- *et per virginitatem sancte Marie*,
- *et per virginitatem sancte Katerine et sancte Lucie et sancte Agate et sancte Cecilie et sancte Barbare*,
- *et per virginitatem sancti Johannis ewangeliste,*[k]
- *et per caput sancti Johannis ewangeliste*,
- *et per virginitatem meam*,

vt cito in hac spatula a[*p*]*pareatis, vt vos videre possim.*

Quo spiritu viso in forma humana nigra, inquire ab ipso de tuo negocio, prout melius videris expedire, puero mediante[l] et per virginitatem[m] ipsum spiritum constringente.

Sit puer infra xij annos existens. Et post mane et in crepusculo noctis, circulum protrahendo, dicas,

Sator, arepo, tenet, opera, rotas. In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Acciones nostras, quesumus, domine, aspirando preueni et adiuuando persequere, vt cuncta nostra opera a te semper incipiant et per te cepta finiantur. Per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen. Deus, qui misisti Spiritum Sanctum super [49r] *apostolos tuos, mitte Spiritum Sanctum tuum paraclitum super istum puerum, et illumina et clarifica intellectum ipsius atque animam, vt in spiritu videre possit creaturas tuas, et nobis reuelare omnem veritatem de hac re nobis dubitabili et incerta.*

Scribantur in spatula hec sancta nomina dei: On, El, Eloy, Adonay, Alpha et O, Pancraton, Occinomos, Tetragramaton. Dum volueris eos licenciare, fac signum crucis supra spatulam, dicendo,

In nomine Patris, et Filij, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Ecce crux[n] *domini; fugite, partes aduerse; vicit leo de triba Juda, stirps Dauid. Ite in pace ad loca vnde venistis.*

Poteris eciam coniurare puerum per virginitatem vt habeat potestatem videndi spiritum et non menciendi.

Explicit.

a *Repeated in margin*.
b *Followed by* vr, *deleted*.
c Sic *in MS*.
d *Followed by* nob, *deleted*.
e *Corrected from* dubitabile.
f r *blotted out, and replaced above line*.
g *Or* Talius.
h *Followed by* virtutem, *deleted*.
i *The lines* Item coniuro vos demones … per signa et sancta nomina in ipsis descripta *are repeated verbatim*.
j *Formation is irregular, as if the scribe began writing the sign for* et *and then changed it to that for* per.
k Sic *in MS, meaning* Baptiste.
l *Initial letter blotted out*.
m *Changed in MS to (or from?)* virginitates.
n *MS* crucem.

No. 29. The true art of the basin (fol. 49r–v)

Incipit ars verissima de bacimine.

Hec nomina dices in aurem pueri virginis:

Carab, Riasteli, Careb, Basal, Mistal, Oronothel, Fabanin, Non, Va, Vatuel. Coniuro vos

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum*,
- *per*[a] *sanctam Mariam virginem*,
- *per ix ordines angelorum*,
- *per patriarchas*,
- *per prophetas* [*et*] *apostolos*,
- *per martires*,
- *per confessores*,
- *per virgines*,

vt appareatis in bacimine isto, vt veraciter huius rei veritatem nobis

ostendatis, vt non sit michi aliquod impedimentum veritatis in ista questione. Rabuel, Astena, Hytatol, cogitate facere voluntatem meam per predictas potestates.

Hec tria nomina scribentur in cedula [49v] que ponitur in bacimine dum ars fiet.

Postea dic,

Deus celi, deus terre, deus angelorum, deus archangelorum, qui es rex sanctorum omnium, patriarcharum ac prophetarum, te deprecor humili deuocione vt isti puero tribuas scienciam et intellectum, vt michi veritatem de quibus[*cumque*] *interrogauero dicat, per hec sancta nomina tua: Ely, Eloe, Sabaoth, Adonay, Elyon, On, qui viuis et regnas per infinita secula seculorum. Amen. Domine Ihesu Christe, fili*[b] *dei viui, qui ex voluntate Patris, cooperante Spiritu Sancto, per mortem tuam mundum viuificasti, illumina istius pueri cor* [*et*] *mentem, et fac vt michi veritatem de hiis que interrogauero dicat, per hec sancta nomina tua: Jesus Nazarenus, Messyas, Sother, Emanuel, Fortis, Fons, Leo, Petra, vt indicet omnia de quibus postulo veritatem.*

Explicit.

Coniuracionem facio, tu qui es Alpha et O. Coniuro vos demones,

- *per tres reges, Caspar, Balthasar, Melchior*,
- *et per tres pueros, Sydrac, Misac, Abdenago*,

vt omnes appareatis huic puero in hoc speculo uel ense, Abiniabyndo, Abyncola, Abracalos, Pyel, Thyel, Syel.

Quibus apparentibus,[c] dicet puer regi vt sedeat et mittat pro ariete, sic[ut] alias dictum est ante in secundo capitulo istius tractatus.

Postea sequatur coniuracio pueri sicut eciam ibidem dictum est.

Explicit.

a *Followed by* patriarches et prophetas, *deleted, and by a redundant* per *that is not deleted*.
b *MS* filij.
c *MS* aparantibus.

No. 30. Twelve names to make spirits appear in a boy's hand (fols 49v–50v)

Bethala, Pamelon, Anguis, Floris, Ereth,[a] Alya, Cabyona, Ely, Eloy, Sadamay, Melgry, Asmyacre, intretis in nomine domini. Karacteres isti [50r] scribendi sunt vt infra docetur: A, Q,[b] O, P, E, V.

> *In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti, signum sancte crucis sit in fronte tuo, hoc modo signet te dominus Ihesus Christus, hoc modo signet te dominus sicut signauit in Chana Galilee. In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.*

Hoc ter dicatur, qualibet vice signando frontem pueri cum pollice tuo dextre[c] manus. Hec nomina predicta xij, scilicet Bethela,[d] etc., tociens repetantur, quousque sex spiritus compareant in manu pueri. Postquam[e] comparuerint, precipiat puer eis in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti vt sedeant, et vnus eorum surgat, qui det vera responsa ex parte magistri sui.

Modus operandi idem: Accipe resinam albam quam accendes per candelam super lapidem aliquem planum sub pelui desuper aliquantulum eleuata. Postea cum penna noua colligas in pergamen[t]o aliquo uel corio albo puluerem illum adherentem pelui ex vaporacione resine predicte, et reserua quousque operari volueris. Tunc enim intinges digitum medium[f] dextre manus primo in oleo oliue, et linies inferiores quatuor articulos sinistre manus pueri masculi virginis. Deinde eundem digitum tuum intingas in puluerem prefatum,[g] et similiter lineas articulos pueri, sicut prius, et sic alternando, nunc cum oleo, nunc cum puluere, donec articuli predicti fiant sicut speculum clarum et resplendens.

Post[ea] dic verba illa duodecim supra nominata: Bethala, Pamelon, etc. Deinde cum signaueris frontem pueri et frontem tuam, si vis, dicendo, *In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti*, signum sancte crucis sit in fronte, etc., vt supra.

[50v] Cum autem predictos spiritus vis licenciare, puer dicat,

> *Precipio vobis quod recedatis, in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.*

Et iterum signare poteris frontem pueri et tuam si vis tercio, modo quo prius et verbis. Nota eciam quod in parte peluis predicte eleuata interius per circuitum cum cultello inscribendi sunt sex illi karacteres, qui supra in isto capitulo sunt nominati – scilicet A, Q,[h] etc. – antequam ipsa resina sub ipsa

pelui accenditur.
Explicit. Etc.[i]

a *Corrected in MS from* Areth.
b *MS has sign for* quod.
c *MS* dextro.
d Sic *in MS*.
e *Preceded by* Qui.
f u *misshapen, as if scribe began writing* e.
g *MS* prefato.
h *Formed as before*.
i *Remainder of fol. 50v is blank*.

No. 27-B. For obtaining information (fol. 51r)[a]

[...] *Cedon, Zephata, Eloym, Eloyay, venite et apparete in vngwe istius pueri sub forma humana, et ipsum*[b] *vngwem faciatis crescere et clarescere in tantum vt sufficiat ei ad videndum de quocumque ipsum interrogauero. Coniuro vos spiritus*,

- *per tres reges, Caspar, Baltasar, Melchior, quibus stella apparuit*,
- [*et*] *per virtutem domini nostri Ihesu Christi, vt natiuitatem suam manifestaret,*[c]

vt in vngwe istius pueri appareatis, et quod a vobis inquirere volumus nobis absque fallacia et sine dubio manifestetis. Coniuro vos spiritus qui vocati estis,

- *per tres pueros Sydrac, Misac, Abdenago,*

vt in vngwe istius pueri appareatis, nec ipsi puero timorem uel terrorem aut lesionem faciatis, et nos de omnibus que a uobis scire volumus certos faciatis. Coniuro vos spiritus qui vocati estis,

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum*,
- *et per omnipotenciam eius et virtutem*,
- *per cherubin et seraphin*,
- *per thronos et dominaciones*,
- *per principatus et potestates et virtutes*,
- *per angelos et archangelos*,
- *per patriarchas*,
- *per prophetas*,
- *per apostolos*,
- *per confessores*,
- *per martyres*,
- *per monachos*,
- *per virgines et viduas*,
- *per omnes sanctos et electos dei*,

- *per ix ordines angelorum*,
- *per sanctam Mariam matrem domini nostri Ihesu Christi*,
- *per virginitatem istius* […][d]

a *Continuation of text from fol. 45v.*
b *MS* ipsam.
c *Meaning* qua natiuitatem suam manifestauit?
d *Fol. 51v is blank; text continues on fol. 46v.*

No. 31. The Book of Consecrations (fols 52r–59v and fols 135r–139r)

Incipit prologus libri consecracionum,[a] dividens[b] ac demonstrans ad quid inventus fuerit, et quid sit eius effectus. Quicumque aliquod opus inceptum perficere voluerit vt perveniat ad effectum, prevideat sibi prius in omnibus et caueat ne in vanum operetur, et precipue in opere isto, quod pre cunctis locis aliis preciosissimum et magis laudabile atque certissimum, quod dei nominibus est consecratum et confirmatum, ne aliquis operator falli possit, si spem et fidem bonam habeat et certam in domino Ihesu Christo, a quo omnia bona procedunt, vt testatur sacra littera, qui non firmiter fideliterque crediderit, saluari non poterit.[c] Sic ergo fideliter crede[re] vnicuique operatori est necesse, ne fallatur.

Scias ergo pro certo hoc opus esse inventum propter [errorem] quorundam experimentorum remouendum, scilicet florum, vt per virtutem et invocacionem sanctorum dei nominum [et per] ineffabilem ipsius misericordiam,

[135r] Incipit prologus libri consecracionum dicens aut [demonstrans] ad quod inventus sint et quid sint eius[a] effectus. Quicumque enim aliquot opus inceptum et finire voluerit ut preueniat ad effectum, prouideat sibi primo que sibi[b] necessaria sunt, ne in vanum operetur, et precipue in opere isto[c] quod pre cunctis alijs magistris[d] est laudabile atque certissimum, quod sacris nominibus est consecratum ac confirmatum, ne aliquis operare possit falli, si spem et fidem firmam habeat i domino Ihesu Christo, a quo omnia bona procedunt, sicut sacra scriptura dicit, qui firmiter et fideliter non crediderit, saluus esse non poterit. Si[c ergo credere vnicuique operatori necesse est, ut non fallatur.

Scias ergo pro certo quod opus est inventum propter errorem quorundam experimentorum remouendum, ut per virtutem et invocacionem sanctorum nominum dei et per ineffabilem ipsius misericordiam, veritatem[g] atque

virtutem et potestatem efficaciter obtineant quem debeant obtinere, sicut inferius declarabitur. Quando aliquod experimentum virtutem et potestatem suam sana[d] amisit tali modo sicut postea declarabitur potest recuperari.

Nota quod multi sunt qui multa et magna querunt et multa eciam scripta habent et credunt de die in [52v] diem ad effectum pervenire, sed nunquam pervenient. Et sic se ipsos decipiunt, et opera sua amittunt, et melius valet virtus vnius verbi istorum quam pondus auri. Vnde dicitur, 'Melius est sciencia quam secularis potencia.'[e] Sic ista sciencia preualet omnibus aliis, quia omnia alia vera experimenta sunt corrupta, quorum quedam sunt ficta et sic omnia pene falsa.

Hiis igitur diligenter prenotatis, ad nostrum propositum recurras, et videamus quando et qualiter[f] exorcista siue operator habere debeat, et quid ei sit vtile ad operandum, ne fallatur.

In primis, quicumque hoc opus sit facturus ad quod vocatur liber consecracionum, ab omni pollucione mentis et corporis se debet abstinere in cibo [et] potu, in verbis ociosis siue inmoderatis, et sit mundis indutus[g] vestibus, nouem diebus ante opus inceptum, et debet audire in qualibet missam vnam, et librum istum secum deferre et pone super[h] altari donec missa finiatur quolibet die, quousque transacti fuerint omnia,[i] et hec devotissime faciat, cum oracionibus et

potestatem efficaciter obtineant quod optinere debea[n]t, sicut inferius declarabitur. Cum igitur hoc experimentum virtutem ac potenciam suam amiserit, tali modo sicud postea docebitur recuperari poterit.

Nota. Multi sunt querentes magna scripta, et credunt de die in diem peruenire ad effectum, et non perueniunt. Sed se ipsos sic decipiunt, quod tempora[f] sua amittunt, et melius est scire virtutem vnius verbi quam pondus[g] auri, vnde dicitur, 'Melius est sciencia quam secularis[h] potencia.' Sic ista sciencia plus valet omnibus sciencijs, que omnia experimenta sunt victa et corrupta, et sic pene omnia vniuersa.

Hijs igitur diligenter prenominatis prenotatis ad imum recordamus ipso situm volentes quando operari et qualiter exorcista se habere debeat, et quit[i] sit ei vtile ne fallatur.

In primis, igitur, quicumque hoc opus sit facturus, quod vocatur liber consecracionum, ab omni pollucione mentis et corporis debet se abstinere, i cibo et in potu atque verbis ociosis, sit moderatus et sit mundis vestibus indutus ix diebus antequam[j] opus incipiatur, et debet audire qualibet die vnam missam [135v] et istum librum ferre secum et ponere in altari quousqu missa finiatur, et hoc deuotissime faciat, cum oracionibus et ieiunijs, sicu scriptum est, 'Per ieiunia et oraciones

ieiuniis, quia sicut scriptum est, per ieiunium et oraciones occulta ministeriorum celestium reuelatorque diuini sacramenti archana pendunt.[j] Et cottidie post missam librum portabis domi. Et habeas locum secretum [53r] ab omnibus absconditum, ne aliquis sit presens operi suo,[k] et prius aspergat locum aqua benedicta vbi librum istum[l] ponet, et cum cingulo sacerdotali et stola dedicata liget eum in modum crucis circumquaque, et flexis genibus versus orientem, dicat vij psalmos cum letania et oracionem sequentem antequam liber aperiatur. Et supra[m] librum predictum debet aperire cum humili deuocione et toto cordis[n] affectu, vt omnipotens deus misericordia et bonitate sua sanctificet ac benedicat et consecret istum librum sanctissimis nominibus suis insignitum, vt virtutem quam obtinere debeat potenter obtineat, vt valeat ad consecrandum vinculum spirituum et ad omnes invocaciones et coniuraciones ipsorum, et sic omnia alia experimenta.

Similiter nota hunc librum non valere habenti nisi ab ipso denuo consecretur.

Letania autem finita, aperi et dic hanc oracionem humiliter et animo perfecto et mente sincera.

occulta misteriorum celestium reuelantur, archana diuine sacramenta pandantur.' Et cottidie post missam portatur librum domu et habeat locum secretum,[k] ab omnibus inquinamentis mundum, nec aliquis sit presens huic operi, et aspergat locum aqua benedicta, scilicet vbi ponat librum et eum cingulo sacerdotis et stola benedicta liget[l] librum in modum cruc circumquaque, et flexis genibus ponat librum versus Orientem, dicens vij psalmos cum oracione longa et letaniam, sanctificet et benedicat et consecret istum librum suis sanctis nominibus insignitum, cum omni deuocione ac toto cordis affectu, et deus omnipotens sua bonitate ac misericordia sanctificet hunc librum, benedicat, et[m] consecraret suis sanctissimis nominibus[n] insignitum ut virtutem quem obtinere debeat videlic ad consecrandum vinculatum spiritum valens ad omnes invocaciones et coniuraciones ipsorum et ad omnia[p] al experimenta.

Item nota. Quicumque polluit hunc librum sciat eum vltra non valere nisi[q] ab ipso de nouo consecretur,[r] tunc oracione et letania viuificat librum.

Aperiat et dicat hanc oracionem humili corde et anima deuota, tunc incipe sicut sequitur:

Oracio. *Deus meus, miserere*[o] *mei et parce malis meis. Sana animam meam, quia peccaui tibi. Non obneges michi umquam que pluribus aliis contulisti. Exaudi, deus, oracionem famuli tui, N., et*[p] *quacumque die* [53v] *invocauero te exaudi me velociter, sicut exaudisti sanctam Mariam matrem tuam. Suscipe, domine, clamorem*[q] *confitentis. Audi*[r] *vocem precantis, per merita beatissime Marie wirginis matris tue atque omnium sanctorum tuorum, vt oraciones et preces perveniant ad aures pietatis tue, quas ego pro hoc libro consecracionum effundo coram te in hac hora, vt per tua sanctissima nomina que in ipso continentur sit consecratus et confirmatus a quocumque voluero, prestante domino nostro Ihesu Christo, qui viuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.*

Deus meus, miserere mei et parce malis meis, sana animam meam, quia peccaui tibi. Non abneges vni quod pluribus contulisti. Exaudi, deus, oracionem meam, famuli tui N., et[s] *in quacumque die invocauero te, velocite exaudi me, sicut exaudisti Mariam matrem tuam. Suscipe, domine, clamorem confitentis anime. Exaudi, domine, vocem deprecantis, per merita et oraciones beatissime virginis*[t] *Maric matris tue, atque omnium sanctorum, oraciones et preces mee ad aures tue pietatis, quas ego pro*[u] *hoc libro consecracionum effundo coram te in hac hora, per tua sanctissima nomina, que in hoc libro continentur, sit consecratus et confirmatus, ad quodcumque voluero, prestante domin nostro Ihesu Christo, qui viuit et regna in secula seculorum.*

Oracio. *Domine Ihesu Christe, per ineffabilem misericordiam tuam, parce michi seu miserere mei et exaudi nunc per invocacionem nominis tui, scilicet Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti, vt accepta habeas et tibi placeant verba et oraciones oris mei, per invocaciones sanctorum tuorum nominum in hoc libro descriptorum. Humiliter et fideliter, deprecantissime, licet ego indignus, cum in te confidens vt sanctifices et benedicas librum istum sanctis nominibus tuis insignitum et consecres istum, vt per hec nomina tua sanctissima – On, Ihesus, Christus,*

[136r] *Domine Ihesu Christe, per ineffabilem misericordiam tuam, parce michi et miserere mei. Exaudi me nunc per inuocacionem nominis tui trini, scilicet Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, ut accepta habeas et placea*[n]*t tibi verba oracionis mee, pe inuocacionem sanctorum nominum tuorum in hoc libro scriptorum. Humiliter et fideliter deprecans, licet ego indignus peccator, tamen in te confidens, ut sanctifices ac benedicas*[v] *librum istum tuis sanctis nominibus insignitum, et consecres per hec sanctissima nomina tua, scilicet On,*

Alpha et O, El, Eloy, Eloyye, Sithothith,[s] *Eon, Sepmelamaton, Ezelpha-*[54r] *tes,*[t] *Tetragramaton, Elyoram, Ryon, Deseryon, Erystion, Ysyornus, Onela, Baysyn, Moyn, Messyas, Sother,*[u] *Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay – et per omnia secreta nomina tua que in hoc libro continentur, quatenus virtute, sanctitate, ac potestate eorundem nominum sit liber iste consecratus ✠ et benedictus ✠ et confirmatus ✠ per virtutem sacramenti corporis et sangwinis tui, vt virtutem quam liber iste debet obtinere efficaciter, sine aliqua fallacia, veraciter obtineat, ad consecrandum vinculum spirituum et ad consecrandum omnia experimenta corrupta, et perfectam virtutem et potestatem habeant ad quam sunt constituta, prestante domino Ihesu Christo, qui sedet in altissimis, cuius*[v] *honor et gloria per infinita secula seculorum. Amen, amen, amen, amen, amen.*

Bene✠dicat te Pater. Bene✠dicat te Filius. Bene✠dicat te Spiritus Sanctus. Amen. Sancta Maria, mater domini nostri Ihesu Christi, te bene✠dicat et sanctificet, vt virtutem sacramenti in te obtineas quam obtinere debeas. Bene✠dicant te omnes sancte virgines. Bene✠dicant te hodie et omni tempore sancti et electi dei. Omnes virtutes celestes te bene✠dicant et confirment, omnes angeli et archangeli, virtutes et potestates, principatus, throni et [54v] *dominaciones, cherubin et seraphin, et Ihesus Christus, Alpha et O, El, Ely, Eloye, On, Otheon, Stimlamathon,*[w] *Ezelphares, Tetragramaton, Elyoraz,*[x] *Eygiraem,*[y] *Vsirion, Oristion,*[z] *Orona, Anellabiassim, Noyn, Messias, Cother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, et per omnia nomina secreta que in hoc libro continentur, quatenus sanctitate,*[b] *virtute, ac potestate eorundem nominum tuorum*, [*per*] *virtutem et potestatem tuam diuinam, sit iste liber consecratus ✠ benedictus ✠ sanctificatus ✠ et confirmatus, per virtutem corporis et sangwinis tui, ut virtutem quam debet obtinere obtineat efficaciter, sine aliqua fallacia, ad consecrandum*[c] *vinculatum spiritum,*[d] *ad consecranda omnia experimenta corrupta, ut perfectam virtutem habeant ad ea ad que ipsa sunt constituta, prestante domino, qui sedet in altissimis. Tui est honor et gloria per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.*

Oracio. *Benedicat te Pater, benedicat te Filius, benedicat te Spiritus Sanctus. Sancta Maria, mater domini nostri Ihesu Christi, benedicat et sanctificet te, ut virtutem sacramenti obtinere debeas quam obtinere debes. Benedicant te omnes sancte virgines. Benedicant te hodie et in omni tempore omnes sancti et electi dei, omnes virtutes celestes, te benedicant et confirmant omnes angeli et archangeli principatus, virtutes, potestates, troni, et dominaciones, cherubin et seraphin*

ex auctoritate et licencia dei te bene✠dicant, per merita et oraciones et invocaciones omnium sanctorum tuorum.

Oracio. *Domine Ihesu Christe, bene✠dicas et sanctifices librum istum, et confirmes per omnipotenciam tuam, vt virtutem et potestatem obtineat ad quam institutus est et confirmatus, prestante domino Ihesu Christo, cuius regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in secula seculorum. Amen.*

Et sic in dei virtute confisus ad librum consecracionum accedas securus, et invenies quod optas. Hoc facto per ix dies, erit liber consecratus, et quocienscumque aliud consecrare volueris, incipias primam oracionem legere, scilicet *Deus invisibilis*, cum reliquis sequentibus, et[w] in vtroque tuum Confiteor debes dicere, et aqua benedicta respergi, et signum sancte crucis fronti tuo inpone, vt deus infundat graciam[x] Spiritus Sancti ad opus tuum perficiendum.

Et sic vtere hoc exemplar et non fallaris. Et caue prudenter ne in manibus insipientium hoc magnum secretum deveniat, quod a sapientissimis phisichis est mag[n]is et sanctis dei nominibus consecratum.

Et si alicui experimento deficit documentum ante consecracionem, [55r] habeas istud preparatum, et sic cum documentis docens debes experimenta tua consecrare, et ponas

ex auctoritate et licencia[e] dei te benedicant, per merita et oraciones ac inuocaciones omnium sanctorum tuorum. Domine Ihesu Christe, benedi consecra, [136v] *et sanctifica librum istum, et confirma per omnem potenciam tuam, ut virtutem et potestatem optineat[f] ad quam constitutus et confirmatus est, prestani domino nostro Ihesu Christo, cuius regnum et imperium permanet sine fin in secula seculorum. Amen.*

Et sic in dei virtute[g] confisus, ac tute ad librum consecracionum acceda et inuenies quod hoc facto per ix dies, erit consecratus, et quociescumque aliquid consecrare volueris, incipe primam oracionem legere, scilicet ‘Deus inuisibilis,’ cum tribus reliquis subsequentibus, et inter utrumque debe dicere tuum Confiteor, et aqua benedicta te aspergere, et signum cruc in fronti tuo pone, ut deus infundat graciam Sancti Spiritus, ad opus tuum perficiendum.

Et vtere hoc exemplari, et non fallaris.[h] Et caue diligenter ne hoc magnum secretum in manus insipiencium deueniat, quod sapientissimis et paratissimis philosophis fuit absconditum, et nominibus dei sanctis insignitum.

Item si alicui experimento deerit documentum ante consecracionem, habeas illud in prompto et hijs[i] debes tua experimenta consecrare et ponas vnum uel plura circa te et dic primo et

vnum uel plura coram te, et dic primo et principaliter tuum Confiteor, et postmodum versus istos: *Ne derelinquas me, domine deus meus, ne disceseris a me. Intende in adiutorium meum, domine deus salutis mee* [Ps 37:22–23 Vulg.]. *Fiat misericordia tua, domine, super nos, quemadmodum spera[ui]mus in te* [Ps 32:22 Vulg.]. *In te, domine, speraui; non confundar in eternum.* [Ps 70:1 Vulg.]. *Intret in conspectu tuo oracio mea.*

Inclina aurem tuam ad preces nostras [cf. Ps 87:3 Vulg.]. *Domine, exaudi oracionem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat* [Ps 101:2 Vulg.].

Oracio. *Deus invisibilis, deus inestimabilis, deus incorruptibilis, deus piissime, deus excelse, deus gloriose, deus inmense, deus tocius misericordie, ego, licet indignus et plenus iniquitate, dolo, et malicia, suppliciter ad tuam venio misericordiam, orans et deprecans vt non respicias ad vniuersa et innumerabilia peccata mea, sed sicut consueuisti peccatori miserere*[y] *et preces humilium exaudire, ita quod me famulum tuum, N., licet indignum, exaudire digneris clamantem ad te, quod hoc experimento sanctissimis nominibus insignito vt virtutem quam obtinere debeat potenter obtineat, sed adereas*[z] *potestates et infernales principes, quod hanc [55v] oracionem consecratam mirabiliter constringant vt cum voluerit humano voluntati*

principaliter tuum Confiteor, etc., *Ne derelinquas me*, [*domine*] *deus meus, n discesseris a me. Intende in adiutoriun meum, domine deus salutis mee* [Ps 37:22–23 Vulg.]. *Fiat misericordia tuc domine, super me, quemadmodum speraui* [*in*] *te* [cf. Ps 32:22 Vulg.]. *In te, domine, speraui, non confundar in eternum. In iusticia tua libera me et eripe me* [Ps 70:1–2 Vulg.]. *Intret in conspectu tuo oracio mea. Inclina aurem tuam ad precem meam* [Ps 87:3 Vulg.]. *Domine, exaudi oracionem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat* [Ps 101:2 Vulg.].

Oracio. *Deus inuisibilis, deus inestimabilis, deus ineffabilis, deus incommutabilis, deus incorruptibilis, deus pijssime, deus dilectissime, deus potentissime, deus fortissime, deus summe, deus gloriose, deus immense, deus totius misericordie, ego licet indignus et plenus iniquitate, dolo, et malicia, suplex*[i] *ad tuam venio misericordiam*, [137r] *orans et deprecans ne despicias ad uniuersa et innumerabilia peccata mea sed sicut consweuisti peccatorum misereri et preces humilium exaudire, ite me famulum tuum, N., licet indignum, exaudire digneris, clamantem ad te pr hoc experimento tuis sanctissimis nominibus insignito, ut virtutem quam obtinere debeat potenter obtineat, scilicet aereas potestates et insanabile*

obediant, et cum exorcista voluerit in unum omnes congregare, et cum voluerit dispergat, et per sanctissimum nomen tuum quod scribitur 4or litteris, loth, hoth, vel hec, vel A G L A, g, e, he, van, quo audito[a] *mare regreditur, aer commutatur,*[b] *vel N. concitatur,*[c] *terra tremit, ignis extingwitur, omnisque celestis exercitus, terrenus et infernalis, tremit et turbatur, et per hec sanctissima nomina tua – On, Alpha et O, Principium et Finis, E, El, Ely, Elyo, Eloe, Elyon, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Egge, Yaya, Eeye – consecratur hoc experimentum, eo potestate, cuius*[d] *honor et gloria* [*per*] *infinita seculorum secula. Amen.*

Si autem quodcumque experimentum consecrare volueris quod pertinet ad invocaciones spirituum, tunc dicere debes: *Me*[e] *exaudire digneris, clamantem ad te, quod hoc experimento*[f] *vt virtutem quam obtinere debeat potenter obtineat, per sanctissimum nomen tuum quod scribitur*, et sic in qualibet consecracionem, vt supra dictum est. Finita oracione, procede vlterius:

Deus, vniuersi conditor orbis, qui celum super altitudinem nubum extendisti et terram in sua stabilitate principes, per hanc oracionem consecratam, humiliter et mirabiliter constringat, vt velint vel nolint human voluntati obediant. Et cum exorcista voluerit, eos omnes in vnum congreget,[m] *et cum voluerit eos dispergat.*[n]

Oracio. *O summe deus, per sanctissimum nomen tuum quod scribitur per quatuor litteras,*[o] *scilicet ioth, varo, hee, thet, quo audito mare retrogreditur, aer commutatur et concitatur, terra*[p] *timet, ignis extingwitur, omnisque exercitus terrenus et infernalis tremet* [*et*] *turbatur, et hec sanctissima nomina tu On, Alpha et O, Principium et finis, El Ely, Eloy, Eloy, Elyon, Sother, Emanue Sabaoth, Adonay, Eggie, Ye, Ye, Ya, Ya consecretur hoc experimentum, prestante illo cui est laus, honor, et gloria per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.*

Rubrica. Si autem aliquis aliud experimentum consecrare voluerit, quod non pertinet ad consecracionum spiritum,[q] tunc debes dicere quater, *Me exaudire digneris clamantem ad te, ut hoc experimentum virtutem obtineat quam obtinere debet potenter, per sanctissimum nomen tuum quod scribitur per iiij litteras, scilicet Ioth, Varo, Hee, Teth, etc.*

Oracio. *Deus, vniuersi orbis conditor et redemptor, qui celum super altitudinem nubium extendisti et terra*

super aquas fundasti, [56r] *et mari terminum suum quem preteriri non poterit* [Ps 109:9 Vulg.] *tribuisti; qui solem et lunam et stellas in summo aere collocasti; qui omnia in sapiencia fecisti* [Ps 103:24 Vulg.]; *qui*[g] *vij*[*a*][h] *die hominem ad ymaginem plasmasti tuam et de spiritu tuo in eum inspirasti; quem*[i] *eciam cum Euam propter preua*[*r*]*icacionem eiecisti; qui genus humanum in aqua diluuij perdidisti; qui Noe et eos qui cum eo erant in archa saluasti; qui Abrahe sub triplici persona ad radicem manibus*[j] *apparuisti; qui Loth de submersione Sodome et Gomorre liberasti; qui Moysi in medio rubi in flamma ignis locutus fuisti; qui populum tuum de captiuitate Egyptorum deduxisti et ei per medium*[k] *maris viam aperuisti;*[l] *qui legem Moysi in Monte Synay dedisti; qui de petra aquas exire fecisti; qui Danielem de lacu leonum rapuisti;*[m] *qui tres pueros de camino ardenti, scilicet Sydrach, Mysaac, Abdenago, illesos abire fecisti; qui Susannam in te confidentem de falso crimine liberasti;* [*et qui*] *Yonam de ventre ceti saluasti, per hec et alia multa miracula que fecisti, exaudi propicius, pie Ihesu, oracionem famuli tui, N., et da huic experimento virtutem et potestatem super malignos spiritus, ad congregandum ipsos et ligandum et sol-* [56v] *uendum et maledicendum et in profundum abyssi*[n] *proiciendum si non obseruauerunt mandata exorciste, qui*

in stabilitate sua super aquas fundasti, et mari terminum quem preterire non potest tribuisti [cf. Ps 103:5, 9, Vulg.], *et solem et lunam ac stellas in celo collocasti; qui omnia in sapiencia fecisti* [Ps 103:24 Vulg.]; *qui vja die hominem ad ymaginem ac similitudinem tuam formasti et ei spiraculum vite inspirasti*, [137v] *quer vna cum Eua propter preuaricacionem de Paradiso eiecisti; qui genus humanum aquis diluuij saluasti; qui Abraham sub triplici persona ad Iheer Mambre aparuisti; qui Loth de submersione Sodome et Gomorre liberasti; qui Moysi in medio rubi in flamma ignis apparuisti et ei locutus fuisti; qui populum tuum per manum Moysi et Aaron de captiuitate Egiptiac eduxisti et eos per medium Maris Rubi viam fecisti; qui Moysi legem in Monte Sinay dedisti; qui aquas de petra Oreb exire fecisti; qui aquas amaras in Amarat per inmissionem ligni in dulcorem conuertisti; qui solem et lunam per inuocacionem Iosue stare fecisti; qui flumen Iordanis in ingressu filiorum Israhel diuidisti; qui Danieler de lacu leonum eripuisti; qui tres pueros, scilicet Sidrach, Misach, et Abdenago, de igne* [*camini*] *ardentis abire illesos fecisti; qui Susannam in t confidentem de falso crimine liberasti, qui Ionam de uentre ceti saluasti – per hec et alia multa mirabilia que fecisti, exaudi, pie Ihesu Christe, oracionem famuli tui N., et da huic experimento*

es sanctus et benedictus, et regnas per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Oracio. *O gloriose Adonay, per quem creantur omnia et hec regenerantur et constituunt*[*ur*]*, adesto propicius invocacionibus meis, et clementer presta vt hoc experimentum perfecte virtutem obtineat ad cogendum malignos spiritus, velint*[o] *humiliter obediant et eius mandatum impleant, te iuuante et iubente, qui sedes in altissimis et cuncta custodis, etc. Honor sit et potestas per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.*

On pie, On iuste, Adonay sanctissime, qui es fons misericordie et pietatis, origo, rex regum, et dominus dominancium, qui sedes in magestate tua, intuens profundum abyssi, omnia cernens, omnia regens, omnia continens, et virtute tua moderaris,[p] *qui hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem tuam de limo terre formasti, vt in terra sicut in celo lauderis et glorificeris, vnde omnis terra adoret te et psallat tibi, et ego, licet indignus, psalmum dicam nomini tuo. Vnde piissime et misericordissime magestatem tuam imploro et cum humili deuocione potestatem et virtutem super malignos spiritus, ad ipsos*[s] *congregandum, ligandum, soluendum, et maledicendum, et in profundum abissi proiciendum si non seruant precepta e si non obediant mandatis exorciste, prestante domino, qui est sanctus et benedictus, regnans in secula seculorum. Amen.*

Gloriose Adonay, per quem creantur et generantur omnia, et que[t] *subsistunt vniuersa, adesto propicius invocacionibus meis, et clementer mic presta ut hoc experimentum perfectam virtutem obtineat ad subiugandum malignos spiritus, vtrum velint vel nolint, semper exorciste obediant humiliter atque mandata eius implean adiuuante et iubente qui sedet in altissimis et cuncta custodit, et cui est laus et honor per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.*

[138r] *On pie, on iuste, Adonay sanctissime, qui es fons misericordie e pietatis, origo, rex regum et dominus dominancium, qui sedes in maiestate tua intuens in profundum abissi, omni regens, omnia cernens, omnia contuen omnia gubernans, omnia tua virtute moderans, qui hominem de limo terre ad ymaginem et similitudinem tuam formasti, ut in terra sicut in celo glorificeris et lauderis, quia omnis terra adoret te et psallat tibi, et ego licet indignus peccator psallam tibi ac psalmum*[u] *dicam nomini tuo, pijssime*

expostulo suppliciter vt in virtute tua et gracia dono tuo consecrantur et confirmantur omnes consecraciones, coniuraciones, et invocaciones que in hoc libro continentur, vt virtutem [57r] *et efficaciam ad quam institute*[q] *sunt potenter obtineant et potestatem exorciste super malignos spiritus perfecte tribuant cum invocati et exorcisati fuerint statim ex omni parte conueniant et responsa certa et vera reddant*[r] *et mandata exorcistarum perficiant, illo prestante cui laus et potestas, qui per omnia regnat et imperat, per omnia secula* [*secul*]*orum. Amen.*

Oracio. *Adonay, Meloth, Adonay, Ioiloth, Exclaui, Azeth, Adonay, in quo cuncta creata sunt et sanctificata*, [*per*] *misericordiam tuam et ineffabilem karitatem tuam, per hec sanctissima nomina invoco te, vt N.,*[s] *michi postulanti, licet indigno famulo tuo, N., auxilium gracie tue prestare digneris super has consecraciones [et] invocaciones tuis sanctissimis nominibus insignitas, que in hoc libro continentur:*[t] *On, El, Eloe, Adonay, Sadoy, Alpha et O, Ya, He,*[u] *Yhe, Aseroye, Esyon, Prearraton, Tetragramaton, Ezelphares, Otaizomos, Onoyteon, Stimulacio, On, Ely, Araz, Messyas, Sother, Emanuel, Saboath, Panttra,*[v] *Pramelius,*[w] *Principium, Primogenitus, Sapiencia, Virtus, Grabaton,*[x] *Osanna, Sol, Splendor, Gloria, Lux, Panis, Fons, Vitis, Mens, misericordissime deus, maiestatem tuam suppliciter exoro et cum humili deuocione tuam immensam sanctitate imploro et expostulo, ut in uirtute tua dona gracie tue consecrantur et confirmantur oraciones et consecraciones, coniuraciones, et inuocaciones que in hoc libro continentur, ut virtutem et efficaciam quam instituta sunt potenter obtineant et potestatem super malignos spiritus exorcisare perfecte tribuant, et cum exorcisati et inuocati fuerint, statim ex omni parte conueniant et responsa veritatis reddant et mandata exorciste perficiant, prestante illo cui est laus et potestas, qui regnat* [*et*] *imperat per eterna secula seculorum. Amen.*

Adonay, Meloth, Adonay, Naioloth Leolam, Naoch, Adonay, per quem cuncta creata et significata sunt, [*per*] *misericordias tuas et ineffabilem potestatem tuam, per sanctissima nomina tua te inuoco, ut michi postulanti licet indigno famulo tuo, N., auxilium gracie tue prestare digneris super has oraciones et invocaciones tuis sanctissimis nominibus insignitas, que in hoc libro continentur, On, El, Eloe, Adonay, Saday, Alpha et O, Ye, Ye, Aserie, Vsion, Pantrathon,*[w] *Tetragramaton, Acomiamos, Occinomos, Onoydeon,*[x] *On, Elioram, Messias, Sother, Stimulamaton, Emanuel*, [138v] *Sabaoth, Pantrather, Premelus,*[z] *Principium et finis, Primogenitus, Sapiencia, Virtus,*

Hostium, Ianua, Petra, Lapis, Os, Verbum, Salus, Angelus, Sponsus, Sacerdos, Philosophia, Mediator, Agnus, Ouis, Vitulus, Serpens, Aries, Leo, Vermis, Athanatos, Kyrios, Ayos, Theos. Per hec nomina sanctissima, et per alia que [57v] *nominare non licet, te suppliciter expostulo vt oracionibus, consecracionibus, atque invocacionibus istis, que continentur in hoc libro, virtutem et potestatem tribuas, per virtutem tuam diuinam, ad consecrandum*[y] *omnia experimenta et invocaciones demonium, vt vbicumque maligni spiritus in virtute tuorum nominum fuerint advocati et exorcizati, statim* [*ex*] *omni parte conveniant et exorcizatoris voluntatem adimpleant,*[z] *nichil nocentes, neque timorem inferentes, sed pocius obedientes et ministrantes ad tua districta*[a] *virtute mandata perficientes. Fiat. Fiat. Amen.*

Notandum: si denuo aliquod[b] experimentum componere volueris, ad placitum inpone ei documentum et consecra ipsum sicut prius dictum est, et cum est consecratum pervenit ad effectum.

Oracio. *Omnipotens, sempiterne deus, qui in principio omnia creasti ex nichilo; cui obediunt omnes creature; cui omne genus flectitur, celestium, terrestrium, et infernorum; quem timent angeli et archangeli, dominaciones, Hrabathon,*[a] *Osanna, Sol, Splendor, Gloria, Lux, Panis, Fons, Vitis, Mons, Hostium, Ianua, Petra, lapis, Os, Verbum, Salus, Angelus, Sacerdos, Pastor, Propheta, Mediator, Agnus, Ouis, Vitulus, Serpens, Aries, Leo, Vermis, Athanathos,*[b] *Kirios, Ayos, Otheos – per hec sanctissima nomina tua et per omnia que nominare non licet, suppliciter expostulo vt*[c] *oracionibus et consecracionibus istis, scilicet in hoc libro contentis, virtutem et potestatem tribuas ut per virtutem diuinam ad consecrandum*[d] *omnia experimenta et* [*in*]*vocaciones*[e] *demonium vt*[f] *vbicumque maligni spiritus in uirtute tuorum nominum invocati fuerint et exorcisati, statim ex omni parte conueniant et voluntatem*[g] *exorciste diligenter adimpleant, nichil ei nocentes nec terrorem ei inferentes, sed pocius ei ministrantes et*[h] *obedientes, per tremendum iudicium tuum et omnia mandata exorciste perficiant. Amen.*

potestates, adorant et tremunt; qui manu claudis omnia; [*qui*] *Adam et Euam ad similitudinem* [*tuam*] *formasti et angelos tuos incredulos per superbiam eorum in profundum Thartari eiecisti, te rogo, te peto, clementissime pater omnipotens, et sic obsecro, per Ihesum Christum filium tuum, in cuius potestate sunt omnia, qui sedes*[c] *ad dexteram Patris omnipotentis, iudicaturus viuos et mortuos, tu qui es Alpha et O, primus* [58r] *et novissimus, rex regum, dominus dominancium, Joth, Agla, Nabuoth, El, Elyel, Enay, Enacuel, Ananyel, Aniazyel, Sodamel, Agyten, Colymas, Elyas, Schyros,*[d] *Athanathos,*[e] *Ymas, Ely, Messyas.*

- *Per hec tua sancta nomina*,
- *et per alia tua nomina aduoco te et obsecro te*,
- *per natiuitatem domini nostri Ihesu Christi*,
- *per puerum baiulantem,*[f]
- *per baptismum tuum*,
- *per passionem tuam*,
- *per resurrexionem*[g] *tuam*,
- *per spiritum paraclitum tuum*,
- *per amaritudinem anime tue quando exiuit de corpore*,
- *et per v wulnera tua*,
- *per mortem tuam*,
- *et per sangwinem et aquam que exiuerunt de corpore tuo*,
- *per misericordiam et omnipotenciam et virtutem ineffabilem tuam*,
- *per sacramentum quod discipulis tuis dedisti pridie quam passus fuisti*,
- *per sanctam trinitatem et indiuiduam*,
- *per beatam Mariam, matrem tuam*,
- *per angelos et archangelos*

tuos,

- *per omnes sanctos et sanctas tuas*,
- *per omnia sacra misteria et beneficia que sunt in honore tuo*,
- *per sanctissima nomina, cognita et incognita*,

adoro te et invoco, obsecro te et benedico te et rogo te, vt accepta habeas omnes coniuraciones et verba oris mei quibus vti. Peto, des virtutem et potestatem super angelos tuos qui de celo eiecti sunt, ad decipiendum genus eorum et loquelam eorum contrahendum, ad constringendum, ad soluendum, ad ligandum, ad cogendum[h] *eos coram te, ad precipiendum, ad omnia que sunt eis* [58v] *possibilia, et verba mea et vocem meam vllo modo acceptent et me timeant. Per humilitatem et misericordiam et graciam tuam deprecor et peto te, Athon, Onay, Anay, Anathon, Vegeido, Ya, Yayay, El, Blemutum, Vsyon, Vsy, Elyas*,

- *per omnia nomina tua*,
- *per sanctos et sanctas*,
- *per archangelos, angelos, potestates, dominaciones, virtutes*,
- *et per nomen*[i] *per quod Solomon astringebat dyabolos et conclusit eos, Shoeth, Hebatit, Het, Agla, Jocht, Othot, Vanecht, Nabuthi*,
- *et per omnia sacra nomina tua que scripta sunt in hoc libro*,
- *et per virtutem eorundem,*

quatenus michi compareant et michi respondere de omnibus permittas que queram, sine lesione corporis et anime mee, per dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, filium tuum, qui tecum vivit,

etc.

Oracio. *Pater de celis deus, unus in substancia, trinus in personis, qui Adam et Euam et plurimos*[j] *peccare permisisti, et filium tuum vnigenitum pro eorum peccatis crucifigi et mori voluisti, clementissime igitur pater, te rogo et peto supplex metis*[k] *omnibus quibus possum,*[l] *per Alpha et O, Christum filium tuum,*[m] *vt me congregare et me adunare quosdam angelos tuos incredulos permittas, qui michi hanc*[n] *potestatem alloquendi et faciendi, quod volo et desidero, et hoc*[o] *sine lesione al*[*i*]*qua vel alicuius nocumento. Et per virtutem lapidum, harbarum, et verborum, et nominum tuorum, michi des potestatem soluendi et ligandi demones, verbis meis et auxilio tuo. Quod michi concedas per innumerabilem virtutem et omnipotenciam tuam. Amen.*

Pater de celis, vnus in substancia,[i] *trinus in personis, qui Adam et Euam* [illegible] *pomum*[j] *peccare permisisti, et tuum vnigenitum filium pro eorum peccatis cruci et morti*[k] *tradidisti, clementissim pater, te igitur rogo et peto ac suppliciter*[l] *per omnia nomina tua quibus possum, per Alpha et O, per Ihesum Christum*[m] *filium tuum, ut me, famulum tuum, N., facias congregare, adiurare angelos siue spiritus qui habent potestatem michi loqui et facer que volo ac desidero, sine lesione et nocumento corporis et anime mee et omnium viuencium, precipue qui dedis potestatem et uirtutem herbis, lapidibus, verbis, per uirtutem omniun herbarum, lapidum, et verborum, et precipue sanctissima nomina tua*[n] *concede potestatem ligandi* [*et*] *soluendi demones verbis meis et auxili tuo. Hoc michi concedas per mirabile uirtutem et omnem potenciam tuam. Amen.*

[59r] **Oracio.** *O summa et eterna deitas, et virtus altissima, qui te disponente hiis vero iudicio vocaris nominibus: Emoytho, On, Strinolamaton, Elzephares, Tetragramaton, Elyeyon, Egyrion, Vsyrion, Oristion, Eryono, Vsy, Ormis, Euella, Brasym, Moym, Ioseph, Messyas, Sother, E, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, et eciam sicut superius scribuntur, te invoco, te adoro, tocius mentis viribus imploro, quatenus per te*

[139r] *O summa et eterna diuinita* *O*[o] *virtus altissima, qui* [*te*] *disponente hys nominaris nominibus: Oneytheon, Stimula, Mathon, Elelpharos, Tetragramathon,*[p] *Osorion, E, Egyrion Vsyrion, Oristion, Orrona,*[q] *Vsiorius, Ouel, Byasim, Neym, Ioseph, Messias, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, etc sicut modicum superius scribit*[*ur*]*, te inuoco, te adoro, te totis mentibus et verbis inploro, quatenus presentes oraciones, consecraciones, et*

presentes oraciones, consecraciones, et invocaciones in hoc libro existentes consecrentur et preparentur,[p] *quemadmodum conuenit, scilicet vbicumque maligni*[q] *spiritus in virtute tuorum nominum fuerint invocati seu exorcizati, statym ex omni parte conveniant*[r] *et voluntatem exorcistarum adimpleant diligenter, quod nichil nocentes nec timorem inferentes, sed pocius obedientes et ministrantes districta virtute mandata exorciste*[s] *perficientes. Fiat. Fiat. Amen.*

In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi, Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti, tam trinitas et inseparabilis vnitas, te invoco vt sis salus, defensio, et proteccio corporis[t] *et anime mee, nunc et in perpetuum, per virtutem crucis et passionis tue. Te deprecor, domine Ihesu Christe, fili dei viui, per merita et oraciones et intercessiones beatissime matris tue Marie atque omnium sanctorum, vt michi concedas graciam tuam atque potestatem diuinam super omnes malignos spiritus, vt quemcumque in virtute tuorum nominum invocauero, statim ex omni parte* [59v] *conueniant*[u] *et voluntatem meam perfecte adimpleant, quod nichil nocentes*[v] *nec timore*[m] *inferentes, sed pocius obedientes et ministrantes, et tua districta virtute mandata mea perficientes.*[w] *Amen.*

invocaciones in hoc libro existentes conse-crentur[r] *et preparentur, quemadmodum conuenit, scilicet ut vbicumque maligni spiritus per virtutem*[s] *tuorum nominum fuerant aduocati et exorcisati, statim ex omni parte conueniant et voluntatem exorciste adimpleant*[t] *diligenter, ei nichil nocentes, nec timorem ei aliquem inferentes, sed pocius ei obedientes et ministrantes, et tua uirtute ac iudicio tuo districto mandata exorciste perficientes. Amen. Finis.*

a *Heading duplicated in MS.*
b Sic *in MS.*

a Sic *in MS.*
b *MS* scilicet.

c *Cf. Is 7:9, Lk 1:20, Lk 8:12, Rom 10:9, I Cor 1:21*.

d Sic *in MS*.

e *This quotation conveys the spirit of the Pseudo-Aristotelian tradition most fully conveyed in the* Secretum secretorum; *see M.A. Manzalaoui, ed.*, Secretum secretorum: Nine English Versions *(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977–)*.

f *MS* equaliter?

g *MS* indutis.

h su *(?) duplicated above line*.

i *MS* omnes.

j *Meaning, perhaps*, occulta misteriorum celestium reuelantur, et diuini sacramenti archana panduntur?

k Sic *in MS*.

l *Partly blotted out*.

m Sic *in MS*.

n *MS* corde.

o *MS* miscerere.

p *MS* vt.

q *Followed by* confide, *deleted*.

r *Extraneous letter between* d *and* i *appears blotted out*.

s *Or* Sichochich?

t *Malformed, and duplicated below line*.

u *Followed by* ::: v.

v *Meaning* cui sit?

w *MS* et et.

x *MS* qm.

y *Corrected in MS from* misesere.

z *Meaning* ad aereas?

a *MS* auditu.

b Sic *in MS*.

c *Followed by* que, *deleted*.

d Sic *in MS*.

e *MS* et veritatem.

f Sic *in MS*.

g *Corrected in MS* to pondeus.

h *MS* solis aris?

i Sic *in MS*.

j *MS* antequem.

k *Followed by* abhominibus, *struck through*.

l *MS* ligat.

m *Followed by an extraneous stroke*.

n *Followed by* et.

o Sic *in MS*.

p alii *deleted*.

q *Followed by* abip *and a space*.

r *MS* consecratur.

s *MS* ut.

t *Followed by* matris, *deleted*.

u *MS* per.

v *MS* benedices.

w Sic *in MS?*

x *Followed by* ey, *struck through*.

y Sic *in MS?*

z Sic *in MS?*

a Sic *in MS*.

b *MS* sanctificati.

c *Followed by* vinctum spiritum, *deleted*.

d Sic *in MS*.

e *MS* lancea.

f *MS* optineant.

g *MS* in die Iouis.

h *MS* vallaris.

i Sic *in MS?*

j Sic *in MS*.

k Sic *in MS*.

l Sic *in MS*.

m *MS* congregat.

c Sic *in MS.*
d *Presumably meaning* eius … cui.
e *MS* Mie.
f Sic *in MS.*
g *MS* quod.
h Sic *in MS.*
i *MS* quam.
j Sic *in MS.*
k *MS* modum.
l *MS* apperuisti.
m *MS* capuisti.
n *MS* abyssus.
o *MS has* velint *(?), followed by a space, possibly meaning* vt [humiliter obediant].
p *Meaning* moderans?
q *Final* e *blotted out.*
r *MS* reddunt.
s *Added above line; probably intended to be added after* michi.
t *Pointing hand drawn in margin.*
u *Duplicated in margin.*
v Sic *in MS?*
w Sic *in MS.*
x Sic *in MS?*
y *MS* consecrandam.
z *Followed by* et, *deleted.*
a *MS* districti?
b *MS* alique?
c *Note shift to second person, addressing Christ.*
d Sic *in MS?*
e Sic *in MS?*
f Sic *in MS?*
g *MS* resurrexicionem.
h *MS* cog'endu.
i *Followed by* quod, *deleted.*
j Sic *in MS?*
k *Meaning* mentis?
l Sic *in MS.*
m *MS* Christi filij [*altered from* filium] tui.
n *MS* hunc.
n *MS* dispergit.
o *MS* litteris.
p *Followed by* tremet, *struck through.*
q Sic *in MS.*
r Sic *in MS.*
s *Followed by* ad.
t Sic *in MS.*
u *MS* psallmum.
v Sic *in MS?*
w Sic *in MS?*
x Sic *in MS?*
y Sic *in MS.*
z Sic *in MS?*
a Sic *in MS?*
b Sic *in MS.*
c *MS* et.
d *MS* sacrandam.
e *Followed by* demonum, *struck through.*
f *Followed by* vbique, *struck through.*
g *Followed by* d, *struck through.*
h *Written above line.*
i b *added in margin.*
j Sic *in MS.*
k *MS* morte.
l Sic *in MS.*
m *Followed by* fli, *struck through.*
n *MS* sanctissimos nominum tuos.
o Sic *in MS?*
p Sic *in MS.*

o *Or* hec.
p *MS* preparantur.
q *MS* malignus.
r Sic *in MS?*
s *MS* exorcisti.
t *MS* corperis.
u *MS* conueniunt.
v *Corrected in MS, with second vowel blotted out and* e *substituted*.
w *MS* perficiem.

q Sic *in MS?*
r *MS* consecrantur.
s *MS* iuret?
t *Followed by* et.

No. 32. Conjuration of Satan/Mirage

From fols 59v–62v

Per invocacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi, imperatoris et agni inmaculati,[a] *quod inde*[b] *arguant te angeli et archangeli; argua*[*n*]*t te Michael et Gabriel* [*et*] *Raphahel; arguant te tres patriarche Abraham, Ysaac, et Jacob, et prophete; arguant te apostoli Christi, sancti et electi dei. Deficiant ergo artes tue de die in hora et in mense et in momento, sic*[*ut*] *cessauerunt jam vos et membros,*[c] *vt cito et sine aliqua condicione obediatis dictis meis et voluntati mee subiciatis.*[d] *Amen.*

Deus angelorum, deus archangelorum, deus prophetarum, deus apostolorum, deus martyrum, deus confessorum, deus virginum et viduarum, deus pater [*domini*] *nostri Ihesu Christi, invoco nomen sanctum tuum preclare magestatis tue potencie.*[e] *Supplex exposco vt michi auxilium prestare digneris adversus istum*

From fols 109r–111v [A] & 139r–14([B]

Per inuocacionem nominis domini Ihesu Cristi, Mirage, imperat tibi agnı immaculatus; perinde arguant te ange et archangeli, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael; arguant te tres patriarche, scilicet Abraham, Ysaac, et Iacob; arguant te prophete et omnes apostoli Christi; arguant te omnes sancti et electi dei. Deficient ergo aures[a] *tue in die et in nocte in hora et in mense et ir momento,*[b] *sicut defecerunt Iamnes et Mambres* [II Tim 3:8], *nisi cito sine aliqua mora dictis meis obedias et voluntati mee subiciaris.*

Deus angelorum, deus archangelorum, deus prophetarum, deus apostolorum, deus ewangelistarum, deus martirum, deus confessorum, deus domini nostri Ihesu Christi, inuoco nomen sanctum tuum i hac preclara tue maiestatis potencia. Supplex exposco ut michi auxilium tuum preparare digneris aduersus illu

spiritum Sathanam, vt vbicumque lateat, audito nomine tuo, velociter de loco suo exeat et ad me festinanter accedat. Ipse imperat tibi, dyabole, qui de supremis sedibus te in inferiora mire mergi iussit. Audi ergo, dyabole, et [60r] *tu, victus et prostratus, accede in nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Tu ergo, nequissime, inimicus fidei, generis humani mortis temptator iusticie, delectator malorum, radix* [*et*] *fomes viciorum,*[f] *seductor hominum, et*[g] *magister, et stas et resistis cum scis te perdere vires tuas. Istum metue qui in Ysaac immolatus est, in Ioseph venundatus est, in agno occisus est, in homine crucifixus est, deum*[h] *surrexus triumphator. Audi ergo, diabole, et timeas verba dei, et esto michi paratus in omnibus negociis meis perficiendis. Amen.*

Adiuro te, non mea infirmitate sed virtute Spiritus Sancti, vt subiectus sis meis mandatis perficiendis. Cede michi et ministris Christi illius, dyabole. Arguat te potencia [*eius*] *qui se*[i] *crucis*[j] *patibulo subiungauit, te illius brachium contremat,*[k] *qui te uictus gemitibus inferni*[l] *animas ad lucem perduxit. Sit timor tibi corpus hominis. Sit tibi*

spiritum Miragem, ut vbicumque iacet [B 139v] *audito nomine tuo, velociter de loco suo exeat et festinanter*[c] *ad me accedat. Ipse imperat tibi, dyabole, qu te de supernis celorum sedibus in inferiora terre demergi*[d] *precepit. Audi ergo, Mirage nequissime, et time,*[e] *victus et prostratus, accede in nomine dei*[f] *nostri Ihesu Christi. Tu ergo, Mirage nequissime, inimicus fidei, humani generis mortis repertor,*[g] *iniusticie declarator, malorum radix, fomes viciorum*, [A 109v] *seductor hominis, demonum magister, qui stas e resistis*[h] *cum scis te perdere vires tuas. Illum metue qui in Ysaac est ymmolatus, in Ioseph venundatus, in agno occisus, in homine crucifixus, deum*[i] *surrexit triumphator. Audi ergo, Mirage, et time verba dei, et esto mich preparatus in omnibus negociis prouidendis.*[j]

Adiuro te, serpens antique, per iudicem viuorum et mortuorum, per eum qui habet potestatem te mittere in Iehennam, vt facias cito quidquid precipio tibi, illo iubente qui sedet in altissimis. Amen.

Adiuro te, Mirage, non mea vi set uirtute Spiritus Sancti, ut sis subiectus mandatis meis, ea sine mora perficienda. Cede ministris Ihesu Christi. Illius potestas te vrgeat qui se pro nobis affligendo crucis patibulo subiugauit, illius enim brachium contremisce qui de victis gemitibus inferni animas ad lucem produxit. Sit

formido ymago dei, quam sancta morte sua redemit. Nec resistes, nec moreris ap[*p*]*ropinquare michi et velle meum adimplere, et ne me in infernum putes condempnandum,*[m] *dum me peccatorem nimis esse cognoscis.*

Imperat tibi dominus. Imperat tibi magestas. Imperat tibi deus Pater. Imperat tibi Filius. Imperat tibi Spiritus Sanctus. Imperat tibi apostolorum sedes, scilicet Petri et Pauli ceterorumque apostolorum. Imperat tibi indulgencia confessorum. Imperat tibi martyrum sangwis. Imperat tibi sacramentum crucis. Imperat tibi[n] *mysteriorum virtus. Imperat tibi virtus* [60v] *in quo nichil invenisti de corporibus tuis.*[o] [*Imperat tibi Christus*,] *qui te spoliauit, qui regnum tuum destruxit, qui te vinctum ligauit et vasa tua disrupit, qui te proiecit in tenebras, vt tibi cum ministris tuis erit preparatus interitus, sed quem nunc crudelem te recogitas, quem*[p] *temerarie retractas.*

Reus [*es*] *omnipotentis dei, cuius statuta*[q] *transgressus es; reus*[r] *filij eius Ihesu Christi, quem temptare ausus es et crucifigere presumpsisti; reus humani generis, cui*[s] *mors tuis persuasionibus euenit. Impero tibi,*

tibi tremor cor[*p*]*us hominis. Sit tibi formido ymago dei, quam*[k] *Christus sancta morte redemit. Ne resistas, ne moreris*[l] *apropinquare michi, et uelle meum implere, et ne me infirmum pute ad condempnandum te.*

Tibi imperat deus Pater. Tibi imperat deus Filius. Imperat Spiritus Sanctus. Tibi imperat apostolorum fides, scilicet Petri et Pauli et ceterorum apostolorum. Imperat tibi indulgencia confessorum. Imperat tibi sa[*n*]*gwis martirum. Imperat tibi mundicia virginum. Imperat tibi continencia viduarum.* [A 110r] *Imperant tibi pia opera coniugatorum. Imperant tibi oraciones omnium bonorum hominum in ecclesia dei militancium. Imperat tibi sacramentun* [B 140r] *crucis. Imperat tibi virtus corporis et sa*[*n*]*guinis domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Imperat tibi misteriorun virtus. Imperat tibi Ihesus Christus in quo nichil iurauisti*[m] *de operibus tuis, qui te exspoliauit, qui regnum tuum destruxit, qui victum te ligauit et vasa tua disrupit, qui te proiecit in tenebras exteriores vbi tibi et ministris tuis est preparatus eternus interitus. Sed quid nunc, truculente dyabole retractus, qu temperie redardas?*[n]

Reus es omnipotenti[*s*], *cuius statuta transgressus es; reus Ihesu Christi filij*[o] *eius, quem temptare ausus fuisti et crucifigere permisisti; reus humani generis, cui mors persuasionibus tuis euenit. Impero*[p] *tib*

draco nequissime, per imperium dominicum. Adiuro te in nomine agni inmaculati,[t] *qui ambulat super aspidem et basiliscum, qui conculcauit leonem et draconem* [Ps 90:13 Vulg.], *vt facias cito quidquid precipiam. Contremisce et time, invocato nomine dei, quem inferi timent, quem celorum virtutes et potestates, dominaciones et virtutes*, [*et*] *alie subiecte sunt et timent et adorant, quem cherubin et seraphin indefessis vocibus laudant. Imperat tibi verbum qui*[u] *caro factum.*[v] *Imperat tibi natus ex virgine.*[w] *Imperat tibi Iesus Nazarenus, qui te creauit, vt cito impleas omnia que a te petam uel habere voluero uel scire desidero.*[x] *Quia quanto tardius feceris que tibi precipio vel precipiam, tibi supplicium magis crescit et crescat de die in diem.*

Exorcizo te, maledicte et mendacissime spiritus,

- *per verba veritatis*,
- *per omnipotentem*,
- *per Ihesum Christim Naza-*

[61r] *renum, agnum immaculatum, de altissimo progressu*[*m*], *de Spiritu Sancto conceptum, ex Maria virgine natum, quem Gabriel angelus nunciauit venturum, quem cum vidisset centurio*[y] *exclamauit, dicens, 'Vere hic est filius dei'* [cf. Matt 27:54].

Exorciso te, auctor dyabolice potestatis, inventor malorum, cum omnibus subditis tuis, in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti; in nomine gloriose deitatis, cuius ix ordines angelorum, throni, dominaciones, patriarche[z] *et apostoli, et omnes sancti*[a]

nequissime, per imperium diuinum. Adiuro te per agnum inmaculatum, qu ambulat super aspidem et basiliscum, qui conculcat leonem et draconem [Ps 90:13 Vulg.], *ut facias cito quidquid impero tibi et precipio. Contremisce e time. Inuoco nomen domini, illum time cui uirtutes celorum, potestates, dominaciones, et principatus subiecti sunt, timent, et honorant,*[q] *quem cherubin et*[r] *seraphin indefessis vocibu laudant. Imperat tibi verbum caro factum,*[s] *imperat tibi natus de uirgine. Imperat tibi Ihesus Nazarenus. Impera tibi qui te creauit, ut impleas cito omn que peto a te uel habere voluero uel scire cupio. Quia*[t] [A 110v] *quanto tardius feceris ea que tibi precipio, tanto*[u] *magis supplicium tibi erit de die in diem.*

Exorcizo te, maledicte et[v] *nequissime ac*[w] *mendacissime spiritus,*

- *per verbum veritatis*,
- *per deum omnipotentem*,
- *per Ihesum Christum Nazarenum*,
- *per agnum inmaculatum de altissimis progressum, de Spiritu Sancto conceptum, ex Maria virgine natum, quem Gabriel nunciauit, quem cum vidisset Johannes*[x] *exclamauit, dicens 'Hic est filius dei.'*

Exorcizo te, auctor dyabolice potestatis, inuentor malicie, cum omnibus subditis tuis, in nomine Patri et Filij et Spritus Sancti, et in nomine gloriose deitatis, cui nouem chori angelorum, patriarche et prophete, apostoli, martires, confessores,[y]

diebus ac noctibus proclamant, dicentes, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, qui erat et qui est[b] *et qui venturus est, et qui est omnipotens'* [Apoc 4:8], *vt non presumas transgredi precepta mea, N. Nec tibi*[c] *lateat,*[d] *N., inminere tibi penas, inminere tibi tormenta, diem iudicij, diem supplicij, sempiterni diem, qui venturus est*[e] *velut clibanus ardens, in quo tibi atque vniuersis angelis tuis sempiternus erit preparatus interitus. Et ideo pro tua nequicia dampno te atque dampnabo. Da honorem deo viuo et vero, et michi subditus esto in omnibus operibus meis preparandis ac proficiendis. Da honorem deo viuo et vero; da honorem Ihesu Christo et*[f] *Spiritui Sancto Paraclito, in cuius nomine ac virtute precipio tibi ego,*[g] *N., vt nomini eius*[h] *et verbis meis obedias, cui omnis creatura deseruit, quem cherubyn et seraphym laudant, dicentes, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus*[i] *exercituum* [Is 6:3], *qui regnat et dominatur*[j] *per infinita secula. Amen, amen, amen.'*

virgines et [B 140v] *vidue, et omnes electi dei diebus ac noctibus indefessa voce collaudant, dicentes, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, qui erat, qui est, et q est venturus, et qui est omnipotens'* [Apoc 4:8], *ut non presumas transgrec precepta mea. Nec tibi*[z] *lateat tibi imminere penas, tibi imminere tormenta, tibi imminere diem iudicij, tibi imminere diem suplicij sempiterni, per deum qui venturus est velud clibanus*[a] *ignis ardentis, in quo tibi et angelis tuis preparatus est semp*[*i*]*ternus introitus. Et ideo pro tuc nequicia, dampnate*[b] *atque dampnand da honorem deo viuo et vero, et esto*[c] *michi subiectus, ut omnia precepta me adimpleas. Da honorem Ihesu Christo filio eius, da honorem Spiritui*[d] *Sancto Paraclito, in cuius nomine atque virtu precipio tibi, Mirage, ut nomini eius a preceptis meis obedias, cui omnis creatura deseruit, quem cherubin et seraphin laudant, dicentes, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus exercituum* [cf. Is 6:3], *qui regnat et dominatur* [A 111r] *per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.'*

[61v] *Coniuro et constringo atque precipio tibi, vt sine aliquo nocumento michi nunc et semper obedias, sine lesione et grauamine corporis et anime mee. Coniuro te, diabole,*

- *per*[k] *omnia predicta sacramenta facta,*[l]
- *et per omnia scripta, dicta, facta, creata, viua* [*et*] *mortua,*

Adiuro ac constringo et[e] *precipio tibi, Mirage, ut michi obedias sine aliquo impedimento uel nocumento ue lesione et grauamine corporis et anim mee, nunc et semper. Iterum coniuro te Mirage,*

- *per omnia predicta sacramenta facta et facienda,*
- *per omnia scripta sancta,*

- *et per istum qui te de paradyso eiecit. Coniuro te et precipio tibi, N.*,
- *per hostiam sacram*,
- *per hostiam inmaculatam*,
- *per hostiam conscriptam et benedictam atque deo placentem.*

Coniuro te atque precipio tibi, Diabole,[m]

- *per omnia quibus constringi et ligari possis.*

Exorciso te

- *per nomen tuum et potestatem omnium spirituum*,
- *et per omnes karacteres*,
- *et per sigillum Salominis*,
- *et per anulum*[n] *eius, ix candarias celestes, in malediccione et confusione et augmentacione penarum*[o] *tuarum*[p] *dupla,*[q] *de die in diem*,

quod tu, Diabole, non requiescas[r] *nec cesses a labore continuo in eodem loco in quo modo es remouearis*[s] *et ab officio tuo et ab omni societate et temptacione et decepcione alicuius*[t] *priuatus statim, per verba et coniuraciones tibi predicta. Maledico te, dyabole, et nomen tuum confundo in eternum*,

- *et per omnes dies vite tue*,
- *et per potestatem quam*[u] *habeo super te hic michi ab omnipotenti deo*[v] *data in baptissmo et in aliis sacramentis*,
- *et per eukaristiam que est corpus Christi.*

Eciam te excommunico et maledico tibi et omne illud quod ad te pertinet [62r] *et confundo* [*te*],

- *per On*,
- *per illum qui te de celo proiecit.*

Coniuro te et precipio tibi

- *per hostiam sanctam et per hostiam inmaculatam*,
- *per hostiam scriptam et per hostiam benedictam atque deo placente*

Coniuro te ac precipio tibi, Mirage

- *per omnia per que ligari et constringi possis.*

Exorcizo te

- *per nomen domini*,
- *per potestatem omnium spirituum*,
- *per omnes caractares*,
- *per sigillum Salominis*,
- *per annulos eius*,
- *per septem candelabra aurea ante dominum lucencia*,

ut tibi, Mirage, augmentatur penarum accerbitas de die in diem, ita vt non requiescas nec cessas a labore tuo continuo in eodem loco vbi nunc es remouere,[f] *et ut remouearis ab omni officio tuo et ab omni societate et temptacione et decepcione, ut priuaris statim per verba coniuracionis tibi inflicta. Maledico* [B 141r] *te et nomen tuum confundo in eternum*

- *per omnes dies vite mee*,
- *per potestatem quam habeo super te, Mirage, michi ab omnipotenti deo data in baptismo et alijs sacramenta*
- *per corpus domini nostri Ihesu Christi.*

Eciam te excom[m]unico, tibi maledico et omne id quod a[*d*] *te pertinet, et confundo te et omnia tua*,

- *per On*,

- *et per*[w] *Alph*[*a*] *et O*,
- *et per Emanuel*,
- *et per nomen dei ineffabile*,
- *et per sanctum Tetragramaton*,
- *et per omnia verba que dicta sunt tibi,*[x] *N.*,

vt facias statim, sine aliqua mora, mandatum meum et peticionem quam tibi manifestabo, dum vtinam comparas quod michi alloquaris.

In nomine Patris veni, et in nomine Filij veni, et in nomine Spiritus Sancti veni, et in nomine sancte trinitatis tibi dico veni, in nomine summi dei creatoris omnium creaturarum veni ad me in hac hora, sine aliquo nocumento, lesione, atque grauamine anime mee et corporis mei, uel alium mittas uel venire facias, qui sciat perfecte omne desiderium meum adimplere, et nullo modo a me recedat,[y] *nisi licenciatus fuerit a me, et voluntatem meam plenarie perfecerit. Coniuro te per hec et per hoc*[a]*, et ita vt supradicta sunt, vt facias michi venire vnum spiritum, qui auferat secum aurum et argentum denarios, et thesauros, antequam a loco isto recedam; et quocienscumque ipsum invocauero statim compareat,*[b] *benignus ac humilis, nulli nocens, et michi in omnibus ministrans, et voluntatem meam perficiens, fiat, fiat, amen; vt ducas uel mittas michi vnum spiritum prom*[*p*]*tum et ydoneum in omnia sciencia; vt habeat potestatem facere me invisibilem quandocumque voluero,*[c] [62v] *et michi placuerit, et*

- *per Alpha et O*,
- *per Emanuel*,
- *per nomen dei ineffabile*,
- *per sanctum Tetragramaton*,
- *per omnia nomina et verba que dicta sunt*,

ut statim venias, Mirage, sine aliqua [. 111v] *mora, mandatum et potestatem meam quam tibi manifestabo, quam michi loqueris.*

In nomine Patris veni. In nomine Filij veni. In nomine Spiritus Sancti veni. In nomine sancte Trinitatis veni. Tibi dico, in nomine dei summi veni. In nomine creatoris et omnium creaturarum veni ad me in hac hora, sine aliquo nocumento, lesione, atque grauamine corporis et anime mee, uel alium mittas, vel[g] *venire facias, qui sciat perfecte desiderium meum adimplere, et nullo modo a me recedere, nisi a me fuerit licenciatus u uoluntatem meam plenarie perficiat. Item coniuro te per hec que supradicta sunt, ut facias michi venire vnum spiritum qui portet*[h] *michi aurum et argentum uel thesauros absconditos, antequam de isto loco recedam; ut sit michi ministrans in omni uoluntate mea, et*[i] *quocienscumque ipsum inuocauero statim compareat michi, benignus ac humilis, nulli nocens, sed uoluntatem meam in omnibus adimplens et perficiens, fiat, fiat, fiat, amen; ut adducas michi vnum spiritun promptum et ydoneum in omni scienci et ut habeat potestatem me faciendi*

eciam quod semper sit sub potestate mea; et concedas ei similiter potestatem consecrandi libros et experimenta et omnia quecumque voluero.[d] *Amen, amen, amen.*

inuisibilem quandocumque voluero; et michi placuerit, et quod semper sit sub potestate mea; et concedas ei similiter [*potestatem*] *consecrandi libros, experimenta, et omnia quecumque voluero. Amen.*

a *MS* imperatori et angnus inmaculatus.
b Sic *in MS?*
c Sic *in MS.*

d *Meaning* subiciaris?
e Sic *in MS.*
f *MS* vincorum.
g et *added above line.*
h resipis A.
i *Followed by* ab asserisus *(?), deleted.*
j *Followed by* suo, *deleted.*
k *Corrected in MS from* contremiat?
l inferni *duplicated in margin.*
m *MS* condempnendum.
n *Followed by* minstriorum virtus, *deleted.*
o Sic *in MS.*
p Sic *in MS?*
q *MS* statera, *with* r *inserted above line, after another interlinear letter which is blotted out.*
r *Followed by* esse *(?), deleted.*
s *MS* tibi.

t *MS* inmaculatij?
u *Inserted above line.*
v *MS* caro factum est.
w *Followed by interlinear marking, apparently an* m *(presumably for* Maria), *which appears to be struck through.*
x desidero *added in margin.*
y centurio *duplicated in margin.*
z *Corrected in MS from* patriarchi?
a et omnes sancti *added in margin.*
b et qui est *added above line.*
c *MS* te.
d latet *altered in MS to* lataet.
e est *added above line.*
f deo viuo … Christo et *added in margin.*

a Sic *in MS.*
b momentu AB.
c vestinanter B.
d demerge A.
e tunc A.
f *Sic* AB, *presumably for* domini.
g *Corrected from* reperator *in* B.
h Sic *in MS, for* deus *or* deinde?

i *Sic* AB, *for* demum?
j perfidend' B.
k quatenus A.
l moretis B.

m *Sic* AB.
n *Meaning* redardescis?
o Christo filio AB.
p imperat AB.
q honorent A.
r *Followed by* serahp, *struck through* B.
s *Followed by* est, *struck through (?)* B.
t que AB.
u tantum B, *but with the letter* o *written twice the margin.*
v ac B.
w et B.

x Sic *in MS.*
y martires et confessores B.
z te AB.
a clibanum AB.

g ego *added above line*.
h eius *deleted and* eus *substituted*.
i deus *added above line*.
j *Followed by* -turus, *deleted*.
k *Followed by* omnes, *deleted*.
l *Followed by duplication of* et per omnia sacramenta facta.
m *Followed by* quibus, *deleted*.
n *Corrected in MS from* annulum.
o *MS* puerum.
p *Followed by* fide *(?), deleted*.
q *MS* duplo.
r -equi- *erroneously struck through*.
s *Followed by* abo, *deleted*.
t Sic *in MS.*
u *Corrected in MS from* quem.
v deo *added above line*.
w *Added above line*.
x *Followed by* etc.?
y *Followed by* dare *(?), deleted*.
a *Or* hec.
b *MS* comparaeat.
c *The clauses marked here as [B] and [C] are given at the end of 62r, after* Fiat, fiat, amen, *but are evidently intended as alternatives to the material here given as [A]. The lines on the top of 62v* (Et michi placuerit … Amen. Amen. Amen.) *may also be intended for reading here*.
d *MS* volueris.

b dampnante A.
c est A.
d Spiritu AB.
e ac B.

f *Sic* AB.

g fere AB.
h portat AB.
i ut B.

No. 33. For obtaining information from a mirror (fols 62v–65r)

Circue cimiterium et collige tot lapides quot[a] sunt versus in psalmo *Misereri mei deus* [Ps 50 Vulg.].[b] Cum hiis lapidibus, pone circulum quando vis, et inpone herbam que vocatur verbena. Postea accipe speculum, et line ipsum cum oleo oliue cum pollice, dicendo *Gloria in excelsis deo, etc.* Et intres circulum. Stes supra herbam, et verte primo ad orientem, dicens,

Coniuro te, Astra, Astaroth, Cebal,

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum*,
- *per xxiiijor seniores*,
- *et per tres pueros Sydrach, Mysaac, et Abdenago*,
- *per Toth,*[c] *principem vestrum*,
- *per Zambrim et Mambrim*,

- *per Vsuel* [*et*] *per Saduel, quibus obedire tenemini de veritate,*[d]
- *et per baptismum quod recipitur in fonte a sacerdote,*

vt obediatis michi.[e]

Cum venerit spiritus, dic si volueris, ‘Deum qui te genuit dereliquisti, et oblitus [es] domini creatoris tui.’ Cui tunc dicet spiritus, ‘Verum est.’ Tunc dic, ‘Ligo[f] et constringo vos demones, per verba que audistis a creatore vestro pendente[g] in cruce, vt nulli noceatis, sed[h] de[i] veritate respondeatis michi.’ Quod si noluerint, lege vinculum Salomonis; de vinculo spirituum non est soluendum, sed ymo pocius diuidendum et ymitandum.[j]

[63r] Sed tamen, vt predictum est, cauendum est ne in manus quorundam insipiencium hoc secretum deueniat. Eructuamus sapientissimum filium, per quod[k] predicti reges et principes [cum] omnibus subditis suis valeant subpeditari
et cogi et ligari et in abissum proici. Si vero sunt ribelles et contradicentes et inobedientes exorciste semper, et si in omnibus non obedierint uel precepta exorciste non conseruauerint, hoc vinculum est legendum,[l] quod sic incipit:

- *Per corroboratum et potentissimum nomen dei El, forte et ammirabile, vos exorcisamus atque imperamus*,
- *per eum qui dixit et factum est*,
- *per omnia nomina ipsius*,
- *et per nomen Y et V et E, quod Moyses audiuit et locutus est*,
- *per nomen Genery, et in nomine Genery, quod Noe audiuit et locutus est, cum viija familia de linea sua*,
- *et per nomen Y et V et E et X, et in nomine V et X,*[m] *quod Abraham audiuit et cognouit omnipotentem deum*,
- *et per nomen Joth, et in nomine Joth, quod audiuit Jacob ab angelo secum comitante, et liberatus est de manu fratris sui Esav*,
- *et per nomen Eyzaserie, et in nomine Eyzaserie, quod Moyses in monte audiuit, et meruit quod nunc est cum deo, et audire ipsum cum flamma loquentem,*[n]
- *et per nomen*[o] *Anathematon, et in nomine Anathematon, quod Aron audiuit, et eloquens et sapiens* [63v] *factus est*,
- *et per nomen Sabaoth, et in nomine Sabaoth, quod Moyses audiuit et inde nominauit, et omnes aque egredi de terra ceperunt palidum,*[p] *et verse sunt in sangwinem, et putruerunt,*[q]
- *et per nomen Oristion, et in nomine Oristion, quod Moyses nominauit, et fluuij omnes ebulierunt ranas,*[r] *et absconderunt in domibus Egyptorum*,
- *et per nomen Eloy, et in nomine Eloy, quod Moyses audiuit, percuciens puluerem terre, et factus est cinifes in hominibus et iumentis,*[s]
- *et per nomen Artifontite, et in nomine Artifontite, quod Moyses nominauit, et omne genus muscarum misit in Egyptum, et inter*[t] *Egyptios*,
- *et per nomen Yephaton, et in nomine Yephaton, quod Moyses audiuit, et quod Moyses nominauit, percuciens terram, et grauis pestis percussit equos, asynos, et camelos, oues et*

boues interierunt,

- *et per nomen Arbitrios, quod Moyses nominauit, et tulit cinerem de cymiterio, et desparsit in celum, et facta sunt wlnera visicarum vrgentium in hominibus et iumentis, et in omni terra Egyptorum*,
- *et per nomen Elyon, et in nomine Elyon, quod Moyses nominauit, et* [*facta est*] *grando talis qualis non fuerat ab inicio mundi, vsque ad presens tempus, ita quod homines et iumenta que erant in agris ceciderunt et interierunt*,
- *et per nomen Adonay, et in nomine Adonay, quod Moyses voluit, et facte sunt locuste et apparuerunt super omnem terram, et quidquid residuum grandis erat* [64r] *deuorauerunt*,
- *et per nomen Pantheon, et in nomine Pantheon, quod Moyses nominauit, et facte sunt vmbre horribiles tribus diebus et tribus noctibus*,
- *et per nomen Arimon, et in nomine Arimon, quod Moyses media nocte nominauit, et omnia primogenita Egypti perierunt et mortua fuerunt*,

- *et per nomen Geremon, et in nomine Geremon, quod Moyses nominauit et totum Ysraheliticum populum in captiuitate*[u] *liberauit*,
- *et per nomen Yegeron, et in nomine Yegeron, quod mare audiuit, et diuisum est*,
- *et per nomen Ysiston, et in nomine Ysiston, quod mare audiuit et submersit omnes currus pharaonis*,
- *et per nomen On, et in nomine On, quod petre audiuerunt, et innumerabiles emanuerunt*,
- *et per nomen Anabona, et in nomine Anabona, quod Moyses in monte Synay audiuit, et meruit tabulas manu*[v] *saluatoris scriptas accipere*,
- *et per nomen Egyryon, et in nomine Egyryon, cum quo Yosue pugnauit et inimicos destruxit suos et victoriam obtinuit*,
- *et per nomen Patheon, et in nomine Patheon, vt*[w] *sanctus Dauid nominauit et liberatus est de manu Golye*,
- *et per nomen Eya, et in nomine Eya, quod Salomon audiuit et Gabaon et meruit in sompnis postulare et inpetrare sanctam sapienciam*,
- *et* [64v] *per nomen Pancraton, et in nomine Pancraton, quod Elyas orauit quod non plueret, et non pluit tribus annis et mensibus sex*,
- *et per nomen Symayon, et in nomine Symayon, quod Elyas orauit et celum dedit pluuiam, et terra dedit fructum suum*,
- *et per nomen Eloy, et in nomine Eloy, quod Elyseus nominauit et Esunamitis filium liberauit*,
- *et per nomen Athanatos, et in nomine Athanatos, quod Yeremias nominauit et preteri*[*i*]*t captiuitatem Jerusalem ciuitatis*,
- *et per nomen Alpha et O, et in nomine Alpha et O, quod Daniel nominauit, et per illud Bel destruxit et draconem interfecit*,
- *et per nomen Emanuel, et in nomine Emanuel, quod tres pueri in camino ignis ardentis*[x] *nominauerunt, et per hoc illesi exierunt et liberati*,
- *et per hec nomina et omnia alia nomina omnipotentis dei viui et veri, qui vos de excelso throno primum*[y] *de vestra culpa eiecit et vsque ad abissum locum vos proiecit.*

Exorcizamus[z] *atque viriliter imperamus*,

- *per eum qui dixit et factum est, cui obediunt omnes creature*,
- *et per tremendum diem iudicij dei summi*,
- *et per igneam deuoracionem*,
- *et per mare vitreum*[a] [cf. Apoc. 4:6] *quod est ante conspectum diuine magestatis,*[b]
- *et per 4or animalia contra sedem diuine magestatis gaudencia (uel gradiencia), oculos ante et retro ha-* [65r] *bencia* [cf. Apoc. 4:6–8],
- *et per sanctam trinitatem, que*[c] *est verus deus vnus*,
- *et*[d] *per nonaginta nouem nomina que dicunt filie Israel,*[e]
- *et per ineffabilem ipsius creatoris virtutem et omnipotenciam*,
- *et per*[f] *xxiiijor seniores ante*[g] *thronum circumstantes*,
- *et per angelos celorum, potestates et dominaciones, que sub eo creatore nominantur*,
- *et per summam sapienciam*,
- *et per anulum Salomonis* [*et*] *sigillum*,
- *et per sacratissimum nomen illius, quod omne seculum timet, quod scribitur 4or literis,*[h] *HV, V, et V, HV, AGLA*,
- *et per ix celestes candarias*,
- *et per earum virtutes*,

[*A*] *quatenus hodierno die vsque ad talem terminum rei michi integre*

custodiatis;[i] [B] *quatenus thesaurum istum quem huc vsque custoditis penitus michi relinquatis, sine aliqua diminucione, ita quod faciatis quod a nullo*[j] *valeat seperari;* [C] *et iam in hac hora veniatis*[k] *et debeatis michi respondere, de re et de rebus integre*[l] *de quibus vobis interrogauero veritatem dicere.*[m]

Item, si invenires spiritum vel spiritus rebelles uel contrariantes, sic dices:

Per nomen Pneumaton, et in nomine Pneumaton, quod Moyses nominauit et absorpti fuerunt a cauernis terre, Dath, An, et Abyron, et virtute illius sacratissimi nominis dei Pneumaton, maledicimus vos in profundum abyssi; vsque ad vltimum diem iudicij ponimus vos atque religamus, nisi precepto meo[n] *obediatis et desiderium meum duxeritis ad effectum.*

a *MS* quod.
b *Added in upper margin:* Nota: 47 versus sunt in isto psalmo.
c *Perhaps a reference to Thoth?*
d Sic *in MS.*
e *Followed in MS by* et per baptismum quod recepi in fonte a sacerdote meo, vt obediatis michi, *whether by way of pleonasm or as a correction*.
f *Followed in MS by* uel *(?)*.
g *MS* pendens.
h *Followed in MS by extraneous* de *(?), deleted*.
i *Followed in MS by* virtute, *deleted*.
j Sic *in MS.*
k Sic *in MS. Perhaps* Eruct[u]amus sapientissimum verbum *(Ps. 18:3 Vulg.) is intended, which would explain the neuter* quod.
l *MS* ledendum.
m Sic *in MS*.
n Sic *in MS*.
o *MS* votum.
p Sic *in MS – evidently an echo of the biblical* paludes, *which would fit equally little into the present context*.
q *Cf. Ex. 7:17–21*.
r *Cf. Ex. 8:3*.
s *Cf. Ex. 8:17*.
t *Followed in MS by* in, *deleted*.
u *MS* captificate.
v *MS* manus.
w Sic *in MS.*

x *MS* ardenter.
y Sic *in MS.*
z *MS* Exorcistamus.
a *MS* viacum.
b *Followed by* gaudencia uel gradiencia, *deleted*.
c *MS* qui.
d *Added above the line*.
e *MS* Israeli.
f *Followed by* ignem ar, *deleted*.
g *Added in margin*.
h *Followed by a blot, or by* scilicet *(?)*.
i Sic *in MS.*
j *Meaning* a me nunquam?
k Sic *in MS?*
l Sic *in MS?*
m *Alternative C added in margin*.
n Sic *in MS?*

No. 34. List of demons (fols 65v–65r bis)

Barbarus [est] magnus comes et dux, et apparet in signo Sagitarij siluestris cum 4or regibus ferentibus tubas. Intellectus autem cum latratus canum inimicus boum et omnium animalium.[a] Loca thesauriorum facit aperiri que non custodiunt[ur] a magicis et a cantacionibus. Et est de ordine virtutum, et habet sub se xxxvj legiones.

Cason magnus dux est et fortis, et a[p]paret in similitudine senaphali. Dat ad plenitudinem vera responsiua[b] de presentibus, preteritis, et futuris, et occultis.[c] Dat graciam amicorum et inimicorum. Dat dignitates et confirmat. Habet sub se xlv legiones.

Otius magnus preses et comes [est], et apparet in signo Vipere, et habet deterrimam hominis speciem, sed cum suscipit formam humanam habet dentes magnos et tria cornua. In manu portat gladium acutum. Dat ad plenitudinem vera responsiua[d] de presentibus et futuris et occultis rebus. Dat graciam amicorum et inimicorum. Habet sub se xxxvj legiones.

Cvrson magnus rex est et fortis, et apparet in similitudine hominis. Facies leonina coronatus est dyademate. In manu fere[n]s[e] viperam fortissimam, equitat super [66r] dorsum feruentissimum, et ante ipsum semper precedunt tube.[f] Bene scit presencia, preterita, et futura [et] occulta pandere. Loca thesaurorum ostendit et aperiri[g] facit.[h] Libenter suscipit corpus humanum et aereum, et dat vera responsa de diuinis et occultis rebus, de deitate et mundi creacione. Dat optimos familiares. Habet sub se xxij

legiones, partim de ordine virtutum et partim de ordine thronorum.[i]

Alugor magnus[j] dux est. Apparet in similitudine militis pulcherrimi, ferens lanceam, vexillum, et sceptrum. Ad plenitudinem dat vera responsa de occultis rebus et de duellis, quarum[k] fieri debeant et quarum[l] aduentura sunt. Dat eciam milites in occursum, et dat graciam omnium regum, marchionum, et omnium militum. Habet sub se l[m] legiones.

Taob magnus est et princeps. Apparet in signo medici cum suscipit figuram humanam; [est] doctor opti[m]us mulierum, et facit ardere in amorem virorum. Si sibi iussum fuerit, facit eas transmutari in aliam formam, quousque veneri[n]t coram dilectis; finis[n] facit eas steriles. Habet sub se 25[o] legiones, etc.

[66v] Volach magnus preses est. Apparet [in forma] pueri, et habet alas ad modum angeli. Equitat super draconem. Duo habet capita. Dat ad plenitudinem vera responsa de occultis thesauris, in quibus [locis] videntur et apparent. Serpentes et absque illis custodibus[p] posse omnium serpentum tradit in manus exorciste. Habet sub se xxvij legiones.

Gaeneron dux est fortis et potens, et apparet in similitudine pulcherrime mulieris. Ductili coronatur coria.[q] Equitat super camelum. Dat ad plenitudinem vera responsiua de presentibus, preteritis, et futuris, et de occultis thesauris, in quibus locis videntur et apparent. Dat optime amorem mulierum, et precipue puellarum. Habet sub se xxvij legiones.

Tvueries marchio magnus et fortis [est], regnans et imperans in Afforanis[r] partibus. Docet ad plenitudinem gramaticam, loycam, rethoricam, ac dictata,[s] et facit loca thesaurorum aperiri,[t] et occulta ostendi[u] facit. Eciam hominem velocissimo cursu mare et flumina transire uel transmeare [facit]. In specie militis apparet. Equitat super equum nigerrimum et superbitatem.[v] Habet sub se xxx legiones.

Hanni preses magnus [est], et apparet in flamma ignea, sed cum suscipit formam humanam [65r bis][w] mirabilem reddit hominem abilem in astronomia et[x] in aliis artibus liberalibus. Dat optimos familiares et graciam magnatum et principum, et loca thesaurorum que a spiritibus custodiunt[ur] mirabiliter ostendit. Habet sub se xxx legiones.

Svcax magnus marchio est, et apparet in similitudine hominis. Wltum habet femineum. Videtur beniuolus. Multum mirabiliter dat amorem mulierum, et maxime omnium viduarum. Dat ad plenitudinem omnia genera li[n]gwarum. Facit hominem transire de regione in regionem velocissimo cursu. Habet sub se 23 legiones.

a Sic *in MS*.
b Sic *in MS*.
c *MS* occulte, *perhaps intended to modify* dat, *but more plausibly construed as parallel to the preceding substantives, as in the following paragraph*.
d Sic *in MS*.
e *Or perhaps meaning* fert.
f Sic *in MS*.
g *MS* apperui, *but either* aperiri *or* apparere *is presumably intended*.
h *MS has extraneous vertical line between* c *and* i.
i *MS* throni.
j *Followed by a blot*.
k *Meaning* quando *or* quomodo?
l *Meaning* quomodo?
m Sic *in MS?*
n *Meaning* si vis?
o *Duplicated in margin*.
p Sic *in MS*.
q *Meaning* ducali coronatur corona?
r *Meaning* Africanis?
s *MS* dictate.
t *MS* apperire.
u *MS* ostendere, *followed by a blot*.
v *Meaning* superbum?
w *Fol. 65 bis occurs between fols. 66 and 67*.
x et *duplicated*.

No. 35. For obtaining a woman's love (fols 65r bis–67v)

Incipiunt experimenta bona[a] et probata et verissima, primo de modo scribendi[b] Bel et Ebal.

Nota: in feria quinta, nouis vestibus indutus et balneatus, in crepusculo, scribe in costam nomen tuum et mulieris, Bel et Ebal – Bel in principio, et in medio nomen tuum et nomen mulieris, in fine Ebal – et pone ad ignem et fac cremari costam, et quando est in maximo calore uel furore lege coniuracionem que sequitur, et consequeris desideratum:

[65v bis] *Coniuro vos spiritus infernales Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in ista costa scripta sunt et in igne ardescunt*,

- *per omnes virtutes celorum et terre*,
- *per thronos, principatus et potestates, et dominaciones*,
- *per cherubin et seraphin*,
- *et per omnia que sub celo sunt*,

vt nunquam requiem habeatis, quin[c] *cor eius in amore mei ita ardere*

faciatis vt nunquam dormire, comedere nec bibere, nec ire nec stare, nec flere nec ridere, nec aliquod opus perficiat, quin cordis mei desiderium prius adimpleat. Item coniuro vos, Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in[d] *igne ardescunt*,

- *per dominum omnipotentem*,
- *et per Ihesum Christum filium eius*,
- *et per Spiritum Sanctum*,
- *et per virtutem sancti dei*,
- *et per ipsam prouidenciam dei*,
- *et per terram, mare, et profundum abissi*,
- *et per clemenciam* [*dei*],
- *et per visionem dei*,
- *per noctem et tenebras*,
- *et per tremendum diem iudicij*,

vt nunquam requiem habeatis quin cor[e] *eius in amore mei ita ardere faciatis vt nunquam dormire, comedere nec bibere, ire nec stare nec iacere, nec flere nec ridere, nec aliquod opus perficere valeat, quin cordis mei desiderium penitus adimpleat.*[f] *Item coniuro vos, Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in igne ardescunt*,

- *per deum* [67r] *verum, per deum viuum, per deum sanctum, qui vos et cuncta creauit, qui Adam et Euam de limo creauit, qui fecit angelos suos spiritus* [Ps. 103:4 Vulg.], *qui scit presencia, preterita, et futura, qui habet claues celi*, [*qui*] *claudit et aperit*, [*qui*] *claudit et nemo aperit* [Apoc. 3:7],
- *per eum qui fuit mortuus et resurrexit, qui est principium et finis, Alpha et O, primus et nouissimus* [cf. Apoc. 21:6, 22:13],

vt nunquam, etc. Coniuro vos, O Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in igne ardescunt,

- *per hec sancta nomina dei: Ely, Eloy, Eleon, Tetragramaton, Tupanoel, Fabanoel, Sabaoth, Sathay, Adonay.*

Coniuro vos

- *per virtutem qua dominus noster Ihesus Christus ianuis clausis ad dissipulos suos intrauit.*

Coniuro vos, Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in igne ardescunt,

- *per spineam coronam quam dominus noster Ihesus Christus in capite sustinuit*,
- *et per fixuram clauorum qui pias manus et pedes transfixerunt*,
- *et per sangwinem et aquam de latere fluentem*,
- *et per lacrimas beate virginis Marie*,
- *et per mortem et sepulturam Christi*,
- *per resurreccionem et ascensionem Christi*,

vt nunquam requiem habeatis, quin cor mulieris in amore ita ardere faciatis quod nunquam dormire, comedere nec bibere, nec stare nec sedere, [*nec flere*] *nec ridere, nec aliquod opus perficere valeat, quin cordis mei desiderium* [67v] *penitus adimpleat, et quod illud nullatenus obmittat.*[g] *Hoc*[h] *precipio vobis, per eum qui viuit et regnat in secula*

seculorum. Amen. Amen. Amen. Etc.

a *These three words occur twice, the first time as a heading.*
b *Followed by a blank space.*
c *MS* quoniam.
d *Followed by* ige.
e *MS* corus.
f *MS* adimpleatis.
g *MS* obmittatis.
h *Or* hec.

No. 36. Generic preparation for conjuring spirits (fols 67v–68v)

De responsione spirituum.[a]

Cum magister voluerit vocare spiritus, vadat ad locum[b] secretum cum duobis sociis, et[c] habeat cultellum cum manubrio albo uel nigro, in cuius lamina hec nomina ex utraque parte sunt scripta: Agla [et] Sabaoth. Et faciat[d] cum eodem cultello exteriorem circulum,[e] dicendo, *Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei Patris omnipotentis, qui solo verbo vniuersa creauit.* Et in eodem circulo scribat cum cultello prelibato hec nomina: contra orientem, Agla; contra occidentem, Tetragramaton; contra septentrionem, Adonay; contra meridiem, Sabaoth. Deinde faciat secundum circulum, dicendo, *Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei viui, qui humanum genus humano sangwine redemit.* Tercium vero circulum faciat dicendo, *Hunc circulum facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracliti, qui*[f] *apostolorum et prophetarum corda sua gracia illustrauit.* Post hec faciet crucem per omnes circulos, [dicens], *Per hoc signum sancte crucis gracia dei defendat nos ab omni malo.* Tunc accipe turribulum, inposito thure[g] et mirra, [et] circuas[h] ex- [68r] teriora circuli,[i] dicens, *Hanc fumigacionem facio in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.* Et post hec,[j] stans contra orientem extra circulum,[k] dicat vij psalmos cum letania,[l] deuote et humiliter, et has oraciones:

Adiuro[m] *te, rex regum et dominus dominancium, eterne et incommutabilis deus,*[n] *intellige clamorem meum nunc et spiritus mei gemitumque cordis mei,*[o] *vt respirem*[p] *in te saluatorem meum. Da*[q] *michi intellectum sanctum et bonum, et aufer a me quod malum est; et commutans me in omnem dileccionem tuam qua formasti me et saluasti, tribuas*[r] *incrementum*

michi. Exaudi, domine, precem meam qua clamaui ad te, et exaudi me. Reuela et illumina oculos mentis mee et carnis, vt considerem et intelligam mirabilia tua. Viuifica me in iustificacionibus tuis, vt preualeam in conspectu aduersariorum[s] *meorum et dyaboli.*[t]

a *Line duplicated in margin of MS.*
b *MS* locrum.
c *MS* aut.
d *MS* faciendo.
e *Figure at top of fol. 68v: a triple circular band, with* Sabaoth *and* meridies *marked just outside at the top*, occidens *and* Tetragramaton *at the right*, septentrion [sic] *and* Adonay *at the bottom*, oriens *and* Agla *at the left. The outermost circle bears the inscription*, ✠ Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei Patris omnipotentis, qui solo verbo vniuersa creauit. *The middle circle has the inscription*, ✠ Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei viui qui humanum genus humano sangwine redemit. *The innermost contains the inscription*, ✠ Hunc circulum facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracliti, qui [*MS* quia] apostolorum et prophetarum corda sua gracia illustrauit. *In the upper left, a further inscription begins in the outer circle and ends in the middle one:* Per hoc signum sancte crucis gracia dei defendat nos ab omni malo. *The interior is left blank.*
f *MS* quia.
g *MS* thus.
h *MS* circuat.
i *MS* circulum.
j *Or* hoc.
k *Followed by* in, *deleted*.
l *Followed by* et.
m *Redundant* a *struck through*.
n *Followed by* dominus, *deleted*.
o Sic *in MS*.
p Sic *in MS*.
q *MS* dat.
r *Followed by* in- *(?), deleted*.
s *Followed by* et.
t *Followed by a blank space left for the title of the following material, and by this fragment (evidently in the same hand, but less careful than usual):* Aloe epacium quando im aracum *(?)* pliwis wirnies *(?)*.

No. 37. Manual of astral magic (fols 68v–96v)

37a. Conjurations for each day of the week

Incipiunt coniuraciones dierum super composicionem sacrificiorum, quod fiet quando debuerit aliquid operare[a] antequam illud incipiat. Coniura ergo

cum alia coniuracione sequentium dierum quibus operabis, et scribenda fuerint. Scribe ea die suo.

Coniuracio diei dominici sequitur, etc.

[1.] [69r] Coniuracio diei solis.[b]

Coniuro et confirmo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti,

- ✠ *In nomine Adonay, Adonay, Eye, Eye, Eyu, qui est ille qui fuit, est, et erit, Eye, Aloraye*,
- *in nomine Sadaye, Saday, Cados, Cados, Cados, altus, super cherubin sedens*,
- *et per nomen ipsius magni, sancti, fortis, potentis, et exaltati, super omnes celos, Eye, Saraye, Plasmatoris seculorum, qui creauit mundum, celum, et terram, mare, et omnia que in eis sunt in primo die celorum, et sigillauit super eos cum nomine sancto suo,[c] Yhon, super terram que sigilla terra est, honorato, precioso nomine suo Yhaa*,
- *et per nomina sanctorum angelorum qui dominantur in primo exercitu et seruiunt coram potentissimo Salamia, angelo magno et honorato*,
- *et per nomen stelle que est Sol*,
- *et per signum inmensissimum dei viui et quod omnia per predicta.*[d]

Coniuro

- *super Raphael angelum*[e] *qui est prepositus diei dominici,*[f]
- *et per nomen Adonay, dei Israel, qui creauit mundum et quicquid est in eo*,

quod pro me labores et adimpleas omnem voluntatem meam et peticionem iuxta meum velle et votum in negocio et causa mea.

Dicas autem secundum quod tibi videbitur.

[2.] Coniuracio diei lune.[g]

[69v] *Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti*,

- *in nomine Adonay, Adonay, Adonay, Eye, Eye, Eye, Cados, Cados, Cados, Hatyn, Hatyn,*[h] *Hatyn, Va, Va, fortis, Va, qui apparuit*[i] *in monte Synay cum glorificacione regni sui, Ya, Adonay, Saday, Sabaoth, Hanath, Hu, Haxi, Ya, Ya, Ya, Marmalita, Abym, Yea, qui maria creauit, stagna, et omnes aquas in secunda die, quosdam in celis,*[j] *quosdam in terra, et sigillauit mare cum virtute sua et alto nomine suo vt terminum quem sibi posuit non preterierent* [Ps. 103:9 Vulg.],
- *et per nomina angelorum qui dominantur in secundo exercitu, qui seruiunt Oraphaniely, angelo magno, precioso, et honorato,*[k]
- *et per nomen stelle que est Luna*,
- *et per sigilla et per nomina predicta.*[l]

Coniuro super te Gabriel, qui est prepositus diei secundo, scilicet Lune, quod pro me labores et adimpleas omnem meam peticionem. Amen.

[3.] Coniuracio diei Martis.[m]

Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti,

- *per nomen Ya, Ya, Ya, A, A, Va, Hy, Hy, Haa, Haai, Va, Va, Han, Han, Hon, Hy, Hyen,*

Haya, Haya, Hol, Hol, Hay, Hael, Hon,

- *per nomina*[n] *domini Adonay, Haya, Hol, Plasmatori seculorum, Cados, Cados, Cados*, [70r] *Ebel, El, Ya, Ya, Ya, Eloy, Arar, Eloym, Eloym*,
- *et per nomen ipsius alti dei qui fecit aridam apparere et vocauit eam terram et produxit arbores et herbas de ea, et sigillauit super eam precioso et honorato* [*et*] *metuendo nomine suo*,
- *et per nomina angelorum dominancium exercitui tertio et ministrando Acynerim, angelo magno, forti, potenti, et honorato*,
- *et per nomen stelle que est*[o] *Mars*,
- *et per nomen Adonay, dei viui et veri.*

Coniuro super te, Samael, angelo qui est[p] *prepositus diei tercio, scilicet Marti, quod pro me laboretis et adimpleatis omnem meam voluntatem et totam meam peticionem, vt sicut in primo capitulo, etc., etc.*

[4.] Coniuracio diei Mercurij.[q]

Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti et potentes,

- *in nomine fortis, metuendi, et benedicendi, Ya, Adonay, Eleoym, Saday, Saday, Saday, Eye, Eye, Eye, Asaame, Asaomie, Asamye*,
- *in nomine domini Adonay, cum quo super verba hominum sigillauit Saa, quid, Sayguans,*[r] *Capym, Say, Saaqui*,
- *et per nomina*[s] *Cryasy, Adonay, Taguaasas, Adonay, dei Israel, quia ipse est*[t] *[qui creauit] diem et noctem*,
- *et per nomina omnium*[u] *angelorum seruiencium* [70v] *exercitui 4o, quorum Thytagora, angelo maiori, forti atque potenti,*[v]
- *et per nomen stelle que est Mercurius*,
- *et per nomen sigilli cum quo sigillatur Adon, fortissimo et honorato,*[w]
- *et per omnia predicta.*

Coniuro super te, angele magne Michahel, qui es prepositus diei 4o,

- *et per nomen sanctum quod in fronte Aaron sacerdotis altissimi creatoris*[x] *erat*,
- *et per nomina angelorum qui in gracia confirmati sunt creatoris*,
- *et per nouem sedes animalium habencium seuas*[y] *et alas,*

vt pro me laboretis in [*causa*] *mea, vt cicius ducatur ad effectum optatum, etc.*

[5.] Coniuracio diei Veneris.[z]

Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti atque potentes,

- *in nomine Hay, Hey, Hea, Ya, A, Ya, Ya, Ananey*,
- *in nomine Saday, qui creauit quadrupedia et animalia reptilia et hominem in sexto die, et dedit Ade potestatem super omnia animalia – inde benedictus sit nomen creatoris in loco suo*,

- *et per nomen angelorum qui seruiunt exercitui sexto coram Daghyel, angelo magno principi, forte*[a] *atque potenti*,
- *et per nomen stelle que*[b] *est Venus*,
- *et per sigillum eius, quod quoddam sigillum est sacratum*,
- *et per omnia predicta.*

Coniuro super te, angele magne Anael, qui es prepositus diei sexto, vt pro me labores, vt supra.

[6.] [71r] Coniuracio diei Jouis.[c]

Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti atque potentes,

- *per nomen Cados, Cados, Cados, Eseraye,*[d] *Esoraye, Eseraye, Hatym, Va, fortis firmatoris seculorum, Catiney, Yaheiz, Yaruc, Yarac, Calloac, Allae, Assaf, Maataf, Barifay, Abnaym*,
- *et per nomen Adonay, qui creauit*[e] *pisces et reptilia in aquis et aues volantes super faciem terre versus celos die quinto*,
- *et per nomina angelorum seruiencium exercitui quinto, pastore angelo magno sancto et potenti principi*,
- *et per nomen stelle que*[f] *est Jupiter*,
- *et per nomen sigilli sui*,
- *et per nomen Adonay, supremi diei omnium creatoris,*[g]
- *et per nomina omnium stellarum, et per vim et virtutem eorum*,
- *et per nomina predicta.*

Coniuro super te, Satquiel, angele magne qui est[h] *prepositus diei Jouis, quod pro me labores vt meus affectus ad effectum deueniat.*[i]

[7.] Coniuracio diei Saturni.[j]

Coniuro et confirmo et presciendo[k] *super vos, Captiel, Matatori, Sartaquidi, angeli fortes et potentes*,

- *per nomen Adonay, Adonay, Eye, Ey, E, Eye, Hacyn, Hacyn, Hacyn, Cados, Cados, Cados, Yma, Yma, Yma, Saday, Ya, Sar, domini formatoris seculorum*, [*qui*] *die septimo quieuit, et illam in beneplacito suo filiis Israel in hereditatem* [71v] *et obsequium dedit, vt eum firmiter seruarent et custodirent et sanctificarent ad habenda inde bona et in alio seculo remuneraciones, et nomina angelorum seruiencium exercitui septimo coram Boel, angelo magno, potenti principi*,
- *et per nomen stelle que*[l] *est Saturnus*,
- *et per sanctum*[m] *sigillum eius*,
- *et per omnia predicta*.

Coniuro Captiel, qui prepositus es[n] *diei septimo, qui est*[o] *dies sabbati, vt pro me labores*[p] *et non desistas*[q] *donec totum affectum ad effectum perducas. Amen*.

37b. Seals for seven angels

Sequitur videre et scire septem sigilla que[a] signanda sunt in quolibet opere secundum diem septimane.

Hec sunt sigilla vij planetarum discurrencium vij celos, secundum quod dixerunt vij physici sapientes, quotquod opus facies, quod si non scies non complebitur sine signis istis sequentibus, quoniam quelibet dies suum sigillum et suam[b] planetam et suos angelos et suum regem spirituum cum adiutoriis suis et sua[s] creatura[s] et suffumigium suum, secundum quod inferius tibi dicetur, et quando feceris hec,[c] scias quod perfectum ipsum fuisse et magnum qui hunc librum composuit. Et scias quod quidquid quesieris perficietur,[d] et virtute dei, cuius nomen sit benedictum per infinita secula seculorum, amen.

[1.] [72r] Ecce sigillum Raphahelis, angeli cuius stella est Sol. Fac illud die Solis in signo Leonis.[e]

[2.] Ecce sigillum Gabrielis, angeli cuius stella est Luna. Fac illud die Lune, hora Lune, in signo Cancri, etc.[f]

[3.] Ecce sigillum Samaelis, angeli cuius stella est Mars. Fac illa die Martis, hora Martis, in signo Arietis uel Scorpionis.[g]

[4.] Ecce sigillum Michahelis, angeli cuius stella est Mercurius. Fac illa die Mercurij et hora Mercurij, in signo Capricorni uel Gemini uel Virginis.[h]

[5.] Ecce sigillum Satquielis, angeli cuius stella est Jupiter. Fac illa die Jouis, et hora Jouis, signo Sagittarij et Pissis, etc.[i]

[6.] [72v] Ecce sigillum Anaelis, angeli cuius stella est Venus. Fac illa die Veneris, hora Veneris, in signo Thauri et Libre, etc.[j]

[7.] Ecce sigillum Caffrielis,[k] angeli cuius stella est Saturnus. Fac illa die Sabbati, hora Saturni, in signo Capricorni et Aquarij.[l]

37c. Seals for days of the week

[1.] Ecce sigillum diei dominici, quod fieri debet Sole ascendente.[a]
[73r] Ecce signum Solis, quod[b] est planeta die[i] dominice.[c]
[2.] Ecce sigillum Lune, quod fieri debet Luna ascendente.[d]
Ecce signum Lune, quod est planeta diei Lune.[e]
[3.] Sigillum diei Martis, quod debet fieri Marte ascendente.[f]
[73v] Signum die[i] Martis, quod est planeta diei Martis.[g]
[4.] Sigillum Mercurij debet fieri Mercurio ascendente.[h]

Signum Mercurij, quod est planeta Mercurij diei.[i]

[5.] Sigillum Jouis, quod fieri debet Joue ascendente.[j]

[74r] Signum Jouis, quod est planeta diei Jouis.[k]

[6.] Sigillum Veneris, quod debet fieri Venere ascendente.[l]

Signum Veneris, quod est planeta diei Veneris.[m]

[7.] Sigillum Saturni, quod debet fieri Saturno ascendente.[n]

[74v] Note de signis vij planetarum, id est septem dierum. Conpleta signa vij dierum ebdomade super planetis et signis eorum. Caue igitur in illis tibi, quia[o] maxima virtus est in eis, quare quia in eis complebuntur opera tua.

37d. Names of the angels who rule over the days of the week

Nomina angelorum regnancium a diebus septimane sunt dicenda, et sequitur que opera habet[a] nominare in operibus septimane.

[1.] Angelus diei dominici est Raphahel.

[2.] Angelus diei Lune est Gabriel.[b]

[3.] Angelus diei Martis est Samael.

[4.] Angelus diei Mercurij est Michael.

[5.] Angelus diei Jouis [75r] est Satquiel.

[6.] Angelus diei Veneris est Anael.

[7.] Angelus diei Saturni, id est Sabbati, est Captiel.[c]

In isto igitur opere nominabis angelum diei in quo facies opus tuum, et scribe illa, quare[d] si fuerint scripta multum iuuabunt te cum potencia creatoris.

37e. Spirits who rule over the days of the week

Regum spirituum vij diebus in septimana regnancium nomina subscribentur super eos angelos dominantes diei quando facies opus et sic venient et complebunt voluntatem tuam et respondebunt tibi in omnibus que quesieris.[a]

[1.] Die ergo dominico regnat et seruit rex Saytam. Coadiutores sui sunt[b] Taatus, Candas, Vanibal.

[2.] Et die Lune regnat et seruit rex Almodab. Coadiutores sui sunt Sylol, Millalu, Abuzaba.

[3.] Die Martis regnat et seruit rex filius dyabuli.[c] Coadiutores sunt Carmath, Utanaual, Pascami.

[4.] Die Mercurij regnat et seruit rex Saba. Coadiutores sui sunt[d] Conas, Pactas, Sanbras.

[5.] Die Jouis regnat et seruit rex Madrath, filius Arath. Coadiutores sui sunt Hyrti uel Hyiti, Ignaro,[e] Quiron, Saalalebeth.

[6.] Die Veneris [75v] regnat rex et seruit Saabotes. Coadiutores sui sunt Nassath, Ynasa.

[7.] Die Saturni regnat Hayton, Assayby. Coadiutores sui sunt Abimalyb et Haybalydoth et Yfla.

Conpleta sunt nomina regum spirituum regnancium et seruiencium septem diebus septimane.

37f. Suffumigations for each day of the week

Quilibet enim dies septimane habet suffumigium sibi appropriatum, cum quo suffumigabis[a] opus tuum quod facies in ea, et complebitur opus tuum sine dubio.

[1.] Suffumigium dies dominice assandalum croceum vel rubeum uel simile sibi.

[2.] Die Lune est aloes, anacap, uel simile sibi.

[3.] Die Martis est piper aut abana, cyg[b] uel sibi simile.

[4.] Die Mercurij est altast aut ei simile.

[5.] Die Jouis est olibanum aut croceum uel ei simile.

[6.] Die Veneris est almastic aut lignum radim uel ei simile.

[7.] Die Saturni est assandaron et sulphur aut ei simile.

Et si in die Saturni operare volueris ad ligandas lignas,[c] erit suffumigium thus Odee Capre.[d] Hec[e] sunt suffumigia dierum septimane.

37g. Purposes served in each day of the week

[1.] In die dominico operari poteris ad ligandas li[n]gwas aut ad alias ligaciones hominum.

[2.] Die Lune operandum est ad beniuolenciam et ad concordiam et amiciciam.

[3.] Die Martis [76r] operandum est ad infirmandum homines et

destruendum.

[4.] Die Mercurij operandum est ad ponendum inimiciciam siue odium inter homines.

[5.] Die Jouis operandum est ad faciendum pacem inter homines discordantes.

[6.] Die Veneris operandum est ad coniu[n]gendum homines in amicicia uel prouocandos de loco ad locum ad beniuolenciam.

[7.] Die Saturni operari poteris ad ligandum[a] interiora[b] balnea, molendina, aut similia.[c]

Dictum est de operibus dierum septimane in qua operandum est.

Quacumque die septimane operari volueris ad beniuolenciam aut quo[d]libet bonum uel malum, attende diligenter quod illa sit operi faciendo conueniens,[d] nec dimittas opus tuum de die in diem uel differas, quare si illud opus non confirmaretur uel non duceretur ad effectum forsitan putaret[ur] illud esse falsum.

37h. Angels serving on each day of the week

Sciendum quod qualibet[a] die septimane presunt tres angeli ad seruiendum homini et opera eius perficienda.

[1.] Diei dominico presunt tres angeli, scilicet Raphahel, Dardiel et[b] Vrlacafel.

[2.] Die Lune presunt[c] hij: Gab[ri]el, Michael, Sammyel.

[3.] Diei Martis presunt hij, scilicet Satyel, Sanyel, Barma- [76v] ly.

[4.] Diei Mercurij presunt hij, scilicet Gemi, Sabael, Sarpiel, Muriel.

[5.] Diei Jouis presunt hij, scilicet Pacta, Castiel, Assassael.

[6.] Diei Veneris presunt hij, scilicet Anael, Sarquiel, Sacquiel.

[7.] Diei Saturni presunt hij, scilicet Captiel, Mataton, Sartquiel, id est Satraquel.

In omni opere quod facies, invocabis angelos illius die[i] quo operari volueris, et ipsi tuam complebunt voluntatem et ducent ad effectum opus tuum.

37i. Names of God

Sequuntur consequenter nomina que scribere habent in principio cuiuslibet

operis quod facies ei et respondebunt voluntati tue. Et sunt ex nominibus creatoris. Ista ergo nomina cum nominari volueris invocanda sunt, scilicet Anguas, Yna, Dei Israel, Ybae,[a] Subae, Guabas, Ynissamon, Haa, Dosa, Barian. In omnia alia karta quam scribes opus hoc vt scribat in ea vbi sit alique ex materia carte quod si fuerit de amicicia et si fuerit de inimicicia et si ad medicinam similiter sic obseruet[ur] in omnibus.[b]

37j. Names of the hours of the day, and their functions

Scribere nos oportet nomina horarum[a] diei quibus horis perficientur opera que facies.

[1.] [77r] Prima ergo diei hora dicitur Yayn. In hac hora facienda est carta ad destruendas voces hominum et mala verba eorum et lingwas ligandas.

[2.] Secunda enim hora diei dicitur Yan, Or, et in ea operaberis ad amiciciam et graciam et beneficium obtinendum et ad societatem hominum aduittandum[b] ad reges et ad potentes.

[3.] Tercia vero hora diei dicitur Nassura. In ea facias cartam uel ymagines ad venerandum[c] feras vel aues, siue ad inplicandum pisces, uel aliquod quodlibet nascencia perhibenda.[d]

[4.] Quarta hora diei dicitur Sala. In ea fac cartam uel ymaginem ad ligandum omnes bestias siluestres, leones, vrsos, et similia.

[5.] Quinta hora diei dicitur Sadadat. In ea fac cartas ad ligaciones et ad applicandas quaslibet bestias, et ad quidquid vis aliud.

[6.] Sexta hora diei dicitur Tamhut. In ea operari poteris ad extrahendum captiuos de carcere, ad ligatos soluendos.

[7.] Septima hora diei dicitur Caror. In ea operatur ad ponendum pacem inter reges.

[8.] Octaua hora diei dicitur Tariel. In ea operari poteris ad mandeolenam et discor- [77v] diam[e] ponendam inter homines.

[9.] Nona hora diei dicitur Karon. In ea facienda est carta ad itinerandum[f] uel ad eundum inter latrones sine timore.

[10.] Decima hora diei dicitur Hyon. In ea operari poteris ad demonia uel demoniacos uel ventum malum uel pauorem uel iuuandum ad dominas.

[11.] Vndecima hora diei dicitur Nathalon. In ea operari poteris ad

prouocandum sangwinis fluxum in mulieribus et ad ligandum virum cum muliere uel e contrario.

[12.] Duodecima hora diei dicitur Abat. In ea operari poteris inter maliuolos ad pacem ponendam inter virum et mulierem.

37k. Names of the hours of the night, and their functions

[1.] Iste sunt hore diei, et operibus sibi pertinentibus.[a]

Prima hora noctis dicitur Leron. In ea fac ad demoniacos opera tua, aut ad uentos malos aut ad congregandas et loquitur cum eis.[b]

[2.] Secunda hora noctis dicitur Latol. In ea operari poteris ad piscariam et ad omina nascencia aque.

[3.] Tercia hora noctis dicitur Hami. In ea operari poteris ad accendendum uel ad exti[n]gwendum ignem et ad omnia que in eo volueris operari.

[4.] Quarta hora noctis dicitur Atyn. In ea operari [78r] poteris ad destruendum domum uel huiusmodi ad expellendum homines de loco ad locum.

[5.] Quinta hora noctis dicitur Caron. In ea fac questiones vt in sompnis videat quod futurum est in mundo uel in diebus uel in annis et ad secreta reuelanda.

[6.] Sexta hora noctis dicitur Zaia. In ea operari poteris ad arbores et fructus earum et ad ceteras plantas terre et ad omne quod operandum est in terra.

[7.] Septima hora dicitur Nectius. In ea operari poteris ad expellendum homines de domo sua uel quod infirmetur uel quod moriatur.

[8.] Octaua hora noctis[c] dicitur Tafat. In ea poteris operari ad inimicicaam ponendam inter quos volueris.

[9.] Nona hora noctis dicitur Conassuor. In ea poteris operari ad ligaciones li[n]gwarum aut ad intrandum ad reges et dominos.

[10.] Decima hora noctis dicitur Algo. In ea operari poteris ad destruendas li[n]gwas uel omnem cogitacionem super te aut concilium malum quod super te cogitatum fuerit.

[11.] Vndecima hora noctis dicitur Caltrua. In ea operari poteris que volueris in auibus, ad eas ligandas[d] uel capiendas.

[12.] Duodecima hora noctis dicitur Salaij. In ea poteris [78v] operari ad inveniendum quidquid predictum est uel ad reuelacionem furti uel malorum factorum.

37l. Names of angels that rule each hour of the day and of the night

Cvm aliquod opus uel cartam volueris scribere, nomen hore et nomen angeli et hore et qui ei dominatur uel ministratur oportet te nominare. Hec sunt nomina angelorum dominancium omnibus horis diei noxium[a] septimane. Prime hore diei dominatur Raphael. 2e hore Anael. 3e Michael. 4e Gabriel. 5e Gaffriel. 6e Satquiel. 7e[b] Samael. 8ue Raphael. 9e Anael. 10e Michael. Vndecime Gabriel. 12e Cafriel.

Nocte diei Lune prima hora dominatur Satquiel. 2e hore Samael. 3e Raphael. 4e Anael. 5e Michael. 6e Gabriel. 7e Cafriel. 8e Satquiel. 9e Samael. 10e Raphael. 11e[c] Anael. 12e Michael. Sic autem intelligere debes de omnibus aliis noctium et dierum prenominatis quidem enim angeli dominatur et ministrat horis secundum dominacionem planetarum uel ministracionem in eis. Omni hora Solis ministrat uel dominatur Raphael. Hora Veneris, Anael. Hora Mercurij, Michael. Hora Lune, Gabriel. Hora Saturni, Caffriel. Hora Jouis, Satquiel. Hora Martis, Samuel. Diei eciam cuiuslibet planete cum angelis suis signaque planetarum distributa horum angelorum nomina debent concordare et respondere [79r] nominibus capitulis supra proxime positus et angelo qui continetur infra in coniuracionibus cuiuslibet diei et in capitulis de ymaginibus deorum quibus ministrant adinuicem.[d]

Diei dominici ergo ministrat Sol, et angelus eius Raphael, eiusque signum Leo. Diei lune[e] ministrat Luna, et angelus eius Gabriel, eiusque signum Aries et Scorpio. Diei Martis ministrat Mars, et angelus eius Samael, eiusque signum Cancer. Diei Mercurij ministrat planeta Mercurij, et eius angelus Michael uel Mathael, eiusque signum Gemini uel Virgo. Diei Jouis ministrat Jupiter, et angelus eius Samael, eiusque signum Sagitarius et Pisces. Diei Veneris ministrat Venus, et angelus eius[f] Anael, eiusque signum Thaurus et Libra. Diei Sabbati ministrat Saturnus, et angelus eius Caffriel, eiusque signum Capricornus et Aquarius.

Nomina[g] siue istis v nominibus opus tuum perficere non poteris. Prima

hora diei Lune ministrat uel dominatur Gabriel. Secunda hora Caffriel. 3a hora Satquiel. 4a hora Samael. 5a hora Raphael. 6a hora Anael. 7a hora Michael. 8a hora Gabriel. Nona hora Caffriel. Decima hora Satquiel. Vndecima hora Samael. Duodecima hora Raphael.

37m. Images to be used for each hour of the day

[79v] De operibus ymaginum diei.

[1.] Nota primo malas li[n]gwas. Prima hora diei facienda est ymago ad ligandas li[n]gwas, et li[n]gwa que ligata fuit illa hora nunquam erit potens loquendi malum verbum de te. Prima hora diei fac ymaginem canis ex argento uel stanno[a] puro, et sculpe in capite ymaginis nomen illius super quem operaris et nomen domini hore et diei in quo hec[b] facis, et in ventre ymaginis nomen potentissimi et altissimi domini, et suffumigabis ymaginem suffumigio supra dicto, et cum sangwine rubeo et involues eam in panno albo nouo, et sepelies eam ad partem illius de quo volueris, tunc non loquitur de te malum. Et sic ligabunt omnia ora et oculi hominum, et tibi nunquam nocere poterit quamdiu durabit ymago ista. In ventrem ymaginis scribe nomen Lune et nomen signi et angelorum tempore quo hoc[c] facies. Hec autem nomina sunt nomina creatoris multum preciosa et benedicta, quibus creatum fuit[d] celum et terra.[e] Hic[f] autem cum sculpes, sculpe eam totaliter vt bene appareat.[g] Et hec sunt nomina: Lyara, Lyalguana, Loaffar, Vialuarab, Lebara, Lebarion, Layasales. Hec sunt vij nomina que scribes in ventre forme, et scribes ea in omnibus operibus omnium rerum pertinencium hominibus, aut auibus et bestiis et omnibus creaturis de concordia et amicicia.

[2.] [80r] Secunda hora diei facienda est ymago benivolencie, et vna ymago viri et altera mulieris de purissimo stanno fusile et [in] capite ymaginis mulieris nomen viri, et in capite viri nomen mulieris, in pectore vero et in ventre ymaginis[h] sculpes vijtem subsequencia nomina simul cum vijtem nominibus supradictis, et iunges ymagines, conglutinando[i] eas cum cera, ita quod inter se bene firmantur, et sepelias[j] in domo illius quem volueris alium sequi, et fiet inter eos amicicia durabilis quamdiu ymagines durabunt. Et hec sunt ista vij nomina, hec scribes: Malthayl, Caramel, Azariel, Zaraimayl,[k] Parsail, Porbayl, Seralabelis. Et hec[l] quod[m] legi possunt.

[3.] Tercia hora diei facienda est ymago ad prouocandas omnes aues et

tota omnia piscamina[n] ad locum signatum. In hac hora fac ex ere rubeo ymaginem animalis quod applicare volueris, et sculpe in capite ymaginis nomen domini hore et in pectore similiter et in ventre vij nomina prime hore, et suffumiga eam cum feniculo aut ordeo yndo, et sepeli eam in loco ad quem volueris applicare animalia sub quorum similitudine ymaginem formasti, et videbis mirabilia creatoris quando veniant ad locum istum.

[4.] [80v] Quarta hora diei facienda est ymago ad animalia prouocanda uel effuganda, vt scorpiones et omnia reptilia et bestias siluestras. In hac hora fac ymaginem ex ere croceo ad similitudinem animalis cuius genus [ge9] in loco signato volueris applicare, sculpe nomen animalis in capite ymaginis et in pectore nomen domini hore, et vij supradicta nomina, prima hora[o] sculpe in ventre ymaginis et sepeli ymaginem in loco quo vis applicari. Hec quidem ymago applicabit omnia animalia que tunc non in loco erant.

[5.] Qvinta hora diei facienda est ymago ad feras mitigandas, vt leones, vrsos, et lupos, aut[p] quaslibet alias feras nocentes. In hac hora funde ymaginem animalis cuius genus volueris applicari uel mittigari, et sculpe in capite ymaginis nomen animalis, et in pectore nomen hore et nomen domini hore, et in ventre vij nomina prime hore, et suffumiga ymaginem cum ligno yndo et cum sandalo rubeo, et sepeli ymaginem in loco vbi volueris, et auxilio domini te adiuuante videbis quod omnia illa animalia ad voluntatem tuam reuertentur.

[6.] Ad liberandos incarceratos. Sexta hora diei facienda est ymago pro captiuis aut incarceratis, uel dampnandis ad mortem uel saluandis. In hac [81r] hora funde ymaginem illius uel istorum quos saluari volueris ex argento uel stanno, et sculpe in capite ymaginis nomen viri saluandi, et in pectore nomen hore, et in ventre[q] septem nomina prime hore, et[r] dona[s] ymaginem alicui eorum, quod eam secum teneat carcere et ista nocte euadent a carcere cum potencia dei creatoris.

[7.] Ad uenandum uel ad piscandum.[t] Septima hora diei facienda est ymago pro uenacione et piscacione, et est fortis et vtilis multum. Funde ymaginem ex optimo argento in hac hora, et sculpe in capite ymaginis nomen domini hore, et in pectore ymaginis vij nomina 2e hore, et omni hora qua piscatum vel venatum ieris ymaginem tecum porta et[u] applicacionem, venacionem, uel piscacionem quam volueris.

[8.] Ad maliuolenciam et discordiam ponendam inter homines. Octaua hora diei facienda est ymago ad domos uel ad loca destruenda[v] et

deponenda. In hac hora funde ymaginem ex ere rubeo cum duobus capitibus, quorum vnum sit asininum, reliquum vero hominis, et sculpe in capite asinino nomen loci quod deletum esse volueris, et in capite humano sculpe nomen domini loci, et ministratores domini loci et in pectore ymaginis nomen domini hore, et suffumiga ymaginem cum sangwine hominis inter- [81v] fecti uel cum auxugia carnis, et sepeli eam in loco quem depopulatum rem[w] volueris et fugient omnes homines et depopulabitur iste locus talis quod nec quoddam[x] brutum animal remanebit.

[9.] Quod poteris transire vbicumque volueris et nullus tibi nocere potest. Nona hora diei facienda est ymago ad ambulandum sine timore inter leones aut feras et transire per eas sine timore [uel] terrore, et ad omnia itineranda secure. In ea hora funde ymaginem sub similitudine de qua quesieris,[y] et scribe in capite ymaginis nomen domini hore, in ventre vij nomina prime hore, et suffumiga ymaginem cum supradicto[z] fuste et croco. Portans eam tecum, transibis per quemcumque locum volueris sine timore, qui[a] oculi cunctorum videre te non poterunt et eorum li[n]gwe obmutescent. Poterisque transire, [et non] fiet tibi dampnum, cum potencia dei.

[10.] Ad optinendum quidquid volueris coram[a] regibus et[b] principibus. Decima hora diei facienda est ymago ad intrandum ad reges et potestates. In hac hora funde ymaginem hominis ex argento, et sculpe in capite ymaginis nomen hominis, et in pectore nomen hore et nomen domini hore, et in ventre vij nomina prime hore, et suffumiga ymaginem cum croco et fuste supra- [82r] dicto, et involue eam in panno nouo lineo et albo, et hora qua ad aliquem volueris intrare vel ire porta eam tecum, et obtinebis quid volueris cum adiutorio dei.

[11.] Ad faciendum concordare discordantes. Vndecima hora diei facienda est ymago ad prouocandam concordiam inter discordantes uel inter virum et mulierem. In hac hora funde duas ymagines, vnius ponderis et vnius quantitatis et qualitatis, et sculpe nomen viri in capite femine, et nomen femine in capite masculi, et in pectoribus ambarum ymaginum sculpes nomen hore et nomen domini hore, et in ventris nomina 2e hore, et pone eas facie ad faciem, et suffumiga eas cum croco et fuste supradicto, et pone eas in secreto ad stellas, et videbis mirabilia, quomodo vnus inqui[e]tet alium et non poterit vnus sine alio stare.

[12.] Ad ligandas li[n]gwas. Dvodecima hora diei facienda est ymago ad ligandas li[n]gwas. In hac hora fac ymaginem hominis ex optimo stanno, et sculpe in capite nomen eius, et in pectore nomen hore, et in ventre nomina

prime hore, et suffumiga cum croco et fuste supradicto, et pone ad stellas vij noctes, et cum mochazat et cum sandaras, et coniura eam cum qui sic incipiunt Samahil, et non erit potens loqui super eum malum verbum.

[82v] Finite sunt vij ymagines que faciende sunt in similibus horis diei cum omnibus suffumigacionibus et operibus suis. Caue igitur in illis, quia exanimate sunt et vere et ne per te mentiantur,[c] quia per eas totam perficies tuam voluntatem, in gracia dei, cuius nomen sit benedictum. Amen.

37n. Images to be used for each hour of the night

De operibus ymaginum noctis.

Modo dicam operacionem ymaginum noctis, sicut studuerunt antiqui qui nominati sunt; invocantur qui ipsi eas composuerunt, vt omnes homines operantes eas scirent de lucerna que nunquam exti[n]gwi possit.

[1.] Prima hora noctis facienda est ymago ad illuminanda loca tenebrosa uel quemlibet alium locum obscurum. In hac hora funde candelam eream quasi crucibulum habens vij ora, et sculpa in quo[libet] ore crucibuli hec nomina: Sarastan, Hasas, Dalas, Sassa; et pone in quolibet ore crucibuli lignum[a] de bombace, et scribe super os crucibuli hec xij nomina: Bezat, Berith, Zenit, Caffan, Dalfat, Dana, Aneth, Beas, Manith, Hassas, Dalaph, Sefa. Et fac ex eo super crucibulum ymaginem hominis tenentis secum quasi formam vasis in similitudinem fundentis oleum in candela, et imple candelam oleo quod non fuerit expressum manibus, et sculpe super faciem ymaginis istud [83r] nomen: Leorphahel [uel] Leorpahel, et super formam nomen istud: Rosahal. Et similiter supra candelam crucibuli, et cooperi faciem ymaginis quod non possit discooperiri, et accende ora crucibuli, et nunquam exti[n]gwetur. Poteris facere ymaginem in loco quod nulla mulier poterit transire, nec ibi stare, nec ibi stetur.[b]

[2.] Secunda hora noctis faciendum est ymago ad presciendum fortunium. Istud testificatus est homo Almera, qui fuit ex sapientibus antiquis, qui cum ingressus fuisset quamdam ciuitatem quam nominabant Alandar fecit in ea ymaginem istam et vlterius ingressa non fuit mulier in eam. In hac hora funde ymaginem ex ere lympide, et scribe super faciem ymaginis hec nomina: Notooa,[c] Har, Beel, Cead, Vasas, Naaya, Haat. Et hec alia sculpes in quodam folio oris[d] et ponas in manu ymaginis; hec sunt nomina, scilicet, Raagor, Ralaz, Branar, Cundaz,[e] Natho, Jany. Et sepeli ymaginem in medio ciuitatis siue ville, vt nullus te videat dum hoc[f] feceris.

Et cum hac ymagine poteris prescindere scorpiones aut cetera nocencia de loco.

[3.] Ad fugandum omnia reptilia. Tercia hora noctis facienda est ymago ad predestinendum reptilia nocencia aut bestias malas aut locustas, vt viperas aut omnem rem malam. In hac hora funde ymaginem [83v] eream ad similitudinem reptilis quod volueris fugari et scribe in facie eius hec nomina: Vabros, Wiez, Bercca,[g] Beror, Berabut, Baramel. Et sepely ymaginem vbi volueris, et omnia de dictis effugabunt.

[4.] Ad destinandum villam aut locum quem volueris depopulari, aut inimiciciam. Qvarta hora noctis facienda est ymago ad villam vel locum destruendum quem volueris depopulari, aut inimiciciam.[h] In hac hora minge tu ipse retro in ore cameli uel catti, et collige in panno hominis, et vade ad domum inimici tui, et [scribe] ista nomina cum ista aqua in porta domus eius: *Raccedi,*[i] *Palicos, Pytalas, Pila, coniuro vos quod cito destruetis domum illius*, N., et tam cito factum erit.

[5.] Ad dispergendum exercitum. Qvinta hora noctis faciendum est ymago ad dispergendum exercitum congregatum super castrum aut quemlibet alium locum, aut malas nubes aut grandinem. In hac hora funde ymaginem ex plumbo et ere rubeo equaliter mixtum sitque 4or librarum, et sculpe in ea hec nomina: Baraa, Atle, Hate, Carbara, Garglale, Ha, Conadiuro Famal,[j] Alul, Beaali, Aguel, et Arpa, Nafaca, Paluo. Et suffumiga ymaginem suffumigiis que docuimus, et[k] coniura super eam vij nomina scripta, et sepeli[l] ymaginem in altori loco, et tale infor- [84r] tunium eueniet quod totus exercitus dispergetur, [et] fugiet. Et si operatus fuerit ad dispergendas nubes, sepeli eam in altiori loco et propinquiori monte, ville, morce, uel loco seminato, et dispergetur nubes et complebitur quod quesieris, videbisque mirabilia et potenciam creatoris.

[6.] Ad faciendum fugere inimicos uel inimicum. Sexta hora noctis facienda est ymago ad expellendum inimicum a villa de domo in qua moratur. In hac hora funde ymaginem ex ere rubeo, et sculpe in ea hec nomina: Tartarath, Acuta, Col, Cafra, Cal, Guabrath, Afah, Audena, Cal, Matha, Coltasia, Bal, Mathail, Cafia, Falduc, Atal, Parclena,[m] Cul, Mathiel, Fustaul, Gaulyar, Etal, Patath, Cicubael, Barath, Cabuel, Athael, Pera, Patua. Et in capite ymaginis sculpe nomina illius pro quo ymaginem facis, et suffumiga ymaginem supradictis suffumigiis, et pone eam prope[n] habitacionem eius, et recedet maliuolus fugiendo de villa vel domo, nec quiescet, et pauescet, et distruetur eius sensus totalis.

[7.] Ad comburendum[o] nascencia terre. Septima hora noctis facienda est ymago ad comburenda nascencia terre. In hac [84v] hora funde ymaginem ex ere rubeo, et sculpe in ea hec nomina: Agug, Cantzit, Totman, Catua, Via, Meracuat, Vanath, Gara, Turat,[p] Nuxae, Artha, Nar. Descendat ignis de celis in terram, qui[q] tremat totum terminum istum. Adrat, Mararat, Beguayl, Algayl, Carat.[r] Et sepeli ymaginem in termino ville, et in toto termino folium viride non[s] cremabit.

[8.] Ad congregandum apes aut columbas uel alias quascumque aues. Octaua hora noctis facienda est ymago ad applicandas apes ad aluarium suum, aut columbas ad columbarium suum, aut quascumque alias aues ad locum signatum de longinquis partibus terminis in circuitu. In hac hora funde ymaginem apis de auro ad pondus vnius aurei, et sculpe in ea ista nomina: Cadota, Carosa, Astab, Yatyon,[t] Vetartuna, Taracta. Et sepely ymaginem in altiori loco illius termini et applicabunt illuc omnes[u] apes qui erunt in circuitu loci illius aut columbe ad columbarium suum vbi fuerit ymago columbe facta secundum quod supra dictum est. Similiter et omnes alie aues.

[9.] Hanc ymaginem facies ad omnia que volueris prouocare ad capiendum aues quas volueris. [85r] Nona hora noctis facienda est ymago ad prouocandas aues quarumlibet ad quemlibet locum volueris. In hac hora fac ymaginem illarum auium quas volueris prouocare, et sculpe in ea ista nomina: Totarati, Tuata, Berhantual, Toluhaya, Ya. Et pone eam quo volueris aues applicari, et applicabunt.

[10.] Ad dispergendum exercitum obsidentem[v] villam uel castrum. Decima hora noctis facienda est ymago ad dispergendum exercitum obsidentem villam uel castrum. In hac hora funde duas ymagines ex duobus generibus diuersorum metallorum: vna sit ex ere rubeo, 2a ex plumbo, 3a de stanno, 4a de argento, 5a de ferro. Sint autem hee due ymagines in vno corpore, et ista ymago habeat duo capita, vnum leonis, reliquum vero thauri, habens cornva a parte anteriori,[w] et sculpe in testis illis ista nomina: Horata, Taramat, Bata, Velaheia, Laa, Veda, Eaeffaxa, Lylatrala, Calmaatur, Mantut, Caatuas. Et sculpe in ventre formam leonis et formam bouis, et pone inter eas de sepo bouis et de sepo colubri, et suffumiga ymaginem cum eis et sepely eam vbi sedet exercitus, et cadit in eo talis occisio quod ipsimet se occident, et nunquam reuertatur medietas ad terram suam de ordine.

[11.–12.] [85v] Vndecima et duodecima hora noctis nichil per ymagines manuum est operandum, nisi per oracionem et postulacionem, sic enim

dixerunt sapientes: Qui de hac sapiencia inquirere uel addiscere voluerit, oportet eum primitus scire horar et nomina dierum, quia in hiis est tota virtus magisterij, et cum hiis perficies opera tua in virtute creatoris, cuius nomen est benedictum in secula [secul]orum. Amen.

37o. Names of angels serving specific times

Qvando volueris operari ex libro isto adnomina nomen Terre in tempore suo quolibet eorum 4or nominum, videlicet in quolibet opere vnum. Et quia hoc[a] precipitur, quia si fieret aliqua transgressio per operantem, nullum[b] veniret ad effectum, etc.

Cvm autem aliquod opus aut ymaginem operare volueris ad precidendum[c] da[m]pnum hominibus siue seminibus aut gregibus, accipiet[d] tempus diei quo hec[e] facies, et si de nocte operatus fueris, accipiet tempus noctis cum nominibus angelorum mendancium[f] tempus in quo operaberis, in nomen non prohibende vt lucuste grandis et malorum nubium aut rei que tibi videbitur, et hec sunt nomina que scribes in primo tempore.[g]

Nomina angelorum primi temporis: Gatrat,[h] Cassa, Tait, Amatyel, Gramsatos, et nomen potentis super istos est Oamquiel, et nomen capitis Singlytiel, et Venatyel, Atatyel, [86r] nomen vero auium est Nerastas.

Nomina angelorum secundi temporis sunt hec: Bartatel, Turiel, Vlmiel, et nomen capitis signi Labael.

Nomina angelorum seruiencium tempori 3o sunt hec: Tarquayl, Acartayl, Acayl, Gaabarayl, et nomen capitis signi Calguarath.

Nomina angelorum seruiencium tempori 4o sunt hec: Amabel, Terayl, Atraa, Atratrayl.

Cvm autem operari volueris, accipe nomen temporis quo hoc[i] facies, et scribe alia nomina aut signa secundum quod fuerit opus, et omnia venient ad effectum in virtute et potencia creatoris, cuius nomen est benedictum in secula [secul]orum. Amen.

37p. Names of the planets and of parts of the earth

Nota de nominibus Solis.

Dicere nos oportet et docere cupiditates scire ista sciencia[j] ymaginum et nomina Solis et Lune et Terre, et 4or parcium mundi, in quolibet tempore.

Nomen igitur Solis in primo tempore est Abrayn. In secundo tempore Acamon. In 3o Abragon. In 4o Rifar.

Primo tempore Solis sunt hec nomina signorum eius: Aries, Thaurus, Gemini. Tempore 2o Cancer, Leo, Virgo. Tempore 3o sunt hec: Libra, Scorpio, Sagitarius. Tempore vero 4o sunt hec: Capricornius, Aquarius, Pisses.[k]

De nominibus Lune. [86v] Primo tempore nomen Lune est Lunatulant. Secundo tempore Albora. Tercio tempore Alladyn. Quarto tempore Saarbaquia.

De nominibus celorum. Primo tempore celorum est Asaptaa, Tima. Secundo tempora Armatrassi. Tercio Mafatyn, Gnam.[l] Quarto Safatem.

De nominibus Terre. Primo tempore Terre nomen Inamodon. Secundo tempore Festaen.[m] Tercio Tabian vel Rathbil. Quarto Yemat uel Yaneaa.

De nominibus 4or parcium mundi, scilicet Orientis, Occidentis, Meridiei, et Septentrionis.

Primo nomen 4or parcium mundi, scilicet Orientis in primo 4or temporum est Gnaandon. 2o Pibdaya. 3o Aldebath. 4o Pedioth. Nomen Occidentis tempore primo Amana. 2o Tana. 3o Ytadaon. Quarto Malchaam.[n] Nomen Meridiei tempore primo Mantham. 2o Yasaory. 3o Azut. Quarto Danor. Nomen Septentrionis tempore primo Manbasut. 2o Gasson. 3o Mascyel. Quarto Yamhor.

De aliis 4or nominibus Terre: alia nomina Terre in 4or temporibus: In primo tempore Talyn. 2o Cosmaaram.[o] Tercio Aydarael. Quarto Saybath.

Vt scias que sunt 4or tempora.

Scias quod primum tempus incipit a medio Marcij et finit in medio Junij, et menses[p] Aprilis [87r] et Maij sunt in medio, et sunt de tempore primo. Secundum tempus incipit a medio Junij et finit in medio Septembri, et Julius et Augustus sunt in medio, et sunt de tempore 2o. Tercium tempus incipit a medio Septembri et finit in medio Decembri, et October et Nouember[q] sunt in medio, et sunt de tempore 3o. Quartum tempus incipit a medio Decembris et finit in medio Marcij, et Januarius et Februarius sunt in medio, et sunt de tempore 4o.

37q. Images and conjurations for days of the week

De ymaginibus vij dierum ebdomade.

Sapientes philosophi et experti qui composuerunt istum librum

confidentes in deo qui est super omnes deus ordinauerunt ymagines vij dierum ebdomade ad faciendum peticiones, et est sciencia altissima et honorata et multum secreta et non conceditur omnibus hominibus nisi viris magni et profundissimi sensus et intelligencie.

Caue igitur tibi in illis, et proba, et invenies veritatem sanctissimam.

[1.] De ymagine diei dominice. Prima ymago est diei dominici. Forma eam ex auro uel auricalco aut cera crocea, et scribe super eam nomina sequencia, et si in altitudine dicitur ascensio Leonis in mense Augusti aut Aprilis. Hec sunt nomina angelorum man- [87v] dancium Leonem: Raphael, Dardyel, Vrlathafel. Nomina ventorum sunt hec uel spirituum qui semper mandant Leonem: Baythan, et eius adiutores Cahatus, Cardas, Yabal. Cum volueris ligare li[n]gwas, fac ymaginem istam in horis nominatis que tibi conuenit[r] et altitudine dicta, et coniura super eam per ista coniuracionem:

> *Coniuro vos, angeli sigillo Solis consignati: Banarga, Lyon, Cylon, Bamayon, Admyon, Assuerop, Tayuf, Rem, Letana, Baupa, Yanoth, Haralyl, Quilil, Casub, Nubtub, Caytuli, Catub,[s] per creatorem celi et terre et 4or parcium mundi et ventorum qui[t] sunt inter celum et terram, qui est super omnes deus, fortissimus et altissimus, et non est alius deus preter eum, et ipse est rerum et conditor omnium naturarum: Yat, Faoli, Ydardyel, Ycalatasyel. Item coniuro vos per hec nomina: Vasamiaa,[u] Licaa, Cassaa, Lamubatub, Olot, Elos, Cymehalod, ipse est qui scit sciencias secretas et apertas, Yfael, Cardiel, Telataph, El, laborate et complete peticionem meam et opus quod cupio compleri.*

[2.] Secunda ymago est [diei] Lune, et est facienda ex auro vel ex stanno aut ex cera alba. Ymago hec est ad maximam beniuolenciam et concordiam, et hi[v] sunt angeli super eam dominantes: Gab[ri]el, [88r] Michael, Samuel. Cum autem volueris facere concordiam et magnam beniuolenciam, fac ymaginem istam 2a hora[w] diei Lune, in altitudine Cancri,[x] in mense Julij aut Martis, uel in mense Piscium. Hec sunt nomina ventorum qui[y] manda[n]t Cancrum: Heletel, Halmital, et huius adiutores sunt Bellomilalum,[z] Abuzaba. Et coniura super eam per istam coniuracionem:

> *Coniuro vos angeli quibus commissum est signum Lune, Comoha, Bamoha, Zihil, Bephaha, Casal, Nata, Vada. Coniuro vos per honorem dei vt compleatis hanc peticionem, nec in aliam rem laboretis donec festinetis[a] compleueritis. Rogo te, G*[*abriel*]*, M*[*ichael*]*, et S*[*amuel*]*, quod*

hec[b] *mea peticione adimplere confirmare non remaneat*[c] *quousque eam perfecte adimplebitis et confirmabitis, diuina nobis concessa gracia et virtute.*[d]

[3.] Tercia ymago est die[i] Martis. Forma eam ex ere rubeo aut cera rubea, die Martis et hora Martis, mense[e] Aprilis aut Decembri.[f] Et scias quod hoc opus est multum honoratum et forte, quando volueris istud opus operari. Nomina angelorum commissorum sigillo Martis sunt hec, scilicet Sariel, Taryel, Harmalil, et nomina ventorum qui seruiunt ei super[g] hec: Harmabia, Blisacana, Ababob, et eius 3es adiutores Coaamal,[h] Vmial,[i] Perasas. Et coniura per istam coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos [88v] *principes angelorum et ventorum eius, Edus, Mafraas, Dadayus, et Hydus, Habat, Alat, Nays, Madasia, Yaral, Fastriath, Ysamtiel, Ytatel, Haramalil, nomine Cabar, Carachar, Ycidanis, Yalens, Harab, et dominum lucis altum Bathaquius, diuini*[j] *Honris,*[k] *Tortur, Hamahe, Dana, Cadara, dominum celorum et terre, nec est alius deus preter ipsum, deum Salciel, Tariel, Hatamalil, precipe*[l] *Hamar, Benall,*[m] *et adiutoribus eius, quod faciant et compleant quod ab ipsis postulaui.*

Si volueris depopulare domum, ad sa[n]gwinis fluxum prouocare, aut aliquem infirmari, aut quodlibet aliud dampnum facere, forma[n] ymaginem ex ere rubeo et sepely ymaginem iuxta aquam currentem.

[4.] Qvarta ymago est diei Mercurij, et hec sunt nomina angelorum quibus super eam constituunt: Michael, Fanuel,[o] Sarpiel; et nomina ventorum sunt hec mandantium eam, scilicet Tobha et adiutores eius Danhas, Paclas, Sambas. Forma ymaginem mense Julij aut Octobris, et plumbo; sculpe in ea nomina ista ad seperandos beniuolentes et ponendas inimicicas inter eos,[p] et coniura sic per ista coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos angeli per nomen creatoris, preter quem nullus est vince[n]s, ipse enim est creator et preceptor, et omnis potestas est in manu sua, uel eius sibi eciam est virtus insuperabilis, quia ipse est potens et invincibilis rex, sub cuius [89r] *auctoritate omnia sistunt et viuunt. Coniuro vos, Michael, Sarpiel, Muriel, Peruerl,*[q] *Yeserie, Adonay, Sabaoth, Yo, Yo, domini celorum et terre, venite per bonitatem veri fortis qui solus fuit, est, et erit. Michael, Sarquiel, Muriel, complete peticionem meam,*[r] *vt veniat ad effectum.*

[5.] Qvinta ymago est diei Jouis, et angeli super eam constituti sunt Satquiel, Pattar,[s] Constiel, Assassayel, et hij sunt venti constituti super ymaginem: Silite, Maraben, Halharit, et sui adiutores sunt Yse, Riron, Naasay, Eladab. Et quando igitur volueris hoc opus operari, forma ymaginem ex ere croceo aut ex cera crocea die Jouis, et intinge eam cum viridi, et fac pro viro et pro muliere, [si] hoc modo volueris ponere amiciciam inter duos viros aut mulieres aut inter virum et mulierem. Forma duas ymagines ex cera viridi mense Maij, scilicet in altitudine Piscium, aut mense Januarij in altitudine Sagitarij, et scribe nomen viri super cor ymaginis femine et nomen femine super cor masculi, et dic coniuracionem istam:

> *Domine deus, omnipotens creator rerum visibilium tam invisibilium, pone beniuolenciam et mansuetam concordiam inter mulierem talem, filia*[*m*] *talis, et talem, filium talis, quam posuisti inter Adam et Euam, et inter Jacob et Rachelem, et inter Michaelem et Gabrielem, quorum vnus est igneus et alter aqueus, vnus* [*autem*] *alteri non* [89v] *nocet, sed est inter eos concordia magna, et quemadmodum posuisti concordiam in angelo cuius medietas est ignea, altera niuea, vt nix ignem non extingwit, nec ignis niuem consumit, et tu pariter inuidiam concordare facis. Ita, domine, tua sanctissima pietate et misericordia*[t] *talem, filiam talis, concordare, diligere, et amare cum tali, filio talis, facias. Coniuro vos angeli nomine Yafaa, Safaa,*[u] *Alleya, Hayala, Haya, Halix, Hayul, Ataya, Hytoia, Saffetaba, Coffossol, Remlestar,*[v] *El, domine deus, qui scis secreta cordium et es finis et principium, qui nunquam morieris. Festina, Sarafem, Custyeli, et precipe Amaris*[w] *et adiutoribus eius, vt cito faciant et compleant peticionem meam.*

Et sepeli ymaginem in loco per quem transeant, et videbis mirabilia omnipotentis dei.

[6.] Sexta ymago est diei Veneris, et angeli mandantes eam sunt Anael, Naquiel, Sagriel, et venti sunt Sarabores, et 3es adiutores Trathacas, Nasat, Nasaa. Quando de ymaginibus operari volueris, formas illas die Veneris ex cera alba mense Maij, in altitudine Thauri, aut in mense Octobris, et scribe nomen viri super cor ymaginis mulieris, et nomen mulieris in capite ymaginis viri, et suspende eas ad stellas, et percute eos cum virga oliue, et coniura eas cum ista coniuracione:

Venite, Anael, Tarquiel, Samuel, [*90r*] *Hassahaa, Saaca, Giraca, Adtulia,*[x] *Archalia, Aler, Gnad, Alualia, Saana, Samorie, Mahyra, Cartel, Harat, Maslatym,*[y] *Caci, Yca, Yca, Dad, Dada, per ipsum qui est Cados, Salba, dominum angelorum et ventorum, Heyt, Asseveye, Adonay, El, Salday, Saraoth, Sabaoth, Lyaste, Ady, Gualbroa,*[z] *vir fortissimus, virorum fortissimum,*[a] *deus altus et magnus, creator noster, preter cuius potenciam non est alia, A, Cya, Ya, Barquissaquil, Sabguyel, et per istam coniuracionem quam super vos coniuro, et per virtutem El, Veneris, bene fortunate, coniuro vos vt bene proficiatis in hac mea causa,*[b] *et compleatis cito meam voluntatem, commemorando filium talis, et talem filiam*[c] *talis, sicut ferrebat*[d] *cor Eue per amorem Ade in omnibus, Haycrab, Hayclas, Canael, Taltoth, Scarpe, cor talis, filie tali*[*s*]*, pro loco condenso vbi cottidie transeat.*[e]

[7.] Septima ymago est diei sabbati, cuius planeta est Saturnus, et hec ymago est multum honorata et preciosa, super omnes alias ymagines, eo quod Saturnus est in septimo celo. Hanc autem ymaginem mandant isti angeli: Castuel, Maratron uel Matraton, Satael. Et venti huic seruientes sunt hij: Memmi, Aloybain, Aflas, Analuabith. Quando autem volueris ligare li[n]gwas aut balneum [90v] aut[f] molendinum aut centorium, uel ponere discordiam inter duos diligentes se, forma ymaginem ei et[g] sculpe in ea nomina dicta, et porta eam tecum, necessaria cum ea, per portam ciuitatis aut ville uel domus, et sepeli eam in medio vbi volueris, et ligabunt omnes li[n]gwe hominum loci illius. Et si volueris ponere discordiam inter duos beniuolos, uel inter virum et mulierem, forma duas ymagines de pice clara, sitque facies ymaginis viri facies porci, et facies ymaginis mulieris facies canis, et pone eas tergo ad tergum, et scribe in cartha virginem[h] sequencia verba, et ponis[i] eam inter costas ymaginis, et hec sunt verba que faciunt inter eos vt istos discordiam et inimiciciam, maliuolenciam, pec[t]orum percussio, capillorum depilacio, abhominaciones, et fuga, vt nunquam vnus ab altero possit diligi, sed ab inuicem sibi tristes obuient. Et sepeli ymaginem sub porta domus vnius illorum, et videbis mirabilia. Et coniura super eam[j] cum ista coniuracione:

Venite, Cya, Mutaron, Sathauel,[k] *angeli commissi sigillo Saturni Stigis*[l] *quod in hac hora in adiutorium michi, et precipite spiritibus Amamni*[m] *et Astaba, Hertanalit,*[n] *vt venia*[*n*]*t cito, meum completum*[o] *mandatum, per*

nomen domini benedictum Albilfael, Fiel, Ignaborum, Yada, Yaffla, Tasagaf, Hyaalym, Anagodyny, [91r] *Dymas, Anazana, Salodaya, Athym, Adyr, Elsyday, Adaptinor, Sabath, Adoray, Eloym, Eloe, Gna, Cithe, Sereaye, Alssylayessus, Agnibora,*[p] *Osatietas, angelorum Cassie, Mittaron, Satquiel, precipite me Mira et Affla, et Alualuaht, Sayp, Aladep, vt idem meam compleant voluntatem per*[q] *sanctitatem coniuracionis huius, quam super vos scripsi.*

37r. Summary

Cvm operare volueris, accipe semper tempus, siue de die siue de nocte, cum nominibus angelorum mandancium tempus in quo operaberis, et nomen rei, et ibi sunt nomina supradictorum angelorum mandancium tempus, que[a] scribere debes in primo tempore et in 2o tempore et in 3o et 4o, et eciam nomina signorum eius, sicut ibi iacet, in quolibet tempore suo, et isti sunt angeli cerciores et meliores, secundum librum quendam illi quod dedit, uidetis et quod[b] vocas principes xij mensium, vt sequitur infra, et loco istorum nominabis et pones istos supradictos. Nota quod sicut supradicti angeli sunt nominandi, sicut eciam nomina dierum in quo operaberis,[c] sicut continentur in capitulo quod incipit, ‘Conplete sunt vij signa dierum’. Ista sunt dicta Iudei.[d]

Nota quod isti sunt principes angelorum xij [91v] mensium, qui dominantur in suis thronis in quinto celo, qui habe[n]t thronos 4or. Primus thronus est in parte orientali, in quo dominantur tres angeli qui sunt principles. Secundus thronus est in parte occidentali, et ibi dominantur alij 3es angeli et principes. Tercius thronus est in parte septentrionali, et ibi dominantur 3es alij angeli, vt infra statim melius declarabitur.

Nota quod semper vni throno[e] deseruiunt tres menses, et vnum tempus, vt infra patebit. Primus ergo angelus est princeps, qui est in primo throno et in parte orientali, dominatur primo tempore et mense primo, et iste vocatur Aysansasyel, et iste et[f] alij principes supradicti[g] habent plures alios seruientes eis[h] et obedientibus eorum imperiis ornare quilibet princeps dominus est invocandus et nominandus secundum tempus et ordinem suum cum suis seruitoribus, et imo iste primus angelus concordat cum primo tempore et mense, et secundus[i] [sic] cum 2o, et 3us cum 3o, 4us cum 4o, et sic de aliis.

Primum tempus:[j]

2o mense regnat et dominatur princeps Ragiel cum suis seruitoribus.

3o mense regnat et dominatur princeps Dyrnaot cum suis seruitoribus.

[92r] Secundum tempus:[k]

4o mense regnat et seruit princeps Tanenon cum suis seruitoribus.

Quinto mense regnat et dominatur[l] princeps Terogat cum suis seruitoribus.

Sexto mense regnat et dominatur princeps Morel cum suis seruitoribus.

3m tempus:[m]

Septimo mense regnat et dominatur princeps Patderon cum suis seruitoribus.

Octauo mense regnat et dominatur princeps Illdegage cum suis seruitoribus.

Nono mense regnat et dominatur princeps Andegor cum suis seruitoribus.

4m tempus:[n]

Decimo mense regnat et dominatur princeps Macgmel cum suis seruitoribus.

Vndecimo mense regnat et dominatur princeps Assandaran cum suis seruitoribus.

Duodecimo mense regnat et dominatur princeps[o] Abarthiel cum suis seruitoribus.

Nota eciam quod sicut mensium sunt nominandi sic eciam nomina dierum sunt in quo operaberis, quorum nomina sunt: Prima enim dies dominica[p] vocatur Metraton. Et 2a Yaspel, Tercia Geminiel. 4a Gabriel. 5a Michael. 6a Raphael. 7a Sarphiel uel Captiel, vt scribitur in sacra scriptura. Distingwe tempora et concordabis scripturis,[q] et ideo primo distingwenda sunt tempora et cognoscenda, [92v] et 2o in quolibet opere quod operare volueris si vis opus tuum perficere et vt posses tempora disti[n]gwere et cognoscere, scias quod primum tempus cum fiunt 4or tempora incipit a medio Marcij et finitur in medio Junij, et menses[r] Aprilis et Maij sunt in medio, et sunt de primo tempore, et[s] sic continentur ad tale signum.[t]

Et cum tempus summum[u] continentur 3es menses supradicti, 3es menses et eorum principes, possunt eis adaptari et coniungi et cum eis nominari et invocari quo ad primum tempus, quia sunt primo tempore orientali et in primo throno orientali.

Cvm eciam secundum tempus contineat 3es menses et eorum principes presente 2o tempore adaptari, nominari, et [in]vocari, cum sunt dicitur[v]

tempore occidentali et throno occidentali.

Cvm eciam 3m tempus continet 3es menses et eorum principes, possunt 3o tempore adaptari nominari et invocari, cum eciam sunt de 3o tempore et throno meridionali.

Cvm 4m tempus eciam continet 3es menses et suos principes presunt [pn^t] 4o tempore[w] adaptari et nominari et invocari cum sunt de 4o tempore et throno septentrionali, ad tale signum invenies angelos cerciores et meliores, qui habent concordare cum 4or temporibus.

Cvm volueris coniurare seu cartham scribere vel nomina invocare, dic nomina angelorum [93r] dominancium tempore et mensi et altitudini qua facies opus. Prima enim altitudo mensis est Nysan, 2a est Yar, et sic de aliis, quod si operatus fueris ad bonas[x] vel ad bonum, narrabis angelos bonos, et si ad malum malos, et sic facies in omnibus que volueris operari, et ita complebitur opus tuum, et probatum libri doctrina est vera et cetera.[y]

Cvm eciam oporteat te nominare nomina Solis et signorum et Lune et terre et parcium 4or mundi, et cum nomina Solis sunt 4or et 4or sunt[z] tempora, concordabit primum cum primo, atque nominabis et invocabis, et secundum cum 2o, et 3m cum 3o, et 4m cum 4o. Et cum sint 3a nomina signorum eius in quolibet tempore, facies idem. Et cum sint eciam 4or nomina Lune concordabis cum predictis et nominabis primum cum primo tempore, et secundum cum 2o, et 3m cum 3o, 4m cum 4o. Et cum eciam sint 4or nomina terre quod eciam oportet te nominare, facies eciam quod primum nominabis cum primis et secundum cum 2is, et 3m cum 3is, et 4m cum 4is, sic[ut] habetur superius in capitulo. Dicere oportet et ita facies de 4or nominibus quod terra signabit [sigibt] aliter ibi in fine dicti capituli.[a] Et eciam oportet te nominare 4or partes[b] mundi, videlicet orientis, occidentis, et meridiei, et septentrionis, et cum quolibet istorum habeat 4or nomina secundum tempus suum, primum nominabis et invocabis cum primis, secundum cum 2o, [93v] 3m cum 3o, 4m cum 4o, et sic de aliis.

Et auertas quod sigillum et signum diei scribatur seu depingatur dies et hora est in qua debes opus tuum facere seu incipere, quia magna virtus est in eis, quare cum eis complebunt opera tua, et nomina angelorum regnancium in diebus septimane dicenda sunt, et sequitur que nomina habet[c] nominare in operibus septimane secundum diem suum.

Angelus diei dominici est Raphael, et si operatus fueris in die dominico istum nominabis et [in]vocabis, et sic de omnibus aliis, vt continetur in supradicto capitulo completa, etc. In omni igitur opere nominabis angelum

diei in quo facies opus, et scribe illud, quia si fuerit inscripto,[d] quia multum iuuabit te cum potencia creatoris.

Regum eciam spirituum vij diebus septimane regnancium nomina subscribentur, seu omnes angelos dominantes diei quo facies opus, et sic veniunt et complebunt voluntatem tuam, [et] respondebunt tibi in omnibus que quesieris.

Diei ergo dominico regnat et seruit Baytan rex, coadiutores sui sunt Caatus, Candas, Vambal, et sic de aliis, vt ibi invenies.

Nota eciam quod quilibet dies septimane habet suffumigium suum sibi a[p]propriatum, cum quo [94r] suffumigari oportet opus quod facies in ea, et complebitur opus tuum sine dubio. Suffumigium diei dominice est assandalis croceum uel rubeum vel sibi simile, et sic de aliis, vt ibidem continetur, et eciam ibi subsequentur[e] invenies qualia opera facere debes in quolibet die.

Nota quod eciam oportet te scribere nomina horarum die[i] quibus quidem horis perfic[i]entur opera que facies. Prima ergo diei hora dicitur Yayn. In hac hora facienda est cartha ad destruendas[f] voces hominum et mala verba eorum, et li[n]gwas ligandas, et sic invenies ibi de aliis horis, tam diurnis quam nocturnis.

Nota eciam quod cum aliquod opus aut cartham scribere volueris, nomen hore et nomen domini hore, id est angeli qui ei dominatur uel ministrat, oportet te nominare. Vnde hec sunt nomina angelorum dominancium omnibus horis diei septimane. Prima enim hora diei dominatur Raphael, et sic de alijs que ibi invenies quo ad idem, et sic eciam est de nocte. Vnde nocte diei Lune prima hora dominatur Sarquiel, et sic eciam de aliis, vt ibi invenies, etc.

Nota eciam quod sic est de omnibus horis supradictis, ita eciam est et intelligere debis, quod quidam angeli dominantur uel ministrant horis secundum dominacionem planetarum uel ministracionem in eis. Omni enim hora Solis dominatur uel ministrat Raphael, et sic de aliis, vt ibi invenies, etc.

[94v] Nota eciam diligenter de concordia, quod eciam habens,[g] debes facere de omnibus supradictis, et coniunccione eorum est regula talis. Diei eciam cuilibet planete cum angelis suis signaque planetarum distributa horum angelorum nomina debent concordare et respondere nominibus et capitulis supra scriptis, et angelo qui[h] continetur in coniuracionibus cuiuslibet diei, vt supra in capitulis de ymaginibus dierum quibus ministrant

adinvicem diei, ergo dominico ministrat Sol, et angelus eius est Raphael, eiusque signum est Leo, et sic de aliis, vt ibi invenies.

Omnia predicta oportet te seruare quandocumque volueris operare secundum istum librum, et in aliquo deficere non posses, quia hec per ordinem invenies quomodo et qualiter habere te debes, et opus tuum secundum istum librum facias et nichil dimittas, si non vis errare, et primo semper respicere mensem lunarem, quia mensis lunaris dierum alij boni sunt, alij sunt mali, vt habetur supra in libro isto, et ideo regula est talis, quod quocumque die septimane operare volueris ad quo[d]libet bonum siue malum facere vis, attende diligenter, quod illa dies sit operi fiendo respiciendo mensem lunarem, vt dictum est. Et si illa dies sit bona et conueniens, non dimittas opus tuum de die in diem, uel differas, quare quia[i] opus tuum non veniret ad effectum, et forsitan putares illud esse falsum.

[95r] Avertas eciam diligenter quod in principio vnius cuiusque tui operis debes scribere nomina que respondebunt voluntati tue, et sunt hec nomina ex nominibus creatoris. Cum igitur illa nomina altissima nominare volueris, flexis genibus humiliter, invocabis sic:

Invoco et humiliter supplico vobis nomina altissima dei, vt nos adiuuetis in opere tali, ad complendum, ad perficiendum:[j] *Agnas, Yana, dei Israhel, Ybat, Suliat, Gnalas, Yemssamon, Haa, Dosa, Barian, Barian, etc.*[k]

Inuoco et appello te, Captiel, angele qui es[l] *prepositus diei*[m] *septimo, qui es dies sabbati, quod pro me labores*[n] *et* [*non*] *desistas donec totum meum effectum et desiderium ad*[o] *effectum perducas. Rex Mayron, Assayby, invoco te et appello et tuos adiutores Abymalib et Haybaly, Dot et Yfla, quod pro me laboretis et non desistetis donec totum meum affectum et desiderium compleuerit*[*is*].

Vos[p] *angeli qui presidetis diei sabbati, Captiel, Mataton, Sarquiel, id est Satraquiel, invoco et appello vos vt pro me laboretis et non deficiatis donec totum meum affectum compleueritis. O sanctissima nomina dei, Agmas,*[q] *Yana, dei Israel, Ydar, Subar, Gnabas, Yemssamon, Haa, Dosa, Ba-* [95v] *rian,*[r] *invoco vos et requiro toto corde et ore vt dignemini me exaudire et adiuuare, et totum meum desiderium complere, vt valeam videre mille armatos in meo seruicio.*

Cyayn, prima hora diei invoco te vt adiuues me, vt facias me videre predictos spiritus armatos, et te eciam, Yan, oportet, que es[s] *2a hora, et*

te eciam, 3a hora Dasura, et te eciam, 4a hora, Sala.

Invoco eciam et appello angelos dominantes predictis horis, Raphael, 2o Anael, 3o Michael, 4o Gabriel. Invoco eciam Saturnum et eius angelum Captielem, et eius signum Capricornum et Aquarium, et suum sigillum quod est hoc quod hic pono,[t] *vt me adiuuent et faciant michi apparere predictos spiritus armator in meo seruicio.*

Terra, que[u] *in 4o tempore vocaris*[v] *Yemat vel Yaneaa, invoco te et appello, vt tu adiuues me et facias apparere predictos spiritus armatos in meo seruicio. O nomina angelorum qui seruitis 4o tempore, Amabel, Terayl, Atrarayl, invoco vos et appello, vt faciatis michi* [96r] *venire spiritus in forma militum armatos in meo seruicio. O angeli fortes, Castiel, Matraton, Fatael, invoco vos vt meum desiderium compleatis et predictos spiritus venire faciatis. Et vos ventos, Genuum, Altibayn, Aflas,*[w] *Analuabet,*[x] *venite Eya, Mittaton, Sathane, uel angeli promissi, sigillo Saturni, sitisque in hac hora in adiutorium michi, et precipite spiritibus Amamim*[y] *et Astabam et Hactanaabit, vt veniant cito meum comple*[z] *mandatum, per nomen benedictum Abilfaelfiel, Anogodym, Dymaon, Ana, Ana, Saoday, Athym, Adyr, Essiday, A, Daymior, Sabat, Adonay, Eloym, Eloe, Gna, Cythe, Seredye, Assylla, Yssessus, Agnabora. O societas*[a] *angelorum, Cassie, Matraton, Satquiel, precipite me Mira et Affla et Abralualit, Sayp, Aladep,*[b] *vt iam meam compleatis voluntatem, per sanctitatem coniuracionis huius, et per coniuracionem quam super vos feci. O Tomitat, nomen Solis in 4o tempore, invoco te vt tu adiuues ad faciendum venire supradictos spiritus in forma militum in seruicio meo. O nomina signorum 4ti temporis, invoco vos vt adiuuetis me quod supradicti spiritus venient in meo seruicio, Capricornus, Aquarius, et Pisces. O Saarlaquia, nomen Lune in 4o tempore, rogo te et invoco vt tu adiuues me, quod fa-* [96v] *cies venire supradictos spiritus in forma militum in meo seruicio. O Safaten, nomen celorum in 4o tempore, rogo te et invoco vt tu adiuues me, quod facias venire supradictos spiritus in forma militum in meo seruicio. O nomina 4or parcium*[c] *mundi, Orientis Pedyoth, Malchaam,*[d] *Mendie, Danoe, Septentrionis Yamhor, vos invoco et rogo vt vos adiuuetis me et faciatis venire supradictos spiritus in forma militum in servicio meo.*

a *Note that* operari *and* operare *are used interchangeably*.
b *Heading duplicated in margin*.
c u *corrected from another letter, which is blotted out*.
d Sic *in MS*.
e *MS* angele.
f *Meaning* dominico.
g *Heading duplicated in margin, and again at top of fol. 69v*.
h *Corrected both times from* Hatym.
i *MS* apparauit
j *MS* celos.
k *MS* honorata.
l *MS* predictos.
m *Heading duplicated in margin*.
n *Followed in MS by* men, *deleted*.
o *MS* qui.
p Sic *in MS*.
q *Heading duplicated in margin*.
r Sic *in MS?*
s *Followed in MS by* et.
t *Followed by* ide, *struck through*.
u omnium *added below line in MS*.
v Sic *in MS*.
w Sic *in MS*.
x *Corrected in MS from* creatis.
y Sic *in MS?*
z *Heading duplicated in margin*.
a *Corrected in MS from* fortem.
b *MS* qui.
c *Heading duplicated in margin at bottom of fol. 70v*.
d *Corrected in MS from* Esaraye.
e *Followed by* pissces, *struck through*.
f *MS* qui.
g *Presumably meaning* supremi dei, omnium creatoris.
h Sic *in MS*.
i *MS* deueniant.
j *Heading duplicated in margin*.
k Sic *in MS*.
l *MS* qui.
m *Followed by* g, *struck through*.
n Sic *in MS*.
o *MS* es.
p *MS* laboras.
q *MS* desistac *or* desistat.
a *MS* qui.
b *MS* suum.
c *Or* hoc.
d perficietur *duplicated in MS*.
e *Followed by seal*.
f *Followed by seal*.
g *Followed by seal*.

h *Followed by seal*.
i *Followed by seal on top of 72^{v}*.
j *Followed by seal*.
k *Or* Casfrielis?
l *Followed by seal*.
a *Followed by four lines of seals*.
b Sic *in MS, here and in following cases*.
c *Followed by two lines of seals*.
d *Followed by two lines of seals*.
e *Followed by one line of seals*.
f *Followed by five lines of seals*.
g *Followed by two lines of seals*.
h *Followed by five lines of seals*.
i *Followed by one line of seals*.
j *Followed by two lines of seals, and three further lines at the top of 74^{r}*.
k *Followed by one line of signs*.
l *Followed by four lines of signs*.
m *Followed by one line of signs*.
n *Followed by 6 lines of signs at the top of 74^{v}*.
o Sic *in MS*.
a Sic *in MS.*
b r *in* Gabriel *partly blotted out in MS.*
c *Or* Capciel?
d Sic *in MS*.
a Sic *in MS*.
b *Followed in MS by* Sylol, Candas, *struck through*.
c Sic *in MS*.
d *Followed in MS by* Comas, *deleted*.
e Sic *in MS?*
a fumi *blotted out in MS*.
b Sic *in MS, for* cygminus?
c *Meaning* linguas?
d Sic *in MS?*
e *MS* Hee.
a um *blotted out in MS.*
b *Initial* i *blotted out in MS*.
c *Followed by* Quacumque die septimane.
d *Meaning* quod illa sint operi faciendo conueniencia?
a *MS* quilibet.
b *MS* uel.
c *MS* prosunt *(here and in the following five cases)*.
a *Corrected in MS from* Ybas *(?)*.
b *This entire paragraph seems obscurely written*.
a *MS* horas.
b *Meaning* admittendam *or* admittendorum?
c *Presumably meaning* venandum.
d Sic *in MS*.
e c *added above line in MS.*
f *MS* itenerandum.

a *Presumably meaning* opera eis pertinencia.
b Sic *in MS*.
c *Corrected in margin of MS from* nothis.
d *First* a *inserted above line, substituting for a letter that is blotted out*.
a Sic *in MS*.

b *Blotted out in MS*.
c *MS* 12.
d Sic *in MS*.
e *Corrected in MS from* luna.
f *MS* eiusque.
g Sic *in MS*.
a *MS* stangno.
b *Or* hoc.
c *Or* hec.
d *Presumably meaning* quibus creauit.
e *In margin of MS:* Nota nomina, *and pointing hand*.
f *Meaning* hanc [ymaginem]?
g *MS* appariat *or* apperiat [appiat].
h *MS* ymaginem.
i *MS* conglutinaando.
j *MS* sepelieas.
k Sic *in MS?*
l *Or* hoc.
m *Meaning* quoque?
n Sic *in MS.*
o *MS* hore.
p *MS* aut.
q *MS* virtute.
r et *slightly malformed, and duplicated above line in MS.*
s *MS* tona.
t *Heading added in margin of MS*.
u *Meaning* ad?
v *Meaning* depopulaturum?
w Sic *in MS?*
x *Followed in MS by* p, *struck through*.
y *Perhaps meaning* sub similitudine bestie de qua quesieris?
z Sic *in MS*.
a *Followed in MS by* te, *struck through*.
b *Followed in MS by* pueri *(?), struck through*.
c Sic *in MS.*
a *MS* lignium.
b Sic *in MS*.
c Sic *in MS?*
d Sic *in MS*.
e Sic *in MS?*
f *Or* hec.
g Sic *in MS?*
h Sic *in MS*.
i Sic *in MS?*
j Sic *in MS*.
k *Followed in MS by sign for* con-, *blotted out*.
l *Followed in MS by* eam, *deleted*.
m Sic *in MS?*
n *MS* proprie.
o *MS* comburendam.

p Sic *in MS?*
q *Followed in MS by* creauit te, *struck through*.
r Sic *in MS*.
s Sic *in MS*.
t *Followed in MS by* Vertart, *struck through*.
u *Followed in MS by* aues, *deleted*.
v *MS* absidentem.
w Sic *in MS?*
a *Or* hec.
b *MS* nullo.
c Sic *in MS*.
d Sic *in MS*.
e *Or* hoc.
f *Presumably meaning* ministrancium.
g *This entire paragraph appears to be obscurely written*.
h Sic *in MS?*
i *Or* hec.
j *Possibly meaning* et cupitis scire istam scienciam.
k Sic *in MS*.
l Sic *in MS?*
m Sic *in MS?*
n Sic *in MS?*
o Sic *in MS?*
p *MS* mensis.
q *MS* Octobri et Nouembri.
r Sic *in MS?*
s *Followed in MS by* et.
t *MS* que.
u Sic *in MS?*
v *MS* si.
w *MS* 2am horam.
x *MS* Cancer.
y *MS* que.
z Sic *in MS?*
a -ne- *accompanied by dots normally indicating deletion. Perhaps an adverb is intended?*
b *Or* hoc.
c Sic *in MS*.
d *MS* virtus.
e *MS* mensis.
f *MS* Decembris.
g *Meaning* sunt?
h Sic *in MS?*
i Sic *in MS?*
j *Meaning* dominum?
k Sic *in MS?*
l Sic *in MS*.
m Sic *in MS?*
n *MS* formam.
o Sic *in MS?*
p *MS* eas.

q Sic *in MS?*
r *MS* mean.
s Sic *in MS?*
t *MS* misericordiam.
u *Corrected in MS from* Safea *(?)*.
v Sic *in MS?*
w Sic *in MS?*
x Sic *in MS?*
y Sic *in MS?*
z Sic *in MS?*
a Sic *in MS*.
b *MS* meam casam.
c *MS* tali filia.
d *Perhaps intended for* furebat.
e *The final words read like fragments of instruction that do not belong to the conjuration, but the passage is evidently confused*.
f *MS* ad.
g *Meaning* eorum?
h *Meaning* virginea?
i *Meaning* ponas?
j *MS* eas.
k Sic *in MS?*
l *I.e., Saturn (the spirit) of Styx*.
m Sic *in MS?*
n Sic *in MS?*
o Sic *in MS*.
p *Followed in MS by* Osan *(?), struck through*.
q *MS* pre.
a *MS* qui.
b *This passage appears confused*.
c Sic *in MS*.
d Sic *in MS*?
e *MS* throni.
f et *added above line in MS*.
g *MS* supradicte.
h *MS* eius.
i *MS* secundo.
j *Written on right side of page*.
k *Written on right side of page*.
l *Followed in MS by* Terogat, *struck through*.
m *Written on right side of page*.
n *Written on right side of page*.
o *Followed in MS by* Abra, *struck through*.
p *MS* dominice.
q *Followed in MS by an extraneous* et, *struck through*.
r *MS* mensis.
s *MS* etc.
t Sic *in MS*.
u Sic *in MS*.
v *This passage appears confused*.

w *MS* tempori.
x Sic *in MS*.
y *Meaning* certa?
z *Changed in margin to* sint.
a *MS* capitulum.
b *MS* parcium.
c *Meaning* habes?
d Sic *in MS*.
e *Meaning* subsequenter?
f *MS* destruandas.
g *Followed in MS by* de, *struck through*.
h *MS* que.
i Sic *in MS*.
j *Followed in MS by* Agnas, Yna, Yana, dei Israel, Ybat, Subat, *struck through*.
k *Pointing hand drawn in margin, with inscription* Nota nomina.
l *MS* est.
m *MS* dei.
n *MS* laboras.
o *Followed in MS by blot*.
p *MS* Quos.
q *Or* Aginas?
r *Second pointing hand shown in margin of fol. 95r*.
s *MS* est.
t *Followed in MS by three signs, given next to each other across the page*.
u *MS* quod.
v s *struck through in MS?*
w Sic *in MS?*
x Sic *in MS?*
y Sic *in MS?*
z Sic *in MS*.
a *Followed in MS by* ange, *struck through*.
b Sic *in MS? Third letter is blotted out*.
c *MS* temporum.
d Sic *in MS?*

No. 38. For obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail (fols 96v–99v)[a]

Accipe puerum virgineum de legittimo thoro, et socios quos tibi placuerint, et vadas ad locum secretum, et facias circulos 3es cum gladio. Ad primum dic, *In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.* Ad secundum dic, *In nomine indiuidue trinitatis, Alpha et O, deus et homo.* Ad 3m dic, *Ego te facio per illum qui creauit celum et terram, mare et omnia que in eis sunt.*[b]

Hoc finito, fac quod vnusquisque habeat gladium suum, et non minus 4or gladiis extractis, et accipe sedem tripedem, et pone inferiorem circulum, et scribas [97r] nomen pueri ad sedem, et benedic puerum per hanc

benediccionem, circu[i]endo per caput eius cum gladio, dicens,

Crux Christi tecum. Crux Christi est quam semper adoro. Crux Christi est vera salus. Crux Christi soluit vinculum mortis. Crux Christi est invincibilis per arma. Crux Christi est mobile signum. Crux Christi superat omne malum.

Et da[c] puero gladium tenere ad manus, et fac illi crucem ad frontem, dicendo,

Crux sancta sanctificet[d] te et omnes oraciones sacerdotum benedicant te.

Et fac puerum sedere ad sedem, et radas sibi vngwem cum cultello, et vnge sibi vngwem cum oleo oliue, et tunc benedicas socios tuos, semper vnum post alium, et te ipsum cum predicta benediccione, sicut tu puerum benedixisti. Et facias eos sedere, vnum post alium, ad inferiorem circulum, et da vnicuique gladium suum tenere ad manum, et facias eos habere silencium, et fac puerum cla[u]dere oculos, et benedic puerum et te ipsum et omnes socios tuos per inicium sancti ewangelij secundum Johannem: *In principio erat verbum, et verbum erat aput deum, etc.* [Jn 1:1].

Hoc finito, fac puerum inspicere vngwem quousque se reuertat et ipse coniurare,

Vmon, Progemon, Mithiomo, Pist, Vralchim, Althes, Panite, Fabar, Thobar, Cormes, Felsmes, Diles, Dilia, Dies, Onaris, coniuro vos demones prenominatos, per hec nomina sancta, On, Ton, [97v] *Gon, Ron, Apt,[e] Galapt,[f] Ivs,[g] Calens, Timel, vt citissime iam nullam requiem habeatis, nec in celo nec sub celo, nec in terra nec sub terra, nec in pluuiis nec in ventis, nec in nubibus nec in aeribus, nec in ignibus nec in aquis, nec in abissis nec in arundinibus, nec in ponis[h] nec in aliis quibus*[*cumque*] *locis, nisi furem cum furto isto puero ostendens[i] vngwem istius pueri virginei oleo linito crescere, clarescere, tanta latitudinis apparere, vt poterit euidenter videre in eo furem et furtum factum nobis ablatum, et locum vbi adhuc latet,[j] et quicumque cum ipso furto actum.*

Tunc sibyla ter. Ad primum dic, *O domine[k] Ihesu Christe.* Ad secundum dic, *O deus fortis.* Ad 3m dic, *O potestas.*

Hoc finito, dic coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos, principes omnium demoniorum, Astaroth, Belzebub, Berit, Fornicator, Temptator, et Seductor, Possessor hominum, Natheus, Molbet.[l] *Precipio vobis vt vestrum vnus in forma nigra veniat vt iste puer possit eum euidenter videre in sua vngwe.*

Hoc finito, queras a puero si videt latitudinem at altitudinem in suo vngwe. Si non, dimittas formam nigram et incipe predictam coniuracionem vsque quod videbit omnia.[m] Tunc facias venire sicut prius posui, eciam precipias ipsis per hec nomina:

El, Eloy, Elyon, Aloe, Sappa, Sother, Emanuel, Tetragramaton, Saday, Luamay, Athanatos, Ysos, Kyrie, Primogenitus, Vita, Finis, Via, Flos, Fons, Ve- [98r] *ritas, Sapiencia, Virtus, Paraclitus, Ego sum qui sum, Mediator, Agnus, Ouis, Vitulus, Serpens, Aries, Leo, Os, Verbum, Ianua, Ymago, Gloria, Lux, Sol, Splendor, Lapis angularis, Sponsus, Pastor, Propheta, Sacerdos, Immortalis, Lex, Rex, Christus, Pater, Filius, Spiritus Sanctus, Agla, Petra, Eternitas, Neon, Burnon, Parli, Caon, Aepton, Alpha et O, Omnipotens, Misericors, Caritas, Eternus Creator et Redemptor, Primus et Nouissimus, Dator et Receptor, Ayos, Otheos, Yschyros, Sanctus Deus, Fortis et Paciens, Iustus Iudex in vltimo die. Per ista lxxija nomina Christi precipio vobis vt michi sitis obedientes et isto puero virgineo de qua re et de qua interrogacione quod factum est* [*nichil*] *retineatis, quod verum est numeretis et dicatis.*

Hoc finito, queras si videt demonem saltantem et gaudentem. Tunc dic ad puerum, et facias ad socios tuos simul loqui quod puer non habeat timorem. Hoc finito, incipe coniurare et fac istum recedere et furem cum furto minare:[n]

Coniuro vos, prenominatos demones,

- *per istum qui creauit celum et terram et omnia que in eis sunt,*
- *et per istum qui nos et vos creauit et nos redemit cum suo precioso sangwine,*
- *et per istum qui venturus est,*
- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *et per sanctam obedienciam,*
- *et per corpus domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui hodie et cottidie celebratur per vniuersum mundum,*
- *et per sanctam trinitatem,*
- *per deitatem,*
- [98v] *per humanitatem,*

- *per deum verum,*
- *per deum viuum,*
- *per deum sanctum,*
- *per deum omnipotentem,*
- *per sanctam Mariam, matrem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per eius vnicum filium,*
- *et per tremendum diem iudicij,*
- *per resurrex*[*i*]*onem omnium mortuorum,*

vt recedas et furem cum furto [*et*] *loco, cui adducas, vt iste puer euidenter possit videre furem cum furto N.*

Non[o] dicas aliam coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos, prenominatos demones,

- *per annunciacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per sacrum ieiunium domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per baptismum domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per temptacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per passionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per milia sex wlnera domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per centum sex wlnera domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per quinquaginta sex wlnera domini nostri Ihesu Christi, sine alijs de capite vsque ad plantas,*
- *per spineam coronam quam in capite domini nostri Ihesu Christi posuerunt et genua flectebant* [*et*] *illudebant sibi, dicentes, 'Aue rex Iudeorum',*
- *per arundinem et alapas, quibus Christum cedebant,*
- *et per 3es clauos,*
- *per lanceam qua sacratum corpus domini nostri Ihesu Christi perforatum est dum continuo exiuit sa*[*n*]*gwis et aqua,*
- *per emissionem sue sanctitatis domini nostri Ihesu Christi, 'In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum',*
- *per anxietatem quam beata virgo Maria, mater domini nostri Ihesu Christi, habuit dum vidit filium eius pendentem in cruce, dicens, 'Flecte ramos, arbor alta,' et non secundum quod compositum est ex 4or litteris, scilicet Alpha et O, deus et homo factus.*[p]

Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per omnes sanctos angelos, thronos, et dominaciones, principatus, potestates, virtutes celorum, cherubin et seraphin, qui non cessant* [99r] *clamare, dicen*[*te*]*s, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus',*
- *et per virtutem domini nostri Ihesu Christi, scilicet propter nos homines descendit de celis et natus ext ex Maria virgine, sub Poncio Pylato passus est,*
- *et per 3es angelos, scilicet Michael, Gabriel,* [*et*] *Raphael,*
- *et per dominicam oracionem, scilicet Pater noster,*
- *per vij candelabra que in manibus angelorum odoriferum,*
- *per eorum miracula deo beneplacita, qui sunt sub christiana.*[q]

Hoc finito, queras a puero si videt. Si non, tunc dic hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos, prenominati demones,

- *per 4or ewangelistas, Lucam, Marcum, Matheum, Johannem,*
- *per 4or sermones,*
- *per xij apostolos,*
- *per 3es magos, scilicet Caspar, Balthasar,* [*et*] *Melchior,*
- *per patriarchas* [*et*] *prophetas,*
- *per martires et confessores,*
- *et per omnes papas Romanorum, et omnes virgines et viduas,*
- *et per omnes episcopos,*
- *et per omnes abbates,*
- *per omnes priores,*
- *per omnes preponitos,*
- *per omnes archidiaconos,*
- *et per omnes deconos,*
- *per omnes monachos,*
- *per omnes moniales,*
- *per omnes sacerdotes,*
- *per omnes dyaconos et subdyaconos,*
- *per omnes sanctos dei,*
- *per merita omnium sanctorum,*
- *per omnem populum Christianorum,*
- *et per omnes sanctos qui sunt in celo et in tera,*
- *et per centum et*[r] *xliiij milia innocentum qui non sunt loquentes loqui in puericia, passi sunt supplicia,*
- *per omnes karacteres Salomonis,*
- *per sapienciam suam,*
- *per omnia experimenta Virgilij,*
- *per celum et terram,*
- *per mare,*
- *per omnia que in eis sunt,*
- *per omnes Cesares,*
- *per omnes* [99v] *reges,*
- *per omnes principes,*
- *per comites,*
- *per omnes milites,*
- *per omnes ciues.*

Hoc finito, queras si videt furem cum furto et si venisti ad finem. Tunc terge puero vngwem tunica tua, et accipias vnugla[m] pueri,[s] et benedicas puerum tali modo, faciendo crucem cum gladio ad 4or partes corporis sui, dicendo, *Pater, Filius, Spiritus Sanctus, sancti,*[t] *custodiant te.* Et fac puerum gladium recipere ante se, et exire de circulo, et omnibus sociis tuis ita facies et tibi.

a *This experiment begins a section that is labelled on fol. 96v as follows:* Incipiunt experimenta verissima et probata: Incipiunt experimenta verissima et probata, primum ad omnia indaganda que volueris, siue presencia, siue preterita, siue futura, etc.

b *Cf. Ps. 145:6 Vulg*.

c *MS* dat.

d *MS* sanctificat.

e Sic *in MS?*

f Sic *in MS?*

g Sic *in MS?*

h *Meaning* pontibus?

i *MS* ostendans.

j *MS* iatet.

k *Followed in MS by first stroke of an* x, *struck through*.

l Sic *in MS?*

m omnia, *written in margin of MS, probably belongs here*.

n *Presumably for* minari.

o *Meaning* nunc?

p Sic *in MS*.

q Sic *in MS*.

r *Followed in MS by* l, *struck through*.

s *MS* domini.

t Sic *in MS*.

No. 39. For obtaining information by gazing into a fingernail (fols 99v–103r)

Incipit secundum [experimentum] bonum et probatum.[a]

[100r] Accipe puerum virginem de legittimo thoro, et fac 3es circulos. Ad primum circulum dic, *In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.* Ad secundum dic psalmum *Celi enarrant*.[b] Ad 3m dic *Deus tuum regi da*.[c] Post hec,[d] accipe sedem tripedem quercinium, et subtus scribe nomen pueri, et sub pedibus pueri scribatur hoc nomen Tetragramaton, et ponantur desuper duo lapides, ne puer tangat nomen pedibus. Postea scribe in manubrio cultelli et nomen pueri et hec nomina: Istath, Hoaz, Abays, Fastich; et in pollice scribe Alpha et O. Deinde rada vngwem dextri pollicis[e] cultello, cuius manubrium sit factum de cornu nigro uel albo.

Deinde dic, *Domine, secundum peccata, etc.*[f] Postea fac crucem ✠ tali modo in fronte pueri, dicens, *Tu qui es Alpha et O, fac verum dicere puerum virginem istum, N., qui est creatura tua. In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.* Et dic, *Domine Ihesu, fili dei viui, qui pro nobis peccatoribus de synu Patris descendisti ad terram, ostende nobis veritatem. Amen.* Deinde susurra puero ad aurem dextram, *Sathan, Belzebub, Astaroth, Berith, Azraro, Rotunda;* hec[g] dic ter.

Deinde intra circulos et pone te contra faciem pueri, et tunc lineas vngwem pueri rasum cum oleo oliue, et da puero cultellum ad manum, et dic,

Abgo, Safrit, Bos, Zelentes, Vm, Vom, Motmyo, Thitodens,[h] *Gemitias,*[i] *Gana, Vresius, Pharachte, Foliath, Gebath, Dyrus,* [100v] *Virus, Vnyrus, Peamde, Febat, Gebat, Tyros, Vijas,*[j] *Nubar, Azathi, coniuro vos prenominatos demones*

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *per deum omnipotentem,*
- *per Ihesum Christum filium eius,*
- *et per trinitatem illius,*
- *et per ipsam prouidenciam quam deus in mente habuit prius quam mundus fieret,*

[*vt*] *obediatis imperio meo, non per virtutem meam sed per virtutem magestatis omnipotentis dei. Coniuro et contestor vos demones*

- *per sapienciam eternitatis dei, qua celum supra stare fecit, terram autem deorsum fundauit et perfecit, elementorum que*[k] *in opus mundi connexit,*
- *et per prudenciam qua deus lucem a tenebris separauit et vtrumque creauit,*

vt arte et magisterio, a magistro vestro Astaroth vobis concessa, vngwem huius pueri, N., oleo linitum, crescere et clarescere faciatis et procreare latitudinem, vt apparere possit euidenter et videre in eo furem et furtum nobis ablatum, et[l] *locum de quo ablatum est, et in quem locum translatum est, et vbi adhuc positum est, et quidquid ex ipso furto*[m] *actum est. Item adiuro vos prenominatos demones*

- *per verbum dei, quo celum et terram creauit et herbam virentem in ea genere suo, solem et lunam et stellas et signum et tempora, fulgura et tonitrua, voces,*[n] *et omnia quecumque sint in terra, mare, et inferno,*

vt arte, etc. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per annunciacionem,*
- *per natiuitatem,*
- *per circumcisionem,*
- *per baptismum Christi,*
- *et per omnia que fecit Ihesus in Chana Galylee quando conuertit aquam et vinum,*

[101r] *ut arte, etc. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones*

- *per ieiunium Christi,*
- *et per istum gressum quando in Monte Oliuete ascendere voluerit adorandum Patrem, dicendo, 'Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste',*[o]
- *et per sudorem sa*[*n*]*gwineum Ihesu Christi, qui de suo corpore emanauit pro nobis peccatoribus,*
- *et per omnia archana secretorum,*
- *per sa*[*n*]*gwineas guttas sudoris Christi,*
- *per solem obscuratum,*

- *per lunam conuersam in sa*[*n*]*gwinem et terribilem clamorem Christi pendentis in ligno crucis,*
- *per sup*[*p*]*licium mortis,*
- *et per emissionem sui sanctissimi spiritus,*
- *et per istam virtutem qua velum templi cissum est, et inquinamenta aperta sunt,*
- *et per misterium sacri sepulchri,*
- *et per virtutem dei,*
- *et per dispositionem*[p] *diuine ordinacionis,*
- *et per*[q] *dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, quem adoramus, crucifixum, passum, et sepultum credimus, et scimus resurrexisse et* [*in*] *celos ascendisse confitemus,*

vt arte, etc. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per celum et terram, mare et omnia que in eis sunt;*
- *et per omnia que concludunt 4or partes mundi,*
- *et per serpencia et volatilia celi, bipedia, tripedia,* [*et*] *quadrupedia,*
- *et per omnes aereas potestates, vt arte (vt supra).*

Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per angelos et archangelos, per thronos et dominaciones, principatus et potestates, per virtutes celorum, per cherubin et seraphin,*
- *et per diuinum officium miseracionis,*
- *et per eos qui prosunt,*
- *et per omnia* [101v] *que subiecta sunt omnipotenti deo,*
- *et*[r] *per ipsum omnipotentem deum qui ex nichilo creauit cuncta* [*et*] *ad laudem et ad gloriam nominis sui fecit,*

vt arte, etc. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per v secula et vij etates mundi,*
- *et per tremendum diem iudicij*
- *et per lxij nomina Christi,*
- [*et per*] *etatem et claritatem Christi, quam habuit prius quam mundus fieret,*
- *et per centum et xliiij milia innocentum ante deum astancium,*
- *et omnes ordines ecclesiasticos,*

vt arte, etc. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per coeternam sapienciam dei, qua deus hominem creauit cum non esset, et Adam*[s] *ad ymaginem et similitudinem suam formauit,*

vt arte, [*etc.*]*. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones*

- *per sanctissima nomina Christi: Messyas, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Panthon, Panthocrathon, Eloy, Theos, Hon,*[t] *Visio, Saluator, Alpha et O, primus et nouissimus, primogenitus, principium et finis, via, veritas, et sapiencia, virtus, paraclitus, ego sum qui sum, qui es, mediator, agnus, ouis, aries, vitulus, serpens, edus, verbum, ymago, gloria, gracia, salus, lux, sal, pax, splendor, panis, fons, vitis, pastor, propheta, spes immortalis, rex, pater, omnipotens, misericors, eternus,*[u] *summum bonum, trinitas, vnitas, pater, El, Eloy, Eloe, Eleon, Saday, Symator, Tu, Ye, Ye, princeps pacis, Enstriel,* [102r] *spiritus, timor, pietas, tu, vnitas vnitatis, trina deitas,*

vt arte, etc. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per fidem prophetarum,*
- *per preconia patriarcharum,*
- *per dignitatem xxiiijor seniorum,*
- *et per symbolum apostolorum,*

- *et per passionem sanctissimorum martyrum,*
- *per confessionem piorum confessorum,*
- *et per continenciam sanctarum virginum ac viduarum,*
- *et per omnes sanctos et electos dei,*
- *et per 4or ewangeliastas et eorum ewangelia,*

vt arte, etc. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per salutem omnium sanctorum, viuorum et mortuorum,*
- *et per sancta sacrificia sacerdotum,*
- *et per omnes diuinos oraciones sanctorum,*
- *et per omnia corpora sanctorum dei,*
- *et per eorum animas in statu salutis eterne,*

vt arte, etc.

Si puer non videt ad tunc,[v] dicas,

Jaspar, Balthasar, Melchior, Smoagel, Emanuel, et deus fortis, te deprecor vt ungula N. efficiatur lata et crescat et clarescat.

Ad quamlibet coniuracionem debet operans puerum interrogare si vngwis crescat. Si non, repetatur eadem coniuracio, *Jaspar, etc.*, donec videat crescentem, latam, et magnam, quousque sufficiat. Quere a puero si aliquid videat. Si[w] videt, dic statim sub ungwe hanc coniuracionem:

Lytim, cum tuis subditis Ygrim, Andyron, Vzmyas, Ytelteos, Zymens, Bylent, Baruth, precipio vobis, demones,

- *per omnipotentem deum, viuum et verum,*
- *et per tres magos Jaspar, Balthasar,* [*et*] *Melchior,*

vt veniatis, vbicumque sitis, ad visionem istius pueri, N., veris[x] *in specie humana, et in specie istorum qui hoc furtum perpetra-* [102v] *uerunt.*

Quere a puero si aliquid videat. Si non, repetatur eadem oratio, Lytmy, donec appareant.

Ipsis autem apparentibus, dic hanc coniuracionem:

Precipio vobis, demones, per trinitatem et inseparabilem vnitatem que facta fuit super ipsum in Iordanis flumine, in[y] *columbe specie, quod vos ostendatis et dicetis huic puero, N., vbi acceptum uel reconditum sit hoc furtum, et in quo loco adhuc restat.*

Si adhuc non prodest, dic hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos demones et precipio vobis per nomen Naamay, Syy, qui Syrum de lepra mundauit, et Danielem de lacu leonum liberauit, et 3es pueros[z] *de camino ignis illesos abire fecit, quod vobis detis auctoritatem huic puero, N., audiendi, interrogandi, et videndi.*

Post coniuracionem factam, fac puerum claudere oculos, et purga sibi vngwem, et fac crucem super eum, ante eum, [et] retro eum, et accipe sibi cultellum de manu. Postea benedic te et ipsum, et dele circulum, et exeas secure cum eo, scilicet puero. Cum autem vis exire circulum, dic, *Pax ipsi*[a] *sit nobis et vobis.* Tunc reges recedunt ad propria regna, et dic,

Cum vos iterum[b] *vocauero, sitis parati obedire michi. Hoc*[c] *vobis precipio*

- *per eternum et viuum deum, qui in cruce passus* [*est*] *et ex latere eius exiuit sa*[*n*]*gwis et aqua.*

Insuper precipio vobis

- *per hostiam sanctam, per hostiam puram, per hostiam inmaculatam, qui est Ihesus Christus,*

vt cito michi tunc veniatis et omnem voluntatem meam adimpleatis. Amen. Etc.

a *This line is given twice; between the two occurrences is the following figure: a triple circlar band, with the inscription* In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti *in the outermost band;* In nomine indiuidue trinitatis, Alpha et O, deus et homo *in the middle band, and* Ego te facio per illum qui creauit celum et terram, mare et omnia que in eis sunt *in the innermost band*.

b *Ps. 18 Vulg*.

c *Cf. Ps. 71:2 Vulg*. (deus, iudicium tuum regi da). *Figure at top of fol. 103r: a triple circular band, with* In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti *in the outer band,* Celi enarrant *in the middle band, and* Deus tuum *[*sic*]* regi da *in the innermost*.

d *Or* hoc.

e *Followed in MS by* cuius.

f *Cf. Ps. 102:10 Vulg*. (non secundum peccata nostra fecit nobis) *and Ps. 118:65 Vulg*. (Domine, secundum verbum tuum).

g *Or* hoc.

h *Or* Chitodens.

i Sic *in MS?*

j Sic *in MS?*

k *MS* quos.

l *Followed in MS by* in.

m *MS* furtu.

n *MS* tunitrua.

o *Cf. Matt. 26:39*.

p *MS* disponsicionis.
q *Followed in MS by* Ihesum.
r *MS* vt.
s Sic *in MS?* adia – *should be a form of 'adicio', but 'adam' is required*.
t *For Greek* ho on.
u *Line over* u *deleted in MS*.
v *Meaning* adhuc?
w *MS* etc.
x *Meaning* venientes?
y *MS* eciam.
z *MS* puero.
a *Meaning* Christi?
b *Followed in MS by* vobi, *deleted*.
c *Or* hec.

No. 40. For obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail (fols 103r–105v)

Experimentum verum de furtu et probatum.

In ortu solis fac 3es circulos, et crucem in medietate circulorum,[a] et fac tibi porrigere sedem tripedem de quercu et cultellum cum manubrio albo et linito cum oleo oliue. Hoc facto, scribe diuisim hec[b] xxiijor nomina; sunt 4or literas uel lapides parum latos et 3es literas pone subtus sedem et vnam subtus pedem[c] pueri, et ipsa omnia nomina subscripta [103v] scribe super vnam literam, quam pones super caput pueri. Hoc facto, tolle puerum ad circulos et loca puerum super sedem. Vertas sibi faciem contra orientem, et scabe puero ambas ungwes pollicis, et pone sibi vnum pollicem super alium, et scribe super manubrium nomen pueri et Astaroth, et des puero cultellum ad manus, ita quod cultellus sit subtus pollices. Hoc facto, vnge puero ungwem superiorem cum oleo oliue ad modum crucis, in omni pietate electa, vt illictis et districtis appareatis in vngwe istius pueri, N. Tu vero sede super sedem qualemcumque volueris, et tu tene puerum inter genua, et dic vt diligenter inspiciat ad vngwem. Hoc facto, caues ne aliquas operaciones habeas sextis aut sabbatis diebus.

Hec sunt nomina que scribi debent: in nomine Progeneri, Mutimo, Possunt, Thomopest, Vtany, Votanes, Filij, Fibos, Fibet, Baruth, Sachith, Propiietas, Voltam, Panyte, Farum, Farum, Farum, Cubarum, Crutines, Tyrygel, Dyrus, Formys, Fembusalk, Berith, Sathanas.

Incipe coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos, demones,

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctam,*
- *et per incarnacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *per baptismum Christi,*
- *per ieiunium Christi,*
- *per mortem Christi,*
- *per passionem Christi,*
- *per resurrexionem Christi,*
- *per ascensionem,*
- *per adventum Spiritus Sancti paracliti,*
- *per* [104r] *tremendum diem iudicij, in*[d] *quo omnes estis dampnandi,*

vt appareatis in vngwe istius pueri, N., in specie furis uel furum qui rem aut res istius hominis, N., accepit; absque omni decepcione appareatis, sicut promisistis. Emogeni, Thomo, Gyton, Sertugidis,[e] *Jubutzis.*

Tu qui es Alpha et O, fac verum dicere hunc puerum, N., virgineum, qui est creatura tua. Justus es,[f] *domine, et rectum iudicium tuum.*[g] *In circuito tuo, domine, lumen, est et non deficiet. Nichil occultum quod non reueletur, et coopertum quod non sciatur. Domine Ihesu Christe, fili dei viui, qui propter nos peccatores de sinu Patris descendisti ad terram, ostende nobis tuam* [*veritatem*] *et veritatem huius rei.*

Abgoth, Sanfrielis, Selentis, Vniueny, Vtimo, Geremittarum, Dydones, Rayma, Rofanes, Panyte, Fabath, Gallath, Dyrus, Fyrus, Virytus, Finibet, Arath. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, et deum omnipotentem, Ihesum Christum filium eius vnigenitum,*
- *et per deitatem ipsius,*
- *et per ipsam prouidenciam quam deus habuit prius quam mundus fieret,*

vt obediatis imperio meo. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per sapienciam dei, qua deus celum sursum stare fecit et terram deorsum fundauit, et mare in termino suo collocauit,*
- *et per virtutem qua deus confusionem elementorum in opus mundi convertit,*
- *et per* [104v] *sapienciam dei, qua deus lucem et tenebras creauit, qui diem ac noctem adunauit,*

vt arte et magisterio a magistro vestro Asef Caroth vobis concessa sicut[h] *sunt vt faciatis vngwem istius pueri, N., oleo linitum, crescere et clarescere et tante latitudinis comparere, quod euidenter iste puer, N., in eo videre possit furem uel fures et furtum furis nobis ablatum, et rei locus*[i] *de quo ablatum est, et locum in quem deportatum est, et locum in quo adhuc latet, et quidquid cum ipso furto est, vt huic reueletis. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones*

- *per magistrum vestrum Astaroth,*

vt compareatis[j] *in forma furis et furti, et quidquid cum hoc furto factum est ad nostram faciatis noticiam pervenire. Item coniuro vos*

prenominatos demones

- *per illum qui fecit celum et terram et herbam virentem in genere suo, solem et lunam et stellas celi, signa et tempora, fulgura et tunitrua, voces et omnia quecumque in terra, in mari,* [*et*] *in inferno sunt,*

vt arte, etc. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per ieiunium domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *et per iter quod fecit ad montem Oliueti ad orandum Patrem, 'Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste',*

vt arte, etc. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per v wlnera domini nostri Ihesu Christi, et fixuras cla-* [105r] *uorum,*
- *et per lanceam et clauos quibus crucifixus est dominus.*

Coniuro [*vos*] *prenominatos demones*

- *per omnia que concludunt 4or partes mundi,*
- *et per etates mundi,*
- *et per omnia animalia que sub celo sunt,*
- *et per serpencia et volatilia, bipedia, tripedia,* [*et*] *quadrupedia,*
- *et per omnes aereas potestates,*

vt arte, etc. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per tollerancia*[*m*] *spinee corone*[k] *quam sustinuit dominus suo capite,*
- *et per poculum quo potatus est in cruce felle et aceto.*[l]

Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per angelos et archangelos, thronos et dominaciones, principatus, potestates, virtutes celorum, cherubin et seraphin,*
- *et per dominicum sacrificium et officium miseracionis,*
- *et per eos qui presunt aliis,*
- *et per omnia que sunt deo subiecta,*
- *et per deum omnipotentem,*
- *et per deum qui ex nichilo omnia creauit ad laudem et ad gloriam sui nominis ac magestatis,*[m]

vt arte, etc. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per coeternam sapienciam qua*[n] *deus hominem creauit cum non esset, condidit ad ymaginem et similitudinem suam,*

vt arte, etc. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per fidem prophetarum,*
- *per preconia patriarcharum,*
- *per dignitatem xxiiij seniorum,*
- *per symbolum apostolorum,*
- *per passionem sanctissimorum martyrum,*
- *per confessionem piorum confessorum,*
- *et per continenciam sanctarum virginum ac viduarum,*
- *et per lacrimas beate Marie virginis, quas fudit,* [105v] *et per planctum sancti Johannis ewangeliste, cum viderunt Ihesum Christum in cruce exspiratum,*
- *et per solis obscuracionem et lunam versam in sa*[*n*]*gwinem in signa transacta Filij dei,*
- *et per tremendum diem iudicij in quo omnes estis dampnandi,*

vt appareatis in vngwe istius pueri, N., in specie furis uel furum qui[o] *rem uel res istius hominis, N., ac*[*c*]*eperit ad nostram noticiam faciatis*

peruenire.[p]

Finito experimento, dic hunc versam:

Protege, salua, benedic, sanctifica populum cunctum per crucis signum domini. Morbos auerte corporis et anime. Hoc contra signum nullum stet periculum. Amen. Per crucis hoc signum defendat nos Ihesus Christus. Amen.

a *Figure at bottom of fol. 105v: a triple circular band, with a cross dividing the interior into four wedges. The outermost circle has the inscription,* ✠ Hunc circulum facio in nomine Patris omnipotentis dei, qui solo verbo cuncta creauit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, dextera domini exaltauit me, non moriar sed viuam et narrabo opera domini. Castigans ca- *(finished outside the circle:* stigauit dominus*). The middle circle bears the inscription,* ✠ Hunc circulum facio in nomine filij unigeniti dei viui, qui humanum genus proprio sangwine redemit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, dextera domini exaltauit me, non moriar sed viuam et narrabo opera. *The innermost band contains the inscription,* ✠ Hunc circulum facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracliti, qui corda apostolorum et prophetarum suorum sanctissima gracia *[MS* sanctissimam graciam*]* illustrauit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, etc. *The word* onus *appears at the edge of each wedge. Toward the middle are the fragments* Fren, ---p'on *(?)*, on *and* N.p *(presumably for* Nomen pueri.

b *Followed in MS by* nomina, *deleted*.

c m *blotted out in MS*.

d in *blotted out in MS*.

e Sic *in MS?*

f *MS* est.

g *Ps. 118:137 Vulg*.

h Sic *in MS*.

i Sic *in MS*.

j *MS* comparaeatis.

k *MS* corane.

l *MS* acceto.

m *Followed in MS by* fecit.

n *MS* quo.

o *MS* uel.

p *Followed in MS by* vt arte, etc., *extraneously added*.

No. 41. For discovering hidden treasure in sleep (fol. 106r–106v)

A[d] sciendum vbi thesaurum sit absconditum, primum est quod oportet hominem confiteri generaliter peccata sua, luna crescente, videlicet die dominico, sole existente in leone, de mane. Et cum a prima surrexeris, asperge te aqua benedicta, dicens antyfonam, *Asperges me, domine, ysopo,*

etc. totam, cum *Gloria Patri.* Postea vade ad crucifixum et dic coram eo *Miserere mei, deus* totum, semper respiciendo crucifixum, cum omni deuocione. Et cum hec dixeris, tunc dic deuotissime corde et contrito, *O rabi, rabi, rex meus et deus meus ac dominus dominancium, qui conditor es vniuersorum, exaudi oracionem mei, misere et indigne*[a] *creature, et redempcionis tue in hac hora et semper,*[b] *et indignus clamor meus ad te perueniat.*

Hoc dicto, vade ad domum tuum et cameram tuam optime mundatam, et versus orientem dic hanc oracionem deuotissime quam potes:

> *O Oriens benigne, maior pars mundi, celi, terreque sator, cuius nutu*[c] *omnia, tam celestia quam terrestria, prouide facta sunt, confirma intellectum meum in hoc opere per tui regni dominium, quod nunquam dimittitur. Rege et paue me in hac mea supplicacione. Et precor te*
>
> - *per tuos reges quod tenet et stringit, sanat et confirmat,*[d]
> - *et per omnes regias tuas potestas,*
> - *per Sotuem, Sortfen,*
>
> *vt in nocte sequenti veniat ad me in sompnis Haram, spiritus benignus, et inflammet cor meum et mentem meam, vt sciam thesaurum* [106v] *invenire, si aliquis est in partibus istis uel in aliis, et ducat me et signum ibi faciat vt cognoscam verum et ipsam veritatem,*[e]
>
> - *per tuum solem sanctissimum et sacratissimum thesaurum nitidissimum, candidum et fulgentissimum, quod mittit tua excellencia et remittit tua manifesta et benigna potestas,*
> - *et per omnes dignitates tuas et regimina*
>
> *vocor*[f] *et contestor vt mich*[*i*] *spiritum veritatis in sompnis mittere digneris hac nocte, vt michi reuelet*[g] *thesaurum absconditum.*

Hoc fiat versus orientem et genibus flexis. Hanc oracionem ter dicas.

Q[u]ando autem intras lectum, dicas nouem vicibus,

> *Oriens, Oriens, Oriens, precor, rogo, et peto, benignissime Oriens, vt votum meum adimpleas, et velis respicere ad offensiones meas.*

Et tunc veniet ad te spiritus qui te non offendet, sed sompniare te faciet thesaurum, et ducet te recte ad locum.

Mane autem facto, quando surrexeris, fac 3es elimosinas in honore magni regis scientis, et vade associatus uel solus ad locum vbi est thesaurus in domo tua, et recipe eam. Postquam habebis thesaurum, fac cantare 3es missas: primam ad honorem sancte trinitatis, 2am pro peccatis mortuorum,

terciam pro[h] [in]columitate vite tue, etc.

a *MS* miserere et indige.
b Sic *in MS*.
c *MS* nuta.
d Sic *in MS*.
e Sic *in MS*.
f Sic *in MS*.
g *MS* reuelent.
h *MS* pro pro.

No. 42. The name Semiforas (fols 106v–107r)

Nota: hoc est nomen magnum Semiforas, quod erat [107r] scriptum in fronte Aaron, sacerdotis creatoris. Crescat in me virtus tua, omnipotens deus, creator celi et terre, quemadmodum locutus fuisti, dicendo,

Saday, Hay, Resel,[a] H, Q,[b] Ayn, Yemino, Selatados, Braruth, Huy, Adonay, Eya, Yen, Yhn uel Tunehy, Vo,[c] Da, Ey, Aha, Heye, Heye, Heye, Haya, Haya, Haya, Ey, Ey, Ey, Ya, Ya, Ya, Han, Han, Han, Ga, Ga, Ga.

Conpletum est nomen Semiforas, benedictum nomen eius cuius regni non erit finis per infinita seculorum secula. Amen.

a *Followed in MS by blank space*.
b Sic *in MS?*
c Sic *in MS?*

No. 43. For obtaining a horse (fol. 107r–v)

Ad equum habendum, hoc scribatur in hostio domus vacue in crepusculo noctis, more Hebrayco, hec nomina cum sa[n]gwine vespertilionis: Tuditha, Stehiha, Alpha, Draco, Mariodo, Ypanon. Quibus scriptis, recede modicum a loco.

Post horam paruam, reuertaris et invenies eqqum paratum, quem cum volueris ascendere, pone sinistrum pedem ad screpam et dic hanc

coniuracionem:

Coniuro te, eque bone,

- *per creatorem celi et terre,*
- *et per illum qui creauit vniuersa et omnia ad laudem et gloriam sui nominis,*
- *et per deum viuuum*
- *et per deum sanctum*
- *et per deum verum,*

vt non in corpore nec in anima nec in minimo membro meo vere obesse valeas, nec in aliquo me perturbes, sed me, N., ad locum talem deferas, placide, hilariter, jocunde, et velociter, absque omni inpedimento.

Deinde ascende audacter et secure, [107v] qu[i]a omnino tibi nocere non potest. Signo vere crucis non te signabis, quia ipsum a te fugabit.

Cum autem perueneris ad locum prenominatum, descende de equo et accipe frenum, et absconde sub terra. Peracto autem tuo negocio, recipias frenum et scucte firmissime, et statim veniet. Cum autem ascendere volueris, dic precedentem coniuracionem et hec tria verba:[d] kostolya, elogo, yetas.

d *Followed by* kostelia, *deleted*.

No. 44. Fragment of an experiment for averting harm (fol. 107v)[a]

[…] creauit[b] mundum et septem dies, in quibus cuncta creata fuerint in vna torta, et obseruabis cartam, et cum hoc prohibes omnia dampna hominibus, cunctaque nocencia arboribus et nascoiciis,[c] nominabisque hec nomina sursum posita et deorsum. Et hec sunt nomina, scilicet: Layalym, Lyalgnea, Yalgnal, Narath, Lybarye, Lymbaros, Lyaslam. Cum hiis igitur signis prohibes omnia mala et dampna in mundo, et numquam ad locum reuerte[n]tur vnde fuerint expulsa.

a *This fragment occurs on the middle of fol. 107v, separated by double horizontal lines from the*

preceding and subsequent material.

b *Followed by* mundum, *deleted*.

c *Meaning* nascenciis?

No. 45. For invisibility (fols 107v–108r)

Nunc igitur sume albam columbam, die Sabbati de nocte, et cartam agni virgineam, pergasque ad riuum iuxta quadruuium et occide columbam, dicens,

O vos quibus sacrificium debetur, estote michi completium votum meum.[a]

Hoc dicas contra occidentem primo, postea ad meridiem, deinde ad[b] orientem, post[e]a ad [108r] septentrionem. Et scribe de huius[c] collumbe sangwine hanc figuram.[d]

Reuertansque de mane ante solis ortum, invenies ibi aliam literam et as quodam involutum, illudque ligabis in capillis tuis cum volueris esse invisibilis. Et precaue tamen quod ibi dimittas columbam et cartam, ne ipsam accipias modo aliquo.

a Sic *in MS, for* completio voti mei?

b *Inserted above line in MS*.

c *MS* hac.

d *Figure toward top of fol. 108r: a complex horizontal design*.

No. 46. Favourable and unfavourable days of the month for inscriptions (fol. 108r–v)

Mensis lunaris dierum alij sunt boni, alij mali ad scribendas[a] cartas. Prima dies mensis, scilicet lunaris, tota est bona. Secunda die mane est bona, et non plus. Tercia nil facere debes. Quarta dies tota bona. Quinta vsque ad horam terciam, et vltra non. Sexta die nichil facies. Septima die, prima hora bona est, et non plus. Octaua, mane bona. Nona nichil facies. Decima die omnino nichil facias,[b] quia mala[c] est ad omnia facienda. Vndecima bona est tota. Duodecima bona est vsque ad terciam uel quartam [horam]. 13a nichil facias. 14a tota bona est. 15a die[d] nichil facies. 16[a] mane tota bona est, postea nichil valet. 17a et 18a vsque ad meridiem mala est, et postea est

bona. 19a nichil in ea agas. 20a et 21a et 22a [108v] dies, mane sunt bone, et non plus. 23a [et] 24a,[e] nichil facias. 25a mala, nec bona. 26a et 27a, nichil facias. 28a et 29a et 30a bona est toto. Etc.

a *MS* scribendos.
b *Followed in MS by* quare.
c *MS* male.
d *MS* hora.
e *Followed in MS by* u, *struck through (?)*.

No. 47. Fragment of a chemical prescription (with a note in German) (fol. 108v)

Item recipe salis petri, vitrioli, rorani,[a] ana tere, et fac aquam fortem ex eis, et dissolue in ea lune limaturam quantum soluere potes,[b] et quando non plus soluit lunam, tunc recipe illam aquam in qua luna est soluta et inpone mercurij crudi quantum coagulare potest. Istum mixtum sit coagulatum. Accipe et pone eum in crusibulum super stratum istarum rerum. Recipe ceram nouam, thuris albi, gummi arabicum, oxicroceum, asafetidam, serabiuum, boracem, semen orobi, cantarides, puluis buffonum,[c] cerusam, sal nitri, sal commune, vernicium, terebentinam, euforbium, ouum, ana partes equales, et fac similiter fluere. Etc.

a Sic *in MS?*
b *Corrected in MS from* potest.
c *Note added at bottom of fol. 108v:* Puluis *[MS* Poluis*]* buffonum ist daz kupfer daz vom hamer felt, so mans schmihet *[?]*.

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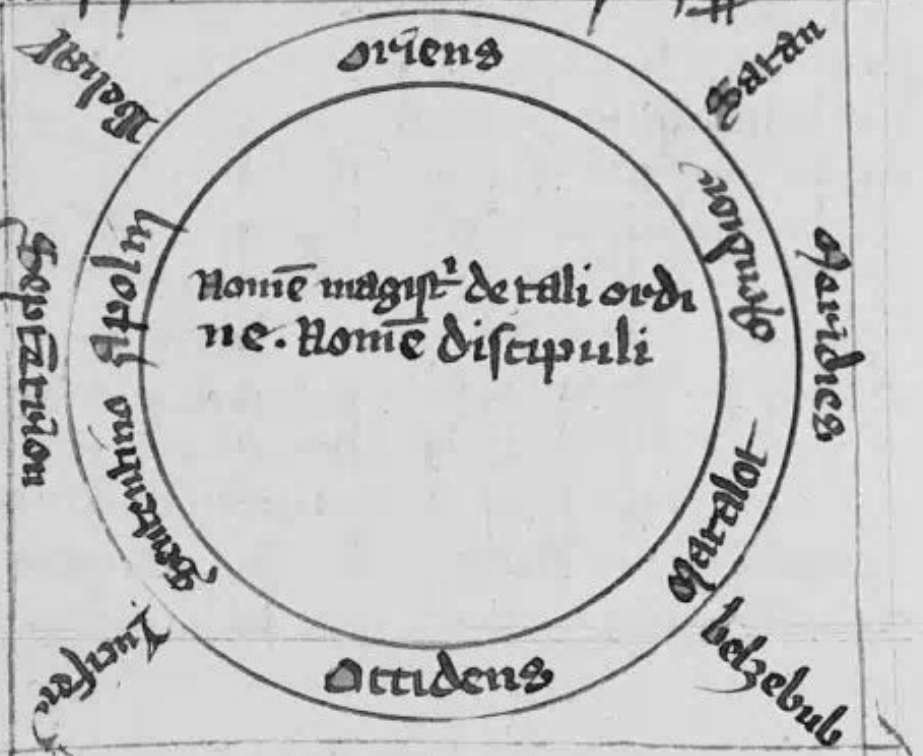
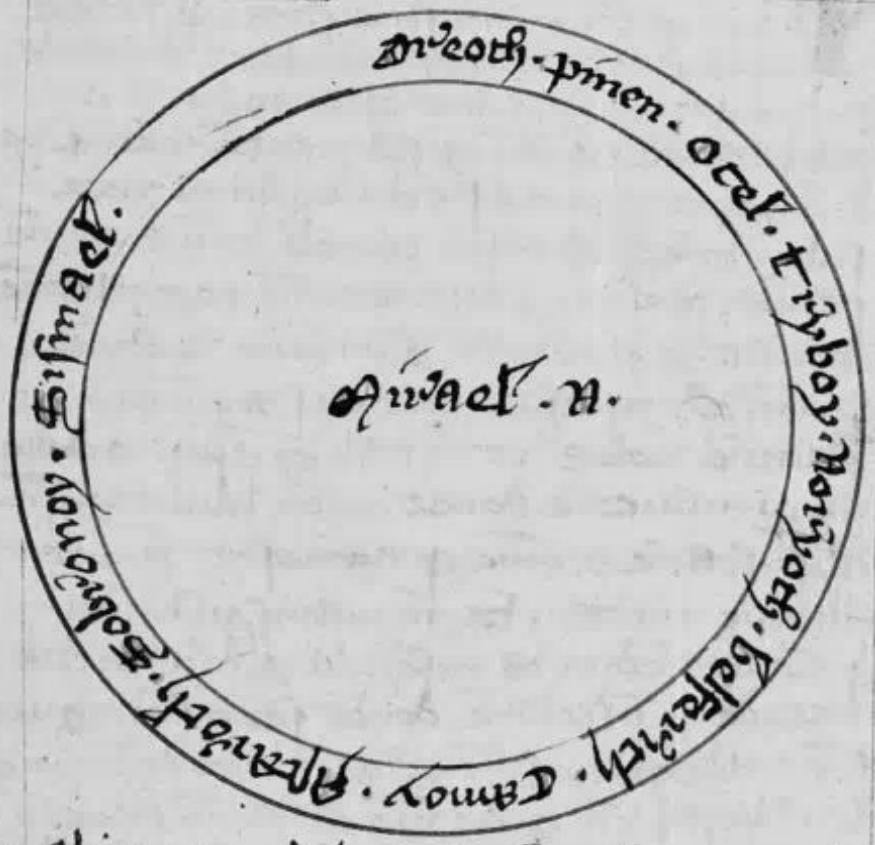
Plates

All the folios from 3r–108v of Clm 849 that contain magic diagrams or characters are reproduced.

Ego famulꝰ tuus mte credes & omnino
confidens q tu es fortis & valens rogo p
incomprehensibile magestatē tuā vt famu
lus & subiectꝰ tuus talis magist mꝰ
dabeat ad me venire qui a cunctis sit
potest p virtutē & potentiā tuā qua
es magna & maxima in secula seculoꝝ
Amen Et similit dicit Jesus Nauelochi
mutando nomē Et Jesus Nauelochi si
militꝝ. Hiis dictis accipe de eo sanguē
& scribe in medio cuiusculi nomē tuum
cū supō deo conde vt hic stet mis
rius deinde scribe cū deo conde in sin
gulis quatuor illa nomina vt hic sequunt



Fol. 4v, no. 1: Single band inscribed within a square; names of eight spirits inscribed in and around the band; cardinal directions marked; *Nomen magistri*, *de tali ordine* and *Nomen discipuli* marked in the centre.



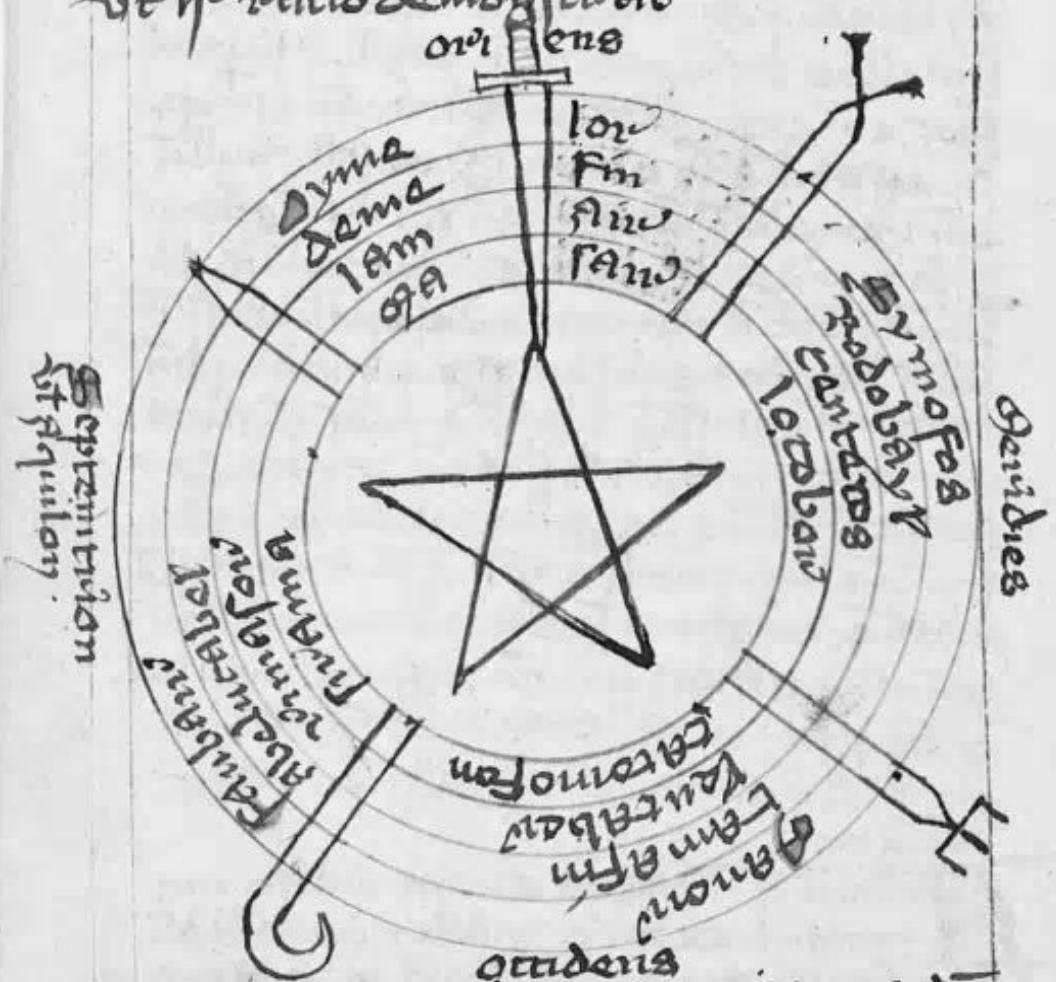
malignos videlz Dreoth · pmen · ocel ·
tryboy · Norzoth · Belfarith · Camoy ·
Astaroth · sobrenoy · sismael · pmdui
duam tuitatā videlz pīam & filiū
ꝑm sem Abrahe ꝓcedentā & ꝓuēie
dam & timedam diem judicij & ꝓna q
fuerunt & sunt & erūt & sicut in hoc ta
culo figati estis tuētuit talem vt ita
vere & effectatev & existant ꝑsonā ei⁹
cuētuatis & sensꝰ ei⁹ talit affligatis &
ignoiētis dementes stultꝰ & mēte capitis

Fol. 6v, no. 2: Simple band; names of Mirael and victim in centre, names of ten demons in band.

Conuoco vos demones in hoc circulo sculptos quibus data et potestas et potestas ducendi et affligendi mulieres in amore vivos et mortuos et potestas manifestatis diuine et per thronos et dominationes et potestates et principatus illius qui dixit et facta sunt et per illos qui non cessant clamare una voce dicentes sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth pleni sunt celi et terra gloria tua osanna in excelsis.

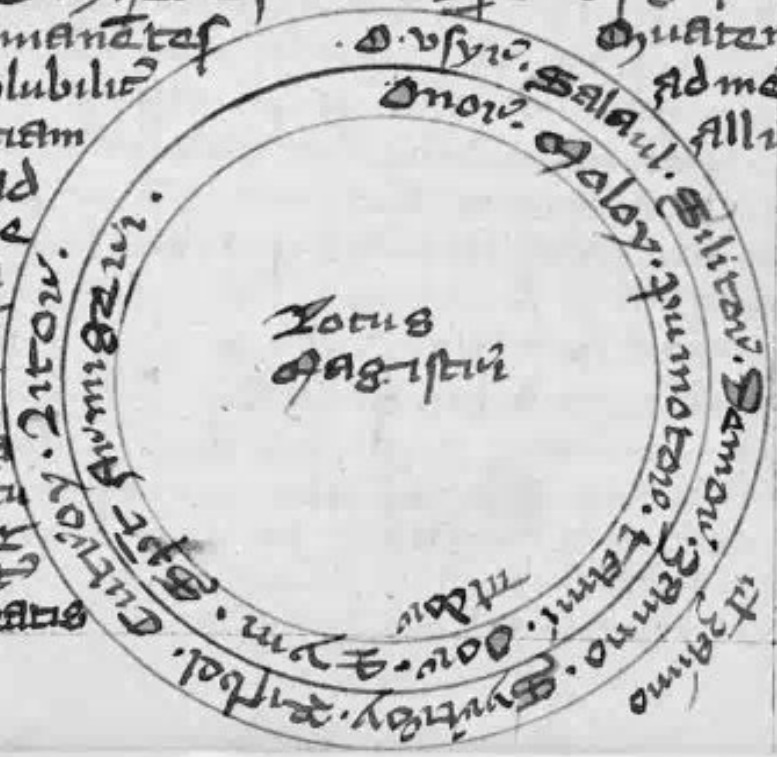
Fol. 10r, no. 3: Simple band with names of eleven demons; position of the master marked in centre.

Vt die dñica m meridie ꝛ debes tatu ferire
ensem lucidissimu ꝛ fluem vpuia et eu
deo ense m quoda remoto loco facia tiu
culos ꝙbꝫ feis eu ftie ꝙ dca ensis sobe
ra debes. xvj. nota vt m fiꝫ fluabit ꝛ
illa figura ꝙibꝫ feis debas fige versꝫ
orientē m mtatiōn circulo dcm ensem
vt hec ratio demonstrat



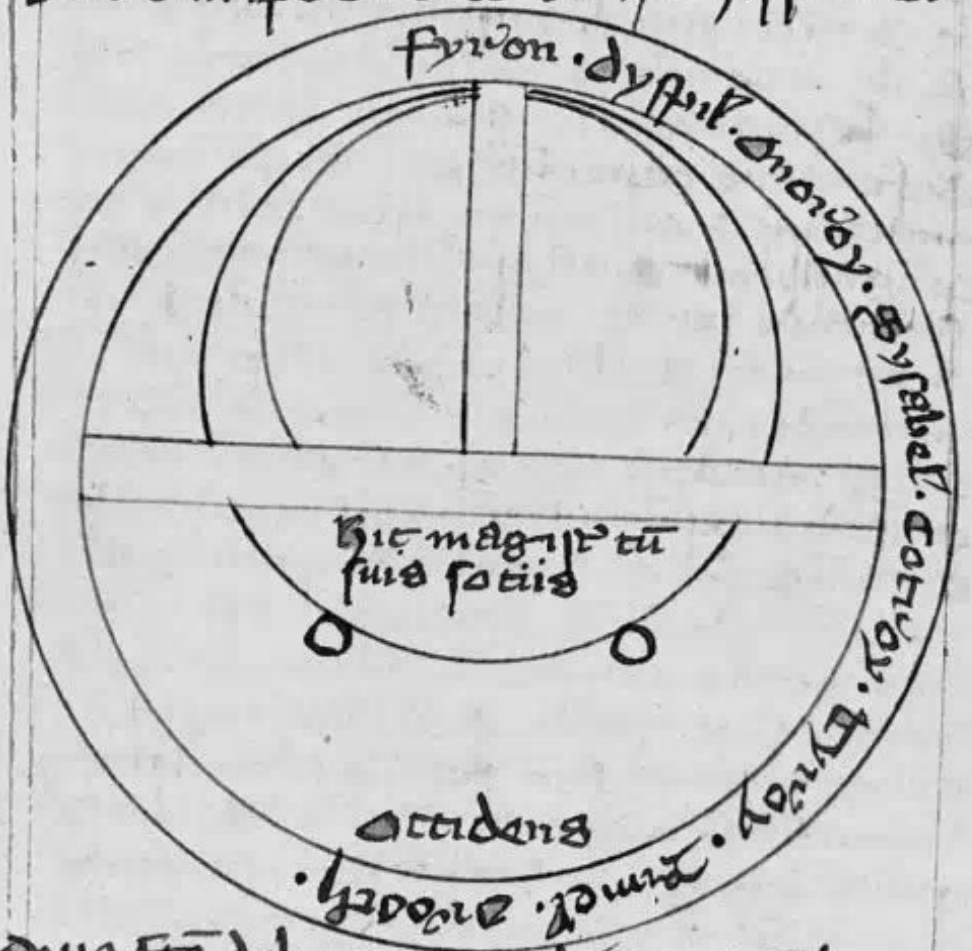
Fol. 15v, no. 6: Four bands; pentangle inscribed; cardinal directions marked; names of four spirits written in each band; position of sword marked to east; four other objects placed across the bands toward other directions.

ego quinq vos om̃s ꝑnominatos ſit̃ dæmones
ꝑpetuam & miſeritoꝝ diſſipationem & mutationem ſit
incorrupta virginea maria matre dñi
nri ihu xpi q̃ p miſeris ꝓcibꝰ mouteam
ſumas nos ad celeſtia patria reuocantes
Ita ego quinq vos ſup dos ſit p om̃s
ſcos & ſcas dei & p om̃s ſctos apostolos
confeſſores virgines & viduas et p hec
ſcriptiſſia ac meffabilia nomia om̃ tuæ
potis q̃bꝰ omes ligati et q̃ tuant oia
celeſtia terreſtria & infernalia. s. A. Z. Ely.
Sother. Adonay. Cal. Sabaoth. Adonyas.
Alazabita. & Oſion & ego quinq vos & ex
orizo ꝑmutate & potentia om̃ ꝑncipu ve
gu dnoꝝ & maiorꝝ virorꝝ & ꝑmutate & poſ
ſibilitate ac potentia vitam & p habitatiu
vitam tuam hat & formam. & p om̃s figuras m
ipo humanatas quatenꝰ
vos i ſolubiles ad me
potentiam Alle
gan ad
meſſme
ſtola
tion &
vanꝰ
debea
tiſm̃ta
li habitu
ut me
ſalutet
no tueatis



Fol. 19r, no. 7: Double band; names of nine spirits in outer band, six more (‘arms-bearing spirits’) in inner band, position of master marked in centre.

costam hois siue mulieris mortui quam
primo actuere debes et facta ei ipsa inter
ea has figuras in oribus et alias oib⁹
tentis in ipo circulo vt hic apparet

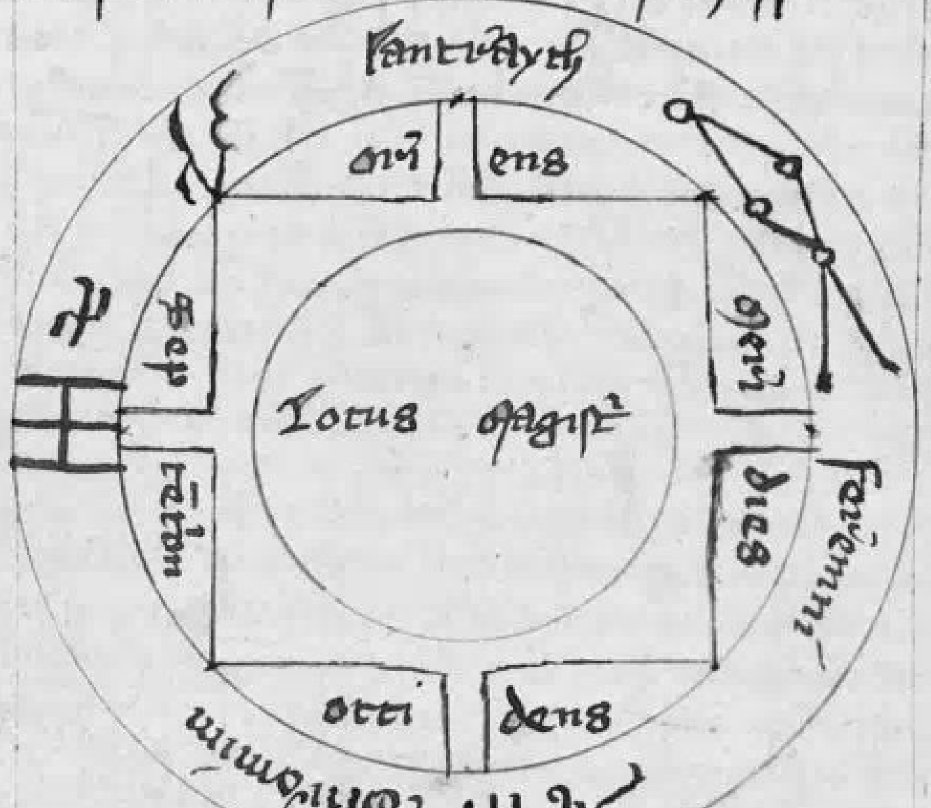


Quo facto debes magredi signaculum totum
et voluendo ea circa circulu sustinendo
ipm cu medulla mortui vt dictum est
Quo facto audies placita votes eius sus
sumgarios quibus audituis habe quidam
tionē dicas ysti attidenti vt scripti et
fyrion qui sic dicas ofyrion . dysfil .
anoroy . gysabel . cotroy . tyroy .
aroath .

Fol. 21v, no. 8: Band with names of eight spirits, horizontal band across centre, vertical band across upper semicircle, all surmounted by crescent with two small circles, place of master and companions marked at bottom of crescent, east marked toward bottom.

23v

Valeo etiā tibi mittere q̄m eq̄ h̄ ā pot̄ ieq̄ forma
possit hīt faciatis te tam p aquas q̄ p terr
itam teā p̄colles q̄ p planities quotiens volius
Primo eni. 6. luna die martis ieiunus forin
facit aquaedianis cū q̄dā ferano nūq̄ opa
to ⁊ in loco secreto cū quodā clavo siue
stilo ferreo fac circulū ut hic apparet



Sculpiens in eo nomina ⁊ figuras ibi
dem apparētias quibus facta p̄tinnas in
medio genibus flexis sup terano versus
orientē aliquantulū alta voce sic dicas
O lautidayth . feremin . alius omnium p̄t
p̄ceptoribus in p̄sentias Ego talis in uia

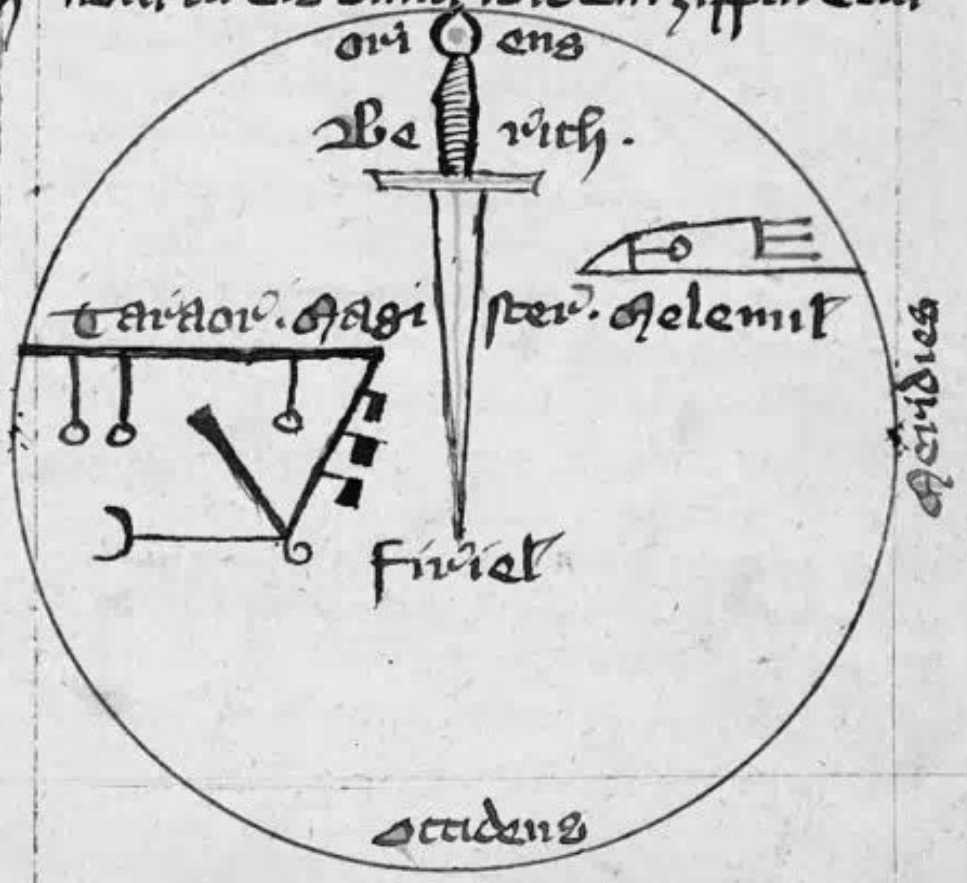
Fol. 23v, no. 9: Band containing three names, three characters, and crosses; square inscribed within circle, and arms protruding from the square, with cardinal directions; position of the master marked in centre.

Oinbꝰ scꝛiptis migꝛiadꝰ migꝛeda
ꝛe m̄ cum vt signatu ast Et pone
ensem sub genubꝰ tuis dicendo vsus
meridie hanc gnuatione cōmo
vos omꝰ damones sctos m̄hor A
mulo qte m̄ mandbꝰ habetis p̄ pꝛez
tꝛ filiū tꝛ sss tꝛ p̄ potata deū scitto
ꝛdm cali tꝛ tꝛaꝛde Et p̄ dnm nrm ie
sum xp̄m eiꝰ filiū qui tꝛ hūani ge
neris salutem mortem suscepꝛe
dignatꝰ ast Et p̄ gloꝛiosa vīgi
nem matꝛem eius tꝛ plac

Fol. 26r, no. 10: Double band, drawn with sword; character and three names in each band; pentangle inscribed; cardinal directions indicated on sides; position of the master marked in centre.

libertatu Et si pdem cultulu scptu simili sup te habuis nullo canis tibi latitanz valebit Et ista sut pme exputa // pto vo pme rel mquo

Marto etiã de hute mvisibilitatis ho die quasi albor ignorãtia cũ ira et volutis. Apud dia ta rõnabit qp nõ mi visibilis fac msansibilis hui. Primo cũ scenta luna die mercurij m prima hora diei casto fm ptuldum et tonsu capillos et barbã et albo mdutu exẽ villã i loco occulto sereno celo ipiano solo cu ase ple divisio fac cultulu ut h' fuper scbendo hc nota cu eis omia ibidem Apparentia



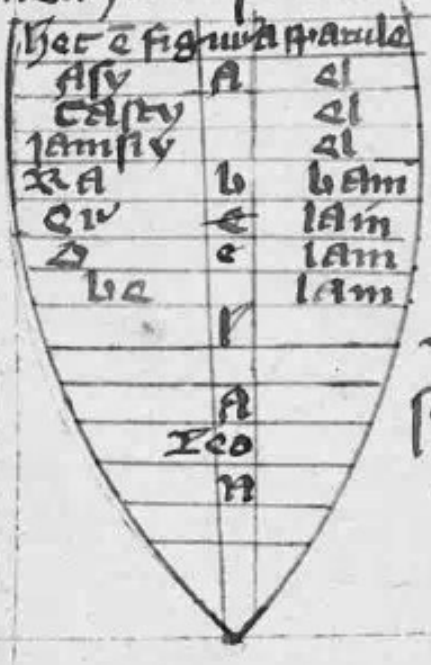
Fol. 28r, no. 11: Plain circle, with place of master and name Firiel marked near centre, name Taraor and elaborate character to left, name Melemil and further character to upper right.

Veat duos socios fideles & vadat
ad Arbonem fructiferā & faciat
magist̄ cultellū Et incipiat magist̄
Autem facere sue ymagine mulier
pro qua fa tis semp
mi vando
cor de tuo

tu Belial
voht. tu Baalzebuth.
ad hoc sitis opus mihi ad nutones
& simul mutuando dites Ego. A.
formo ista ymagine in amore talis
ut valeat ad q̄d facta est Et tu belial.
initialis princeps ad hoc op̄ sis mihi
ad nutum Et magist̄ faciat ymagine
de pdicta cera incipiens hora Jouis
dextrando vsq; ad primam saturni
Et sic formata ymagine faciat sicut

Fol. 30r, no. 12: Single band with invocation of Belial and two other spirits, and position of the master marked in centre.

qui & verbu dei & p hec nomia dei Hely. heloy.
Heloe. Sabaoth. Elion. Adonay. Sadday.
& p oia nomia eius & p ipius virtute & p
omes virtutes celay & quinos vos pier
pvam & filiu & S.S. & p sctam tnitatem
& vnitatem dei & p q illa coronam
q dns mi ihc xpc m suo capite hunc
& p hec bte marie vnginis & p ho
rata nomia & p omes virtutes adqua
& p ista quinta cruz propio voto ut sta
tim & alto & valoat & sine mora se
ducatis cor & meam. A. in amorem
man & sicut hec scatula calefit &
mendit ita illu ut illa. A. mendatis & calefactatis igne mei amoris
& ita ut nuq quiescat valeat don
mea Adimplauit voluntate amore q ebet. &c

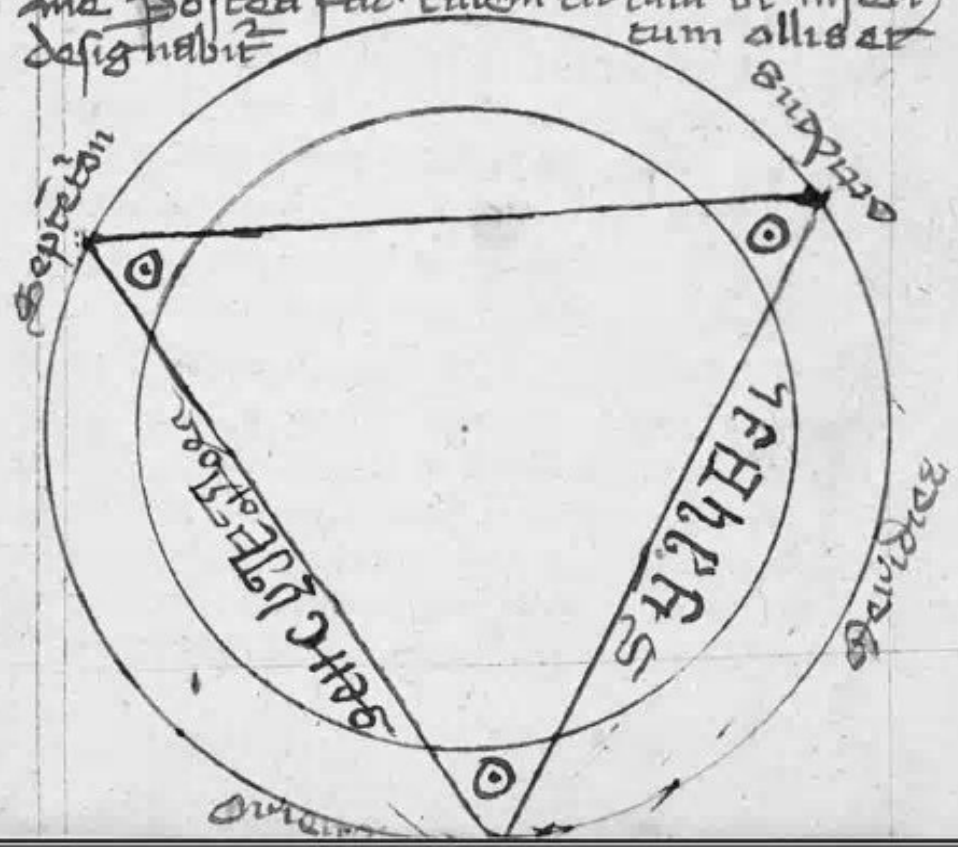


Iam nota q ista
tula supdicta
debet esse & sini
ta val leporina
val anserina
val caponina
secudu diuersos

Fol. 33r, no. 13: Shield divided into sixteen horizontal bands, with one vertical band down the centre; names Asyel, Castyel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Olam and Belam in horizontal bands, each straddling the vertical band; *A*, *B*, *E*, *L*, *A* and *N* in the vertical band; *Leo* written across the intersection of the vertical band and the twelfth horizontal band.

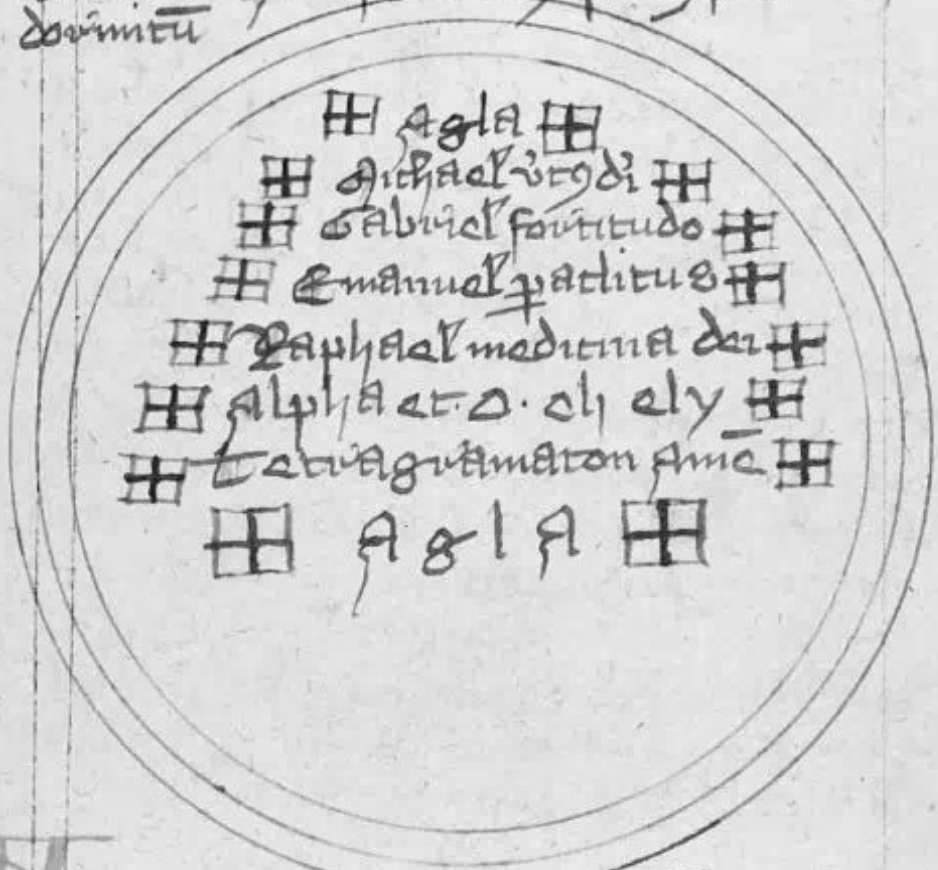
poris ⁊ ſñe poritas ma ſuſcipit ⁊ daponas
ma ſñe aliqua laſiona ꝓnti vt fiatuꝰ vſq
ad talem loci ſuſcipit me dapontis cu eis
dapoſuerit te vbi affectabis dicas humilit
ꝓcatias tibi ſigo ꝙ indignu me fati
ſti mhalc ꝓca mea ⁊ ꝓtanta ꝯra me bene
ficio mea ⁊ me tibi offero ſeruitute ⁊ ſam
uel tuis obedire mandatis benditu lau
datu ſit ſemp nom tuu regnatu ſup omia
ſecula ſeculoꝝ Et tibi atia gras ſigo qui
ꝑ gñdalitate nomiu altiſſimi dei ꝓme fati
ſtine dignatꝰ es de inde adloru ſeruitu
⁊ alteu tpe ſereno ⁊ libeꝛ ventu ⁊ dit ſcia
mentia ouia ꝓnobis ſm magna miſericondi
am tuam cum gloria qui totu ⁊ inmanq
tuas dne ꝙmodo ſum ⁊ to ſm ⁊ corpo
mei dne deus qui omipotens iudicia
ma poſtea fac talem tentatu vt mſeriq
daſig habit

tum alios ar



Fol. 34r, no. 15: Band, with triangle inscribed in outer circle, cardinal directions marked on outside, occult characters on two sides of triangle, positions of jars marked in angles.

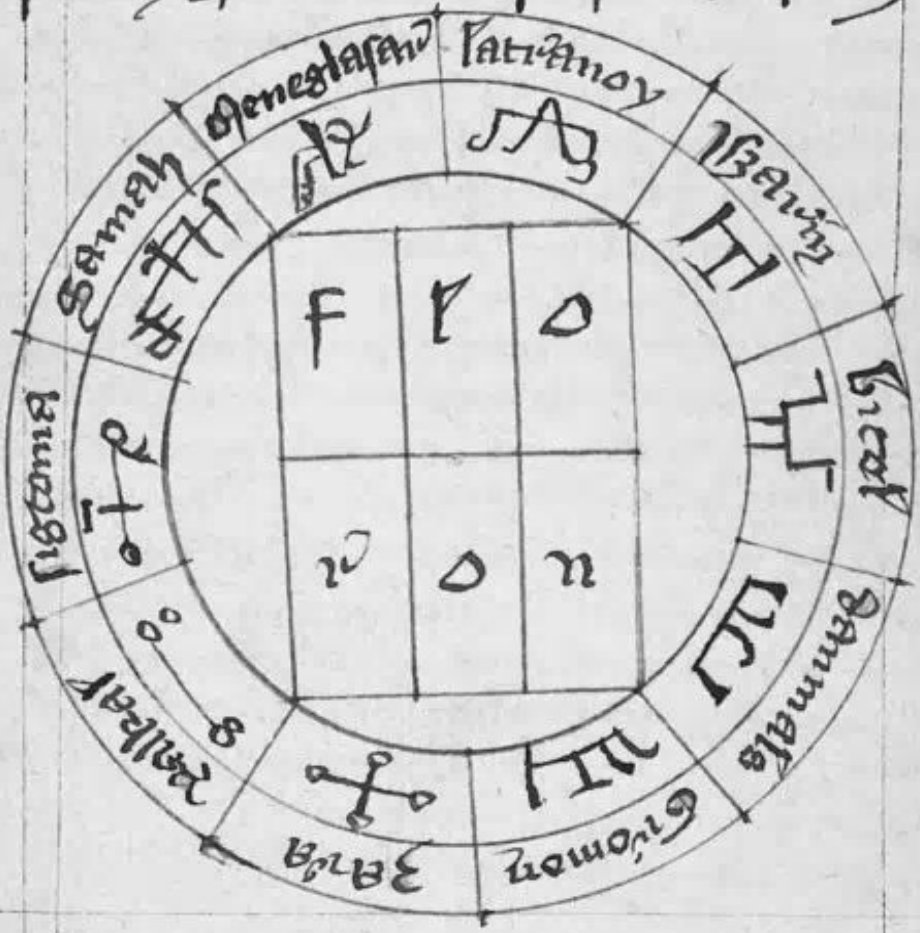
uiuario q debz fieri sup cruta. O. vos
gloriosa nomia sumi dei cui ois potia
ptia & futura potia sut Rogo vos
ego seruus & subditus vr q mittatis
mihi Angelos vros q qui sciunt sunt
in cristulo isto vt mihi voluntate debe
atis q q sup talam vam ut desiderij vr
negotio q ventur est & hr dicat tui
bus uitib9 & vidabis q q vis potes
tam dei hic est cristulo q debz sibi tui bis
dormitu



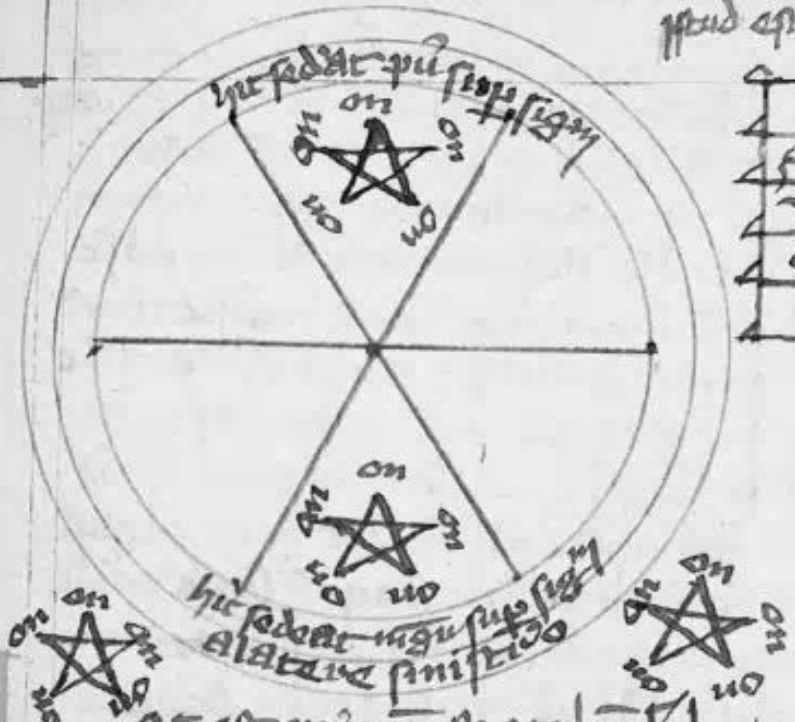
d equu hndu hr scribat in hostio dom
vatua in cr equsculo nostr mova hc

Fol. 36r, no. 16: Double band, with eight lines of text inscribed; cross inside square at either end of each line of text.

Incipit speculu florom fiat sicut
speculum de puro calibe admixta
palma vnius mvotudo. habeat q vna
nubium adtenendu & sit illustratu & lu
cidu vt ensis Sit q sem in nocte florem
& mane curatu isti speculi ex alia pte no
lucida sint hat derm nomia cu hiis de
cem characteribus descripta & nome dei
dei sit in medio septu post quem fiat
sem in loco sacrato vngatum ex puro bal
samo ex pte lucida & subfumiget sali



Fol. 37r, no. 18: Double band with ten segments; name of a spirit in outer part; occult character in inner part of each segment; inscribed and segmented vertical rectangle containing the letters F-L-OR-O-N in segments.

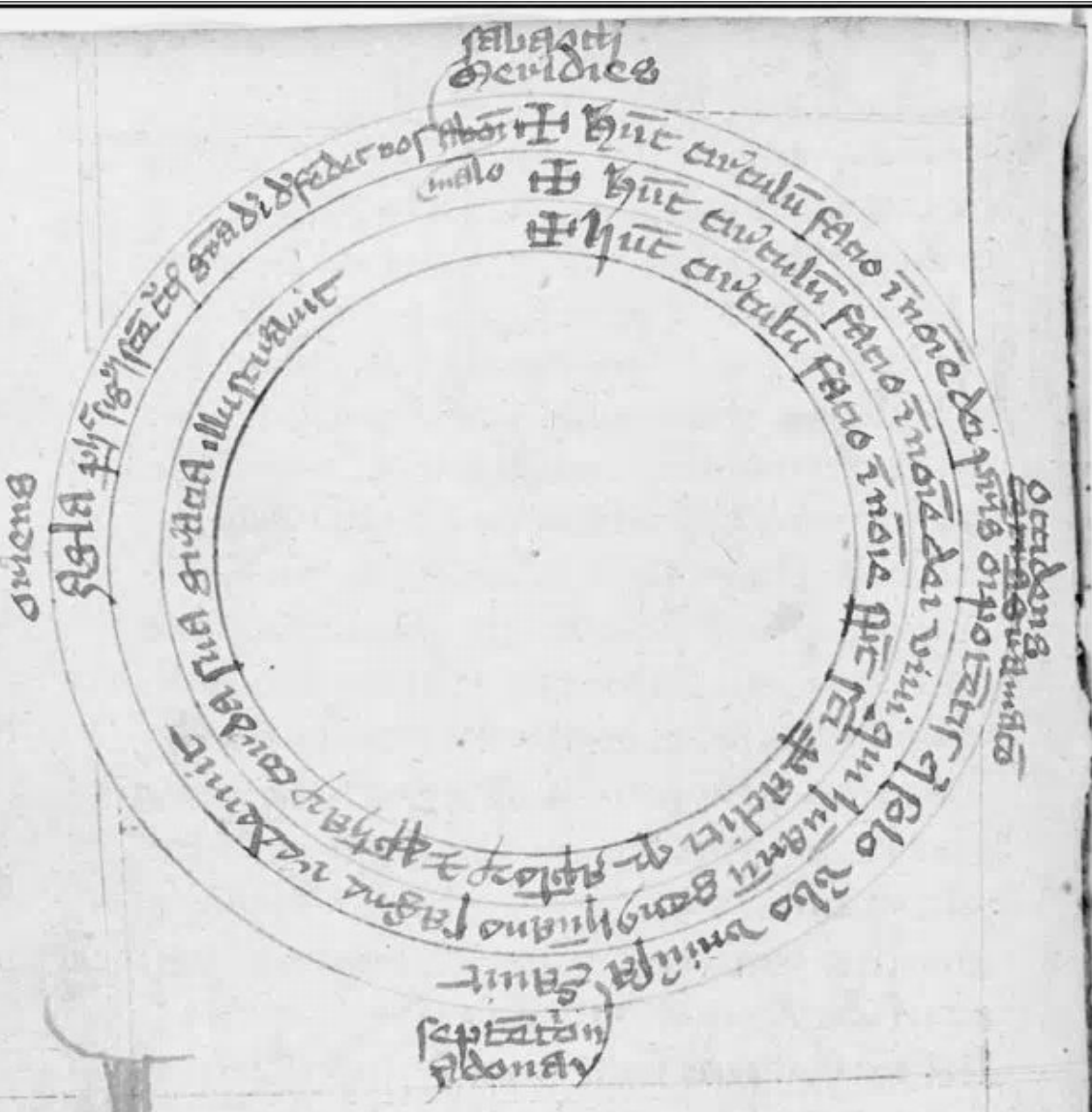


Ac ast primu speculu fuit & suorum
vox suoq; multu senior & hoc pe
culum debat fieri in magistu sui speculi
& in memoria dim nom suoq; seculoq; qui
oms vas Ante Caym fatuit in hu dissimo
loco Comuno vos dnoas vt veritis & q
patris & dicatis mihi deq; mr vosa
uero vos oem vitate in nomine pris & filii
& s. s. sma xpt & vnitt ymi & balbieit.
& zelens. zalles. dmado. eadan. es.
qui cottidie sitiu calor ascendut vbi sut
tres dogie eri ut breues fatui ut ictu
seculoq; in quatuor ptes seculi adstate
dam tota voluntate mea videri vbi vo
bilit & luctia placabilitate & affabilitate
sma tauro & absq; toto meffabili pote

Fol. 42r, no. 22: Double band; interior divided into six wedges; pentangles (inscribed with *on*); positions of master and boy marked; lined column (with inscription) to right.

tia deitatis sumi vnii in hac vi dei vnitata
ta exoramus. bylet ꝑ honora ꝑris tui sanctis.
et illud sacratissimum q̃ tu natura matris
tua fecisti vt ꝙ similitudie tua et non in
corporis silitudie fidelissimo tradu et fidele
dandu nobis tu inquisitor hoya vaq̃ sacratissimus
ta in speculo isto placiste fac humilit fac sine
villa dissimulata ta mihi ostendas et sim
plig vt duo ut plas deseruus tuus q̃ vo
tam defuncto qua delectidio aut dequa
cuq̃ alia re dubitabili dequa sua voluo
mihi dant vera visa vt signa in dei vnitate
et obea. Istud vo speculu debet
fieri admodu clypei et alio modo
volus in cuius gruo hec noia depinget
tur. Deus stb. ds opt. de. fortis. ds immortalis
hic fiat fiat saecula. et tu tetragrammaton
ora sigilla salomonis depigan
tur in margine
sine vo clypei
mini sigillu salomonis et in medio
speculi hec nomina
bylet depinga
tur sicut in hac
presenti figura
hic infra ponitur

Fol. 42v, no. 23: Shield; inscription addressed to God; pentangles (*sigilla Salomonis*, inscribed with *on*); name Lylet inscribed near centre.

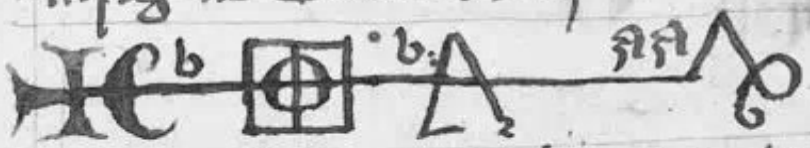


Incipit communiones dies sup ꝓpositos
sacrificiorum qui fiunt in debitis aliquid
operantes sintaquidem illud incipiat quod
ceteris in aliis communionibus sequentium
dierum quibuscumque scribenda sunt
scribas ad die suo // Communio dies
Dominici sequitur &c

Fol. 68v, no. 36: Three bands containing a tripartite prayer.

Ecce sigillū Raphaelis Angeli Cui⁹ stel
la ☉ Sol. fac illud die solis ī signo leonis

Ecce sigillū Gabrielis Angeli Cui⁹ stella
☽ luna fac illud die lune hora ☽ luna
ī signo Cancri ☌ ☍

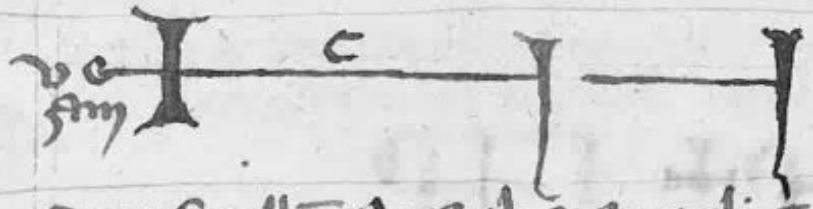


Ecce sigillū Samaelis Angeli Cui⁹
stella ♂ mars fac illa die martis ho
ra martis ī signo Arietis uel scorpionis

Ecce sigillū Michaelis Angeli Cui⁹
stella ♃ Iouis fac illa die mercurii ☌
hora mercurii ī signo ♍ Virginis uel
Geminii uel virginis.

Ecce sigillū Sachquiels Angeli Cui⁹
stella ♄ Saturni fac illa die Iouis ☌ hora
Iouis signo Sagittarii ☌ piscis ☍

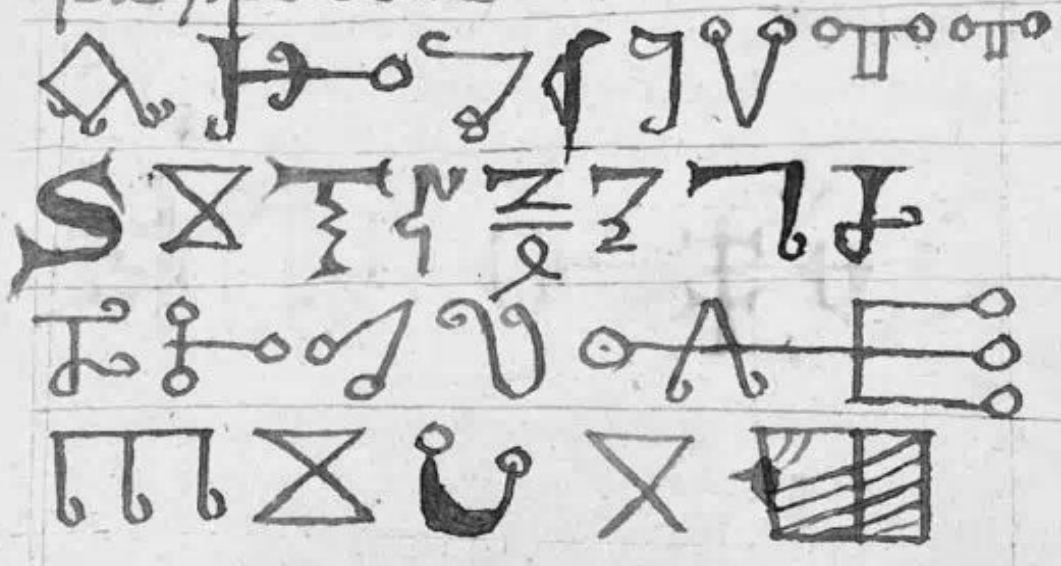
Fol. 72r, no. 37b: Seals for angels.



Ecce sigillū Anaelis Angeli cuius stella
& venus fac illa die veneris hora veneris
in signo thaurus et libre ℞

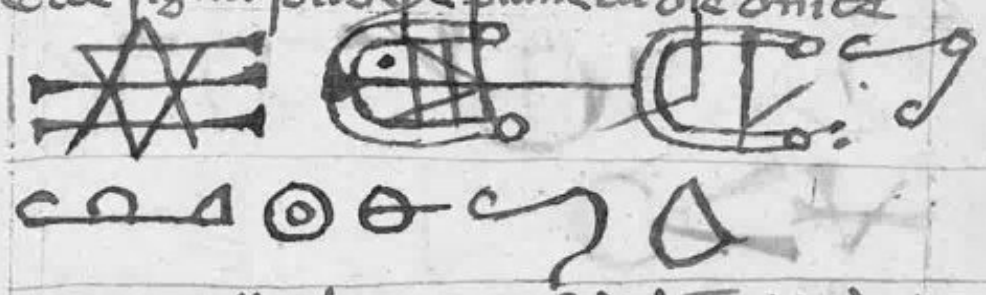
Ecce sigillū Cassiaelis Angeli cuius
stelle & saturnus fac illa die sabbati.
hora sathurni in signo Capricorni ℞

Ecce sigillū diei dmici q̄ fieri debet
sole ascendente.

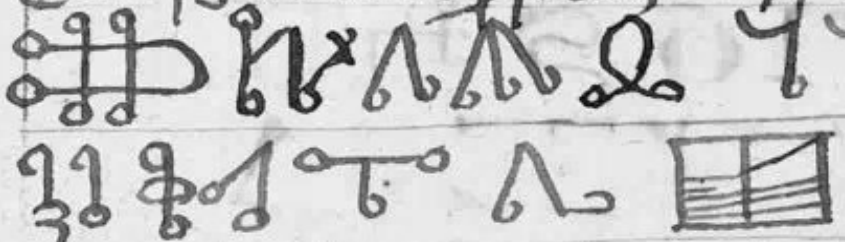


Fol. 72v, nos 37b–37c: Seals for angels, seals for planets and days of the week.

Ecce signū solis q̄ planeta die dñica



Ecce sigillū luna q̄ fiēt die luē ascendēte

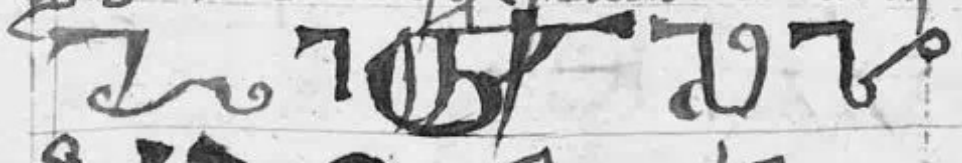


Ecce signū luna q̄ planeta diei luē

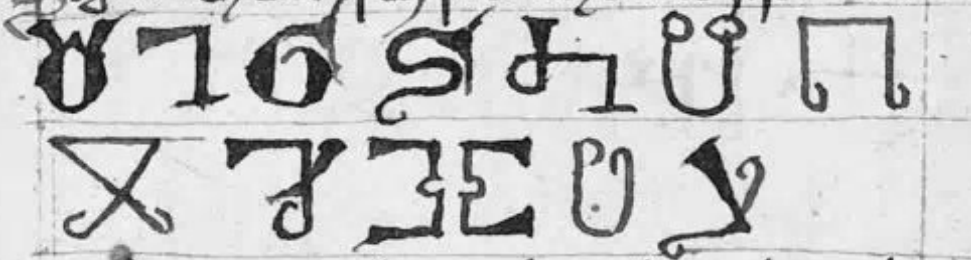
Sigillū diei martis q̄ die fiēt hora ascendēte

Fol. 73r, no. 37c: Seals for planets and days of the week.

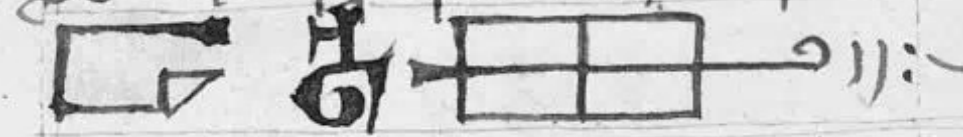
Signū die martis q̄ planeta dici martis



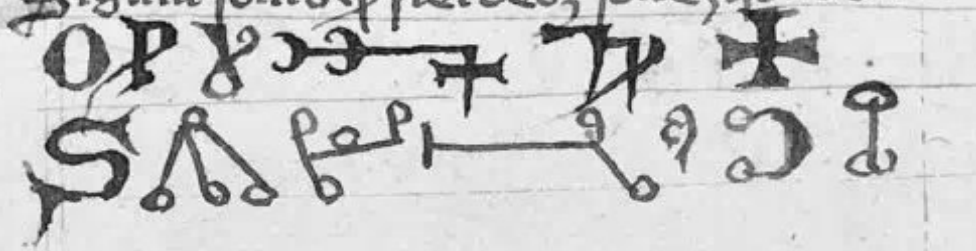
Sigillū ☿ turni dz fieri ☿ turno ascendente



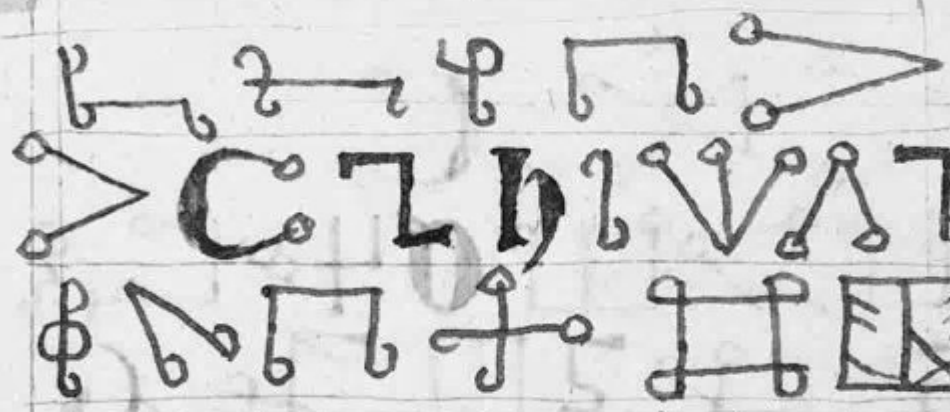
Signū ☿ turni q̄ planeta ☿ erutij dicī



Sigillū jouis q̄ fieī debz joue ascendente

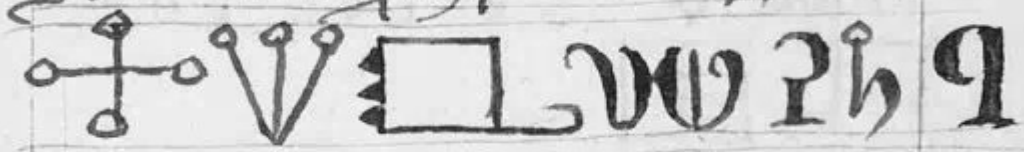


Fol. 73v, no. 37c: Seals for planets and days of the week.



Signū Jouis q̄ est planeta diei Jouis

Sigillū ueneris q̄ debz fieri ueñe ꝛ extendita



q Signū ueneris q̄ planeta diei ueneris

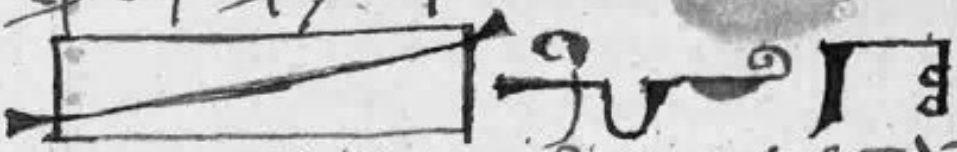
q Sigillū saturni q̄ debz fieri saturno extendata

Fol. 74r, no. 37c: Seals for planets and days of the week.

Hec dasignis. vij. planetaꝝ. q. septem
diep completa signa. vij. diep addo
mada sup planet & signis eop & tue
rgit milles tibi q̄ maxia virtus est
maior. quam q̄ maior populus op
tua. Nona Angelop regnatiu; hdie
bus septimale sit dicenda & sequitur
que opa hꝫ nom & opib; septimale
Angelus dei dnici est Raphahel
Angel; dei lune est Gabriel
dei martis & Samael.
mercurij & Michael.

Fol. 74v, no. 37c: Seals for planets and days of the week.

vtam. Jnvoco vos & precipio toto corde
& ore vt dignemini me exaudire & ad
juuare & totu meu desiderium quleua
vt valeam videre mille animatos
i meo seruitio tfi Cyrayn. Jnuoco
dei tuoto te vt adiuuas me vt fa
cias me videre pdctos fire animatos
& te etiam yah. oz q dic. 2. hoya
& te etiam 3. hoya Dasuya. & te e
tiam 4. hoya sala. tfi Jnuoco etiam &
appello angelos dnantes pdcis ho
ris Raphael. 2. Anael. 3. michael.
4 gabriel Jnuoco etia sanctos & oy
angelu capacitatem & oy signu &
virtutum & aquariu & suu sigillum
q & hc q fit pono vt me adiu

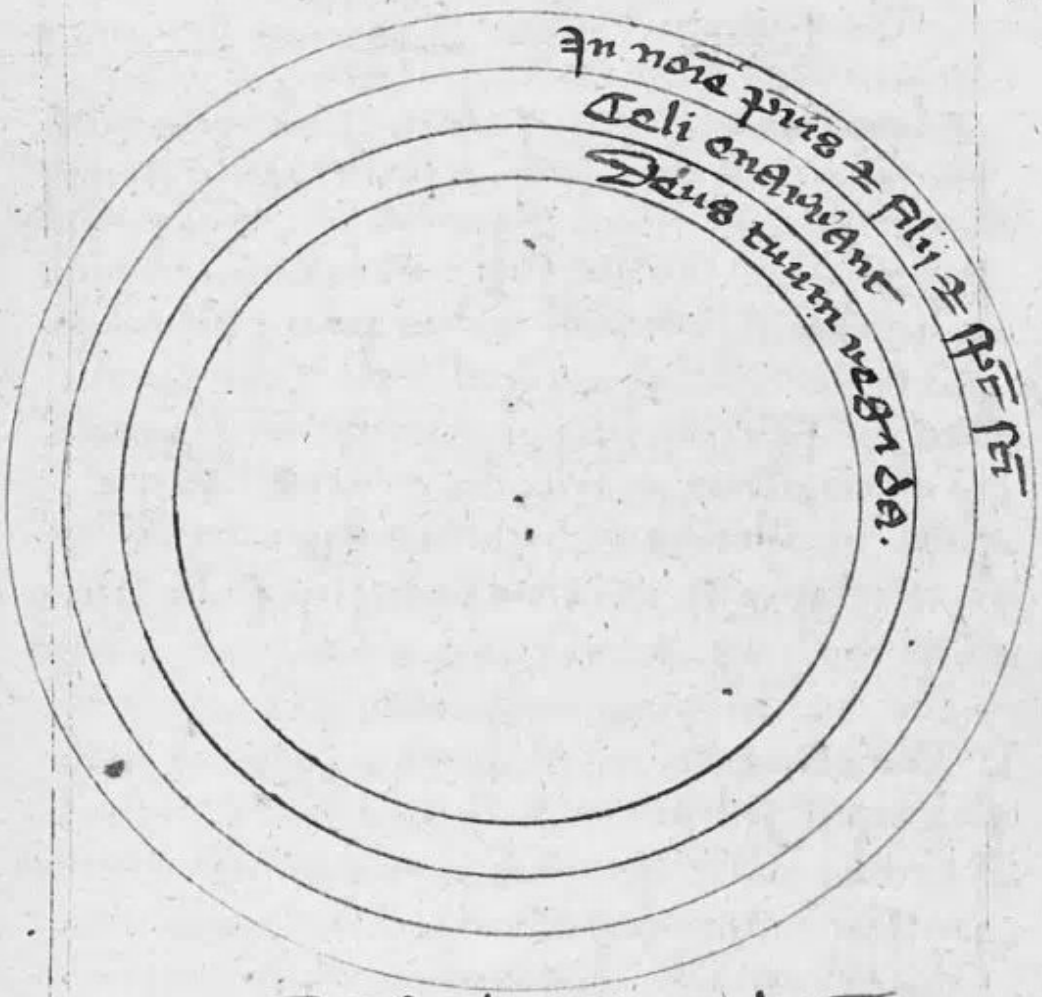


uent & faciant michi appetere pdcos
spiritus animatos in meo seruitio
Cauda q i q tpe voluntis yemalt.
vt yaneala. Jnuoco te & appello vt
tu adiuues me & facias appetere
pdctos fire animatos i meo seruitio
& nostri angeloy q seruiut & tpe
Amabal. Cauayl. Aeuaiayl. Jnuoco
vos & appello vt faciatis michi

Fol. 95v, no. 37r: Seal of Solomon (three characters).

reges ꝓ vos ꝓncipes ꝓ comites ꝓ vos milites
ꝓ vos ciues hᵉ finito q̄tus si vidᵗ fuꝛe cu
fuꝛto ꝛ si vidisti ad finē et tange ꝓ̄no
ungue manū tuā et accipias vnguēta
dū ꝛ benedicas ꝓ̄m tū mo sacerdo cōuerta
cu gladio ad .q. ꝓ̄tas cōuīs sū dicēdo ꝓ̄
filiꝰ ꝑt os ꝑ cū custodiat te. ꝛ hoc ꝓ̄mo
gladiū vagīe fm sa ꝛ q̄ꝛe dextrulaꝛ
oīb⁹ sociis tuis ita facias ꝛ tibi
ꝙ̄ipit fm bonū ꝛ ꝓbatū

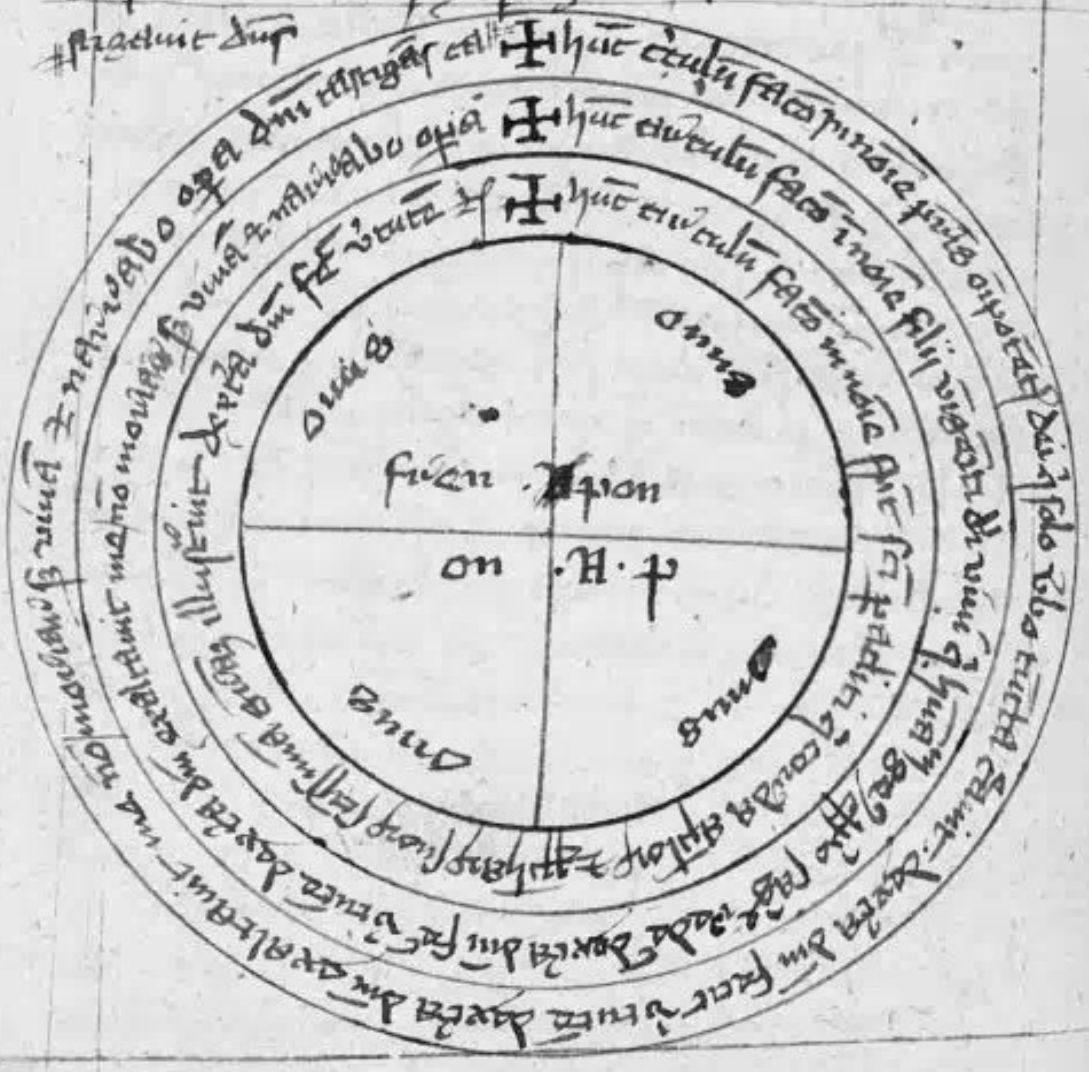
Fol. 99v, no. 39 (first circle): Three bands containing a tripartite prayer.



Exurgat deus dissipentur

A ortu solis fac. xps cantulos et tuncz
Immediata tuū tuloz et fac tibi quod
vigava sedem tuā quedam de querdu et
cultellū cū manubrio albo et limito cū
oleo oliue hic feto scripta dissim hic noia
xxuiior noia sut. qr. lras. ut lapides pal
lato 8 et xps lras quas sub tu sedem et una
sub tu pedes pūr et ipse dic noia subscripta

Fol. 103r, no. 39 (second circle): Three bands containing a tripartite prayer.



Fol. 105v, no. 40: Three concentric bands; centre of innermost divided into inscribed quadrants; each circle dedicated to member of Trinity.

Septentrio et scribe desuper colubre signum
hoc figura

Reuertens se de mane cum solis ortu
mureces ibi filiam tuam et as quadrantem vo
lutu illudq; ligabis in capillis tuis qua
volutus erit inuisibilis et pectus tu
pi ibi dimittes colubram et tenta ne
ptam accipies nec aliq

Ensis lunaris dies. Alii sut boni alii
mali adscribendes tenetis. Prima dies
mensis felix lunaris tota bona. Secun
da die mane bona et non plus. Tria nil
facere debes. Quarta dies tota bona
Quinta usq; ad horam tertiam et vltra non.
Sexta die nichil facies. Septima die prima
hora bona est et non plus. Octaua mane
bona. Nona nichil facias. Decima die de
nichil facias cura qui male et adoria facie
da. Undecima bona et tota. Duodecima bona
et usq; ad tertiam ut quidam - 13m. nichil facias
- 14m. tota bona et 15m. hora nichil facies. 16.
mane tota bona et postea nichil valz. 17m.
et. 18m. usq; ad meridiem mala et et postea et
bona 19m. nichil tota agas 20m. et 21m. et 22m.

Fol. 108r, no. 45: Complex character.

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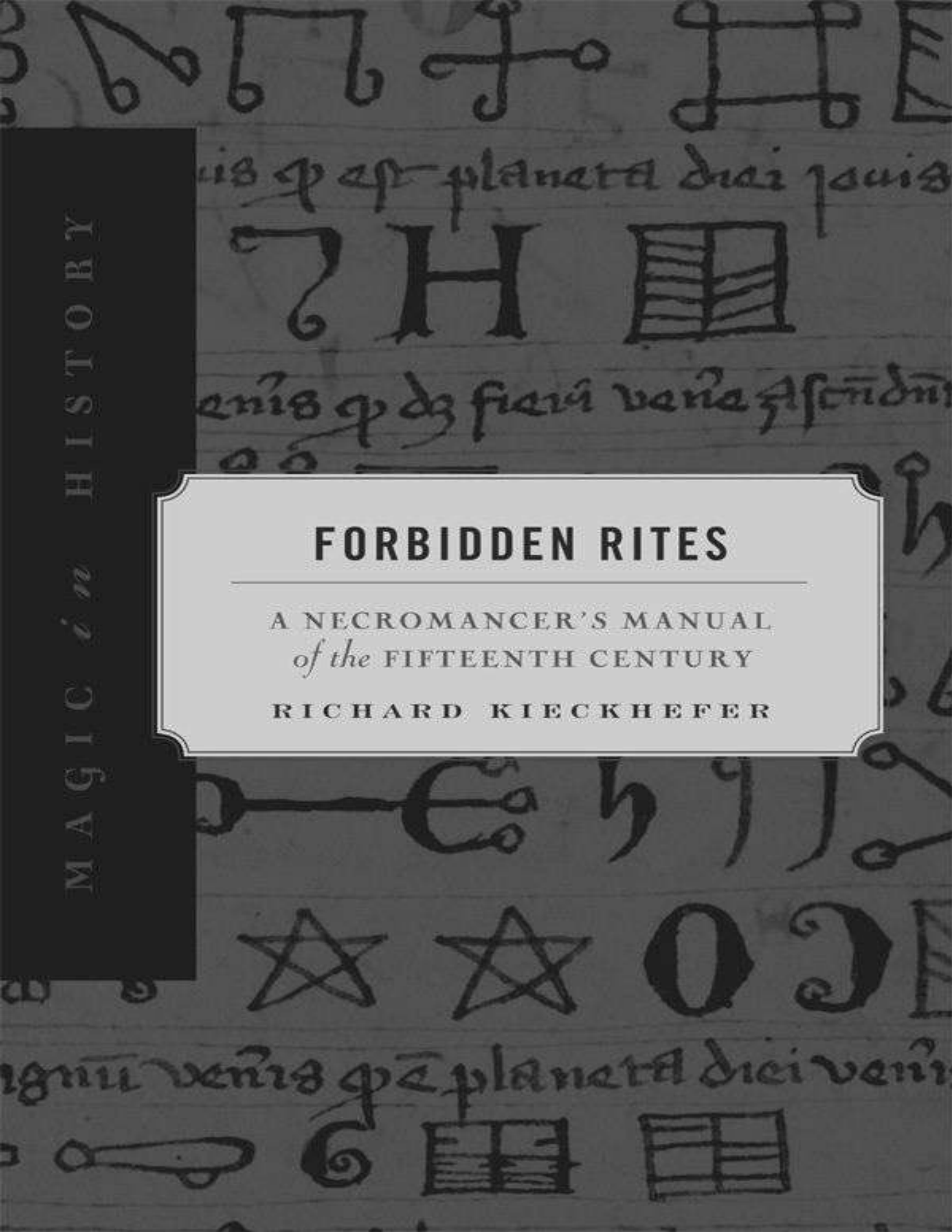

MAGIC *in* HISTORY

FORBIDDEN RITES

A NECROMANCER'S MANUAL *of the* FIFTEENTH CENTURY

RICHARD KIECKHEFER

Forbidden Rites

Magic in History

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A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century

Richard Kieckhefer

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Cave! terrentia hac in scientia latent, si cupis
scire occulta, pericula multa pro te et upupis!

1

Introduction: Magical Books and Magical Rites

We are what we read – and the power of books to transform the minds and personalities of their readers can give cause for anxiety as well as for celebration. A cluster of related developments in late medieval Europe brought heightened concern about what people were reading. The spread of literacy and the rise of a far wider reading public, lay as well as clerical, brought greater demand for written material. The availability of paper, a medium far less costly than parchment, made books more readily accessible than they had previously been, and allowed for more abundant supply of reading matter to feed this demand, even before the invention of printing with movable type. And the emergence of silent reading habits made reading a more private activity. [1] Historians have attended to the impact of these developments on medieval heresy, on churchmen's fear that literacy contributed to the diffusion of heretical views, and on the efforts at censorship that ensued. But less work has been done on the dissemination of *magical* texts, which in some ways represented an even more sinister threat to orthodox culture, and on attempts to control these texts. [2] A book of magic which deliberately and expressly invited contact with demons presented all the hazards of reading in their deepest and most pressing form.

Beginning around the early fourteenth century, possession and use of magical writings becomes a recurrent theme in the records of prosecution. When Bernard Délicieux was accused in 1319 of having used necromancy against the pope, he was cleared of that charge but nevertheless condemned to prison for merely possessing a book of necromancy. [3] Fear of necromancy and of necromantic writings was becoming an obsession at the time, especially at the court of Pope John XXII, who in the previous year had commissioned the bishop of Fréjus and others to investigate a group of clerics and laymen charged with using books of necromancy, geomancy and other magical arts. [4] In 1320 Matteo and Galeazzo Visconti were tried for

using necromancy against Pope John; the offence here was actual use of the art, yet when one witness said he had been shown a book filled with experiments for love, hatred, finding of stolen objects and so forth, the very sight of such a book was evidently cause for horror. [5] In 1406–7, informants claimed that a group of clerics had used formulas from magical books against Benedict XIII and the king of France, and the ensuing inquiry uncovered a box filled with booklets containing prayers, hymns and conjurations. [6] But in 1409, at the Council of Pisa, Benedict in turn was charged with using necromancy and hiring necromancers. The pope, it was said, had sought out a book of necromancy available only from the Saracens and had purchased it for some 1,000 francs. A book of necromancy was allegedly found under the pontiff's bed. [7] In such cases the uncovering of necromantic writings made more plausible the charge that necromancy had actually been used, but more fundamentally the books themselves would have impressed contemporaries as unsavoury and incriminating, somewhat as the discovery of Satanic paraphernalia might seem incriminating today. Not surprisingly, inquisitors and other judges used such discoveries as propaganda in their zealous campaigns against magic. In 1382 an inquisitor wrote to the government of Siena about a band of magicians at Rugomagno; one Agnolo di Corso had been found in possession of a book of seventy chapters, which others had copied, and which spoke of invoking evil spirits to murder people or constrain their affections. [8] Two years later Niccolò Consigli was executed at Florence for practicing necromancy and unlicensed exorcisms; his judges confiscated and burned the books of necromancy from which he had taken conjurations. [9] One might even say it was common for books of magic to be set forth as codefendants alongside their owners and users – and indeed, as we shall see, those who condemned books of magic in some ways ascribed to them a kind of personality. [10] When the books were burned, there were those (as we shall see) who heard the voices of demons in the crackling of the flames.

The book-burning might at times be voluntary: according to a fifteenth-century biographer, Gerard Groot studied magic in his youth, and was accused of practising it as well, but when he converted to a life of piety and foreswore the art of necromancy, he consigned his books of magic to the flames. [11] The movement he went on to found, the Devotio Moderna, was one of the most influential forces in the devotional culture of pre-Reformation Europe, a movement of inner piety nurtured by devout reading,

manifested in the copying out of pious phrases in personal florilegia, and financially supported by the copying of manuscripts – a movement, in short, firmly grounded in the book-culture of late medieval Europe, and initiated with an act of penitential book-burning.

From the early years of Christianity, conversion to Christ had meant, among other things, doing away with books of magic. The scene at Ephesus, as described in the Acts of the Apostles (18:19–19:20), perhaps epitomized what happened on a smaller scale elsewhere. When Paul arrived in the town and made converts to the new faith, ‘a number of those who practised magic arts brought their books together and burned them in the sight of all, and they counted the value of them and found it came to fifty thousand pieces of silver’. [12] (This comes to roughly 1,666 times as many silver pieces as Judas received for betraying Christ.) By the later Middle Ages, treatment of those found with offending literature was often more judicial than pastoral. To be sure, a monk of Sulby monastery was treated leniently when he was found possessing books of magic in 1500. A superior in the Premonstratensian order had heard of a brother named Thomas Wryght who had been using books of experiments and gone about paying people generously to teach him the occult arts. Faced with the evidence – one of his books of experiments – he insisted that he owned such books only out of curiosity, not for actual use. The matter was treated as a disciplinary one within the monastic setting, and the brother received a light penance. [13] But in an age when books of this sort were held in deep suspicion one could never count on such clemency, as Bernard Délicieux well knew.

Anything that arouses such deep anxiety is a subject of historical interest, and books of magic hold considerable fascination indeed. To know why books of magic aroused fear we must gain a fuller understanding of what the books themselves were likely to contain. Most of them no doubt have perished in the inquisitors’ flames, but some eluded detection and have survived. The focus of following chapters in this study is arguably among the most interesting sources we have for the study of medieval magic: a fifteenth-century handbook of explicitly demonic magic, or what contemporaries called ‘necromancy’. This compilation is contained in a manuscript in the Bavarian State Library in Munich. To be sure, the text is neither edifying nor profound, nor is it particularly original; in late medieval Europe there were no doubt many compilations equally illustrative of common magical practice, most of them now lost. But among the

manuscripts that survive, few are quite as diverse in content, or as full, explicit and candid in their instructions as this work.

Detailed examination of such a compilation may most obviously help us understand the mentality of the necromancers themselves who copied such books, whether for curiosity or for use. But study of this handbook may clarify several other factors in the history of magic, and three in particular. First, examination of a necromancer's manual sheds light on the function and cultural significance of a magical book itself. We will know more about the cultural significance of books generally – and we will know more fully the range of meanings a book could have – when we have grasped the role of this exceptional category of books. Second, the mentality of the necromancers' opponents becomes clearer from examination of such a compilation: the views of the Renaissance mages (such as Marsilio Ficino and Johannes Reuchlin) who insisted that they practised a higher and purer form of magic than did these base necromancers, and those of the demonologists (Heinrich Kramer and his successors) for whom necromancy was a dark filter shading their perception of witchcraft. The reactions of the opponents may be historically more important than the attitudes of the necromancers themselves, because they tell us more about the culture as a whole, but we cannot begin to comprehend these reactions without knowing the realities on which they were based. Third, the rites contained in this compendium illustrate strikingly the links between magical practice and orthodox liturgy. The analogy I will use is that of a tapestry, whose display side implies a reverse side: so too, a society that ascribes a high degree of power to ritual and its users will invite the development of unofficial and transgressive ritual, related in form to its official counterpart, however sharply it may differ in its uses.

A book of magic as a cultural artifact

A book of magic is also a magical book. It not only tells how to perform magical works, but shares in the numinous qualities and powers of the rites it contains. To be sure, not all magic is book magic: much magical practice arises from oral culture, is transmitted orally, and is used without needing inscription on paper or parchment, even if it is the largely accidental circumstance of its having been transcribed at some point that accounts for its survival and its accessibility to us. But in the later Middle Ages certain

forms of magic were increasingly assimilated to liturgy and increasingly written, so that a magical act was the performance from a script, or the observance of a rite whose details were enshrined in a text. This development surely owed much to the spread of literacy among the laity, but even more to the practice of magic among the clergy, particularly those on the fringes of the clerical elite. Judicial and anecdotal evidence suggests that explicitly demonic magic, called ‘nigromancy’ or ‘necromancy’, [14] was largely the domain of priests, perhaps especially those without full-time parish employment, as well as ordained monks with some education and esoteric interests, university students and others who had been received into minor orders. [15] It was within this context that a book of magic would most naturally be perceived as a magical book, sharing in the numinous quality of the rites it prescribes.

Christian ritual had from early centuries been the enactment not of oral tradition but of texts embodied in books. With the unprecedented late medieval diffusion of literacy, availability of reading matter and expansion of the clergy, books might still be accessible only to an elite, but it was a much expanded elite, and the numbers and varieties of books available were far greater than in previous centuries, so that maintaining control over this diffusion and this variety was scarcely possible, however much hierarchs may have attempted to censor the available reading matter. Little surprise, then, if books of magic found their way onto some readers’ shelves, whether for use or for mere curiosity.

Apart from its function as a repository of information and insight, a book can be of interest as a physical object, as a mirror of its writer’s life and mind, and as a mirror of the society and culture from which it emanates and to which it returns. The surviving books of medieval demonic magic repay study from each of these perspectives, although their claims to significance differ from those of ordinary texts: a book of magic is a physical object like any other book, but even as object it is perceived as having sinister power, as a kind of negative relic; it reveals something of the writer’s life and mind, but more often than in most other cases, and for more obviously compelling reasons, the authorship remains anonymous or pseudonymous; and it serves as a mirror of the surrounding culture, but often the mirror is a distorting one, a deliberately transgressive adaptation of what the society takes to be holy.

Any book of rituals serves as point of contact between sacred texts

(permanent, authoritative repositories of power) and their performance (which utilizes this power for specific occasions). The book itself, like a liturgical vessel or a sacred building, is consecrated; when a formula is read from it, the power of the text is enhanced by the sacrality of the book from which it is read. A book of magic may also be consecrated, to confirm the numinous power resident in the physical object. A book of magic is thus significant not only as a source for information about magical practice – generally more reliable than court records, denunciatory treatises and literary accounts – but also as itself a magical object, treasured and closely guarded by its possessors, and condemned to burning by judges in mimickry of the punishment that might await the magicians themselves.

This perception of a book of magic as itself a magical object, and therefore as suspect, is seldom so dramatically manifested as in the canonization proceedings for Archbishop Antoninus of Florence (the man from whom, incidentally, the *Malleus maleficarum* derived most of its misogynist tropes). [16] One witness to the sanctity of the archbishop told how the saint had gone one day to a barber-surgeon of Florence named Master Peter to have his hair cut. During the process the prelate began to wonder how a man who read no Latin was able not only to cut hair but also to cure the sick people who came to him. He learned that the barber had obtained a 'book of surgery' from a Cistercian and had learned from it the art of healing. Antoninus asked Peter to bring forth this book and show it to him; the man readily complied.

> The archbishop recognized that the book was full of incantations, and formulas and signs belonging to the wicked magical arts. So one day he went to San Marco for lunch, and when certain members of the city's nobility were with him in the cloister after the meal, he had fire brought in an earthen vessel, and he set fire to the book. Immediately the air was so darkened that the citizens were afraid, and clung to the archbishop. He comforted them, saying that when the book was fully burned this darkening and clouding of the air would cease, as indeed happened. Then, calling these citizens and Master Peter about him, he explained that the book contained incantations, and that at some point a mass had been celebrated over it for conjuring and summoning demons, so that wherever the book was, a multitude of demons resided there.

The burning thus served as an exorcism; the very pages seemed quite literally infected by demons, who needed to be banished. Once this was accomplished, Antoninus admonished Peter to find some other means for healing the sick; the man obeyed this admonition, and the canonization proceedings assure us that God did not allow his family to go lacking.

The notion that demons could infest a book appears elsewhere: Michael Scot told of a magical book inhabited by spirits who call out when the book is opened, ‘What do you want? What do you seek? What do you order? Say what you want and it shall be done forthwith.’ [17] The theme admits at least two interpretations. One might see it as a way of symbolizing the ubiquity of malign spirits, their eagerness to seize any opportunity for mischief, and their dense concentration in those places and objects seen as special ‘occasions of sin’. Beyond this, it can express obsessive anxiety about the book itself as an object invested with a kind of negative sacrality, something taboo, a source of spiritual and psychological contagion. The difference is not that the first interpretation is cultural and the second psychological; both interpretations function on both levels, relating the concerns of individual observers to the shared perceptions of the society. But the first interpretation places greater weight on the theological assumption that malevolent forces are secretly present in the world, an ‘objective’ assumption in the sense that it is widely diffused within the culture, eliciting and appealing to a diversity of personal concerns and anxieties, while the second stresses the aversion of the individual observer, a reaction inevitably both experienced and expressed in culturally conditioned terms.

Archbishop Antoninus’s authority was perhaps too great for a mere barber-surgeon to challenge his interpretation of the book he had been using, but not all practitioners were so amenable to instruction. In the 1340s, the inquisitor Pietro da l’Aquila charged the Florentine physician Francesco di Simone with having purchased a book on the virtues of herbs, in which (according to the inquisitor) there was necromantic content. The physician testified that he had indeed bought such a book, but that there was no taint of necromancy in it, and if he had known that the volume contained anything prohibited he would never have bought it. [18] It makes little difference for our present purposes whether the inquisitor’s or the archbishop’s reading of a particular book was correct, or grounded in a careful reading of the volume’s contents. Either of them might have been scandalized by simple charms of a sort that a theologian would in principle

have deemed innocent but a careless or overly zealous critic might perceive as tainted and implicitly demonic. [19] In other cases it seems more likely that magical books condemned as demonic were in fact collections of expressly demonic magic; Piero di ser Lippo claimed that the book he confiscated from Agnolo di Corso contained formulas for adoration and invocation of spirits such as Satan and Beelzebub, and there is no reason to doubt that the inquisitor encountered a work of genuine demonic magic, of the sort that have on occasion survived.

Less dramatic than the action of Archbishop Antoninus, but similar to it in certain respects, was the judicial treatment of a magical book by the secular authorities at Dijon:

> Concerning the execution [*exécution*] of a book of devilry [*deablerie*]. On the sixth day of August, in the year 1463, at the command of my lords of the Chambre des comptes at Dijon, after consultation in this Chambre, a book made of paper and covered with leather that was colored green was brought from the house and residence of the widow and heirs of Thomas of Dampmartin, during his life resident of Dijon. In this book were written many evil and false invocations of devils [*deables*], divinations, charms [*charoyes*], and other things of the magical art, which give very bad example and are against God and the holy Christian faith. In it were contained many depictions of devils and other detestable figures and characters. At the end of this book were several chapters and articles on necromancy [*nigromance*] and chiromancy. This book had been seen by my lords of the Council and the Chambres des comptes. And after they inspected it with great and serious deliberation – in the presence of lord Jehan Bon Varlet, priest of the chapel of my lord the duke of Dijon, dean of Saint-Seigne, vicar and scelleur of the reverend father in God my lord the bishop of Lengres in Dijon; master Jehan de Molesmes, secretary of my lord the duke; Ayme d'Eschenon, mayor of the town and commune of Dijon; Jehan Rabustel, procurator of that town; Aimé Barjod, procurator of my lord in the district of Dijon; and many others – this book was cast into the fire and totally burned to cinders, to the despite and confusion of the evil enemies [of the faith], and so that it could never again be used in any manner. [20]

Here there is no allegation of supernatural phenomena, and the book is not

seen as infected or possessed by demons needing to be exorcized. None the less, the book itself is treated as if it were a human subject, to be examined and, once found guilty, executed by burning. Nothing in the account need be taken as implying that the book itself possesses numinous powers, yet the book elicits the loathing and the judicial reaction normally reserved for a personal agent and embodiment of evil. From one perspective there is nothing unusual about investing a book with personality: the reading of any book can be perceived as a kind of dialogue between the reader and the text. Rarely, however, is the perception carried to this extreme.

The numinous quality of a book of magic could resemble that of a liturgical or devotional book, and in some cases the distinction between a devotional and a magical work could be obscure. The chronicle of Saint Denis tells how in 1323 a monk of Morigny was found to possess a book of devotions inspired by curiosity and pride, although he claimed to have been inspired rather by visions of the Virgin Mary. In her honour, he had had many images of the Virgin painted on his pages. He thus sought to renew the ‘heresy and sorcery’ known as the *ars notoria*, which involves the use of special figures, contemplation of these figures amid prayer and fasting, and invocation of mysterious and presumably demonic names, all for the sake of knowledge, wealth, honour or pleasure. His own book promised such rewards, but required invocations, the special copying of the book (at great expense), and the inscription of one’s name in the book itself two times; the physical object, in other words, needed to be customized for its user. This book was so evil, the chronicle declares, that judges at Paris consigned it to the flames. [21] In other cases the boundary between devotion and magic was complicated by various factors: the combination of devotional and liturgical material with natural magic; [22] the tendency in books of conjuration to juxtapose formulas for invoking angels, demons and spirits of neutral or indeterminate standing, and the use of prayers to God for power over demonic and other spirits. Thus, when the necromantic plot against Benedict XIII was divulged in 1406, and investigation produced a coffin filled with books of prayers as well as conjurations, it is impossible to know whether even the ‘prayers’ were orthodox or deviant.

Tales of sorcerers’ apprentices emphasize that the wondrous powers of a magical book are not easily controlled: one exemplum tells of a pupil who reads a chapter from his master’s magical tome and thereby arouses a tempest which can be quelled only when the master comes back and reads a

chapter equal in length. [23] One might say that in such a tale it is not the book itself but the magic it contains that is powerful and uncontrollable, but the emphasis on use of a chapter of equal length suggests that the process of reading may have magical, quantifiable efficacy distinguishable from that of the specific contents.

The *Book of Consecrations*

The perception of a book of magic as possessing numinous power is not merely an obsession of the inquisitors; it is grounded in the writings of the magicians as well, who guarded the secrecy of their writings perhaps mainly for fear of detection, but also out of a sense that the books themselves were sacred objects.

A late medieval book of demonic magic is in at least one respect decidedly not like a cookbook. If one discovers that the recipes in a cookbook tend to come out badly, one may reasonably wonder whether there are errors in detail – whether, for example, the author meant a teaspoon rather than a tablespoon of salt, or a pinch and not a pound of nutmeg – but to take the faulty book to a priest and have it blessed would normally be thought eccentric at best. Yet that, or the rough equivalent, is indeed what a late medieval necromancer might have done with a defective book of magic. He might suppose that verbal flaws in the conjurations were partly to blame, [24] but, as we will see, the variants in late medieval necromantic texts seem to have been so common that a practitioner might have despaired of ever finding a flawless text to recite. In any case, the problem of verbal flaws was perhaps not the necromancer's greatest concern. A short, anonymous work called the *Liber consecrationum* (*Book of Consecrations*), which circulated in late medieval manuscripts in varying forms, makes clear that the book itself was a sacred object requiring elaborate consecration, and that its contents might lose their magical efficacy. [25] According to this *Book of Consecrations*, the magician must seek to recover the lost efficacy of his formulas by subjecting the book itself to an elaborate process of recharging, or reconsecration.

The prologue to this work insists that its proceedings are especially valuable, being dedicated to the names of God, and should not be used in vain. By invoking God's names, the 'exorcist or operator' can renew the power of a magical experiment which has lost its efficacy. Many people

seek to achieve great works, and possess writings by which they will attain their desire, but they accomplish nothing, because their experiments are corrupt. The operator must refrain from every pollution of mind and body, and for nine days must be abstinent in food and drink, must keep from idle or immoderate words, and must be clothed in clean garments. On each of these days he must hear mass, carrying this book with him and placing it on the altar during the mass, which seems to assume the celebrant's complicity, if the owner of the book is not in fact himself a cleric. He must execute this procedure devoutly, with prayer and fasting, so as to attain knowledge of sacred mysteries, and then he must carry the book back home. He should have a secret place, sprinkled with holy water, in which he can place the book, after binding it with a priestly cincture and a stole placed in the form of a cross. Kneeling toward the east he must say seven psalms (presumably the seven penitential psalms), 'the litany' (meaning the litany of the saints), and a further prayer before opening the book. Then he may open the book with humble devotion and with heartfelt desire 'that God may sanctify and bless and consecrate this book, devoted to his most sacred names, so that it may fully obtain the power it should have, that it may have power for consecrating the bond of spirits and for all invocations and conjurations of [spirits], and likewise all other experiments'.

These instructions are followed by a prayer, to be said after the litany of the saints – actually three prayers of varying length. The first is a plea that God may hear the operator's prayers despite his unworthiness. The second, addressed to Christ, repeats this central entreaty, and asks that he may consecrate this book:

> by the power of these your most sacred names, On, Jesus Christ, Alpha and O, El, Eloy, Eloyye, Sithothith, Eon, Sepmelamaton, Ezelphates, Tetragramaton, Elyoram, Ryon, Deseryon, Erystion, Ysyornus, Onela, Baysyn, Moyn, Messias, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, and by all your secret names which are contained in this book, so that by the virtue, sanctity, and power of these names this book may be consecrated ✠ and blessed ✠ and confirmed ✠ by the virtue of the sacrament of your body and blood, so that it may effectively, without any deception, [and] truly obtain the power that this book should obtain, for consecrating the bond of spirits, and for consecrating all corrupt experiments, and that they may have the fulness of virtue and power for which they are ordained,

through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, who is seated on high, to whom be honour and glory throughout unending ages. Amen, amen, amen, amen, amen.

This second prayer then invokes all the heavenly powers to bless the book. The third and briefest simply calls upon Christ to bless the book. The procedure is then complete. If the operator later wishes to consecrate a particular experiment, or add a new one, he should use a series of further prayers, along with which he must say the Confiteor, take holy water, and make the sign of the cross on his forehead. At all times he must take care that this book, which the wise adepts (*sapientissimi phisichi*) dedicated to God's holy names, not fall into the hands of the foolish. Why this caution might be necessary becomes especially clear toward the end of the supplementary prayers, in which the 'exorcist or operator' specifically requests power to summon 'malign spirits' from wherever they may happen to be lurking.

The mentality of the necromancers and their opponents

It would be a mistake to think of necromancy as a peripheral phenomenon in late medieval society and culture. Secular as well as ecclesiastical courts took it seriously and at times executed those charged with its practice; monarchs and popes as well as commoners lived in fear of becoming its victims. This fear may have been in some cases or to some degree feigned or pathological, but it was also grounded in realistic awareness that necromancy was in fact being practised, and in an almost universally shared conviction that it could work.

The history of magic sometimes claims a place in academic study as a field within intellectual history. This claim is plausible when the subject is a writer such as al-Kindi or Marsilio Ficino, deeply concerned with the practical operation of magic but also with the philosophical principles by which magic worked. This is not the type of material I will chiefly be examining in this study. The focus here will be formulas of frankly demonic magic, with only the most meagre of intellectual pretensions; I wish to suggest, perhaps perversely, that such a text none the less repays close examination. The rites contained in a manual of necromancy are flamboyantly transgressive, even carrying transgression toward its furthest

imaginable limits, and in today's academic environment one might justify studying them on these grounds. I am impelled more by a simple urge to grapple with late medieval culture in its entirety, including its most problematic and conflicted manifestations – warts and all, to use a fitting cliché – and to explore how the underside of the culture related to the side more often displayed. This too is part of the historian's challenge of discerning how things made sense in an alien culture.

First, then, the surviving necromantic texts provide a useful starting point for the *sources* of late medieval magic. Certain aspects of the necromancy laid out in these writings are clearly derived from the Arabic tradition of astral magic that became widely diffused in Europe from at least the thirteenth century onward. At times, as we shall see, the experiments are indebted to Jewish magical traditions, whether explicitly or implicitly, although the impact of Jewish magic on the forbidden rites of Christendom has been less studied and is harder to trace in detail than the influence of Arabic tradition. There are even materials in late medieval necromantic manuscripts closely resembling the magic of antiquity. It is often tempting to suppose that the forms of magical practice are essentially similar across cultures and throughout time, or at least over a very extended *longue durée*. Indeed, one might easily be persuaded that there is a history of the uses of magic and reactions to magic, but not a history of magic itself: virtually every magical technique one encounters appears so deeply rooted in tradition that magical practice seems essentially timeless and perennial. Indeed, it is possible to cite analogues and possible sources for late medieval magic from widely diverse cultures; in search of such parallels one could wander endlessly through thickets of the history of magic, from the Greek magical papyri of antiquity, through Arabic and Byzantine sources, and on to the grimoires of the early modern era. Yet when certain more or less well defined classes of practitioner take an interest in magic, they will adapt to their own use forms of magic taken from various sources. If the history of magic is to be anything other than a night in which all cats are black, it must attend to the characteristics of specific mélanges of magical tradition. The chief purpose of this study is therefore not to trace the history of individual elements but to reconstruct the configurations into which these elements enter: the patterns of magical practice worked in a particular historical setting, the relationship between these forms of magic and other aspects of the culture, and the perceptions of magic within that culture.

Furthermore, we cannot understand the *opposition* to magic in late medieval Europe without knowing fully what sorts of magic were being practised in that culture. Apart from the exempla by Caesarius of Heisterbach and others telling of the dangers of necromancy, there is considerable literature by late medieval theologians directed against these practices. For instance, the Paris theologians who in 1398 issued a general prohibition of magic were clearly aware of necromantic practices and concerned to eradicate them. [26] The theological literature against necromancy is incomprehensible without knowledge of the necromancers' formulas, and has at times been seriously misunderstood. [27] Nor can we understand the virulence of the critics' assault on magic without knowing the purposes magic was believed to serve. The glorification of the transgressive and the vilification of persecutors has perhaps too often blinded us to the recognition that much magic was intended for sexual coercion and exploitation, or for unscrupulous careerism, or for vigilante action against thieves that could easily lead to false accusations. I do not propose to moralize about these activities, but as a corrective to naive romanticizing I do want to make clear the kinds of magic one can expect to find in a late medieval source. It would be too much to claim that fear of clerical necromancy was a major source of pre-Reformation anti-clericalism – in Boccaccio, for example, when clerics make pretence of magical power this is exercised in the service of their lechery, and lust rather than magic is the focus of the satire – but the realization that certain clerics were dabbling in conjuration could hardly have made a positive contribution to the image of the clergy at a time when for other reasons there was increasing distrust of priests and priestcraft. [28]

If we neglect the literature of necromancy we cannot grasp what it is that the Humanist mages (Marsilio Ficino, Giovanni Pico, Johannes Reuchlin, Johannes Trithemius and others) so vigorously claimed *not* to be doing, or what they were often suspected of doing despite their protestations. Even the rise of the witch trials in the fifteenth century is related to increasing consciousness of this explicitly demonic magic. It was surely in large part because they were aware of the demonic magic described in these manuals and evidently practised in their midst that orthodox authorities often became sceptical about the notion of non-demonic, natural magic. They seem to have misconstrued ordinary magical procedures, interpreting them as working, like necromancy, through demonic agency. [29] Cesare Lanza hinted

at the connection when he remarked in 1579, ‘Today a lowly little woman does more than all the necromancers accomplished in the ancient world.’ [30] In so far as necromancers contributed to the plausibility of claims about witches, they bear indirect responsibility for the rise of the European witch trials in the fifteenth and following centuries. To the extent that these early witch trials focused on female victims, they thus provide a particularly tragic case of women being blamed and punished for the misconduct of men: women who were not invoking demons could more easily be thought to do so at a time when certain men were in fact so doing.

Natural magic was always, in some quarters, a suspect category, and understandably so: its mechanisms remained unclear, and its claims to empirical confirmation were perhaps even by medieval standards not impressive. Demonic magic, in contrast, was a straightforward notion, and its efficacy was easy for virtually all medieval people to believe. Small wonder if for some authorities in late medieval Europe this became *the* paradigmatic form of magic, and if other forms came to be interpreted as implicitly grounded in demonic aid, so that a theologian, an inquisitor, or an educated lay judge might be sceptical about claims that some magic was natural rather than demonic.

More generally, knowledge of this material adds significantly to our understanding of later medieval *clerical culture*. A society that had a surplus of clergy inevitably spawned an underemployed and largely unsupervised ‘clerical underworld’ capable of various forms of mischief, including necromancy, and indeed this underworld seems to have been the primary locus for this explicitly demonic magic. Not all those accused of conjuring demons were clerics; the charge was attached at times to laymen and occasionally women. [31] But the examples cited already suggest that clerics were disproportionally represented, and when we examine the Munich handbook of necromancy in following chapters what we will find there is a characteristically clerical form of magic, using Latin texts and presupposing knowledge of mainstream ritual. [32] The beliefs and ritual operations found in necromancy mimic those of established rites, somewhat as the threads are the same on both sides of a tapestry, and the patterns they form on the underside are recognizably related to those on the front. One might even suggest that a culture in which ritual occupies so central a place will naturally if not inevitably engender forbidden rituals, somewhat as the production of a tapestry necessarily produces on the underside a distorted

version of the intended image. The study of late medieval necromancy gives an exceptionally clear and forceful picture of the abuses likely to arise in a culture so keenly attentive to ritual display of sacerdotal power. Our own society, more fascinated with sexuality and its abuse, has its own concerns about miscreant priests and their abuse of young boys; the clerical misconduct most feared in the late Middle Ages was of a different order.

Demonic magic and the theory of ritual

I have spoken of demonic magic as the underside of the tapestry of late medieval ritual culture; more must be said about the character of magic as ritual. If the book of magic is on the one hand a magical book, an object possessing preternatural power, a habitation in which demons may even be supposed to reside, it is on the other hand a script whose formulas are meant for enactment, a guide for ritual action. The book of magic thus functions both as a repository of magical power and as a guide to magical process, a liturgical compendium with rites to be observed, scripts to be enacted. The rites of magic suggest questions analogous to those raised by any rites, even if they differ in the sources of power they mean to exploit. Three issues in the study of ritual are of particular relevance to our understanding of a necromantic text: the relationship between official (or public) and unofficial (or private) ritual; the efficacy ascribed to ritual, and the role of language in ritual.

Émile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss took the chief difference between religion and magic to lie in their social context. To paraphrase their perception, religion is the official observance of a collectivity (such as a Church), while magic is the unofficial practice of an individual (often on behalf of a client). But if one takes religion to be the spiritual practice of a community specifically *acting* as a community, one excludes private prayer – while if one takes it to be the spiritual practice *sanctioned* by a community, even when carried out individually, one relegates any and all disapproved practice, regardless of the grounds for disapproval, to the category of magic. [35] Eamon Duffy has emphasized that magical or superstitious formulas in charms share a common vocabularity with liturgical prayers, which already suggests the need for a nuanced sense of the relationship between religion and magic. The complexity of this relationship may be seen with particular clarity in the comparison of

exorcism and conjuration. As we shall see in a later chapter, in medieval parlance these terms were used interchangeably, and the practices are in fact in all ways but one identical. What we now call exorcism was practised by an individual, usually a cleric (although some laypeople claimed the role), who addressed demons with formal commands, whose power was derived chiefly from the sacred realities invoked in the formulas of command. What we now call conjuring was also practised by an individual, usually a cleric, who addressed demons with formal commands essentially identical to those of the exorcists, again powerful by virtue of appeal to sacred realities. In neither case was the command automatically efficacious: both exorcists and conjurers reckoned on the possibility that the demons might resist their invocations and refuse compliance, in which case the rituals of command would be redoubled. Both the exorcist and the conjurer were engaged in spiritual wrestling matches with the demons, and in both cases they were keenly aware of the dangers. Exorcism was in principle carried out on behalf of a demoniac; conjurations could be done as ways of afflicting enemies, and could be carried out on behalf of clients. In both cases, then, the ritual performer was acting as an individual but within a social context. If exorcisms were allowed, at least to authorized clergy, while conjuring was prohibited to all, it was because of the one key difference: the exorcist's intent was to dispel the demons, while the conjurer's was to summon them, and mainstream opinion held that it was better to be rid of malign spirits than to invite them into one's life. Study of conjurations in subsequent chapters will suggest that there is no other essential difference between this form of magic and religious practices, and that it is better to perceive demonic magic as an illicit form of religion than as a cultural phenomenon distinct from religion.

The efficacy of magical rites, like that of any rituals, can be seen as real, objective, and (within the historical culture) rational, or as emotional, subjective, and symbolic: the magicians' operations may be viewed as actually accomplishing certain ends, or as symbolic expressions of their emotions and their desires. In Ludwig Wittgenstein's classic formulation, 'Magic … gives manifestation to a wish; it expresses a wish.' [36] Echoing such earlier formulations, Joseph Gusfield suggests that 'in symbolic behavior the action is ritualistic and ceremonial in that the goal is reached in the behaviour itself rather than in any state it brings about'. [37] This pragmatist perception of ritual may be useful as a way for an observer to

excuse someone else's otherwise irrational practice, but there is little evidence that most practitioners themselves view the effect of their rites as merely expressive and not objectively effective. [38] Magic rituals in medieval Europe were clearly intended to produce results: to arouse passion, to drive people mad, to find stolen goods, and so forth. Judicial evidence makes it clear that the practitioners, the clients and the victims all expected magic to have objective effect, and when it did not this was because the specific practitioners were inept or did not perform rituals with sufficient strength to command the demons they summoned. [39]

In one sense, however, Gusfield's formulation does apply to magic. Magical rites, like prayers of petition, may be used for practical ends, but any goals extrinsic to the ritual presuppose an effect intrinsic to it. The prayers and actions that constitute orthodox ritual first of all transform the relationship between the praying person and God, as also the relationship with the persons prayed for, with others in whose company one is praying, and with others throughout history who have said the prayer in question. If such ritual is transformative, the transformation is in the first instance one that occurs *within* the ritual itself. The participants in the ritual become different, and the network of relations in which they stand is reconfigured. Even if no further results ensue, for the duration of the ritual the world of the participant is transformed. Normally one undertakes a ritual with the expectation of further, extrinsic changes, moral or physical, but these are secondary, at least in a logical sense, however important they are to the participant: they are secondary because they presuppose a prior change within the ritual itself, an empowerment of the participant that then makes extrinsic change possible. Ritual can be effective for other purposes only if it first is effective *as ritual*. It can have secondary efficacy only by virtue of its primary efficacy. The principle holds in the case of magical rites, and perhaps most especially those involving demonic magic: even if they are undertaken for the sake of some practical end, that purpose can be accomplished only because within the ritual there is a transformed relationship between the magician and God, between the magician and the demons, and perhaps also between the magician and other humans. Calling upon the aid of God, the magician seeks power over the demons; the primary purpose of the ritual is to build sufficient power that the magician may compel the spirits to do his will. Only if within the ritual itself this transformation of power is attained can the magician accomplish any other

goal.

The efficacy of ritual *ex opere operato* must be perceived in this light. Thomas Aquinas was stating the common perception of theologians in the later Middle Ages when he recognized the mass and sacraments as having objective effect independent of the disposition and moral status of the celebrant and minister. That ritual was inherently efficacious (*ex opere operato*), apart from any further effect to be gained by virtue of the minister's or participants' disposition (*ex opere operantis*), by no means meant that the rite was magical. Whether an operation qualified as magic or not depended chiefly on which powers it invoked: if it called upon celestial or manifest natural powers it was not magic, but if it appealed to demonic or occult natural powers it was magic. [40] Rituals that called upon angelic aid formed an ambiguous category, possibly but not necessarily magical, but mainly because the identity of the angel summoned might be in doubt. [41]

A ritual, magical or otherwise, could have efficacy *ex opere operato* precisely because it transformed the status of the performer and his or her relationship with God, with other spirits, and with humans. It was clearly this fear of the efficacy of magic *ex opere operato* that led an actor playing in the *Jeu de Sainte Barbe* in 1470 to make a notarized counterpact declaring that 'by the invocations and anathemas of the demons which he makes in the play … he does not intend to speak from the heart but only in the manner of the play, and that on that account the enemy of human kind, the devil, should not have any claim on his soul'. [42] But the force of magical ritual was not in all respects analogous to that of other rites. Ordinary prayer and official ritual assume that the spirits invoked are in general well disposed toward humankind, and enter readily into a helping relationship. The praying person's invocation of God or a saint is an appeal to a benevolent being. In this respect the rituals of demonic magic differ from other rites: they invoke fallen spirits taken (by the necromancers as well as by their critics) to be unwilling, uncooperative, inimical and treacherous. The operations of demonic magic, more than other rituals, are thus explicit contests of wills. The necromancer recognizes a need to heap conjuration upon conjuration, and to buttress these formulas with supporting means of power, precisely because the demons are reluctant to come, and if they come will do everything in their power to escape the magician's control, threaten him, and deceive him. To gain the upper hand in the contest, the magician must hold the strongest possible means for power over the

demons, and must adjure them in the name of all that is holy to come in non-threatening form, to cause no harm, and to tell only the truth. Yet all of these factors, far from undercutting Gusfield's analysis, actually strengthen it: they show how vitally important it was for the magician to focus his attention and his energies on the *immediate* consequences of his ritual action. His rites could be efficacious for extrinsic purposes only if they were first effective *as* rites, as ritual contests with cunning and powerful spiritual adversaries who could nevertheless be induced to fulfill his command.

The function of language within magical ritual is a subject to be explored in detail when we examine formulas of conjuration in a later chapter. The general topic is one S.J. Tambiah has discussed, with focus on the use of special languages, or the use of elements from various languages, in magical practice. [43] Necromantic conjurations of the late Middle Ages are almost entirely in Latin, which marks them not as specifically magical but as similar to ordinary liturgical formulas. Some experiments give formulas in what is said to be Chaldean, thus making an appeal to the authority of ancient Jewish magic analogous to that of later Christian Kabbalists. But when a child medium is used, he is sometimes licensed to conjure the spirits in the vernacular. On one level one might say that the choice of language is a matter of indifference: the demons or other spirits being conjured know all human tongues and can be addressed effectively in any of them. Yet in a different way the selection of language was important, because it was only formulas in Latin that were clearly related to the prayers of mainstream liturgy. Necromancers who had command of Latin and could use it to demonstrate the groundedness of their rites in the liturgical tradition of the Church could no doubt gain readier acceptance as authentic masters of their art. And even if demons could understand other languages, they seemed (like God) to pay special attention when addressed in Latin.

In any case, within medieval culture, magical words were seen as effective not *per se* but rather as means for evoking the effective presence of the archetypal powers to which they refer. Magical language is thus not in a simple sense the *cause* of efficacy but rather its *occasion*; the cause is a network of forces released and coordinated by the magician's verbal cue. The situation is analogous to that of the eucharist: the priest's utterance of the words of consecration is not the cause of transubstantiation but rather the divinely ordained occasion for divine intervention. One might suppose that this distinction is too subtle to have been clear to the common

necromancer, but in fact the point is clearly articulated in the conjurations themselves, which not only acknowledge but insist that the sources of their own power are the archetypal forces they bring to bear upon the situation at hand.

The magic we are dealing with, then, borrows the conventions of liturgical prayer and has efficacy resembling that of the sacraments. In other respects, however, the fitting comparison is not so much with liturgy and sacraments as with the private devotions that were proliferating in the late Middle Ages, and the analogue to the book of magic is less the missal than the private prayer book. Ritual magic and devotions alike showed how liturgical formulas could be adapted for private and domestic use; indeed, one central point of devotionalism was to provide a network of connections between church and home, bonding them in an increasingly complex relationship, and imparting to the home some of the fervour and sacrality of the church. Magic resembles the devotionalism of the books of hours and other prayerbooks in its translation of official rites into an unofficial and largely private setting. [44] Books of magic, like books of devotion, proliferated in the expanding marketplace of privately owned and privately read texts.

Plan of this book

The following chapter will introduce the manuscript to which this study is chiefly devoted. Subsequent chapters fall into two blocks. Chapters 3–5 examine the experiments according to the chief purposes for which they are performed: entertainment (illusionist experiments), power over other individuals (psychological ones), and knowledge (divinatory ones). The chief point of these chapters is to show that within this body of material there are in fact fairly clearly distinguishable subtraditions, and to sketch the common characteristics of each. Chapters 6–8, then, analyse the sources and techniques used to gain magical power, in particular the conjurations (and the demonology assumed by these conjurations), the magic circles, and the formulas of astral magic – techniques that cut across the categories discussed in the earlier chapters, and thus represent elements of continuity within the diversity of necromantic practice.

Throughout the book I will give translations (my own, unless otherwise noted) of source material for the study of late medieval necromancy. Most of these passages are from the Munich handbook; to give a sense of the cultural context, I have included some material from other writings of the magicians and from writings about and against demonic magic. I have opted not to give a complete translation of the Munich handbook; both specialists and general readers, I assume, will be better served by selective translation of representative and particularly interesting passages (selected perhaps disproportionately but not exclusively from the earlier sections of the handbook), integrated into my analysis. This option seems especially appropriate given the largely repetitive nature of the material, and the need to situate it in its cultural context. The Latin text is, in any case, available at the end of the volume for those who wish to probe more deeply.

Notes

1 On the general topic of literacy in the late Middle Ages see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 53–88; Malcolm B. Parkes, 'The literacy of the laity', in David Daiches and Anthony Thorlby, eds, *Literature and Western Civilization*, 2 (London: Aldus, 1973), 555–77; Paul Saenger, 'Silent reading: its impact on late medieval script and society', *Viator*, 13 (1982), 367–414; and, for a somewhat earlier period, Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983).

2 See especially Peter Biller and Anne Hudson, eds, *Heresy and Literacy, 1000–1530* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), and Nicholas Watson, 'Censorship and cultural change in late-medieval England: vernacular theology, the Oxford translation debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409', *Speculum*, 70 (1995), 822–64. On certain aspects of books as magical objects see Peter Ganz, ed., *Das Buch als magisches und als Repräsentationsobjekt* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), esp. Brian P. Copenhaver, 'The power of magic and the poverty of erudition: magic in the Universal Library', 159–80.

3 Barthélemy Hauréau, *Bernard Délicieux et l'Inquisition albigeoise, 1300–1320* (Paris, 1877), 143–65; Lea, *History*, vol. 3, 451f.; Conrad Eubel, 'Vom Zaubereiunwesen anfangs des 14. Jahrhunderts (mit urkundlichen Beilagen)', *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 18 (1897), 628f.; Joseph Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter, und die Entstehung der großen Hexenverfolgung* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1900; repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1964), 253f. The relevant documents are now available in Alan Friedlander, ed., *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi: The Trial of Fr. Bernard Délicieux, 3 September–8 December 1319* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 86/1) (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1996).

4 Joseph Hansen, ed., *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter* (Bonn: Georgi, 190l; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 2–4; Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: An Enquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt* (London: Chatto, 1975), 193.

5 Eubel, 'Vom Zaubereiunwesen', 609–25; Robert Michel, 'Le procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: l'accusation de sorcellerie et d'hérésie, Dante et l'affaire de l'envoûtement (1320)', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 29 (1909); Hansen, *Zauberwahn*, 333f.; Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, 192.

6 Pierre Luc, 'Un complot contre le Papa Benoit XIII (1406–7)', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École de Rome*, 55 (1938), 374–402.

7 Margaret Harvey, 'Papal witchcraft: the charges against Benedict XIII', in Derek Baker, ed., *Sanctity and Secularity: The Church and the World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973), 109–16; J. Vincke, 'Acta Concilii Pisani', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 46 (1938), esp. 183–208.

8 Gene A. Brucker, 'Sorcery in early Renaissance Florence', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 10 (1963), 19f., 23., citing G. Sanesi, 'Un episodio d'eresia nel 1383', *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, 3 (1896), 384f.

9 Brucker, 'Sorcery', 13–16, 22f.

10 Nicolaus Eymericus: *Directorium inquisitorum*, ii.43.1, (Rome: Georgius Ferrarius, 1587), also tells of having captured necromancers' books and had them burned in public.

11 Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 3 (New York: Columbia

University Press, 1934), 511, citing Rudolf Dier de Muiden, *Scriptum de magistro Gerardo*, ed. G. Dumbar in *Analecta seu vetera aliquot scripta inedita* (Deventer, 1719), 1–12.

12 Quotation from the New Revised Standard Version. For a discussion of the distinctive setting at Ephesus see Clinton E. Arnold, *Ephesians: Power and Magic: The Concept of Power in Ephesians in Light of its Historical Setting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

13 Francis A. Gasquet, ed., *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia*, 3 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1906), 117f. The text appears corrupt in more than one place, but the sense is sufficiently clear.

14 One might suggest that the term *nigromantia* not be re-Graecicized as 'necromancy' but left as 'nigromancy'. While in some respects preferable, this usage would mistakenly suggest that medieval usage distinguished between two terms. Both DuCange's *Glossarium* (s.v. *nigromantia*) and the *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v. 'necromancy') make it clear that *nigromantia* was not a term distinct from *necromantia*, but an alternative version of the same word, influenced by the Latin *niger*. *Dives and Pauper*, for example, is quoted as reading (in the 1496 printing), 'nygromancye, that is wytchecrafte done by deed bodyes'. The equivalence thus conflated 'black divination' (construed broadly with reference to the magical arts in general, but at least by implication these arts conceived as demonic) with 'divination by consulting the dead'. The first part of the word was also at times spelled *nygro-*, *negre-*, *egra-*, *etc.*

15 On this 'clerical underworld' see Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press, 1989), esp. 153–6.

16 Hjalmar Crohns, 'Die Summa theologica des Antonin von Florenz und die Schätzung des Weibes im Hexenhammer', *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, 32/4 (Helsingfors, 1903).

17 See Lynn Thorndike, *Michael Scot* (London: Nelson, 1965), 120.

18 Mariano da Alatri, 'L'inquisizione a Firenze negli anni 1344/46 da un'istruttoria contro Pietro da l'Aquila', in Isidorus a Villapadierna, ed., *Miscellanea Melchor de Pobladura*, 1 (Rome: Institutum Historicum O.F.M. Cap., 1964), 225–49.

19 On the relationship between licit and illicit charms, see, e.g., Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, II/II, q. 96, a. 4, and the comments of Heinrich Kramer (traditionally ascribed to him and Jakob Sprenger) in *The Malleus maleficarum*, ii.2.6, trans. Montague Summers (London: Pushkin, 1948), 179–88. Johannes Nider, in his *Praeceptorium divinae legis*, summarized in Henry Charles Lea, *Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft*, ed. George Lincoln Burr, 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939), 269f., explains that it is licit to adjure demons in an imperative mode but not in the deprecatory mode that he associates (incorrectly) with necromancers.

20 Jacques Paviot, 'Note sur un cas de sorcellerie à Dijon en 1463', *Annales de Bourgogne*, 65 (1993), 43–5.

21 G.G. Coulton, trans., *Life in the Middle Ages*, 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), 162–63, from the *Grandes Chroniques de St Denis*, vol. 5, 269.

22 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 266–87.

23 Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (FF Communications, 204) (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Akademia Scientiarum Fennica, 1969), 61, no. 737.

24 For a list of possible explanations for the failure of magic, at least in one cultural setting, see E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1937), 475–8.

25 There are two copies in Clm 849, on 52r–59v and 135r–139r, and both are edited below. In addition, there is fragmentary version in Bodleian Library Rawlinson MS D252, 85r–87v, and a

French *Livre de consecracion* in Trinity College Cambridge MS 0.8.29, fols 183r–186v.

26 Jean Gerson, *Œvres complètes*, ed. Palemon Glorieux (Paris: Desclée, 1961–73), 10, pp. 86–90.

27 For example, Paul Diepgen, in 'Arnaldus de Villanova De improbatione maleficiorum', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 9 (1912), 385–403, clearly had no notion what necromancy entailed and was thus seriously mistaken regarding the intent of Arnald's work.

28 Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. Mark Musa and Peter Bondanella (New York: Mentor, 1982), 7.3, 7.5 (involving an alleged priest), 8.7 (involving a scholar) and 9.10.

29 See Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, ch. 7.

30 Guido Ruggiero, *Binding Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage, and Power at the End of the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 211, 227.

31 E.g., Hansen, *Quellen*, 524–26, and Carl Buxtorf-Falkeisen, *Baslerische Stadt-und Landesgeschichten aus dem sechszehnten Jahrhundert* (Basle: Schweighausen, 1863–8), vol. 4, 1–25.

32 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, Ch. 6, is surely correct in arguing that knowledge of Latin was shared in varying degree by diverse sections of the population, and was not exclusive to the clergy. It is not the language of necromancy alone, but the command of ritual vocabulary and the assumption of entitlement to use that vocabulary that suggests the necromancers were primarily clerical, and this assumption is confirmed by images of the clerical necromancer found in literature as well as in the judicial records.

33 For discussion of a range of issues in the theory of ritual see Roy A. Rappaport, 'The obvious aspects of ritual', in Roy A. Rappaport, *Ecology, Meaning and Religion* (Richmond, CA: North Atlantic Books, 1979), 173–221.

34 Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Karen E. Fields (New York: Free Press, 1995), esp. 39–44; M. Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic*, trans. R. Brain (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1950).

35 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, ch. 8.

36 Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Remarks on Frazer's 'Golden Bough'/Bemerkungen über Frazer's 'Golden Bough'*, ed. Rush Rhees, trans. A.C. Miles (Retsford: Brynmill, 1979) ('Die Magie aber bringt einen Wunsch zur Darstellung; sie äußert einen Wunsch'), discussed in Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 54–63, and in Rodney Needham, *Exemplars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 149–77.

37 Joseph Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement*, 2nd edn (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 21.

38 On this point see Richard Kieckhefer, 'The specific rationality of medieval magic', *American Historical Review*, 99 (1994), 813–36.

39 See, for example, the case of Niccolò Consigli, in Gene A. Brucker, ed., *The Society of Renaissance Florence: A Documentary Study* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 361–6.

40 Kieckhefer, 'The specific rationality', 813–36.

41 Invoking an angel established as unfallen, such as the archangels Michael or Gabriel, could be *superstitious* if the means of invocation were inappropriate (e.g., if one used circles and conjurations in calling upon them) but would not thereby have qualified as *magical* by medieval definitions.

42 Jacques Chiffoleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà: les hommes, la mort et la réligion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Age (vers 1320–vers 1480)* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1980), 389, n. 92; translation from R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515*

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 188.

43 Stanley J. Tambiah, ‘The magical power of words’, *Man*, n.s. 3 (1968), 175–208; also in Stanley J. Tambiah, *Culture, Thought and Social Action* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 17–59.

44 For an overview of the subject see Richard Kieckhefer, ‘Major currents in late medieval devotion’, in Jill Raitt, ed., *Christian Spirituality*, 2 (New York: Crossroad, 1987), 75–108.

2

The Munich Handbook of Necromancy: Clm 849

In other areas of medieval studies, the ‘new philology’ is urging renewed attention to particular manuscripts, with respect for their variant readings of texts as well as attention to their physical make-up, evidence of the ways they were used, the disposition of text on the page, and the relationship between text and images. The individual manuscript actually put together by medieval hands and used by medieval readers, rather than the artificial standardized edition, is increasingly seen as a means for understanding how texts functioned within their historical culture. [1] In the same vein, I wish to propose that for the history of magic – especially in the late Middle Ages – what we need most is a series of detailed studies of particular representative manuscripts. This more than any other type of study will contribute toward a concrete and realistic sense of how magicians conceived and represented their art, especially if it is possible to divine the process by which a manuscript was compiled, and to say something about the mentality of the compiler as it changed through different stages of compilation.

Clearly there were those in late medieval Europe whose interest in magic was more theoretical than practical. The monk of Sulby mentioned in Chapter 1 claimed that his fascination with the occult was purely theoretical or speculative. We know that William of Auvergne and Nicholas Eymericus studied works of magic in the interest of analysing them, refuting their assumptions, and condemning them more effectively, while Albert the Great and Roger Bacon had theoretical interests in the occult that grew in large part out of their scientific research. There may well have been many less known figures who took a keen interest in knowing about magic through widely disseminated books such as *Picatrix*, even if they did not intend to practise this learning. [2]

The magical texts probably of greatest interest from a theoretical or scientific viewpoint were integrally conceived and titled works, even if these were pseudonymous or anonymous, as opposed to miscellanies. Works integrally

composed by single authors, such as al-Kindi or Marsilio Ficino, or pseudonymous works ascribed to Aristotle, were likely not only to prescribe recipes for specific purposes but to develop more or less explicit theories of occult process. Miscellanies might contain material that *implies* an understanding of how magic worked, but they were less likely to develop a theoretical viewpoint explicitly or coherently. To be sure, this distinction between an integrally conceived work and a miscellany is by no means rigid. While *Picatrix* is one of the great works of Arabic astral magic, infused with a more or less coherent theory of how magic operates, [3] it is also in large measure a compilation. The Pseudo-Albertan *Book of Secrets* is systematic in its organizing principles – it surveys the magical properties first of herbs (nettle, wild teasel, periwinkle, and so forth, one by one), then of stones, then of beasts, and finally of the planets – but the contents gathered under these headings might be found in a miscellany as well, without benefit of organizing structure. Yet while the distinction between an integrally conceived work and a miscellany is thus not absolute, it is none the less real.

It is a distinction worth noting, because the works of magic that survive from medieval Europe include large numbers of miscellanies, and in light of their importance they have been too little studied. When we read in a judicial record or a literary work of a magician who owned and used a book of magic, this is at least as likely to have been a miscellany as an integrally composed treatise. For while miscellanies may be of less interest from a theoretical viewpoint, they had compensating features that may often have made them more useful to the practising magician. The materials assembled in them were selected not to round off some theoretical notion of magic and its component parts, but because *individually* they were taken to be effective. They are documents of use, analogous to the Greek magical papyri. [4] A treatise on conjuration, such as the *Thesaurus necromantiae* ascribed to Roger Bacon, [5] may explain systematically how conjuring spirits works, and how different spirits are related to different astronomical bodies; a necromantic miscellany is more likely to lay out a single ‘experiment’ (*experimentum*, or, less often, *experientia*, a concrete and experienced application of ritual for magical effect), with all of the required preparations and conjurations, step by step. Historians of magic who are mainly interested in the field from the perspective of intellectual history or the history of science are likely to be drawn mostly to single-author treatises, but those interested in the actual practice of magic and its relevance to cultural, social, judicial, religious and political history must take a keen interest in miscellanies

as well. Furthermore, whereas an integrated treatise claims to represent a point of view distilled and isolated from the course of its own development, a miscellany can more fully serve as a biographical document illustrating moments in the life of its compiler, presenting its reader with the challenge of discerning the trajectory of its compiler's shifting interests.

Willy Braekman has edited the magical portions of a Middle Dutch miscellany of the fifteenth century, now at the Wellcome Historical Medical Library in London. [6] This manuscript illustrates the variety of magical materials we might expect to find in a miscellany. Included along with non-magical material are experiments to identify the thief who has stolen milk, beer or wax; to become invisible; to see 'extraordinary things'; to learn about past or future events; to ease childbirth; to transport oneself rapidly by use of an ointment (made of seven herbs, goat's fat and bat's blood). Various love charms or summoning experiments are given, as well as a procedure for preventing a wife from having intercourse with another man by tracing a circle around her genitals with the tail of a lizard.

In the category of magical trickery or parlour games are experiments to cause people to grow dirty while bathing; to cause white birds to hatch from the eggs of black birds; to make a newly hatched peacock white; to cause a woman to leap naked from her bath; to cause a dog to dance; to compel a horse to stand still; to hold a serpent in one's hand without harm, and to cause a horse to collapse as if dead. More useful are procedures to expel mice and flies by use of magical images. The manuscript gives the first half of a moon book, explaining the moon's influence under each zodiacal sign. And it includes a set of experiments ascribed to Solomon, and twelve experiments involving snake-skin, widely attributed to Johannes Paulinus but in fact translated from the Arabic. Most of the experiments in this manuscript are of natural magic, but not all: Braekman's no. 20, especially, calls upon 'the power and might of these spirits, Beheydraz, Anleyuz, [and] Manitaynus', to aid in the magical seduction of a woman.

Bodleian MS Rawlinson D 252, a fifteenth-century English manuscript, contains formulas for explicitly demonic magic, to which Frank Klaassen has called my attention, and which he will describe in his own research now in progress. It is devoted chiefly to lengthy conjurations intended for divination, most often to detect thieves, although there are multi-purpose experiments as well. The bulk of the material is in Latin, but the manuscript also gives lengthy passages in Middle English. The manuscript differs from Braekman's Middle

Dutch text in various ways, of which three are immediately apparent: it is more consistently devoted to magical experiments, most of its operations are for a particular kind of magic, and it more regularly calls upon the aid of demons. I will refer to this miscellany on occasion in following chapters.

Codex latinus Monacensis 849

We turn now to the specific focus of this study, a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Bavarian State Library, Clm 849, and in particular the texts on folios 3 through 108 of this manuscript. (The material on the following folios is related in kind and approximately contemporary but in different hands and different languages, and evidently not intended as part of the same compilation.) The compiler of this main block of material was evidently German; the appended materials seem to have come from various sources, and one passage contains a formula in Italian. [7] The manuscript is a small one, approximately 8¼ inches high and 5¾ inches wide. The description of this manuscript in the published catalogue is nondescript: it appears there as a book of incantations, exorcisms and sundry bewitchments. [8] Lynn Thorndike made no reference to it in his monumental *History of Magic*, [9] and while he did cite it briefly in a later article published in a festschrift, [10] it has generally been neglected in the literature on witchcraft and magic. In my survey of *Magic in the Middle Ages* I highlighted this text, but without examining it fully and systematically. [11] Yet it deserves careful attention, not because it was influential but because of what it represents. It is a rare example, essentially intact, of what must once have been a flourishing genre: the manual of explicitly demonic magic, or necromancy. It is clearly a miscellany, with little linkage, clustering or other organization of its materials, and no effort to develop a coherent theory to support or explain the 'experiments' it contains. Yet its limitations are also its strengths: the lack of a systematic framework means that each section, essentially self-contained, has a coherence and clarity often lacking in more fully developed writings.

The first two folios of the manuscript are missing, a circumstance which may help to explain how the manuscript evaded detection and thus survived. (Indeed, it is not uncommon for the first folio of a magical manuscript to be missing.) [12] The 107 folios that remain in the main block (rectifying an error in foliation gives us one extra folio) are devoted primarily to a series of forty-two magic experiments. Interspersed with these are a version of the *Liber consecracionum* (no. 31); a list of spirits, with descriptions of the forms in which they appear and

the functions they perform (no. 34); a manual of astral magic (no. 37); a list of favourable and unfavourable days for writing magical inscriptions (no. 46); and a fragment of a chemical prescription, with a gloss in the German language (no. 47).

All but a few of the experiments fall into the three main categories. There are twelve illusionist experiments, designed to make things appear other than as they are – to conjure forth an illusory banquet or castle, to obtain a wondrous means of transportation (usually a demon in the form of a horse) that will carry the magician across land or water, or to make a dead person seem alive or vice versa. Seven psychological experiments are intended to have influence on people's intellects or wills – to arouse love or hatred, to gain favour at court, to constrain the will of others, or to drive a person mad. Fully seventeen experiments are divinatory techniques for gaining knowledge of future, past, distant or hidden things. Most of these experiments entail catoptromancy, or scrying: the magician's assistant, usually a young boy, stares at a reflecting surface until he sees figures, taken here to be apparitions of spirits, who can reveal the desired information. As should become clear in following chapters, these three types of experiment are significantly different from one another: we find an element of playful fantasy in the illusionist experiments, an often violent effort at coercion in the psychological ones, and an insistence on detecting truth and righting wrongs in most of the divinatory ones. Differences in tone and in purpose are accompanied by variations in technique: conjuring spirits is of central importance in most of the experiments, but the magic circle plays its most prominent role in the illusionist rituals, sympathetic magic is more prevalent in the psychological experiments, and scrying is itself the key to most of the divination. Rather than a single technique, the necromancy of this handbook represents a congeries of distinct procedures, most of which can be sorted fairly neatly into these three categories.

Roughly speaking, we can say that the moving forces behind the magic of the handbook are the exercise of imagination, the hunger for power and the thirst for knowledge. To be sure, all three elements are at work in all the necromantic experiments. One might say that the main issues raised by the practice of necromancy are those of the relationship between sacrality and power: the necromancers perceived their art and office as sacred and saw themselves as invoking the sacred powers of heaven by which they could constrain the equally numinous but malign and treacherous powers of hell. At the same time, one must recognize that all these experiments required exercise of imagination and were

inspired in large part by curiosity. Yet the characteristic emphases differ, and we may safely generalize that it is the imaginative element which dominates in the illusionist experiments, the quest for power in psychological experiments, and the yearning for knowledge in the divinatory ones.

All forms of necromancy presupposed and played upon tensions. Basic to illusionist experiments was the tension between fantasy and reality, all within the border realm in which readers and practitioners were asked to suspend their disbelief, or perhaps rather to entertain possibilities that would normally defy belief but within this ritual context might gain credibility. In psychological experiments the tension was chiefly between the will of the necromancer and that of the victim over whom the master sought to exercise his power. In divinatory experiments it was perhaps most importantly a tension between truth and deception; these rituals were intended to ascertain truth but left themselves open to the constant hazard of error.

The materials in the manuscript that do not fit into these three categories are a procedure for gaining knowledge with the aid of a demon tutor (no. 1), a brief experiment called the ‘ Key of Pluto’ for opening all locks (no. 26), a fragmentary operation for averting harm (no. 44), a chemical recipe (no. 47), and generic materials that can serve diverse ends (nos 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 42 and 46).

Strikingly absent from this compilation are magical rituals for healing and protection and necromantic procedures for inflicting bodily harm or death. The judicial records provide ample evidence of necromancers charged with undermining the health of their victims, and other necromantic literature evidently provided guidelines for such magic. The compiler of this manuscript seems not to have been a man of conventional morality or scrupulous disposition, yet he seems also not to have taken an interest in these kinds of magic. Not all necromantic manuals were squeamish in this regard. The *Key of Solomon* insists that magic must be used only to glorify God and extend kindness to neighbours, but in fact the work prescribes methods for causing enmity, war, death, destruction, and so forth; as E.M. Butler says, the intentions ‘seem to have been of the best; but they were literally of the kind which pave the way to hell’. [13]

The following table shows the order of the forty-two experiments and other materials, most of which are assigned to three broad categories: psychological (‘Psych.’), illusionist (‘Illus.’), and divinatory (‘Divin.’). The numbers for each item are editorial additions.

Table A. Experiments in Clm 849, fols 3–108

No.	*Purpose*	*Fols*	*Type*
	For gaining knowledge of the liberal arts	3r–5v	
1.			
	For causing a person to lose his senses	6r–7v	Psych.
2.			
	For arousing a woman’s love	8r–11v	Psych.
3.			
	For gaining dignity and honour	11v–13v	Psych.
4.			
	For arousing hatred between friends	13v–15r	Psych.
5.			
	For obtaining a banquet	15r–18v	Illus.
6.			
	For obtaining a castle	18v–21r	Illus.
7.			
	For obtaining a boat	21r–23r	Illus.
8.			
	For obtaining a horse	23v–25v	Illus.
9.			

10.	For resuscitating a dead person	25v–28r	Illus.
11.	For invisibility	28r–29v	Illus.
12.	For obtaining a woman’s love	29v–31v	Psych.
13.	For constraining a man, woman, spirit or beast	32r–33r	Psych.
14.	For obtaining a horse	33v–34r	Illus.
15.	For obtaining a flying throne	34r–35v	Illus.
16.	For finding something in sleep	35v–36r	Divin.
17.	For obtaining a horse	36r–36v	Illus.
18.	The mirror of Floron, for revelation of past, present and future	37r–38r	Divin.

19.	The mirror of Floron, second version	38r–39v	Divin.
20.	Another way of using a mirror	39v–40v	Divin.
21.	For invisibility	40v	Illus.
22.	For discovering a thief or murderer by gazing into a vessel	41r–42r	Divin.
23.	First mirror of Lilith	42r–43r	Divin.
24.	For learning about any uncertain thing by gazing into a crystal	43r–43v	Divin.
25.	For information about a theft by gazing into a crystal	43v–44r	Divin.
26.	Key of Pluto, for opening all locks	44v	
27.	For obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail	44v–45v, 51r,	

		46v–47v	Divin.
	For obtaining information by gazing at a bone	47v–49r	Divin.
28.			
	The true art of the basin	49r–49v	Divin.
29.			
	Twelve names for making spirits appear in a boy’s hand	49v–50v	Divin.
30.			
	The Book of Consecrations	52r–59v	
31.			
	Conjuration of Satan/Mirage	59v–62v	
32.			
	For obtaining information from a mirror	62v–65r	Divin.
33.			
	List of spirits	65v–65r	bis
34.			
	For obtaining a woman’s love	65r bis–67v	Psych.
35.			
	Generic preparation for conjuring spirits	67v–68v	Divin.
36.			
	Manual of astral magic	68v–96v	

37.	Manual of astral magic	68v–96v	
38.	For obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail	96v–99v	Divin.
39.	For obtaining information by gazing into a fingernail	99v–103r	Divin.
40.	For obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail	103r–105v	Divin.
41.	For discovering hidden treasure in sleep	106r–106v	Divin.
42.	The name Semiforas	106v–107r	
43.	For obtaining a horse	107r–107v	Illus.
44.	Fragment of an experiment for averting harm	107v	
45.	For invisibility	107v–108r	Illus.
46.	Favourable and unfavourable days of the month for inscriptions	108r–108v	

47. Fragment of a chemical prescription (with a note in German) 108v

After the first (truncated) experiment in the manual, an entire series of fourteen experiments can be gathered into four clusters, two psychological and two illusionist:

Cluster I: Nos 2–5 (for inflicting dementia, gaining the love of any woman, obtaining dignity and honour, arousing hatred between friends)

Cluster II: Nos 6–11 (for obtaining a banquet, obtaining a castle, obtaining a boat, obtaining a horse, resuscitating a dead person, obtaining invisibility)

Cluster III: Nos 12–13 (for obtaining a woman's love, constraining a man or woman or spirit or beast)

Cluster IV: Nos 14–15 (for obtaining a horse, obtaining a flying throne)

Much less of the subsequent material falls into clusters, and the groupings that do occur are devoted exclusively to divination (unless we count the astral magic of no. 37 as itself constituting a cluster):

Cluster V: Nos 18–20 (the mirror of Floron, alternative version of same, another way of using a mirror)

Cluster VI: Nos 22–25 (for discover a thief or murderer by gazing into a vessel, first mirror of Lilit[h], for knowing about any uncertain thing by gazing into a crystal, for information about a theft by gazing into a crystal)

Cluster VII: Nos 27–30 (for obtain information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail, for obtaining information by gazing at a bone, the true art of the basin, twelve names to make spirits appear in boy's hand)

Cluster VIII: Nos 38–41 (for obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail, for obtaining information by gazing into a fingernail, for

obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail, for discovering hidden treasure in sleep)

Before no. 35 the manuscript gives the heading, ‘Here begin good and tried experiments’, which suggests that the compiler either reordered materials he was taking from elsewhere or copied this particular experiment from the beginning of some other compilation. The arrangement of folios within the gatherings is highly erratic (with many folios excised, and others elsewhere inserted), but apart from the two folios missing from the front of the manuscript, there is in general a high degree of continuity both within and between the gatherings, the main exception being in the apparently careless fragmentation of experiment no. 27. [14] This discontinuity existed already, and the folios in question had already been excised, at the time of the original (fifteenth-century) foliation. In other words, it is likely that we have the necromancer’s manual nearly intact, and possible that, despite the codicological complexity, the discontinuities that exist are the result of the compiler’s carelessness rather than later loss of text or errors in binding.

Following all this material from fols 3 through 108 are 48 originally separate folios, 109–156, which again contain miscellaneous material: a conjuration of a demon named Mirage (given fols 109r–118r and again fols 139r–146r); German magico-medical prescriptions (fols 119r–132v); a series of divinatory experiments (fols 133r–134v), with a short ‘prayer’ in Italian (asking God to ensure the truth of the ensuing revelation) to be recited into the ear of a child who serves as medium; [15] the *Liber consecracionum* (fols 135r–139r); a lunar calendar (fol. 146r); instructions for magical circles (fol. 146v); a treatise on astral magic, the *Opus Zoal et angelorum et spirituum eius* (fols 147r–154v), and a German book of lunar astrology (fols 155r–156v). This material will be discussed here mainly in so far as it resembles or otherwise relates to the main block of material. The only materials from folios 109–156 that are edited here are the second version of the *Liber consecracionum* (given along with no. 31, in parallel columns) and the conjuration of Mirage (given alongside no. 32, in parallel columns).

It may seem – and may indeed be – hazardous to devote such attention to a manuscript that survives in this condition. It is possible that the missing first folio contained a title, named an author, or gave other information that would be important for locating this text within its historical context. If we had such information we might be able to tell more confidently whether this compilation

is in fact unique or whether there are other copies. [16] While recognizing the hazards of proceeding with this project, I am moved to do so chiefly by the conviction that this is an exceptionally rich and interesting compilation, that one of the most urgent needs in the history of magic is detailed analysis of specific manuscripts representative of the materials magicians are likely to have used, and that such texts thus hold significance going well beyond their meagre intellectual pretensions. I will make some effort to situate the component parts of the text within their literary context – to cite sources and parallels. For the most part, however, I will focus on the contents of this specific compilation, this microcosm of clerical magic as it was known in the late Middle Ages.

Necromancy and Necromancers in Fifteenth-Century Munich

The fact that our necromantic manuscript is now in the Bavarian State Library is not, of course, any indication that it came originally from Munich or even from Bavaria, but its inclusion among the earlier codices of the collection suggests that, wherever its materials were first assembled, they may have been brought to Munich and acquired by the ducal library at an early date. Even if this connection is conjectural, it may thus be interesting to inquire what we know of the practice and perception of necromancy in late medieval Munich. The short answer to this question is that not a great deal is known about necromancers and necromancy specifically in and around Munich in the fifteenth century, yet there are some clues that may help place Clm 849 within a general historical context.

The witch trials conducted in the Dauphiné during the years 1428–47 provide an interesting side light of possible relevance. One of the many subjects brought before the judges in this campaign was a sixty-year-old man, Jubertus of Bavaria, from Regensburg, tried in 1437 at Briançon. [17] Apart from accusations more or less typical of the incipient prosecution for conspiratorial witchcraft (flight to nocturnal assemblies, killing of infants, etc.), Jubertus was charged with activities more often found in connection with clerical necromancy:

> First, the aforesaid Jubertus said and confessed, under freely taken oath … that he is sixty years of age, and that for ten years and more he served a certain powerful man in Bavaria who was called Johannes Cunalis, who is a priest and *plebanus*, in a city called Munich in Bavaria, near Bohemia.
>
> Likewise, he said and confessed that this Johannes Cunalis had a book of necromancy [*librum de nigromancia*], and that when he who spoke opened

this book at once there appeared to him three demons, one named Luxuriosus, another Superbus, and the third Avarus, [all of them] devils. And the first appeared to him in the form of a charming maiden of twelve years, and she slept with him at night and took their pleasure together.

Likewise, during the night he adored that devil as a god, on bended knee, then turned his posterior toward the east and made a cross on the ground, and spat on it three times, and trampled on it three times with his left foot, and urinated and defecated on it, and wherever he saw a cross he spat upon it and thrice denied God.

Likewise, at dawn he adored Superbus in the same way …

Likewise, he gave Superbus what was left over when he ate and drank, and to Luxuriosus he gave three or five pence on Holy Friday before Easter, and he committed both his bodily members and his soul after death. And these devils wanted him to deny that God whom they called an accursed prophet [*maledictum prophetam*], and when he adored those three demons as gods he turned his face toward the west and his posterior toward the east, saying what he said, and when he had his dealings with Luxuriosus the others laughed….

Likewise, he said that when he passed along the roads and was with the demons and found a cross, the devils fled from it and made a great detour around it, and they forbade him to do good deeds and to adore the sacred host, and when it was elevated he was to close his eyes, and they forbade him to take holy water and to kiss the cross or the pax [=osculatory], asserting that they alone were almighty gods.

Likewise, he said and confessed that on Sunday, the seventeenth of this month, all three demons were standing with him in prison, and their eyes glowed like sulphurous fire, and they said to the prisoner that they would guard him well if he did not reveal these things. Then he had dealings and mingled carnally with Luxuriosus, and he said furthermore that these demons would have freed him from prison if he had not revealed these things.

Likewise, he said and confessed that these devils then told him that he would be examined more subtly the next day, and that he would have to tell the full truth, and that he would thus be given over to death …

Likewise, he said and confessed that once he was passing with his master through a forest in which there were thieves, but they put them to flight with a multitude of devils who appeared in the form of soldiers. He said further that the world is filled with invokers of demons, and that these devils profit greatly from these things, especially because the world is full of sins, wars

and dissensions.

Likewise, he said and confessed that one night with the aid of demons his master had a bridge constructed over a river in Bavaria at a place called Sancta Maria Heremitta. [18]

Likewise, he said and confessed that he had proposed to blind Johanneta, the widow of Johannes Paganus of the present place, because she displeased him. With two keys he had traced her image, in a manner and form which he explained in the examination; he did this on a Sunday, depicting her image beneath the name[s] of devils, using implements, materials and techniques described in the examination, just as he had done in the duchy of Austria in the case of a man called Johannes Fabri of Vienna. And he had disclosed this deed and boasted of it before his capture….

Likewise, he said and confessed that about two years ago he was in the city of Vienna in Austria, and one Thursday there were three drunken cooks in a tavern who refused to let him drink, and when they withdrew at a late hour one of them said to the other two, 'Get up, in the devil's name, and let me pass by!' And at once, at the behest of the accused, all three demons of his master seized those three, snatched them out the door, and cast one of them into a well, another into the sewer or privy of the Dominicans, and the third into the privy of the Franciscans, and none of them but the one cast into a well was killed, the others being freed by the friars at the time of matins.

Likewise, he said and confessed that poisons were made by the aid of devils, by which men could be killed, through their working or by the aid of demons, either at once or in a lingering death, according to the will of the one administering, and according as more or less of the poison is administered, in the name of the devil, in a manner and form contained in the examination, and taken from a basilisk, toad, serpent, spider or scorpion….

Likewise, he said and confessed that when he was passing through the roads and saw images of the Virgin Mary or a cross, he spat at them three times in despite of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and that on the feast of Saint John the Baptist he gathered certain herbs for medicine, as specified in the proceedings, and on bended knees he first adored them, then extracting them in the name of his devils, and in despite of almighty God, the creator of all….

The link between necromancy and witchcraft emerges also from the work of Johannes Hartlieb (*c*. 1400–68). Hartlieb served the duke of Bavaria in Munich

during the last three decades of his life, and between 1456 and 1464 he wrote *Das půch aller verpoten kunst (The Book of All Forbidden Arts)* at the behest of Margrave Johann ('the Alchemist') of Brandenburg-Kulmbach. [19] Some have seen the work as marking a departure from earlier work of Hartlieb's that dealt with the occult arts in a more sympathetic manner, but the attribution of most of these works is at best doubtful: writings that he had in his library and consulted to inform himself about the occult arts were in some instances falsely ascribed to him. Some have read *Das půch aller verpoten kunst* as a clever excuse for relating otherwise forbidden information to a curious reader, but Hartlieb does not give enough particulars for his work to be of much use in magical practice. Frank Fürbeth is surely correct in placing the work in a tradition of catechetical writings for lay instruction, influenced in particular by Nicholas Magni of Jawor and by the work of certain contemporary Viennese writers. [20] Hartlieb lists necromancy (*nigramancia*) as the first of the seven forbidden arts, along with geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy, pyromancy, chiromancy and spatulamancy. His chapter 22 defines the term:

> *Nygramancia* is the first forbidden art, and is called the black art. This art is the worst of all, because it proceeds with sacrifices and services that must be rendered to the devils. One who wishes to exercise this art must give all sorts of sacrifices to the devils, and must make an oath and pact [*verpintnuß*] with the devils. Then the devils are obedient to him and carry out the will of the master, as far as God permits them. Take note of two great evils in this art. The first is that the master must make sacrifice and tribute to the devils, by which he denies God and renders divine honors to the devils, for we should make sacrifices only to God, who created us and redeemed us by his passion. The other is that he binds [*verpint*] himself with the devil, who is the greatest enemy of all humankind. [21]

Hartlieb's categorization adapts that of Nicholas Magni and harks to much earlier discussions of the branches of the magic arts. Isidore of Seville, who deals with magic and especially magical divination in his *Etymologies*, [22] speaks of four species of divination which employ the four elements (geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy and pyromancy), but among other forms of divination mentions the *necromantici* who resuscitate and interrogate the dead. Hugh of St Victor's *Didascalicon* borrows from Isidore, but organizes the divisions of magic into five categories, of which the first, *mantice*, includes divination by

necromancy and by the four elements. [23] Hartlieb cites Isidore of Seville's more restricted use of the term 'necromancy', for conjuring the shades of the dead, but he himself uses it in the broader sense, essentially interchangeable with 'demonic magic'. [24]

As indicated, Hartlieb's portrayal of necromancy displays close links between this art and the conspiratorial witchcraft that was emerging in both trials and treatises at the time he wrote. The necromancer conjures the Devil with characters and secret words, with fumigations and sacrifices, in addition to making a pact with the Devil. [25] The Devil acts as if the conjurer caused him pain by his exorcizing and conjuring (*beswern und pannen*), although they actually give him great satisfaction. In all these respects he might be taken as describing the conspiratorial witch, although his explicit subject is the necromancer. Hartlieb even discusses early witch trials at Rome and at Heidelberg within the context of necromancy. [26] Hartlieb's reading and experience were wide: he claims to have consulted with Greeks, Tartars, Turks and Jewish women about the practice of these forbidden arts. [27] His book is thus by no means specifically about the magic practised in and around Munich. But it was while serving as counsellor to the Duke of Bavaria that he gathered information from diverse sources, making his study at Munich in effect a clearing house for knowledge about magical activities.

The early history of Clm 849 is not established, [28] and its ownership obviously cannot be demonstrated. It is tempting to speculate that Hartlieb had it at his disposal, along with numerous other books of necromancy and the allied arts. Many of the practices Hartlieb describes are laid out in Clm 849 (e.g., the anointing of a boy's fingernail for scrying, or the conjuring of a demon in the form of a horse for magical transportation), although, to be sure, there is little if anything in his work that he could not have derived from other sources. Those eager to fill in all the blanks might suggest that Jubertus actually consorted with Johannes Cunalis, the priest of Munich, and that the Munich handbook of necromancy was in fact the *liber de nigromancia* owned and used by this cleric. The spontaneous appearance of Luxuriosus, Superbus and Avarus would on this interpretation would have to be a way of talking about the spirits which inform such a book – and it is perhaps no distortion to suggest that the spirit of lust (*luxuria*) is one main incentive for the psychological experiments, the spirit of pride (*superbia*) is a prime factor in the illusionist ones, and the spirit of avarice (*avaritia*) is a key motive of the necromancer, and sometimes of his client, for staging the divinatory ones.

Even if it were possible to establish a clear connection between Clm 849, Jubertus and Hartlieb, one would hesitate to speak of Munich as in any special way a centre for the practice of necromancy, or to postulate a distinctive character to the magic used there. In all likelihood necromancy was studied and practised within a kind of clerical underworld through much if not most of Western Europe in the later Middle Ages. We have no reason to suppose that Munich was in this respect different from any other city.

The composition of the Munich handbook

For reasons I have already touched upon, any discussion of how Clm 849 came to be compiled must remain conjectural: the first two folios are missing, the provenance of the manuscript remains obscure, there are no indications of either authorship or ownership, and the disposition of the manuscript is complex. Nonetheless, we can make some reasonable assumptions about the process by which this handbook came into existence, and thus about the workings of the 'clerical necromancy' that would have produced and employed such a book.

We cannot speak of the writer of this manual as its 'author', because we do not know to what extent he devised the formulations that he gives, or how far he merely reproduced other people's work. In some cases he deliberately gave alternative forms of demons' names, [29] which suggests that he was working from a previous manuscript and was unsure of the reading. The writer's own orthography was highly erratic; within the same experiment he sometimes slipped from one version to another in his names for demons, and while the variations were sometimes slight they were not always so. [30] (At the end of the fifteenth century, Humanist mages such as Johannes Reuchlin protested that the debased magic of contemporary necromancers could have no effect because the very names they used for the spirits were corrupt; the present manuscript might have served as a case in point.) [31] Whether the writer composed badly or copied badly, one constant factor in the manuscript is that its Latin usage is unconventional by medieval (let alone classical or Humanist) standards. In one experiment the writer speaks of a 'whole white dove' (*columbam totam albam*) when he means a 'totally white dove' (*columbam totaliter albam*); he writes that a woman 'will love all things above you' (*super te omnia diliget*) when he clearly means the reverse; he confuses 'without' (*sine*) with 'or' (*siue*), and he evidently substitutes 'prepare' (*parare*) for 'obey' (*parere*). [32] More often than one would expect, he leaves other words out altogether. At times his sentences

give way to grammatical nonsense. The formula ‘May your arts fail … as Jamnes and Mambres failed’ (*Deficiant ergo artes tuae … sicut defecerunt Iamnes et Mambres*), referring to the names of Pharaoh’s magicians according to a tradition reflected in II Timothy 3:8, is given once in the main block of Clm 849, and twice in later sections of the manuscript, by two different hands (no. 32). But in the main block the point of the allusion is lost and the comparison comes out in utterly garbled form as ‘May your arts fail … so you and members have now ceased’ (*sic cessauerunt jam vos et membros*), while in the other versions the passage begins ‘Your ears will fail’ (*Deficient ergo aures tuae …*).

What seems quite clear is that the writer was a cleric – probably a priest, and at least a person in minor orders. His use of Latin makes this a *prima facie* likelihood, even if his Latin is bad. The more compelling evidence is his assumption that the user of the manual will, like him, be acquainted with ritual forms used in the Church’s services: he gives the opening line of Psalm 50 (from the Vulgate) and assumes the user will know the text (no. 33); he prescribes the seven (penitential) psalms and the litany (of the saints) and presumes that these too will be familiar and accessible (no. 36). In short, the work appears clearly a product of that clerical underworld in which late medieval necromancy seems to have found something of a natural home. It may have been exercised and feared as a means for gaining otherwise elusive power within a competitive clerical establishment. It may have been a pastime for underemployed clerics with time on their hands and a fondness for this quintessentially clerical form of dark and daring entertainment. It may have been a service rendered to credulous clients by unscrupulous providers of ritual. Like the Ouija board in latter day culture, it may well have been all of the above, an amusement constantly in danger of becoming serious, dark and threatening.

In certain important respects there are shifts in the content and tone of the manuscript, suggesting changes in the compiler’s interests and his attitudes toward the material. Along with a shift from illusionist and psychological experiments to rites of divination comes a general flattening of the prose. It is in the front of the manual that the writer is inclined to tell entertaining anecdotes and to provide testimonials to the authenticity and efficacy of the rituals. The earlier materials suggest more authorial self-consciousness, a clearer sense of authorial voice. Later sections are less developed with narrative and other embellishments. Even the magic circles required for the experiments and illustrated in the manuscript tend to become less complex and less interesting in the later sections of the compilation. The manual shifts also in its engagement of

the reader. In the earlier experiments the writer regularly addresses the reader in a direct and personal manner, urging him to ‘attend carefully’ (no. 2), taking him into his confidence by entrusting him with secret information (nos 4 and 9), reminding him of a situation in which he has seen the master perform an experiment (no. 6), and referring to his own needs and desires – ‘If you want to have the love of any woman …’ (no. 3), ‘If you wish to infuse a spirit into a dead person so that he appears alive …’ (no. 10), ‘If you wish to be taken for invisible and imperceptible …’ (no. 11), ‘If you wish to know about any matter on which you are doubtful …’ (no. 24). Subsequent experiments are couched in far more impersonal rhetoric; the reader is instructed with blunt imperatives and subjunctives, with no expression of interest in entertaining him or engaging his interest. The later materials are less ambitious in their imaginative depth, but more ambitious in laying out procedures likely to be put to actual use.

The most basic question about the actual composition of the book is whether it is taken from a single source (as a set of excerpts from a cohesive treatise or as a copy of some previous miscellany) or from multiple sources. The latter scenario seems far more plausible, largely because there are occasional discontinuities that suggest the compiler was working with a collection of unbound materials that were not in perfect order, and he was perhaps not certain about where to fit them into his series of experiments. The effect was similar to that of assembling diverse materials in a scrapbook and finding that some of the odds and ends assembled are not complete or entirely coherent. This type of discontinuity would have been possible if the writer had been drawing excerpts from a cohesive work or copying an earlier miscellany, but in the former case one might have expected the individual units to remain cohesive, and in the latter one might have thought the copyist would have rationalized or deleted the incoherent fragments. At any rate, it appears not at all unlikely that the materials bound together with the main handbook are examples of the sort of material from which the compiler worked. My hypothesis is that the compiler and scribe took a lively interest in various kinds of magical materials, put together a personal collection of them from various sources, and had readily at hand perhaps both bound and unbound writings of diverse character and provenance (at least one bit of appended material contains a fragment of Italian); that the materials that he copied into his own anthology represent his own selection (and perhaps, as in the abridgement and reformulation of the conjuration of Mirage, [33] his own adaptation) from this body of material, and that when his own compilation was originally bound, or perhaps when at some later date it was

rebound, some of his sources may have been appended to it, perhaps simply those of compatible format, forming fols. 109–56. This hypothesis rests solely on the partial overlapping of contents between the main block and the appended material, not on paleographic or codicological evidence; indeed, it could be argued that at least some of the appended material seems to be by later hands, although the chronological ordering would be difficult to establish with confidence.

Alternative hypotheses cannot be altogether dismissed. It is possible, for example, that the compiler worked simultaneously on two distinct collections of material, perhaps fols 1–51 and fols 52–108, and that what appears to be a shift from one mode of presentation to another results simply from the binding together of what were intended as separate compilations. Had this been the intent, however, one would have expected a clearer and more decisive shift than in fact occurs: it is not the case that all the divinatory experiments, or all the materials of any sort, are grouped together.

We can only speculate about the identity of the compiler. In two passages he represents himself as connected with a court. He could have been a learned courtier with an interest in the occult arts, such as Johannes Hartlieb, although Hartlieb is more likely to have owned and consulted such a manuscript than to have assembled it or used it. [34] A closer model might be Michael Scot, who served at the court of Frederick II and had an interest in astrology, as apparently did the counsellors of several other German emperors, but there is no real evidence that these astrologers dabbled in necromancy. [35] The compiler might have been a cleric, perhaps a member of the lower clergy, possibly a figure such as the priest-necromancer who befriended Jubertus of Bavaria; or, to compromise between these possibilities, he could have been a cleric of higher or middling status who aspired to some position at court. If we could take seriously the unlikely notion that Hartlieb began by taking an active interest in magic and later became its critic and opponent, we might guess that this collection is his and represents an early phase in his own development. To judge by the book's Latinity, I incline toward the hypothesis that what we have here is the work of a man with some but not a great deal of learning, who would have tended more toward the fringes of society than toward court, even if he had aspirations for higher status that found expression in the early sections of his book but waned over the time he worked on it.

Table B. Types of necromancy found in Clm 849

	Illusionist	*Psychological*	*Divinatory*
Purposes	causing things to appear other than as they are: illusory banquet, castle, horse or other means of transportation; make a dead person seem alive or vice versa	influence on people's intellects or wills: love or hatred, favour at court, constraint of others' wills, madness	knowledge of future, past, distant, or hidden things: detection if a crime or criminal (usually a thief, less often a murderer), recovery of stolen goods, discovery of hidden treasure
Motivating impulses	imagination	power	knowledge
Tensions	between fantasy and reality	between the will of the necromancer and that of the victim	between the demand for truth and the fear of deception
*Affinities**	• with literary fantasies • with the mythology of witchcraft	• with works of astral magic (in translations from Arabic)	• with divinatory practices developed esp. in Judaism
*Central features**	• either highly complex (with complicated magic circles, rituals, and repeated conjurations) or very simple (with no circles, relatively simple rituals, and single conjurations) • emphasis on secrecy, although purpose is display • often accompanied by stories or testimonials • themes central to conception of witchcraft	• elaborate preparation and ceremonies (often over more than one day) • purposes and forms resembling those of astral magic • techniques of 'sympathetic' or 'imitative' magic, with meaning explicated by incantations (and less emphasis on circles and conjurations) • violent procedures and results • secrecy, to evade detection and punishment	• scrying (sometimes psychologically interpreted) combined with conjurations emphasized (but with little emphasis on circles) • participation of a medium, usually a young boy, who alone sees the spirits
Correlation with Jubertus's spirits	Superbus – grandeur of display being a matter of primary concern	Luxuriosus – seduction or rape being one of the most common purposes	Avarus – recovery or discovery of goods being a main purpose, and this being a potentially lucrative form of divination

* See Chapters 3–5 for elaboration of these points.

While recognizing that this reconstruction is and must be conjectural, I suggest, then, that the compiler of this miscellany was a moderately educated member of the lower or middling clergy who began by writing colourful and imaginative experiments in hopes of establishing a reputation for expertise in the occult, and perhaps a foothold at some court, possibly that of the Duke of Bavaria in Munich, but whose aspirations were thwarted, and who eventually turned his attention to forms of magic that were less fanciful, playful and fantastic, but more in demand for practical application and thus more lucrative, and in any case still revealing of the diversities of magic in late medieval culture.

Table B summarizes the characterization already given of the three types of necromantic experiment found in Clm 849 and anticipates further discussion (in the next three chapters) of these categories. As should be obvious, it consists of broad generalizations, which require some qualification and nuance when applied to particular concrete experiments. While I have decided to use this chart in the interest of clarifying the patterns, the distinctions, and the correlations I mean to emphasize, I am aware of the hazards of fixing these categories too sharply and making them rigid when they should remain fluid. In highlighting the affinity of the psychological experiments with those of Arabic astral magic, for example, and the divinatory ones with practices well known in Judaism, I by no means wish to suggest that the techniques in question were exclusively or even specifically Arabic on the one hand, Jewish on the other. The world of magic is clearly more complex than that, and the boundaries between Jewish and Muslim magic too difficult to define. Still, in some ways the heart of this study – at least its attempt to distinguish different elements in the necromancers' own perception of their art – is sketched on this chart in schematic form. I do not adhere strictly in subsequent discussion to the organizing principles that might be suggested by the table, but everything laid out here is covered at some point either above or in following chapters.

Notes

1 Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989). See also Stephen G. Nichols, 'Introduction: philology in a manuscript culture', *Speculum*, 65, no. 1 (Jan. 1990), 1–10; Siegfried Wenzel, 'Reflections on (new) philology', *ibid.*, 11–18; and the other articles in that issue of the journal.

2 *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the* Ghāyat Al-Hakı-m, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986).

3 See, among recent works, Jean Clam, 'Philosophisches zu *Picatrix*: Gelehrte Magie und

Anthropologie bei einem arabischen Hermetiker des Mittelalters', in Albert Zimmermann and Andreas Speer, eds, *Mensch und Natur im Mittelalter*, 1 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1991), 481–509, and Toufic Fahd, 'Sciences naturelles et magie dans *Gayat al-Hakim* du Pseudo-Mayriti', in E. García Sánchez, ed., *Ciencias de la naturaleza en al-Andalus*, 1 (Granada: Conseja Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990), 11–21.

4 Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986). On the cultural significance of miscellanies see Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, eds., *The Whole Book*: *Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996).

5 Roger Bacon, *De Nigromancia*, ed. and trans. Michael-Albion Macdonald (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1988).

6 W. Braekman, 'Magische experimenten en toverpraktijken uit een middelnederlands handschrift', *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal-en Letterkunde*, 1966, pp. 53–118; also published separately (Ghent: Seminarie voor Volkskunde, 1966).

7 Fol. 134r: '*et postea dicatur in auriola pueri ista oracio: "O dio fare dispiriti spiritale cum lamina bocha te voio pre* [deleted?] *pregare che spiriti a questo puto vergeno in questa angestara diby mandare che diga emonstre lauerita de quelo chio voio domandare*".'

8 *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, 2nd edn, vol. 1, pt 1 (Munich: Bibliotheca Regia, 1892), 202 (*Liber incantationum, exorcismorum et fascinationum variarum*).

9 Lynn Thorndike, *The History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Macmillan and Columbia University Press, 1923–58).

10 Lynn Thorndike, 'Imagination and magic: force of imagination on the human body and of magic on the human mind', in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, 7 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1964), 353–58.

11 Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, esp. 6–8.

12 I have this information from Frank Klaassen, who is studying manuscripts of ritual magic in English collections.

13 E.M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949), 62.

14 See the codicological analysis of the manuscript given in the final chapter.

15 See n. 7 above.

16 It is worth noting that Thorndike, 'Imagination and magic', evidently did not recognize the handbook as an example of anything else he had seen.

17 Hansen, *Quellen*, 539–44. On the witch trials in this region and their context see now Pierette Paravy, *De la chrétienté romaine à la Réforme en Dauphiné: evêques, fidèles et déviants (vers 1340–vers 1530)* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1993), and for this case in particular pp. 814–16.

18 Paravy, p. 815 n. 4, suggests that this is a reference to the pilgrimage shrine at Einsiedeln. She also cites literature on the theme of the diabolical bridge, in particular B.M. Galanti, 'Le leggenda del "Ponte del Diavolo" in Italia', *Lares*, 18 (1952), 61–73.

19 Johann Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste, des Aberglaubens und der Zauberei*, ed. and trans. Falk Eisermann and Eckhard Graf (Ahlerstedt: Param, 1989).

20 Frank Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb: Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), 88–132.

21 Hartlieb, ch. 22, pp. 34f.

22 *Etymologiae*, viii.9, in the *Patrologia latina*, 82:310–14.

23 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon: De studio legendi*, vi.15, ed. Charles Henry Buttimer (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1939).

24 Chs 22, 28.

25 Chs 22–24.

26 Chs 33–34.

27 E.g., ch. 85.

28 Otto Hartig, *Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht V. und Johann Jakob Fugger* (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosoph.-philolog. und hist. Klasse, vol. 28, sect. 3, 1914), gives the history of the library that provided the earliest foundation for the Bavarian State Library, but does not give the provenance of this manuscript.

29 There are two instances in experiment no. 7, and one in no. 27.

30 See the variation in names in nos 4, 7, 9, 10 and 11.

31 The relationship between demonic and other forms of magic in the Renaissance is a primary theme of D.P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic, from Ficino to Campanella* (London: Warburg Institute, 1958). See also Charles Zika, 'Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* and the magic debate of the late fifteenth century', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 39 (1976), 104–38, esp. 112–14 (see p. 114, n. 30, *Tota Magia, quae in usu est apud modernos, et quam merito exterminat ecclesia, nullam habet firmitatem, nullum fundamentum, nullam veritatem, quia pendet ex manu hostium veritatis, potestatum harum tenebrarum, quae tenebras falsitatis, male dispositis intellectibus obfundunt*).

32 Fols 8r–11v.

33 See no. 32 in the edition, where a conjuration edited from two versions in the later folios is addressed to a spirit named Mirage, while an alternative form in the main block addresses Satan.

34 The *Schriftproben* in Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb*, p. 280, show that Hartlieb's handwriting is not at all like that in fols 3–108 of Clm 849; it more closely resembles that of some later folios, but not enough that any of this material could be assigned to him.

35 Thorndike, *Michael Scot*, esp. 32–39 and 116–21. See also the interesting article of Helmuth Grössing and Franz Stuhlhofer, 'Versuch einer Deutung der Rolle der Astrologie in den persönlichen und politischen Entscheidungen einiger Habsburger des Spätmittelalters', *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 117 (1980), 267–83. On court astrology in England see Hilary M. Carey, *Courting Disaster: Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1992).

3

Banquets, Horses and Castles: Illusionist Experiments

The fifteenth-century writer of the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript tells how to summon a demon in the form of a horse by using conjurations, a ring with the Tetragrammaton inscribed on it, and a diagram made with the blood of a hoopoe or a bat. The magician must stand in a circle that extends to the east window of his chamber. When the conjuration is complete, a multitude of spirits will appear in the sky, with many horses; the magician must choose the horse with the red bridle, which will descend outside his chamber. He may then ride off, with sceptre and sword in hand. But he must beware of committing any sins while engaged in this experiment, because if he is unclean he can no longer command the demon. The writer then tells a cautionary tale – from his own experience, he says – to impress upon the reader the importance of not sinning in the course of this adventure:

> For I myself once travelled from Alexandria to India in the space of an hour, and there I saw women whom I found very pleasing indeed, and at once I had my will with one of them. But there was no chance of finding a confessor unless I waited quite some time. I returned to my horse, which was standing where it had been conjured [to stand], but when I seized the end of the bridle the horse began to bolt, not allowing me to put my foot in the stirrup because of my uncleanness. I held on to the bridle firmly, and the horse hurled me forty feet into the air. Finally, seeing that I was going to perish miserably, I let go and fell, breaking my leg quite badly. So I lay there in India for four months, and until I had recuperated I could not go and see my horse.
>
> But when I had recovered I went to confession and did penance. Then I prepared a chamber for myself, and had a sceptre, sword and ring newly made, since the ring which I had defiled had lost its power. When these instruments had been fashioned and newly consecrated, I summoned those same spirits as before, and had them bring the same spirit or horse. With

conjurations I commanded that horse and mounted him peacefully, and I kept on riding him continually for an entire month, except when I dismounted to sleep and eat or drink, and thus I circled the globe eight times. And I had him carry me through the sky until I was practically suffocated because of the pressure of the air. In circling the globe I discovered many and wondrous treasures, whose virtues I learned later on under the instruction of one of the spirits, whom I then locked up. And thus [by this long riding] I caused my horse much grief.

When I finally dismounted from him and asked him why he had harmed me, he replied that from that point on he was unable to do so, but he said he would rather have been in hell than keep riding for so long a time. So he asked me not to cause him such grief any more, and he would minister to me faithfully when I summoned him, so long as I was clean. And thus I repaid him evil for evil. [1]

The ceremony given here for conjuring the horse is borrowed, perhaps directly, from the *De nigromancia* or *Thesaurus spirituum* ascribed to Roger Bacon. [2] In the cautionary tale the reader will recognize a variation on a story known from *The Thousand and One Nights*, from the French romances (especially *Li Roumans de Cléomadès* of Adenès li Rois), and from Chaucer's abbreviated and mock-naturalistic retelling in *The Squire's Tale*. [3] In the Arabic and French versions, a magical flying horse cannot be made to descend where the rider wishes to land, and the change of plan that results becomes a factor in development of the plot. In the Rawlinson manuscript as in the literary versions of the tale, the Orient is portrayed as exotic and romantically alluring, although the seduction scene has become a peremptory telling of a male fantasy, with little trace of the *écriture féminine* that has been seen in the literary narratives. [4] What concerns the narrator here is less the seduction than its consequences. Very much like Lancelot in the *Quest of the Holy Grail*, the magician is unable to continue his mission until repentance and confession wipe away his disability. [5]

The moral implications of this story need not detain us now, although the moral ambiguity recurs in this manuscript, in a lengthy Confiteor which admits to every manner of sin but terminates in a prayer for power over certain spirits. [6] As for the world of flying horses, it seems not unlike that of Jubertus of Regensburg, who flew to diabolical assemblies with wondrous speed not on the back of a horse but on the excrement of a mule or horse, *ministerio dyabolorum*. [7] For present purposes what is most relevant is that the form of magic related in

this story is intended chiefly for the sake of the magician's own entertainment, and the story about its use is, despite the tone of moral seriousness, a means of entertainment presumably both for writer and reader. The compiler of the Munich handbook, too, is most inclined toward the anecdotal when he is telling his reader how to conjure illusions in which demons appear as horses, castles appear out of nowhere, banquets are brought forth with many apparent but illusory courses, and the magician dons a cloak of invisibility so as no longer to appear at all.

Depictions of magic in medieval literature often tease the reader with uncertainties about the boundary between illusion and reality. [8] When the water level off the coast of Brittany is raised so as to cover the rocks, in Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale*, is the transformation real or merely an illusion? [9] When wondrous pageants and spectacles are brought forth by inexplicable means at court, are they genuine or delusory, and are they worked 'by craft or necromancy'? The literature of magic is replete with stories of magicians who produce magical banquets, horses or boats that can transport people over land and sea, castles with armed warriors, all of which have a tendency to vanish abruptly, suggesting that they rest on dubious ontological foundations. From antiquity and through the Middle Ages, critics of magic insisted it was all illusion, by which they could mean many things: that it was a means by which demons deluded and ensnared the gullible, that its accomplishments were unreal and not lasting, that healings as well as spectacles worked by magic were unreliable. [10] The pagan Celsus, taunting his Christian contemporaries in late antiquity, compared the miracles of Jesus with 'the works of sorcerers who profess to do wonderful miracles, and the accomplishments of those who are taught by the Egyptians, who for a few obols make known their sacred lore in the middle of the market-place and drive daemons out of men and blow away diseases and invoke the souls of heroes, displaying expensive banquets and dining-tables and cakes and dishes which are non-existent, and who make things move as though they were alive although they are not really so, but only appear as such in the imagination'. [11] But it was not only the critics who saw at least some types of magic as entailing illusion: the magicians themselves seemed to revel in their role as illusionists. Not surprisingly, then, many of the formulas in our necromantic handbook – and several of the most interesting – involve some form of illusion.

Illusionist experiments in the Munich handbook

Twelve of the experiments in Clm 849 are ‘illusionist’ ones, intended to make things appear other than as they are: to make people perceive some object or scene that is not in fact present, to obtain a means of transport such as a horse or a boat, to make the dead seem alive or vice versa, or to become invisible. This category might be seen as a subset of the ‘ psychological’ experiments, but the emphasis here is less on deception of the senses than on production of an objective display that seems different from what it is.

The distinguishing features of these experiments are chiefly four. First, either they are highly complex, with complicated magic circles, intricately worked-out rituals, and at least two conjurations, or else (less often) they are very simple, with no circles, relatively simple rituals, and single conjurations. Second, they often emphasize the need for secrecy, yet the basic point of the experiment is the fascinating and awe-inspiring *display* of magical powers. Third, these experiments are often accompanied by stories (such as the one from the Rawlinson manuscript) or by testimonials assuring the reader of their efficacy. Fourth, these illusionist experiments, for all their exuberant fantasy, come closer than any others in the handbook to touching on themes that would become central to the late medieval and early modern conception of witchcraft.

Seven complex experiments (nos 6–11 and 15) involve relatively elaborate magic circles and intricate rituals, with two distinct conjurations (first the master summons the spirits, who appear to him, then he commands them to execute some illusion, and they do so). Among further complications are offerings made to induce the spirits to carry out the commands, oaths required of the spirits, and provisions for repeating on some future occasion, with less effort, an experiment already produced once. The simpler experiments (nos 14, 17, 21, 43 and 45), by way of contrast, require no magic circles at all, and have illusionist effect following directly from a single conjuration, without an intervening apparition of spirits. The difference may be the result of nothing more than the handbook’s general tendency toward simpler, less colourful and imaginative formulations in its later sections, a tendency seen even in this most fanciful category of magic.

At certain points in the illusionist experiments of the Munich handbook the writer comments explicitly on the need for secrecy. At the end of one experiment (no. 8) the writer comments that this book, containing generally unknown names and figures of spirits ‘according to their characteristics’ (*proprietates*), should be kept in a hidden place because its contents have ineffable efficacy. Experiment no. 10, which can make the living appear dead and the dead alive, must be kept secret because of its great power. In this and in no. 11 the master goes to a

remote and secret place outside town to carry out his experiment. Experiment no. 15 must be carried out in a high and secret place. This concern with the esoteric nature of necromancy is not exclusively found in the illusionist experiments – no. 5 also emphasizes the importance of performing the ritual in a secret place, and the text insists that this experiment must be kept secret because it has 'ineffable virtue' – but it is a theme found perhaps most often in this category, and the breathless tone thus imparted adds to the entertainment value of these illusionist experiments. [12] Elsewhere, rather than emphasizing the need for secrecy, the writer comments on the rarity of knowledge about certain formulas. He declares that the art of conjuring an illusory banquet in no. 6 is practically unknown in his day, and that 'Matthew the Spaniard' was utterly ignorant of this magic; he notes that the art of obtaining a cloak of invisibility, in no. 11, is also virtually unknown in his day. But the themes of secrecy and obscurity are not unrelated: they are both ways of emphasizing the esoteric nature of these experiments, and stressing that the reader is being initiated into arcane lore that should arouse not only curiosity but also excitement and a sense of privilege. Yet it is in the nature of these experiments that in one way or other most of them are *shared*: in some cases the result of the magical is a spectacle that may be put on for the wonderment of others, and even when the point is for the magician to become invisible, his very state of non-visibility is a way of relating to others.

The testimonials asserting the efficacy of the experiments take various forms. The writer declares that he has seen one experiment (no. 8) worked in various ways, but the way he gives is the best, entailing least effort and no danger. In recounting the effects of another experiment (no. 10) he claims that he has personally experienced them all, and that he leaves unmentioned those effects he has not experienced. Nor is he shy about claiming the testimony of authorities: Socrates himself, he claims, speaks of the power of one circle (no. 9) in his book of magic. More simply, he asserts that experiment (*experiencia*) no. 10 is 'most worthy'. At one point (no. 6) the writer addresses a courtly reader, whether real or imagined, claiming to remind him of occasions when the magic has worked: 'You have often seen me exercise this art in your court, namely that of bringing forth stewards'. In a similar vein he tells how he once carried out experiment no. 7 while the emperor and his nobles were out hunting in a dark wood, causing an illusory castle to appear, with demons in the form of knights who attacked the emperor and his men.

What are we to make of all this? Are we to assume that the illusionist experiments in this manuscript – and the tales that the writer spins, testifying to

the efficacy of his own illusions – were intended merely as entertainment? Is it unthinkable that the clerical necromancers actually hoped to visit exotic lands on flying horses, to explore phantom castles, to feast at magical banquets? The question is difficult to answer in any simple way, because what one writer will write tongue in cheek another may intend as fact, and because in many ways the border between imaginative fantasy and perceived fact is readily permeable: fantasies about harm that other people might inflict shade into paranoid fears of harm that they are inflicting; erotic fantasies, encouraged by techniques of erotic magic, can serve as prelude to actual seduction; purely recreational play with a Ouija board or tarot deck gives occasion for traumatic expression of deep-seated fantasies and anxieties; words spoken as playful boasts may be heard as confirmation of sinister powers.

The tales told in this necromantic manuscript are perhaps best described as literary boasts, analogous to those in medieval literature. [13] And yet they are no less fantastic than those recorded in the witch trials of the later fifteenth and following centuries, and in some ways these tales are not unrelated to aspects of witchcraft. Indeed, this category of experiments more than others has points of contact with the ‘cumulative concept’ of witchcraft that became established in the fifteenth century, even if the parallels are not exact. [14] When the master has the demons take an oath (no. 6), this is conceived as unilateral; it is therefore not a pact. The spirits swear on an unspecified but consecrated book, and they bind themselves first by the God who created them and all things, second by the (presumably demonic) lords whom they fear and adore, and third by ‘the law that we observe’. The second and third elements in this oath presuppose what scholastic demonology did in fact generally assume, that demons are bound by a perverse hierarchy of their own – an inversion of the angelic hierarchy – and that there are infernal laws by which the demons are bound. [15] The banquet that demons bring forth is in one particular like the feasts ascribed in later years to witches at their sab baths: the food does not really exist, so that the more one eats the hungrier one becomes, and a starving man who eats such fare will die just as if he ate nothing at all. [16] And in both no. 17 and no. 43, the magician is told that when he is flying on an illusory horse he must not make the sign of the cross, or the horse (in fact a spirit in the form of a beast) will flee from him, just as the witches were said to be warned. [17] (By way of contrast, the instructions for no. 8 specify that while riding in a magically produced ship the master may invoke holy things, as in true Christian religion, because the spirits involved are between good and evil, neither in hell nor in paradise.) The parallel with notions

from the witch trials is extended by a passage from the manuscript edited by Willy Braekman, which suggests that to travel quickly wherever one wishes, one should make an ointment from seven herbs, the fat of a goat and the blood of a bat, and smear it on one's face, hands and chest, while reciting a short formula. [18] While this specific recipe may not be explicitly necromantic, it appears alongside instructions for demonic magic, and is strikingly parallel to the means witches were thought to use for their flight. [19]

An illusory banquet

The first two illusionist experiments in the Munich handbook have in mind a courtly setting: one is a procedure to conjure forth a lavish banquet, with entertainment of various kinds; the other creates the illusion of a castle in which an unnamed emperor may hold out against demonic troops. While the first illusion is simply for entertainment, the second is an elaborate trick on unwitting victims, though they may be supposed to have taken the hoax in good spirits.

The experiment for obtaining an illusory banquet, with service and entertainment (no. 6), is one of the longest in the manuscript, and illustrates well the complexity so often found in these experiments:

> You have often seen me exercise at your court the art of summoning banquet-bearers. [20] First one must invoke fifteen spirits, in this manner: At the outset one must go outside town, under a waxing moon, on a Thursday or Sunday, at noon, carrying a shining sword and a hoopoe, and with the sword one must trace circles in a remote place. When this is done, inscribe sixteen names with the point of the sword, as will appear below in the figure.
>
> When you have done this, you should draw the sword toward the east within the inner circle, as the diagram shows. When this is done, you should bind the hoopoe to yourself in such a way that it cannot escape from the inner circle, in which you should stand.
>
> Then you should kneel, turn to the east, take the sword in both hands, and say, 'Oymelor, Demefin, Lamair, Masair, Symofor, Rodobayl, Tentetos, Lotobor, Memoyr, Tamafin, Leutaber, Tatomofon, Faubair, Selutabel, Rimasor, Syrama, most cheerful, glad and joyous spirits, I, so-and-so, adjure you … to come to me here in a gentle, pleasing, and cheerful form and make manifest whatever I say.'
>
> When you have said this twelve [*sic*] times – four times facing east, then four times facing south, then four times facing east, then four times facing north – holding the sword in your hand the whole time, and while you are saying the conjuration constantly drawing it in each location, finally position it where it was at first, when the conjuration was first spoken, as has been said. [21]
>
> When you have said this, constantly kneeling, again turn to the east, holding the sword in your right hand, and the hoopoe in your left hand, and

say, ‘Come, O aforesaid spirits, come to me, come, for I command you by the eternal glory of God. Amen.’

When you have said this once, turn with the sword and the hoopoe toward the west, and you will see sixteen splendid and stalwart knights. They will say to you, ‘You summoned us and we have come, obedient to your will. Ask what you will, confident that we are ready to obey.’ Say in reply, ‘Make me see your power, that I may behold tables with many people reclining at them, with an infinite array of dishes.’ They will tell you that they are pleased to do so.

At once many pages [*domicelli*] will come, carrying three-legged tables, towels and other necessary equipment. Then the most noble of folk will come and recline, and butlers to serve, carrying an infinite array of dishes. And you will hear singing and music-making, and you will see dancing and innumerable games. And you may be sure that these twelve [*sic*] will not withdraw from you, but will stand just outside the circle, speaking with you and watching. You should also know that three kings will come to you beside the circle from among those who are reclining, and will ask you to come and eat with them. You should reply that you are quite unable to leave. When you have said this, they will return at once to those who are reclining, and you will hear them telling the others that they were unable to persuade you to move out of the circle. Then they will send a butler with some food or other, which you may safely eat, and you should offer some of it to the sixteen standing beside the circle, and they too will eat of it. Then you will see everyone rise from the tables and mount their horses in order.

At last, all will vanish from your eyes except those twelve, who, standing by you, will say, ‘Our spectacle [*ludus*] has pleased you, has it not?’ You will reply cheerfully that it has. When you have responded, they will ask you for the hoopoe, which, strange to say, will at once become alarmed. [22] You will say to them, ‘I am willing to give you the hoopoe if you swear to come to me and enact this spectacle whenever I please.’ They will say that they are ready to swear. You should have some book brought to them at once, and on it you should have them swear in this manner: ‘All twelve of us swear on this sacred book … to come to you without delay whenever you invoke us, and to have tables laid, such as you have seen and even better.’ And they will swear at once.

And when they have sworn, you will give them the hoopoe, and when they have it they will ask your leave to withdraw. You will give it to them, saying,

‘Go forth wherever you wish to go, and be attentive to me.’ They will say that they remain obliged to you from then on. Having said this, they will go. You too may leave the circles and erase them so that nothing remains, and, taking your sword, you may withdraw.

You should note that the hoopoe is possessed of great virtue for necromancers and invokers of demons [*nigromanticis et demones invocantibus*], on which account we use it much for our safekeeping.

When you want them [the spirits] to come to you, in secret or openly, or in whatever place, gaze at the above-written circles and figures in the book, and in a quiet voice read the names found in them. When you have read them once while thus gazing, read this conjuration once: ‘Oymelor, Demefin, Lamair, Masair, Simofor, Rodobail, Tentetos, Lotobor, Memoir, Tamafin, Zeugaber, Tatomofon, Faubair, Belutabel, Rimasor and Sirama, I ask, conjure and adjure you by the true majesty of God to make your subordinates come here and bring dishes, first of all so-and-so and so-and-so, and make a grand banquet, with games, singing, music-making and dancing, and in general all those things that can gladden the hearts of those standing about [cf. Ps. 103:15 Vulg.].’ When you have read this [conjuration] once, splendid pages will come and prepare beautiful tables. When these are set up, you will hear trumpets, harps and an untold multitude of songs. When you call out loudly, ‘Bring water’, it will be brought forth at once. Likewise, ‘Bring forth the meal’, and at once it will be brought. And there will be butlers and stewards serving excellently, and handsome pages, and players providing countless entertainments. And you can have a thousand types of dish brought, if it pleases you, and those who eat them will find them uncommonly delicious.

You must know that no matter how much they eat, they will be all the more hungry, because they will seem like dishes but they will not exist, so that if a famished person were to gorge himself, believing them to be real, he would no doubt die just as if he ate nothing.

And when you wish to do away with the spectacle, say that they should take away the tables. At once the tables will be removed, but all those standing around will remain. If you wish for them to sing or play or make the entire spectacle, say, ‘Do thus and such’, and you will see what you wish, for these are spirits of spectacle and all entertainment, and they will do all that they are told. And when you want them to depart, say, ‘Withdraw, all of you, and whenever I call you to me, come forth without any excuse.’ They will reply, ‘We will do so most gladly!’ And when they have withdrawn, all will

depart, wondering at this art.

And here this art is concluded, which is virtually unknown among people today, and of which Matthew the Spaniard was utterly ignorant, *etc.*

The circle to be used for this experiment is depicted: a quadruple band with a pentangle inscribed in the centre, a sword depicted at the top (extending downward across all four bands, with its point on the top of the pentangle) and other figures (likewise extending across all four bands) on the upper left, upper right, lower right, and lower left. The cardinal directions are given outside the outermost band, with east on top. Within the bands the names of sixteen spirits are inscribed. [23]

Two points may suffice here by way of commentary. First, the idea of conjuring an illusory banquet is widespread. Celsus compared Christ with a magician who conjures forth an illusory banquet, and the same trick is found in an adjuration in the Greek magical papyri for obtaining a *daimon* as one's assistant. Among the spirit's myriad functions is that of procuring every manner of food except fish or pork. The magician need only imagine a banqueting hall and order the *daimon* to prepare a banquet, and immediately he will create a hall with marble walls and golden ceiling, all of which will seem partly real, partly illusion. He will bring fine wine, and further *daimones* made out as suitably attired servants. [24] Second, this experiment is exceptional for the Munich handbook in the degree of emphasis on the sacrifice of a hoopoe to the demons. This bird is famous for its magical virtues. [25] The present experiment notes explicitly that the hoopoe has great power for necromancers and invokers of demons, and for that reason is much used by such practitioners. Oddly, the text says that necromancers use the hoopoe a great deal for their safekeeping or protection (*ad nostri tutelam*), which perhaps means that they are safer in the company of demons if they have an offering to make them. The safety of the hoopoes seems not to be an issue.

The fading of this insubstantial pageant might well recall that of a more famous illusion:

> Our revels now are ended. These our actors,
> As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
> Are melted into air, into thin air … [26]

But of course the books from which *that* experiment derived have not survived for comparison with the Munich handbook.

An illusory castle

The following experiment (no. 7) is designed to obtain an illusory castle, with defenders. It is introduced in grandiose manner, as a ‘splendid experiment’ by which the magician can convoke spirits to produce an elegant castle with armed men. As in the preceding case, there are two phases, first the summoning of spirits and then having them work the illusion, although for reasons that we will see shortly, the second phase does not precisely involve a conjuration.

> Here follows another experiment [27] for invoking spirits so that a man can make a fine and well fortified castle appear, or for summoning countless legions of armed men, which can easily be done, and among other things is deemed most beautiful.
>
> First, go out on the tenth [day of] the moon, under a clear sky, outside of town to some remote and secret place, taking milk and honey with you, some of which you must sprinkle in the air. And with bare feet and head, kneeling, read this while facing west: ‘O Usyr, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno, Syrtroy, Risbel, Cutroy, Lytay, Onor, Moloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor and Ym, squire spirits, whose function it is to bear arms and deceive human senses wherever you wish, I, so-and-so, conjure and exorcize and invoke you … that, indissolubly bound to my power, you should come to me without delay, in a form that will not frighten me, subject and prepared to do and reveal for me all that I wish, and to do this willingly, by all things that are in heaven and on earth.’ Having read this once facing west, do so again facing south, east, and north.
>
> And from far off you will see a band of armed men coming toward you, who will send ahead a squire to say that those you summoned are coming to you. You should tell him, ‘Go to them and tell them to come to me in such a state that they frighten no one, but I may abide safely with them.’ When you have said this, he will return at once to them.
>
> After a short interval they will come to you. When you see them, show them at once this circle, which has great power to terrify those fifteen demons; [28] they will see it and say, ‘Ask whatever you wish in safety, and it will all come to pass for you through us.’ You should then tell them to consecrate their circle so that whenever you gaze on it and invoke them they must come to you quickly and do that which is natural to them, namely make

fortifications and castles and moats and a multitude of armed men appear. They will say they are willing to do so. You should extend a book to them, and you will see one of them place his hand on the book and speak certain words, which you will not understand. When this is done, they will restore it to you.

Then they will ask you to permit them to leave, because they cannot depart from you except with permission. You should say to them, ‘Make a castle here, so that I may see your power.’ Immediately they will make a castle around you, with many other things, and you will see yourself in the middle of the castle, and a great multitude of knights will be present. But these fifteen will not be able to depart from you. After the space of an hour they will ask you that they may depart, and you should say, ‘Be ready whenever I gaze on this circle and invoke you to return at once.’ [29] They will swear to come immediately. Then tell them to depart wherever they wish. And the entire spectacle [*ludus*] will be destroyed, and no one will remain there.

When all this is done, return home, guarding well the book in which all power is found. And when you wish to work this fine art, gaze at the circle, reading the names, beginning from the east, saying, ‘O Usyr, Salaul, Silitol, Denior, Zaimo, Syrtroy, Ristel, Cutroy, Lytoy, Onor, Moloy, Pumiotor, Tamy, Dor, [and] Ym, I summon you to come here, by the consecration of this circle, in which your signs are inscribed, and to make a well fortified castle appear for me, with a deep moat, and a plenteous company of knights and footsoldiers.’ And suddenly a splendid castle, with all that is necessary, will appear there. If you wish to enter it, you can, for a knight will at once stand by you, to whom you may command that all you wish should appear, and he will have it done.

Once when I [wished to test] this art I exercised it with the emperor, when many nobles were accompanying him on a hunting expedition through some dark forest. This is how I proceeded. First I gazed at the circle, calling the aforesaid demons with a clear voice. And at once a handsome knight came to me, whom no one but I could see, and who said to me, ‘I am one of the spirits you have invoked; I am named Salaul, and the others have sent me. Command what you will, and it will be done.’ I said to him, ‘I want you to have a legion of armed men appear, whom the emperor and his companions will take to be rebels.’ He said, ‘It is done.’ And then all the counts and the emperor himself turned and looked to the north, and from far off they saw coming to them an innumerable multitude of knights and soldiers. One of

them dismounted, and before an hour's time [*ante magne hore spacium*] came to the emperor and said, trembling, 'Lord emperor, behold, an innumerable horde is coming toward us, swearing to put us and all your counts to death and to kill you pitilessly.' On hearing this, the emperor and the counts did not know what to do. Meanwhile, the spirits approached. Seeing and hearing them, and their terrifying weapons, they began to flee, but the others followed them, shooting arrows, and cried with one voice, 'You cannot escape your death today!' Then I said, 'O Salaul, make a wondrous castle before the emperor and his men, so that the emperor and the others can enter it.' And it was done. A perfectly safe castle was made for the counts, with towers and moat, and the drawbridge down. It seemed excellently constructed and filled with mercenaries, who were crying out, 'O lord emperor, enter quickly with your companions!' They entered, and it seemed that servants and many friends of the emperor were in it; he supposed he had come upon people who would defend him manfully. When they had entered, they raised the drawbridge and began to defend themselves. Then the spirits with their war machines attacked the castle with wondrous power, so that the emperor and the others feared all the more. Then Salaul said to me, 'We do not have the power to remain here longer than a quarter of the day, so we must now withdraw.' Then the castle disappeared, and the attackers, and everything else. [30] The emperor and the others then looked around and found themselves in some marsh, which left them greatly astonished. I said to them, 'This episode has been quite an adventure!' And after this experiment I made a dinner for them.

Remember that this art cannot last longer than a quarter of a day, unless it lasts one quarter one time [and is then renewed for another quarter day], *etc.*

One might have supposed that the trick played on the emperor constituted an act of rebellion deserving of execution; the tale, which must be read as such, asks us to suspend our disbelief and assume the emperor had unlimited capacity for being amused. The milk and honey that the magician sprinkles evidently serve as a kind of offering, which comes this time at the beginning rather than at the end of the ritual, as in no. 6; it is perhaps worthy of note that this theme of sacrifice occurs specifically in illusionist experiments set at court, and one might perhaps speculate that the offering is somehow analogous here to a courtly gift, but two examples provide too little evidence for such generalization. A further aspect of this experiment that calls for attention is the formula for recalling the

spirits. Having summoned them, the master proceeds at once to an arrangement which will ensure multiple recurrence of the desired illusion. The formula to be used on further occasions is simple, and does not use the language of conjuration; presumably the demons are already bound by their own consecration of the circle, and need not be bound by the force of a formal conjuration.

While extensive pursuit of parallels would lead to endless digression, two especially interesting ones deserve comment. The first is from *The Quest of the Holy Grail*, in which a lady who seeks in vain the love of Sir Bors threatens that she and her maidens will kill themselves by leaping from a tower unless he satisfies her. As they plunge from the battlements, Sir Bors crosses himself, and immediately is 'enveloped in such a tumult and shrieking that it seemed to him that all the fiends of hell were round about him: and no doubt there were a number present. He looked round, but saw neither the tower nor the lady who had been soliciting his love …'. Thus he knew 'it was the enemy who had laid this ambush for him'. [31] In this case the phantom tower is a demonic snare, but not a work of magic created by demons at the behest of a magician. The second parallel, from much further afield, from the eleventh-century life of the Tibetan Buddhist saint Milarepa, is in this way more closely analogous to the tale in our necromantic handbook. When the lama Marpa had Milarepa construct a tall tower, the lama's enemies attacked it, but 'the lama conjured up some phantom soldiers, clad in armor, and put them everywhere, inside and outside the tower. His enemies said, "Where did Marpa get all these soldiers?"' Terror-struck, they prostrated themselves and became disciples of the lama. [32] In this context sainthood and magic may be more closely related than in medieval Christianity; indeed, even in modern Tibet lamas are said to have risked moral defilement by using magical weapons against Chinese invaders. [33] Yet even within Tibet, not all magic is judged morally equivalent: Marpa may work a harmless trick of magical illusion without jeopardizing his standing, but the tower Milarepa is constructing is part of his arduous penance required for works of destructive magic in his life before attaining sainthood.

Experiments to obtain a horse

As we have already seen, magical flying horses are part of the stock in trade of magic lore; they migrate not only across the face of the earth but also between the magicians' own writings and courtly literature. [34] Johannes Hartlieb speaks of horses that come into an old house and transport a rider over many miles, and he hints rather vaguely at how it is done: one takes bat's blood and binds oneself to the Devil with secret words such as 'Debra ebra'; after riding one dismounts and takes the bridle; to return to one's place of origin one need only shake the bridle and the horse will appear – but the horse is, of course, only a devil. Magic of this sort, he says, is widely known among princes. He also tells how *unhulden* and others use a salve called the *unguentum pharelis*, made of seven herbs mixed with the blood of a bird and the fat of an animal, smeared on benches, chairs or other objects, on which they then ride; this too counts for him as necromancy. [35]

One might challenge the inclusion of these experiments in the category of magical illusion, since the journeys undertaken are at least represented as real. In one key sense, however, even from the magicians' perspective there is an element of illusion: the creature that appears is not in reality a horse but a demon in the form of a horse. The illusion is perhaps not so complete as in the case of a banquet with food that does not nourish or satisfy hunger, but this is only to say that from a perspective shared by magicians and theologians alike the demons had real but limited power over the natural order, and while they could effect genuine locomotion through assumed bodies they could not confect food with the substantiality of real food. One might ask further why they could not *transport* real food, perhaps even bringing grapes from distant lands in midwinter, and the answer to that would presumably be that they *could* do so but were content in all these cases to create just enough of an illusion to last through the duration of the experiment, and once they began troubling to transport food from abroad they would be extending themselves beyond the contracted arrangement.

However one wishes to resolve these subtleties, the Munich handbook in any event gives four experiments for obtaining a spirit in the form of a horse on which to ride. Let us begin with the most extended of these (no. 9):

> I also wish to explain to you how to obtain a horse – that is, a spirit in the form of a horse – who can bear you across water and land, through hills and

across plains, wherever you wish.

First, on the sixth [day] of the moon, a Tuesday, having fasted, you should go out with a bridle that has never been used, and in a secret place, and make a circle with a nail or an iron stylus, as appears here, inscribing in it the names and figures that appear. When this is done, remain in the middle and kneel on the bridle facing east, and in a somewhat loud voice say, 'O Lautrayth, Feremin, [and] Oliroomim, spirits who attend upon sinners, I, so-and-so, trusting in your power, conjure you by Him who spoke and [all things] were made, and who knows all things even before they come to pass, and by heaven and earth, fire and air and water, Sun and Moon and stars … to send me three [spirits], who should come to me gently, without causing me fear, but in such a way that I may remain safe, and you should fulfil entirely whatever I command you, and bring it effectively to pass. Likewise, I conjure you aforesaid spirits by Him who is to come to judge the living and the dead and the world by fire, and by the fearful Day of Judgement, and by the sentence that you must hear on that day, and [by] this circle with which you are effectively invoked, that you should be compelled to come here without delay and humbly fulfil my commands.'

When you have said this three times, you will see three knights come from afar. On seeing them, before they arrive in your presence, say, 'I have lifted to you my eyes unto the mountains, from which my help shall come. My help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth' [Ps. 120:1f. Vulg.; cf. Ps. 122:1]. And when they come to the circle they will at once dismount from their horses and greet you cheerfully. You will say to them, 'May the Lord in his mercy bring you back to your pristine status.' Then the spirits will say, 'O master, we have come to you, all of us prepared to obey your commands. So command us to do that for which you have made us come here, and it will be fully brought about.' You should reply, 'I wish for you to consecrate this bridle' – which you should hold with both hands – 'so that whenever I shake it a horse will come before me, in whose mouth I may place it, and I may be able to mount it and ride safely on it, and proceed wherever I desire.' Then they will say they wish to take the bridle with them and return it on the third day. You will give it to them. And when you have done so, they will mount their horses and withdraw without delay. When they have gone, leave the circle, without erasing it, and withdraw from that place.

Return there on the evening of the third day and you will find the same spirits offering the bridle to you, assuring you that your request has been

carried out. When you have taken the bridle, say, ‘I conjure you by the God of gods that you will be unable to depart from here without my leave.’ Then they will reply that they will remain there as long as you wish. Then shake the bridle, and at once a black horse will come. Place the bridle on him, and ride. Then dismount and remove the bridle, and at once the horse will depart.

When the horse has left, say, ‘I conjure you [spirits] by all the aforesaid things, and by all those things that have power against you, that you should swear always to compel that horse to come to me.’ They will swear and promise to do so at once. When they have sworn, tell them to withdraw in safety. [36] When they have gone, leave the circle and erase it totally, and take the bridle with you.

And when you wish the horse to come, say, shaking the bridle, ‘Lutrayth, Feremim, Oliroomim’, and the horse will come at once. Then place the bridle in its mouth and ride. You should ride a bit back toward its haunches, [37] which will be gentler, and you should do this each time. And when you want it to gallop, spur it on or lash it, and it will fly like an arrow, but you will not be able to fall off, so do not fear. And when you wish to dismount, it will never depart until you have removed the bridle from its mouth, whereupon it will disappear at once.

We have made such bridles very thin, so we can carry them in a small place, and they can never break or wear out because of the consecration.

One should note that if the circle given above is inscribed on horsehide with the blood of a horse and with the tooth of a white horse, and then is shown to horses, they will die at once. And if you carry it with you, written in this manner, no horse can come near you. And Socrates speaks of the power of this circle in his book of magic.

The figure shown is a single circular band, with a square inscribed, and a circle inside the square. Short bars extend outward from the middle of each side of the square and touch the inner side of the circular band. Names of the cardinal directions flank each of these bars. ‘The place of the master’ is marked in the center of the circle. The band contains the names Lantrayth, Feremni and Oliromim, [38] plus astronomical and other signs.

Four points about this experiment call especially for comment. First, as in other illusionist experiments, but not typically in other ones, the spirits conjured come in the form of courtly figures, in this case knights, which reinforces the aura of courtly romance intended to characterize these texts. Second, the means

for control over the horse is a bridle, which should not be surprising, since that is the usual purpose of a bridle, except that in this case the instrument of control is used in unconventional ways and becomes more an effective symbol of the magician's power than a practical implement. Third, the circle which serves to gain control over a demon in the form of a horse can also, differently employed, be used to threaten an actual horse; while these illusionist experiments may not be overtly concerned with establishment of power relations (as are the psychological experiments to be examined in the next chapter), they do entail the exercise of power, sometimes over a human agent such as the emperor, and in this case (as in the tale from the Rawlinson manuscript) over an animal. Fourth, the term used for 'shake' or 'shake violently', *squassare*, may possibly suggest that this material derives from an Italian source. That verb passed over into modern Italian, and may be more expected in Latin texts from Italy than in those from elsewhere.

The three other experiments for obtaining a horse are much simpler. In one (no. 14) the master looks toward the eastern sky, kneeling and with folded hands as if he were in prison, and with firm hope of obtaining his will he says a 'prayer' seven times to the 'most high and benign king of the east', adjuring him to send an 'airy spirit' on which he can ride to a specified place. A horse comes, and the master conjures it to carry him to that place without danger or disturbance. When he arrives at his destination he thanks the king of the east for bestowing this favour, and offers to serve him forever and obey his commands, 'and may his name be praised forever'. Another experiment (no. 17) is exceptional in that it does not begin with a conjuration, but with merely the inscription of magic names. The master writes six of these on the door of a vacant house, at twilight, 'in the Hebrew manner', then he withdraws for a while. When he returns he finds a horse ready. He conjures it to carry him without harm or trouble to a specified place. He may then mount it confidently, for it cannot harm him. When he arrives at his destination he dismounts and takes the horse's bridle. Having finished his business, he shakes the bridle vigorously and repeats the conjuration to summon the horse. In the third of these simple experiments (no. 43) the master again writes a series of names on the door of a vacant house, at dusk, with bat's blood, then withdraws for a brief time. When he returns he finds a horse awaiting him. After he has ridden the animal, he dismounts, removes the bridle, and hides it underground. When he wishes to return, he retrieves the bridle and shakes it, whereupon the horse returns at once. He then repeats the conjuration, plus the words 'kostolya, elogo,

yetas’, and off he rides.

Other experiments for illusory means of transportation

In addition to these four experiments, the handbook provides two similar ones, both complex, for conjuring a magical ship (no. 8) and a flying throne (no. 15). The ship will sail quickly over the seas, wherever one wants, with whomever one wishes. The master first fasts on a Monday, then goes out under a waxing moon to a remote place with the rib of a dead man or woman. Having sharpened a point on the rib, he uses it to trace a circle with a horizontal band across the centre and a vertical band across the top semicircle (forming an inverted version of the T–O pattern commonly found in medieval world maps). Superimposed on this design is a crescent shape, possibly representing a ship, with two small circles below it. The place of the master and his companions is marked at the bottom of the crescent, and ‘East’ is marked toward the bottom. This circle is the ‘insignia’ of the spirits to be invoked. The master enters the circle at the designated spot and fumigates it with the marrow of a dead man. He will hear voices in the air. Holding the rib in his right hand, he conjures eight spirits to come without delay. He then sees eight sailors, who will announce in reverential tone that they have been sent to fulfil his command. Before the ship may be employed, the spirits must take an oath to fulfil the master’s wishes. Then he commands them to transport the circle and those within it to a specified place. They do so, and it will seem as if the company is sailing on the high seas. In a brief time, they arrive at their destination. When he has arrived at his destination he can command the spirits to return him quickly to the point of departure, and they will do so. Then he gives them permission to leave. When they have done so, he destroys the circle and buries the rib. He can make the spirits swear that they will repeat their service upon demand: whenever he wishes to sail again, the master makes a circle with iron, wood, his finger, or anything else, and tells his companions to enter at the specified place without fear, then he invokes the eight spirits by virtue of the oath they have already taken, ordering them once again to transport him where he wishes to go, and eight sailors will appear and transport him, within an hour, in a ship; when he wants to return, they will take him back. In one key respect this experiment differs from others for means of transportation: the transport comes with the spirits’ appearance, not at a later stage after they have sent a spirit specifically delegated for the purpose. But as in other experiments involving transportation, the third stage is a return to the

master’s original location, and then there are measures for repeating the experiment.

The greater part of the elaborate and fanciful experiment to obtain a flying throne (no. 15) is a ritual for summoning the throne itself; spirits themselves do not appear overtly. The text plunges directly into the instructions, with no introduction. The master must go to a high and secret place when the weather is serene, with no wind. He says various prayers (the Ave Maria, part of Psalm 50, the Lesser Doxology, etc.), then makes a circle, into which he places three jars with him, and he casts into one jar ashes and flour, into another fire and salt, into the third water and chalk. He sits in the middle of the circle and calls the king of the clouds to send three guides (or spirits with the rank of duke, *duces*) to carry him without harm or danger to the place he wants to go. A small cloud appears, and from the three jars he hears voices calling, ‘Rise up! Rise up! Rise up!’ After thrice saying a conjuration, the master sees a throne in the midst of the cloud. He ascends it and conjures the three guides to carry him without delay, without harm or danger to body or soul. The later part of the text is much concerned with defence against adversaries during the flight. If the rider perceives in flight that someone is trying to harm him by causing the throne to descend toward the south, he conjures the spirit Baltim, who comes and brings a storm upon the adversary. If the harm comes from other directions, other spirits are conjured in defence. If storms, serpents, birds or other terrifying things appear above the master on his way, he conjures a certain king to remove these terrors. Perhaps the most extraordinary feature of this experiment is the sense of peril, which comes not from the potential treachery of the spirits conjured, nor from the danger of breaking the charm (perhaps by making the sign of the cross) and plunging from a great height, but rather from unspecified adversaries, presumably spirits inimical to those invoked. Whether the aiding or the opposing spirits qualify as ‘spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places’ (Eph. 6:12) remains unclear; the writer might claim that the spirits on both sides are neutral, or capable of both good and evil, help and harm.

Experiments for invisibility

The theme of magical invisibility by means of a ring, a cape or some other object is, of course, ancient. The ring of Gyges is one of the best known manifestations because it provides the basis for a classic thought experiment regarding the virtue of a person whose invisibility allows him to act with impunity. [39] Probably the most commonly recommended means for becoming invisible in medieval works on magic was to carry an opal on oneself, so that its brilliance would blind all potential viewers – a method that is supposed to have worked for Constantius Africanus. [40]

The Munich handbook contains one complex experiment and two simple ones to make the magician invisible. The complex one (no. 11) provides a cloak of invisibility:

> I shall treat also of the art of invisibility, unknown in these days to nearly all.
>
> When you wish to become invisible and insensible to all beings, both rational and otherwise, first, under a waxing moon on a Wednesday, in the first hour of the day, having remained chaste for three days beforehand, and with cut hair and beard, and dressed in white, in a secret place outside of town, under a clear sky, on level ground, trace a circle such as appears here, with a magnificent sword, writing these names and everything shown along with them.
>
> When this is done, place the sword toward the west, on [the name] Firiel. And while you have it placed there, have a vessel in which there is fire with frankincense (*thus*), myrrh and other incense (*olibano*), and with the smoke from these go about the circle, suffumigating it, begining and ending with [the name] Firiel. When you have done this, take blessed water and sprinkle yourself and the circle, saying, *Asperges me, Domine, ysopo* … [Ps. 50:9 Vulg.]. When you have done this, kneel facing the east, and in a strong voice say, 'I, so-and-so, conjure you, O Fyriel, Mememil, Berith, [and] Taraor, powerful, magnificent, illustrious spirits, in whom I place all my trust, by the one, inseparable and undivided Trinity … that all four of you should come here with utmost humility, bound, constrained, and sworn to carry out my command, whatever I ask of you. Come without delay …'
>
> When you have said this invocation four times – once toward Firiel, once toward Melemil and toward Berith and Tarator – four spirits will at once be

present in the circle, saying to you, ‘Tell us what you wish, and we will obey you completely.’ You will say to them, ‘I wish a cloak of invisibility, which should be thin and incorruptible, so that when I wear it no one can see me or sense my presence.’ When you have said this, one will withdraw, and within an hour will bring forth a cloak, which you asked them to bring you. They will reply that they cannot give it to you until you first give them your white garment; you will give it to them, and when you have do so they will give you the cloak. One of them will at once put on the garment given to them; you likewise should at once put on the cloak. When you put it on, you will say to the spirits, ‘Go in peace’, and at once they will withdraw. And when they depart, you should leave the circle, carrying the sword.

On the third day, return there with the cloak, and you will find your garment, which you will take. Be sure to remember; if on the third day you do not return, or you do not take the garment left there, on the fourth day you will find nothing, but in seven days you will die. Having taken it on the third day, you will burn it in the same place. And know that when you burn it you will hear great lamenting and complaining. And when you burn it, sprinkle the ashes in the air, saying, ‘I conjure you, Firiel, Melemil, Berith, [and] Taraor, by your virtue and power, and by all things having power against you, to have no virtue or power to harm me by this cloak, but may Jesus Christ protect and defend me …’ When you have said this, take blessed water and sprinkle the cloak, saying, ‘I conjure you, cloak, by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by this water, that whenever I put you on, no one may sense my presence or see me….’

The figure required here is a plain circle, with the positions east, south, and west labelled, a sword lying toward the east (with its point near the centre), the position of the master inscribed near the center, and the names Firiel toward the west, Melemil to the south, Berith to the east, and Taraor to the north, along with two characters. One of the most striking features of the experiment is the suggestion that when the master burns the returned garment he will hear lamentation and complaint, as if the garment, like the book Antoninus of Florence is said to have burned, was infested with malign spirits, contained within it in such a way that they were subject to the will of the person who disposed of the physical object.

The two simple experiments in this category are in different ways exceptional: the first (no. 21) because the techniques are without parallel in this

manual, and the second (no. 45) because it not only entails a sacrificial offering to the demons but explicitly states that these spirits are worthy of sacrifice. The first of these experiments (which again has no introduction) requires the practitioner to eviscerate a black cat born in March, cut out its heart and eyes, and insert a heliotrope seed in place of each eye and two such seeds in the mouth, while saying a conjuration for invisibility. Then he buries the body in a closed garden, and waters it for fifteen days with human blood mixed with water, whereupon a plant will grow. He determines which of the plant's seeds bears the power to make him invisible by testing each seed: repeating a series of names, he takes a mirror and puts the newly grown seeds into his mouth, one by one, beneath his tongue, and when he finds the seed that causes invisibility he vanishes from the mirror. [41] In the second experiment (no. 45) the master takes a white dove and a sheet of virgin parchment and on a Saturday night goes to a stream by a crossroads. He sacrifices the dove and says, 'O you to whom sacrifice is due, aid in fulfilling my will'; he repeats this formula while facing in each of the cardinal directions. Then he inscribes a figure (a complex sign, with mainly horizontal elements and elaborations) with the dove's blood. Before sunrise he returns, and he finds another sheet with a coin enclosed; when he binds this to his hair he becomes invisible. He must be sure to leave the dove and the parchment behind, presumably as sacrifices to the spirit. The text does not say how to undo the invisibility, but presumably it suffices to remove the seed from one's mouth (taking care meanwhile not to swallow) or the sheet from one's hair.

Power over life and death

As we have seen, the term ‘ necromancy’ was used interchangeably in medieval parlance with various forms of ‘nigromancy’, which could be taken to mean ‘black magic’, or more literally ‘black divination’. One possible reason for the conflation of these terms and concepts was the widespread assumption that when one engaged in necromancy in the original sense, conjuring the spirits of the deceased, the spirits which in fact appeared were demons in the forms of the dead. Most famously, the shade of Samuel conjured by the witch of Endor (I Samuel 28) was taken to have been a demon in the guise of Samuel. [42] While ‘necromancy’ was most often used in later medieval parlance for the conjuring of demons, necromancy in its original sense was not unknown in the magic of the era. The Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, for example, gives procedures for raising the shades of the dead. [43] The Munich handbook comes closest in an experiment (no. 10) by which the necromancer can make a living person appear dead or a dead person appear alive:

> When you wish to infuse a spirit into a dead person, so that he appears alive as he was previously, this is the procedure to follow. First have a ring made of gold. Around the outside these names should be carved: Brimer, Suburith, Tranauit; on the inside, these names: Lyroth, Beryen, Damayn. When the names have been carved, on a Sunday before sunrise, go to running water and place the ring in it, and let it remain there for five days.
>
> On the sixth day, take it out and take it to a tomb, and place it inside, so that it remains there on Friday and Saturday. On Sunday, before sunrise, go outside of town under a clear sky, in a remote and secret place, and make a circle with a sword, and on it write with the sword the names and figures that appear here.
>
> When this has been inscribed, enter into it [the circle] as is designated, and place the sword beneath your knees, and, facing south, recite this conjuration: ‘I conjure you, all the demons inscribed on this ring’ – which you should have in your hand – ‘by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by almighty God, maker of heaven and earth … that all of you, constrained and bound to my will and my power, should proceed hither in benign form, so that I will not fear, and should consecrate this ring in such a way that it may possess this power, namely that whenever I place it on the finger of a dead

person, one of you will enter him, and he will appear alive as before, in the same likeness and form …'

When you have said this once, six spirits will at once appear at the circle, requesting the ring, which you will give them. When you have given it, they will depart, and you likewise should leave the circle, taking the sword with you, and not destroying the circle.

On the sixth day, return with the sword, and say, facing south, 'I conjure you, O Brimer, Suburith, [etc.] … that you should come to me now without delay, bearing the consecrated ring, so that when I place it on the finger or in the hand of a living person he will fall to the ground as if dead, and when I take it away he will return to his former state, and when I place it on a dead person, as aforesaid, a spirit will enter him and he will appear alive as before …'

When you have said all this four times, first toward the south, and likewise toward the west, then toward the north and toward the east, you will see toward the east someone coming on horseback, who, when he arrives at the circle, will say, 'So-and-so' – naming the names written above – 'send you this consecrated ring, but they say they cannot come to you because it is not fitting; you will experience [or test] the power of the ring, and if it does not have the power that you requested, they say they are prepared to come to you whenever you wish.' You will take the ring, saying to him, 'Thanks to you and to them.' When you have said this, he will at once withdraw, [44] and you too shall depart from the circle, destroying it completely.

Keep this ring with you, wrapped in a sheet of white cloth. When you wish to cause someone to appear dead, so that he will seem to everyone devoid of life, place this ring on his finger, and he will appear to be a corpse; and when you remove it, he will return to his former state. And when you wish a corpse to appear animated, place the ring as aforesaid, or bind it to a hand or foot, and within an hour it will arise in the form to which it is previously accustomed, and will speak before all with a living voice, and will be able to display this quality for six days, for each of these [spirits] will remain in it for a day. And if you wish it to be as previously before the assigned terminus, remove the ring. And in this manner you can revive a dead person.

This most worthy experiment is to be kept hidden, because it holds great power.

The circle given above has many powers, of which I shall mention three known to me. If you draw it on a Friday with the feather of a hoopoe and with

> its blood on a freshly prepared sheet of parchment, and touch a person with it, you will be loved by that person above all others forever. And if you place that circle, written as aforesaid, on the head of a sick person without his knowledge, if he is to die he will say that he can by no means recover, and if he is to recover he will see that he is altogether freed. And if you carry this circle, written in like manner, on your person, no dog will be able to bark at you. And I have experienced these effects; I do not mention those I have not experienced.

The figure shown for this experiment is a double circular band with a pentagram inscribed. The names carved on the ring are repeated, along with astrological signs, within the two bands. The position of the master is indicated in the centre of the pentagram, and the cardinal directions are marked outside the bands.

The reference to the *monumentum*, the white shroud, and Sunday morning before dawn all make it clear that this resuscitation is intended as a replication or perhaps a parody of Christ's Resurrection. Yet pretending to resurrect the dead was one specialty associated traditionally with Antichrist. Indeed, the question whether Antichrist could genuinely revive the dead was much discussed in medieval theology. Honorius of Regensburg in his *Elucidarium* had his disciple ask whether Antichrist will truly raise the dead, to which the master replies:

> By no means; rather, the Devil by his bewitchments [*maleficiis*] will enter someone's body and carry it about and speak in it, so that it will appear as if living, as it is said, 'In all signs and lying wonders' [II Thess. 2:9]. [45]

Hildegard of Bingen agreed that Antichrist's miracle is an illusion, and insisted that 'he is allowed to do this only occasionally, for a very short time and no longer, lest his presumption bring God's glory into scorn'. [46] The directions in *The Play of Antichrist* say that the person resuscitated is to be a man lying in a coffin and feigning death in battle; [47] here we have pretence of death rather than of resurrection, but the miracle remains an illusion, just as Christian theology from Patristic sources onward saw magic as inherently a delusion.

These experiments in the Munich handbook make no effort at all to dispel or counteract this viewpoint, but rather presuppose it, and indeed revel in it. But there is no sense here that the magician is trying to use his deception to seduce followers. His tricks are meant fundamentally as entertainment, chiefly for himself, perhaps, but potentially for others as well – and certainly for the reader who, in the privacy of his chamber, fantasizes about these wonders much as one

might share in the fantasies of romance and related literature.

In commenting on the allegations pressed at the Council of Pisa against Benedict XIII, Margaret Harvey remarks: ‘The charges … were almost certainly a tissue of nonsense…. The folklore [in them] is itself interesting however, and so are the circumstances in which it could be delivered solemnly as fact to auditors at a general council by a powerful group including doctors of law and even a cardinal.’ [48] One might add to this that it is not altogether anachronistic to see the notion of necromancy as nonsense. At its most playful, it was a deliberate violation of sense, a fantasy of illusion, perhaps intended more for imaginative entertainment than for actual use. Yet the boundaries between sense and nonsense are rarely quite stable, and themes that seem to an outsider absolutely nonsensical could be taken in deadly earnest by some observers within the culture. What is perhaps most fascinating about these illusionist experiments is precisely their teasing ambiguity, which perhaps made it possible for writers on witchcraft to believe about witches what they had been conditioned to believe just might be true of the necromancers before them. The playful fantasies of the necromancers, then, became sources for the Boschian nightmares of the witch trials.

Notes

1 Rawlinson MS D 252, fols 75v–76v: *Quia seme*[*l*] *eram egomet in India ab Alexandria infra horam et ibi mulieres videbam michi placentissimas, et statim compleui cum vna desiderium meum, nec ibi erat oportunitas confessorum pro tunc nisi diucius expectassem, et cum ad equum meum reuenissem stetit vbi coniuratus est, et cum apprendissem* [76] *finem freni equus incepit se mouere non permittendo me ponere pedem in scropam, racione mee inmundicie, et ego tenui fortiter frenum et equus leuauit me in aerem per 40 pedes in altum ac tandem videns me misere periturum remisi manum et cecidi et fregi crus meum mirabiliter, et in India iacui per 4 menses, nec amplius vsque fueram sanus equum videbam. Cum autem sanus fueram, confessus eram et egi penitenciam, et parando michi cameram, feceram nouiter fieri sceptrum et gladium et anulum, quia anulus quem polueram virtutem perdidit. Et factis istis instrumentis, et nouiter consecratis, vocaui istos eosdem spiritus, et eundem spiritum ve*[*l*] *equum michi feci apportari* [MS *apportaris*]. *Et factis coniuracionibus eundem coniuraui et ascendebam pacifice, et per vnum mensem continue nisi quando descendebam ad dormiendum et comedendum vel biben-* [76v] *dum semper equitaui 8cies circulando totum orbem. Et in aerem feceram eum me deuehere quousquo ego fere propter inpressiones aeris fueram suffocatus. Sed in circulando orbem plures* [MS *plrures*] *repperi thesauros et mirificos, quos postea noui in virtute docente me vno spirituum, quem postea includebam. Et sic vexaui equ*[*u*]*m meum, qui cum vltimate ab eo descendebam et petente me quare me lesit, respondit quod inde* [sic] *facere non potuit, dixit tamen se tam diu cicius in inferno fore quam per tantum tempus amplius equitare. Et isto modo me rogauit vt amplius eum tam diu non vexarem et ipse michi cum fuero mundus fideliter cum vocauero ministraret. Et sic malo pro malo retribuebam ei.*

2 *De Nigromancia of Roger Bacon*, iv.5, ed. and trans. Michael-Albion Macdonald (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1988), 65–70.

3 H.S.V. Jones, ‘The Squire’s Tale’, in W.F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster, eds, *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales* (New York: Humanities, 1958), 357–76. On the general theme of magical horses see Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books, and Local Legends*, rev. edn (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955–8), B184.1 (magic horse), D1442.1 (magic bridle restrains all horses), D1626.1 (artificial flying horse), F401.3.1 (spirit in form of horse).

4 Kathryn L. Lynch, ‘East meets West in Chaucer’s Squire’s and Franklin’s Tales’, *Speculum*, 70 (1995), 530–51, esp. 539f.

5 *The Quest of the Holy Grail*, trans. P.M. Matarasso (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), 134–61.

6 Fols 49r–50r.

7 Hansen, *Quellen*, 539–44.

8 On illusionist magic in medieval literature see W. Eamon, ‘Technology as magic in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance’, *Janus*, 70 (1983), 171–212; Sydney H. Ball, ‘Luminous gems, mythical and real’, *Scientific Monthly*, 47 (1938), 496–505; Joan Evans, *Magic Jewels of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922); Laura H. Loomis, ‘Secular dramatics in the royal palace, Paris 1378, 1389, and Chaucer’s “tragetoures”’, *Speculum*, 33 (1958), 242–55; Marvin Alpheus Owings, *The Arts in the Middle English Romances* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1952), 138–64 (‘The supernatural’); Helen Cooper, ‘Magic that does not work’, *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s., 7 (1976), 131–46; M. Sherwood, ‘Magic and mechanics in medieval fiction’, *Studies in Philology*, 44 (1947), 567–92; Haldeen Braddy, ‘Cambyuskan’s flying horse and Charles VI’s “cerf volant”’, *Modern Language Review*, 33 (1938), 41–4; W.A. Clouston, *Notes on the Magical Elements in the ‘Squire’s Tale’, and Analogues* (Chaucer Society, ser. 2, vol. 26) (London: Trubner, 1890).

9 Anthony E. Luengo, ‘Magic and illusion in the *Franklin’s Tale*’, *Journal of English and Germanic*

Philology, 77 (1978), 1–16; W. Bryant Bachman, Jr., '"To maken illusion": the philosophy of magic and the magic of philosophy in the *Franklin's Tale*', *Chaucer Review*, 12 (1977), 55–67.

10 Several early Christian writers spoke of magic as deception (*fraus*), delusion (*elusio*) or phantasm – which could mean purely natural sleight of hand within the capacity of any skilled human, but it could also apply to tricks only demons could perform, which would still be illusory in the sense that what appeared to be present would not in fact be. On this theme see Francis C.R. Thee, *Julius Africanus and the Early Christian View of Magic* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1984), esp. 349–52 (Irenaeus), 374–6 (Origen) and 394f. (Hippolytus). For a particularly well done fictional exploration of the motif see Anita Mason, *The Illusionist* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1984).

11 Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i.68, trans. Henry Chadwick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 62–3.

12 It would be pointless to attempt a survey of the theme in other writings, but to take merely one example, see *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the* Ghayat Al-Hakim, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986), 17–18.

13 On this wide-ranging subject see, e.g., Lorne Dwight Conquergood, 'The Anglo-Saxon Boast: Structure and Function' (Northwestern University dissertation, 1977), and Daniel Cliness Boughner, *The Braggart in Renaissance Literature: A Study in Comparative Drama from Aristophanes to Shakespeare* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954).

14 See Joseph Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter, und die Entstehung der großen Hexenverfolgung* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1900; repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1964), 1–36, on the formation of a *Sammelbegriff* or *Kollektivbegriff* of witchcraft.

15 *Summa theologiae*, i.109.1; *Malleus maleficarum*, i.4, trans. Montague Summers (London: Rodker, 1928; repr. London: Pushkin, 1948), 28–31.

16 Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology* (New York: Crown, 1959), 420–21 (with a relevant quotation from Lancashire); Francesco Maria Guazzo, *Compendium maleficarum*, i.12, trans. E.A. Ashwin (Secaucus, NJ: University Books, 1974), p. 37.

17 *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.1.3, p. 105; cf. ii.1.1 and ii.1.4, pp. 97 and 113, in which the sign of the cross is said to have similar effect but outside the context of flight. A warning against the sign of the cross outside the context of flight occurs also in Clm 849, no. 1.

18 W. Braekman, 'Magische experimenten en toverpraktijken uit een middelnederlands handschrift', *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal-en Letterkunde*, 1966, 28–32.

19 See Robbins, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*, 364–7, and Richard Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300–1500* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 41–2 (and sources in the notes).

20 I translate *dapiferos* thus, rather than as 'stewards', to convey somewhat more clearly that these figures actually produce the illusory banquet rather than serving at a conventional feast.

21 This passage seems to mean that one is to draw the sword itself not only to the east but to the other directions while reciting the conjuration, and then again hold the sword toward the east.

22 As I can attest from personal experience, even in the absence of demons and magicians an excited or agitated hoopoe flutters its crest, which otherwise lies back on its head.

23 Oymelor, Symofos, Manoir and Faubair in the outermost band; Demefin, Rodobayl, Tamafin and Abelutabel in the next; Lamair, Tentetos, Leutaber and Rimasor in the next; and Masair, Lotobor, Tatomofon and Sirama in the innermost. (The forms of the names are exceptionally variable: Symofos appears elsewhere in the experiment as Symofor or Simofor, Manoir as Memoyr or Memoir, Rodobayl as Rodobail, Abelutabel as Selutabel or Belutabel, Leutaber as Zeugaber, Sirama as Syrama.)

24 The spell of Pnouthis, PGM I.42–195, in Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in*

Translation, Including the Demotic Spells, 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 6, lines 107–14.

25 On the lore of this bird see John Gotthold Kunstmann, 'The Hoopoe: A Study in European Folklore' (University of Chicago dissertation, 1938); W.R. Dawson, 'The lore of the hoopoe', *Ibis*, ser. 12, 1 (1925), 31–9; Samia Al Azharia Jahn, 'Zur Volkskunde eines Zugvogels: Der Wiedehopf (*Upupa Epops* L.) in Nordeuropa und in den islamischen Ländern Afrikas', *Anthropos*, 76 (1981), 371–92; and R. Lops, 'La huppe: histoire littéraire et légendaire d'un oiseau', in Q. Mok, et al., eds, *Mélanges de linguistique, de littérature et de philologie offerts à J.R. Smeets* (Leiden, 1982), 171–85. For some of these references I am indebted to Baudouin van den Abeele. Albert the Great, *Man and the Beasts: De animalibus (Books 22–26)*, xxiii.112, trans. James J. Scanlan (Binghamton, NY: CEMERS, 1987), 321, reports that smearing hoopoe blood on the temples before sleeping causes nightmares, and that enchanters seek the bird's organs (especially its brain, tongue and heart) for 'their own purposes'. See also Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, 1, pp. 13 (PGM II.1–64), 29 (III.424–66), 129 (VII.411–16), and 210 (PDM xiv.116).

26 Prospero, in Shakespeare's *Tempest*, IV.i.

27 For *experiencia*, although the heading gives *experimenta*.

28 A largely conjectural reading of *qui habet multum ipsos 15 demones pauentare uel spanentare*; the writer seems to have been copying from a source and unable to determine what the verb should be.

29 The MS reads *recedetis*, but the context calls for *redeatis* or the equivalent.

30 This translation simplifies and clarifies a somewhat confused passage.

31 P.M. Matarasso, trans. *The Quest of the Holy Grail* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), 192–94.

32 Lobsang P. Lhalungpa, trans. *The Life of Milarepa* (Boston and London: Shambhala, 1985), 52.

33 On the relationship in medieval Europe, see my article, 'The holy and the unholy: sainthood, witchcraft, and magic in late medieval Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 24 (1994), 355–85, reprinted in Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl, eds, *Christendom and its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 310–37. The information about modern lamas was related to me by Janet Gyatso.

34 See also Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (FF Communications, 204) (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Akademia Scientiarum Fennica, 1969), 245, nos 3,130 and 3,134, and the *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.1.3.

35 Chs 31–2.

36 Or perhaps 'with a farewell' (*cum salute*).

37 For *de cuius cluni*[*bu*]*s aliquantulum incidere debes*.

38 The nomenclature is again variable: Lantrayth appears also as Lautrayth and Lutrayth, Feremni as Feremin and Feremim, Oliromim as Oliroomim.

39 The classic source is Plato's *Republic*, book 2, 359d–360c. For medieval versions of the tale see Tubach, *Index exemplorum*, 189, no. 2,391. For other examples of using rings for invisibility see Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 1, pp. 136 (VII.628–42) and 109 (V.447–58).

40 Albertus Magnus, *The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus, of the Virtues of Herbs, Stones and Certain Beasts, also A Book of the Marvels of the World*, ed. Michael R. Best and Frank H. Brightman (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 26f. The assumption was that the brilliant luminosity of the stone would blind people to one's presence; on the general subject of luminous stones, see Sydney H. Ball, 'Luminous gems, mythical and real', *Scientific Monthly*, 47 (1938), 496–505; and Joan Evans, *Magic Jewels of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922).

41 Perhaps the closest classical analogue to this procedure is from the Greek magical papyri, which recommend holding a snapdragon under the tongue while sleeping, and reciting specified names on rising

early, to become invisible; see Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 1, p. 135 (PGM VII.619–27, from a collection called the *Diadem of Moses*). See also an Italian experiment for invisibility mentioned by Charles Burnett in *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), IX, pp. 6–7, where five beans are placed in a woman's skull and buried.

42 For a survey of relevant sources see Robbins, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*, 159–60.

43 Fols 66v–67v.

44 The MS uses the second person, but the reference is clearly to the horseman.

45 *Elucidarium*, iii.10, in *Patrologia latina*, 172, col. 1163. See Linus Urban Lucken, *Antichrist and the Prophets of Antichrist in the Chester Cycle* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1940), 63–5. On Antichrist generally see Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (San Francisco: Harper, 1994). See also Nancy Caciola, 'Wraiths, revenants and ritual in medieval culture', Past & Present, 152 (August 1996), 3–45.

46 Hildegard of Bingen, *Scivias*, xi.27, trans. Mother Columba Hart and Jane Bishop (New York: Paulist, 1990), 503.

47 *The Play of Antichrist*, trans. John Wright (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1967), 89f.

48 Margaret Harvey, 'Papal witchcraft: the charges against Benedict XIII', in Derek Baker, ed., *Sanctity and Secularity: The Church and the World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973), 109.

4

Love, Favour and Madness: Psychological Experiments

When we speak of one individual as ‘charming’ or ‘fascinating’ another, we still use the traditional language of magic to suggest the power that personalities can exert over each other. We know that the human mind is subject to subtle and often threatening or frightening influence; it comes as no surprise that practitioners of magic have claimed to make such influence into a kind of science available for their employment. Nor is it surprising if at times magic intended to bend the minds and wills of other persons has its desired effect, since this form of magic more than any other lends itself to the power of suggestion. [1] Outside the context of clerical necromancy, magic of this sort occurs in trials such as that of Matteuccia di Francesco at Todi in 1428. Among the many charges against Matteuccia was this: … in the month of December of 1427 a certain woman of that territory went to Matteuccia and, after confessing that she loved a certain man, said that she would like to spread her hatred so that her man would abandon his wife and, loving only herself, do everything she wanted. Matteuccia told the woman to wash her hands and feet facing backwards and with her knees bent and when she had done so to take the water and throw it where the man and woman were going to pass, with the spirit, intent and belief that this would generate hatred between them. The woman did this and reported to Matteuccia that the water had generated hatred between the man and the woman as she had intended, so that they could not meet, but instead hated each other. [2]

The alienation of affection in this case is more than usually complicated: the same ritual simultaneously disrupted the married couple’s relationship and bound the husband’s affections, causing him to love the client so intensely that he complied with her every wish. In other cases Matteuccia prescribed such water rituals as a means for regaining affection and for transferring disease, presumably on the assumption that the fluidity of water made it a fitting symbol

and medium for emotional instability, but also perhaps implying that the sort of water one might expect to find in a medieval city could plausibly be viewed as a means for contamination and contagion.

Psychological magic in the Munich handbook

The Munich manuscript contains seven experiments that might be termed psychological, because they are intended to influence people's minds or wills: to cause madness or hatred, to gain favour with a potentate, to constrain the will of others, or to arouse the love of a woman. Five general features characterize these experiments. First, they typically involve elaborate preparation and ceremonies which may require more than one day. Second, the purposes and forms (other than the conjurations) have much in common with those of astral magic. Third, the basic techniques are those of ' sympathetic' or 'imitative' magic, whose meaning is explicated by accompanying incantations; magic circles either are not used or are simple and relatively unimportant, and conjurations are less significant and elaborate here than in other forms of necromancy. Fourth, the procedures and the expected results are typically more violent than in other experiments, amounting in the erotic experiments to a kind of rape. Fifth, with rare exceptions, the magician works strictly by himself, in secret, without companions (unless one includes the women he sets out to seduce, in erotic forms of this magic); whereas the secrecy in illusionist experiments adds to the sense of excitement and adventure, the point here is more simply to evade detection in circumstances that would be extremely damaging.

The preparation and ritual is sometimes protracted over several days (nos 2, 4, 5), or at least involves multiple operations performed on a single occasion (nos 3, 12, 13, 35). One is tempted to speculate that such magic can best take effect if its victims are aware that it is being used and if they are liable to the power of suggestion, and that the more elaborate the procedures, the greater the chance that the intended victims will learn the fate that is to befall them. Indeed, in one of these experiments (no. 2) the master is instructed to go to the victim and warn him in advance of his fate. John Gager suggests in a similar context that magicians may have been 'less than totally discreet about their business, perhaps intentionally so, and let it be known that a "fix" had been put on so-and-so'. [3] Such deliberate indiscretion would be especially appropriate for magic that depended entirely on psychological effect.

The purposes served by these psychological experiments are among the most

common purposes found in the astral magic translated into Latin from Arabic sources such as *Picatrix* and Thabit ibn Qurra's *De imaginibus*. [4] Thabit's treatise is devoted to experiments for such goals as destroying a city or region, becoming ruler of a place, securing the favour of a king, and arousing friendship or enmity between two persons. The magician is in every case expected to use images, not so much as aids to sympathetic magic, but as channels of astrological power; the astrological conditions for use of these images are thus of paramount importance. The psychological experiments in the Munich handbook are generally much longer and more fully developed than the materials in these Arabic sources. What they add are chiefly conjurations and operations of sympathetic magic.

These rituals consistently entail sympathetic procedures: they rely on the basic principle of sympathetic magic, *sicut hic, ita illic*. More often than not the master is supposed to inflict some kind of violence upon the victim's image, so that a corresponding violence will occur to the actual victim. In other words, ritual rape is a means for accomplishing physical rape. A representative object may be consumed or destroyed: a candle melted (no. 2); stones beaten together, buried, heated and crushed (no. 5); an image pierced with needles (no. 12); a bone placed in fire (nos 13 and 35). Elsewhere the representative object is used for an imitative operation symbolizing submission: one metal image is placed in a position of subordination to another (no. 4). The specifically demonic or necromantic element in these experiments is typically an appendage to this sympathetic magic, and the demons generally play a less prominent role than in illusionist or divinatory experiments. Other features of necromancy, while present, are also relegated to a position of secondary significance. The conjurations used in these experiments tend to be relatively simple. Instead of conjurations, incantations explicating the significance of the sympathetic ritual ('Just as … so too …') occupy a central position. Even the magic circles called for in these experiments are comparatively simple: indeed, in three cases there are no circles at all (nos 4, 5, 35), and in four others there is either a simple circle (nos 2, 3, 12) or a simple shield-figure substituting for a circle (no. 13).

Experiments to inflict harm

Later medieval books of magic are seldom shy about giving straightforwardly harmful formulas. A fifteenth-century *Liber de angelis, annulis, karecteribus et ymaginibus planetarum (Book of angels, rings, characters, and images of the planets)* in the Cambridge University Library contains an experiment called the *Vindicta Troie (Vengeance of Troy)*, which can be used to arouse hatred or to cause bodily harm or even death. The procedure calls for making an image on the day and in the hour of Saturn, in the name of the person to be harmed. The image must be made of wax, preferably from candles used at a funeral. It should be made as ugly as possible; the face should be contorted, and there should be hands in place of feet and vice versa. The victim's name should be inscribed on the forehead of the image, the name of the planet Saturn on its breast, and the seals or characters of Saturn between its shoulders. The operator should call upon the spirits of Saturn to descend from on high and afflict the named victim. The image should be fumigated with various substances, including human bones and hair, then wrapped in a funeral cloth and buried in some unclean place, face downward. If the magician wishes to harm any particular member of the victim's body, there are instructions for binding the corresponding member on the image with a funeral cloth and piercing the image with a needle; to kill the victim, the magician should insert the needle into the spine, from the head down to the heart. To cure the victim afterward (unless, presumably, the experiment has succeeded in killing him), one must unbury the image, remove the needle and anoint the wounds that are left, rub out the inscriptions, and wash the image in a fountain. The *Liber de angelis* also prescribes a technique for arousing discord: the operator makes one image of Saturn and another of Mars (which counted as 'unfortunate' planets), one holding a lance and the other a sword, and buries them positioned over against each other. [5]

If one were to judge from the trial records, one might suppose that necromancy was used chiefly to bring personal harm and death to enemies. Thus, Guichard of Troyes was charged in the early fourteenth century with hiring a witch and a friar to kill the queen of France by image magic and invocation of demons, [6] and in 1441 Eleanor Cobham was accused of employing a witch and two scholars learned in astrology and necromancy, in part to kill the king of England, [7] to cite only two examples. Yet of all the experiments in the Munich manual, only two (nos 2 and 5), are designed specifically and

exclusively to cause harm, and the damage is specifically psychological; the manuscript contains no experiments for killing enemies or inflicting physical harm on them. Even these two experiments designed to bring harm provide countermagic for the master to use if he wishes to undo his own mischief (as does the *Liber de angelis*).

Let us look first at an experiment designed to bring enmity between two friends (no. 5): When you wish to sow hatred and mortal enmity between two men or women, or a man and a woman, you must take two shiny round rocks from a river. [8] On one you must carve the name of one person, with the names Cartutay, Momabel, Sobil and Geteritacon. On the other [you must carve] the name of the other person and the names Puzanil, Pimaton, Folfitoy, and Mansator. These names are highly antipathetic to each other. When they are carved, you must bury one under the threshold of the one in whose name it was made, if you can, and if you cannot, bury them beneath the threshold of any inhabited house, and the other likewise under the threshold of the other, as has been said, or under some house, as is written above. [9] And let them remain there seven days and seven nights.

> Then remove them before sunrise, take them to a secret place, and cast them into a fire, saying, 'I conjure you most inimical spirits, by the glory of the everlasting God, to sow and arouse as much hatred between so-and-so and so-and-so, whose names are carved here on these stones, as there is between you.' When you have said this three times, take the stones from the fire, saying, 'When their fury is enkindled against us, perhaps the waters had swallowed them up' [Ps. 123:3f. Vulg.]. Then cast [*proiciamus*] them into very cold water and let them stay there under a clear sky for three days and nights. On the fourth day take them and fumigate them with sulphur, saying, 'I conjure all you hateful and malignant, invidious and discordant demons … to arouse at once between so-and-so and so-and-so as much hatred as there was between Cain and Abel. Arouse them and inflame them so much that one cannot stand to see the other, and one will afflict the other with immeasurable hatred, as a rebel. [10] May all love, affection, fraternity and concord be removed from them; let them be turned to enmity and utter hatred.' When you have said this three times, with constant fumigation, store them [the stones] away.
>
> The next night, beat the rocks together and strike one against the other, saying, 'I do not smash these stones, rather I smash so-and-so and so-and-so,

whose names are written here, so that one will at once afflict the other and they will torment each other from now on with unconditional hatred.'

And do this three times, each night and day, for several days. And immediately you will see or hear that they have become enemies and hate each other bitterly, so that neither can abide to see the other.

If you wish to separate them altogether, causing one to flee the other, proceed as follows. Arise before sunrise on a Sunday, under a waning moon, especially when it is in combustion, and proceed in the direction of the sunrise. [11] When you have done this, take two stones that you have brought with you there, and rub them together vigorously, pounding one against the other, saying, 'I do not smash these rocks, etc.' When you have said this three times, bury whichever of them you wish. Then withdraw and go toward the west, and make a ditch there and bury the other in that place, saying, 'As I have separated these stones, thus may so-and-so separate himself from so-and-so, and may they be as distant as these stones.' When it has been buried, withdraw. And you will see them estranged, each separated from the other.

This experiment must be kept secret, for it possesses ineffable power, and no remedy is to be found before they have been estranged and hate each other bitterly.

But if you wish to restore them to their initial friendship, unbury the stones and place them in a furnace, and when they are well cooked smash them to little bits, and paste them together with water, and let [the newly formed mass] dry. When it is dried, cast it into the water of a river, saying, 'Let all enmity be taken away that was between so-and-so and so-and-so, and let them return to their former affection, by the mercy of the gracious God, who does not regard the misdeeds of sinners. Amen.' And you may be sure that on account of this they will be joined together at once, and all anger will be taken away, and they will enjoy their initial concord.

Not only is the imitative action with stones at the heart of this experiment, even the conjuration involves an extension of the principle of imitative magic: the enmity produced by the magic is already manifested in the 'hateful and malignant, invidious and discordant demons' whose services are invoked, and the archetypal enmity between Cain and Abel serves as a paradigm for that intended by the magician. Apart from the verbal formulas, the magic is simple to the point of seeming primitive: the symbolic objects are not carved in the forms of the individuals represented, but are mere rocks, and the abuse to which they

are subject is fairly simple exposure to the inimical elements of earth, fire and water. One might wonder why the sympathetic reversal provided in this experiment does not have the effect of utterly destroying the victims. The stones have all along symbolized the victims, and the crushing should have dire effects on them if the logic of sympathetic magic is consistently maintained. Obviously, however, this is not how the writer of the manual viewed matters. From his perspective the operations evidently took effect not simply *ex opere operato* but in accordance with the intentions of the operator as expressed in the accompanying words.

Elsewhere the procedures for separation magic were more imaginative but still essentially imitative. Riccola di Puccio of Pisa was executed at Perugia in 1347, in part for using magic to bring disaffection between a husband and wife; she recited charms and conjurations over an egg from a black hen, calling upon 'Mosectus, Barbectus and Belsabuct, the prince of demons', as well as other demons of various ranks, then he cut the egg in half and gave one part to a female cat and the other to a male dog, saying, 'In the name of the aforesaid demons may the love between [the two] be sundered as this egg is divided between the dog and the cat, and let there be such affection between them as between this dog and this cat.' [12]

The other experiment in this category in the Munich handbook (no. 2) is intended to inflict dementia. The practitioner goes to his victim and openly recites a conjuration commanding the malign spirit Mirael to enter and afflict his brain. Then he makes a pen with wood from the victim's door, and he inscribes a brief conjuration and a magic circle – a single band with the names of Mirael and the victim in the centre, and the names of ten demons within the band – on a piece of linen, and conjures the demons thrice. A set of sympathetic operations follows. The master goes to the victim's house, urinates 'in the manner of a camel', [13] and buries the cloth; while doing so he says, 'I bury you, so-and-so, in the name of the demons written round about you, so that these demons may always be around him, and all your power may be buried.' He goes home and makes a candle, inscribed as was the circle. He lights the candle, saying, 'Just as this candle, made for the destruction of N., burns and is consumed, so may all the power and knowledge he possesses be turned to madness …' He then extinguishes the candle, saying, 'Just as this candle is extinguished, so may all the power in N. be utterly consumed.' When he has repeated the procedure over seven days, the victim will become demented, and all who see him will marvel, though he himself will not recognize his condition and will assume that others

are mad. If he wishes to restore the victim's sanity, the master goes to his house and enjoins the demons to depart, thus counteracting the effects of his triple conjuration. Then he further nullifies the magic by removing the inscribed cloth and casts it into a fire, saying, 'Just as this fire consumes this cloth, so may all this craft (*ars*) done by me against N. be wholly undone,' then he casts the ashes into a flowing stream. [14] While the countermagic is itself sympathetic, it is not (in the same way as with no. 5) strictly a reversal of the original sympathetic magic involving the burning and extinguishing of a candle.

There are recipes for madness in *Picatrix*, which involve not imitative magic but potions (made from the body parts of a cat, a hoopoe, a bat, a toad and other creatures) to be taken in food or drink, or a fume to be inhaled, whereupon the victim will be bedevilled (*demoniabitur*), losing his senses and memory, and not even knowing where he is. [15] The Munich handbook is perhaps remarkable for its thoroughgoing avoidance of such potions. It rarely combines the techniques of demonic with those of natural magic, and avoids giving recipes for potions whose magical virtue would normally be seen as inherent and natural, but does use imitative rituals, more readily seen as signs and signals to demons.

The burial of some symbolic object is a recurrent theme in these psychological experiments, far more than in other types. Parallels can easily be cited in astral magic, for example in one section of *Picatrix*, which prescribes burying astrological images to attain friendship or love, to secure the fondness and obedience of a ruler's subjects or a lord's servant, to separate two friends, to cause a person to fall under the wrath of a king, to bring love between men and women – but also to destroy an enemy or a city or house, to prevent the construction of a building, to release a captive, to put a person to flight, to get rid of scorpions, to increase the fertility of the fields. [16] The psychological experiments of the Munich handbook which prescribe burial of some object may perhaps be borrowed from astral magic and elaborated with conjurations and other embellishments. Burial ensures secrecy, fixes the object's location, and perhaps implies an appeal to demons or other chthonic powers. It makes the most obvious sense when a particular location is to be affected: like dragons hidden beneath the foundations of a building and causing its disruption, a buried image can work insidiously on the place where it lies. When the magic is psychological, the point is presumably to affect the victim's mind by establishing a kind of magical force field within his or her environment. One might even speak of this is as environmental magic, designed to afflict individuals indirectly by planting sinister forces in or near the places they

frequent.

An experiment for gaining favour

Magical techniques for ensuring favour in the eyes of a dignitary, or for prevailing over one's adversaries in a court of law, are common in the literature of medieval magic, although they rarely if ever become subject matter for prosecution. They presuppose a magician connected to court circles or perhaps to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, or else a magician serving a client with political ambitions. In short, the context for use of such magic is precisely the sort that Edward Peters envisages: a courtly world rife with ambitions and ensuing tensions because of the possibilities for upward mobility and the threat of precipitous downward mobility. [17] The magic recommended for such purposes is often fairly simple. One fifteenth-century compilation prescribes writing out the SATOR-AREPO square on virgin parchment with the blood of a white dove, then carrying it on one's person or in one's hand, to ensure favour in the sight of all. The same collection says that various herbs, collected before sunrise in the sign of Virgo, will prevent people from speaking evil against the bearer. [18] Another compilation recommends writing out certain characters and carrying them in one's left hand as a way of obtaining favours from any person. [19]

From one point of view any attempt to manipulate another person's mind or will is a hostile act. There are none the less significant differences from one experiment to another in the apparent attitude of the master and in the expected attitude of the victim: in the experiments we have examined above, the master is overtly hostile to the victims and expects them to undergo experiences that will be unpleasant for them; in the next experiments the master displays no overt hostility and anticipates that the people affected will become favourably disposed toward him, without feeling harmed or afflicted, and if anyone feels aggrieved it will presumably be either a rival claimant to favour or the victim at a later stage, when he realizes his will has been manipulated.

The Munich handbook provides one rather elaborate experiment designed to gain favour with any manner of dignitary (no. 4): … I wish for you to read a well tested art for obtaining dignity and honour, status, and the supreme and undying love of a king, prelate, lord or, in general, any man you wish.

> First, you should have two soft rocks, which you should rub together so that their surfaces are entirely flush. When you have done this, you should carve in one the image of him [whose favour] you wish, beginning from the

head and proceeding to the feet, making first the front and then the back side, and carving a crown on the head if it is a king, and so forth according to his dignity. When this is carved, you will carve on the [other] stone your own form, as best you can, beginning with the head, as before, first the front and then the back. When you have done this, inscribe his name on the forehead of the first [image], in the manner of a seal, and your name on yours. When you have done this, in the first hour of Sunday under a waxing moon take silver or tin and melt it over a fire. When it is melted, cast it in his form, saying, 'I, so-and-so, wishing to obtain favour and be revered by him, and honoured and feared forever, form [this] image, made and carved in his name, by virtue of which he should love me without measure forever.'

When you have done this, you should have an iron stylus, and on his forehead carve the name 'Dyacom'; on his chest, the three names 'Pumeon', 'Terminas', and 'Peripaos'; and on [his] shoulders the six names 'Midam', 'Fabni', 'Gebel', 'Darail', 'Vmeloth' and 'Thereoth'; and on his stomach the name 'Byreoth'. When you have inscribed these things, you should have a clean linen cloth, and wrap the image in it, then store it away carefully.

On Thursday, at the first hour of the day, kindle a fire and similarly melt the tin and cast it in your form, saying, 'I, so-and-so, form my own image according to my likeness, by which I may rule forever over so-and-so and be loved and feared by him for all eternity.' When you have made this, wrap it likewise in another linen cloth.

Note that the image of him whose grace you wish to obtain should be the length of one *semis* [20] when it is carved in the stone, and the proportions of the stone should be such that your image may be larger than his by a third. And you should place a sceptre on your image as well.

When you have done these things carefully, as instructed, on the following Friday at the first hour you should fumigate his image with these aromatics – cinnamon, long pepper and the herb agrimony – saying, 'I, so-and-so, exorcize you, image formed in the name of so-and-so, by the inseparable, unique, and undivided Trinity, and by all the thrones, dominations, and powers, and principalities, and [by the virtue] of all creatures, that by your power I may obtain the favour and love of so-and-so, in whose name it is made.'

Having said this three times, continue as follows: 'O Dyacon, Pumeon, Termines, Peripaos, Midain, Fabin, Gebel, Dorayl, Vmeloth, Tereoth and Bireoth, most benevolent spirits who sow concord, with the greatest

vehemence I, so-and-so, pray you, I supplicate you, [and] I beg you, by the only Son of God, who by the shedding of his blood raised the dead human race, that by this image made in the name of so-and-so you may bind him to me in such a manner that he will revere me above all mortals, never wavering from agreement with me, but always obeying my commands. May he take pains to please me, by our same Lord Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns unto ages of ages. Amen.'

When you have said this prayer, take your hold your image in your right hand, and the other in your left, and join his image to yours, saying three times, 'He has subjected the nations to us, and the peoples under our feet' [Ps. 46:4 Vulg.]. Then take a small iron chain and bind it to the neck of his image, placing the other end in the right hand of your image. Then, when it is firmly bound, say, 'Just as you, O image formed in the name of so-and-so, are subjected and bound to my image, thus may so-and-so be bound to me utterly for all eternity.' Then take both hands of his image in your hands and bend them behind his back, saying, 'By this image I bind the hands of so-and-so, that his hands may never have any power against me.' Bend the head of his image to the ground, saying, 'As this image, made in the name of so-and-so, stands before me with bended neck, thus may so-and-so never waver from my will, but follow me at all times and always serve me and love me and revere me for ever above all others, and strive to praise me.'

When you have done this, with constant fumigation, take your image and place the other at its back, so that its face touches the shoulders of your image, and while holding them thus, say, 'As this image, made and fashioned in the name of so-and-so, stands in the greatest subjection to this image made in my name, thus may so-and-so be subjected to me, as long as these images are preserved.' Then wrap them up, as has been said, in a clean linen cloth. When they have been wrapped, place them in some kind of vessel and carry them secretly through the city and before his presence in his dwelling, if you can. And you should do this for an entire day. In the evening you should bury the images in such a place and far enough down that they will [not] be discovered, and you will see wonders. But if you cannot go before him or into his dwelling, bury [them], as has been said, wherever you will, and you will be loved by him above all things.

For Parmen[i]des used this experiment to obtain favour from the king of the Persians.

This experiment requires two conjurations: one addressed to the image of the dignitary in question, which is thrice ‘exorcized’ that it may secure honour from the person represented; the other a ‘prayer’ addressed to eleven spirits distinguished for their benevolence and their skill at inspiring concord. But the heart of the experiment is a series of five imitative rituals involving both images: first binding the two figures together, second binding the dignitary’s image to the magician’s own with a small iron chain, third binding the hands of the dignitary’s image behind its back, fourth bowing the head of the dignitary’s image to the ground, and fifth placing the two figures together, with the dignitary’s face touching the shoulders of his own image as a sign of subjection.

The sympathetic operations here are complex but suggest a sort of play, almost like a child’s playful use of a toy. Like many experiments in the manual, this one comes with a historical testimonial: ‘Parmenides’, we are told, used this procedure to gain favour with the king of the Persians. Testimonials of this kind are of course window-dressing, comparable to a herbal master’s fanciful claim that one remedy was used by Plato himself. [21] The concluding promise that the magician ‘will see wonders’ is again a common formula, [22] which blurs any distinction between the magical and the wondrous or marvellous.

Erotic magic: background

If certain of these experiments can be seen as ‘friendly’ and others as hostile, the experiments for love represent a curious mixture. The imitative procedures involve violence: the image or other object that magically represents the desired woman is burned or pierced. The immediate effect on the victim is likewise violent: she is afflicted with obsessive passion, and has no rest until she yields to the master’s desires. Ultimately, however, the woman does submit and is made to feel more than mere friendship. The conception of love that is here assumed may owe something at least indirectly to the tradition of courtly literature, and in particular to its Ovidian sense that love is a disease or an affliction. One Netherlandish compilation gives detailed instructions for ‘the best and surest experiment in the world to secure friendship or love between a man and a woman’, and says that in Latin such love is called ‘*amor hereos*’, and is burning and indissoluble. [23]

The subject of erotic magic is too extensive to cover fully here, [24] but at least eight key points should be made by way of overview. First, magic may be used to persuade or coerce another person to consent to sex (sex-inducing magic), to

intensify the sexual experience of already willing partners (sex-enhancing magic), or to induce a lasting amorous relationship (love-magic). Second, the most common technique for love-magic was administration of potions, as can be seen from penitential prohibitions and secular legislation as well as literary sources. [25] Certain objects or substances borne on one's person were also thought to have aphrodisiac qualities, such as the stone allectory and the herb henbane. [26] Third, while various herbs were used as aphrodisiacs (St John's wort, valerian, vervain), [27] there seems to have been a preference for animal parts or human substances (such as semen) either literally or symbolically associated with sex and procreation. [28] Fourth, in trials for erotic magic it was usually women who were charged with alienating men's affections through magical means, but the surviving formulas for sex-inducing magic typically envisage the use of this magic by men to entice unwilling women. [29] Fifth, in both the trials and the manuscript prescriptions, love-magic is most commonly intended to restore the lost affections of a partner. [30] Indeed, certain women accused of witchcraft seem to have been specialists in such restoration of affection. [31] Sixth, in astral magic with erotic intent, the magical virtues whose potency seemed most relevant were, obviously enough, those of Venus. Thus, a stone, metal plate or image might be made on the day of Venus (Friday), at the hour of Venus, and bearing the sign of Venus for use in such magic; one might even be advised to say a 'prayer' to the spirit associated with that planet. [32] Seventh, the power of the sacred might be employed in erotic magic, in ways that would presumably seem blasphemous to authorities: a slip of parchment with a psalm on it might be left where a prospective lover would walk, or a woman who kissed her husband while holding a consecrated host in her mouth might gain his affection. [33] A prayer addressed to God might lead into a conjuration to compel a husband, or a litany adapted to form a coercive spell. [34] Eighth, erotic magic figures prominently in medieval literature – in the romances especially, herbal love potions frequently play a prominent role – but the significance of this magic is often ambiguous. For example, in Thomas of Britain's version of *Tristan* the love potion seems to function as a symbol of the love that Tristan and Iseult have already begun to feel, rather than as in any simple sense the cause of that love. [35]

The techniques for erotic magic mentioned so far were natural rather than demonic, but sexual submission could also be won by necromancy. Oldradus da Ponte explained in the early fourteenth century that invoking demons to tempt women is mortally sinful but is not heresy, because temptation is proper to the nature of demons and their use for this service thus implies no false belief. [36]

Formulas for such magic do survive. An experiment for love in the *Liber de angelis* requires going to a crossroads or a gallows, entering a circle traced on the ground, sacrificing a dove, tearing its flesh apart, dispersing the remains in the air, and invoking a spirit of dubious character named Zagam (‘O Zagam, accept this dove which I sacrifice to you!’). One must repeat this operation a second and a third time; after the last of these sacrifices one adds, ‘I ask you, O Zagam, and all your companions, to bring forth [the desired woman]’, who should be burning with love for the magician and should comply with his will. The next morning he must return to the circle and pick up whatever ‘figure’ he finds there; he need only show this to the desired woman and she will love him without bounds – as has been proven, the text adds. [37] In a trial from the later fifteenth century at Tournai, where a priest was charged with attempting to seduce a girl by drawing her image in charcoal on a tile, baptizing the figure, sprinkling it with holy water, making a second figure out of wax and baptizing it as well, then conjuring demons according to a book of magic. [38]

The case from Tournai is highly reminiscent of the Netherlandish experiment mentioned earlier as a technique for effecting *amor hereos*, [39] combining prayer and conjuration with image magic: You must do it on a Friday in the first hour after midnight, under a waxing moon. Take a tile fresh out of the oven and draw a picture, while saying, ‘I, N., draw this picture in the form and likeness of the person N., daughter or son of so-and-so.’ Make the picture with a steel pin [*punte*]. Begin with the head and proceed downward, saying, ‘May Venus help.’ … When [the image] is done, make fire with any wood you will. Stand up, take the image in your hand, turn south, and read this [Latin] prayer: ‘Almighty, eternal God, who in the beginning created heaven and earth, the sea and all that is in them; who created Adam and Eve according to your likeness and placed them in the earthly paradise … I invoke you in supplication, most gracious Father; in your great power hear me as I ask and knock [cf. Mt 7:7], that I may be able to constrain those malign spirits, the angels who have power to bind a man to a woman, and vice versa, a woman to a man, and especially those four spirits who hold dominion and power over those spirits in the four parts of the globe, to wit, Astaroth, Aroch, Godras, [and] Vynicon.’ Say this prayer three [more] times [to north, east, and west]. Then say the following [Latin] conjuration, turning first to the south: “O Astaroth, prince of the south, I conjure you with all the [spirits] under your command, who have power to compel the love of a woman or a man, by Alpha and Omega, the first and last, Abios, Abics, Rubeus, Rubet, Caste, Hely, Messias, Sabaoth, Adonay, Sother, Emanuel; I

conjure you, N.; by the Annunciation of our Lord Jesus Christ; by his Passion; by his Resurrection … by the head of your prince and King Lucifer … and by all the infernal powers by whom you can be conjured and entreated, that you should withdraw from your proper place in the south and [carry out my command].' [40]

The case at Tournai is in at least one respect typical necromantic practice : the alleged perpetrator was a cleric. Similarly, the use of Latin formulas in the Dutch experiment suggests that the intended user was clerical, even if he was not in major orders. Analogous cases are easily adduced. When the Carmelite friar Peter Recordi was tried by an inquisitorial tribunal at Carcassonne in 1329, he confessed that over five years he had performed terrible conjurations over wax images, smeared and sprinkled with blood from a toad and from his own nostrils, all as sacrifice to the Devil. He then placed the images beneath thresholds of women he wanted to seduce, and thus he had his way with three women and had been on the verge of success with others. He had believed that these images held power to coerce women, or, if the victims were refractory, to bring down upon them affliction at the hands of demons. On one occasion he pierced one of the images in its stomach, and blood oozed out. [41] Again, an English chaplain named William Netherstreet was charged in 1377 with using 'conjurations and incantations' to bring a married woman to his chamber at night so he could 'take her violently in adultery'. He protested his own innocence. [42]

In other cases it was non-clerical males who were charged with using specifically demonic magic for love. At Carcassonne in 1410, Geraud Cassendi, a notary, was tried by an inquisitor for invoking demons as a means for debauching women and girls. He was said to have placed on his shirt gold scrapings from an image of the Virgin. Then he invoked demons with conjurations read from a book, but when a swarm of evil spirits actually appeared, a witness to the rite was so terror-struck that he hurled a shoe at them and bade them withdraw, which they did. On another occasion as well Cassendi is supposed to have gone into the woods and invoked demons. [43] And when the inquisitor Piero di ser Lippo wrote to the government of Siena in 1382 about magicians in the village of Rugomagno, he reported that one Agnolo di Corso had worshipped and invoked Satan and Beelzebub, and had invoked demons to kill people and to compel men to go to women. [44]

To be sure, there are cases in which women, too, were said to use specifically demonic magic for erotic effect. In 1324 Alice Kyteler was charged with using 'the intestines and innards of cocks sacrificed … to demons', with other

materials, partly for erotic magic, [45] and a woman tried by Heinrich Kramer at Innsbruck in 1485 was said to have instructed others in the art of invoking the devil to arouse love or illness. [46] In these cases it seems less clear that the demonic element was explicit, that the women were in fact making use of necromantic techniques, and that their magic was marked with the same degree of ritual complexity as can be seen in the clerical practice of erotic necromancy. What is perhaps more likely is that women's natural magic was being interpreted as if it were similar to the demonic magic more often practiced by clerics and at times by other men.

An erotic experiment in the Munich handbook

Our necromantic manual in Clm 849 includes four experiments said to induce love – one may assume sexual compliance is the main intent – and at least three of them are complex rituals analogous to the erotic necromancy seen in the judicial records. The first of these experiments (no. 3) is in one sense the least violent: rather than inflicting physical harm on the woman's image, the master afflicts it with a kind of spiritual harm by inscribing on it the names of demons which are to afflict her. In any case, the writer has no scruples at all about bringing severe psychological pressure to bear in his magical seduction: When you wish to have the love of whatever woman you wish, whether she is near or far, whether noble or common, on whatever day or night you wish, whether for the furtherance of friendship or to its hindrance, first you must have a totally white dove and a parchment made from a female dog that is in heat, from whom it is most easily to be had [*de qua est habere leuissimum*]. And you should know that this kind of parchment is most powerful for gaining the love of a woman. You should also have a quill from an eagle. In a secret place, take the dove and with your teeth bite into it near the heart, [47] so that the heart comes out, and with the eagle's quill write on the parchment with the [dove's] blood the name of her whom you wish, and draw the image of a naked woman as best you can, saying, 'I draw so-and-so, N., daughter of so-and-so, whom I wish to have, in the name of these six hot spirits, namely Tubal, Satan, Reuces, Cupido, Afalion, Duliatus, that she may love me above all others living in this world.'

> When you have done this, write on the forehead her name and the name 'Tubal', saying, 'You are so-and-so, daughter of so-and-so, from now on disposed to my will, and you are Tubal [inscribed] on her forehead. I

command you to remain, binding the senses of her head and causing her to love me alone.'

Then write on her right arm ' Satan', and on her left arm 'Reuces'. When these [names] have been written, say, 'As you, Satan, and you, Reuces, are inscribed on this image made in the name of so-and-so, may you so afflict her arms without delay, so that she can do nothing but desire to embrace me.'

When you have this, write your own name near the heart of the image, saying, 'As I am on the heart of this image, may so-and-so, N., thus have me in her heart day and night.'

When you have done this, write on the genitals of the image the name 'Cupid', saying, 'As you, Cupid, are on the genitals of this image, may you thus remain always on the genitals of so-and-so, arousing her so that she despises all men of this world and desires me alone, and may the fire of love for me torment and inflame her.'

When you have done this, write on the right leg 'Afalion', and on the left leg 'Duliatus'. When these have been written, say, 'As you Afalion, and you Duliatus, are inscribed on this image, may you sit on the legs of so-and-so, afflicting her legs with such vehement love for me that she has no wish or desire to go anywhere but here.'

When you have said this, take the image with both hands, kneel, and say, 'I have drawn the heart and mind of so-and-so with this image, and with powerful invocation I arouse her to love, desire, and yearn for me, and to have me in mind all night in her sleep, through Our Lord Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns and commands forever.'

When you have said this, take myrrh and saffron, kindle a fire, and fumigate the image, saying this conjuration: 'I conjure all you demons inscribed on this image, by your lords to whom you are bound in obedience – Sobedon, Badalam and Berith – that you should inflame so-and-so, whose image is designed in this name, to love of me, so that day and night she may think of me, [and] may hope for me, until she fulfils my will with ardor [*cum affectu*]. And as you are inscribed and fixed on this image, may you thus dwell in her until I do with her whatever I wish.'

When you have said this conjuration three times, and made the fumigation, take a hair from the tail of a horse and suspend the parchment with this hair, so that it moves in the air, and let it hang. On that day, or the next, or some other, or whenever you can, go to that woman, and without doubt she will be very glad to see you, and will say she cannot live without you. And this will

occur immediately, and she will do your heart's desire, and will love you above all things for all eternity.

If you keep this image formed in her name, in which there is such power, you will obtain from it, more wondrous yet, this sign: before you have seen her, as soon as this image is made, when you proceed toward her she will be so enamoured [*filocapta*] of you that when she sees you, you will not withdraw from her company deprived, but rather you will attain satisfaction in whatever you desire. If you cannot approach her, whether from fear or because of distance or any other obstacle, you can still have her brought by the aforesaid demons, who are so effective that if you were in the east, within an hour they could carry her without danger from the west, and likewise they could return her, without exposure.

The image having been made as has been said, and suspended on a particular day, at any hour of the day, you may blow on it so that it moves with your breath, and likewise on the second and third day. On the night of the third day, or on the day itself, either alone or with three faithful companions, take the image and hang it around your neck with the [horse's] hair, and have it lie on your chest. And take a sword and make with it a circle on the ground. When you have made the circle, stand inside it and summon your companions (if you have any), who should do nothing but stand in the circle and watch the spectacle [*ludum*] – but it is better if you do not have them. Take an iron stylus and trace [a band with names in it] round the circle, as is shown here, preserving constant silence.

The circle is shown as a single band containing the names Rator, Lampoy, Despan, Brunlo, Dronoth, Maloqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascifin, Nartim and Lodoni. The centre of the circle is labelled 'Place of the Master'.

When you have done so, say this conjuration: 'I conjure you demons inscribed in this circle, to whom is given the power and capacity to seduce and bind in the love of men, by the virtue and power of the divine majesty; and by the thrones and dominations and powers and principalities of Him who spoke and they were made; and by those who ceaselessly cry with one voice, "Holy, holy, holy …"; and by these names which cause you terror, namely Rator, Lampoy, [etc.]; and by this ring that is here; and by the innumerable powers belonging to you and your superiors, that wherever you are, you should rise up from your places without delay and go to so-and-so,

and immediately, without deception lead her here, and take her back when I wish. And let no one be aware of this or take account of it.'

When you have said this three times, gazing at a ring, you will hear a voice, saying, 'Behold, we are here!' Immediately you will see six handsome and gentle young men, saying to you with one voice, 'We are here, ready and willing to obey your command. Tell us what you wish, and at once we will do it.' You should say, 'Go to so-and-so and bring her to me without delay.' When you have said this, they will at once depart, and within an hour they will bring her without harm.

You should know that none of these [six] can enter the circle, but they will ring her to it and she will stretch out her hand to you, and you will draw her in. She will be a bit astonished, but quite willing to remain with you. I should inform you that it is better to make the circle as large as possible, because in it you can make a circle [*sic*], and in it you can stretch out more effectively. For if anything of yours [any part of your body?] should go outside the circle, it would be bad for you. When the woman has come, all the spirits will vanish.

You can keep the woman in the circle as long as you please. For when the woman has entered the circle, you should say to the spirits, 'Let one of you go to the place from which you brought so-and-so and remain there in [her] form while I have her here.' When you have said this, they will all depart in silence. On the day or night and month and year when it pleases you to have her return home, say, 'O you spirits, who brought so-and-so here, take her and carry her to her home. And whenever I wish her back, be compliant in carrying her here. Go, therefore, by the wondrous powers which you ineffably exercise.' When you have said this three times, five spirits will come and carry her off in your sight.

When she enters the circle and you greet her, remember to touch her with the image that you have around your neck, and on this account she will love you for all eternity and will not care to see anyone but you. While you are with the woman, the image which you should keep around your neck will always be invisible to the woman herself, and when she leaves you should take it from your neck and lay it aside carefully in some sort of vessel. When it is thus laid aside, erase the entire circle, and you may depart safely. And when you wish to have [her] again come to you, do as is said above.

And note that this experiment is most effective and is not at all dangerous. By this experiment alone, Solomon had whatever women he wished. And let

this suffice on the subject of obtaining women. And it should be carried out with the greatest solemnity.

This experiment contains conjurations, but they play a less prominent role than the auxiliary magical techniques, especially the use of an image for sympathetic magic. The sympathetic identification of the image with the woman portrayed is accomplished solely through assignation of her name: the writer does not emphasize that the image should be in any way realistic (e.g., that it should have some specific feature in common with the prototype), nor does he advise that the image be baptized in the woman's name. The suspension of the image to be blown about freely in the air is reminiscent of a type of aeromancy catalogued by Johannes Hartlieb, involving the suspension of a wax image or *atzman*, left to blow in the wind so that the person in whose name it is prepared will thereby be afflicted. [48] The blood of a dove must be used here – and a dove must be offered as sacrifice in the amatory experiment from the *Liber de angelis* given above – presumably because the dove is traditionally associated with Venus. [49]

The experiment contains an elaborate contingency procedure, used to fetch the woman, which differs markedly from the original sympathetic magic. The woman's image is still used: the experimenter wears it around his neck, although it is invisible to her; as she leaves the circle he touches her with it, and from then on she will love only him; when she departs, he should take it off and keep it safe in a vessel. For immediate purposes at hand, however, the image becomes less significant and the role of the demons becomes proportionally greater. It is the demons who fetch the woman in response to a conjuration, and it is a demon who takes the woman's place and prevents others from noting her absence. When the magician orders one of the spirits to go and take the woman's place and assume her form while she is absent, we have an element of illusionist magic embedded in an experiment designed mainly for psychological effect. Both the problem and the solution are obvious enough that it is not surprising to find parallels in other cultures. Thus, Krishna is said to have used his powers of illusion (*ma-ya-*) to fashion replicas of his female devotees (the *gopi-s*), so that when they went for trysts with him their doubles could lie beside their husbands. [50] The contingency procedure in the Munich experiment differs from the original formula also in its use of a circle, which is simple in form but important in its effects, serving both as a location for the conjuration and as a place for rendezvous with the woman.

The experiment is referred to as a kind of game or spectacle, a *ludus*, and any

companions present are to serve merely as spectators, suggesting that the necromancer's initial ritual may have the character of a performance, contrasting sharply with the privacy of the tryst itself, the sexual games that follow, which not even the spirits may witness. That something more serious than a game is involved is suggested by the reference to the woman as *filocapta*, bound by love, a condition which the *Malleus maleficarum* speaks of as 'the best known and most general form of witchcraft'. [51]

An erotic experiment involving image magic

For the next experiment in this category (no. 12) the manuscript once again proceeds directly to the instructions, without any introductory heading. The master must first obtain hairs from the woman he wishes to seduce, [52] plus other objects. Again he goes out with companions in the initial stage of the ritual itself. In contrast to the elaborate preparations, the heart of the ceremony is relatively simple, involving two sympathetic stages and a single conjuration.

> Take virgin wax, rendered virginal by art [*ceram virgineam, arte virginizatam*], and do this on a Thursday or Sunday, at the hour of Venus or the hour of Jove; and from this wax make an image over burning coals placed in a pot, without smoke. And the master should have some of the hairs of the woman for whom he wishes to act, and three bristles of red hair, and you should have with you a knife with a white handle made for this purpose. [53] And go to the place where a craftsman makes needles, and have the same craftsman make them, from the hour of the Sun until the hour of Saturn. Then the master should take two faithful companions and go to a fruit-bearing tree, and the master should make a circle. And the master should begin this operation, making an image of the woman for whom you perform it, murmuring constantly in your heart, 'Thou, Belial, and thou Astaroth, and thou, Paymon, be my helpers in this undertaking.' Likewise, you should murmur the words, 'I, N., form this image for the love of so-and-so, that it may accomplish that for which it is made. And may thou, Belial, principal prince, be my helper in this undertaking.' Then the master should make the image of this wax, beginning at the hour of Jove, and proceeding until the hour of Saturn. And when the image has thus been made, the master should have nine needles made by an experienced craftsman, who should be bathed and dressed in sparkling clean [*nitidis*] garments when he makes them; he

should make the needles from the hour of the Sun until the hour of Saturn. Then the master should fix the needles in the image, placing one in the head, another in the right shoulder, the third in the left, the fourth where people are accustomed to locate the heart, saying, ‘Just as this needle is fixed in the heart of this image, so may the love of N. be fixed to the love of N., so that she cannot sleep, wake, lie down, sleep, [or] walk until she burns with love of me.’ He should fix the fifth in the navel, the sixth in the thigh, the seventh in the right side, the eighth in the left, the ninth in the anus. When the image has thus been made, you should baptize [*christianizes*] it, giving it the name [of the woman] for whom you perform the operation, immersing it three times and saying, ‘How shall it be called?’, with the response, ‘N.’ And you should say, ‘I baptize thee, N., in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.’ And then place the image in a new and clean cloth, leaving it aside from the hour of the Sun until the hour of Mars. Then make this conjuration under the fruit-bearing tree, with the burning coals; turning toward the east, say, ‘O so-and-so, N., I conjure your head, your hair, your eyes, your ears [etc.]. O N., I conjure your entire substance, that you may not sleep or sit or lie down or perform any work of craft until you have satisfied my libidinous desire. I conjure you by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit … I conjure you and exorcize you and command you, that as the deer yearns for a fountain of water [Ps. 41:2 Vulg.], so you, N., should desire my love. And as the raven desires the cadavers of dead men, so should you desire me. And as this wax melts before the face of the fire, so should N. [melt in] desire for my love, so that she cannot, etc.’

The signs [to be sought in] the woman are these: solitude, dizziness [*inuolucio*] of the head, lamenting, sighing, beating [of the breast], wakefulness, [and] wailing. Then the master or the one who is taking action [viz., for whom it is performed?] should go to her, and if he sees her standing or sitting alone, then the master should continue the conjuration unto the fifth day. And if she is anywhere in the countryside, she will be consumed; [54] but if she is in a town or passing through another city, the master should perform the conjuration until she can come.

And in this all the Spanish, Arabic, Hebrew, Chaldaean, Greek and Latin astrological necromancers [*nigromantici omnes astroloyci*] are in accord. And this experiment was taken [from the book] *On the Secret Arts of the Imaginary Art*, [from the book] *On the Flowers of All Experiments, etc.*

In its general form this experiment bears a resemblance to a procedure well known in antiquity and described in a Greek magical papyrus: to obtain a woman, one makes wax or clay figures, one an armed and threatening man with sword in hand, the other a kneeling woman with hands behind her back. One then writes inscriptions on each member of her body, then pierces each with copper needles, thirteen in all, while saying, ‘I am piercing your brain, N.’, and so forth. Then one inscribes a lead sheet, affixes it with thread knotted 365 times, and places the ensemble beside the tomb of a person who has died a violent or untimely death. One version adds a further spell, which reads in part, ‘Let her be in love with me, N…. Let her not … do anything with another man for pleasure, just with me alone, N., so that she, N., be unable to drink or eat, that she not be contented, not be strong, not have pleace of mind, that she, N., not find sleep without me … and do not allow her, N., to accept for pleasure the attempt of another man, not even that of her own husband, just that of mine, N. Instead, drag her, N., by the hair, by the heart, by her soul, to me, N., at every hour of life, day and night, until she comes to me, N., and may she, N., remain inseparable from me.’ There is also archeological evidence for such procedures; for example, one Egyptian statue of a naked woman, pierced with thirteen needles, was discovered in a clay pot and is now in the Musée du Louvre. [55] This does not mean there are specific connections between texts of late antiquity and the prescriptions of the Munich handbook; rather the Munich compilation supports its conjurations with a variety of techniques, some of which are widely diffused and of considerable antiquity.

Among the many further parallels to this experiment is a fifteenth-century version given in a mixture of Hebrew and Yiddish. The magician is told to make a female image of virgin wax, showing the sexual organs clearly delineated, and resembling the woman to be enchanted. On both the breast and the back he should write ‘N., daughter of N. [father] and N., daughter of N. [mother].’ He must recite the words, ‘May it be Thy will, O Lord, that N. daughter of N. burn with a mighty passion for me.’ Then buries the figure for a time, then washes it in the name of Michael, in that of Gabriel, and in that of Raphael, places it in urine, then dries it off. The image being thus prepared, the magician may use it when he wishes to cause the woman pain, by piercing a needle into whatever part of her body he wishes to afflict, presumably as a way of bending her to his will, very much in keeping with the violent and coercive tendencies generally found in such magic. [56]

It is entirely possible that the piercing with needles was itself meant or taken

to have direct sexual significance, [57] but more fundamentally it was a kind of magical acupuncture intended to cause suffering that could only be alleviated through sexual compliance. The piercing with needles is thus no different in principle from that in image magic intended to work bodily harm or death, although here the affliction could be relieved through submission. It is not that the magician brings about bodily pain that is extrinsically related to the erotic goal and can be cured by compliance, nor is it the case that the magic arouses pleasurable feelings of passion. Rather, the sexual passion aroused by the ritual is itself a kind of suffering for which the woman must obtain relief. The victim of magic cannot sleep, sit down, lie down, or pursue any activity until she relents, because she is compelled to share in the obsessive passion of her pursuer. [58] Her state is almost a parody of the mystic's absorption in the Beloved, of Mechthild of Magdeburg's mystical lovesickness: 'I cannot rest, I burn without respite in Thy flaming love.' [59] But, as Richard of Saint-Victor insisted, such obsession was as debasing in human relations as it was elevating in relations with God; that it should be magically induced by experiments such as those in the Munich handbook is a possibility Richard may never have entertained. [60]

Erotic experiments involving rituals with bones

Two experiments (nos 13 and 35) involve inscribing letters and names on bones and then subjecting the bones to fire. The first is designed primarily to constrain a woman's or man's will, presumably again with erotic intent (the relevant sections are indicated below with [A]), although the experiment may be adapted for constraining a beast [B] or a spirit [C] as well.

> By this experiment a person, woman, man, spirit, [or] beast of any condition is constrained.
>
> These names must be written in this manner on a shoulderblade.
>
> When all this is finished, choose which [variant] you want. If you wish to constrain any spirit, write his name on the shoulderblade between B and E, and in the name which is Bel. If you wish to constrain any man, write his name between L and A. And if you wish to constrain any beast, write its name between A and N, and its colour. For spirits and for men and for women, this is to be done at the same hour in which the shoulderblade has been prepared, and it is necessary at the outset to seek out wood from a white

thorn or wood floating on water, and make fire with it, and collect coals and place them in a new pot, and gradually place the shoulderblade on them, and gradually increase the fire, until the shoulderblade becomes hot.

And then invoke the aforesaid spirits, and say this conjuration: 'Asyel, Castiel, Lamisniel, Rabam, Erlain, [and] Belam, I command you' – [A1] If [the operation is] for a man or a woman whom you wish to arouse to love for you, say, 'that you should at once, etc.', as given below. [B] If [it is] for a spirit, name that spirit whom you wish, that he may come to you openly, humbly, with comely visage, and gentle speech, saying, 'I conjure you, Asyel, etc., that you should make spirit N., who has power over all that I wish to ask of him, come to me openly, humbly, with gentle speech, in the form that I have specified – that is, of a comely soldier – to carry out all that I wish to command him.' [A2] And if you wish to do this for a man or a woman, first make known to him where you can be found, for he [or she] will go mad with fury on not being able to find you. [C] If [it is] for a beast, [say,] 'I conjure the aforesaid spirits that they should constrain this beast' which you wish, that it may be unable to depart from the place in which it is until you wish.

The experiment concludes with the conjuration used to constrain a man or woman: 'Asyel, Castiel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Elam, Belam, I conjure you by the true God …; likewise, I conjure you by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit …, and by this conjuration I command you to seduce the heart and mind of N. to love me, immediately and swiftly and at once and without delay. And just as this shoulderblade grows hot and burns, so may you cause him or her, N., to burn and grow hot with the fire of love for me, and in such a way that he [or she] may not be able to rest until completing my will. In the name which is Bel, etc.'

The figure depicted is in the shape of a shield, representing the shoulderblade, divided into sixteen horizontal bands, with one vertical band down the centre. Horizontal bands bear the names Asyel, Castyel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Olam and Belam. In the vertical band are the letters A-B-E-L-A-N. Across the intersection of the vertical band and the twelfth horizontal band *Leo* is written. To the side is a note: 'Likewise note that this shoulderblade should be from an ass, a hare, a goose or a capon, according to its diverse [uses].'

The second of these experiments is somewhat simpler, and more

unambiguously erotic. The magician compels a woman to passionate love by writing the names of the ‘infernal spirits’ Bel and Ebal on a rib, and in between his own name and that of the woman he wishes to seduce. Then he burns the rib, and when it is hot he should conjure Bel and Ebal not to rest until they cause the woman’s heart to burn, so that she cannot sleep, wake or do anything else until she fulfils his desire. Again, therefore, we find the emphasis on compelling the woman’s compliance through erotic affliction, aroused through means that are straightforwardly violent both on the symbolic plane and in their bodily and psychic effect.

In general, then, these psychological experiments are the most manipulative and abusive materials in the necromancer’s handbook, and they are quite unabashedly so. The formulas give no hint of a guilty conscience, and they show no awareness of the incongruity involved in appealing to the power of the sacred for the ends here sought. With no evident sense of irony, the writer can recommend formulas such as, ‘I conjure you demons inscribed in this circle, to whom is given the power and capacity to seduce and bind in the love of men, by the virtue and power of the divine majesty …’ Even merely to read the illusionist experiments might be entertaining, and the divinatory ones might be perceived as useful means for gaining true knowledge, but the rituals for psychological magic could claim little by way of redeeming social importance, and thus they help to clarify the aversion to magic found in most of late medieval society. Yet these rites are interesting, in large part because of the way they fuse relatively simple and largely perennial conceptions of image magic with the formulas of Latin conjuration or exorcism derived more specifically from clerical culture. Guichard of Troyes and Eleanor Cobham were accused of employing both learned male magicians and popular female ones, but the psychological rites of the Munich handbook represent with particular clarity the mingling of magical traditions and ritual forms.

Notes

1 See Robert Mathiesen, ‘Magic in Slavia Orthodoxa: the written tradition’, in Henry Maguire, ed., *Byzantine Magic* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995), 174–6.

2 Domenico Mammoli, *The Record of the Trial and Condemnation of a Witch, Matteuccia di Francesco, at Todi, 20 March 1428* (Rome: Res Tudertinæ, 1972), trans. (with slight adaptation), pp. 28–40.

3 John G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 21.

4 *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the* Ghayat Al-Hakim, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986), and ‘Thabit ibn Qurra’s *De imaginibus*’, in Francis J. Carmody, *The Astronomical Works of Thabit b. Qurra* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 180–97.

5 Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.xi.45, fols 134v–139; Juris G. Lidaka spoke about this manuscript and gave a transcription of the text at the International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, Michigan, 4 May 1995. The manuscript is associated with ‘Bokenham’, but its connection with Osbern Bokenham or any other individual is unclear.

6 Abel Rigault, *Le procès de Guichard évèque de Troyes, 1308–1313* (Paris, 1896). Cf. Guillaume Mollat, ‘Guichard de Troyes et les révélations de la sorcière de Bourdenay’, *Moyen Age*, 21 (ser. 2, 12) (1908), 310–14; Conrad Eubel, ‘Vom Zaubereiunwesen anfangs des 14. Jahrhunderts (mit urkundlichen Beilagen)’, *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 18 (1897).

7 George Lyman Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929; repr. New York: Russell & Russell, 1956), 81–84.

8 A partly conjectural reading of *duos lapides viuos et recondes* [*rotundos*?] *vnius ponderis, qui debent esse fluminei*.

9 I am reading *limen* for *limes* throughout.

10 For *ymo vno reliquum in innumerabili odio rebellis affligat.*

11 For *et maxime quando est in combustione, et ire versus solis ortum facias.*

12 Ugolino Nicolini, ‘La stregoneria a Perugia e in Umbria nel Medioevo: con i testi di sette processi a Perugia e uno a Bologna’, *Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l’Umbria*, 84 for 1987 (1988), 30–38.

13 T.H. White, trans. and ed., *The Book of Beasts, being a translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), 79–80, says nothing whatever about the camel’s urination, but one is presumably to imagine the man crouching with knees bent outward.

14 Lynn Thorndike described this portion of the MS in his article, ‘Imagination and magic: force of imagination on the human body and of magic on the human mind’, in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, 7 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1964), 353–8.

15 *Picatrix*, 161.

16 *Picatrix*, pp. 16 (friendship, love), 17 (obedience), 18 (destruction), 18–19 (construction), 19 (separation, wrath of king, release, flight), 20 (scorpions), 21 (love, destruction), 22 (fertility).

17 Edward Peters, *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 110–37.

18 Bodleian Library, MS Wood empt. 18, fol. 32r. On the famous SATOR-AREPO square see especially Heinz Hofmann, *Das Satorquadrat: Zur Geschichte und Deutung eines antiken Wortquadrats*

(Bielefelder Papiere zur Linguistik und Literaturwissenschaft, 6) (Bielefeld: Universität Bielefeld, Fakultät für Linguistik und Literaturwissenschaft, 1977) and Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 77–8.

19 Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 219, fol. 186v.

20 Taking *semissi* for *semissis*, genitive of *semis*, a coin.

21 Jerry Stannard, 'Greco-Roman material medica in medieval Germany', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 46 (1972), 467.

22 E.g., British Library, Sloane MS 38, fols 24v (*multa mirabilia que videbis*) and 25v (*in ista operacione videbis mirabilia*); *De Nigromancia of Roger Bacon*, ed. and trans. Michael-Albion Macdonald (Gillette, N.J.: Heptangle, 1988), 81; *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the* Ghayat Al-Hakim, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986), 18–19. See also Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, V. 1, lines 11–12. For an off-colour adaptation of the theme see the text given in Charles Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), IX, p. 7.

23 W. Braekman, *Magische experimenten en toverpraktijken uit een middelnederlands handschrift* (Ghent: Seminarie voor Volkskunde, 1966), 38–40 (also published separately in *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal-en Letterkunde*, 1966, 53–118). On the concept of lovesickness, see Mary Frances Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: The* Viaticum *and its Commentaries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

24 I have discussed the topic in my article, 'Erotic magic in medieval Europe', in Joyce Salisbury, ed., *Sex in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays* (New York: Garland, 1991), 30–55, giving fuller discussion and documentation. Ioan P. Couliano, *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance*, trans. Margaret Cook (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), interprets certain dimensions of the subject. See also Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (FF Communications, 204) (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Akademia Scientiarum Fennica, 1969), 242, nos 3,093 and 3,126. For early examples see, e.g., Marvin Meyer and Richard Smith, eds, *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (1994), 147–69.

25 John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal* Libri poenitentiales *and Selections from Related Documents* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 90; cf. 252, 305; *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Leges*, sect. 2, 2, ed. Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause (Hannover: Hahn, 1897), 44. The most famous literary example is in *The Romance Tristan & Iseult, as Retold by Joseph Bedier*, trans. Hilaire Belloc and Paul Rosenfeld (New York: Thistle Press, 1960) (and many other translations); see Dorothy James Roberts, *The Enchanted Cup* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953). De La Warr Benjamin Easter, 'A Study of the Magic Elements in the *Romans d'aventure* and the *Romans Bretons*' (Johns Hopkins University diss., 1905), 70–73, cites the love potions in *Cligés*, the *Tristan* romances of Thomas and Béroul, *Partonopeus*, and *La Violette*, and an ambiguous potion in *Dolopathos*.

26 Albertus Magnus, *Book of Minerals*, trans. Dorothy Wyckoff (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 73; Michael R. Best and Frank H. Brightman, eds, *The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus of the Virtues of Herbs, Stones and Certain Beasts, also A Book of the Marvels of the World* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 21; Evans, *Magical Jewels*, 197; Joan Evans and Mary S. Serjeantson, eds, *English Mediaeval Lapidaries* (Early English Text Society, orig. ser., 190) (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 59, 68.

27 P.V. Taberner, *Aphrodisiacs: The Science and the Myth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 58; Lynn Thorndike, *The History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Macmillan and Columbia University Press, 1923–58), vol. 2, 555.

28 *Book of Secrets*, ed. Best and Brightman, 81; British Library, Sloane MS 3l32, fols 56r–56v; Wardale, 'A Low German-Latin miscellany', 17; Alan Hull Walton, *Aphrodisiacs: From Legend to*

Prescription: A Study of Aphrodisiacs Throughout the Ages, with sections on Suitable Food, Glandular Extracts, Hormone Stimulation and Rejuvenation (Westport, CI: Associated Booksellers, 1958), 99; McNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, 196, no. 15 and n. 94; Aldo Cerlini, 'Una strega reggiana e il suo processo', *Studi storici*, 15 (1906), 67.

29 See, for example, John M. Riddle, *Marbode of Rennes' (1035–1123) De lapidibus, Considered as a Medical Treatise*, with C.W. King's translation (*Sudhoffs Archiv: Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Beiheft 20) (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977), 69, lines 445–46. Regarding vervain, see Henry Ellis, 'Extracts in prose and verse from and old English medical manuscript, preserved in the Royal Library at Stockholm', *Archaeologia*, 30 (1844), 395f.; W.L. Wardale, 'A Low German-Latin miscellany of the early fourteenth century', *Niederdeutsche Mitteilungen*, 8 (1952), 11; British Library, Sloane MS 3,132, 56r–56v; Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS e Mus. 219, fol. 187v, and Wood empt. MS 18, fol. 33v.

30 *Book of Secrets*, ed. Best and Brightman, 8, 45, 91; Evans, *Magical Jewels*, 226; Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS e Mus. 219, fol. 186v (a series of characters to be placed beneath the threshold of a couple who have quarrelled).

31 Candida Peruzzi, 'Un processo di stregoneria a Todi nel "400"', *Lares: Organo della Società di Etnografia Italiana-Roma*, 21 (1955), fasc. I–II, 9–11; Cerlini, 'Una strega reggiana', 64f.

32 *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the* Ghaāyat Al-Hakīm, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986), 16, 21, 70–72, 113, 115f., 130–32, 156f., 229, 233.

33 Gene A. Brucker, 'Sorcery in early Renaissance Florence', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 10 (1963), 10f.; C. Kayser, 'Gebrauch von Psalmen zur Zauberei', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 42 (1888), 460; Peter Browe, 'Die Eucharistie als Zaubermittel im Mittelalter', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 20 (1930), 134–54. For similar use of holy chrism see Cerlini, 'Una strega reggiana', 67.

34 Jerzy Zathey, 'Modlitwa z XIV wieku o charakterze zaklęcia, majaca zapewnić zonie miłość męża', *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, 34/35 (1984/85), 63–4; Peter Dronke, 'Towards the interpretation of the Leiden love-spell', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 16 (1988), 61–75.

35 Thomas of Britain, *The Romance of Tristram and Ysolt*, ch. 46, trans. Roger Sherman Loomis (New York: Dutton, 1923), 129–35. On the theme see especially Helen Cooper, 'Magic that does not work', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s., 7 (1976), 131–46.

36 Nicolaus Eymericus, *Directorium inquisitorum*, ii.43.8 (Rome: Georgius Ferrarius, 1587); translated in Alan C. Kors and Edward Peters, eds, *Witchcraft in Europe, 1100–1700: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), 84–92.

37 Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.xi.45, fols 137v–138.

38 Paul Fredericq, ed., *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae*, 1 (Ghent and The Hague, 1889–1906), 428f.

39 Braekman, *Magische experimenten*, 38–40.

40 The conjuration breaks off at this point.

41 Lea, *History*, vol. 3, 657–59. Cf. Hansen, *Quellen*, 449; Lea, *History*, vol. 3, 455f.

42 Margaret Aston, *Thomas Arundel: A Study of Church Life in the Reign of Richard II* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 63, 404f.

43 A. Germain, 'Inventaire inédit concernant les Archives de l'Inquisition de Carcassonne', *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de Montpellier*, 4 (1885), 305; reprinted in Hansen, *Quellen*, 454f.

44 Brucker, 'Sorcery', 19f., 23, from G. Sanesi, 'Un episodio d'eresia nel 1383', *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, 3 (1896), 384f.

45 Thomas Wright, ed., *A Contemporary Narrative of the Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler* (Camden Society, 24) (London: Nichols, 1843), 2.

46 Hartmann Ammann, ‘Der Innsbrucker Hexenprocess von 1485’, *Zeitschrift des Ferdinandeums für Tirol und Vorarlberg*, ser. 3, 34 (1890), 29.

47 See the experiment with a hoopoe heart mentioned in Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 142, from British Library, Sloane MS 3,132, fol. 56v.

48 Johann Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste, des Aberglaubens und der Zauberei*, ch. 79, ed. and trans. Falk Eisermann and Eckhard Graf (Ahlerstedt: Param, 1989), 90f. On the term *atzmann* in this context see Leander Petzoldt, *Kleines Lexikon der Dämonen und Elementargeister* (Munich: Beck, 1990), 25–7.

49 For this suggestion I am indebted to John Leland.

50 See Edward C. Dimock, Jr., *The Place of the Hidden Moon: Erotic Mysticism in the Vaisnava – Sahajiya Cult of Bengal*, new edn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 202. I am grateful to Amy Ong for this reference.

51 *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.2.3, trans. Montague Summers (London: Rodker, 1928; repr. London: Pushkin, 1948), 170.

52 The manuscript does not say whether the hair is to be from the woman’s head or from her pudenda. A famous instance of the magic requiring a woman’s pubic hair occurred in the late sixteenth-century Scottish trial of Doctor Fian, who thought he had the hair of a young woman but in fact worked his magic over the hair from a cow, which became passionately attached to him; see James VI/I, *Doemonologie, 1597* [*and*] *Newes from Scotland, Declaring the Damnable Life and Death of Doctor Fian* (Bodley Head Quartos, 9) (London: John Lane; New York: Dutton, 1924).

53 One might have expected a black-handled knife; see Richard P.H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988), 256, and Richard P.H. Greenfield, ‘A contribution to the study of Palaeologan magic’, in Henry Maguire, ed., *Byzantine Magic* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995), 142, n. 83.

54 Or perhaps, rather, ‘if she is anywhere on Earth [*in terra omnino*]’; in either case, I am reading *consumetur* for *consumatur*.

55 PGM IV.296–329, in Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 44–7; also D.G. Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI.: A Greek Love Charm from Egypt (P. Mich. 757)* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1991), and John G. Gager, ed., *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), no. 27, pp. 94–97. For the Egyptian statue see Gager, *Curse Tablets*, p. 98, fig. 13.

56 Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Behrman, 1939; New York: Atheneum, 1970), 125–26. Cf. the love spell of Klaudianos, in Betz, pp. 141–2 (PGM VII.862–918), and the parallels in Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief*, 266–7.

57 Gager, *Curse Tablets*, 81.

58 For one precedent see Meyer and Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*, 159.

59 *The Revelations of Mechthild of Magdeburg (1210–1297), or The Flowing Light of the Godhead*, ii.25, trans. Lucy Menzies (London: Longmans, 1953), 54–8.

60 Richard of Saint-Victor, ‘Of the Four Degrees of Passionate Charity’, in *Selected Writings on Contemplation*, trans. Clare Kirchberger, (New York: Harper, 1957), 213–33.

5

Learning Hidden and Future Things: Divinatory Experiments

A fifteenth-century manuscript from Yorkshire tells of a lord from whom food had been stolen. [1] As it happened, a labourer employed in digging, referred to as ‘a great worker and eater’, was staying in a room in the lord’s house, and when he was hungry he would slip downstairs to where meat was hanging, and would cook and eat it, even during Lent.

> The lord of the house, seeing that his meat was thus cut into, asked his servants about the matter. They all denied guilt and purged themselves with oaths, so he threatened to go to a certain necromantic wizard [*maleficum quendam nigromanticum*] and find out through him about this strange affair. On hearing this, the digger was terribly afraid, and went to the friars and confessed his offence in secret and received sacramental absolution. The lord of the house went as threatened to the necromancer, who anointed the fingernail of a young boy, then with his incantations inquired of him what he saw. [The boy] replied, ‘I see a menial worker with clipped hair.’ [The necromancer] told him, ‘Conjure him, then, to appear to you in the most comely form that he can assume.’ And the boy did so, and then declared, ‘Look at that! I see a really beautiful horse!’ And then he saw a man with the appearance of the aforesaid digger going down stairs and cutting off pieces of meat, with the horse following him. And the cleric [i.e., the necromancer] inquired, ‘What are the man and the horse doing now?’ And the boy replied, ‘Look at that! He is cooking and eating those pieces of meat!’ [The necromancer] asked further, ‘And what is he doing now?’ And the boy said, ‘They are going to the church of the friars, and the horse is waiting outside, and the man is going in and kneeling and speaking with one of the friars, who is putting his hand on his head.’ Again the cleric asked the little boy, ‘What are they doing now?’ [The boy] answered, ‘Both of

them have just vanished from my eyes. I cannot see them any more, and I have no idea where they have gone.' [2]

The manuscript clearly suggests not only that such divination can in principle work, but that it works through the cooperation of demons: it gives the tale the caption, 'How a penitent thief after confession vanished from the eyes of a demon', which is to say that the demon who was providing information through the boy could no longer do so once the thief had been absolved. As in other tales of the later Middle Ages, it is assumed that the demon has a certain power over a soul in a state of sin, and the capacity to know the sins in some detail, but the wiping away of sins through sacramental confession removes them from the sphere of demons' knowledge. [3] The narrator also assumes the reader will expect a necromantic wizard to be a cleric: the fact is mentioned quite incidentally, after the story is well under way, as a fact the reader might be trusted already to have known.

The form of magic here related figures prominently in John of Salisbury's catalogue of divinatory techniques in his *Policraticus*. When John himself was studying Latin grammar as a boy, the priest who taught him made John and a fellow pupil participate in such activities. The priest anointed the boys' fingernails, or used a polished basin, to provide a reflecting surface in which figures might be seen. He then recited incantations, which led the fellow pupil to see 'misty figures', although John himself saw nothing. [4] One entry in Robert Reynys's commonplace book reveals that unfallen angels as well as demons could be invoked by such means. In Reynys's version of the ceremony, the conjurer takes a child between seven and thirteen years of age, places the lad between his legs, winds a red silk thread around his thumb, scrapes his thumbnail clean, and writes on it the letters ' AGLA'. He then says devoutly, 'Lord Jesus Christ, king of glory, send us three angels to tell us the truth and not falsehood in all matters about which we shall inquire.' Three angels will appear in the boy's nail. The boy then repeats a formula addressed to these angels: 'Angels of the Lord, I command you by God the Father almighty, who created you and us out of nothing, and by the virginity of Blessed Mary and Blessed John the Evangelist and of all virgins, and by the virtues of all the holy names of God, to show us the truth and not falsehood in all matters about which we shall inquire.' [5]

The general term for such divination is ‘ scrying’, which is sometimes subdivided into specific forms such as catoptromancy (divination by means of a mirror), crystallomancy (by a crystal), cyclicomancy or lecanomancy (by a cup or basin filled with liquid), hydromancy (by water in a natural body), onychomancy (by an anointed nail); ‘catoptromancy’ is sometimes also used as the generic term. [6] Synodal legislation as early as the fifth century condemned *specularii* who engaged in these practices, and the condemnation was often repeated. The *Fasciculus morum* condemns those *phitonici* and *specularii* who gaze into mirrors, bowls, polished fingernails, and so forth, and claim that marvellous things are thus revealed to them. [7] In 1311 the bishop of Lincoln instructed one of his officials to investigate people who were practising divination by conjuring spirits in their fingernails and in mirrors, as well as in stones and rings. [8] Surely the most famous of these reflecting surfaces is John Dee’s ‘show-stone’, through which Edward Kelly and other mediums communicated with angels. [9] One particularly dramatic notion about the magical properties of mirrors is the legend, most famously associated with Virgil, of a far-seeing mirror by which a ruler could guard his realm. [10] But the notion of perceiving hidden and future realities in a mirror receives its ultimate extension in the Neoplatonic notion of the divine mind itself as a mirror in which particularities can be foreseen, so that it can be said of a saint with the gift of prophecy that ‘in the mirror of divinity everything to be was present to him’. [11]

Johannes Hartlieb tells how a *zaubermaister* stands behind a child and recites secret words into his ear in the practice of hydromancy. In pyromancy as well, he says, the master may set an innocent child in his lap and lift his hand so he can see the fingernails; then he conjures the child and his nail with a long conjuration and recites three secret words into his ear. The master may take oil and soot from a pan and anoint the hand of an innocent girl or boy so that it shines brightly, then he speaks secret words into the child’s ear, thus making a vow and forming a pact. Another form of pyromancy involves engraving many characters and figures around a steel mirror, then whispering secret words into the ear of boy as a prelude to interrogation. Alternatively, the child may be made to gaze at a polished sword – Hartlieb knew one great prince who used an old executioner’s sword for this purpose – or a crystal. When the master is interrogating the boy, he asks if he sees an angel; if so, he asks what colour. If the angel is

red that means he is angry, or if black he is very angry, and they must pray more, light more candles, and offer more incense and other gifts to assuage his anger, until the angel who appears is white. Hartlieb, echoing the much earlier judgement of John of Salisbury, confirms the conventional wisdom when he speaks of such dealings with young children as a form of abuse: 'I was often witness to such proceedings and established that the children by exposure to such words suffered not insignificant harm'. [12]

Writers might differ in their interpretation of these phenomena. Ibn Khaldûn explained the scryers' visions as products of their imaginations: the scryer does not actually see a vision on the reflecting surface, but rather imaginative phantoms are projected outward from the eyes onto a sort of misty veil that forms between the eyes and the object. [13] The related interpretation summarized by Pedro García in the late fifteenth century was perhaps more influential and deserves to be quoted at some length: From what has been said and from the conclusions reached [in the preceding discussion] it is clear that divination of occult things and the wonders of magical art are brought about by the aid of demons. But because the proponents of natural magic attempt to reduce [the works of magic] to purely natural causes, we must inquire whether the divination of hidden affairs and the accomplishment of wondrous works can be done thru the power of nature. Let us first ask about the divination of hidden matters, concerning which some people say and write that a person can know and divine hidden things naturally, through the power of the soul. The first manner [of doing so] is by gazing at luminous bodies and instruments. The principle here is that the *acies* of the human mind in one who gazes on such instruments reflects back upon itself, for the luminosity of the instrument prevents direction or concentration of the mind on exterior things, and repels it, and turns it back upon itself, so that it is forced to gaze upon itself. Thus, according to the philosophy of Plato, if it is purged and cleansed of defilements, which come from the body and cling to the soul, they see as in a clear and clean mirror, and when they inquire about all hidden things, or some portion of them, or some particular hidden thing, it is no surprise that the soul, turned back into itself, should see such hidden things, for according to Plato the human soul is created fully inscribed with the forms of all knowable things, in respect of its intellectual power …

Thus it is, according to the opinion of these magicians, that these

> luminous bodies function, and particularly mirrors. When the soul of the gazer is turned back on itself, it absorbs the attention and fixes the *acies* of the intellect in its inward turning, and the more inwardly it is fixed, the more fully and clearly it turns upon itself and knows and divines hidden things – and the more it is filled within by God, so that the beholding is turned into the soul, which can be so turned in to itself and as it were recollected within itself, [14] that the recollection becomes rapture or a state near to rapture, or ecstasy or a condition near to ecstasy. Thus, those who operate in works of this kind close the eyes of children, and hold their eyes tightly closed after they have seen such revelations, until the soul has returned from this recollection to its original state and is extended in the usual manner throughout the body and its organs – which is to say, until it recovers its powers and the organs from which it appears to have withdrawn, at least somewhat. Otherwise, it is said, there is threat of danger to the body of the child, or perhaps madness. According to the philosophy of the Platonists, this is one manner of saving the divinations of hidden matters through [demonstration] of purely natural causes without any aid of demons, explicit or secret. [15]

García goes on to refute these claims, chiefly by mounting an explicitly Aristotelian refutation of what he takes as standard Platonist psychology; most fundamentally, he denies that the mind is capable of grasping truth by being directed to innate knowledge found within itself. Both Ibn Khaldûn and García's opponents believe divination can be explained in natural terms, but the mechanisms they posit are different. For Ibn Khaldûn (a rationalist intending to deflate the claims of magicians to preternatural knowledge) attention is focused on an outward substance that reflects projections of the mind, while for the adversaries of García (Platonist mages intending to defend their practice against the charge of demonic inspiration) it is directed instead within the mind itself. Neither view sufficed to convince most contemporaries that the mind could so readily be converted into an instrument of divination without demonic aid – but the very attempt to formulate an explanation in natural terms is historically interesting, whether the point is to debunk the supernatural pretensions of the diviners or to defend the validity of the art.

Perhaps most often, those who wrote about these matters did so to condemn them and warn of their danger. This was the point of John of

Salisbury's tale of his own early experience. Nicolas Oresme, too, warned that if young boys stared for long intervals into polished surfaces they might become blind; worse, they might suffer disfigurement of their faces and disturbing changes in their personalities. [16]

Judging from the cases reported in the judicial records and chronicles – and judging also from the experiments contained in the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript – divination of this sort seems to have been used mostly to recover lost or stolen goods. At London in 1311, unspecified offenders were investigated for invoking spirits to appear in fingernails, mirrors, stones, rings, and so forth, to reveal the future or the location of lost objects. [17] When a band of monks and canons wished to recover stolen money near Paris in 1323, their plans involved standing in a circle made from the skin of a cat; within that circle they were to invoke the demon Berith, who would answer their inquiries. [18] In 1419 a chaplain named Richard Walker was arrested by the prior of Winchester and tried for using magical arts, the evidence against him included two books containing conjurations and figures, and he acknowledged that he had attempted to use the experiments in one of his books, but to no avail, so he did not believe in their power. [19] In 1440 the Augustinian canons at Leicester accused their own abbot, William Sadyngstone, of using such arts: when no one confessed to stealing certain funds, he had allegedly recited incantations, applied ointment to the thumbnail of a boy called Maurice, asked this medium what he saw there revealed, and learned that the culprit was one of the canons, Brother Thomas Asty. The other monks reported the incident to the bishop, who condemned the abbot for sorcery. [20] Again at Westminster during the 1450s, and at London repeatedly in the later fifteenth century, victims of theft were said to have solicited the services of alleged necromancers ('negremaunsers' or 'nigromansiers'). [21]

The Devil being notoriously a liar and the father of lies, it is hardly surprising to find much concern with the question whether he could be constrained to tell the truth, even if their keen and subtle minds and long experience gave them command of exceptionally wide knowledge. [22] Peter Brown has spoken of exorcisms as forms of judicial torture, in which the demons, like criminals, were compelled even against their will to confess what they knew. [23] When the divination was intended to identify a thief, the obvious danger – and probably the chief reason for judicial action against the diviners – was that of false accusation. One is not surprised to read in

the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, which is devoted mainly to this kind of magic, that the spirits must be strictly enjoined not to defame any innocent parties. [24] The point is made forcefully in a story from Stephen of Bourbon, who does not hesitate to ascribe a diviner's revelation to demons, but argues how little the spirits can be trusted: While I was a student at Paris, one Christmas Eve when our companions were at Vespers, a certain most noted thief entered our hostel, and, opening the chamber of one of our fellows, carried off many volumes of law-books. The scholar would have studied in his books after the feast; and, finding them not, he hastened to the wizards, of whom many failed him, but one wrought as follows. Adjuring his demons and holding a sword, he made the boy gaze upon the blade; and he, after many things there seen, beheld at last by a succession of many visions how his books were stolen by one of our fellows, his own cousin, whom he thought the most upright of our fellowship; whom the possessor of the books slandered not only among the scholars but also among his friends, accusing him that he had stolen them. Meanwhile the aforesaid thief stole other things and was detected, whereupon he fled to a certain church where he lay in the belfry, and, having been duly examined, confessed all that he had stolen, and where, and what he had done with his thefts. When therefore certain scholars who lodged hard by our hostel had found by his means a mantle which they had lost and he had stolen, then he who had lost his books could scarce rest until he had gone to enquire of this thief; who answered and told him when and where he had taken his books, and the Jew's house where he had pledged them, where also my friend found them. This I have told that ye may clearly mark the falsehood of those demons who showed the vision in the sword-blade in order that they might slander that good man and break the bonds of charity between those kinsfolk, and bring the man who believed in them to eternal perdition, both him and his. [25]

Not surprisingly, the diviners themselves could be subject to prosecution on the ground of false accusation, as when the sum of £40 was stolen from John Haddon of Coventry in the mid-1480s, and he consulted necromancers to find the thieves; they charged one William Lee, a poor man, who had been seen wearing the same garments that the necromancers had determined were worn by the guilty parties. Lee petitioned on his own behalf, pleading that the accusation rested on false and illicit proceedings: Humbly showeth and pitiously complaineth unto your good lordship your daily orator

William Lee of the city of Coventry, that where forty pounds of money was taken and withdrawn from one John Haddon of the said city, draper, as the said John hath reported and said, whereupon the said John, to get knowledge of the takers of the said money, caused certain persons using the crafts of sorcery, witchcrafts and necromancy [*Nygromancy*] to inquire by their crafts of the takers of the said money, and thereupon the said persons using the said unlawful crafts advised and counseled the said John Haddon to take and examine your said orator for withdrawing of the said money, for as much as they perceived that your said orator used and wore such garments and clothing as they determined by their unlawful witchcrafts that the takers of the said money had and used at the time of the taking of the said money. And thereupon the said John Haddon, having no other cause against your said orator nor matter of suspicion, arrested and put in prison your said orator and kept him there by the space of a month and more. And after this the said John, having no other cause nor nothing of untruth could prove against your said orator, suffered him to depart and go at his large. And after this the said John Haddon, intending the further vexation and trouble of your said orator, made a plaint of trespass before the mayor and sheriffs of the said city against your said orator concerning the taking of the said money, supposing that your said orator the Wednesday next before the feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady last past took and bore away the said money. In the which plaint of trespass your said orator is like to be condemned, for as much as your said orator is in poverty and the said John Haddon is of great might and power and great alliance in the said city. Wherefore and for as much as the said cause of trespass and the said wrongful arresting and keeping of your said orator in prison was by means and judgment of the said persons using the said unlawful crafts of necromancy and witchcraft, to whom credence ought not to be given, for that is contrary to the faith of Holy Church. In consideration whereof that it would please your good lordship to grant a certiorare to be directed to the said mayor and sheriffs, *etc.* [26]

Divinatory conjuration could, of course, be used for other purposes as well, such as finding buried treasure. A group of men were tried in Norfolk in 1465 for using necromancy to discover such a trove. Allegedly they invoked and made sacrifice to accursed spirits. When a *spiritus aerialis* appeared, at Bunwell, they promised it the body of a Christian man in

exchange for its leading them to treasure; the spirit revealed in a crystal the location of a hill filled with treasure, whereupon the adventurers baptized a rooster with a Christian name and sacrificed it to the spirit. [27] Thomas Forde was sentenced to the pillory at London in 1418 for having defrauded women by claims of magical power: he had extorted money from one woman, and attempted to gain her hand in marriage, by suggesting he could determine where her late husband had buried a chest containing over £200; he had told another of his victims that he could recover for her the gold cloth that had been stolen from her. [28] Other cases too may have involved a substantial measure of straightforwardly cynical charlatanry, but in these instances it seems all the more apparent. It is magic of this sort that gives rise to jest in the tale of Mary of Nijmeghen, where the Devil boasts: I am beginning to teach people how to find hidden treasure; and only yesterday it cost one of them his life. I told him where there was a treasure hidden and growing mouldy, in a stable, underneath a beam on which the whole weight of the stable was resting. I told him that he would have to dig deep into the ground, and he would find pound upon pound of the hidden treasure. At once he started to dig there, but as soon as he had dug so far that he undermined the beam and the posts supporting it, the beam fell to the ground and crushed this poor idiot under it! [29]

At least in cases for detection of thieves, however, otherwise responsible individuals seem rather often to have placed credence in the claims of the diviners, perhaps because they were desperate, and perhaps because what they really sought was a way of persuading others to support a suspicion they themselves already harboured.

Divinatory experiments in the Munich handbook

The largest number of experiments in Clm 849, nineteen in all, is divinatory. While it is sometimes said that these experiments may be used for any of various purposes, the usual end is detection of a crime or criminal (usually a thief, less often a murderer) and recovery of stolen goods, more rarely to determine the location of hidden treasure. The text of one experiment (no. 25) insists that the procedure must not be used for any base or frivolous purpose, but only for a serious one, because one must not take the name of God in vain.

As for the techniques used in these experiments, the characteristic features in most of them are two. First, the primary magical technique is scrying, combined with conjurations; magic circles either are not used or have little significance. [30] Second, cooperation of a medium, usually a young boy, is vital; it is he alone who actually sees the spirits that are conjured.

Approximately half of these experiments entail the use of a circle or some other figure among the means for conjuring the spirits. The medium typically sees the spirits in a mirror, crystal, vessel, bone, polished thumbnail or fingernail. In most cases the medium must be a virginal boy, who actually sees and communicates with the spirits. [31] Sometimes we are told that he must be younger than twelve, and born of legitimate marriage. [32] Occasionally a girl may be used as well as a boy, [33] but this provision is relatively rare. The use of young and putatively innocent boys in divination must be seen as part of a broader clerical fascination with the ideal of innocent boyhood. In liturgical drama young boys dressed and acted ‘in the manner of virgin women’, at least in part ‘to project the theme of virginity’, as Nicholas Orme has phrased it. [34]

The use of a medium could well be a means for expression of socially shared convictions about the likeliest suspects, but it is not entirely obvious that this mechanism came importantly into play. Because the ritual was private, it could more easily become a tool for the expression of individual prejudice and animosity. Yet the one who saw the visions was neither the client nor the master but instead a young boy, in all likelihood not one with a personal interest in the outcome of the experiment. Apart from the obvious matter of the youth’s sacred non-sexuality, his youth may have been important mainly because it put him at some remove from the preformed judgements of the adult principals and made possible a relatively neutral accusation. It is, of course, also possible that the mere pretence of childish innocence, neutrality and distance from adult biases was more important than any real immunity of this sort.

Experiments involving mirrors

In his account of scrying with a steel mirror, Johannes Hartlieb says, ‘I have seen masters who maintain they can prepare mirrors such that any man or woman can see in them what they will.’ He also says that other reflecting surfaces can be used; there are even priests who will use the very paten that serves at mass to hold the host; they believe (falsely, adds Hartlieb) that only angels and not demons can appear on such a consecrated object. [35] One might suppose that a mirror would make an ideal tool for divination that requires concentration on a reflective surface, because mirrors are designed specifically for reflection. A *modern* mirror, however, might be distinctly inappropriate for this purpose precisely because it reflects too well and too realistically, giving too little scope to imaginative play and the power of suggestion. Perhaps the mirrors used in divinatory experiments were less polished, but at least in some cases the magician is instructed to use a polished mirror. We must assume that the point was not for the child medium who gazed into the mirror to focus closely on his own face but to use the mirror as a means for perceiving more numinous revelations. To be sure, there are cultures in which the spectator’s own face reflected in a mirror becomes a point of reference for visionary encounter; after staring for hours at one’s own reflection one may identify one’s face with that of an ancestor, or one may perceive it as a manifestation of one’s own true, inner or archetypal self. [36] In the Munich manuscript, however, there is no suggestion that the medium’s own realistic image plays any role whatever.

The handbook contains five such experiments: two versions of the Mirror of Floron (nos 18 and 19), the First Mirror of Lilith (no. 23), and two others (nos 20 and 33). The Mirror of Floron in its first version may serve as a useful introduction to these experiments: Have a mirror made of pure steel, measuring one palm around, with a handle for holding it, and have it bright and shiny like a sword. And have it made in the name of Floron, and around the rim of the mirror, on the part that is not polished, have these ten names [Latranoy, Iszarin, Bicol, Danmals, Gromon, Zara, Ralkal, Sigtonia, Samah and Meneglasar] inscribed with ten characters, with the name of the aforesaid spirit [Floron] written in the middle. After it has been made, it should be anointed with pure and bright balsam, and fumigated with aloes, ambergris, myrrh and white frankincense.

When this has been done, the master of this work should sit and have this mirror held with both hands by a virgin boy before his chest. The master himself should be bathed and dressed in clean garments. Before he begins to exercise this work he should sprinkle in the air honey, milk and wine, mixed together in equal proportions, while saying, ‘O Floron, respond quickly in the mirror, as you are accustomed to appear.’

When he has said this, he should read this conjuration before the mirror: ‘Bismille araathe mem lismissa gassim gisim galisim darrgosim samaiaosim ralim ausini taxarim zaloimi hyacabanoy illete laytimi hehelmini betoymi thoma leminao vnuthomin zonim narabanorum azarethia thathitat hinanadon illemay sard lucacef illemegiptimi sitaginatim viaice hamtamice tatiala taltarini alaoht haleytum gaptametuntij morto orfail geibel huabaton albital hualepin halmagrilie hualeon huastanie hualtamemeth huatorzor illenie giptimi tatgnie gathegine lesuma lesanim aptasale albweroahit vlleath alfard vsemeth aptisile abfluwarth vllelath ant clulamoralie hahysitimi waleles lithimi caegine catliegineles mirabolamini abtasile albiwahith alleath halamaton vnitia gaytatalon huaia gay soze cemeselis phalmorath bethathure huaba lagis illemeammitimi gelgine gathegine lesmiraptalibe albiwath vleuth.’

When he has recited this conjuration, the master should look in the mirror, and he will see an armed knight seated on a horse, and his squire accompanying him. The knight will dismount from the horse and his squire will hold the horse. He will greet the knight [with the words], *se desperata, decentissime visibiliter greciomo*. And then the master may ask him about past, present and future things, and he will at once give full response in writing.

This should not seem unbelievable to you, whoever may execute this work, for when you have carried out these things nine times this same spirit will clearly reveal face to face, orally, all things which previously he has indicated in writing.

And so, when you have completed everything according to your will, command this spirit to withdraw in peace, and to return according to the command of his master when he is summoned.

The second version of this Mirror of Floron adds certain details: the mirror should be made on the first hour on Friday, under a waxing moon; the sculptor or workman must be chaste for nine days beforehand, must be

bathed, and must wear clean clothes; the words in which the master conjures the spirit are identified, implausibly, as ‘Chaldean’; the master’s greeting to the knight is *Parate insilitio gytromon*, which approximates an obviously meaningful statement even less than the greeting in the first version; and the knight who has at first answered questions in writing will answer *per exercicium* at night and orally throughout the day, revealing all things beneath the moon.

The First Mirror of Lilith (spelled *Lilit* or *Lylet*) is dedicated to this ancient Hebrew demon and to her followers and her ‘knights’ – although the text seems to slip into calling the spirit Bylet before the experiment is over. [37] The master commands these ‘demons’ to appear in non-threatening form and answer questions. The mirror itself can be made in the form of a shield, but need not be. The master prays to Lilith to come in her own appearance, not in that of ravens, conjuring her to sit with him whenever the master wants. She will appear in a mirror with two or more servants, and will tell the truth or give appropriate signs regarding a theft, murder, or other circumstance.

In one of the remaining experiments (no. 20) the master goes to a secret place at a conjunction of Venus and Jupiter, with burning candles and a polished steel mirror, made under a particular phase of the moon. He makes a circle, and puts the mirror on a piece of wood in the form of a knife. He implores God to make the mirror grow and become bright. Then he recites a brief conjuration three times, and the mirror will seem to grow and become bright. Many people will appear, as in a field. The master may ask them anything he wants, and will obtain an answer. After the first time, he may work this procedure whenever and wherever he wishes, though he must always do so in a secret place; once consecrated for that purpose, the mirror can be used repeatedly. In the other experiment (no. 33), the master smears olive oil on a mirror, says a doxology, enters a magic circle that is sprinkled with verbena, turns to the east, and conjures a spirit. When it comes, he conjures it to tell him the truth, without causing any harm. If the spirit refuses, the master reads the unbreakable ‘bond of Solomon’, an extended conjuration.

As in some of the illusionist experiments, spirits who appear to divulge information are here designated as knights. But three of these experiments are more distinctive in being given titles, taken from the chief spirits to whom they appeal, Lillith and Floron. The former is familiar from Hebrew

tradition, while the latter is known from the writings of Cecco d'Ascoli. [38] The conjuration (and presumably also the greeting) in 'Chaldean' (actually garbled Arabic, as we shall see in Chapter 6) adds a touch of exoticism to some of these experiments. But perhaps the most curious feature, found in the Mirror of Floron, is the reference to the spirit's giving written responses, through a mechanism that is not clearly specified; perhaps the master is to see the spirit holding a written message for his inspection, or possibly patterns discerned on the surface of the mirror are to be interpreted as some form of writing.

Experiments involving crystals

For the use of crystals and related objects in scrying, Johannes Hartlieb is again a helpful source of information: Some take a clear, fine, polished crystal or beryl and have it consecrated, then keep it clean, and lay incense, myrrh, and so forth on it. Then when they wish to exercise their art they wait for a clear day, or use a clean room with many consecrated candles. The masters go to a bathing room, taking an innocent child, and dressing themselves in pure white clothes. They sit down and speak magic prayers (*zauber bätt*), and burn magic offerings (*zauber opffer*), then order the boy to look into the stone and whisper secret words into his ear, which are allegedly most holy – but are indeed devilish words. [39]

The Munich handbook gives two divinatory experiments entailing the use of crystals, both of them extremely brief and simple. The implement used may be something like the legendary crystal ball; when the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript refers to crystals it speaks of them as ‘stones’, which surely were polished, whatever their shape. In one experiment (no. 24) the master first takes a crystal and washes it with wine, then he writes certain names of Christ on it with olive oil, and asks for two or three angels to appear in that crystal and reveal the truth to a virgin boy. The boy conjures these angels to come in the crystal so he may see them. When they come, the boy conjures them thrice to sit on golden seats and not withdraw from the crystal without the master’s permission. For the other experiment (no. 25) the master takes a crystal in the form of a seal or mirror and places it in wax. Then he writes the name ‘Honely’ on it with oil. He prays Christ to bestow wondrous and useful powers upon this stone, as he has done to other stones, to herbs, and to certain words; the text refers to this prayer as a conjuration, but the writer does not have quite the temerity to conjure Christ himself. He does then conjure certain angels to come at once and appear in the crystal, and not withdraw from it until they have answered the questions he has to ask.

It is probably not an accident that in both of these experiments, unlike most, the spirits conjured are expressly referred to as angels, and in one of them names of Christ are invoked (which is not uncommon in these experiments), while in the other the conjuration is preceded by a prayer to

Christ (which is altogether uncommon). The other reflecting surfaces have a kind of artificial reflectivity: some of them need to have oil applied to them, and a mirror is a manufactured object. The crystal, however, was thought to have natural luminosity as one of the properties bestowed on it in its creation. Perhaps for this reason it seemed more natural for a crystal to serve as a medium for the conjuring of unfallen spirits, although this explanation would have greater force if it were supported by substantial evidence from other sources.

A complex experiment involving apparitions in a thumbnail

Five divinatory experiments in the Munich handbook – as many as those using mirrors – require the medium to gaze into his own polished fingernail or thumbnail. These tend to be elaborate rituals, with preliminary measures followed by multiple conjurations, then interrogation of the spirits who appear, and in some cases procedures for terminating the experiment. Most of these rituals are intended specifically to learn about the circumstances of a theft, although the text indicates that no. 27 (and presumably others as well) can serve to provide information about whether a friend is well or sick, whether someone is on the road, or other matters. A fingernail may seem an odd instrument for divination, and the image of a boy carrying on a conversation with an elaborately described demon moving about on such a small screen may seem somewhat comic, but fixing the boy's attention on so narrow a space may in fact have been an aid to concentration: the smaller the surface, and the closer it is held to the eye, the more it will be in focus and potential distractions will be out of focus.

No. 27 is broken into two 'chapters', the first of which reads as follows: To find out about a theft, take a virgin boy of legitimate birth, at whatever hour you wish before noon, and scrape well the thumb nail of his left hand with a knife. Then bind to the same thumb, beneath the nail, a slip with the following names written on it. And these are the names: Egippia, Benoham, Beanke vel Beanre, Reranressym, Alredessym, Ebemidyrr, Fetolinie [?], Dysi, Medirini, Alhea, Heresim, Egippia, Benoham [repeated], Haham, Ezirohias, Bohodi, Hohada, Anna, Hohanna, Ohereo, Metaliteps, Aregereo, Agertho, Aliberri, [and] Halba.

When this is done, if the boy does not see something, *etc.* [*sic*!]. But if

he does see something, bind a strap of sheepskin, which you have had with you while hearing three complete masses, on the slip, around the thumb, while saying this conjuration: ‘O you demons, who have appeared before me in the nail of this boy, by Him who is Alpha and Omega, I order and command and conjure you, by the most sacred names Ely, Eloy, Messias, Sother, Emmanuel, Sabaoth, [and] Adonay, and by On, which is the first name of the Lord, Pantoncraton [*sic*], Anetheten, and by the other names known and unknown to me, that you should have no power to withdraw with your companions until you have fulfilled my will completely, without any falsehood or harm to anyone. And if you disdain to do this, I command you to be bound beneath the deep waters of the sea, by these two names, Joth [and] Nabnoth, by which Solomon bound demons in a glass vessel. I conjure you by the seven signs of Solomon, and by his seal and wisdom, that you should have no licence to withdraw from here until you have told and shown me the truth about all that I ask.’

When you have said this, if the boy does not speak straightaway, recite this conjuration in his ear: ‘I conjure you, virginal youth, by the true God Basyon, and by the name[s] On, Berion, Sabaoth, [and] Adonay, [etc.], to have no power of concealing from me, but to manifest all that you see.’

When you have recited these conjurations three times, if the spirits do not hasten to your service, add this conjuration: ‘You demons from the east, you demons from the west, you demons from the south, you demons from the north, open up to us, Discobermath, Archidemath, Fritath, Altramat, Pestiferat, Helyberp, Hegergibet, Sathan.’

When you have spoken or repeated this conjuration three times, the boy will see all things clearly.

This experiment is good also if someone wishes to know the condition of his friends, whether they are well or ill, and it will determine whether or not they are under way.

The conjuration over the strap is as follows. When mass has been finished on any particular day, say this conjuration over the strap: ‘I conjure you, Sona, by the name of the Lord Tetragrammaton, and by the name of God Joth, and by the name of God Nabnoth, [etc.], to receive such power that wherever you are bound, these spirits will have no power to withdraw until they fulfil the will of the one who binds.’

The second chapter begins with a lengthy conjuration summoning the spirits to appear in the boy's nail, and is followed by another conjuration commanding the boy to gaze into his nail and tell the truth about what is there revealed. The text continues: Then ask the boy if the nail is brighter than before. If he says not, read the conjuration again from the beginning, and a third time if necessary. If he says it has become brighter, ask if he sees anything. If he says he sees a man, the master should have the boy conjure the one he sees, in the mother tongue, as follows: 'You who are before me, I conjure you by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by Saint Mary and her virginity, and by Saint John and his virginity, [etc.], to go quickly for your king and have him come before me, so that I may see and understand him clearly.'

> Then ask the boy if the king has come. If not, have the boy conjure again, as before. If he has come, have the boy tell the king to dismount from his horse and have a throne brought forth on which he can sit. Then have the boy ask the king if he wishes to eat. If he says no, then ask about whatever you will. If he says yes, have the boy tell the king to send wherever he will for a ram to be skinned and cooked, and then he should have a table set, and should rise and wash his hands, and sit at the table and have the ram set before him, and he should go ahead and eat it. After he has eaten, he should get up, take water, and wash his hands.
>
> Then have the boy tell the king to remove the crown from his head and place his right hand on top of his head and swear by his crown and by his sceptre and by that which he holds beneath his right hand, to respond truly to all the master's questions. Then the master should ask whatever he wishes, through the boy. After the master's questions have been answered properly, the spirits may be given licence to leave, and the boy should say, 'Go. Peace be between us and you. And when the master calls you, be prepared to obey him in all things and by all things.'

The conception of a demon as a king or prince is not uncommon (see Chapter 7), and it is in keeping with the dignity of the spirit that he is allowed the privilege of a throne and a meal, although he supplies them himself, within the scene played out on the fingernail of the medium. Elsewhere as well the spirits may be instructed or invited to seat themselves on thrones; in the Rawlinson manuscript the medium is told to have three

white-robed spirits fetch three gold thrones for themselves. [40] It is perhaps not surprising that apparitions as elaborate as these might require repeated conjuration. No doubt they also assumed child mediums of exceptional virtuosity, and a master who had found such a child must have been proud indeed to have discovered such a resource.

Simpler experiments involving fingernails or thumbnails

While the preceding experiment is more complex than most, others resemble it in their essentials. In experiment no. 30, the master obtains a powder by burning resin and collecting the ash from the bottom of a basin that is inscribed with certain characters. He anoints four joints of the boy's left hand with olive oil and with this powder, in alternation, until the boy's fingers shine like a mirror. (Johannes Hartlieb gives a similar account of how child mediums are instructed to gaze not only into their fingernails but into their hands anointed with oil and soot from a pan. [41]) Then he summons twelve spirits. Three times the master makes the sign of the cross with his right thumb on the boy's forehead, each time praying that Christ himself may sign the boy, as he gave his blessing at Cana. Then he repeats the twelve names, and may make the sign of the cross on his own forehead as well as the boy's. The names are recited until six spirits appear on the boy's hand. Then the boy commands them to sit, except for one, who is to rise and answer the master's questions. When the spirits have answered the master's questions, the boy commands them to depart, in the name of the Trinity; if he wishes, the master may at this point sign the boy's forehead again.

The next three experiments all take place within a simple circle, consisting of three concentric bands, within which the boy sits on a three-legged stool, around which are inscriptions (the boy's name, other names, the Tetragrammaton). [42] In no. 38 the master blesses the boy while waving a sword around his head. He gives the sword to the boy, then signs him with the sign of the cross (saying, 'May the cross sanctify you, and may the prayers of all priests bless you'), scrapes his nails with a knife, anoints them with olive oil, then blesses himself and his companions, who sit silently by the circle, with swords in hand. The boy shuts his eyes; the master blesses all those present by reading the opening verses of John's gospel. The boy looks at his anointed nail and conjures specified demons to make the nail grow large and bright so that various information can appear in it: the thief,

the circumstances of the theft, and the place where the stolen object is concealed. The master conjures certain demon princes to come in the form of black men and appear in the boy's nail. If the boy cannot yet see any figures in his nail, the master repeats the conjuration. He asks the boy if he sees a demon leaping and rejoicing. The master and his companions speak to the boy to keep him from fear. Again the master conjures the demons to divulge the desired information. At the end of the experiment, the master rubs his fingernail clean with his tunic, and makes the sign of the cross over four parts of his body with the sword. Then the boy takes the sword and holds it before himself while leaving the circle. The companions and the master himself exit in the same manner.

In no. 39 the master scrapes the boy's right thumbnail, using a knife with a handle of black or white horn, and recites psalm verses. He then signs the boy's forehead with the sign of the cross, says a prayer asking God to have the boy tell the truth, and whispers the names of demons three times into the boy's right ear. Then he enters the circle and stands in front of the boy, anoints his nail with olive oil, gives him the knife, and recites a longer series of demons' names. He conjures the demons (repeatedly, if necessary) to make the boy's nail grow large and bright, so that the details of the theft will appear in it. When this happens, the master conjures the demons (again as often as needed) to come and appear to the boy in the forms of the thieves. When the demons appear, the master conjures them to give the boy power, so that he can make the necessary inquiry and behold the desired information. Afterward the master has the boy close his eyes, then he cleans his nail, signs him with the sign of the cross (*super eum*, *ante eum*, and *retro eum*), takes the knife from his hand, blesses both himself and the boy, erases the circle, and departs along with the boy. The 'kings' will return to their own kingdoms, but the master conjures them to return whenever he wishes.

In no. 40, the master turns to the east, scrapes both of the boy's thumbnails, places one of the boy's thumbs over the other, writes the name of the boy and the name Astaroth on the knife handle, gives the knife to the boy and has him hold it beneath his thumbs, anoints with olive oil the uppermost of the boy's thumbnails, making the form of a cross on it with all devotion, then himself takes a seat, holding the boy between his knees, and instructing him to look carefully at his thumbnail. (The position of the boy suggests an intimacy that is surely erotic, even if subtly so.) The master conjures the demons to appear in the thumbnail in the form of the thief or

thieves, ‘as they have promised’. He also prays to Christ, to manifest the truth make the boy report it. Again he conjures the demons to appear, and to make the boy’s nail grow large and bright. At the end of the experiment, the master says the prayer, ‘Protect, save, bless, [and] sanctify all the people by the sign of the Lord’s cross. Fend off afflictions of body and soul. Let no peril prevail against this sign. Amen. May Jesus Christ defend us by this sign of the cross. Amen.’

Experiments involving vessels

Perhaps among the most ancient and widespread means for divination is gazing at the surface of a fluid in a bowl or other vessel. The materials for such operations would have been available virtually anywhere, even if suitable mirrors were not on hand. A letter to King Psammetichos, included in the Greek magical papyri, gives instructions for bowl divination: one should take a bronze bowl or saucer and fill it with water, then add green olive oil, recite an incantation over it, and ask questions of whatever god one wishes; the deity will reply, after which he can be dismissed with a powerful name of a hundred letters, a name which commands gods and *daimones*, causing the universe to tremble. [43] Elsewhere there are bowls or other vessels on which magical formulas have been inscribed, but these are usually intended for types of magic other than divination. [44]

In two brief experiments from the Munich handbook, the reflecting surfaces that furnish information are vessels or basins. No. 22 involves tracing a circle on the ground with the point of a special knife, entering the circle with a virgin boy or girl, carving various sacred names on a vessel, well cleaned inside and out, and writing on the vessel with a feather from the left wing of a black hen, with accompanying prayers. The master conjures the child to divulge the information revealed regarding a thief or murderer, then he invokes God to grant this knowledge to the child. The child gazes intently into the vessel, and continues doing so until figures appear. In ‘The True Art of the Basin’ (no. 29), the master recites ten names into a boy’s ear, conjures spirits to appear in a basin and divulge information, writes three names on a slip of parchment or paper, and places it in the basin. Then he asks God with humble devotion to give the boy knowledge so that he can respond truly, and he asks Christ to illumine the boy’s mind. He conjures the demons to appear to the boy in a mirror or on the blade of a sword. When the demons appear, the boy tells their king to sit down, and has him send for a ram, a feature reminiscent of no. 27. Then follow various conjurations. The experiment terminates with an exchange between the young boy and the demon king, again in the manner of no. 27.

These divinatory experiments are unusual in their emphasis on sitting: the master, the medium, any companions, and the spirits themselves are instructed or invited repeatedly to sit, whether on thrones, at table, on stools,

or simply on the ground. It would perhaps be misleading to seek a single meaning in this posture; the spirits' being enthroned in their capacity as kings can hardly have the same significance as the medium's being seated on a stool. Yet this feature of the experiments is consonant with another peculiarity of this category which distinguishes it from the psychological and illusionist rituals: in these experiments the conjurations are intended specifically to bring about consultation between the magicians and the spirits, rather than their dialogue being a prelude to some further result, and thus the parties on both sides are in effect sitting down to do business. This is not to say that their being seated is necessary, but that it makes a kind of sense here that it would not make elsewhere.

An experiment involving a bone

For no. 28 the master anoints the right shoulder blade of a ram with olive oil and puts it beneath the handle of a knife. He holds a lighted candle and conjures six demons to appear in the reflective surface before a virginal boy (under twelve years of age) and answer questions. If the boy sees the shoulder blade grow larger and brighter, the master conjures the demons again to appear. When a spirit appears in the form of a black man, the master asks him questions through the mediation of the boy. The master can conjure the boy so that he has the power to see a spirit, but not the power to lie. The experiment closes with miscellaneous instructions: While making a circle, the master should say ‘ Sator Arepo Tenet Opera Rotas’, then two prayers, one for aid in undertakings, the other for sending the Holy Spirit upon the boy to illumine his mind so that he can see and reveal truths. Names of God are given, to be inscribed on the shoulder blade. And to send the demons away, the master makes the sign of the cross over the shoulder blade and says, ‘Behold the cross of the Lord. Take flight, O hostile powers (*Fugite partes aduerse*). The lion of the tribe of Juda, the stem of David, has conquered. Go in peace to the places from which you came.’

Johannes Hartlieb tells how the shoulder blades of various large animals are examined in the form of divination known as spatulamancy, [45] but does not speak of operations performed over these bones in the manner prescribed by the Munich handbook.

Experiments involving visions in sleep

The last two divinatory experiments in the handbook, both short and simple in form, differ from the preceding divinatory rites because they do not involve gazing into reflective surfaces, but rather the inducement of revelatory dream visions. The Egyptians had been famous for their dream interpretation, whether the dreams were induced or spontaneous, and the Greek magical papyri from Egypt contain instructions for obtaining a revelation in sleep: according to one passage, the person seeking the vision goes to bed in the presence of a lamp fuelled with sesame oil mixed with cinnabar, and recites a prescribed formula; to ensure that the revelation is not lost to oblivion, he must have a small tablet nearby to write it down. No. 16 has the master write a series of sacred names within a double band on virgin parchment, plus specified names. Three times he conjures the names themselves, that they may send the angels Michael, Gabriel and Raphael to reveal whatever information he is seeking. The master then places this parchment beneath his right ear when he goes to sleep.

No. 41, designed to discover hidden treasure, is exceptional for the extent to which it blends magic with pious devotion: To know where a treasure is hidden, first a person must make a general confession of all his sins, under a waxing moon, on a Sunday, when the Sun is in Leo, early in the morning. And when you first arise, sprinkle yourself with holy water, saying the antiphon, *Asperges me, domine, ysopo,* etc., in its entirety. Then go to a crucifix and say before it, *Miserere mei, deus* [Ps. 50 Vulg.], in its entirety, gazing constantly at the crucifix, with utter devotion. And when you say these things, then say most devoutly and with contrite heart, ‘O rabbi, rabbi, my king and my God, and Lord of lords, you who are creator of all things, hear the prayer which I, a wretched and unworthy creature, make, and [be mindful?] of your redemption in this hour and always, and may my unworthy cry come unto Thee.’

> When you have said this, go to your house and into your chamber, which should be thoroughly cleaned, and, facing east, say this prayer as devoutly as you can: ‘O gracious Orient … strengthen my understanding in this work by the dominion of your kingdom, which is never lost. Guide and fear [?] me in this my supplication. And I pray you by your

kings … that on the following night Haram, a benign spirit, may come to me in my sleep and enkindle my heart and my mind, that I may know how to find a treasure, if there is any in these parts or elsewhere, and may he lead me and make a sign there, so that I may know it as true, and [I may know] the truth itself…. I call out and implore that you may deign to send me a spirit of truth this night in my sleep, that he may reveal to me a hidden treasure.' Say this facing east, and on bended knees. Say this prayer three times.

When you go to bed, say nine times, 'Orient, Orient, Orient, I pray, beg, and ask, O most benign Orient, that you may fulfil my petition and desire to respect my entreaties.' Then a spirit will come to you, who will not displease you, but will make you dream of a treasure, and will lead you directly to the place.

The next morning, when you arise, give three portions of alms in honour of the great knowing King, and go out, accompanied or alone, to the place where there is treasure in your home [?], and take it. When you have the treasure, have three masses sung: the first in honour of the Holy Trinity, the second for the sins of the deceased, the third for the safeguarding of your life, *etc.*

It is by no means surprising to find orthodox, traditional prayers used in the practice of magic, or for non-standard petitions to be referred to as prayers, or even for the magician to prepare himself by a regimen of confession and purification. The offering of alms and the subsequent celebration of three masses is perhaps less expected; in any case, what we have here is a mixture of magic and devotion that assumes no incompatibility between the two, and in the mind of the practitioner there presumably was no incongruity. [47]

Possible Jewish sources

Magical practices are often so widespread that it is impossible to trace specific patterns of transmission, and the divinatory rituals found in the Munich handbook are at least as widely diffused as any other magical techniques. Nevertheless, there is some reason to suppose that these divinatory practices show the influence of Jewish divination in particular. This should not be surprising, in the light of frequent suggestions that Christians learned or obtained their magic from Jews. [48] One might suspect that this theme merely reflects stereotypes of the reprobate Jew, [49] but there is nothing implausible about Christians seeking to amplify their own repertoire of magical practices by borrowing from those of a people antecedently categorized as having a reprobate subculture. The formulas of the Munich handbook, like those of the Greek magical papyri from antiquity, often imitate those of Judaism, as if in homage to a culture perceived as having superior magic. The centrality of the Tetragrammaton, [50] the occasional use of Hebrew letters, and the use of the pentacle of Solomon in Clm 849 and other necromantic texts are evident signs of Jewish influence, however indirect and distorted the transmission may have been. No. 42 gives ‘the great name Semiforas’ (meaning the *Shem ham-M’forash*) as a series of Hebrew and pseudo-Hebrew words beginning ‘Saday, Hay, Resel’; the scribe seems uncomfortable with the material, and at one point leaves a blank space in his transcription of the name, but does recognize it as a Hebrew name for God, which he says was written on the forehead of Aaron the priest. [51]

Samuel Daiches has edited and analysed a series of Jewish magical texts that resemble the divinatory practices of the Munich manuscript closely. [52] Of special interest are the procedures in three manuscripts from the collection of Theodore Gaster. Codex Gaster 315 tells how to conjure the ‘princes of the thumb’ by tracing a circle in the earth with a black-handled knife and then placing a young boy in the circle, anointing the boy’s thumbnail and forehead with pure olive oil, and whispering a conjuration into his ear while he gazes at his nail. The conjuration reads, in part, ‘I adjure you, princes of the nail … that you should bring the king Minon in this nail, and the queen shall also come with him, and that his two servants shall come and that they shall bring there two lambs, one black and one

white, and they shall slaughter them … and that they shall bring there three glass cups …' When the king and queen appear in the boy's nail, they should be invited to eat and drink, after which they will give all the information the operator desires. [53] Another ritual from the same manuscript, for conjuring 'the princes of the hand', requires invoking a series of names; if the boy sees nothing in his hand the master must repeat the invocation, then if necessary say, 'I adjure you, Ator, Sator, Somani, Ator' (a garbled version of the SATOR-AREPO formula). If the boy sees a man dressed in black he must have him don white garments, and then he invites him to eat and drink. [54] Similar rituals are prescribed in Codices Gaster 443 and 1,000. They all require as a medium a young boy (seven years old in one ritual) or girl, or in some cases a pregnant woman, in which case Daiches assumes it is the innocence of the unborn child that facilitates the divination.

The manuscripts Daiches uses are all late – from the sixteenth or seventeenth century, or, in the case of Codex Gaster 443, as late as 1775 – but Daiches argues for close parallels with much earlier Jewish and even Babylonian practice. One Babylonian ritual tablet of around 2000 BCE speaks of 'the master of the nail of this finger'; the slaughter of the lambs, the use of three cups, the invitation of the spirits to eat and drink, and the assurance that they will answer questions truly all find parallels in Babylonian divinatory texts. Rashi in the eleventh century referred to 'work of the demons' called 'princes of the thumb' that involved use of a black-handled knife, a glass cup, and so forth. Further evidence for the continuity of such practices in medieval Judaism comes from the *Sefer Hasidim* and related texts, which report visions in which demons or the spirits of the dead were summoned to appear in dreams or on reflecting surfaces, often to identify thieves or to locate lost objects. Around the turn of the thirteenth century, Jacob of Marvège recorded a series of dreams in which he received answers to questions he had posed (*she'elat halom*). [55] None of this evidence proves that the rituals found in the modern manuscripts preserve in detail the formulas used in medieval magic. Yet it seems likely that the divinatory rituals of the Munich handbook can be traced to medieval Jewish precedent, and thus indirectly to Babylonian prototypes; this is in any event more likely than the reverse, that the Gaster manuscripts contain Jewish borrowing from Christian sources.

An experiment for instruction

The very first experiment in the Munich manuscript fits only loosely into the category of divination: it is intended for acquiring knowledge of all the liberal arts through the instruction of a demon. Because the first two folios of Clm 849 are missing, this experiment begins *in medias res*, yet even in truncated form the experiment is reasonably intelligible; in all likelihood there was either prefatory material or another experiment on folios 1 and 2, and only a small part of the present experiment has been lost. In the missing lines the magician is evidently instructed to take a piece of cloth and draw on it a 'circle', meaning a simple band made of two concentric circles, within which the names of various demons are to be inscribed. The markings on this cloth are to be made with the blood of a bird, perhaps a hoopoe, and evidently the magician is to use the heart of this bird as a writing instrument: at later points in the experiment reference is made to writing with 'the aforementioned blood' by means of a heart.

This experiment is built around four conjurations: the first, addressed to three "kings" among the demons, results in the initial presentation of a teacher to the magician; the second, again addressed to these kings, is for the return of the teacher and inception of lessons; the third, addressed to the same demons plus four others, is for the same effect; the fourth, addressed to the teacher himself, leads directly to his return and to the instruction. The magician commands the demons Apolin, Maraloth and Berith to send yet another demon as a teacher, or *magister*, a term used elsewhere in the manual for the magician himself.

> … toward the east. Then you must say: 'Apolin, Maraloth, Berith, I, so-and-so, exorcise and conjure you … to send me a certain spirit who is expert in teaching of all the sciences, and may he be kindly, faithful, and pleasing to me, and teach every knowledge that I desire, coming in the form of a master, so that I may feel no sense of fear…. Likewise, I conjure you … that you three great kings and companions of mine may endeavour to send to me, your petitioner, one of your subordinates, to serve as master of all the sciences and arts, coming to me in a pleasant and splendid human form, and instruct me lovingly, so that within thirty days I may acquire this knowledge, and after I have received this

knowledge I may give them licence to withdraw.' And this must be said so many [=three?] times.

When you have said this, put down the sword and wrap it in the aforesaid cloth, and, having made a bundle, lie down on it and sleep for a little while. After sleeping, rise and clothe yourself (for when the bundle has been made a man must undress and enter a chamber, placing this bundle beneath his head). You must know that when these conjurations have been said, sleep comes by divine power. In the sleep, three great kings [will] appear to you with countless servants, knights, and footsoldiers, among whom there will appear a certain master, whom the three kings will command. [You will see] him ready to come to you. For you will see the three kings, shining with wondrous beauty, who will speak to you in this sleep with one voice, saying, 'Behold, we give you what you have many times requested.' And they will say to the master, 'Let him be your student, and we command you to teach him every science or art that he wishes to hear. Instruct and educate him so that within thirty days he will be regarded among others as supreme in whatever science he wishes.' And you will see him reply, 'My lords, I shall most gladly do whatever you wish.' When this has been said, the kings will depart and the master alone will remain, and will say to you, 'Arise, behold your master.' When this has been said, you will be aroused; at once you will open your eyes, and you will see a master, excellently attired, who will say to you, 'Give me the sword which you have beneath your head.' You will say, 'Behold your student, ready to do whatever you wish.' But you must have a tablet, and must write down all that he tells you.

First you must ask, 'O master, what is your name?' He [will] tell, and you must write it down. Second, from what order, and likewise write it down. When this has all been said, you must ask for the sword, and when you have it he will withdraw, saying, 'Wait until I return.' You will say nothing, but the master will leave and take the sword. [56] After his withdrawal, you must unwrap the cloth, as appears below. And you should write in this circle his name, as you have written it down, and you must write it with the aforementioned blood. When it is written, wrap up the cloth and hide it well.

When all this has been done, you must dine on bread and pure water alone, and that day you must not exit your chamber. And when you have

eaten, take the cloth and enter the circle facing Apolin. Say: ‘O King Apolin, great, powerful, and venerable, I, your servant, believing and wholly trusting that you are strong and mighty, ask by your incomprehensible majesty that your servant and subject, so-and-so, my master, should come to me as quickly as he can, by your virtue and power, which is great and supremely great unto ages of ages. Amen.’ And you must speak likewise facing Maraloth, changing the name. And likewise facing Berich. When all this has been said, take some of the aforesaid blood and write your name in the middle of the circle with the aforesaid heart, as is shown below. Then write these names, as shown here, with this heart on the corners of the cloth. But if the blood of one bird is not enough, you may kill as many as you wish.

When all this has been done, sit in the circle for the entire day, gazing at it, and saying nothing. When evening comes, wrap up the cloth, undress, and enter the chamber, placing it beneath your head. And as you lie down, say in a clear voice, ‘O Apolin, Maraloch, Berith, Sathan, Beliath, Belzebuc, [and] Lucifer, I implore you to command the master – here naming his name – to come to me tomorrow before sunrise and teach me thus-and-such science, without any error …’

Beware and take caution not to make the sign ✠ of the cross, on account of the great danger in sleeping. You should know that you will see the master speak with you throughout the night, asking you which science you wish to learn. You should reply, ‘Thus-and-such’, so that, as said, you may speak with him throughout the night. If you awake during that night, rise and light a candle, and take the cloth and unwrap it, and sit on it – that is to say, in the circle, where your name is written on the spot ordained for you – and call on the name of your master, saying, ‘O so-and-so, of thus-and-such an order, given to me by your greater kings as a master, I beseech you to come in a kindly form and teach me thus-and-such a science, in which I may become more expert than all mortals, learning it with great joy, without any effort, and with no tedium….’

When you have said this, looking toward the east you will see the master come with many students, and you will ask him to command that they all depart, and at once they will withdraw. Then the master will say, ‘Which science do you wish to hear?’ You will say, ‘This-and-such’, and then you will begin.

Bear in mind that you will learn all that he tells you and commit it to

memory, and within thirty days you will acquire every science that you wish to have.

And when you wish him to leave the chamber, fold and hide the cloth, and at once he will withdraw. And when you wish him to come, open the cloth, and at once he will appear there, continuing the lessons. After thirty days, having become well learned in science, have him give your sword to you, and then tell him to go, and he will withdraw in peace. You must repeat what you have said when you invoke him to gain knowledge of another science, and he will proclaim himself ready to oblige your will.

This is the end of the chapter on [gaining] knowledge.

The circle required for this first experiment is a single band inscribed within a square. Inscribed in and around the band are the names of seven spirits and the four cardinal directions. ‘The name of the master, of such-and-such an order’ and ‘The name of the student’ are marked in the centre.

This experiment contains one incidental feature of some interest: the sword, which the demonic teacher claims at the beginning of the lessons but relinquishes to the magician at the end of the month when instruction is over, may be intended as a kind of sacrifice, albeit a temporary one. It serves, at any rate, to symbolize the relationship between the magician and the demon that exists throughout the thirty days of instruction: although the magician (as the source and ultimate owner of the sword) has conjured the demon and has authority to command his presence, the demon (as temporary keeper of the sword) exercises the authority over his pupil that comes from his possession of superior knowledge. It is only when the demon has imparted knowledge of all the liberal arts that the magician has become, to that extent, his equal and thus regains the sword.

One might suppose that the magician conceives the sword further as a symbol for the power brought by his newly gained knowledge, but the manuscript gives little indication of a coherent and consistent quest for power, least of all in the political sphere. It is true that the writer claims to have connections at court: in one experiment he reminds the reader, ‘You have often seen me carry out this work at your court.’ Elsewhere he tells of a trick that he played on an emperor and his courtiers. Even if we assume that this is not all pretence, however, the manual gives only meagre hints of specifically courtly interests. Only one experiment is designed to gain the

favour of a potentate. Experiments to cause madness or to turn friends into enemies could be used at court, but could just as well be employed elsewhere. On the whole the manual is remarkably devoid of specifically political concern: there is little sense that the writer is intent on building or destroying kingdoms, nor does he display the combination of magical lore and practical engineering found in the real-life courtier Conrad Kyeser. [57] His procedures for divination seem to focus on personal rather than political matters. Some of the illusionist experiments bespeak the fanciful attitude toward magic often found in courtly romance: an illusory banquet is intended as an entertaining spectacle. The writer is perhaps here manifesting a distant fascination with courtly culture rather than a direct involvement in the life of any court. Any common necromancer, after all, might well fantasize about being called into the emperor's service and serving as Michael Scot was supposed to have served Frederick II. [58]

One might seek precedent here too in Jewish magic designed to foster learning. Formulas occur in various early Jewish mystical texts for mastery of the Torah. The assumption is that angels have opposed God's bestowal of the Torah upon humankind, and that this opposition accounts for students' failure to memorize the sacred text. The solution is to adjure the appropriate spirits, particularly the ' Prince of the Torah' (*sar ha-torah*), by the power of the sacred names; the specific purpose of such adjuration is to master and memorize the Torah. [59] More immediate precedent, however, may be found in the later medieval magic of the so-called *ars notoria*, which uses prayers and invocation of angels to gain mastery of the liberal and mechanical arts. [60] Although the *ars notoria* did not call upon demonic aid, and ostensibly revolved around the recitation of devotions to the Virgin and to unfallen angels, its techniques were untraditional and superstitious, and an unsympathetic observer might pardonably have categorized it with this first experiment in the Munich handbook.

It may also be instructive to compare the magic of this experiment with that narrated in a story told by Caesarius of Heisterbach, in the early thirteenth century, 'concerning a schoolboy who made homage to the devil to have verses composed': In the church of Saint Simeon in the diocese of Trier there was a little schoolboy. One day his master gave him a subject on which he was to compose verses, but he was unable to do so, and sat about disconsolate. The Devil appeared to him in human form as he sat by himself, and said to him, 'Why are you so unhappy, little boy, and why are

you sitting there looking so sad?' The boy replied, 'I'm afraid of my master, because I cannot compose any verses on the subject he has given me.' The Devil said, 'If you pay homage to me, I will compose the verses for you.' The boy was unaware that he was dealing with the Devil, the enemy of all, who was bent on mischief, so he replied, 'O yes, sir! I am ready to do anything you command, as long as I can have the verses and not get beaten!' For he did not know who it was. He stretched out his hand to the Devil, paying homage to him. At once he received the verses, written on tablets, and then he no longer beheld their writer. When he gave them to his master at the appropriate time, the latter was amazed at the excellence of the verses, and feared that the knowledge he found in them was supernatural [*divinam*] and not that of a human. He said, 'Tell me, who wrote these verses for you?' The boy said, 'I did, master.' But the master, not believing, repeated his interrogation of the lad many times over, until the boy confessed everything he had done, from beginning to end. Then the master said, 'My boy, that versifier was an evil one, the Devil himself.' Then he added, 'My dear child, are you sorry that you paid homage to that seducer?' The boy replied, 'O yes, master.' The master said, 'Now renounce the Devil and his homage, and all his pomps and all his works.' And he did so. Then the master cut off the sleeves of his surplice and offered them to the Devil, saying, 'These sleeves are yours, O seducer of men, but you will possess nothing more of this creature of God!' At once the sleeves were snatched away with a thunderbolt in the sight of all, while the boy's body remained unharmed. All this was told me by a prior from the church of Trier. [61]

The schoolboy's deed is both more innocent and more guilty than the necromancer of the Munich handbook: it is more innocent because he is unaware that the source of his verses is an evil spirit, and also because he does not conjure the spirit but merely accepts his offer, yet in itself his action is more profoundly guilty because he makes homage to the demon. Joseph Hansen sees the concept of homage to a demon as a high medieval innovation inspired by the obvious feudal analogue, the vassal's homage to his lord. [62] It seems to be only in orthodox literature condemning magic, however, that those who profit from the demons are seen as making such homage, or that sacrifices to the spirits are perceived as involving the same worship that would be implied by sacrifice offered to God. The magicians themselves, as in the Munich handbook, typically perceive any sacrifice as

merely a *quid pro quo*. Oddly, the lad's schoolmaster recognizes that the demon has some legitimate claim on the boy as a result of the transaction, and offers the spirit the sleeves of the pupil's surplice (*superpellicii*) as his due, even after the boy repeats his baptismal renunciation of Satan's works and pomps. The most basic difference between the two cases, in any event, is that Caesarius's schoolboy, unlike the Munich magician, receives no new knowledge: he has polished verses handed to him but does not himself become an accomplished versifier. The quest of knowledge through magical means seems to be a theme more deeply embedded in Jewish sources, and in the Solomonic literature related to those sources.

Notes

1 M.R. James, ‘Twelve medieval ghost-stories’, *English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), 420f.

2 *Ambo simul euanuerunt ab oculis meis et amplius non video eos, et nescio sine dubio vbi sunt*.

3 See the analogues in Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. H. von E. Scott and C.C. Swinton Bland, 1 (London: Routledge, 1929), 112–14. Barbara Newman has found parallels in several thirteenth-and fourteenth-century collections of exempla.

4 John of Salisbury, *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers*, ii.28, trans. Joseph B. Pike (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), 146–7.

5 *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes of Acle: An Edition of Tanner MS 407*, ed. Cameron Louis (New York: Garland, 1980), 169f.; C.L.S. Linnell, ed., ‘The commonplace book of Robert Reynys of Acle’, *Norfolk Archaeology*, 32 (1958–61), 114 (Linnell’s edition of the text is badly flawed).

6 For the following see generally Benjamin Goldberg, *The Mirror and Man* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985), 3–25 (esp. 8–19), and Henry C. Bolton, ‘A modern oracle and its prototypes’, *Journal of American Folklore*, 6 (l893), 25–37. For early instances see W.R. Halliday, *Greek Divination: A Study of Its Methods and Principles* (London: Macmillan, 1919), 145–62 (which gives numerous parallels from various cultures) and A. Bouch–Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l’Antiquité*, 1 (Paris: Leroux, 1879), 176–88.

7 Siegfried Wenzel, ed. and trans., *Fasciculus morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher’s Handbook*, v. 30 (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), 578–9.

8 George L. Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929), 185.

9 See Peter J. French, *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972).

10 Domenico Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, trans. E.F.M. Benecke (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895), 303–5, citing the *Romans des Sept Sages*, *Cleomadès*, and the *Renart contrefait*. For parallels, see *ibid*., p. 304, n. 9.

11 Charles Plummer, ed., *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), 150: *in speculo enim diuinitatis omnia futura sibi presentia erant*.

12 Johann Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste, des Aberglaubens und der Zauberei*, ed. and trans. Falk Eisermann and Eckhard Graf (Ahlerstedt: Param, 1989), chs 56, 83–84, 86, 88–90.

13 Ibn Khaldûn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, i.194, trans. Franz Rosenthal, 2nd edn, vol. 1 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), 216–17; Bolton, ‘A modern oracle’, 37.

14 Reading *intra* for *infra*.

15 Petrus Garsia, *In determinationes magistrales contra conclusiones apologales Ioannis Pici Mirandulani Concordie Comitis proemium* (Rome: Eucharius Silber, 1489), sig. k iv verso through k v recto (the discussion continues through l ij recto); see Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 4 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 497–507.

16 Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 430.

17 *Registrum Radulphi Baldock*, ed. Fowler (Canterbury and York Series, 7), vol. 1, 144f.; Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 187.

18 Paris, *Les grandes chroniques*, vol. 5, 269–72; *Recueil des historiens*, vol. 20, 633f., 710–12; G.G. Coulton, trans., *Life in the Middle Ages*, l (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), l60–62. *Willelmi capellani in Brederode postea monachi et procuratoris Egmondensis chronicon*, ed. C. Pijnacker Hordijk (Amsterdam: Müller, 1904), 127–30.

19 Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 80, 187, from David Wilkins, ed., *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, 3 (London, 1737), 393f.

20 Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 187, from A. Hamilton Thompson, ed., *Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 1915–), 208–13.

21 *Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, 8 (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1881), 265; William Hale Hale, *A Series of Precedents and Proceedings in Criminal Causes from 1475 to 1640, Extracted from Act Books of Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of London, Illustrative of the Discipline of the Church of England* (London: Rivington, 1847); 10f.; C. Trice Martin, 'Clerical life in the fifteenth century, as illustrated by proceedings of the Court of Chancery', *Archaeologia*, 60 (=ser. 2, vol. 10) (1907), 371f., 377; Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 188, 195f 22 The demons' capacity for knowledge and foreknowledge is discussed in the influential work of Saint Augustine, 'The divination of demons', in Roy J. Deferrari, ed., *Saint Augustine: Treatises on Marriage and Other Subjects* (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1955), 415–40.

23 Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 106–13, esp. 109. Brown quotes Victricius of Rouen on the effects of exorcism: 'A torturer bends over the unclean spirit, but is not seen. There are no chains here now, yet the being who suffers is bound. God's anger has other hooks to tear the flesh and other racks to stretch invisible limbs.' The theme is one which Barbara Newman will address in forthcoming research on thirteenth-century accounts of exorcism.

24 Fol. 156r.

25 Translation from G.G. Coulton, ed. and trans., *Life in the Middle Ages*, new edn, 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), no. 46, pp. 85f.

26 Translation from C. Trice Martin, 'Clerical life in the fifteenth century, as illustrated by proceedings of the Court of Chancery', *Archaeologia*, 60 (=ser. 2, vol. 10) (1907), 377f.; see Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 188.

27 Augustus Jessopp, *Random Roaming and Other Papers*, 2nd edn (London, Unwin, 1894), 109–12. Cf. Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 94, 206.

28 Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 195.

29 *Mary of Nijmeghen*, attributed to Anna Bijns, in Eric Colledge, trans., *Medieval Netherlands Religious Literature* (New York: London House & Maxwell, 1965), 208; repr. in Elizabeth Alvilda Petroff, ed., *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 364.

30 Nos 19, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 41 (not used); nos 18, 20, 23, 33, 38, 39, 40, 22, 28, 16 (not highly significant).

31 For examples of the use of a boy medium in antiquity, see Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), PGM IV.88, I.42, VII.540, V.370, IV.850, V.1 and VII.348.

32 No. 28 specifies that the boy should be under twelve. See also Rawlinson MS D 252, fols 109r–109v.

33 No. 22 in the Munich handbook; Rawlinson MS D 252, fol. 114v; Johann Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste*, ch. 84.

34 Nicholas Orme, 'Children and the Church in medieval England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical*

History, 45 (1994), 580f.

35 Chs 86, 88, 94.

36 On these possibilities see James W. Fernandez, ‘Reflections on looking into mirrors’, *Semiotica*, 30 (1980), 27–39.

37 The writer’s B and L might readily be confused, especially in the lower case; see, for example, the references to Belial in no. 12. One might syppose that Bylet is simply an alternative spelling for Lilit, but there is in fact a spirit known as Beleth, Bileth, Bilet or Byleth, on whom see Gustav Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels, Including the Fallen Angels* (New York: Free Press, 1967), 73.

38 Lynn Thorndike, *Michael Scot* (London: Nelson, 1965), 120.

39 Ch. 89.

40 Rawl. 8v, 151v.

41 Chs 83–84.

42 In no. 41 he writes ‘Tetragrammaton’ (probably that word, though possibly the four letters for which it stands) beneath the boy’s feet, then he puts two stones on top of this inscribed word, lest the boy touch the sacred name with his feet.

43 Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, 1, pp. 40–43 (PGM IV.154–285).

44 Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University; Leiden: Brill, 1985); see Michael Ofori Mankata, *Hohore – the Magic Bowl: A Ghanaian Folk Tale* (Accra: Afram, 1995).

45 Chs 115–31. See also Charles Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), XII–XV.

46 The dream oracle of Besas, in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 1, pp. 122–23 (PGM VII.222–49). On Egyptian dream interpretation see Joseph Kaster, trans. and ed., *The Wings of the Falcon* (New York, 1968), 153–8.

47 Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 219, contains a miscellany of magical experiments, among which are similarly pious recommendations on fol. 187v: to recover a lost object, recall the cross of Christ (which was found) and give bread to four paupers; to avert affliction, recall the blows of Christ; for release from captivity, recall that of Christ; to survive a duel, fast, give as much as possible in alms, have three masses sung (those for the finding of the Holy Cross, the exaltation of the Holy Cross, and the Ascension), and wash the hands and feet of three paupers (or five, seven or thirteen).

48 E.g., Edmond Albe, *Autour de Jean XXII: Hugues Géraud, éveque de Cahors: L’affaire des poisons et des envoûtements en 1317* (Cahors, 1904); Margaret Harvey, ‘Papal witchcraft: the charges against Benedict XIII’, in Derek Baker, ed., *Sanctity and Secularity: The Church and the World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973), 109–16.

49 On this subject see especially Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Anti-semitism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), and more recently R. Po–chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) and Jeremy Cohen, ed., *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996); on the reputation of Jewish magic in late antiquity see John M. Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition* (Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1974), 30–35.

50 Jacob Z. Lauterbach, ‘Substitutes for the Tetragrammaton’, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* (1931), 39–67; Kaufmann Kohler, ‘The Tetragrammaton (Shem ham-M’forash) and its uses’, *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy*, 1 (1909), 19–32.

51 Robert Eisler, ‘Le Mystère du Schem Hammephorasch’, *Revue des études Juives*, 82 (1926),

157–9.

52 Samuel Daiches, *Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and in the Later Jewish Literature* (London: Jews' College, 1913).

53 No. B1, text 1, pp. 14–16, with notes on pp. 28–38.

54 No. B1 text 2, p. 16, with notes on p. 38.

55 *Ibid.*, pp. 28–38; *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter; New York: Macmillan, 1971–2), articles on *Visions* and *Jacob of Marvège*.

56 If one reads *presentare* for *postulare*, the context becomes clearer: rather than asking for the sword, the magician must give it to the spirit; *quo habito* then becomes 'when he has it' rather than 'when you have it'.

57 Conrad Kyeser, *Bellifortis*, ed. and trans. Götz Quarg (Dösseldorf: VDI, 1967).

58 Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), 272–98; J. Wood Brown, *An Enquiry into the Life and Legend of Michael Scot* (Edinburgh: Douglas, 1897); Lynn Thorndike, *Michael Scot* (London: Nelson, 1965).

59 Peter Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God: Some Major Themes in Early Jewish Mysticism*, trans. Aubrey Pomerance (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992), esp. 49–53, 73–5, 89–95, 109–17, 150–57; Michael D. Swartz, 'Patterns of mystical prayer in ancient Judaism', in Paul V.M. Flesher, ed., *New Perspectives on Ancient Judaism*, 6 (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989), 173–86; and esp. Michael D. Swartz,, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

60 Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 2 (New York: Macmillan, 1929), 281–3. Papers from a session on an *ars notoria* manuscript – Nicholas Watson, 'A fifteenth-century ritual magic manuscript in the McMaster University Library', Richard Kieckhefer, 'The historical background of the McMaster manuscript', and Michael Camille, 'Aspects of art in *ars notoria* manuscripts' – delivered at the 30th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 5 May 1995, are to be published in a volume edited by Claire Fanger.

61 Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Die Fragmente der Libri VIII Miraculorum des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, ed. Aloys Meister (*Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte*, supplementary vol. 14) (Rome: Herder, 1901), 85f.

62 Joseph Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter, und die Entstehung der großen Hexenverfolgung* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1900; repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1964), 275–7.

6

Formulas for Commanding Spirits: Conjurations and Exorcisms

A collection of sermon *exempla* from the 1270s relates a story of considerable interest for later medieval notions of what it meant to conjure demons. The compiler has been discussing the feast of the Assumption, the primary Marian feast of the era, and adds this sidelight for its unexpected relevance to that occasion: Something further concerning the feast of the Assumption of the glorious Virgin, which was once told to me and to Brother Roger called Bacon at Paris, must not be passed over in silence. A certain surgeon from my home country, and in fact even a native of my very parish, named Master Peter of Ardene, well known to all clerics from Ireland at that time, had taken a wife at Paris and in my day was a Parisian citizen. He told me and Brother Roger Bacon that a certain Spanish magician [*magus*] was on close terms with him. Every now and then he would summon the man, and they would come to his home for company and amusement. So this magician, wishing to return the favour for Master Peter, took him outside the city one night, with companions whom he wished to take with himself, and made a circle according to his art, and called upon his demon [*vocavit demonem suum*], who, on coming, responded to all the questions they asked. The man took them there for five nights, and each night dealt similarly with the demon he summoned. But the fifth night was the vigil of the Blessed Virgin's Assumption, so when the demon was called by the rite of the art as it was passed down he delayed his coming. And so he was summoned repeatedly, to the point that the devilish master became much agitated in regard to the devil. Finally the devil arrived, mourning and sighing, and with deep and plaintive sighs like a boy that has been beaten he said to them, 'You people are really strange [*Mirum est de vobis*], for the angels in heaven are celebrating the feast of the Virgin Mary, and you cannot take your rest here on earth!' Hearing this, they were astonished, and, not surprisingly, quite fearful. And Master Peter himself spoke to the demon, as he swore, taking pity on him, and said, 'What is your problem?' [The demon] said to him, 'Things are very bad for me.' Then they dismissed him and returned to their dwellings. So much

for the story [*Explicit exemplum*].

> Behold, O Christian, with what joy you should celebrate the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, when even the devil, the enemy of the glorious Virgin, is compelled to preach that it should be celebrated, and when the angels celebrate it with so much festivity. When the devil said that he was very bad off amid this festive solemnity, the reason for this, as a great man whom I consulted about the matter suggested, is that on the solemnities of the Blessed Virgin and the saints their punishment is augmented. How this happens I leave to the judgement of those wiser than myself. [1]

Among the interesting features of this story, three are of particular relevance here: first, the suggestion that the demon can be made to appear, but that the magician's summons is one element among many in a cosmic network of potentially competing forces; second, the notion that the demons are subject to punishment with varying degrees of severity (so that, as we shall see, the magicians themselves can threaten to bring greater torment upon these fallen spirits); and third, the representation of the magician and his friends as adventurous inquirers daring to conjure the forces of hell to satisfy their curiosity and their quest of forbidden entertainment. The *exemplum* speaks of the magician as summoning the demon by a traditional rite, but, being uninterested in advertising techniques for necromancy, does not give the actual words of conjuration. From other sources, however, we know what such a rite would involve.

Central to most of the experiments in the Munich manual are formulas of varying length that hinge on the terms *coniuro*, *adiuro* and *exorcizo*, which are essentially interchangeable with each other and with other words meaning 'I command'. Indeed, the conjurations are so centrally important to necromantic experiments that the art of necromancy (as that term is commonly used in later medieval parlance) can even be referred to simply as the conjuring of spirits. Reduced to its generic essentials, the typical conjuration is in the form, 'I conjure you, thus-and-such spirits, by the holy names, by all the saints of God, etc., to carry out my will.' We may speak of the declaration ('I conjure you'), the address ('thus-and-such spirits'), the series of invocations ('by the holy names, etc.'), and the instruction ('to carry out my will') as the four primary elements virtually always found in conjurations. While each is of fundamental significance, they are important in different ways: the instruction indicates the

nature of the command, the address makes it clear whom or what the necromancer is commanding, the declaration is the expression of intent to command, and the invocations are the sources of power by virtue of which he is able to command. In all these essential elements conjurations are analogous to exorcisms; indeed, the terms ‘conjuration’ and ‘exorcism’ are essentially interchangeable in medieval usage, regardless of whether the intent is to summon or to dispel the evil spirits.

Not all the verbal formulas used in the handbook are conjurations: there are also incantations that serve as glosses interpreting sympathetic magic (especially in the psychological experiments), and at times prayers addressed to God (especially in the *Book of Consecrations*, but note also that no. 22 speaks of a *coniuracio* with reference to the prayer *Deus, creator omnium rerum*, while no. 36 uses the term *oraciones* for a series of verses beginning ‘I adjure you, King of kings and Lord of lords …’). [2] But because the most common formulas are conjurations, it is entirely appropriate for necromancy to be known also as the art of conjuring demons.

The conjurations of the necromancer are in certain respects perhaps similar to the liturgical curses that Lester Little has analysed: they adapt ritual language to purposes that seem morally doubtful, although cursing a violator of monastic property rights might have appeared less problematic to a medieval monk than it does to a modern reader. [3] But while the necromancer’s formulas do at times curse the spirits and threaten prospective victims, [4] in formal and structural terms the language of the conjurations does not closely resemble that of the curses Little discusses. Further, liturgical curses are inherently the communal acts of a community such as a religious house or cathedral chapter, whereas the conjurations express the will of a single necromancer. The curses assume direct divine agency, while the conjurations presuppose the compliance of created spirits.

The following (from no. 3) may be taken as a representative conjuration: **[Declaration:]** I conjure **[Address:]** you demons inscribed in this circle, to whom is given the power of seducing and binding women in the love of men, **[Invocations:]**

- by the virtue and power of the divine majesty, • and by the thrones and dominations and powers and principalities of Him who spoke and they were made, • and by those [angels] who do not cease to cry out with one voice, saying, ‘Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest,’
- and by these names, which cause you fear and terror: Rator, Lampoy, Despan, Brulo, Dronoth,

Maloqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascifin, Nartim and Lodoni, • and by this ring which is here, • and by the innumerable powers that you and your superiors possess, **[Instruction:]** that wherever you are, you should rise up from your places without delay and go to so-and-so, and immediately without deception lead her here, and take her back when I wish. And let no one be aware of this or take account of it.

More complex in its structure is this conjuration (from no. 7):

[Address:] O Vsyr, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno, Syrtroy, Risbel, Cutroy, Lytay, Onor, Moloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor and Ym, arms-bearing spirits, whose role it is to bear arms and to deceive human senses wherever you wish, **[Declaration:]** I, so-and-so, conjure and exorcize and invoke you, **[Invocations:]**

- by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, who are called the holy Trinity, • and by the creator of heaven and earth and of all things, visible and invisible, • and by him who formed man from the mud of the earth, • and by the annunciation of our Lord Jesus Christ, • and by his nativity,
- and by his death and passion,
- and by his resurrection
- and by his ascension.

Likewise, **[Declaration:]** I conjure **[Address:]** all you aforesaid demons **[Invocations:]**

- by the gracious and most merciful and undefiled and incorrupt virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, who underwent death for us miserable sinners and recalled us to the heavenly fatherland.

Likewise, **[Declaration:]** I conjure **[Address:]** you aforesaid spirits **[Invocations:]**

- by all the holy men and holy women of God, • and by all the apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins and widows, • and by these most precious and ineffable names of the Creator of all, by which you all are bound, and which arouse fear in all things in heaven, on earth, and in hell, to wit Aa, Ely, Sother, Adonay, Cel, Sabaoth, Messyas, Alazabra and Osian.

Likewise, **[Declaration:]** I conjure and exorcize you **[Invocations:]**

- by the virtue and power of all your princes, kings, lords, and superiors, • and by your virtue and capacity and power, • and by your dwelling place, of which this [circle] is the form, • and by all the figures present within it,

[Instruction:] that, inseparably bound to my power, you should come to me without delay, appearing in such a form that you will in no way frighten me, submissive and prepared to do and manifest to me all that I wish, and that you should do this by [the power of] all things on heaven and on earth.

To ‘conjure’ or ‘adjure’ someone meant basically to command him or her, and the terms had broad application. At one point in the Song of Songs the Bridegroom says, ‘I adjure you, daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes and the hinds of the fields, not to arouse or awake the beloved.’ [5] In the Merovingian era,

a Bishop Nicetius wrote in a letter to one Clotsinda, ‘I conjure you, Lady Clotsinda, by the tremendous Day of Judgement, that you both read this letter carefully and often try to expound it to your husband.’ [6] Even in this context, where the message is clearly political and has nothing to do directly with incorporeal spirits, the command is supported by appeal to an eschatological event. In the *vita* of Saint Brendan, one sea monster says to another, ‘I adjure you in the name of Saint Bridget … to leave me alone,’ and the efficacy of the adjuration becomes a sore point in Bridget’s holy rivalry with Brendan, whose power the monster does not bother to invoke even though he, unlike Bridget, is physically present. [7] In a context closer to that of demonic magic, ghosts too might be conjured, as becomes manifest from a series of fifteenth-century ghost stories emanating from a Cistercian house in Yorkshire. The ghosts typically cause disruption to arouse the attention of the living, but it is only when they have been conjured or commanded by someone with spiritual power, and in the name of that which is holy, that they can speak and accomplish the business for which they have come back to earth. In one case, for example, a spirit who wished poshumously to confess his sins (allegedly including murder) had to be conjured by a parish priest ‘in the name of the Holy Trinity and by the power of Jesus Christ’ to answer all the priest’s questions, whereupon he ‘spoke from his inmost bowels, not with his tongue, but as if inside an empty barrel’, and received absolution. [8]

The conjurations used in late medieval Europe are no different in principle from those used in other cultures, but the precise forms are in part culturally specific. In medieval Jewish conjurations, many of which survive from the Cairo Geniza, God’s authority may be brought to bear on angels or demons to induce them to do the magician’s bidding. These formulas are similar in their overall force but different in structure from the conjurations used within Christendom. Typically they are marked by six elements: first, the spirits are invoked in the name of God; second, they are adjured to perform specific tasks; third, the client is identified; fourth, the expected favours are listed; fifth, the requests are repeated and reinforced with quotations from the Bible and elsewhere, and sixth, the formulas conclude with a solemn liturgical ‘Amen’ or ‘Selah’. [9] The resemblance to the conjurations of the Christian world is close enough that one might posit influence of Jewish magic on its Christian equivalent, but not so close as to prove simple and straightforward borrowing from one tradition to the other.

The conjurations of the Munich handbook are not always in the same form.

One notable exception is a conjuration given in pseudo-Chaldean (no. 18): *Bismille araathe.…* This formula actually derives from an Arabic protoype: *Bismillahi ar-Rahma-n ar-Rahi-m*, the opening line of the Quran (‘in the name of God, the merciful, the beneficent’), is a standard beginning to a Muslim invocation, and other words in the formula appear also to be garbled versions of Arabic. Shorter or longer texts of such pseudo-Chaldean appear elsewhere as well (nos 19, 20 and 21), but in these cases the very esotericism is more important than any vestigial structure.

Normally the language for conjurations in late medieval Western sources was Latin, but at times – perhaps most often when a young child was being used as a medium – the conjuration is translated into the vernacular. The Munich handbook instructs the master at one point to have the child conjure the spirit in the mother tongue (no. 27). In the Rawlinson manuscript, the text shifts to the vernacular particularly for formulas addressed to the spirits when they have come, in one case for a threat addressed to them if they do not come, and once for a ‘binding’ conjuration (*coniuracio ligacionis*); the intent in at least some of these cases may be that the master’s young companion, who might be a mere beginner in Latin, should use the vernacular.

The declaration

One of the most widespread ways of distinguishing between magic and religion is the notion that magic is coercive whereas religion is petitionary. Martin Buber seems to assume such a contrast when he says that 'Magic desires to obtain its effects without entering into relation.' [11] Yet this distinction is questionable, partly because it is not a mode of distinction that would have been familiar to medieval Europeans, also because it provides little aid in disentangling magical and religious elements that tend to be inextricably intertwined or even fused. It seems more useful to view demonic magic as inherently a kind of religious activity, and natural magic as lending itself readily to the intermingling of devotional elements. [12] It is the case, however, that the necromancers typically saw themselves as commanding, constraining and binding the spirits they invoked, and one of the arguments most insistently made in the theological condemnations of magic in the late Middle Ages is that such constraint is in fact not possible. [13] The magicians' conception of what they were doing is signalled already in the very opening of a formula of conjuration: the declaration is a statement of intent, indicating how the conjurer perceived his relationship with the spirits. They saw themselves as having a power analogous to that by which Christ astonished those about him (Mk 1:27, Lk 4:36), that of commanding unclean spirits and compelling their obedience.

At times the declaration is simple and unrepeated: 'I conjure you' (*coniuro vos* or *coniuro te*) is by far the most common declaration, occurring fully 147 times in the Munich handbook; equivalent formulas, such as 'I order you', 'I adjure you', 'I exorcize you' and 'I invoke you', are also common. [14] Elsewhere the declaration is compound: 'I invoke and adjure you' or 'I conjure you and command you'. [15] In longer conjurations, the declaration may be repeated intermittently as a way of breaking the litany of invocations: 'I conjure you' is in six conjurations repeated once or twice, but may occur as often as five or even eleven times. [16] Elsewhere the recurring declarations vary in their form: I conjure … I conjure you … I conjure you and exorcize you [and] command you …

> I conjure you … I conjure you and call you to witness … I adjure you [followed by eight more occurrences of 'I conjure you'].

At times the recurrence and compounding of declarations becomes forceful and dramatic: I conjure you and exorcize you and call you forth … I conjure you … I

conjure you and order and command you … I call you forth …

> I invoke you powerfully … I invoke and conjure you powerfully and exorcise you … I invoke and conjure and exorcize and constrain you …
>
> we exorcize and command you … we exorcize and manfully command you.
>
> I invoke you on behalf of [*ex parte*] the Father, I provoke you on behalf of the Son, I invoke you on behalf of the Holy Spirit [17]

Approximately 43 per cent of the time the second and following declarations are preceded by ‘likewise’ (*item*), which reinforces the sense and the force of the serial construction.

But while the declarations are most often statements of command, not infrequently they express supplication: ‘I supplicate you’; ‘I beseech you’; ‘I beseech you, I supplicate you, I request of you’; ‘I pray you’; ‘I pray, ask, and entreat’. [18] Alternatively, the declaration may be one not of command alone but also of constraint (‘I invoke, conjure, and constrain you’), a claim to yet higher power over the spirits. [19] A command may in principle be refused; coercion may not. As with humans, however, so too with demons, the distinction becomes blurred: a command supported by sufficient authority, or coupled with compelling threats, may be as compelling psychologically as brute force is physically.

The address

If the declaration is the conjurer's statement of intent, indicating how he perceives his action *vis-à-vis* the spirits, the address is the element in the conjuration that shows which spirits were being called upon – not an insignificant matter, either from the magicians' perspective or from the viewpoint of authorities investigating the practice of magic. The address is our chief source of information for the demonology and angelology of the magicians. This topic will be explored more fully in the next chapter, but may be touched upon here. The address is sometimes an apostrophe, in the vocative case ('I conjure you, O Brimer, Suburith, Tranayrt, Lyroth, Berien, Damay'), and sometimes an appositive phrase, in the accusative case ('I conjure all you demons inscribed on this ring'). [20] While the spirits are commonly both named and characterized, the name and the description do not always occur in the same part of the conjuration. And the conjuration mentioned above refers first to 'all you demons inscribed on this ring' and then addresses them twice by name. When the declaration is repeated, the address is sometimes replicated exactly as it was first given, but frequently the later declarations addresses merely the 'aforesaid demons' (*prenominatos demones*), as often as ten or eleven times in a single conjuration. [21] When multiple demons are being conjured they are usually all named, but one conjuration addresses the demon Lylet along with her companions (*socii*), who remain unnamed. [22]

In divinatory experiments, not only the informing spirits but also the boy serving as the necromancer's medium are often conjured to tell the truth. In such cases the conjuration is addressed to the boy simply as *puer* (no. 22) or, more often, as 'young virgin' or 'virginal youth' (*virgo iuuenis*). [23] Less often, objects used in the experiments are at times conjured and thus addressed: an image or a cloak. Power-bearing names are also addressed ('O ye most holy names'). [24] Two experiments have conjurations addressed to the spirit who has taken the form of a horse. [25] In most contexts, the beings whose support is most needed and whose resistance is most feared are the spirits, and they are thus the ones chiefly subject to the magician's conjuration.

The invocations

As the fundamental source of efficacy by which a conjuration works, the invocations call upon the sacred power of numinous beings, names and events, power that can be wielded against the addressees and can make them to carry out the master's will. For example, a conjuration in one experiment (no. 7) invokes the power of God; events in the life of Christ; various sacred personages (Mary, the saints, then specifically the apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and widows); the sacred names of God (which bring great fear to 'all things in heaven, on earth, and in hell'); the power of the demons' own princes, kings, lords, and superiors; the spirits' own powers; their habitation, of which the circle is a representation, and 'all the figures present within it', although in fact there are no figures thus depicted. The invocations are strung together in a manner reminiscent of a litany, in most cases between two and eight in a single conjuration, but not uncommonly as many as twenty-four. Only four experiments, all divinatory and involving the cooperation of a child medium, have conjurations with more than twenty-four invocations, and one of these runs to fully fifty-eight. [26]

Invocations can be found in mainstream Christian prayers from the late Middle Ages as well as in conjurations. The *Obsecro te* found in the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, invoked Mary by the joy she experienced at the Annunciation, by the tender care with which the Son of God entered her womb, by the joys she had in her Son, by the compassion she felt before the cross, and so forth. [27] The difference is that here the events are conceived as having psychological force: they are persuasive because they are remembered, and the point of the prayer is to call them to the Virgin's mind so that, moved by the recollection of what she herself experienced, she will have compassion on those for whom the events of Christ's life were performed – just as Christ himself is reminded of his Passion in the *Dies irae* and urged to mercy so that his suffering may not be in vain. In magical conjurations, the sacred persons, events, and objects cited serve more as powerful but impersonal weapons in a contest of wills, by which the magician may gain the upper hand over an unwilling spirit – as *arma nigromantica*, so to speak. A closer orthodox equivalent would be the petitions in the Litany of the Saints in which Christ is asked to 'free' humanity (*libera nos, domine*) by the successive acts of his life and death (*per natiuitatem tuam*, and so forth), but here the wording posits a natural and objective

relationship between the sacred events and the desired effect: the normally expected effect of Christ's passion and death is to redeem humankind, not to give necromancers power over demons. Although the invocations are often by far the lengthiest in the elements of a conjuration, their meaning thus depends on the far shorter wording of the declaration and the instruction. If the purpose of the invocations is to call upon the sacred power of persons, objects and events, this power is like electricity, capable of running the most various machines and working diverse effects, both beneficent and brutally maleficent.

The subjects whose power is invoked fall into nine general categories. The examples given here are more than merely illustrative – they include the most common and significant cases within each category – but not exhaustive: ***1. God:*** 'by God' (no. 20)

'by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit' (no. 11) 'by the undivided and inseparable Trinity in which are three persons, namely the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from both' (no. 8) 'by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, to which every name is bowed [*sic* – cf. Phil. 2:10] and every tongue proclaims Hosanna' (no. 11) 'by the living and true God' (no. 25)

'by Him who is everlasting and eternal, and by Him who gave us the grace not to stand in Hell' (no. 8) 'by God almighty, by Jesus Christ his Son, and by his Trinity, and by that providence which God had in [His] mind before the world was made, by the wisdom of God's eternity by which he made heaven stand above and established and perfected the world below … and by the prudence by which God separated light from darkness and created both, by the Word of God by which he made heaven and earth …' (no. 39) 'by the creator of heaven and earth, and by Him who created all things for the praise and glory of his name, and by the living God, and by the holy God, and by the true God' (no. 43) 'by the virtue and power of the divine majesty' (no. 3) 'by the ineffable virtue and omnipotence of the creator' (no. 33) ***2. Sacred names for God or Christ:*** 'by the names which strike fear and terror in you' (no. 3) 'by the holy names by whose power you are bound' (no. 1) Tetragrammaton (*passim*) Adonay (nos 1, 7, 10, 13, 23, 25, 27, 28, 33, 35, 39) El (nos 14, 28, 33, 39)

Ely (nos 7, 14, 23, 25, 27, 28, 35)
Eloy (nos 25, 27, 28, 33, 35, 39)
Alpha et O (nos 10, 25, 27, 28, 33, 39)
Emanuel (nos 20, 23, 23, 25, 27, 28, 33, 39)
Messyas (nos 7, 10, 23, 27, 28, 39)
Soter (nos 7, 10, 25, 27, 28, 39)
Sabaoth (nos 1, 5, 7, 10, 13, 23, 25, 27, 33, 35, 39) 62 unspecified names of Christ (no. 39)

99 names spoken by the daughters of Israel (no. 33) ***3. Events from the life of Christ (usually emphasizing the Passion):*** 'by the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the baptism of Christ; by the fast of Christ; by the death of Christ; by the Passion of Christ; by the resurrection of Christ; by the ascension; by the coming of the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete' (no. 40) 'by the annunciation of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the sacred fast of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the baptism of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the temptation of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the 1,006 wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the 106 wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the 56 wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ, not including the others from his head to his feet; by the crown of thorns which they placed on the head of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and they knelt down [and]

mocked him, saying “Hail, king of the Jews”; by the reed and the blows with which they struck Christ; and by the three nails; by the lance with which the sacred body of Our Lord Jesus Christ was pierced, and at once blood and water flowed out; by the outburst of the holiness of Our Lord Jesus Christ, “Into thy hands I commend my spirit”’ (no. 38; cf. no. 39) ***4. The saints:*** ‘by all the holy men and holy women [*sanctos et sanctas*] of God’

‘by the four evangelists, Luke, Mark, Matthew, [and] John; by the four sermons; by the twelve apostles; by the three magi, Caspar, Balthasar, [and] Melchior; by the patriarchs [and] prophets; by the martyrs and confessors; and by all the popes of Rome, and all the virgins and widows; and by all the bishops; and by all the abbots; by all the priors; by all the provosts; by all the archdeacons; and by all deacons; by all monks; by all nuns; by all priests; by all deacons and subdeacons; by all the saints of God; by the merits of all the saints; by all the Christian people; and by all the saints who are in heaven and on earth; and by the 144 thousand innocents …’ (no. 38) ‘by the faith of the prophets, by the proclamations of the patriarchs, by the dignity of the twenty-four elders, by the creed of the apostles, by the passion of the martyrs, by the confessing of the confessors, by the chastity of the virgins, by the gospels of the evangelists …’ (no. 39) by the virginity of Mary, John the Evangelist, Catherine, Agatha, Cecilia, and Barbara (nos 27, 28). [28]

‘by all the bodies of the saints that lie in Rome’ (no. 12) ***5. The Virgin Mary:*** ‘by Saint Mary the virgin’ (no. 29)

‘by the gracious and most merciful and undefiled and uncorrupt virgin Mary, the mother of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who, dying for us wretched sinners, called us to the heavenly fatherland’ (no. 7) by her virginity (no. 28)

by her tears (no. 40)

by her milk (no. 12)

by her names – Queen, Flower, Rose, Lily, Ladder, Wisdom, Life, Sweetness, Mercy, and Hope (no. 10) ***6. The angels:*** ‘by the angels and archangels, thrones and dominations, principalities, powers, virtues of the heavens, cherubim and seraphim’ (no. 40) ‘by the thrones, dominations, powers, and principalities of Our Lord Jesus Christ; and by all the angels and archangels who dwell before the throne of God, crying out with one voice, “Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.”’ (no. 9) ‘by the nine orders of angels’ (no. 29)

by the archangels Michael, Gabriel and Raphael (no. 38) ***7. Material creatures:*** ‘by all things that were and are and will be’ (no. 2) ‘by all things that exist beneath the heavens’ (no. 35) ‘by all the powers of heaven and earth’ (no. 35) ‘by heaven and earth, by the sea, by all things that are in them, by all emperors, by all kings, by all princes, by all counts, by all knights, by all citizens’ (no. 38) ‘by all things that the four parts of the world contain, and by the ages of the world, and by all animals that exist beneath the heavens, and by serpents and flying things, bipeds, tripeds, quadrupeds’ (no. 40) ‘by heaven and earth, the sea and hell, and all things existing in them’ (no. 11) by the heavenly and earthly Paradise (no. 10) ‘by the eternity of all creatures’ (no. 5)

by the five *secula* and seven *etates* of the world (no. 39) ‘by the Sun and Moon and all the heavenly stars, and by all those things which have [power] to frighten and constrain you, and by the power of which it behoves you to come to us who summon you’ (no. 6) ‘by all things which have [power] to terrify, constrain, and bind you, and whose command it behoves you to fulfill completely’ (no. 11) ‘by your virtue and power, and by all things that have power against you’ (no. 11) by the sacraments of baptism (no. 33)

by the eucharist (nos 12, 38, 39)

by the four rivers of Paradise (no. 8)

8. The Last Judgement: ‘by the fearful day of judgement’ (no. 35)

‘by the fearful day of judgement of God most high, and by the fiery consumption, and by the glassy sea which is before the gaze of the divine majesty, and by the four animals … before the throne of the divine majesty, with eyes before and behind’ (no. 33) ‘by the fearful day of judgement, on which you are all to be damned’ (no. 40) ***9. The rulers of the demons:***

‘by Toth, your prince; by Zambrim et Mambrim; by Vsuel [and] by Saduel, to whom you are held to obey and tell the truth’ (no. 33) ‘by the power and dignity of Lucifer, Aphaleon and Neutrion’ (no. 8) ‘by your master Astaroth’ (no. 40) ‘by all your princes, kings, lords and superiors, and by your hell, and by all those things that exist in it’. (no. 10) ‘by the virtue and power of all your princes, kings, lords and superiors, and by your [own] virtue and potentiality and potency [*possibilitatem ac potenciam*], and by your dwelling place, of which this [circle] is a form, and by all the figures abiding in it’ (no. 7) The invocations used by far most often and consistently are those in the first two categories – those appealing to the power of the divine persons, powers and names. Of these, the most common is the Tetragrammaton, the *nomen altissimum* in no. 14, spelled *Tetragramaton* (nos 1, 10, 13, 14, 25, 27, 28, 35), and also produced as Y-V-E and HX-V-V-HV, while Y-V-E-X is given as a name used by Abraham (no. 33). [29] The most extended and perhaps the most interesting series of invocations referring to the divine names is one (no. 33) with thirty-one specific names associated with events from salvation history, particularly the Exodus: We exorcise and command you by the most mighty and potent name of God, El, strong and wondrous; by Him who spoke and it was made; by all his names; and by the Name YVE, which Moses heard and spoke … and by the name YVEX, and with the name [Y]V[E]X, which Abraham heard, and he knew the almighty God; and by the name Joth, and with the name Joth, which Jacob heard from the angel accompanying him, and he was freed from the hand of his brother Esau; and by the name Eyzaserie, and with the name Eyzaserie, which Moses heard on the mountain, and he merited to be now with God, and to hear him speaking in the flame; and by the name Anathematon, and with the name Anathematon, which Aaron heard, and he became eloquent and wise …

This conjuration proceeds to invoke the names the names Sabaoth, Oristion, Eloy, Yephaton, Arbitrios, Elyon, Adonay, Pantheon and Arimon, by which Moses caused the plagues in Egypt; Geremon, by which he freed the Israelites; Yegeron, by which he divided the Red Sea; Anabona, by which he merited to receive the tablets of the law; Egyryon, by which Joshua overcame his foes; Patheon, by which David was saved from Goliath, and so on. [30]

Names for Christ are sometimes derived from biblical images, especially in one extended series (no. 39): Messyas, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Panthon, Panthocrathon, Eloy, Theos, Hon, Vision, Saviour, Alpha and Omega, First and Last, First Born, Beginning and End, way, truth, and wisdom, virtue, Paraclete, I am who am, who are, mediator, lamb, sheep, ram, calf, serpent, kid, Word, image, glory, grace, salvation, light, salt, peace, splendour, bread, font, vine, shepherd, prophet, undying hope, king, father, almighty, merciful, eternal, highest good, Trinity, unity, Father, El, Eloy, Eloe, Eleon, Saday, Symator, Tu, Ye, Ye, Prince of Peace, Enstriel, spirit, fear, goodness, thou, unity of unities, threefold godhead.

Occasionally names for God are derived from Hebrew or Greek liturgical

formulas: AGLA (no. 33), the common magical abbreviation for the Hebrew *Ata gibor leolam Adonai* (‘Thou art mighty for ever, O Lord’); *Theos* (no. 39), *Yschiros* (no. 28), and *Athanatos* (nos 28, 33), names derived from the liturgical *trisagion*, taken over into the Latin liturgy of Good Friday in the original Greek); *Eleyson* (no. 28), from the *Kyrie eleison*. Other names derived from Greek titles are *ho ōn* (nos 14, 23, 27, 28, 33) or simply *Hon* (no. 25) (‘The Existing One’), and Pancraton (nos 28, 33) or Panthocrathon (no. 39), presumably variants on *Pantocrator*, ‘the Almighty’ or ‘Ruler of All’. [31]

In short, what Joseph Kaster says about mastery of the divine names in ancient Egyptian ritual applies in Jewish and Christian contexts as well: ‘whoever knows the god’s real name, secret and ineffable and taboo, has control over him in the sense that he can evoke his power. In all ceremonial magic, the essential portion of the spell is the calling forth of the spirit or deity by *name*; when he is evoked by his real name, he must work the desire of the magician who “controls” him. This is “a name to conjure with”.’ [32]

On occasion the names of the demons, like those of God and Christ, are represented as possessing power: one invokes the demonic names Apolyn, Gebel, Astaroth, Tereol, Falmar and Tyroces (no. 5); another has an invocation ‘by the name of your highest prince’ (no. 27).

Certain conjurations invoking events from the life of Christ make explicit what is presumably implied elsewhere, that they are calling not so much upon the events themselves as upon the power manifested in the events: ‘by the power by which Our Lord Jesus Christ entered in to his disciples when the doors were closed’ (no. 35); ‘by the power of Our Lord Jesus Christ, to wit that for us humans he descended from heaven and was born of the virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate …’ (no. 38).

On rare occasions the invocations appeal to the very practice of magic, whether historical or present: spirits are conjured by ‘all the experiments of Virgil [the necromancer]’ (no. 38), [33] by the ring brought for the experiment (no. 3), or by the magical circle used for the experiment, ‘by which you are effectively called forth’ (no. 9). In view of the magical powers often ascribed to Solomon, it is not surprising to find his rings invoked, along with the signs and names inscribed on them (nos 28, 33); his seven signs, his seal, and his characters (nos 27, 38); or his wisdom (nos 12, 30, 38). [34] Often the invocations show a preference for saints grouped in threes: most especially the three magi, Caspar, Balthasar and Melchior; also the three young men Sydrac, Mysaach and Abdenago and the three patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. [35] The virgin child

medium conjures spirits by his own virginity, and the master conjures him by the virginity he has maintained and the baptism he has received (nos 27, 28).

When Oriens is conjured, the invocations refer to his own dignities and subordinate spirits: 'by your kings, and by all your royal powers; by Sotuem [and] Sortfen; by your Sun, a most holy and sacred radiant treasure, bright and shining, which your excellence sends forth and which your manifest and benign power sends back; and by all your dignities and commands' (no. 41).

A conjuration from the supplementary material in Clm 849 commands the demons by virtue of two biblical analogies: O you demons, and all princes and every kind of demons, whom your guilt cast out from heaven on high, I adjure you and order you to obey my command and my precepts. Just as God commanded the Jordan and it stood still that the children of Israel might walk across without hindrance, so to I command you to obey my precepts day and night, at all hours and moments, [and be subject] to my precepts. Just as the Red Sea obeyed Moses and Aaron when it divided and presented a dry path for the children of Israel, so by invocation of Our Lord Jesus Christ I command you to obey me without delay, without harm or deception to me or any living thing … [36]

The Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, too, uses analogies in some of its conjurations: as Christ was 'fixed' to the cross by the Jews, so may the aerial spirits be 'fixed' by the power of the holy names; as the almighty Father (*sic*!) lay in the tomb for two days and arose on the third day, so may the aerial spirits rise up and come forth; may the master proceed securely along his way, as Jesus proceeded through the midst of his enemies and none of them laid a hand on him because his hour had not come. [37] These formulas are similar in form to invocations, and presumably the intended force is the same: the purpose of the analogy is presumably not only to clarify what the conjurer intends (in which case it would be ancillary to the instruction) but to call upon the power of the sacred event that is recalled.

The instruction

The part of the conjuration directing the addressee what to do is typically introduced with the conjunction meaning ‘that’ (*ut*, or sometimes *quatenus*, more rarely *quod*). The formula of instruction may be repeated once, twice, or more often (in one conjuration for experiment no. 39 as many as ten times), in which case the manuscript may give the full version only the first time and only the incipit for subsequent occurrences. [38] Necromantic texts sometimes speak of ‘obediencial conjurations’, intended to compel the spirits’ submission; ‘bonds’ or binding conjurations such as the ‘bond of Solomon’ (*vinculum Solomonis*), used in the Munich handbook’s divinatory experiments to keep the spirits from departing until they have answered all questions; [39] and ‘licencial conjurations’, dismissing the spirits and requiring them to return at the magician’s will. [40] The conjurations found in the Munich handbook, however, can most usefully be divided into ‘summoning conjurations’ and ‘executing conjurations’.

Summoning conjurations are used to instruct a spirit or spirits to come before the necromancer (‘that you come in a benign form’, ‘that you should come to me’, ‘that you should have no rest until you come to me’, ‘that you should at once proceed here’, or ‘that you should be compelled to come here’). [41] They may be commanded to appear in a reflecting surface as part of a divinatory experiment (‘that you should all appear’) or to send another spirit or spirits for that purpose (‘that you should command your master that he himself should come’, ‘that you should take pains to send one of your subordinates’, ‘that you should send me a certain spirit’, ‘that you should have your subordinates come here’, ‘that you, N., should make spirit N. come to me’). [42]

Executing conjurations, which require the spirit or spirits to carry out the will of the master, are more varied in proportion to the various purposes of the experiments. In psychological experiments the spirits are enjoined to affect the minds and hearts of the individuals singled out as victims (‘that you should sow and stir up hatred between them’, ‘that you should seduce the heart and mind of N. to my love’, ‘that you should never have rest until you make her heart burn with my love’). [43] In divinatory experiments involving a young boy as medium, either the master or the boy may conjure the father of lies or his minions to tell the truth, or the master may conjure the boy himself to do so (‘that you should relate to us whatever you see’, ‘that you should tell me the truth’, ‘that you should show me the truth’, ‘that you should have no rest unless you reveal to this

boy the thief and the theft'). [44] The spirits may be instructed to make possible the conditions for the bestowal of information – to enlighten the boy's mind, or to cause his fingernail to grow bright and appear large. [45] These conjurations may even involve the explicit insistence that the spirit or the child not lie, nor even have the power to conceal or deceive ('that you should have no power of concealing, but should manifest all that you see'). [46] The spirits may be conjured to entrust a treasure to the master ('that you should leave me a treasure'), to fetch and replace a woman ('that you should go to so-and-so and immediately fetch her here, and return her when I wish'), to guard some object, not to harm the master in the course of the experiment ('that you should have no power to harm me'), to protect the master ('that you should forthwith have these terrors removed', 'that you should avenge me against him who is trying to harm me'), or to obey the master's command generally ('that you should obey my command'). [47] The child medium may be conjured not only to tell the truth but, at an earlier stage, to gaze into his fingernail ('that you should gaze into [your] nail and see whether it becomes bright or not'). [48]

In some conjurations, to be sure, the distinction between summons and execution breaks down. In divinatory experiments the spirits may be simultaneously commanded to come, to make themselves seen, and to provide information ('that you should appear to me and give true responses', 'that you should come and appear and tell me the truth', 'that you should come and appear and reveal this to us', 'that you should appear and respond and reveal all the truth', 'that you should appear and reveal to us the truth', 'that you should come and answer me and tell the truth'). [49] Elsewhere they may told to come and bring an object ('that you should come to me, bringing a consecrated ring'), to come and transport the necromancer ('that you should come to me without delay, and carry me to such-and-such a place'), to come and consecrate an object ('that you should come here and consecrate this ring'), or simply to come and fulfill the master's will ('that you should come to me and carry out my entire will'). [50]

Executing conjurations need not be addressed to the spirits by whose power the operation is done. Experiment no. 12 contains two instructions to the woman whose passionate love is required, although the second of these vacillates between the second and the third person: 'that you should be unable to sleep until you complete my libidinous desire' and 'that, as the hart longs for the fountain of water [Ps. 41:2 Vult.], so you, N., should long for my love; and as the raven longs for the carcasses of dead people, so you should long for me [*sic*!]; and as this wax melts before the fire, so you, N., should long for my love,

so that you are unable …' In experiment no. 11, for a cloak of invisibility, the master conjures the cloak itself 'that no one may be able to see me'. In the simple experiments to obtain a horse, as in the complex experiment to procure a flying throne, the master conjures the horse or the throne to transport him, usually to a specified location ('that you should carry me', 'that you should lead me to such-and-such a place'). [51]

A bond of Satan or Mirage

One lengthy conjuration appears both in the Munich necromancer's handbook (no. 32) and again twice in the appended material; versions of it by three different hands are thus included in Clm 849. [52] The two isolated versions, which agree quite closely in their wording, are addressed to the demon (or 'ancient serpent') named Mirage; the version incorporated into the manual, which differs markedly from these at many points, addresses the Devil, or Satan, 'most wicked enemy of the faith, death of the human race, tempter of righteousness, lover of evils, root and kindling of vices, seducer of humans, and master', 'most wicked dragon', 'accursed and most mendacious spirit' and 'author of diabolical power, inventor of evils'. The conjuration begins anomalously with a statement regarding the powers being brought to bear against the Devil ('may the angels and archangels accuse you … may the elect of God accuse you'), followed by a prayer for divine aid ('God … I invoke your holy name … I humbly implore that you may deign to give me aid against this spirit Satan'). These elements are followed by simply commands addressed to the spirit himself ('Hear, therefore, Devil … come forth … I adjure you … to be subject to my commands and carry them out'). The instructions are for the most part purely generic: 'I adjure you … to do quickly whatever I command you', or 'to do quickly whatever I order and command of you', or 'I adjure and constrain and command you … to obey me without any impediment or harm or wound or affliction to my body or soul'. At the end, however, the instruction is specific but allows for such variation that the effect is still to make this a generic conjuration, for virtually any purpose: [Come] to me in this hour, without any harm or injury or affliction to my soul or my body, or send another [spirit] or have him come, who will know perfectly how to fulfil my every desire, and will not withdraw from me until I have given him leave and he has fully satisfied my will. I conjure you by all that is written above to make a spirit come to me carrying gold and silver [coins] and [hidden] treasures, before I withdraw from this place. And as often as I invoke him, let

him appear at once, benign and humble, harming no one, and ministering to me in all things, and fulfilling my will. So be it, so be it, amen. And bring or send me a spirit willing and competent in all knowledge. May he have the power to make me invisible whenever I wish. And let him please me, and be always under my power. And provide him also with the power to consecrate books and experiments, and everything that I wish. Amen, amen, amen.

Repeatedly the will of the conjuror is identified with that of God: the spirit is told that God himself commands him, or that the conjuror does so not by his own power but by that of God, or 'by the power which I have over you, Mirage, given me by God almighty in baptism and the other sacraments'. At one point the conjuration reads, 'The Word made flesh commands you, He who was born of the virgin commands you, Jesus of Nazareth commands you, He who created you commands you to carry out quickly what I ask or wish to have from you or desire to know; the more you delay in doing what I command you, the greater will be your punishment from day to day.' The reminder of the punishment awaiting the spirit on the Day of Judgement, and the threat of heightened torment as a penalty for disobedience, is also repeated – somewhat as elsewhere (no. 2) a spirit is threatened with being cast forever into the depths of the sea. [53]

The conjuration of Mirage, from the supplementary material in the codex, is followed by material that the main block does not take over: a set of instructions for constructing a circle in a secret location, with various prayers, and supplementary conjurations in which Mirage is threatened with intensified pains if he does not present himself: 'If not, I exorcize you that the chains of your punishment may be rife with sulpur and pitch.' [54] The spirit is to be conjured a second and third time, if necessary, but no more. [55]

Exorcisms and conjurations

Adolf Franz published a lengthy formula of exorcism taken from a West Frankish manuscript of the ninth century, which reads in part: … I conjure you, Devil, Satan, Enemy,

- by God the Father almighty;
- and by those virtues which the Lord himself made and makes; • by those angels he has before himself in [his] mind; …
- by those four animals which uphold the world itself; • by every good creation that God has made in heaven and on earth; • and by the light and the earth and all its creeping things; by all these things I conjure you that you should not have power to remain, for he commands you who ordered you to be cast down from the kingdom of heaven on high. Hear, therefore, and be afraid [*Audi ergo et time ergo*], Devil, Satan, Enemy; you are banned, and again I speak to you and conjure you • by that king who rules and commands all things …

Again I have said to you, O infernal enemies, by all things that I have had in mind for you [in] so great a conjuration as this, that you should not have power to remain or to do harm or to rebel…. I exorcize you, O accursed one, most unclean spirit, basilisk dragon, noxious serpent … that you should go out from this temple of God … I exorcize you, O unclean spirit, author of sins, deceiver of souls, envious one, insatiable homicide who endeavoured to kill the immortal man whom God created by his power…. In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ I adjure you, O enemy … I conjure you and entreat [*obtestor*] you, O enemy, [that] you should not have power to remain here in this person's soul or body … I adjure you • by the gates of Paradise;

- by the six golden candlesticks [Apoc 1:12]…

I speak to you in truth, O unclean spirit, dragon, I adjure you,

- by the Holy Spirit;
- I adjure you by the six fiery furnaces;
- I adjure you by the cherubim and seraphim; • I adjure you by the wings of the winds;
- I adjure you by the mystery of Christ's [passion]; • I adjure you by the resurrection of Christ the Lord; • I adjure you by the precious pearls;
- I adjure you by the years [and] by the days; • I adjure you by the passion of the saints; • I adjure you by him who who freed the people Israel from the Red Sea, who freed Daniel from the lion's den, who illumined the blind, healed the paralytics, [and] cleansed the lepers.

I adjure you now by him, O enemy, unclean one, inveterate dragon, [that] you should depart from the soul and withdraw from the body or from all the inward parts of [this] servant of God….

It is not I who command you, nor my sins, O most unclean spirit, but the immaculate lamb, Jesus Christ Our Lord, the Son of God, commands you.

The angels press upon [*urguent*] you, the archangels press upon you, the

prophets press upon you, the apostles press upon you, the martyrs press upon you, the confessors press upon you. Therefore may the arts of the Devil fail [*defici[a]nt ergo artes diaboli*] by day [and] by night …

I exorcize you, O author of diabolical power, inventor of malice … [56]

The essential elements of this formula are exactly those seen in necromantic conjurations of a much later era. There are, to be sure, distinctive embellishments. First, the devil being expelled is not only named (Devil, Satan, Enemy) but characterized: he is the 'accursed one, most unclean spirit, basilisk dragon, noxious serpent', or the 'unclean spirit, author of sins, deceiver of souls, envious one, insatiable homicide who endeavoured to kill the immortal man whom God created by his power', and as the 'author of diabolical power, the inventor of malice', and so forth. Second, he is expelled from the energumen's body as well as his soul. Third, it is expressly said not merely that the exorcist commands in the name of Christ (as in Acts 16:18) but that Christ himself is the one who commands, even if through the exorcist. Fourth, various sacred figures are represented as participating in the exorcist's struggle with the malign spirit: the angels, archangels, prophets, apostles, martyrs and confessors all place pressure upon the possessing devil (*urguent*, for *urgent*), or denounce him (reading *arguunt*). And fifth, the second-person address is interrupted with a third-person subjunctive urging that the Devil's arts or snares may come to naught. The essential structure of the formula remains unaffected by these elements, but the network of relations is rendered more complex. The exorcist insults the spirit with whom he is engaged in struggle, identifies his own action as that of Christ, and calls upon the angels and saints not simply as possessors of power that can be tapped through invocation but as active participants in the contest. The representation of the exorcism as a cosmic combat, perhaps a local instance of that apocalyptic conflict that Christ initiated in his own exorcisms and carried forward in his passion and resurrection, here becomes exceptionally dramatic and explicit.

As already indicated, the conjurations of the necromancer are identical in form to the exorcisms designed to dispel demons. The resemblance may be seen in a manual for exorcizing the possessed that was printed several times in the late fifteenth century went by the title *The Conjuration of Malign Spirits Dwelling in the Bodies of People, as it is Done in Saint Peter*. [57] The simplest form of exorcism used here is simply, 'I exorcize you, unclean spirit, in the name of God the Father almighty ✠ and in the name of Jesus Christ his Son ✠

and by the power of the Holy Spirit ✠ that you should recede from this servant of God, N.' Like the conjurations of exorcists, however, the formulas used here become extended through repetition of the instruction and through numerous invocations: I conjure you, O Devil, by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by the patriarchs and prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and all the holy men and holy women of God … and by our Lord Jesus Christ I conjure you, that you should recede from this servant of God, N. I conjure you, O Devil, by the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he endured for the human race, that you should recede from this servant of God, N. I conjure you, O Devil, by the holy cross on which our Lord [died for] the servant of God, N., that you should not be able to conceal yourself in his body, nor in his members, nor in his head. I conjure you, Devil, by the nails of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which his hands and feet were affixed to the cross, that you should withdraw from this servant of God, N., that you not be able to conceal yourself in his mouth or head. I conjure you, Devil, by the lance that Longinus held, by which he pierced the side of our Lord Jesus Christ, and blood and water flowed out, that you not be able to conceal yourself in his throat or on his tongue or under his tongue, or in his other members. I conjure you, Devil, by the death and burial of Christ, from which he rose from the dead on the third day, that you not be able to conceal yourself in his bowels or inward parts. I conjure you, Devil, by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, in which he appeared to his disciples, saying, 'It is I, do not be afraid,' and he commanded them, saying, 'Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creatures; he who believes and is baptized will be saved, but he who does not believe will be condemned'; by the aforesaid words I conjure and admonish you that you should recede from this servant of God, N. I conjure you, O Devil, by the ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you should recede from this servant of God, N. I conjure you, Devil, by the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete most high, whom our Lord Jesus entrusted to his disciples in fiery tongues, that you should recede from this servant of God, N., and not return any more, nor make any [spirit] return to him, and as God separated heaven from earth, truth from falsehood, good from evil, sweet from bitter, so may you be separated from this servant of God and not be able to approach him any more …

The exorcist claims directly the authority of Christ, proclaiming that Christ himself commands the spirit to withdraw: He commands you, accursed devil, who walked on the sea with dry feet…. He commands you, accursed devil, who

commanded the winds and the sea and the storms. He commands you, accursed devil, who ordered that you be cast from the heights of heaven to the depths of Earth….

He further threatens the spirit by reminding him of the punishments prepared for him: ‘Nor should you be unaware, Satan and Belzebuch, that pains and torments will come upon you in the day of judgement and in that eternal day when God will come like a fiery furnace to judge the living and the dead….’ Not only the general structure of the formulas but even the precise wording echoes the conjurations of the Munich handbook and other necromantic texts. At one point, for example, the manual for dispelling a demon parallels the conjuration of Mirage: You, therefore, most evil spirit, enemy of humankind, death’s plunderer [*raptor*], evader of justice [*iustitie declinator*], root of evils, font of vices, seducer of humans [*deductor hominum*] … master of demons …

> You, therefore, most evil Mirage, enemy of the faith of humankind, inventor [*repertor*] of death, herald of injustice [*iniusticie declarator*], root of evils, inciter of vices, seducer of humans [*seductor hominis*], master of demons … [58]

Unlike the rite in this oft-published work, the exorcism of elves and other ‘demons’ from a fifteenth-century medico-magical manuscript makes no pretence of official status, yet it is identical in its basic form to other exorcisms and conjurations: In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, amen. I conjure you, elves and all kinds of demons, of the night or of the day, by the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and the undivided Trinity, and by the intercession of the most blessed and glorious ever virgin Mary, by the prayers of the prophets, by the merits of the patriarchs, by the intercessions [*suffragia*] of the angels and archangels, by the intervention of the apostles, by the passion of the martyrs, by the faith of the confessors, by the chastity of the virgins, and by the intercession of all the saints, and by the Seven Sleepers, whose names are Malchus, Maximian, Dionysius, John, Constantine, Serapion, [and] Mortian [*MS* Martimanus], and by the name of the Lord God which is blessed forever ✠A✠G✠L✠A✠, that you should cause or inflict no harm or any evil on this servant of God, N., whether in sleep or while awake. ✠ Christ has conquered [*sic*] ✠ Christ reigns ✠ Christ rules ✠ may Christ bless us ✠ [and] defend us from every evil. ✠ Amen.

> In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, amen. ✠ In my name they will cast out demons, they will speak with new tongues, they will take up serpents, and if they drink any poison it will not harm them, [and] they will put their hands on the sick and will cure them. ✠ Wondrous cross, dispeller of sorrow, recovery of health. ✠ Behold the cross of the Lord; flee, adverse ones [*partes adverse*]. ✠ The lion of the tribe of Judah has conquered, the root of David has sprouted [*allam?*]. ✠ Christ conquers ✠ Christ reigns ✠ Christ rules ✠ may Christ defend this servant of God from every fantasy and every vexation of the Devil, and from every evil, at every hour and everywhere, by the power of the holy cross ✠ Amen ✠ agios ✠ hyskyros ✠ athanathos ✠ eleyson ✠. [59]

The same may be said of an exorcism of ‘malignant spirits’ found in the same manuscript: Hear, O accursed Satan, I adjure you by the name of the eternal God and of Our saviour, His Son Jesus Christ. Depart, trembling and sighing, overcome with your envy. Let there be nothing in common between you and your angels and the servant of God, N. Do not harm him or appear visibly before him, in his sleep or while he is awake. Again I conjure you demons or malignant spirits, whoever you are, by the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ on the cross, and by his bloody wounds. Again I conjure you by the death of Jesus Christ on the cross and the giving up of his spirit, which descended into hell and despoiled it, that now and henceforth you should always flee from this servant of God, N., and never enter into him, but go out and withdraw from him. Again I conjure you by the power of the words written here, if thou are or ye are within him, that thou shouldst or ye should (if you are many) go out from him, so that he may have no terror or disturbance from henceforth. This compels you: may the Word made flesh ✠ the holy cross of Christ, the nails, [and] the crown of thorns drenched in the blood of the Lamb of God on the cross save him, defend the bearer here and everywhere from every adversity and perversity of the Devil. In the name of the Father, *etc.* [60]

In exorcisms the boundary between mainstream tradition and deviant usage is difficult to define with precision, but the extreme cases are easy enough to determine. One late medieval manuscript requires that the energumen be laid before an altar after mass, inside a chalk diagram, with three stoles binding his body; another requires that the possessed person be dressed in a chasuble and stole and made to lie on his back, with feet turned toward the altar, while the

exorcist recites a ritual bond (*vinculum*) to control the evil spirits by the power of various divine names. [61] When Niccolò Consigli was tried at Florence in 1384, for example, he was accused not only of summoning demons to work harm but also of exorcizing the possessed and thus usurping clerical prerogatives. When a ten-year-old girl was brought to him he cured her of possession by laying her on a rug, and intoning a diabolical incantation that began 'Tant muructa? tiri?' [62] In comparison, the exorcisms cited above share their basic form (from declaration through instruction) with the necromantic conjurations we have examined, and they all rest on the mainstream theological assumption that the will of the demons can be constrained, with God's permission and aid, and through the power of the sacred. The necromancers shared with fully official exorcists a belief in the power of the holy to command and ultimately constrain the unclean spirits.

Following a suggestion of Lynn White, André Goddu has sought to explain what he sees as the 'failure of exorcism' in the fifteenth century largely in terms of a heightened consciousness of the possibility that exorcism may be ineffective. Faced with these diminished expectations, theologians began to argue that exorcism was indeed effective on the spiritual plane even if residual bodily effects remained. Alternatively, one could fall back on the time-honoured notion that if exorcism did not succeed then *prima facie* the condition was not truly one of demonic possession. [63] Interesting as his argument is, it rests upon the questionable assumption that the use of exorcism in fact declined. What Goddu shows is that in the October volumes of the *Acta sanctorum* there is diminished occurrence of exorcism in materials from the fifteenth century. But he seems to be referring mainly not to actual exorcisms performed by saints while they were alive, but rather expulsion of demons worked at the tombs of deceased saints, which have indirect relevance at most to the study of exorcism. More compelling is the suggestion of Nancy Caciola, that precisely in the fifteenth century there was *increasing* interest in exorcism as a quasi-liturgical ritual, and that extensive manuals on exorcism, with formulas and instructions for its use, are chiefly the produce of this century. To be sure, there were lengthy formulas in earlier eras, mainly derived from baptismal exorcisms, but before the fifteenth century exorcisms tended to be more concise, and the techniques in large measure improvised. [64] The Munich handbook was thus riding on the crest of a new development: what it represents is a particular version (or, from an orthodox perspective, perversion) of a more general interest in the elaboration and assembly of materials for the commanding of malign spirits. Once again we

can see conjuration as the reverse side of a tapestry whose obverse consists of orthodox exorcism – both taking on new significance, as it happens, at the same time that literal tapestries were becoming more significant and more elaborate in European artistic practice.

Notes

1 A.G. Little, ed., *Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicantium, saeculo XIII compositus a quodam Fratre Minore Anglico de provincia Hiberniae, secundum codicem Dunelmensem editus* (Aberdeen: Typis Academicis, 1908), 22. Barbara Newman, who is working on the theme of demon-preachers in and around the thirteenth century, called this text to my attention.

2 See Richard P.H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988): 277, on texts in which it appears that God is being commanded or conjured.

3 Lester K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993).

4 See the curse directed against thieves in the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, fols 121r–121v: *Obscurentur oculi eorum ne videant et dorsum eorum semper incurua. Irruat super eos formido et pauor in magnitudine brachij tui. Fiant inmobiles quasi lapis, donec pertranseat populus tuus, domine, donec pertranceat* [*sic*] *populus tuus* [*sic*] *iste quem possedisti, etc* …. (Cf. 124r–124v.) 5 In the Vulgate, Song of Songs 2:7, *Adiuro vos, filiae Hierusalem, per capreas cervosque camporum, ne suscitetis neque evigilare faciatis dilectam.*

6 C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939–1210* (Philadelphia, 1985), 238, citing Nicetius, *Epistulae Austrasicae*, in MGH Epp. Merow. et Karol. aev., 1/3/9, 119–22.

7 Charles Plummer, ed., *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), 143: *illa bestia fugata ad persequentem se uoce humana dixit: 'Adiuro te in nomine Brigide, uirginis Hibernensis, ut me dimittas.'*

8 M.R. James, 'Twelve medieval ghost-stories', *English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), 413–22 (no. 3). On these cases see Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Les revenants: les vivants et les morts dans la société médiévale* (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 168–73.

9 Michael D. Swartz, 'Scribal magic and its rhetoric: formal patterns in medieval Hebrew and Aramaic incantation texts from the Cairo Genizah', *Harvard Theological Review*, 83 (1990), 163–80.

10 Rawl. 19r–20r, 124v, 139r–142r, 151v, 155r–156r; 148r–149r; 153r.

11 Martin Buber, *I and Thou*, 2nd edn, trans. Ronald Gregor Smith (New York: Scribner, 1958), 83.

12 See Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 78–80.

13 See Iohannes de Francofordia, *Quaestio, utrum potestas cohercendi demonis fieri possit per caracteres, figuras atque verborum prolationes* (1412), in Joseph Hansen, ed., *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter* (Bonn: Georgi, 190l; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 71–82. See also the conclusions of the Paris theologians, from 1398, in Jean Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Palemon Glorieux (Paris: Descle, 1961–73), vol. 10, p. 89: article 17 condemns the belief 'That by such arts demons are truly coerced and compelled and do not feign such compulsion to seduce people'.

14 *Precipio vobis* occurs six times (e.g., no. 38 and no. 39); *adiuro vos/te* twice; *exorzizo te*, *voco vos*, *invoco vos*, and *absoluo vos* also occur.

15 *Te invoco et adiuro* (no. 14); *coniuro vos et precipio vobis* (no. 39).

16 No. 27 (five times in a single conjuration), no. 39 (eleven times).

17 No. 12 (*coniuro … coniuro te … coniuro vos et exorcizo vos* [*et*] *impero vobis*); no. 39 (*coniuro vos … coniuro et contestor vos … adiuro vos* followed by eight more occurrences of *coniuro vos*); no. 8 (*vos*

coniuro et exorcizo, et prouoco vos … coniuro vos … coniuro vos et impero atque precipio vobis … vos advoco); no. 15 (*vos potenter invoco … vos invoco et coniuro potenter et exorziso … vos invoco et coniuro et exorcizo et constringo*); no. 33 (*vos exorcisamus atque imperamus … exorcizamus atque viriliter imperamus*); no. 11 (*invoco vos ex parte Patris, prouoco vos ex parte Filij, invoco vos ex parte Spiritus Sancti*). Further examples: *coniuro vos et advoco*, followed by *coniuro vos* twice; *coniuro vos* six times, followed by *precipio vobis*; *vos exorciso et coniuro … coniuro vos*; *vos coniuro et exorcizo et invoco … coniuro vos … coniuro vos et exorcizo*; *vos coniuro … coniuro vos … precipio vobis*; *vobis precipio … precipio vobis*; *coniuro vos … precipio vobis*; *vobis impero et precipio et coniuro … coniuro vos.*

18 No. 1 (*supplico vobis* and *te deprecor*); no. 4 (*vos deprecor, vobis supplico, vos rogito*); no. 22 (*te deprecor*); no. 23 (*te exoramus*); no. 24 (*rogo … rogo vos*); no. 29 (*te deprecor*); no. 41 (*precor te … vocor et contestor* and *precor, rogo, et peto*).

19 E.g., no. 6 (*rogo vos, coniuro et adiuro*). no. 15 uses the forms *coniuro et constringo te*; *te invoco, coniuro, et constringo*, and *te invoco et coniuro et constringo.*

20 Both from no. 10; the latter reads *Coniuro vos, omnes demones scriptos in hoc anulo*.

21 No. 39 and no. 40.

22 No. 23.

23 In no. 27 he is addressed several times by that designation and also as simply *virgo* or *infans*.

24 Nos 4 (*ymago*), 11 (*cappa*), 24 (*O vos sanctissima nomina*). no. 40 addresses *Jaspar, Balthasar, Melchior, Smoagel, Emanuel, et deus fortis*, but this appears to be a mistake; these names should appear in invocations rather than in an address.

25 Addressed as *eque bone* in nos 17 and 43.

26 A conjuration in experiment no. 38 has thirty-four, one in no. 40 has forty-six, one in no. 33 has forty-nine, and one in no. 39 has fifty-eight.

27 Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England*, c. *1400*–c. *1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 262f.

28 Cf. *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes of Acle: An Edition of Tanner MS 407*, ed. Cameron Louis (New York: Garland, 1980), 169–70.

29 Nos 1, 10, 13, 14 (where it is called the *nomen altissimum*), 25, 27, 28, 33 (where it is said to have been used by Abraham) and 35. On the Jewish background for magical use of the divine name see K. Kohler, 'The Tetragrammaton (Shem ham-M'forash) and its uses', *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy*, 1 (1919), 19–32.

30 Compare the wording of the conjuration in Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D 252, fols 87v–89v.

31 Nos 33 (AGLA); 39 (Theos); 28 (Yschiros); 28 and 33 (Athanatos); 28 (Eleyson); 14, 23, 27, 28, 33 (On); 25 (Hon); 28, 33 (Pancraton); 39 (Panthocrathon). One of the more extraordinary invocations is *per legem legalem et per spem sperantem et per karitatem karitatiuam* (no. 14), presumably an adaptation or garbling of the three theological virtues.

32 Joseph Kaster, trans. and ed., *The Wings of the Falcon* (New York, 1968), 60.

33 On the lore of Virgil see Domenico Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, trans. E.F.M. Benecke (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895), and J.W. Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer* (Cambridge, MA, 1934).

34 See esp. F.C. Conybeare, 'The Testament of Solomon', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 11 (1899), 1–45, but also John M. Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition* (Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1974), 30–35.

35 E.g., no. 20.

36 Fols 141r–141v.

37 Rawl. MS D 252, fols 16v–17v., 72r–72v.

38 E.g., nos 27, 35, 40.

39 No. 25, *vt non recedatis … quousque certificati fuerimus de omni re dubitabili*; no. 27, *vt non habeatis licenciam recedendi … donec … michi dicatis … veritatem*, and *vt non habeatis potestatem recedendi … donec … meam voluntatem adimpleueritis*, and *vt virtutem talem recipias quod quocumque fueris ligata, ipsi spiritus non habeant potestatem recedendi quousque velle ligatoris perficiant*). They may also be used to ensure that the spirits will repeat the desired effect on later occasions, at the master's will (no. 9, *vt iurare vos debeatis vt predictum equum semper ad me venire cogetis*). The term 'bond' (*hoc vinculum est legendum*) occurs in no. 33.

40 E.g., Rawlinson D 252, 4v, 43v (*coniuracio obediencialis*) and 12r, 14v, and 36v (*coniuracio licencialis*).

41 Nos 1, 6, 8, and 9. Also nos 7 and 9, *quatenus … ad me venire debeatis*, and *vt hic venire debeatis*; and no. 11, *quatenus … huc venire debeatis*.

42 Nos 1, 6, and 13. Also no. 24, *vt mittatis … angelos … qui dicant michi veritatem*; no. 27, *vt … vadas pro rege tuo et facias eum venire*; no. 38, *vt vestrum vnus … veniat vt iste puer possit eum … videre*; no. 41, *vt michi spiritum veritatis … mittere digneris*.

43 Nos 5, 13, and 35. Also no. 2, *vt eatis … et relinquatis talem in statu priori*, and *vt …* [*talem*] *personam … circuatis, et sensus eius … affligatis*; no. 4, *vt … ipsum* [?] *iuxta me taliter aligetis, vt me … veneretur*; and no. 5, *quatenus … odium … inseratis*.

44 Nos 22, 24, 27, and 38. Also no. 38, *vt michi sitis obedientes et isto puero … quod verum est … dicatis*, and no. 39, *quod … ostendatis et dicetis huic puero … vbi acceptum uel reconditum sit hoc furtum*.

45 No. 22, *quatenus isti puero tribuas scienciam et intellectum, vt michi veritatem annunciet*; no. 29, *illumina istius pueri cor* [*et*] *mentem, et fac vt michi veritatem … dicat … vt* [?] *indicet omnia*, and *vt isti puero tribuas scienciam et intellectum, vt michi veritatem … dicat*; no. 38, *vt … iste puer … possit videre furem cum furto*; no. 39, *quod vobis detis auctoritatem huic puero … audiendi, interrogandi, et videndi*, and *vt … vngwem huius pueri … crescere et clarescere faciatis … vt apparere possit … et videre in eo furem et furtum*; no. 40, *vt … faciatis vngwem istius pueri … crescere et clarescere … quod iste puer … in eo videre possit furem uel fures et furtum*.

46 No. 27.

47 Nos 33, 3, 43, 15, 39, 40.

48 No. 27; cf. no. 22.

49 Nos 23, 27, 28, 29, 33.

50. Nos 10, 15, 10, 39.

51 Nos 14, 15, 17, and 43.

52 The conjuration on fols 59v–69v is abbreviated; the full text is given on fols 109r–118r and 139r–146r. Compare the conjuration in Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D 252, fols 24r–29r.

53 For parallels see Marvin Meyer and Richard Smith, eds, *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (1994), 157, and Kaster, *Wings of the Falcon*, 151–2. See also *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.1.13, p. 141.

54 Fols 115v and 144r, *Alioquin exorcizo te ut cathene penales tue fecundantur* [or, on 144r, perhaps *secundantur*] *sulphure et pice*.

55 Fols 111v–118r and 141r–146r.

56 Adolf Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, 2 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909), 587–96.

57 *Coniuratio malignorum spirituum in corporibus hominum existentium prout in Sancto Petro* (Rome: Stephan Plannck, ca. 1492; also Rome: Eucharius Silber, ca. 1495, and other editions).

58 Clm 849, fols 109r–109v, 139v.

59 British Library, MS Sloane 962, fols 9v–10r: *In nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti, amen. Coniuro uos elues et omnia genera demonum nocturna siue diuturna per patrem, et filium, et spiritum sanctum, atque indiuiduam trinitatem, et per intercessionem beatissime et gloriose semperque virginis Marie, per oraciones prophetarum, per merita patriarcharum, per suffragia angelorum et archangelorum, per int*[*er?*]*uentum apostolorum, per passionem martyrum, per fidem confessorum, per castitatem virginum, et per intercessionem omnium sanctorum, et per septem dormientes, hos quorum nomina sunt hec: Malchus, Maximianus, Dionisius, Iohennes, Constantinus, Seraphion, Martimanus, et per nomen domini dei quod est benedictum in secula ✠ A ✠ G ✠ L ✠ A ✠ vt non noceatis neque aliquid mali faciatis vel inferatis huic famulo dei N. neque dormiendo neque vigilando. ✠ Christus uicit* [*sic*] *✠ Christus regnat ✠ Christus imperat ✠ Christus nos benedicat ✠* [*et*] *ab omni malo deffendat ✠ Amen. In nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti, amen. ✠ In nomine meo demonia eicient, linguis loquentur nouis, serpentes tollent, et si mortiferum quid biberint non eis nocebit, super egros manos imponent et bene habebunt. ✠ Crux admirabilis, euacuacio doloris, restitucio sanitatis. ✠ Ecce crucem domini, fugite partes* [*sic?*] *adverse. ✠ Vicit leo de tribu iuda, radix Dauid* [Apoc 5:5] *allam* [*sic?*]. *✠ Christus vincit ✠ Christus regnat ✠ Christus imperat ✠ Christus hunc famulum dei N. ab omni fantasia et ab omni vexacione diaboli et ab omni malo omni hora et vbique per virtutem sancte crucis deffendat ✠ Amen ✠ agios ✠ hyskyros ✠ athanathos ✠ eleyson ✠.*

60 Fol. 10r: *Contra malignos spiritus. Audi maledicte Sathana, adiuro te per nomen eterni dei et saluatoris nostri filij eius Ihesu Christi, cum tua victus inuidia, tremens gemensque, discede. Nichil tibi neque angelis tuis sit commune cum famulo dei N., neque noceas ei, neque appareas coram illo visibiliter, sompniendo neque vigilando, et iterum coniuro vos demones siue spiritus malignos, quicumque sitis, per aspercionem sanguinis Ihesu Christi in cruce, et eius vulnera cruentata. Et iterum coniuro vos per mortem Ihesu Christi in cruce et spiritus emissionem, qui ad infernum descendit et ilum spoliauit, vt nunc et a modo semper fugiatis ab hoc famulo dei N. et nunquam in eum introeatis sed exeatis et recedatis ab eo. Et iterum coniuro vos per virtutem verborum istorum infrascriptorum hic* [MS *hoc*?], *si infra eum sis vel sitis, vt exeas vel exeatis, si plures sitis, ab illo vt nullum a modo habeat terrorem neque vexacionem. Hoc vos cogat, verbum caro factum ✠ crux Christi sancta* [MS *sancea* or *santea*], *claui, corona spinea in sanguine agni dei in cruce perfusa, saluent ei, deffendant hic et vbique ferentem* [*sic*] *ista ab omni aduersitate diaboli et peruersa. In nomine patris, etc.*

61 Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, 2, p. 573.

62 Gene A. Brucker, ed., *The Society of Renaissance Florence: A Documentary Study* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 261–6; Gene A. Brucker, ‘Sorcery in early Renaissance Florence’, *Studies in the Renaissance*, 10 (1963), 13–16, 22f.

63 André Goddu, ‘The failure of exorcism in the Middle Ages’, in A. Zimmermann, ed., *Soziale Ordnungen im Selbstverständnis des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1980), 540–57.

64 Nancy Caciola, ‘Discerning Spirits: Sanctity and Possession in the Later Middle Ages’ (University of Michigan dissertation, 1994), Ch. V: ‘Exorcism from spectacle to ritual’.

7

Demons and Daimons: The Spirits Conjured

In his recent study of late Byzantine demonology, Richard Greenfield distinguishes between a ‘standard orthodox’ tradition of demonology and ‘alternative’ traditions. The former sees demons as immaterial, as ranked under a single chief (Satan, the Devil), and as acting only with God’s permission or through illusion (which they use because, weakened by Christ, they must dupe humans into believing they still wield power). The latter ascribe some degree of materiality to them, classify them in various hierarchies with multiple leaders, and ascribe some power to the demons themselves. [1] Greenfield says that in the alternative traditions, ‘it is always assumed that the demons are free to obey the practitioner or are capable of doing what he wants as long as sufficient or coercion is provided. There is no suggestion that they can only do so if allowed to by God for the ends of divine providence or

economy, the state of affairs required by standard belief – indeed, many of the purposes for which they are employed would seem to be most inappropriate, if not actually contradictory to normal Christian concepts of God's purposes.' [2] Greenfield does not mean to suggest a clear or sharp dichotomy, but rather a strong difference in tendency between the theological purists and those with alternative and at least implicitly non-orthodox views.

With perhaps some differences in nuance, one can make the same rough distinction for the later medieval West as well, and some if not all of the specific contrasts that Greenfield isolates would apply in the West. Most fundamentally, one can discern – in the Munich manuscript, as in Western magic generally – a tension between the early Christian notion of demons as fallen angels, whose status is determined by their free moral act of rebellion against God, and the Graeco-Roman conception of *daimones* (or *daemones* in Latin) as spirits linked with the world of nature, whose status is fixed by their natural position within the hierarchy of beings. Apuleius's *De deo Socratis* remained long influential in Christian tradition, despite its incongruence with the notion of demons as fallen angels; for Apuleius, *daemones* were rational beings whose natural sphere was the sublunary air, just as gods and humans are rational beings residing in the ether and on earth respectively. They are not naturally evil, but may be either good or evil. [3] The conjurations of late medieval necromancers, resembling as they do the exorcisms intended for the possessed, presuppose that the spirits in question are the same sort of fallen ones that Christ expelled from the energumens of first-century Palestine. But intermingled with references to such manifestly maleficent beings are notions of benign or neutral spirits, neither angels nor demons in classical Christian terms, a category not recognized in the

orthodox theology of the late Middle Ages. [4] One might thus say that the conjurations betray a tension between ‘demonology’ and what we might call ‘daimonology’.

Theologians as well as necromancers believed that the demons held various ranks, in a kind of hierarchy that parodied that of God’s heavenly court, or rather a ‘Lowerarchy’, as C.S. Lewis called it. [5] The notion of a demonic hierarchy, with a multiplicity of named and ranked spirits, stems chiefly from the Neoplatonists, and above all Iamblichus. Proclus, drawing on Iamblichus’s elaborate categorization, spoke of *daimones* as ruling the fire, the air, the water, the earth and the underground region; to this system Psellus added lucifugues (or light-fleeing) demons, and Johannes Trithemius lent the weight of his authority to this system. [6] The basic notion became part of mainstream theological tradition: that demons are organized into an infernal parody of the celestial hierarchy is an assumption that the *Malleus maleficarum* shared with Thomas Aquinas. [7] For the later medieval West, at least, one thus cannot speak of such conceptions as part of an alternative tradition, although it is true that a fascination with the details of the infernal hierarchy was left to the fringes of the theological community.

Altogether 189 spirits are addressed by name in the Munich handbook’s conjurations, of whom 88 are referred to expressly as *demones*. Further specification is common: ‘malign demons’; ‘most inimical spirits’; ‘all hateful and malign, invidious and discordant demons’; ‘arms-bearing [or squire] spirits, whose role it is to bear arms and … deceive human senses’; ‘spirits who dwell in the water [and] endanger ships’; ‘spirits who attend to sinners’; ‘infernal spirits’; ‘fornicator, tempter, seducer, possessor of humans’. [8] In short, the compiler of this manual was far from squeamish about invoking clearly and explicitly fallen angels.

The conjurations of the Munich handbook sometimes refer to demons by their rank in the infernal hierarchy: five are ‘princes of the demons’; three are powerful, magnificent, and illustrious spirits; Bartha is a king; Baltim, Galtim, and Saltim are dukes; Belial is ‘foremost prince’; seven demons are ‘subjects’ of Lytim. [9] On rare occasion the spirits referred to in the Munich handbook are clearly conceived as unfallen – a claim that would elicit skepticism from orthodox authorities. Experiments no. 24 and no. 25 both refer to ‘angels’, and in other cases as well the characterizations could be taken as implying unfallen angels: ‘most benign spirits, who sow concord’; ‘most pleasant, happy, joyful spirits’; ‘powerful, magnificent, and illustrious spirits, in whom I place full

trust'. [10] In two experiments the spirit addressed is named Orient, and in both cases he is explicitly conceived as a benevolent figure: he is addressed, 'O most high and benign king Orient', 'O benign Orient, maker of the greater part of the world, heaven, and earth, at whose command all things on heaven and on earth were wisely made'. [11] It would be hazardous to posit a direct connection here with the goddess-figure Oriente said to have been venerated in the territory of Milan in the late fourteenth century, [12] but in both cases the traditional medieval primacy of the direction east obviously lies behind the construction of a chief deity. In several experiments God himself is addressed: 'God, creator of all things'; 'Almighty, everlasting God, Lord Jesus Christ'; 'God of heaven, God of earth, God of the angels, God of the archangels, you who are king of all the saints, the patriarchs, and the prophets'; 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who, according to the will of the Father, with the cooperation of the Holy Spirit, by your death gave life to the world'; and 'King of Kings and Lord of Lords, eternal and unchanging Lord God'. [13]

Sometimes the nature of the spirit addressed cannot be determined. In one case the subject of the address is the indeterminate 'N.' (no. 12), and elsewhere the spirit who appears to a boy is addressed simply as 'you who are before me' (no. 27). Another experiment provides a conjuration with the indeterminate address, 'O so-and-so, of thus-and-such an order' (no. 1).

A few of the experiments list demons whose names are familiar from other sources: Astaroth, Baruch, Belial, Belzebub, Berith, Castiel, Lucifer, Mirael, Paymon and Satan or Sathan. [14] The experiments that list such familiar spirits do not restrict themselves to these, however, but also address less familiar or entirely unfamiliar names: one conjures not only Belzebub, Berith, Lucifer and Sathan, but also Apolin, Beliath and Maraloch; another addresses not only Mirael and Astaroth but also Belferith, Camoy, Noryoth, Ocel, Oreoth, Pinen, Sismael, Sobronoy and Tryboy; a third gives the altogether well established name Satan (spelled 'Sathan') but also the exceptional ones Altramat, Archidemath, Discobermath, Fritath, Hegergibet, Helyberp, Pestiferat and Sona; a fourth lists not only Berith, Belzebub and Astaroth, but also Althes, Cormes, Dies, Diles, Dilia, Fabar, Felsmes, Mithiomo, Molbet, Natheus, Onaris, Pist, Progemon, Thobar, Vmon and Vralchim. [15] In some cases the names listed could be corrupt or variant forms of more familiar ones: Apolin could be Apollion, Arath could be Arathiel, Astra could be Astrael, Damay could be Dahnay, Erlain could be Erel(l)im, Gana could be Ganael, Gebel could be Gebiel, Lamair could be Lama, Oor could be Or, Safrit could be Safriel, Tami could be Tamiel, Taraor

could be Tara, Tatomofon could be Tatonon, Thomo could be Thomax, Ym could be Im, and Zanno or Zaimo could be Zainon. [16] Even so, of the 189 names addressed in the conjurations, only 17 per cent at most seem to be well established ones. Of the eleven spirits named in experiment no. 34, only Curson has broad currency (unless Hanni is equated with Haniel). When the list of spirits in this manual is compared with that in *Picatrix*, what is striking is the singular lack of correspondence.

The crucial question for the necromancers of Western Europe is whether the demons can be compelled to appear, and their own assumption – that the demons can be so compelled, but only with God's permission and aid – is not fundamentally different from the assumption that underlies orthodox exorcism and mainstream theology. John of Frankfurt devoted a treatise in 1412 to the question, 'whether it is possible to have the power of coercing a demon through characters, figures, and recitation of words' (*utrum potestas cohercendi demonis fieri possit per caracteres, figuras atque verborum prolationes*), and he insisted that it was not – that the demons may pretend to be compelled only to lure the conjurers deeper into their own perfidy, but that they come, if at all, of their own free will. [17] He seems not to have taken fully into account that the necromancers, exactly like orthodox exorcists, claimed the power of coercing demons specifically with divine aid. To be sure, their goals were at variance with orthodox morality, yet they saw their appeal to sacred powers as itself a sacred activity, and if it led to the killing and coercion of other individuals, that did not sway them from this conviction. [18] In any event, while their critics and judges saw the necromancers as in league with the demons, they perceived themselves as calling upon God to help them control and exploit the spirits.

One reason it appeared to critics that the necromancers were bound to the spirits they conjured, rather than vice versa, is that they seemed to make sacrifice to these spirits: fumigations and other acts could readily be seen as sacrifices. Nicholas Eymericus explains that some conjurers exhibit the honour of latria to the demons they invoke by sacrificing to them, adoring them, reciting execrable prayers to them, dedicating themselves and promising obedience to the demons, swearing by them and adjuring one demon by the name of a higher one, singing songs in their honour, genuflecting and making prostrations, observing chastity out of respect for them, fasting and otherwise macerating the flesh in their honour, wearing black or white out of reverence to them, using characters and unknown names, lighting lamps and offering fumigations, sacrificing birds and beasts and even their own blood, and so forth. [19]

Some of the experiments in the Munich handbook and elsewhere do indeed involve offering something, such as a hoopoe, to the demons. Whether such offerings count as sacrificial depends on one's definition of sacrifice. If any exchange with spirits implying *do ut des* is a sacrifice, then the term applies. From the necromancers' perspective, however, a fumigation would surely be more a means for alluring and gaining power over the spirits, and the offering of a hoopoe would be payment for services rendered. There is no explicit acknowledgement in the handbook that the magician is *serving* the spirits; to the contrary, he sees himself as commanding and exploiting them.

The spirits invoked may on occasion be represented as unfallen ones. Some are referred to as 'most benign', which could suggest but does not prove that they are unfallen; even an evil spirit may relate in a kindly manner toward his own. In one experiment (no. 9) the master greets the spirits when they appear with a wish that God may restore them to their original status, which makes it clear that they are fallen yet suggests that they are none the less redeemable. [20] Most interesting is the suggestion that the spirits who provide a magic ship (no. 8) are of intermediate status: 'And you should note carefully that in this ship you are able to mention holy things, as in true Christianity, because these spirits are between good and evil, dwelling neither in Hell nor in Paradise.' The Paris theologians in 1398 condemned the belief that there are good and benign demons, omniscient demons, and demons who are neither saved nor damned but somewhere in between. [21] At times the spirits summoned are threatened with damnation if they refuse to obey the master, which assumes either that they are unfallen spirits or that they occupy some middle ground, perhaps being fallen but capable of redemption. [22]

The problem of distinguishing between fallen and unfallen spirits had long been a vexed one, and it was not made easier by the necromancers' habit of calling more or less indiscriminately on spirits of both kinds, as well as allegedly neutral spirits. The Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, for example, sometimes prays for power over all malign spirits, or for power over Satan, or for protection from malign spirits. It explicitly invokes Satan and other 'infernal demons'. [23] At other times it implicitly identifies the invoked spirits as demons, conjuring them 'by the power by which [Christ] destroyed hell and despoiled and tormented your companions [*socios*]' or 'by him who cast you from heaven'. While magicians were not at all shy about conjuring angels directly, the tendency in the Rawlinson manuscript perhaps more often than in other manuscripts is to pray that good angels be sent. It even includes a lengthy prayer to the master's

guardian angel for protection. At one juncture it conjures ‘benevolent spirits and demons’, without making altogether clear whether these are distinct categories. [24]

One rule of thumb was that spirits explicitly known from traditional sources as unfallen angels could be prayed to, but others were at best suspect. The archangels mentioned in the Bible and the Old Testament apocrypha (Gabriel, Michael, Raphael) were mentioned from the seventh century onward in the Litany of the Saints, although it was not until the twentieth century that Benedict XV made the feast of the last two obligatory. The names of other angels were deemed apocryphal: the Book of Enoch adds Uriel, Raguel, Seraqael and Haniel to the list of archangels. In the mid-eighth century a Frankish priest named Adalbert was condemned, *inter alia*, for praying to Uriel, Raguel, Tubuel, Adin, Tubuas, Sabaok and Samiel, all of whom a Roman synod declared to be in fact demons. In 789, Charlemagne’s *Admonitio generalis* condemned the invocation of ‘unknown angels’, presumably for the same reason. [25] Even if a petitioner intended to call upon unfallen angels, the spirits he summoned might not be the spirits he got.

Johann von Frankfurt noted in the early fifteenth century that Plato distinguished between good daimons (*calodemones*) and evil (*cacodemones*), but for scriptural and dogmatic reasons he rejects this distinction and insists on a rigid dichotomy between unfallen angels and demons, the latter being always evil. [26] Invoking demons, he says, is prohibited both by scripture (Deut 2:18, also IV Kgs 1 and I Kgs 28) and by canon law (the canon *Episcopi*). He insists that demons cannot be coerced: they are free agents, with intellect and will, and cannot be bound by human actions; Job attests that no power on earth is comparable to the Devil; [27] and many later medieval authorities are cited to confirm this stance. He argues that ‘although demons often do come when they are summoned by invocations, they do so not coerced, but fraudulently, so as to deceive them [the conjurers] and others” (p. 78). (Not long before Johann wrote, the theologians at the University of Paris had in 1398 condemned the belief that God is induced to compel demons to obey invocations, and that by magical arts the demons are compelled to speak truthfully. [28]) To be sure, Solomon is said to have exorcized or commanded demons, but if he did so at the time that he himself had the spirit of God, then he expelled the demons by divine power and with the cooperation of God, whereas if he do so after he had fallen into idolatry (III Kgs 11 Vulg.), then *fuit factum arte magica*, and the demons pretended to be expelled so as to lead people into error. When Tobias placed a fish’s liver on

coals, demons were expelled (Tob 6) – but the book of Tobias is not canonical, so it may have edifying value but no probative force. Experience itself may suggest that demons come or depart when certain words are uttered, but it is prayer and not fumigation that has the effect of expelling demons.

Notions of demonic corporeality are more rarely expressed but not unknown. The Rawlinson manuscript says at one juncture that if the spirit refuses to withdraw, the master should trace a circle with the point of his sword and then 'strike' the spirit who is left standing outside the circle. The text goes on to explain that the reader should not be astonished at this reference to striking, because the spirits can indeed be struck when they assume bodies for the sake of apparition. [29] More extraordinary is the tale – involving a ghost rather than a demon, to be sure – of 'a woman who captured a spirit, carried it into a house on her back in the presence of certain men, one of whom later told that he saw the hands of the woman sunk deep into the spirit's flesh, as if its flesh were putrid and not solid, but fantastic'. [30] More often the spirits' corporeality is presupposed but not the subject of comment: they presumably cannot carry the magicians about in the form of horses or usher forth elaborate banquets without some sort of bodies, but the precise nature of their flesh seems not to have concerned the writer of the Munich handbook.

When the demons appear, they presumably do so either through phantasms impressed directly on the viewers' senses or in assumed bodies. [31] They may be able to take on any appearance they wish, conceivably even that of a famed beauty such as Helen of Troy, since their bodies are in any event assumed, but it seems to have been agreed that their most natural shape is terrifying. The Munich handbook thus routinely conjures the spirits to appear in pleasing and non-threatening form, the implication being that it is natural for them to appear otherwise. Indeed, the treatise on necromancy ascribed to Roger Bacon warns that demons will try to frighten the magician with illusions, with hissing like that of a serpent, and with terrifying shapes, but bold use of the Tetragrammaton and the sign of the cross will compel them to adopt pleasing forms. [32] The spirits are conjured to appear in human form, because they are assumed closer to beasts, and thus it is more natural for them to assume grotesque versions of bestial appearance, [33] as they did in hagiography since the life of Saint Anthony. [34] In one case they are told to take on the pleasing form of a ten-year-old boy, evidently by cross-fertilization of the instruction with the requirements for a medium. [35]

The most sustained discussion of demons in the Munich manual is an

extended list which names and describes eleven spirits (no. 34). Each has a rank: marquis, ‘president’ (*preses*), count, duke, prince or king. They appear in diverse forms: as a seneschal; as a man with large teeth and three horns, carrying a sharp sword in his hand; as a crowned man with leonine face, bearing a viper in hand, riding horseback, and preceded by trumpets; as a splendid knight, with lance, banner, and sceptre; as a boy with the wings of an angel, riding on a dragon with two heads; [36] as a beautiful and crowned woman, riding on a camel; as a knight, riding on a black horse; as a benevolent man with a woman’s face. Hanni comes in a fiery flame, but also takes human form. Curson is said readily to assume a human and aerial body; presumably the others as well take on aerial bodies when they come visibly. [37] Their functions are likewise diverse. Six of the spirits are said to disclose the location of hidden treasure, or to reveal and open treasures, and although in one case it is specified that the treasure must not be protected by magic or charms, in another case the spirit in question can reveal treasures guarded by other spirits. Four of them respond to questions about present, past, future, and hidden matters; Curson can reveal divine and hidden matters, even regarding divinity and the creation of the world. Another gives knowledge about occult matters and duels. Three specialize in imparting particular knowledge: the trivium, astronomy and other liberal arts, and languages. Two can procure the love of women, especially beautiful women in one case, widows in the other; a third makes women burn with love for men, on demand will transform them into another form until they come to their beloved, and makes them sterile. Others can enable a person to cross seas and rivers quickly, or to pass quickly from one region to another. Four can secure the favour of all, enemies as well as friends, or that of magnates and princes, or of all kings, marquises and knights. One gives dignities; another gives an exorcist power over serpents; yet others provide excellent familiars or knights. Each has command of legions of subordinate spirits (perhaps an allusion to Mark 5:9), as few as twenty-two, and as many as fifty.

Identical in form but independent in content is the list contained in *Le livre des esperitz* found in a fifteenth-century French manuscript (Trinity College, Cambridge, MS 0.8.29). This compilation lists forty-seven spirits: the triad Lucifer, Bezlebuth and Satan; four associated with the cardinal directions; then others for whom title, appearance, function, and number of subordinate legions are given, as in the Munich handbook. Most commonly the spirits here listed are said to give accurate response to the master’s questions (Vaal, Bucal, Oze, Bulfas, Artis, Gazon, Diusion, Orient, Poymon, Am[m]oymon, Barthas, Samson,

Vipos, Berteth, Distolas, Asmoday, Flauos, Carmola, Abugor, Caap, Bune, Amon). They also furnish instruction (Bezlebuth, Barthas, Artis), sometimes in all sciences (Cerbere, Parcas, Tudiras hoho, Am[m]oymon), often regarding more specific matters: the virtues of herbs and precious stones (Machin, Parcas, Forcas, Gemer); transformation of metals into gold or silver (Berteth); all language (Ducay, Agarat); astronomy and other sciences (Barthas, Furfur); the sounds of birds and dogs (Barbas). They disclose or provide buried treasure (Diusion, Parcas, Abugor, Bezlebuth, Barbas, Samson, Forcas). They make a person invisible (Parcas, Beal, Forcas). They obtain the love of women (Ducay, Furfur [?], Bitur), or of queens and women generally, whether maidens or not (Samson). They secure provision of dignities, seigneuries and favour (Agarat, Bitur, Vaal, Am[m]oymon, Poymon, Berteth, Gazon, Artis, Beal), as well as wealth (Bune, Cerbere, Distolas), or specifically of gold and silver (Caap, Dam, Bezlebuth). They can furnish means by which the 'master' or someone else at the master's will may be transported from place to place (Ducay, Machin, Malpharas, Bune, Parcas), and the spirit Distolas can provide a horse to transport the master in an hour 100, 200 or 300 leagues but no further. Unlike the list of spirits in the Munich handbook, however, the *Livre des esperitz* also indicates that certain spirits specialize in maleficent magic: they can bring death or illness, deformity, destruction of adversaries, discord and battles. The service Bezlebuth performs, which would have endeared him to Faustus, is to reveal all the secrets of hell.

Such lists of demons derived their basic conception from early Jewish sources such as the *Testament of Solomon*, which listed various demons and told how Solomon employed them. [38] These catalogues were especially common in the treatises and grimoires of the early modern era (Johannes Weyer's *Pseudomonarchia daemonum* lists sixty-nine demons with their offices and functions), but the basic idea can be traced to medieval sources. Trithemius speaks of a *Liber officiorum* that catalogues four emperors and various kings, dukes, marquises, and counts. The *Lemegeton* lists seventy-two demons with their functions, including Asmoday (a great king with three heads, who furnishes a ring of virtues, teaches mathematics, answers questions truly, makes a person invisible, reveals hidden treasure, and so forth), Berith, and others. [39]

Among other specializations, there were demons who ruled over one or another of the cardinal directions. Thus, the Paris theologians repudiated the notion that one demon is king of the east and holds special prominence, known in the Munich handbook and elsewhere simply as Oriens, while others ruled the

west, the north and the south. [40] No doubt the identification of these demons with special competence had much practical value for those wishing to make use of their services, but the formation of the lists was in itself a display of theoretical knowledge that might appeal greatly to those curious about the secrets of hell. One can perhaps understand why stern medieval moralists, never favourable to *curiositas* in the first place, would condemn this particular sort of curiosity in particular as vain and perilous.

Presupposed throughout the Munich handbook is that the experiments described are worked through the power of spirits, often overtly referred to as demons. The writer makes no pretence that his magic is in any way ‘ natural’, as opposed to demonic. Classical notions of magic as either implicitly or explicitly grounded in the instruction and aid of demons come here to their fullest development: far from shrinking from this suggestion or defending himself against it, the writer candidly acknowledges and perhaps even boasts, no doubt like other necromancers of the era, that the commanding of malign spirits is the essence of his art.

Table C. Spirits named in the conjurations

Abgo (*demon*, no. 39)
Abgoth (*demon*, no. 40)
Achalas (*spiritus*, no. 26)
Althes (*demon*, no. 38)
Altramat (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27) Andyron (*demon*, *subditus* of Lytim, no. 39) Apolin (or Apolyn) (no. 1) (no. 5 inv.)
Arath (*demon*, no. 40)
Arbas (or Arbes?) (no. 28)
Archidemath (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27) Astaroth (or Astoroth or Astarotht) (*demon malignus*, no. 2; no. 12; no. 33; *princeps demoniorum*, no. 38) (no. 5 inv.) Astra (no. 33)
Asyel (no. 13)
Azathi (*demon*, no. 39)
Baltim (or Balthym? or Balthim or Baltym) (*dux*, no. 15) Bartha (or Bartham?) (*rex*, no. 15) Baruth (*demon*, *subditus* of Lytim, no. 39) Basal (no. 29)
Bel (*spiritus infernalis*, no. 35) Belam (no. 13)
Belferith (*demon malignus*, no. 2) Belial (*inicialis princeps*, no. 12) Beliath (no. 1)

Belzebub (or Belzebuc?) (no. 1; *princeps demoniorum*, no. 38) Berien (or Beryen, no. 10)
Berith (or Berit) (no. 1; *spiritus potens, magnificus, et illustris*, no. 11; *princeps demoniorum*, *fornicator, temptator, et seductor*, *possessor hominum*, no. 38) Bireoth (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4) Bos (*demon*, no. 39)
Brimer (no. 10)
Camoy (or Canay) (*demon malignus*, no. 2) Carab (or Careb?) (no. 29)
Cargie (no. 28)
Castiel (no. 13)
Cebal (no. 33)
Cormes (*demon*, no. 38)
Cutroy (or Cotroy?) (*spiritus armigerus*, *sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7; *spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8) Damay (or Damayn, no. 10)
Demefin (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6) Demor (or Denior) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7) Dies (*demon*, no. 38)
Diles (*demon*, no. 38)
Dilia (*demon*, no. 38)
Discobermath (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27) Dorayl (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4) Dyacon (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4) Dydones (*demon*, no. 40)
Dyrus (*demon*, no. 39 and no. 40) Dyspil (or Dyspyl) (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8) Ebal (*spiritus infernalis*, no. 35) Elam (no. 13)
Emogeni (*demon*, no. 40)
Ergarrandras (no. 28)
Erlain (no. 13)
Fabanin (no. 29)
Fabar (*demon*, no. 38)
Fabath (*demon*, no. 40)
Fabin (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4) Falmar (no. 5 inv.)
Faubair (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6) Febat (*demon*, no. 39)
Felsmes (*demon*, no. 38)
Feremin (*spiritus peccatoribus insistens*, no. 9) Finibet (*demon*, no. 40)
Foliath (*demon*, no. 39)
Fritath (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27) Fyriel (or Firiel) (*spiritus potens, magnificus, et illustris*, no. 11) Fyrin (or Syrim) (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8) Fyrus (*demon*, no. 40)

Gallath (*demon*, no. 40)
Galtim (or Galtym? or Galtyra?) (*dux*, no. 15) Gana (*demon*, no. 39)
Gebat (or Gebath?) (*demon*, no. 39) Gebel (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4)
(no. 5 inv.) Gemitias (*demon*, no. 39)
Geremittarum (*demon*, no. 40)
Gyton (*demon*, no. 40)
Haram (*spiritus benignus*, no. 39) Hegergibet (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27) Helyberp (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Jubutzis (*demon*, no. 40)
Lamair (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6) Lamisniel (or Lamsiyel, no. 13)
Lautrayth (*spiritus peccatoribus insistens*, no. 9) Leutaber (or Zeugaber) (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6) Lotobor (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6)
Lucifer (no. 1)
Lylet (or Bylet or Bylent) (no. 24; *demon, subditus* of Lytim, no. 39) Lyroth (no. 10)
Lytay (or Lytoy or Litor) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7)
Lytim (*demon*, no. 39)
Maraloch (no. 1)
Masair (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6) Mememil (or Melemil) (*spiritus potens, magnificus, et illustris*, no. 11) Memoyr (or Memoir) (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6) Midain (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4) Mirael (no. 2)
Mistal (no. 29)
Mithiomo (*demon*, no. 38)
Molbet (*princeps demoniorum*, no. 38) Moloy (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7) Motmyo (*demon*, no. 39)
Natheus (*princeps demoniorum*, no. 38) Neyilon (*spiritus*, no. 26)
Non (no. 29)
Noryoth (or Moryoth) (*demon malignus*, no. 2) Nubar (*demon*, no. 39)
Ocel (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Oliroomim (*spiritus peccatoribus insistens*, no. 9) Onaris (*demon*, no. 38)
Onor (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7) Onoroy (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8) Oor (or Dor) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7) Oreoth (*demon malignus*, no. 2) Oriens (or rex Orientis) (*altissimus et benignissimus rex*, no. 4; *benign[issim]e*, no. 41) Ornis (no. 28)
Oronothel (no. 29)
Orooth (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8) Oymelor (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6) Panite (or Panyte) (*demon*, no. 38 and no. 40) Paymon (no. 12)

Peamde (*demon*, no. 39)
Peripaos (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4) Pestiferat (*demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27) Pharachte (*demon*, no. 39)
Pinen (*demon malignus*, no. 2)
Pist (*demon*, no. 38)
Progemon (*demon*, no. 38)
Pumeon (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4) Pumotor (or Pumiotor) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7) Rabam (no. 13)
Rayma (*demon*, no. 40)
Riasteli (no. 29)
Rimasor (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6) Rimel (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8) Risbel (or Ristel) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7) Rodobayl (or Rodobail) (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6) Rofanes (*demon*, no. 40)
Safrit (*demon*, no. 39)
Salaul (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7) Saltim (*dux*, no. 15)
Sanfrielis (*demon*, no. 40)
Sathan (no. 1; *demon* [from cardinal direction], no. 27) Selentis (*demon*, no. 40)
Selutabel (or Belutabel) (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6) Sertugidis (*demon*, no. 40)
Silitor (or Silitol) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7) Sismael (*demon malignus*, no. 2) Sobronoy (*demon malignus*, no. 2) Sona (no. 27)
Suburith (no. 10)
Symofor (or Simofor) (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6) Syrama (or Sirama) (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6) Syrtroy (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7) Sysabel (or Sisabel) (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8)
Tamafin (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6) Tami (or Tamy – Tamer?) (*spiritus armigerus, sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7) Taraor (*spiritus potens, magnificus, et illustris*, no. 11) Tatomofon (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6) Tentetos (*spiritus iocundissimus*, no. 6) Tereol (no. 5 inv.)
Tereoth (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4) Termines (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4) Thitodens [?] (*demon*, no. 39)
Thobar (*demon*, no. 38)
Thomo (*demon*, no. 40)
Tranayrt (or Tramayrt, no. 10)
Tryboy (or Triay) (*demon malignus*, no. 2) Tyroces (no. 5 inv.)
Tyros (*demon*, no. 39)

Tyroy (*spiritus habitator aque*, no. 8) Va (no. 29)
Vatuel (no. 29)
Vijas (*demon*, no. 39)
Virus (*demon*, no. 39)
Virytus (*demon*, no. 40)
Vm (*demon*, no. 39)
Vmeloth (*spiritus benignissimus*, no. 4) Vmon (*demon*, no. 38)
Vniueny (*demon*, no. 40)
Vnyrus (*demon*, no. 39)
Vom (*demon*, no. 39)
Vralchim (*demon*, no. 38)
Vresius (*demon*, no. 39)
Vsyr (*spiritus armigerus*, *sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7) Vtimo (*demon*, no. 40)
Vzmyas (*demon*, *subditus* of Lytim, no. 39) Ygrim (*demon*, *subditus* of Lytim, no. 39) Ym (*spiritus armigerus*, *sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7) Ytelteos (*demon*, *subditus* of Lytim, no. 39) Zanno (or Zaimo) (*spiritus armigerus*, *sensus* [*decipiens*], no. 7) Zelentes (*demon*, no. 39)
Zymens (*demon*, *subditus* of Lytim, no. 39)

Table D. Spirits listed in no. 34

Name	*Rank*	*Appearance*	*Function*	*Number of legions*
Barbarus	count and duke		discloses treasures not protected by magic	36
Cason	duke	seneschal	responds about present, past, future, and hidden things; gives favour of friends and enemies; gives dignities	45
Otius	*preses* and count	human, with large teeth and	responds about present, future, and hidden matters; gives	36

		3 horns, sharp sword in hand	favour of friends and enemies	
Curson	king	man, with crowned leonine face, viper in hand; rides horseback, trumpets proceeding	reveals present, past, future, and hidden matters; reveals and opens treasures; assumes human and aerial body and responds about divine and hidden matters (including deity and creation of world); gives excellent familiars	22
Alugor	duke	splendid knight, with lance, banner, and sceptre	responds about occult matters and duels; provides knights; gives favour of all kings, marquises, and knights	50
Taob	prince	human	excellent physician for women, making them burn with love for men, on request transforming them into another form until they come to their beloved; makes sterile	25
Volach	president	boy, with wings of angel; rides on dragon; has two heads	responds about hidden treasures; serpents appear, gives over serpents into the hands of exorcist	27
Gaeneron	duke	beautiful woman, crowned, riding on camel	responds about present, past, and future matters, and hidden treasures; gives love of women, especially beautiful ones	27
Tvueries Tuveries?	marquis	knight, riding on black horse	teaches trivium, reveals hidden treasures and other hidden things; causes person to cross sea and rivers quickly	30
Hanni	president	fiery flame, but takes human form	teaches astronomy and other liberal arts; gives excellent familiars; gives favour of magnates and princes;	30

			reveals treasures guarded by spirits	
Sucax	marquis	man, with woman's face; appears benevolent	gives love of women, especially widows; gives command of languages; makes person pass quickly from region to region	23

Notes

1 Richard P.H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988), *passim*, esp. 307–26.

2 *Ibid*., 275–6.

3 C.S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), esp. 40–44 and 117.

4 See the Paris conclusions of 1398, in Jean Gerson, *OEuvres complètes*, 10, ed. Palemon Glorieux (Paris: Desclée, 1961–73), p. 89: the 23rd condemned article is 'That some demons are good, some benign, some omniscient, others neither saved nor damned'.

5 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, i.109.1; *Malleus maleficarum*, i.4, trans. Montague Summers (London: Rodker, 1928; repr. London: Pushkin, 1948), 28–31; C.S. Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters*, xx (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 102.

6 E.M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949), 29–36, esp. 35.

7 *Summa theologiae*, i.109.1; *Malleus maleficarum*, i.4, 28–31.

8 No. 2 (ten named *demones maligni*); no. 5 (*spiritus inimicissimos*); no. 5 (*omnes demones odiosos et malignos, inuidios et discordes*); no. 7 (fifteen named *spiritus armigeri, quibus proprium est arma deferre et … sensus humanos decipere*); no. 8 (*spiritus habitatores aque, qui naues … periclitare conamini*); no. 9 (three named *spiritus peccatoribus insistentes*); no. 35 (*spiritus infernales*); no. 38 (Berith, described as *fornicator, temptator, et seductor, possessor hominum*). See also no. 3 (*omnes demones in hac ymagine scriptos* and *demones in hoc circulo sculptos*) and no. 5 (*spiritus inimicissimos* and *omnes demones odiosos et malignos, inuidios et discordes*).

9 No. 38 (*principes demoniorum*); no. 11 (*spiritus potentes, magnifici, et illustres*); no. 15 (Bartha as *rex*, and Baltim, Galtim, and Saltim as *duces*); no. 12 (Belial as *inicialis princeps*); no. 39 (seven demons as *subditi* of Lytim).

10 No. 4 (eleven *spiritus benignissimi et concordiam seminantes*); no. 6 (sixteen *spiritus iocundissimi, ylares, et gaudentes*); no. 11 (*spiritus potentes, magnifici, et illustres, in quibus omnino confido*).

11 No. 14 (*O altissime et benignissime rex Orientis*); no. 41 (*O Oriens benigne, maior pars mundi, celi, terreque sator, cuius nuta* [*sic*] *omnia, tam celestia quam terrestria, prouide facta sunt*; *benignissime Oriens*).

12 Ettore Vergo, 'Intorno a due inediti documenti di stregheria Milanese del secolo XIV.', *Rendiconti del Reale Instituto Lombardo si Scienze e Lettere*, ser. 2, vol. 32 (1899), 166–8; on Madonna Oriente see Carlo Ginzburg, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Pantheon, 1991), esp. 92–6, 100–102, 131–6, 247–8.

13 No. 22 (*Deus, creator omnium rerum*); no. 25 (*Omnipotens, sempiterne deus, Domine Ihesu Christe*); no. 29 (*Deus celi, deus terre, deus angelorum, deus archangelorum, qui es rex sanctorum omnium,*

patriarcharum ac prophetarum and *Domine Ihesu Christe, fili dei viui, qui ex voluntate Patris, cooperante Spiritu Sancto, per mortem tuam mundum viuificasti*); no. 36 (*rex regum et dominus dominancium, eterne et incommutabilis deus dominus*).

14 Nos 2, 5, 12, 33, and 38 (Astaroth); no. 20 (Baruch); no. 12 (Belial); nos 1 and 38 (Belzebub); nos 1, 3, 11, and 39 (Berith); no. 13 (Castiel); no. 1 (Lucifer); no. 2 (Mirael); no. 12 (Paymon); nos 1 and 27 (Sathan). See the listings for each of these in Gustav Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels, Including the Fallen Angels* (New York: Free Press, 1967), and for general information on demons see also Leander Petzoldt, *Kleines Lexikon der Dämonen und Elementargeister* (Munich: Beck, 1990). On the naming of demons see Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 248–50.

15 Nos. 1, 2, 27, and 38.

16 Nos 1 and 5 (Apolin or Apolyn); no. 40 (Arath); no. 33 (Astra); no. 10 (Damay); no. 13 (Erlain); no. 39 (Gana); nos 4 and 5 (Gebel); no. 6 (Lamair); no. 7 (Oor); no. 39 (Safrit); no. 7 (Tami); no. 11 (Taraor); no. 6 (Tatomofon); no. 40 (Thomo); no. 7 (Ym); no. 7 (Zanno or Zaimo). For these too see Davidson's *Dictionary*.

17 Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen*, 71–82.

18 Richard Kieckhefer, 'The holy and the unholy: sainthood, witchcraft, and magic in late medieval Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 24 (1994), 355–85; and in Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl, eds, *Christendom and its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 310–37.

19 Nicolaus Eymericus, *Directorium inquisitorum*, ii. 42–3 (Rome: Georgius Ferrarius, 1587), translated in Alan C. Kors and Edward Peters, eds., *Witchcraft in Europe, 1100–1700: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), 84–92. See also Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief*, 252–5.

20 The classic source of the notion that Satan and the demons are redeemable is Origen; see on this theme Joseph Wilson Trigg, *Origen: The Bible and Philosophy in the Third-century Church* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1983), 89, 106, 138f., 206, 208. Whatever indirect influence Origen may have had on the necromantic tradition, it is difficult to believe that writers such as the compiler of the Munich handbook had any direct acquaintance with his works.

21 Ch. 23.

22 Rawlinson MS, 148r–149r, 150v, 154r.

23 *Coniuros vos demones infernales* (fol. 121v).

24 Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson MS D 252, fols 24r (prayer for power over all malign spirits); 40v (prayer for power over Satan); 37r, 50r–50v, and 72r (prayers for protection from malign spirits); 152r (invocation of Satan); 121v (*Coniuro vos demones infernales*); 4v and 5v (implicit identification of spirits as demons); 78r–78v (prayer for vision of good angels); 123v (prayer that good angels be sent); 159v (prayer for three good angels to appear in a crystal); 135v–139r (prayer to guardian angel); 73r (*Coniuro vos spiritus beneuolos et demones*).

25 Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*, trans. János M. Bak and Paul A. Hollingsworth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1988), 65–8 and Jeffrey B. Russell, 'Saint Bonaventure and the eccentrics', *Church History*, 33, (1964), 235–47, esp. 237–8. For general information on the cult of angels see A.A. Bialas, 'Devotion to angels', *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 514–15, and the sources cited there.

26 Iohannes de Francofordia, *Quaestio, utrum potestas cohercendi demonis fieri possit per caracteres, figuras atque verborum prolationes*, in Joseph Hansen, ed., *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte*

des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter (Bonn: Georgi, 190l; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 71–82.

27 Page 72, citing the depiction of Leviathan: *Et eciam Iob 4.* [i.e. 41:24 Vulg.] *dicitur: non est potestas super terram, qui ei comparetur, et textus ibidem loquitur de dyabolo*.

28 Gerson, *OEuvres complètes*, 10, pp. 88f., art. 9, 17.

29 Fols 77v–78r.

30 M.R. James, 'Twelve medieval ghost-stories', *English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), 418f.

31 The *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.1.4, pp. 109–14, discusses the nature of these assumed bodies in connection with the nature of incubi, and concludes that the demons confect ad hoc flesh from the elements in the surrounding air.

32 *De Nigromancia of Roger Bacon*, iv.3, ed. and trans. Michael-Albion Macdonald (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1988), 33, 56f.

33 On demons in the form of beasts, see Russell, *Lucifer*, 209: 'Until the eleventh century the Devil was generally portrayed either as a human or as an imp, and this tendency persisted in Byzantine art. In the West, beginning in England about 1000 and spreading to Germany about 1020 and then beyond, the Devil tends to be a monstrous composite of human and animal.'

34 St. Athanasius, 'Life of St. Anthony', ch. 9, in Roy J. Deferrari, et al., trans., *Early Christian Biographies* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1952), 144.

35 Fol. 27v.

36 It is evidently the dragon that is two-headed, although the context does not make the point clear.

37 On this point see the *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.1.4 (p. 109), and Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*, I.51.2 ad 4.

38 F.C. Conybeare, 'The Testament of Solomon', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 11 (1899), 1–45.

39 On this material see generally Butler, *Ritual Magic*, 47–89, and Arthur Edward Waite, *The Book of Ceremonial Magic* (repr. Secaucus, NJ: Citadel, 1961), 58–66.

40 Gerson, *OEvres complètes*, 10, p. 90, art. 25.

8

The Magic of Circles and Spheres

I f necromancy was in one sense chiefly the art of conjuring, it was also widely associated in the popular mind with the drawing of magic circles. The *Fasciculus morum* says of necromancers (*nigromantici*) first of all that they ‘raise devils in their circles that are expected to answer their questions’, and only secondly that they also ‘make figures of people in wax or some other soft material in order to kill them’. [1] In *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, the messenger of Necromancy traces a circle on the ground, with characters and figures, and informs the Pilgrim that his invocation causes the spirits to answer and obey, and they cannot withstand his prayers, characters, and conjurations because he holds a commission from ‘the King’, meaning God, to whom they are subject. [2] The Yorkshire manuscript mentioned earlier tells how one man used a magic circle in conjuring not a demon but a

ghost: … he came to the assigned place and made a large circle with a cross, and it had on it [the opening words of ?] the four gospels and other sacred words, and he stood in the middle of the circle, placing four small reliquaries in the form of a cross on the rim of the circle, and saving words such as ‘Jesus of Nazareth’ and so forth were inscribed on the reliquaries. Then he waited for the spirit to arrive. Finally he came, in the form of a goat, and three times he went around the circle, going ‘a-a-a, a-a-a, a-a-a’. But when he was conjured he fell to the ground and rose up again in the form of a man of great height, horrid and gaunt, like one of the dead kings shown in paintings. [3]

Like conjuration, the use of magic circles appears to have spread beyond the sphere of clerical necromancy. For example, a woman charged with witchcraft at Provins in 1452 was said to have belonged to a ‘sect’ of witches that conjured the Devil by tracing three evidently concentric circles on the ground. [4] What this incident probably represents is not a popular tradition parallel to that of the necromancers, but influence from their tradition.

Form and preparation of the magic circle

These magic circles could at times be very simple, but sometimes they were elaborate diagrams made on specially constructed platforms. [5] The *Sworn Book*

ascribed to one ‘Honourius, son of Euclid’, gives elaborate instructions for constructing a magic circle. The magician must construct a square platform fourteen feet across of good and well dressed stone, or of tile, or (if necessary because of poverty) of pure earth. On top of it he must fashion a circular platform, seven feet across and three feet high. The site must be ritually purified and consecrated, with blessings, incense, and invocation of angels. Then, presumably on top of the circular platform, he must make two concentric circles, carved with a new knife or inscribed in chalk, with the names written in the band between the circles. In a later chapter the magician is told that in an elaborate ceremony of consecration he should carve or inscribe four concentric circles, the smallest nine feet and the largest twelve feet across, with names of God and of angels in the bands and the seal of Solomon in the centre. Then there must be two concentric squares around these circles, with the corners pointing in the cardinal directions, names of God between the squares, and lighted censers placed within two smaller concentric circles at each of the four corners. [6]

The *De nigromancia* associated with Roger Bacon provides even fuller and more elaborate instructions for preparing and consecrating a magic circle. The magician must have a square ‘ secret vault’ constructed in some remote place, twenty feet to each side at most, and twenty feet high at least, with windows facing the cardinal directions. Inside this building he must inscribe two concentric circles in chalk, fifteen feet at the most across, with characters and names of spirits inscribed. There are distinct kinds of circles for spirits of the air, fire, water, and earth, but the treatise is not altogether clear regarding the distinguishing features. The consecration entails, among other things, having a priest say a mass in honour of Saint Cyprian, famous for having been a magician. [7] A later chapter gives further details: the pentacle of Solomon should circumscribe the circle; the Tetragrammaton must be inscribed on all circles, because without it ‘all conjurations of the spirits will fail, and no spirit will answer truth, but falsehood’; and an appropriate time must be observed for making the circle. [8] Elsewhere the treatise recommends a circle for discovery of hidden treasure that is inscribed on a circular sheet of vellum eight feet in compass, which should have ten loops with which it can be pinned to the ground. [9]

The Rawlinson necromantic manuscript is more interested in conjurations than in circles, but does prescribe and depict circles in connection with some of its conjurations, sometimes very simple, sometimes with pentangles and words and characters inscribed, and says at one point that the master should trace a

circle with the point of his sword. There as elsewhere, however, circles may be inscribed not on the ground, as a location for conjuring, but on a moveable object, as a means for gaining power over the spirits: at one point the reader is told to draw a circle on a tablet, with the name ‘ Satan’ inscribed in it. [10]

Magic circles in the Munich handbook

The circles in Clm 849 consist most fundamentally of single circular bands or varying numbers of concentric bands, between two and four. [11] Beyond this simple composition are various complicating factors: a single band inscribed within a square (no. 1); an inverted triangle inscribed within the outer boundary of a single band (no. 15); a double band divided into ten segments, and a rectangle inside the circle divided into six sections (no. 18); a double band with its interior divided into six wedges (no. 22); a triple band with a cross dividing the interior into four wedges (no. 40); a square inscribed in a single band, with a circle inside the square, and short bars extending outward from the middle of each side of the square and touching the inner side of the circular band (no. 9); a single band bisected by a horizontal band, while a vertical band bisects the upper portion of the circle, and a closed crescent shape (presumably representing a ship) appears in the upper two-thirds of the circle, with two dots beneath it at the prow and the stern (no. 8). Another experiment (no. 13) is unusual in having not a circle but a shield with a single band around its edge.

Inscriptions are of various kinds: 1. Four cardinal directions, with east on top in the fashion of traditional medieval cartogarphy: nos 1, 6, 9, 15, 36; at times not all the directions are explicitly given (nos 8, 10, 11).

2. Positions of the master and child medium: The position of the master is often marked in the centre of the circle, with the term *Locus magistri* (nos 3, 7, 9, 12) or simply *Magister* (nos 10, 11). The circle for no. 8 marks the position with the inscription *Hic magister cum suis sociis*. No. 1 has *Nomen magistri, de tali ordine* and *Nomen discipuli* are marked in the center. The positions for no. 22 are in the literal sense eccentric: inscriptions indicate that the master and boy are to sit on top of pentagrams on opposite sides of the circle: *Hic sederat* [=*sedeat*] *puer super signum* (at the top), and *Hic sedeat magister super signum a latere sinistro* (at the bottom). Toward the middle of the circle for no. 40 are word fragments and *N.p.* (presumably for *Nomen pueri*).

3. Names of spirits, given most frequently within the bands: no. 1 has the names of the spirits Belial, Satan, Osendior, Matalot, Belzebub, Lucifer, Sententino and Apolin inscribed in and around its band; no. 2 has Oreoth, Pinen, Otel, Tryboy, Noryoth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy and Sismael inscribed in its band, and the names Mirael and N. (for the name of the intended victim) inscribed in its centre; no. 3 has the names Rator, Lampoy, Despan, Brunlo, Dronoth, Maloqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascifin, Nartim and Lodoni; no. 6 has the names Oymelor, Symofos, Manoir, Faubair, Demefin, Rodobayl, Tamafin, Abelutabel, Lamair, Tentetos, Leutaber, Rimasor, Masair, Lotobor, Tatomofon and Sirama; no. 7 has O Vsyr, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno, Syrtroy, Risbel, Cutroy, Litor Onor, Moloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor and Ym, *spiritus armigeri*, in its bands; no. 8 has the names Fyron, Dyspil, Onoroy, Sysabel, Cotroy, Tyroy, Rimel and Orooth; no. 9 has the names Lantrayth, Feremni and Oliromim; no. 10 has O Brimer, Suburith, Tranauit, Lyroth, *vnq* (?) Berien, Damayn; no. 11 has the names Firiel to the west, Melemil to the south, Berith to the east, and Taraor to the north; no. 18 has the names Latranoy, Iszarin, Bicol, Danmals, Gromon, Zara, Ralkal, Sigtonia, Samah and Meneglasar written in the ten segments of its outer band, corresponding figures in its inner band, and the letters F-L-O-R-O-N in the six sections of its inner rectangle; no. 12 has the invocation *Tu Belial, tu Astaroth, tu Paymon, ad hoc sitis opus michi adiutores*; no. 13 has the names Asyel, Castyel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Olam and Belam in horizontal bands; no. 23 has the name Lylet (or Bylet) inscribed in its centre.

4. Sacred names: no. 16 has *Agla Michael virtus dei Gabriel fortitudo Emanuel Paraclitus Raphael medicina dei Alpha et O, Oli, Ely Tetragrmaton, amen / Agla* inscribed inside a double band, with a cross inside a square before and after each line of text; no. 36 has four divine names outside its triple band: Sabaoth at the top, Tetragramaton at the right, and Adonay at the bottom, Agla at the left.

5. Miscellaneous inscriptions: no. 15 has characters in what appears to be pseudo-Hebrew; to the right of the circle for no. 22 is a rectangular *signum* with the inscription *Esto altissimus, vnus, eternus, amen,* on five horizontal bands; no. 40 shows the word *onus* (possibly for *On*) four times.

Various types of sign and other objects also appear: 1. Pentagrams (or pentangles). No. 6 has a pentagram inscribed in its centre; no. 10 has a

pentagram inscribed; no. 23 contains two pentagrams with the name *On* just beyond each point inscribed in the upper and lower wedges, and two more to the lower left and right of the circle.

2. Astronomical characters and miscellaneous figures: no. 6 shows radiating figures extending across its bands on the upper left, upper right, lower right, and lower left; nos 9 and 10 show astronomical and other signs alongside the names of spirits; no. 11 has two figures. [12]

3. Objects to be used in the experiments: no. 6 shows a sword at the top, extending downward, with its point on the top of a pentangle); no. 11 shows a sword lying toward the east with its point near the centre; no. 15 has dots evidently denoting positions for jars. These objects are presumably not meant to be drawn, but rather positioned where they are shown. Alongside the circle for no. 2 runs a vertical band labelled *Hoc* [or *hic*] *est candela* and inscribed with the names Oreoth, Pinen, Ocel, Triboy, Norioth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy.

When prayers are shown inscribed on the bands, these may be meant to be inscribed, but are perhaps more often to be recited as the circles themselves are traced: The first circle for no. 39 has *In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti; In nomine indiuidue trinitatis, Alpha et O, deus et homo*; and *Ego te facio per illum qui creauit celum et terram, mare et omnia que in eis sunt* in its three bands.

The second circle for no. 39 has *In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti, Celi enarrant* in the middle band, and *Deus tuum* [sic] *regi da* in its three bands.

No. 36 has inscriptions in each of its three bands: ✠ *Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei Patris omnipotentis, qui solo verbo vniuersa creauit* in the outermost; ✠ *Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei viui qui humanum genus humano sangwine redemit* in the middle, and ✠ *Hunc circulum facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracliti, quia* [*sic*] *apostolorum et prophetarum corda sua gracia illustrauit* in the innermost. In the upper left, a further inscription begins in the outer circle and ends in the middle one: *Per hoc signum sancte crucis gracia dei defendat nos ab omni malo*.

No. 40 has ✠ *Hunc circulum facio in nomine Patris omnipotentis dei, qui solo*

verbo cuncta creauit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, dextera domini exaltauit me, non moriar sed viuam et narrabo opera domini. Castigans castigauit dominus in (and extending beyond) its outermost band; ✠ *Hunc circulum facio in nomine filij unigeniti dei viui, qui humanum genus proprio sangwine redemit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, dextera domini exaltauit me, non moriar sed viuam et narrabo opera* in its middle band; and ✠ *Hunc circulum facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracliti, qui corda apostolorum et prophetarum suorum sanctissimam graciam* [*sic*] *illustrauit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, etc.* in its outermost band.

No. 23 has *Deus sanctus, deus omnipotens, deus fortis, deus inmortalis, pater futuri seculi*.

No. 12 gives a modified conjuration that is shown on the circle for no. 12: *Tu Belial, tu Astaroth, tu Paymon, ad hoc sitis* [*michi* deleted] *opus michi adiutores*.

One of the experiments in the Munich handbook (no. 7) speaks of the circle as a representation of the spirits' habitation, perhaps implying a conception of Hell related to Dante's, but the point remains implicit and undeveloped. And in one of the handbook's experiments (no. 33) an unusual kind of magic circle is required: the master goes to a cemetery and gathers as many stones as there are verses in Psalm 50, and with them he makes a circle, then sprinkles it with verbena.

The function of the magic circle: protection or heightening of power Magic circles are usually represented in histories of magic as protective devices, [13] and at least sometimes they performed that function. In one of the *exempla* told by Caesarius of Heisterbach, a cleric famed for his skill in necromancy agrees to conjure demons to persuade a knight who does not believe in them. The cleric inscribes a circle on the ground at a crossroads, and warns the knight that he must remain within the circle as protection from the demons, and within this protective confine the knight remains secure (albeit terrified) when demons and the Devil himself arrive. In another *exemplum*, individuals who dare to step outside the circle are immediately attacked by the fiends. [14]

This notion of the magic circle as a protective device occurs at times in the magicians' own writings. In the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript the spirits are commanded to approach the master 'beside the circle here inscribed' (*iuxta*

circulum hic circumscriptum). Elsewhere the spirits are commanded to come to the 'place and circle' (*locum et circulum*) ordained for their appearance. The master is to 'sign' or bless the circle with his rod, saying 'I make this circle in honour of the Holy Trinity, that [it] may be for him and his companions a place of protection and a refuge which the demons cannot violate, enter, defile, touch, or even fly over; they must appear in a place designated for them outside the circle.' [15] The notion of the circle as a protective device is found again in an early sixteenth-century text pseudonymously ascribed to Cornelius Agrippa. [16] But it is probably not the magicians' original understanding of how the magic circle functioned. The circle as a locus of power, enhancing the power of the operator, is ancient; it appears, for example, in the early Jewish story of Honi the Circle-Drawer and in the Greek magical papyri. [17] The further notion that the circle protects the magician from demons may well have originated with moralists such as Caesarius, as a symbolic way of talking about how hazardous it is to conjure demons, even if it was eventually taken over by the necromancers themselves.

In the Munich handbook it is clear that the circle is a focus of power meant to gain control over spirits. The circles have power to convoke the demons (no. 9) and to terrify them (no. 7). In one case the circle is identified as the insignia of the spirits being conjured (no. 8). In another experiment the circle seems to be identified as a representation of the spirits' dwelling place (no. 7). Apart from its power over spirits, a circle may be inscribed on horsehide, and then it will exert power over any horses to whom it is displayed, or keep unwanted horses from approaching its bearer (no. 9). At one point it is said that the spirits cannot enter a circle (no. 3), but elsewhere they are said in fact to do so (no. 11). The instructions for conjuring Mirage in the supplementary sections of the codex do suggest that the circle has a protective function, more for the magician's companion than for the master himself: the master makes a circle with a knife and has his companion sit inside it, carefully instructing him not to stretch hand, foot, clothes or hair outside it until all is done, 'lest through some error he should seem to enter into danger'. [18] The role of the circle in one of the manual's erotic experiments (no. 3) is ambiguous: it is clearly a focus of magical power, and it may also play a protective role. The text says that the larger the circle, the better; if anything of the master's should extend beyond the circle, 'it would be bad for you'. Does this imply that the circle is a protective enclosure against the assaults of the demons? Perhaps, but this function is not clearly expressed. At no point does the author expressly state that the demons may cause harm and that the

circle is necessary for protection; indeed, the experiment is explicitly said to be without danger. While the master sports with the woman inside his capacious circle the demons have in fact vanished; there is no sense that they remain as invisible yet menacing presences. The master's greatest fear may be not assault but interruption: having gone to such effort to secure the woman's presence and guard the secrecy of his magic, he does not want to be disturbed in his lovemaking by forces demonic or otherwise, and the circle provides an enclosure within which his privacy is secure. Exceeding the bounds of this enclosure will probably have the worst result he envisions: the spell will be broken and he will be disappointed in his love.

Astral magic

Magic circles are not explicitly linked with the celestial spheres, at least in the Munich handbook, yet the magic of circles and that involving heavenly bodies are perhaps related, at least indirectly. In each case the circular form – the perfect shape, according to ancient Greek thought – was conceived as a centre of power that radiated outward. The elegance of the simple form, made with a single and uniform line, seems to have been suggestive of inward-looking strength combined with maximal power to influence other beings. Even if the magic circle could also serve as a protective boundary, defining a safe space within itself, the Munich handbook makes it clear that the circle exerted force over demons, whether traced on the ground or transferred to a sheet of parchment. More clearly and perhaps more obviously, in medieval thought, the stars and planets emitted powers that affected life on earth and could be put to use by a magician for good or for ill. The possibility of such astral magic was not merely a belief of the magicians themselves; philosophers and theologians, indeed educated people generally, accepted the premise that the heavenly bodies influenced affairs here below. [19]

In 1441 Eleanor Cobham, the Duchess of Bedford, was tried for treasonous magic along with accomplices who included Roger Bolingbroke. His part in the matter is summarized by one contemporary source in these terms: And a certain clerk, one of the most renowned in all the world in astronomy and the magical art, master Roger Bolingbroke, was arrested, and publicly in the cemetery of St Paul's, with the vestments of his magic and with waxen images, and with many other magical instruments, he sat in a certain high throne, so that people from everywhere might see his works; afterwards he was hanged, drawn and

quartered, and his head placed on London Bridge. This master Roger was one of the most notable clerks in the whole world, and he was accused on account of … Lady Elianora [Cobham], to whom he was an advisor in the magic art, and after his death many lamented exceedingly greatly.

For our purposes it is not necessary to explore all details and implications of the affair. [20] Suffice it to point out that this Bolingbroke clearly was an 'astronomer' or astrologer, and surely had cast the horoscope of Henry VI, already an activity that smacked of treason, but whether he had actually compassed the monarch's demise is another matter. In any case, we have here a classic case of the intersection between astrology, astral magic and necromancy. Whether or not this particular astrologer was also a necromancer, to lend further force to its conjurations necromancy clearly did borrow techniques, however superficially, from the traditions of astral magic derived from Arabic treatises such as *Picatrix*. This and similar writings had been translated from Arabic into Western European languages in and around the thirteenth century and seem to have had profound influence on necromantic practice. This influence manifests itself in the Munich manual chiefly in instructions to observe certain astrological conditions and in the use of fumigations.

In various ways the magical apparatus contained in the Munich manual draws from the tradition of astral magic. Eleven experiments specify that their operations, or certain of them, should be done under specified astrological conditions, which most often entail phases of the moon: the work should be done under a waxing or waning moon, or in a particular phase of the moon. The day of the week is sometimes specified. The time of the day may be indicated: the first hour, before sunrise, morning or noon. Thus, an erotic experiment (no. 12) must be initiated in the hour of Venus or the hour of Jove, not simply because of the obvious erotic associations of Venus, but because Venus and Jupiter were seen as 'favourable' planets. At times the manual says that operations should be carried out under a clear sky. Astrological specifications of slightly greater sophistication occur only rarely: an experiment is to be carried out under a conjunction of Venus and Jupiter, or when the Sun is in Leo. [21]

Fumigations (or suffumigations) occur in eight of the manual's experiments. In psychological experiments it is the image or the object sympathetically representing the victim that is fumigated: with myrrh and saffron (no. 3); with cinnamon, pepper and agrimonia (no. 4), or with sulphur fumes (no. 5). In illusionist experiments it is the circle that is thus treated: with the marrow of a

dead person (no. 8), or with incense and myrrh (no. 11). An all-purpose experiment (no. 36) likewise instructs the master to place incense and myrrh in a thurible (presumably of gold) and walk around the outer edge of the circle, saying, 'I make this fumigation in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.' Both versions of the Mirror of Floron require that the mirror itself be fumigated.

The portion of the manual most fully reflecting the influence of Arabic astral magic is the compendium devoted specifically to the subject (no. 37). This section of the manuscript, which is deeply indebted to works such as *Picatrix* and other manuals of astral magic, [22] contains two types of material: integrated instructions for magical rites utilizing the powers of the heavenly bodies, and lists of supplementary information regarding each day of the week (the seals to be used, the names of angels and other spirits who rule and serve on each day, suffumigations to be employed) and each hour of the day and night (the name and function of each, names of angels that rule each hour, images to be used for each hour, and so forth). [23] The latter form of material can perhaps best be conveyed in tabular form (see Tables E–G), even if some nuance is lost in this presentation. Those subsections which give integrated instructions for rites are, in particular, no. 37a (conjurations for each day of the week), nos 37m and 37n (uses of images for each day and night hour), and no. 37q (uses of images and conjurations for each day of the week).

Two examples (one from no. 37m, the other from no. 37q) will illustrate how the integrated experiments draw upon the schemata found in the mere lists: During the fifth day hour one should make an image to tame wild beasts, such as lions, bears, wolves, and any other wild and harmful beasts. At this hour cast an image of the animal of the sort you wish to control or tame, and on the head of the image carve the name of the animal, and on the chest the name of the hour and the name of the lord of the hour, and on the stomach the seven names of the first hour, and fumigate the image with Indian wood and with red sandalwood, and bury the image in a place of your choosing, and with the Lord's help aiding you, you will see that all those animals will be turned to your will.

Somewhat more elaborate is a procedure for bringing concord between humans: The fifth image is that of Thursday, and the angels constituted over it are Satquiel, Pattar, Constiel, [and] Assassayel, and these are the winds constituted over the image: Silite, Maraben, Halharit, and their helpers are Yse, Riron, Naasay, [and] Eladab. And when you wish to perform this work, make an image

of yellow bronze or of yellow wax on a Thursday, and tint it with green, and make it for a man [or] for a woman, if you wish thereby to bring friendship between two men or women, or between a man and a woman. Make two images of green wax in the month of May, at the height of Pisces, or in the month of January in the height of Sagittarius, and write the name of the man on the heart of the woman's image, and the name of the woman on the heart of the male, and say this conjuration: 'O Lord God, almighty creator of [all] things, visible and invisible, establish gentle concord between thus-and-such woman, daughter of so-and-so, and so-and-so, son of so-and-so, such as you established between Adam and Eve, and between Jacob and Rachel, and between Michael and Gabriel (one of whom is fiery and the other watery, [yet] the one does not harm the other, but there is great concord between them), and such concord as you established between the angel whose medium is fire and the one whose medium is snow, so that the snow does not extinguish the fire, nor does the fire consume the snow, and so you likewise turn envy into concord. Thus, O Lord, by your most holy kindness and mercy, may you cause so-and-so, daughter of so-and-so, to accord with, to love, and to cherish so-and-so, son of so-and-so. I conjure you angels by the name Yafaa, Safaa, Alleya, Hayala, Haya, Halix, Hayul, Ataya, Hytoia, Saffetaba, Coffossol, Remlestar, El, Lord God, you who know the secrets of [all] hearts and are the end and the beginning, [and] who never die. Hasten, Sarafem [and] Custyeli, and command Amaris and his helpers, that they may quickly carry out and accomplish my request.'

> And bury the image in a place by which they pass, and you will see the marvels of almighty God.

No. 37a consists chiefly of conjurations for the days of the week; the conjurations differ in two main ways from those found in the main block of material: their purpose is left unspecified, there being no explicit instruction to the spirits conjured; and they involve word play and near repetition of a sort often associated with Kabbalah: 'In the name Adonay, Adonay, Eye, Eye, Eyu … Eye, Aloraye; in the name Sadaye, Saday, Cados, Cados, Cados, the high one, sitting upon the cherubim …'; 'In the name Adonay, Adonay, Adonay, Eye, Eye, Eye, Cados, Cados, Cados, Hatyn, Hatyn, Hatyn, Va, Va, strong one, Va, who appeared on Mount Sinai with glorification of his reign, Ya, Adonay, Saday, Sabaoth, Hanath, Hu, Haxi, Ya, Ya, Ya, Marmalita, Abym, Yea …'; and 'by the name Ya, Ya, Ya, A, A, Va, Hy, Hy, Haa, Haai, Va, Va, Han, Han, Hon,

Hy, Hyen, Haya, Haya, Hol, Hol, Hay, Hael, Hon; by the names of the Lord Adonay, Haya, Hol, creator of the ages, Cados, Cados, Cados, Ebel, El, Ya, Ya, Ya, Eloy, Arar, Eloym, Eloym …'

Elements of simple lunar astrology, too, are found toward the end of the compilation, in a listing of what were called *lunationes*, or days of the lunar cycle that are good or bad for making magical inscriptions (no. 46). In general, lunar astrology lent itself more to popular use than did the more technical science of solar astrology; while it is found in varying degrees of complexity, it could easily be reduced to a simple list of days in the lunar cycle, identified as favourable or unfavourable, whether in general or for a particular operation such as the working of magic. [24]

When all is said and done, however, the use of astrology and astral magic in the Munich handbook – and probably in other, similar necromantic texts – is fairly superficial. One does not find detailed or rationalized efforts to exploit the powers of celestial bodies, and even the concise treatise of astral magic is more a catalogue than a fully developed work, presumably included simply because the compiler was highly eclectic, but not genuinely integrated into the drift of the compilation as a whole.

The *Speculum astronomiae*, probably written by Albert the Great, explains the basic principles of astrology, then touches at the end on necromancy and related arts. The author says he does not mean to speak in favour of astrological images, because of their similarity to necromantic (*necromanticas*) ones. He then goes on to say that necromantic books should be set aside without being destroyed, 'For perhaps the time is already at hand, when, for certain reasons about which I am now silent, it will be useful on occasion to have inspected them, but, nevertheless, their inspectors should be wary of using them.' [25] Coy as it is, this statement makes clear that the boundary between astral magic and necromancy was fluid in practice even if in theory it could be stated with clarity: astral magic invoked the natural powers of the stars and planets, while necromancy called upon demons; but if there were spirits associated with the heavenly bodies, these might be difficult to distinguish from the spirits of the air traditionally conceived as demonic. [26] One can well understand why orthodox authorities and writers would be suspicious of that which even bordered on the forbidden. The works translated from the Arabic might include a great deal of material that was straightforwardly astrological and clearly non-demonic, but a work such as *Picatrix* appealed to both the powers of the planets and those of spirits, and identified its art as that of necromancy. The Munich handbook is

important in part because it extends the spectrum to the furthest extreme, giving us nearly in its entirety a work expressly devoted to demonic magic, worked out in considerable detail and for the most part with only token borrowing from the astral magic with which necromancy was so richly intertwined.

Table E. Specifications for each day of the week

	Angels serving (37a, 37b, 37d, cf. 37h)	*Spirits ruling (and co-adjutors) (37e)*	*Suffumigations (37f)*	*Purposes (37g)*	*Images (37q)*
Sun.	Raphael	King Saytam (Taatus, Candas, Vanibal)	yellow or red sandalwood	binding tongues otherwise binding people	gold or yellow wax, for binding tongues
Mon.	Gabriel	King Almodab (Sylol, Millalu, Abuzaba)	aloes, *anacap*	benevolence, concord, friendship	gold or steel or white wax, for concord
Tues.	Samael	'*rex filius dyabuli*' (Carmath, Utanaual, Pascami)	pepper, *abana*, *cyg*	illness and destruction	red copper or red wax, for depopulating a house, causing bloodshed or illness, or other harm
Wed.	Michael	King Saba (Conas, Pactas, Sanbras)	*altast*	enmity and hatred	lead, for enmity
Thurs.	Satquiel	Madrath, son of Arath (Hyrti, Ignaro Quiron, Saalalebeth)	yellow incense	peace	yellow copper or yellow wax, for concord between man and woman
Fri.	Anael	King Saabotes (Nassath, Ynasa)	*almastic* or *lignum radim*	friendship	white wax, for love of a woman
Sat.	Captiel= Caffriel	Hayton, Assayby (Abimalyb, Haybalydoth, Yfla)	*assandaron*, sulphur	binding locations	*pix clara*, for binding tongues or places, for discord

Table F. Specifications for day hours

	Names (37j)	*Functions (37j)*	*Ruling angels (37l)*	*Functions of images (37m)*
1st	Yayn	binding tongues	Raphael	binding tongues
2nd	Yan, Or	friendship, favour of potentates	Anael	benevolence
3rd	Nassura	hunting, fishing	Michael	congregating birds and fish
4th	Sala	binding wild beasts	Gabriel	dispelling beasts
5th	Sadadat	binding beasts	Gaffriel	taming wild beasts
6th	Tamhut	freeing captives	Satquiel	freeing captives
7th	Caror	peace between kings	Samael	hunting and fishing
8th	Tariel	discord	Raphael	destroying houses and other places
9th	Karon	travel, safe passage among robbers	Anael	travelling without harm
10th	Hyon	work with demons or demoniacs, foul wind, aid to ladies	Michael	obtaining one's will with kings and princes
11th	Nathalon	causing bleeding in women, binding men to women and vice versa	Gabriel	concord
12th	Abat	peace (between men and women)	Cafriel	binding tongues

Table G. Specifications for night hours

	Names (37k)	*Functions (37k)*	*Ruling angels (37l)*	*Images (37n)*
1st	Leron	working with demoniacs, foul winds	Satquiel	illuminating dark places
2nd	Latol	working with fish	Samael	knowing fortunes
3rd	Hami	working with fire	Raphael	dispelling reptiles
4th	Atyn	destroying houses, expelling people	Anael	destroying or depopulating villages, causing enmity
5th	Caron	asking questions of sleepers	Michael	scattering armies
6th	Zaia	working with fruit trees and other plants	Gabriel	putting enemies to flight
7th	Nectius	expelling people, causing sickness and death	Cafriel	burning vegetation
8th	Tafat	causing enmity	Satquiel	gathering bees or birds
9th	Conassuor	binding tongues, entering before kinds and lords	Samael	attracting and capturing birds
10th	Algo	destroying evil speech or thought	Raphael	scattering besieging armies
11th	Caltrua	binding or catching birds	Anael	Not to be used for making images
12th	Salaij	telling fortunes, disclosing theft or other crime	Michael	

Notes

1 Siegfried Wenzel, ed. and trans., *Fasciculus morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), v. 30, pp. 578–79.

2 Guillaume de Deguileville, *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, Englisht by John Lydgate, A.D. 1426, from the French of Guillaume de Deguileville, A.D. 1330, 1355*, ed. F.J. Furnivall (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1899–1904), vol. 2, pp. 493–505, lines 18,471–924. See Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 172–3, where the drawing of the meeting with the necromancer is reproduced.

3 M.R. James, 'Twelve medieval ghost-stories', *English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), 416f.

4 Hansen, *Quellen*, 556–9; *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, ser. 2, vol. 3 (1846).

5 A classic Byzantine treatise on magic instructed its reader to make two concentric circles wide enough

to accommodate two people; they should be drawn inside a square, with an entrance corridor to the south, and various words and signs are to be inscribed. See Richard P.H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988), 286–7.

6 *The Sworn Book of Honourius* [sic] *the Magician, as Composed by Honourius through Counsel with the Angel Hocroell*, ed. and trans. Daniel J. Driscoll (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1983), chs 26 and 38.

7 *De Nigromancia of Roger Bacon*, ii.4–6, ed. and trans. Michael-Albion Macdonald (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1988), 13–26. On the legend of St Cyprian of Antioch see *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater (New York: Kenedy, 1956), under 26 September.

8 *De Nigromancia*., iii.1, 28f.

9 *Ibid*., 51.

10 Rawl. 29r, 73r, 77v–78r, 79r, 103v, 104v.

11 One (nos 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 12, 15), two (nos 7, 10, 16, 18, 22), three (nos 36, two in 39, 40), or four (no. 6).

12 For parallels and possible sources in Arabic culture see H.A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei* (Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1930).

13 E.g., Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief*, 286.

14 Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. H. von E. Scott and C.C. Swinton Bland, vol. 1 (London: Routledge, 1929), 315–17. See also Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books, and Local Legends*, rev. edn (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955–58), nos. D1272 (magic circle), D1381.11 (magic circle protects from devil) and G303.16.19.15 (devil cannot enter magic circle made to keep him out); and Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (FF Communications, 204) (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Akademia Scientiarum Fennica, 1969), p. 86, nos. 1,069–71.

15 Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson MS 252, fols 25v, 59v–61v.

16 Cornelius Agrippa, *Of Occult Philosophy, Book Four: Magical Ceremonies*, ed. and trans. Robert Turner (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1985), 72.

17 *Taanith*, 3.8, in C.K. Barrett, *New Testament Background: Selected Documents* (London: SPCK, 1956; rev. edn 1987), pp. 191–2; and Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 141 (PGM VII.846–61), 73 (IV.2006–2125).

18 Fols 112v–113v, 142r–142v: *magister facit circulum cum cutello, et faciat socium suum intus sedere, et precipiat sibi magister quod nec pedes neque manus nec vestes nec capillos foras extendat, donec magister exeat expeditus ab omnibus ordinatis…. Postea faciat circulum cum cultello suo, et assignat locum in quo socius suus sedere debeat. Postea iubet eum sedere, et ostendit ei sub qua forma sedere debeat in circulo, et qualiter se regere in omnibus debeat, et qualiter spiritum in aduentu suo recipere debeat, et quomodo exire debeat de circulo, et qualiter in recessu suo eum licenciare tenetur, et quomodo exire debeat de circulo, et quo debeat se diuertere. Et hec omnia debet magister socio suo ostendere antequam eum in circulo incurrere permittit, ne ex defectu periculum intrare videatur.*

19 See Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 131–3.

20 See Hilary M. Carey, *Courting Disaster: Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1992), ch. 8, from which the translation is taken.

21 Nos 4, 6, 8, 11, 19, 41 (waxing moon); 2, 5 (waning moon); 7 [?] (first phase of the moon); 9 (sixth phase); 20 (other phases); 4, 41 (Sunday), 9 (Tuesday), 11 (Wednesday), 6 (Thursday or Sunday), 2, 5 (Saturday); 4, 11 (first hour); 5 (before sunrise); 41 (morning [*de mane*]); 6 (noon); 7, 8 (clear sky); 20

(conjunction of Venus and Jupiter); 41 (Sun in Leo); 5 (under a waning moon *et maxime quando est in combustione*).

22 *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the Gha-yat Al-Haki-m*, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986), esp. passages such as those on pp. 15–22 (images to effect peace, love, the favour of a lore, etc.); pp. 68–73 (images of planets), and 200–2 (fumigations for various planets); for further examples see 'Thabit ibn Qurra's *De imaginibus*', in Francis J. Carmody, *The Astronomical Works of Thabit b. Qurra* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 180–97. See Lynn Thorndike, 'Traditional medieval tracts concerning engraved astrological images', in *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer: Etudes d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale de la Scolastique médiévale offertes à Monseigneur Auguste Pelzer* (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1947), 217–73.

23 Nos 37a (conjurations for days of week), 37b (signs of angels), 37c (signs of days), 37d (angels ruling days), 37e (spirits ruling days), 37f (fumigations for days), 37g (purposes served each day), 37h (angels of days), 37i (names of God), 37j (names and functions of day hours), 37k (names and functions of night hours), 37l (names and functions of hourly angels), 37m (images for day hours), 37n (images for night hours), 37o (angels of times), 37p (names of planets and parts of Earth), 37q (images and conjurations for days) and 37r (summary). The association of angels and demons with specific days and hours had been worked out in Byzantine sources; see Armand Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 1 (Liège: Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 1927), 403–4, 434–8. For material similar to that in no. 37j, see Charles Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), IX, p. 2.

24 On the tradition from which this text draws see Ute Müller, *Deutsche Mondwahrsagetexte aus dem Spätmittelalter* (diss. Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, 1971); *The Works of John Metham, including The Romance of Amoryus and Cleopes*, ed. Hardin Craig (EETS, o.s. 132) (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1916), xxxviii–xlii (a survey of the genre), 148–56; L. Braswell, 'Popular lunar astrology in the late Middle Ages', *University of Ottawa Quarterly*, 48 (1978), 187–94.; Robert Vian, ed., *Ein Mondwahrsagebuch: Zwei altdeutsche Handschriften des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts* (Halle, 1910); and Frank Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb: Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), 49–57. W. Braekman, 'Magische experimenten en toverpraktijken uit een middelnederlands handschrift', *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal-en Letterkunde*, 1966, 54–68, gives the first six sections of a moon-book for when the moon is in each zodiacal sign.

25 Paola Zambelli, *The 'Speculum astronomiae' and its Enigmas: Astrology, Theology and Science in Albertus Magnus and His Contemporaries* (Dordrecht, Boston, and London: Kluwer, 1992), chs 16–17, pp. 270–73.

26 On this issue see especially D.P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic, from Ficino to Campanella* (London: Warburg Institute, 1958; repr. Notre Dame, ID: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975).

The Necromancer’s Handbook in Clm 849: Fols 3r–108v The disposition of the manuscript

The manuscript is from the first half of the fifteenth century, of unknown provenence. It is not mentioned in Otto Hartig, *Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht V. und Johann Jakob Fugger* (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosoph.-philolog. und hist. Klasse, vol. 28, sect. 3, 1914). It is on paper, without discernible watermark. The present binding is probably from the end of the nineteenth or beginning of the twentieth century; the inner side of the rear binding bears a sticker referring to Georg Winkler Buchbinderei KB, Hoflieferant, München, Kreuzstr. 9. Fol. 3 is heavily worn. In the middle of the lower margin of fol. 3r (as on fol. 156v) is a stamp with the inscription *Bibliotheca Regia Monacensis*. In the middle of the upper margin of fol. 3r, *Clm 849* is marked in pencil. The manuscript is 14.7 cm wide and 21 cm high. The text is in a single column, with lineation still discernible on almost all pages. Initials are rubricated. Foliation runs from fol. 3 through fol. 152, and was probably executed after the earliest binding; earlier foliation occurs on individual folios, and is largely erroneous. Various hands are represented, but these do not always correspond to the gatherings of the manuscript; gatherings 12 through 14, however, are written by entirely different hands from those that precede, and the condition of the paper is also different from that in gatherings 1 through 11.

There are fifteen gatherings:

Table H. Gatherings of Clm 849

	Folios	*Experiments*	*Codicological particularities*
1	3–11	No. 1 to beginning of no. 4	Sheet with fol. 10 is separately inserted.

2	12–23	End of no. 4 to beginning of no. 9	Sheet with fols 12–13 is separately inserted.
3	24–35	End of no. 9 to beginning of no. 16	Sheet with fols 24–25 is separately inserted.
4	36–45	End of no. 16 to beginning of no. 27	Fol. 45 is also marked as fol. 59 (in earlier hand).
5	46–50	End of no. 27 through no. 30	Postponement of the middle of no. 27 results in textual discontinuity at the beginning o this gathering. After fol. 50 (on which no. 30 is completed), five uncounted folios (i.e., the secon half of the gathering) are excised.
6	51–59	Middle of no. 27, then no. 31 and beginning of no. 32	Between fol. 51 (which is inscribed only recto) and 52 (which begins with an incipit) five uncounted folios are excised. Fol. 59r is also marked as 79 (in earlier hand).
7	60–68	End of no. 32 to beginning of no. 37	Between fol. 66 and fol. 67 is fol. 65 bis.
8	69–82	Continuation of no. 37	Fol. 70r is also marked as fol. 8 (in earlier hand). Fol. 71r is also marked as fol. 70 (in later hand) Fol. 82 is also marked as fol. 9 (in earlier hand).
9	83–95	Continuation of no. 37	Three sheets – fols 91, 92, and 94 – are separately inserted. Fol 94 is also marked as fol. 10 (in

			earlier hand).
10	96–103	End of no. 37 to beginning of no. 40	Fol. 96r is also marked as fol. 104 (in later hand).
11	104–108	End of no. 40 through no. 47	After fol. 108, three uncounted folios are excised. Fols 106–7 are also marked as fols. 114–5 (in later hand). No. 44 is a fragment on the middle of fol. 107v. No. 47 is a fragment on the middle of fol. 108v.
12	109–118	Related materials, written by various hands	After fol. 118, two uncounted folios are excised. In this gathering there is no lineation.
13	119–32		
14	133–146		Fols 133–139 are also marked a fols 1–7.
15	147–156		Six sheets – fols 147–151 and 156 – are separately inserted.

Textual discontinuities

Apart from the abrupt beginning of the text at the beginning of the main block (on fol. 3r) and the occurrence of textual fragments at the end of this block (on the middle of fol. 107v and on the middle of fol. 108v), discernible breaks in textual continuity occur at three points within the block: (1) Between fols 45 and 46, one text ends abruptly (45v) at the end of the fourth gathering, the fifth gathering begins with a blank page (46r), and

a new text begins *in medias res* (46v). (2) Between fols 50 and 51, one text ends with an *explicit* (50v), five folios are excised at the end of the fifth gathering, and the sixth gathering begins *in medias res* (51r). (3) Between 51 and 52, one text ends abruptly (51r) even though the verso is blank, five following folios are excised within the gathering, and the same gathering resumes with an *incipit* (52).

The discontinuities on fols 45–51 are related, in the sense that the central portion of an experiment (no. 28) has been postponed to fol. 51r, which evidently supplies the missing link between the beginning (fols 44v–45v) and the end (fols 46v–47v) of this experiment. Note that experiment no. 28 is divided into two 'chapters': the end of the first is marked by the words *Explicit primum capitulum* near the bottom of fol. 46r; the second begins with a list of names at the very bottom of that folio, which continues at the top of fol. 51r and continues with a conjuration that occupies the remainder of fol. 51r (fol. 51v is blank), only to conclude with the material on fols 46v–47v, which terminated with the notation *Explicit secundum capitulum*. The textual continuity produced by this rearrangement is corroborated by the identification of two chapters as part of a continuing experiment. The discontinuity is not fully explainable in terms of erroneous binding, which would not account for the scribe's not using the verso of fol. 51. Rather, the lack of continuity is more plausibly explained on the assumption that the scribe recognized belatedly that he had material at hand that belonged to an earlier experiment; he may not have taken the trouble to determine exactly where the fragment inserted on fol. 51r belonged.

It is possible that the only material actually deleted from the miscellany is that on the first two folios. Although folios are elsewhere excised (between fols 50 and 51, between fols 51 and 52, and between fols 108 and 109), the evident textual discontinuities can be emended by rearrangement, and there are no further deletions from the original foliation.

At the end of this block, three folios between 108 and 109 are excised at the end of a gathering, after which new material begins, written by different hands. Within this new material there are three further breaks in textual continuity: between 118 and 119, where two folios are excised at the end of a gathering; between 132 and 133, with the beginning of a new gathering; and between 146 and 147, again with the beginning of a new gathering.

Editorial principles

Punctuation and capitalization have been standardized. Non-standard but clearly intentional forms and spellings have been allowed to stand: *abilem* for *habilem* (no. 34), *aparuisti* for *apparuisti* (no. 31), *beniuolus* for *beneuolus* (no. 34), *blica* for *plica* (no. 1), *colido* for *collido* (no. 5), *commitantem* for *comitantem* (no. 19), *commitiuam and commitiua* for *comitiuam and comitiua* (no. 7), *decim* for *decem* (no. 18), *desparsit* for *dispersit* (no. 33), *dissipulos* for *discipulos* (no. 35), *duodecim* for *duodecem* (no. 27), *genubus* for *genibus* (nos 10 & 11), *hillariter* for *hilariter* (no. 6), *hostio* for *ostio* (no. 17), *inungas* for *inunguas* (no. 22), *karacteribus* for *characteribus* (no. 19), *karitatem karitatiuam* for *caritatem caritatiuam* (no. 14), *kathedram* for *cathedram* (no. 15), *legittimo* for *legitimo* (no. 27), *letania* for *litania* (no. 31), *lingnum* for *lignum* (no. 13), *loycam* for *logicam* (no. 34), *magestas* for *majestas* (no. 1), *magestatis* for *majestatis* (no. 33), *navim* for *navem* (no. 8), *optinere* for *obtinere* (no. 31), *pallificando* for *paleficando* (no. 19), *patifacere* for *patefacere* (no. 6), *pulcherimi* for *pulcherrimi* (no. 13), *quadruuio* for *quadriuio* (no. 26), *rethoricam* for *rhetoricam* (no. 34), *ribelles* for *rebelles* (no. 33), *senephali* for *seneschali* (no. 34), *sepellire* for *sepelire* (no. 4), *sepellitur and desepelliendo* for *sepelitur and desepeliendo* (no. 2), *Septemtrione* for *Septentrione* (fols 115r and 144r), *thesaurum* for *thesaurus* (no. 43), *vppupa* for *upupa* (no. 6). The text has been corrected conservatively when it was necessary to do so for the sense of a passage, but not simply to correct errors; e.g., on fol. 56r *quod vij die hominem ad ymaginem plasmasti tuam* is corrected to *qui vij*[*a*] *die hominem ad ymaginem plasmasti tuam* but *vij* is not corrected to *vi*, and on fol. 13r *discedat … seruiet* [for *seruiat*] *… diligat* has been allowed to stand. Necessary additions have been made in square brackets; deletions and substitutions are indicated in the notes. Lower-case *c* and *t* are sometimes distinguished but often not; when the context allows either, *c* is used. In occult names and 'Chaldean' formulas especially it is often impossible to distinguish between *c* and *t*, to determine whether a superscript line over a vowel represents *m* or *n*, or to make other editorial judgements which depend on context; in these cases the transcription is perforce largely arbitrary.

Italics are used for ritual text that is to be recited, but not for dialogue. In the conjurations, chains of invocations given in unbroken sequence in the manuscript are broken into individual units (beginning with *per* or *et per*), each marked with a bullet, to clarify the structure of each invocation.

No. 1. For gaining knowledge of the liberal arts (fols 3r–5v)

[…] versus orientem. Deinde dicere [debes]:

> *Apolin, Maraloth, Berith, ego, talis, vos exorciso* [a] *et coniuro ex parte dei omnipotentis, qui vos vestra eleccione iussit antra subire profundi, ut debeatis michi mittere quendam spiritum peritum dogmate omnium scienciarum, qui michi sit beniuolus, fidelis, et placidus, ad docendum omnem scienciam quam voluero,* [b] *veniens in forma magistri, vt nullam formidinem doleam percipere. Fiat. Fiat. Item coniuro vos • per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, • et* [*per*] *hec sancta nomina quorum virtute ligamini – scilicet Dobel, Vriel, Sabaoth, Semoni, Adonay, Tetragramaton, Albumay, Siloth, Moreth, Sadabin, Rodobel, Domiel, Perarabiel,* [c] *Alatuel, nominem, nominam,* [d] [*et*] *Vsobel, quatenus vos tres reges maximi et michi socii michi petenti vnum de subditis vestris mittere laboretis, qui sit magister omnium scienciarum et arcium, veniens in forma humana placabilis* [*et*] *splendens* [e] *michi, et erudiens me cum amore, ita et taliter quod in termino 30a*[*rum*] *dierum talem scienciam valeam adipisci, permittens post sumpcionem sciencie dare sibi* [3v] *licenciam recedendi.*

Et hoc eciam tociens dici debet.

Hec vero dicta, [f] depone ensem et involue in dicto panno, et facto fasciculo cuba super ipso, et aliquantulum dormias. Post sompnum vero surge et induas te, quia facto fasciculo homo se spoliat et intrat cubiculum, ponendo dictum fasciculum sub capite. Est autem sciendum quod dictis hiis coniuracionibus sompnus accidit virtute diuina. In sompno apparent tibi tres maximi reges cum famulis innumeris, militibus et peditibus, inter quos est eciam quidam magister apparens, cui ipsi tres reges iubent. A[d] te ipsum venire paratum videbis. [Videbis] enim tres reges fulgentes mira pulchritudine, qui tibi in dicto sompno viua voce loquentur, dicentes, ‘Ecce, tibi damus quod multociens postulasti.’ Et dicent illi magistro, ‘Sit iste tuus discipulus, quem docere te iubemus omnem scienciam siue artem quam audire voluerit. Doce ipsum taliter et erudi, vt in termino 30a[rum] dierum in quacumque sciencia [g] voluerit summus inter alios habeatur.’ Et videbis ipsum respondere, ‘Domini mei, libentissime faciam quidquid [4r] wltis.’ Hiis dictis, reges abient et magister solus remanebit, qui tibi dicet, ‘Surge, ecce magister tuus.’ Hiis vero dictis, excitaberis; statim apperies oculos, et

videbis quendam magistrum optime indutum, qui tibi dicet, ‘Da michi ensem quam [h] sub capite tenes.’ Tu vero dices, ‘Ecce discipulus vester, paratus facere quidquid wltis.’ Tamen debes habere pugillarem, et scribere omnia que tibi dicet.

Primo debes querere, ‘O magister, quod [i] est nomen vestrum?’ Ipse dicit, [j] et tu scribas. Secundo, de quo ordine, et similiter scribe. Hiis scriptis, debes sibi postulare [k] ensem; quo habito ipse recedit, dicens, ‘Expecta me donec veniam.’ Tu nichil dices. Magister vero recedet et fert ensem. Post cuius recessum, tu dissolues pannum vt ap[p]aret inferius. Etiam scribas in dicto circulo nomen eius scriptum per te, et scribi debet per te cum predicto sangwine. Quo scripto, involue dictum pannum et bene reconde.

Hiis factis, debes prandere solo pane et pura aqua, et illa die non egredi cameram. Et cum pransus fueris, accipe pannum et intres circulum versus Apolin. Dic sic: ‘O rex Apolin, magne, potens, et venerabilis, [4v] ego famulus tuus, in te credens et omnino confidens quod tu es fortis et valens, rogo per incomprehensibilem magestatem tuam vt famulus et subiectus tuus, talis, magister meus, debeat ad me venire quam [l] cicius fieri potest, per virtutem et potenciam tuam, que est magna et maxima in secula seculorum. Amen.’ Et similiter dicere [debes] versus Maraloth, mutando nomen. Et versus Berich similiter. Hiis dictis, accipe de dicto sangwine et scribe in medio circuli nomen tuum cum supradicto corde, vt hic apparet inferius. [m] Deinde scribe cum dicto corde in angulis panni illa nomina, vt hic apparent. [5r] Si autem sangwis unius auis non sufficeret, potes interficere quantum tibi placet.

Quibus omnibus factis, sedebis per totam diem in circulo, aspiciens ipsum, nichil loquendo. Cum vero sero [n] fuerit, blica dictum pannum, spolia te, et intra in cubiculum, ponendo ipsum sub capite tuo. Et cum posueris, [o] dic sic plana voce: *O Apolin, Maraloch, Berith, Sathan, Beliath, Belzebuc,* [*et*] *Lucifer, supplico vobis vt precipiatis magistro – in eo* [*loco*] (nominando eius nomen) *– vt ipse debeat venire cras ante solis ortum ad me et docere me talem scienciam sine aliqua fallacia, per illum qui venturus est iudicare viuos et mortuos et seculum per ignem. Amen.*

Caue igitur et precaue ne signum ✠ crucis facias, propter magnum periculum in sompno. Scias quod videbis magistrum tota nocte loqui tecum, interrogans a te quam scienciam velis addiscere. Et cum dices, ‘Talem’, ita quod, vt dictum est, tota nocte cum eo hoc loqueris. Cum itaque excitatus

fueris, quod e[s]t in ipsa nocte, surge et accende candelam, et accipe dictum pannum et devolue, et in eo sede, videlicet in circulo vbi nomen tuum scriptum est ad tuum commodum, et voca nomen magistri tui, sic dicens: *O talis, de tali ordi-* [5v] *ne, et in magistrum michi deditus per maiores reges tuos, te deprecor vt venies* [p] *in forma benigna, doctum me talem scienciam,* [*in*] *qua* [q] *sim promcior omnibus mortalibus, discens ipsam cum magno gaudio, sine aliquo labore, et omni tedio derelicto. Veni igitur ex tuorum parte maiorum, qui regnant per infinita secula seculorum. Amen. Fiat, fiat, fiat.*

Hiis itaque dictis, tunc aspiciens versus occidentem videbis magistrum venire cum multis discipulis, quem rogabis vt omnes abire iubeat, et statim recedunt. [r] Quo facto, ipse magister dicet, 'Quam scientiam audire desideras?' Tu dices, 'Talem,' et tunc incipies.

Memento enim quod quantum tibi dicet, tantum addisces [s] et memorie commendabis, et omnem scienciam quam habere volueris addisces in termino xxx[a][rum] dierum.

Et quando ipsum de camera abire volueris, plica pannum et reconde, [t] et statim recedet. Et quando ipsum venire volueris, aperi pannum, et subito ibidem apparebit, continuando lecciones. Post vero terminum 30a[rum] dierum, doctus optime in scientia, fac tibi dare [u] ensem tuum et dic vt vadat, et cum pace recedat. Debes iterum dicere cum pro alia ipsum invocabis habenda sciencia, qui tibi dicit ad tui libitum esse paratum.

Finis est capituli sciencie, *etc.*

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a *Corrected from* exorcisor.
b *MS* volueris, *although the final letter is uncharacteristic for this hand.*
c *Or* Pararabiel.
d Sic *in MS.*
e *MS* splandens.
f Sic in *MS.*
g *MS* in quam scienciam.
h Sic in *MS.*
i Sic in *MS.*
j Sic in *MS.*
k *Meaning* presentare?
l *Followed by* ci *(?), deleted.*
m *Circle at the bottom of fol. 4v: a single band inscribed within a square. The names of the spirits* Belial, Satan, Mendior Matalot, Belzebub, Lucifer, Sententino *and* Apolin *are inscribed in and*

around the band, as are the four cardinal directions. Nomen magistri, de tali ordine *and* Nomen discipuli *are marked in the centre*.

n *The final* o, *written with a superscript line, has been corrected, with the correct form* sero *also in the margin*.

o *Meaning* reposueris?

p Sic *in MS*.

q *MS* quam.

r Sic *in MS*.

s *MS* addiscens.

t *MS* retunde.

u Sic *in MS*.

No. 2. For causing a person to lose his senses (fols 6r–7v)

Ad hoc igitur, vt sciencia siue ars possit ab aliquo auferri, vnde diligenter attende. [a] Debes enim primo decrescente luna die sabbati ire ad illum quem ad mentem venire volueris et coram eo sic dicere plana voce: *Subintret Mirael cerebrum tuum et omnem sapienciam, sensum,* [b] *discrecionem, [et] cogitationem diluat et aboleat. Coniuro te, Mirael,* • *per omnes principes et maiores,* • *et per omnia que facere voles, vt in tali quem aspicio debeas permanere donec michi libuerit, et ipsum obfuscare,* [c] *et omne quod agnoscit ammittat,* [d] *alioquin mittam te in maris profundum, quod non egredieris in secula.*

Quibus dictis, recede et prestolare donec sero fuerit. Quo facto, vade ad hostium eius et incide de ligno ipsius hostij tantum quod de ipso calamum facere possis, et ad domum redeas, et fac de ipso calamum, et de sangwine murilogi in panno lini cum ipso calamo scribe: *O Mirael, ablator sapiencie, sciencie, cognicionis, et artis, adsis in sensibus talis, et spiritum facere debeas animo dementem.* [e]

Qua conuocacione scripta, fit in dicto panno circulus cum dicto sangwine vt hic apparet, [f] vbi scribitur vt sequitur: nomen illius quem priuare volueris in medio circuli conscribitur, [cum] hoc nomine ‘Mirael’. Quibus factis, debes dicere sic: *Coniuro vos decem demones* [6v] *malignos, videlicet Oreoth, Pinen, Ocel, Tryboy, Noryoth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy, Sismael,* • *per indiuiduam trinitatem, videlicet Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum ab vtroque procedentem,* • *et per tremendam et timendam diem judicij,* [g]

• *et per omnia que fuerunt et sunt et erunt, vt* [h] *sicut in hoc circulo figurati,* [i] *circuitis talem,*

> [i] *ita vere et efficaciter et existenter personam eius circuatis, et sensus eius taliter affligatis quod ignorans, demens, stultus, et mente captus* [k] [7r] *efficiatur. Et tu, Mirael, de cerebro eius nunquam egrediaris, manens in eo die noctuque donec ab eo abire iubebo.*

Quibus sic dictis ter, iterum redeas in eadem nocte ad domum ipsius cum dicto panno et cum quodam cultello, et cum ibi fueris, volue humeros versus suum hostium, et flectens te in terram, minge in parte eius more cameli. Faciendo foueam subter[r]ando dictum pannum in eius limite, [l] dic sic: *Subterro te, talem, in nomine demoniorum scriptorum circa te, quod semper ipsi demones* [*sint*] *circa te et omnis tua virtus sepulta sit.*

Et cooperto dicto circulo cum terra, redeas iterum ad domum, et fac candelam, in qua sint scripta omnia contenta in circulo. Et debes ipsam facere de cera primo empta, [in] nomine et [pro] destrvccione eius, cum vna acu similiter empta. Qua facta, accende ipsam et dic sic: *Sicut hec candela,* [m] *facta in destruccionem talis, comburitur et consumatur,* [n] *ita omnis virtus et sciencia existens in ipso in demenciam conuertatur, per virtutem demoniorum in hac candela scriptorum. Et sicut vos demones hic scripti ardetis, ita nullam requiem habere possitis donec hoc duxeritis ad effectum.* [o]

Quibus verbis semel prolatis, dictam candelam extingwe, dicendo hec verba:

> *Sicut hec candela extingwitur, ita omnis virtus in tali permanens penitus consumetur.*

Mane vero ipsam accende, dicendo, *Sicut hec* [7v] *candela, etc.* Item alio mane, vsque ad terminum septum dierum, computato primo die; in octavo vero die, videbis istum dementem omnino, de quo omnes mirabuntur. Mirabile est autem quod non credit se aliquem habere defectum, et omnes alios mente putat esse carentes.

Hanc igitur experienciam apud te tene, quia magne virtutis est.

Cum autem ipsum volueris in statum priorem deuenire, optime fieri potest.

Die iouis, 1. hora noctis, vade ad suum hostium vbi sepelisti pannum, quod dum sepellitur debet poni pannus in quodam vase vt non putrescat; sic factis omnino ipsum liberandi, et ipsum pannum desepelliendo, sic dicas: *O Mirael, Oreoth, Pinen, Ocel, Triay, Moryoth, Belferith, Canay, Astaroth,*

Sobronoy, [*et*] *Sismael, ego, talis, absoluo vos vt eatis ad vestri libitum, et relinquatis talem in statu priori.*

Quibus dictis, fer domi [p] istum pannum, et accenso igne ligni oliue et [q] prouincula et herba verbena, [r] priocias dictum pannum sub dicto igne, dicendo, *Sicut ignis iste consumit hunc pannum, ita omnis ars facta per* [s] *me contra talem penitus consumetur.*

Combusto igne, proice dictum puluerem in aqua currenti, et omnis ars destructa erit. Cognoscet eciam se postea vir quod fuerit primo omni prefectura priuatus, credens se habuisse egritudinem, cuius occasione hec accessisse putabit, *etc.*

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a Sic *in MS*.
b *Followed by* et.
c *Corrected in margin from* abfuscare.
d *MS* amittit.
e Sic *in MS*.
f *Figure on fol. 6v: a single circular band, with* Oreoth, Pinen, Otel, Tryboy, Noryoth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy *and* Sismael *inscribed in it. In the centre of the circle* Mirael *and* N. *(for the name of the intended victim) are inscribed. Along the left side of 6v is a band labelled* Hoc [*or* hic] est candela *and the following names inscribed along it:* Oreoth, Pinen, Ocel, Triboy, Norioth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy.
g *The writer began to write* judij-, *then corrected the second* j *to* c.
h *MS* et.
i *Followed by* estis.
j *Followed by* vt.
k *MS* capitis.
l *Corrected from* limate.
m *Followed by* est.
n *Presumably meaning* consumitur.
o *MS* affectum.
p *Sic, for* domum?
q *Meaning* cum?
r *MS* herbam verbenam.
s *Inserted above the and in margin.*

No. 3. For arousing a woman’s love (fols 8r–11v)

… maxima diligencia probaui ipsam, et est periculosa, cum hec scilicet in persona, et … [a]

Cum volueris habere amorem a quacumque muliere vis, siue longinqua siue propinqua, tam nobili quam prolipia, [b] in quacumque die vel nocte vis, siue in augmento siue in amicicie detrimento, primo debes habere quandam columbam totam albam et cartam factam de cane femina dum est in amore, de qua est habere leuissimum. Et debes scire quod predicta carta potentissima est ad amorem mulieris habendum. Debes eciam habere calamum aquile. Et in loco occulto accipe dictam columbam et cum dentibus morde eam penes cor ita vt cor egrediatur, et cum calamo aquile in dicta carta cum dicto sangwine scribe nomen illius quam vis. [Debes] formare ymaginem mulieris nude quam melius scis, [c] dicendo, *Formo talem, N., filiam talis, quam habere desidero, nomine [d] istorum sex spirituum calidorum, videlicet Tubal, Sathan, Reuces, Cupido, Afalion, Duliatus, quod ipsa me diligat super omnes viuentes istius mundi.*

Qua facta, scribe in fronte nomen eius et hoc numen ‘Tubal’, dicendo,

> *Tu es talis, filia talis, de cetero ad meam voluntatem disposita, et tu es Tubal in fronte eius. Te iubeo permanere, ligando sensus eius capitis sui [e] ad me tantummodo cupientem.*

Postea adhuc scribe in brachio suo dextro ‘Sathan’, et in [8v] sinistro ‘Reuces’. Quibus scriptis, sic dic: Sicut tu, Sathan, et tu, Reuces, estis scripti in hac ymagine facta nomine talis, ita continuo affligatis brachia ista sua vt aliquid facere nequeat sed me amplecti desideret.

Quo facto, iterum scribe penes cor ymaginis nomen tuum, dicendo,

> *Sicut in corde istius ymaginis sum, ita talis, N., die noctuque me in corde suo habeat.*

Quo facto, scribe supra wuluam imaginis hoc nomen ‘Cupido’, dicendo sic:

> *Sicut tu, Cupido, es super wuluam istius ymaginis, ita semper maneas super wuluam talis, accendendo ipsam vt omnes viros istius mundi despiciat et me tantummodo cupiat, et ignis amoris mei ipsam torqueat et inflammet.*

Quo facto, scribe in crure dextro ‘Afalion’, in sinistro ‘Duliatus’. Quibus

scriptis, dic: Sicut tu Afalion et tu Duliatus estis scripti in hac ymagine, ita sedeatis in cruribus talis, affligendo crura eius propter amorem vehementem mei, quod non velit ire nec ire desideret aliquo nisi huc.

Quibus dictis, accipe [f] ipsam ymaginem ambabus manibus, et flexis genibus dic sic: *Adtraxi cor et mentem talis per hanc ymaginem, et prouoco in ipsam invocacione forti quod ipsa me diligat, cupiat, et affectet, et eciam tota nocte in sompno aspiciat, per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, qui viuit* [9r] *et regnat et imperat in eternum.*

Quibus dictis, habeas mirram et saffranum, et facto igne, dictam ymaginem suffumiga, dicendo hanc coniuracionem: *Coniuro vos omnes demones in hac ymagine scriptos, per dominos vestros quibus obedire tenemini: Sobedon, Badalam, et Berith,* [g] *quatenus talem, cuius ymago est hoc nomine figurata, in amore meo accendere debeatis, vt die noctuque in me cogitet, in me speret, donec cum affectu meam compleuerit voluntatem. Et sicut in hac ymagine scripti et fixi estis, ita in ipsa recumbaris donec de ea faciam quidquid velim.*

Hac igitur coniuracione ter dicta, et facta suffumigacione, habeas [h] caude pilum cuiusdam equi, et suspende dictam cartam cum dicto pilo, ita vt moueatur ab aere, et dimitte stare; illa [i] vero die, vel sequenti, vel alia, vel quando potes, ad illam mulierem accedas, et procul dubio libentissime te videbit, dicens [se] sine te stare non posse. Et hoc habeas pro constanti, et tuo animo [j] faciet voluntatem, et super te omnia diliget [k] in eternum.

Si bene seruaueris ymaginem eius nomine figuratam, in qua virtus talis existit, ymmo et de hoc magis est admirandum: hoc est signum: antequam vidisses ipsam, statim facta hac ymagine [9v] cum ad eam accesseris erit de [te] taliter filocapta quod dum te viderit, quod non recedas ab ipsius coniunccione priuatus, ymmo de omni quod volueris contentus habebis. [l]

Si vero ad eam non possis accedere, siue [m] timore aut loci distancia aut aliquo interueniente, tamen potes ipsam apportari facere per supradictos demones, qui ita efficaces sunt quod si esses in Oriente in vna hora ipsam ab Occasu portarent sine aliquo periculo, et similiter reportarent sine aliqua diwlgacione. Et vt sit facta ymago vt dictum est et suspensa illa die, in aliqua hora diei, sufflas in ipsa ita quod flatu tuo moueatur. Et similiter secunda die et tercia die. In nocte vero ipsius diei tercij, vel eciam in ipsa die, solus uel cum tribus sociis fidelibus, accipe dictam ymaginem et cum

illo pilo liga ipsam ad collum tuum, et pendet in pectore tibi. Et habeas quandam ensem, et in terra fac circulum cum dicto ense. Facto circulo, stans intus, voca socios si habeas, qui nichil faciant nisi quod in circulo sedeant et ludum videant; quos si non habueris, quod melius est. [n] Habeas stilum ferreum, et circa circulum scribe vt hic apparet, [o] cum silentio semper.

Quo facto, [p] [10r] dic hanc coniuracionem: Coniuro vos demones in hoc circulo sculptos, quibus data est potestas et potencia ducendi et alligandi mulieres in amore virorum, • *per virtutem et potentiam maiestatis diuine,* • *et per thronos et dominaciones et potestates et principatus illius qui dixit et facta sunt,* • *et per illos qui non cessant clamare vna voce, dicentes, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus sabaoth, pleni sunt celi et terra gloria tua. Osanna in excelsis.* [10v] *Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini. Osanna in excelsis',* • *et per hec nomina pauencia et tremencia vos,* [q] *scilicet Rator, Lampoy, Despan, Brulo, Dronoth, Maloqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascifin, Nartim, et Lodoni,* • *et per anulum istum qui hic est,* • *et per innumerabiles potencias vestras et maiorum vestrorum,* quod vbicumque sitis de locis vestris sine mora surgatis et ad talem pergatis, et statim sine fallacia ipsam huc ducatis, et cum voluero ipsam reportabitis. Et de hoc nemo senciat vel perpendat.

Qua [r] dicta ter, versus anulum aspiciendo, audies quandam vocem dicentem, 'Ecce nos sumus,' et statim eos videbis sex domicellos pulcriores et mites, tibi eadem voce dicentes, 'Assumus hic, parati tibi parere [s] benigne. Dic igitur quid vis, et statim subito faciemus.' Tu autem dices, 'Eatis ad talem et michi ipsam sine mora ducatis.' Quibus dictis, subito recedent; ante horam ipsam sine lesione portabunt.

Et scias quod nullus ipsorum potest ingredi circulum, sed ipsam apportent apud ipsum, et ipsa porriget tibi manum, et intus ipsam trahis, que aliquantulum est attonita tamen wult libentissime [11r] tecum stare. Doceo eciam te quod quanto maiorem circulum facis, melius est tibi, quia in eo potes facere circulum et in ipso melius extendere. Si enim aliquid tui esset vltra signum circuli, malum esset tibi. Venta itaque muliere, omnes spiritus euanent.

Potes enim retinere hanc mulierem in dicto circulo quantum tibi placet, quia cum mulier ingreditur circulum dicere debes illis spiritibus, 'Vnus vestrum vadat ad locum a quo [t] talem a[p]portauistis, et in forma [eius]

ibidem maneat donec ipsam hic habuero.’ Hiis dictis, omnes abient cum silencio. Cum autem, illa die ac nocte ac mense ac anno quando tibi placuerit quod ipsam ad domum volueris reuertere, [u] dic sic: O vos spiritus, qui talem huc duxistis, accipite ipsam et ad domum suam portate. Et quotiens ipsam reuoluero, ipsam sitis in reportando subiecti. Venite igitur per miras valencias quas ineffabiliter exercimini.

Quibus ter dictis, venient quinque spiritus, qui eam te vidente portabunt.

Memento enim, quando ipsa egreditur circulum, in dicendo ‘Vale’, tangere ipsam cum ymagine quam habes ad collum, quia in eternum pro hac te diliget et neminem preter te videre curabit; ymaginem semper interim quod cum muliere [11v] moraris, ad collum retinere debes, qui semper ipsi mulieri invisibilis apparebit, et cum ipsa abierit, dissolue ipsam a collo tuo et in quoddam vasculum diligenter reconde. Et ipsa recondita, dilue totum circulum et secure egrediaris. Et quando [eam] iterum ad te venire volueris, fac vt desuper dictum est.

Et nota quod experimentum est efficacissimum, et in eo nullum periculum est. Quo solo experimento Salomon habebat quascumque mulieres volebat. Et hec dicta sufficiant pro habendis mulieribus. Et debet fieri cum sollempnitatibus maximis, *etc*.

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a *Introductory line at top of folio, partly cut off.*
b *Meaning* plebeia?
c Sic *in MS*.
d *Meaning* in nomine?
e Sic *in MS*.
f *MS* accipit.
g *MS* Lerith.
h *MS* habeat *or* habeac.
i *MS* illam.
j *Perhaps for* tui animi.
k Sic *in MS*.
l Sic *in MS*.
m *MS* sine.
n Sic *in MS*.
o *The upper portion of 10r is occupied by a single circular band containing the names* Rator, Lampoy, Despan, Brunlo, Dronoth, Maloqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascifin, Nartim *and* Lodoni. *The centre is labelled* Locus magistri.
p Quo facto *repeated at top of 10r*.
q Sic *in MS*.

r *Sc.* coniuracione.
s *MS* parare.
t *Corrected from* qua.
u Sic *in MS.*

No. 4. For gaining dignity and honour (fols 11v–13v)

Dicto de habendo amore mulieris, volo tibi legare artem probatissimam ad obtinendum dignitatem et honorem, statum et maximam incorruptibilem dileccionem a rege uel a pelato siue domino, et generaliter a quocumque viro volueris.

Primo igitur habeas duos lapides molles quos ad inuicem ita fricabis vt superficies ipso[rum] plane eque concordent. Quo facto, in vno sculpes formam illius quem volueris, [a] incipiendo a capite, deinde vsque ad pedes, faciendo primo a parte anteriori, deinde a posteriori, sculpendo eciam coronam in capite si rex est, et sic [12r] secundum dignitatem. Qua sculpita, [b] formabis in illo eciam lapide apud aliam formam tuam figuram, quam melius scieris, incipiendo a capite, vt dictum est, et a parte anteriori deinde a tergo. Quibus factis, scribe in fronte primo more sigilli nomen illius, et in tua nomen tuum. Quo facto, luna crescente die dominica in prima hora diei, habeas argentum siue stagnum, et ad ignem decola. Quo decolato, proicias in formam illius, dicendo sic: *Ego, talis, volens talem graciam obtinere et ab eo venerari, semper honorari, similiter et timeri, formo* [c] *ymaginem factam et sculptam nomine eius virtute cuius ipse me perpetue diligat vltra modum.*

Qua [d] facta, habeas stilum ferreum, et in eius fronte sculpes hoc nomen ‘Dyacom’; in pectore eius hec tria nomina, scilicet ‘Pumeon’, ‘Terminas’, et ‘Peripaos’; et in spatulis hec sex nomina, videlicet ‘Midam’, ‘Fabni’, ‘Gebel’, ‘Darail’, ‘Vmeloth’, et ‘Thereoth’; et in vmblico hoc nomen ‘Byreoth’. [e] Quibus scriptis, habeas pannum lineum candidissimum, et hanc ymaginem in ipsam involve. Quam involutam bene recondas.

Die vero iouis, in prima hora diei, facto igne, cola similiter stagnum et in tua forma ipsum infunde, dicendo, *Ego, talis, formo ymaginem meam et ad mei similitudi-* [12v] *nem, qua ego semper dominer tali et ab ipso diligar et timear in eternum.*

Qua formata, similiter in alio linteolo involuas.

Et est aduertendum quod ymago illius cuius vis graciam obtinere debet

esse longitudinis ipsius unius semissi, cum sculpitur in ipso lapide. Qui eciam lapis tantus debet esse quod ymago tua tercia parte ymaginis illius debeat esse maior. Et eciam in ymagine tua [f] debes imponere sceptrum.

Quibus factis omnibus diligenter, ut dictum est, in sequenti die veneris, prima hora eius, suffumiga ymaginem illius ad fumum horum aromaticum, scilicet cinamomi, piperis longi, et herba agrimonia, dicendo sic: *Ego, talis, exorzizo* [g] *te, ymaginem,* [h] *nomine talis formatam,* • *per inseparabilem vnicam et indiuiduam trinitatem,* • *et per omnes thronos, dominaciones, et potestates, et principatus,* • *et* [*per potenciam*] *omnium creaturarum,* vt per tui virtutem obtineam graciam et amorem talis cuius nomine facta es.

Quibus ter dictis, sic proferas:

> *O Dyacon, Pumeon, Termines, Peripaos, Midain, Fabin, Gebel, Dorayl, Vmeloth, Tereoth, et Bireoth, spiritus benignissimi et concordiam* [i] *seminantes, ego, talis, cum instantia magna vos deprecor, vobis supplico, vos rogito, per vnicum dei filium, qui sui sangwinis effusione humanum genus mortuum suscitauit, vt per hanc ymaginem forma-*[13r] *tam nomine talis ipsum iuxta me taliter aligetis, vt me super omnes mortales veneretur, nunquam a meo consensu* [j] *discendens, sed meis semper parens preceptibus. Michi studeat complacere, per eundem dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, qui viuit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen.*

Qua oractione dicta, accipe tuam ymaginem et ipsam in dextra teneas, aliam autem in sinistra, et iunge illam tue, sic dicendo ter: ‘Subiecit populos nobis, et gentes sub pedibus nostris’ [Ps. 46:4 Vulg.]. Quo dicto, habeas quandam catenulam ferream, et ad collum ipsius ymaginis liga, ponendo aliud capud in manu dextera tue ymaginis. Quo posito, bene ligato, ita sic dices: Sicut tu, ymago formata nomine talis, es subpedita et ligata mee ymagini, ita talis in eternum sit michi penitus alligatus.

Quo dicto, capias cum tuis manibus ambas manus ymaginis, et retro flectens dic, [k]

> *Ligo per hanc ymaginem manus talis, quod manus eius perpetuo nullam vim habeant contra me.*

Flecte eciam predicte ymaginis caput versus terram, sic dicendo:

Sicut ymago hec, facta nomine talis, manet coram me flexa ceruice, ita talis nunquam a mei voluntate discedat, sed me continue sequatur et michi semper seruiet [l] *et me in eternum diligat super omnes, me veneretur, et michi studeat applaudere.*

Quo dicto, faciendo semper suffumigacionem, accipe [13v] tuam ymaginem et a tergo ipsius pone aliam, ita quod os suum tangat humeros tue ymaginis, et ponendo sic dicas: Sicut hec ymago, facta et condita nomine talis, stat apud istam ymaginem factam nomine mei cum maxima subieccione; ita talis sit subtritus et subiectus michi donec iste ymagines fuerint conseruate.

Quibus dictis, involue ipsas, vt dictum est, in quodam alio linteolo mundissimo.

Quas involutas in quodam vasculo pone et clam porta per ciuitatem et coram eius presenciam in habitaculo eius, si potes; et hoc facere debes per totam diem.

In sero, autem, debes sepellire has ymagines in tali loco et ita infra, vt [non] reperiantur, et videbis mirabilia. Si autem coram ipso aut eius habitaculum pergere non valeres, subterra, vt dictum est, et ipsas [m] vbicumque tibi placet, et ab ipso super omnia diligeris.

Hoc enim experimentum [n] vsus fuit Parmen[i]des ad regis Persarum graciam obtinendam.

a *Followed by* jncip, *deleted*.
b Sic *in MS, for* sculpta.
c *MS* formam.
d *Sc*. ymagine.
e *The forms of these names vary even within this experiment:* Dyacom *appears on fol. 12v as* Dyacon; Terminas *as* Termines; Midam *as* Midain; Fabni *as* Fabin; Darail *as* Dorayl; Thereoth *as* Tereoth, *and* Byreoth *as* Bireoth.
f *Corrected in MS from* tuam.
g *Sic in MS, corrected from what appears to be* exerzizo.
h Sic *in MS*.
i *MS* concordium.
j *Corrected in both text and margin from* sensu.
k *MS* dicendo.
l Sic *in MS for* seruiat.
m Sic *in MS; meaning not altogether clear, but perhaps* et *should be deleted.*
n Sic *in MS*.

No. 5. For arousing hatred between friends (fols 13v–15r)

Ad faciendum odium inter diligentes. [a]

Restat etiam vt de odio et inimicitia inter diligentes ponere pertractemus.

Cum igitur inter duos viros siue mulieres siue masculum et feminam seminare volueris inimiciciam et [b] odium capitalem, necesse est vt accipias duos lapides viuos et recondes [c] vnius ponderis, qui debent esse fluminei, et in vno debes sculpire nomen vnius cum hiis [14r] nominibus: Cartutay, Momabel, Sobil, et Geteritacon. Et in altero, nomen alt[er]ius et hec nomina, scilicet Puzanil, Pimaton, Folfitoy, et Mansator. Que nomina sunt valde se odencia. Quibus sculptis, vni videlicet illum qui factus est nomine illius, debes sub ianua eius limine [d] subterrare si potes, si autem non, sepelias sub limine [e] cuiusdam domus inhabitate, et similiter alium sub limine [f] alterius, vt dictum est, vel sub cuiusdam domus, vt supra scriptum est, et [g] ibi stare permittas septem diebus et septem noctibus.

Quo facto, ante solis ortum remoueas et in locum ocultum ambas facias [h] et ipsas in ignem proicias, sic dicendo:

Coniuro vos spiritus inimicissimos, per eterni dei gloriam, quod inter talem et talem, quorum nomina hic in illis lapidibus sculpta permanent, quantum odium inter vos est, tantum inter ipsos seminetis et inseratis.

Quibus ter dictis, ipso[s] lapides de igne afferas, sic dicendo: ‘Cum irascetur furor eorum in nos, forsitan aqua absorbuisset nos’ [Ps. 123:3f. Vulg.]. Quo dicto, proiciamus [i] ipsos in aqua frigidissima, et in ipsa stare permitte sereno celo tribus diebus et noctibus.

Quarto autem die, accipias ipsos et suffumiga eum cum fumo sulphuris, dicendo sic: Coniuro vos omnes demones odiosos et malignos, inuidios et discordes,

- *per vnitatem Sancti Spiritus Paracliti manentis in Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto,* [j]
- *et per eternitatem omnium creatorum,* • *et per omnes sanctos et sanctas dei,* • *et per hec sancta nomina, virtute quorum dominator olimpi celum et terram est formare dignatus, scilicet ‘Aa’,* [14v] *‘Sabaoth’, ‘Helyn’, et ‘Abacel’,* • *et per omnes reges et dominatores inferni,* • *et per hec nomina demonum, videlicet ‘Apolyn’, ‘Gebel’, ‘Astaroth’, ‘Tereol’, ‘Falmar’, et ‘Tyroces’, quatenus quantum odium inter vos existit et quantum inter Caym et Abel fuit, tantum inter talem et talem protinus inseratis. Accendite itaque ipsos, et taliter inflametis quod vnus alterum videre non valeat, ymo vno reliquum in innumerabili odio rebellis affligat.* [k] *Remoueatur ab ipsis omnis amor, dileccio, fraternitas, et compago; ad inimiciciam ac omne odium maximum conuertantur.*

Quibus ter dictis, suffumigando ipsos semper, reconde.

Nocte vero sequenti, colidas dictos lapides simul et vnum super reliquum proicias, sic dicendo: *Non collido hos lapides, ymo col*[*l*]*ido talem et talem, quorum nomina hic sculpta sunt, quod vnus alterum continuo affligat et inmitigabili odio se ad inuicem de cetrero crucient.*

Et sic facias singula nocte et singula die ter per aliquos dies. Et videbis statim siue audies quod inimici efficientur et se odient animo, et vnus alterum videre non valent. [l]

Si enim omnino ipsos disiungere voles, et voles vnum ab altero disgregare et vnus alterum fugiat, facias hoc modo. Surge die sabbati ante solis ortum, decrescente luna, et maxime quando est in combustione, et ire versus solis ortum facias. [m] Qua facta, habeas dictos lapides illuc tecum [15r] latos, et fortiter ipsos ad inuicem frica, pulsando vnum super alterum, sic dicendo: *Non colido has* [n] *lapides, etc.*

Quo dicto ter, sepelias quem volueris. Deinde recede et versus occidentum vade et ibi fac foueam, et aliam [o] ibi sepelias, dicendo sic: *Sicut disiunxi hos lapides, ita talis* [p] *se disiungat a tali, et oppositi sint sicut isti lapides.*

Quo sepulto, rec
ede. Et videbis disiungi et vnum ab altero separari.

Hoc enim experimentum occultandum est, quia ineffabilis in eo virtus existit. Nullum enim remedium invenitur ante [q] ipsi disiungantur et se mordaciter odiant.

Cum vero volueris ad primam amiciciam remeare, desepeliendi sunt predicti lapides et in fornace ponendi; qui, bene cocti, minutissime terantur, et ipsos cum aqua ad invicem inpasta et siccare permitte. Quo siccato, in fluminis aqua proicias, dicendo, Tollatur omnis inimicicia et ira que fuit inter talem et talem, et in amorem pristinum reuertantur, per misericordiam pii dei, qui non respicit malicias peccatorum. Amen.

Et scias quod per hec statim coniunguntur, et omnis ira tollitur, et pristina pace fruuntur.

a *Title repeated in margin.*
b ac *added between lines.*

c vn *deleted*.
d *MS* limite.
e *MS* limite.
f *MS* limite.
g *MS* et et.
h Sic *in MS*.
i Sic *in MS, for* proice?
j Sic *in MS*.
k Sic *in MS*.
l Sic *in MS*.
m Sic *in MS*.
n Sic *in MS for* hos.
o Sic *in MS*.
p *MS* talis et talis.
q Sic *in MS*.

No. 6. For obtaining a banquet (fols 15r–18v)

Artem quam in tua curia vidisti me tociens exercere, videlicet ad prouocandum dapiferos. Primo debet fieri invocacio xv [a] spirituum hoc modo: In primo, extra villam debes accedere, luna crescente, die iouis [15v] vel die dominica, in meridie, et debes tecum ferre ensem lucidissimum et auem vppupam, et cum dicto ense in quodam remoto loco facere circulos. Quibus factis, cum acie predicte [b] ensis scribere debes xvj nomina vt inferius apparebit in [c] illa figura. Quibus factis, debes figere versus orientem in interiori circulo dictum ensem, vt hec racio demonstrat. [d] Quo facto, debes tibi taliter alligare dictam vppupam vt discedere non valeat de in- [16r] teriori circulo, in quo tu stare debes.

Quo facto, genibus flexis, respiciendo versus orientem et capiendo dictum ensem ambabus manibus, sic [e] proferas: Oymelor, Demefin, Lamair, Masair, Symofor, Rodobayl, Tentetos, Lotobor, Memoyr, Tamafin, Leutaber, Tatomofon, Faubair, Selutabel, Rimasor, Syrama, spiritus iocundissimi, ylares, et gaudentes, ego, talis, vos adiuro • *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,* • *et* [*per*] *filium vnici dei potentissimi, viui et veri, qui propter nos et nostram salutem descendit de celis et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto, ex pura et intemerata ac incorrupta virgine Maria,* • *et per natiuitatem et passionem ac resurreccionem domini nostri Iesu Christi, filij dei veri,* • *et per sanctum lauacrum baptismatis quo quisque saluatur,* • *et per solem et lunam et omnia sidera celestia,* • *et per omnia illa que* [*potenciam*] *habent vos terrere et constringere, et virtute quorum ad nos vocantibus* [f] *oportet accedere,* quatenus huc sine mora ad me venire debeatis

in forma miti, placida, et iocunda, patifacere quidquid dicam.

Qua dicta duodecies [g] – videlicet primo quater versus orientem, secundo quater versus meridiem, tercio quater versus occidentem, quarto et vltimo quater versus aquilonem – portando semper ensem in manu, et cum [16v] dicis coniuracionem, figiendo [h] semper ipsum in quolibet loco; deinde pone vbi primo erat dicta coniuracio, vt dictum est.

Qua dicta, semper genibus flexis, iterum volue te versus orientem, tenendo nunc ensem per manum dexteram, et accipiendo vppupam per sinistram, sic dicas: *Venite, o prenominati* [i] *spiritus, venite ad me, venite, quoniam ego precipio vobis per eternam dei gloriam. Amen.*

Qua dicta semel, volue te cum ense et vppupa versus occidentem, et videbis xvi milites decoros et strenuos, qui tibi dicent, 'Vocasti nos et ad te venimus, parare [j] subiecti. Pete secure quid vis, quoniam tibi sumus in obediendo parati.' Tu autem dices, 'Facite michi videre vestram potenciam, vt aspiciam mensas cum discumbentibus multis cum inprandionibus infinitis.' Qui tibi respondebunt [se] libenter velle facere.

Et statim venient domicelli multi, apportantes mensas tripedes, manutergia, et alia necessaria. Post hec venient nobilissime gentes, qui discumbent, et pincernas ibidem seruientes et apportantes infinita cibaria. Et audies cantus, melodias, et tripudiantes videbis et ludos innumeros. Et scias quod illi duodecim [k] non discedant a te, stantes apud circulos et extra, et tecum loquentes et videntes. [Debes] eciam scire quod ad te de illis discumbentibus apud circulos venient tres reges, [17r] rogantes te vt cum ipsis commestum vadas. Et tum respondebis te aliquo modo non posse discedere. Quibus dictis, ipsi subito ad discumbentes reuertentur, dicentes eis de circulo te mouere non velle, quos audies. Quibus dictis, mittebunt [l] per vnum pincernam de qualibet dape, de qua secure comedas, et de ipsa porrige illis xvi apud circulum stantibus, et ipsi eciam de ea comedent. [m] Post hec, videbis omnes a mensis discedere et ordinate equos ascendere.

Et demum omnes a tuis oculis euanebunt, preter illos xij, [n] qui, stantes coram te, dicent, 'Nonne placuit tibi ludus noster?' Quibus tu hillariter respondebis quod sic. Et facta responsione, ipsi petent a te vppupam, que continuo trepidabit, quod mirum est. Quibus tu sic dices: 'Volo vobis vppupam dare si iurabitis ad me venire, faciendo hunc ludum quotiens michi placuerit.' Qui dicent se esse iurare paratos. [Ad] quos librum quendam

facias apportare, quem subito apportabunt, et in ipso hoc modo iurare facias: *Iuramus omnes duodecim* [o] *in hoc sacrato libro • per illum deum viuum et verum, qui nos et omnia creauit, • et per dominos quos timemus et adoramus, • et per legem quam obseruamus, ad te sine mora venire quocienscumque vocaueris nos, et mensas parari facere,* [17v] *sicut et adhuc melius vt vidisti.*

Et statim iurabunt.

Et cum iurauerint, dabis eis vppupam, quam cum habuerint a te petent licenciam recedendi. Quibus dabis hoc modo, dicendo, ‘Pergite quo affectatis accedere, et estote solliciti [p] michi.’ Qui dicent [se] esse tibi de cetero obligatos. Hiis dictis, abeunt, similiter et tu egredere de circulis et ipsos aboleas vt nullus appareat, et tuum ensem ferendo recedas.

Debes igitur attendere quod vppupa magne virtutis est nigromanticis et demones invocantibus, [q] quapropter ipsa multo [r] vtimur ad [s] nostri tutelam.

Cum enim clam aut palam aut vbicumque ipsos ad te venire volueris, respicias in libro suprascriptos circulos et figuras, legendo submissa voce nomina in ipsis existencia. Quibus inspectis et semel lectis, lege hanc coniuracionem semel: *Oymelor, Demefin, Lamair, Masair, Simofor, Rodobail, Tentetos, Lotobor, Memoir, Tamafin, Zeugaber, Tatomofon, Faubair, Belutabel, Rimasor, et Sirama, rogo vos, coniuro et adiuro per dei veram maiestatem, vt hic venire faciatis subditos vestros, qui apportent huc cibaria, et primo talem et talem, et faciant pulcherimum festum cum iocis, canticis, choreis, et tripudiis, et ge-* [18r] *neraliter cum omnibus que* [t] *circumstantibus corda letificent* [cf. Ps. 103:15 Vulg.].

Qua semel lecta, splendidissimi venient domicelli parantes mensas pulcherrimas. Quibus paratis, audies tubas, cytaras, et cantus innumeros. Cum enim alta voce dices, ‘Apportate aquam’, statim apportabitur. Et similiter, ‘Ferantur epule’, et statim feruntur. Et erunt pincerne et dappiferi optime seruientes, et domicelle pulcherrime, et instrventes, facientes innumerabilia sollacia. Et potes facere apportari, si tibi placet, inprandioni[um] mille maneries, que valde et [u] ultra modum sapient comedentibus.

Debes itaque scire quod quanto magis comedunt, multo plus famescunt, quia apparentur sicut dapes, tamen non [v] existent, ita quod si famelicus in illis esset credens illis dapibus saciari, vt si non comederet procul dubio

moreretur.

Et quando volueris ludum destruere, dic vt mensas accipiant. Eciam acceptis statim mensis, [w] omnes astantes ibidem permanebunt. Quos si voles cantare aut sonare aut omnem ludum facere, dic, ‘Sic fiat,’ et videbis affectum, [x] quoniam hij sunt spiritus ludi et omnis solacij, qui facient omnia dicta sibi. Et cum volueris ipsos abire, dic sic: ‘O vos omnes, recedite, et quociens vos vocabo ad me, omni causa remota pergetis.’ Qui respondebunt, ‘Libentissime faciemus.’ Et ipsis recessis, omnes [18v] exiuerint, de hac arte stupentes.

Et hic finitur ars illa, que est quasi apud hodiernos ignota, quam Matheus Hispanus totaliter ignorauit, *etc*.

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a Sic *in MS*.
b Sic *in MS*.
c *MS* et.
d *Diagram on fol. 15v: a quadruple band with a pentangle inscribed in the centre, a sword depicted at the top (extending downward across all four bands, with its point on the top of the pentangle) and other figures (likewise extending across all four bands) on the upper left, upper right, lower right, and lower left. The cardinal directions are given outside the outermost band, with* Oriens *on top. Within the bands sixteen names are inscribed:* Oymelor, Symofos [*on 16r:* Symofor; *on 17v:* Simofor], Manoir [*on 16r:* Memoyr; *on 17v:* Memoir] *and* Faubair *in the outermost band;* Demefin, Rodobayl [*on 17v:* Rodobail], Tamafin *and* Abelutabel [*on 16r:* Selutabel; *on 17v:* Belutabel] *in the next;* Lamair, Tentetos, Leutaber [*on 17v:* Zeugaber] *and* Rimasor *in the next; and* Masair, Lotobor, Tatomofon *and* Sirama [*on 16r:* Syrama] *in the innermost.*
e *Corrected in MS from* sicut.
f Sic *in MS, for* ad nos vocantes oportet vos accedere?
g *Sic in* MS.
h Sic *in MS for* figendo *or, rather,* fige.
i *Corrected from* prenominate.
j Sic *in MS for* pareti et *or* parere?
k Sic *in MS*.
l *MS* mittentibus.
m *MS* comedentur.
n Sic *in MS*.
o *Sic in* MS.
p *MS* sollicite.
q *Followed by* quem.
r *MS* multa.
s *MS* in ad.
t *MS* qui.
u *Followed by* p, *deleted*.
v *Followed by* sunt.
w *MS* mensas.

[x] *Meaning* effectum?

No. 7. For obtaining a castle (fols 18v–21r)

Experimenta formosissima ad conuocandum spiritus vt homo faciat [a] apparere castrum pulcherrimum et fulcitum, siue ad prouocandum armatorum innumeras [b] legiones. [c]

Et eciam [d] vna [e] alia experiencia ad prouocandum spiritus vt homo faciat apparere castrum pulcherimum et fulcitum, siue ad prouocandum armatorum innumeras legiones, [f] quod leuiter fieri potest, et intra alia pulcherimum reputatur.

Vade primo, luna 10, sereno celo, extra villam ad aliquem locum segregatum et secretum, portans tecum lac et mel, de quo per aerem aspergere debes. Et discalciatus, nudo capite, genibus flexis, versus occidentem sic lege: *O Vsyr, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno, Syrtroy, Risbel, Cutroy, Lytay, Onor, Moloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor, et Ym,* [g] *spiritus armigeri, quibus proprium est arma deferre et vbicumque wltis sensus humano*[*s*] *decipere, ego, talis, vos coniuro et exorcizo et invoco,* • *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, que sancta trinitas nu*[*n*]*cupatur,* • *et per creatorem celi et terre et visibilium omnium et invisibilium,* • *et per illum qui hominem de limo terre formauit,* • *et per enunciacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,* • *et per eius natiuitatem,* • *et per eius mortem et passionem,* • *et per eius resurrexionem,* • *et per eius ascensionem.*

Item [19r] *ego coniuro vos omnes prenominatos* [h] *demones,* • *per piam et misericordissimam et intemeratam ac incorruptam virginem Mariam, matrem domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui pro miseris peccatoribus mortem sumens nos ad celestem patriam reuocauit.*

Item ego coniuro vos supradictos spiritus,

- *per omnes sanctos et sanctas dei,* • *et per omnes apostolos, martires, confessores, virgines, et viduas,* • *et per hec preciosissima ac ineffabilia nomina omnium creatoris, quibus omnes ligamini, et que* [i] *terrent omnia celestia, terrestria, et infernalia, scilicet Aa, Ely, Sother, Adonay, Cel,* [j] *Sabaoth, Messyas, Alazabra, et Osian.*

Item ego coniuro vos et exorcizo

- *per virtutem et potenciam omnium principum, regum, dominorum, et maiorum vestrorum,* • *et per virtutem et possibilitatem ac potenciam vestram,* • *et per habitaculum vestrum, cuius hec est forma,* [k]
- *et per omnes figuras in ipso permanentes, quatenus vos, insolubiliter ad mei potenciam alligati, ad me sine prestolacione venire debeatis, in tali habitu vt me aliqualiter non terreatis,* [19v] *subiecti et parati facere ac demonstrare michi omnia que voluero, et hoc*

facere debeatis et velit[*is*] *per omnia que in celo et in terra morantur.*

Qua lecta semel versus occidentem, similiter [lege] versus meridiem, orientem, et aquilonem.

Et a longe videbis continuam commitiuam turbam armatorum versus te venientem, qui premittent [l] tibi quendam scutiferum, dicentem quod illi ad te veniunt quos vocasti. Cui dices sic: ‘Vade ad eos, et dic ipsis vt in tali condicione ad me veniant vt nullum timeam, [m] sed secure permaneam cum ipsis.’ Quo dicto, statim ad eos redibit.

Qui post modicum interuallum venient ad te. Quibus visis, ostende eis [n] statim hunc circulum, qui habet multum ipsos 15 demones pauentare (uel spanentare), [o] quem ipsi aspicient, dicentes, ‘Secure quid vis pete, quoniam per nos tibi omnino fiet.’ Quibus tunc dices quod istum suum circulum taliter debeant consecrare vt quandocumque ipsum aspexeris, vocando ipsos, ad te debeant velociter venire, [p] debentes illud facere quod est in ipsis naturale, scilicet facere [q] apparere fortilicias et castra cum foueis et cum multitudine armatorum. Qui dicent [se] hoc facere velle. Quibus porriges librum, et videbis quemlibet ipsorum super ipsum manum inponere et aliqua verba loqui, que non intelliges. Hoc facto, ipsum tibi restituent.

Quo restituto, rogabunt te vt ipsos abire permittas, quia a te non possunt nisi licencia petita. Quibus dices, ‘Facite hic castrum, vt vi- [20r] deam vestri efficaciam.’ Qui statim circa te castrum facient, cum multis aliis, in medio cuius castri te videbis, et ibidem militum maxima multitudo [erit]. Tamen isti quindecim a te discedere non valebunt. Post enim huius hore spacium, te [r] rogabunt vt a te discedere possint. Quibus dic, ‘Estote michi parati quocienscumque hunc circulum aspiciam, vocando vos, et subito recedetis.’ [s] Qui iurabunt a[d] te venire continuo. Quo dicto, dic vt recedant quocumque ire desiderant. Et tunc ludus totaliter destruetur, et nullus ibidem apparebit.

Hiis factis, domum remea, custodiendo librum bene in quo virtus totalis existit. Quando vero enim pulcherime artem volueris operari, aspicias circulum, legendo nomina; incipiendo ab oriente, sic dices: O Vsyr, Salaul, Silitol, Denior, Zaimo, Syrtroy, Ristel, Cutroy, Lytoy, Onor, Moloy, Pumiotor, Tamy, Dor, Ym, voco vos vt hic venire debeatis per consecracionem huius circuli, in quo signa vestra permanent, et michi in omnibus istis apparere faciatis castrum fortissimum, cum profundis foueis, et militum et peditum cum maxima commitiua.

Et subito videbitur ibi castrum pulcherrimum [t] cum omnibus necessariis. Quod si vis ingredi, poteris, quia continuo miles tecum stabit, [u] cui omne quod voles apparere precipias et fieri faciat.

Cum semel ego hanc artem [probare volebam], exercui eam cum imperatore, quem multi nobiles comitabant, qui venando per quandam obscuram siluam pergabant. Et hunc modum tenui. Primo inspexi circulum, vocando supradictos demones [20v] plana voce. Et tunc statim venit ad me quidam speciosus miles, quem nullus preter me valebat aspicere, qui ad me dixit, 'Ego sum vnus de vocatis spiritibus, ab aliis ad te missus, qui nominor Salaul, cui precipias quid tibi placet petere, et statim fiet.' Cui dixi, 'Volo vt apparere facias istis vnam legionem armatorum, quam imperator et alij secum stantes ipsos [v] credent esse rebelles.' Qui dixit, 'Factum est.' Et tunc omnes comites et eciam imperator [w] respexerunt versus aquilonem, et a longe viderunt versus ipsos venire et equitum et militum innumerabilem multitudinem, a quibus vnus discessit, et ante magne hore spacium venit ad imperatorem, tremendo dicens, 'Domine imperator, ecce videte gentes sine numero qui contra vos veniunt, iurantes vos et omnes vestros comites mori tradere, et vestros dure [x] interficere.' Quo audito, imperator et comites [y] quid deberent agere nesciebant. [z] Et interim ipsi spiritus apropinquabant. Quos imperator et alij videntes et audientes, ipsorum instrumenta terrencia fugere tunc ceperunt, et isti sequentes ipsos et sagitando vna voce clamabant, 'Fugere non potestis hodie mortem!' Et tunc ego dixi, 'O Salaul, fac ante imperatorem et suos unum castrum mirantissimum, [a] quod imperator et alij ingredientur.' Et factum est. Tunc factum est tutissimum castrum comitum optime, [b] cum turribus et foueis, depresso [c] ponte, quod vide-[21r] batur optime et plenum esse [d] dispendiariis, clamantibus, 'O domine imperator, ingredere cum tuis sociis festinanter!' Qui ipsum intrauerunt, in quo videbantur esse famuli et multi amici imperatoris; existimauit se ibi invenisse se viriliter defendentes. Quibus ingressis, leuauerunt pontem et se defendere ceperunt. Tunc illi spiritus cum machinis [e] castrum mirifice totaliter expugnabant. Quapropter imperator et alij sui, valde territi, magis timebant.

Tunc dixit michi Salaul, 'Non habemus potenciam hic [f] morandi nisi vno quadrante, ita quod recedere nos oportet.' Et tunc, recesso castro et expugnantes [g] et ipsis recedentibus castrum et omnia euanerunt. [h] Imperator et alij sui tunc viderunt et invenerunt se in quadam [i] palude, de quo admirati sunt valde. Quibus dixi, 'Negocium ex hoc maximum fuit festum.' Et ad

ciuitatem remeatis, de sero cenauimus. Quibus sequentem experienciam post cenam feci.

Memento quod ars predicta nisi vno quadrante durare non potest, nisi durabit vnum quadrantem vna vice, *etc.*

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a *MS* faciant.
b *MS* innumerasl.
c *Heading underlined in text and repeated in margin.*
d enim *written above, invading preceding line.*
e *Written above* alia, *also invading preceding line.*
f *This repetition may be erroneous, or may be a reference to the repetition of the experiment (fol. 20r) or to the testimonial anecdote (fols 20r–21r).*
g Silitor *appears on fol. 20r as* Silitol; Demor *appears on fol. 20r as* Denior; Zanno *appears on fol. 19r as* Zanno, *with the note added* uel Zaimo, *and on fol. 20r as* Zaimo; Risbel *appears on fol. 20r as* Ristel; Lytay *appears on fol. 19r as* Litor *and on fol. 20r as* Lytoy; Pumotor *appears on fol. 20r as* Pumiotor; Tami *appears on fol. 20r as* Tamy; Oor *appears on fol. 19r as* Oor, *with the note added* uel Dor, *and on fol. 20r as* Dor.
h *Followed by* spiritus, *deleted.*
i *MS* quem.
j *Meaning* El?
k *Figure at bottom of fol. 19r: double band, with* O Vsyr, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno [*outside outer band:* uel Zaimo], Syrtroy, Risbel, Cutroy, Litor *in the outer band, and* Onor, Moloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor [*inside inner band:* uel Dor], et Ym, spiritus armigeri, *in the inner band.* Locus magistri *is marked in centre.*
l *MS* permittent.
m *First two letters corrected in MS.*
n *Followed by* hoc circulum, *deleted.*
o *Parentheses inserted on the assumption that* uel spanentare *is meant as an alternative reading. For* qui habet … pauentare uel spanentare *read perhaps* qui facit … pavere *or* pavescere.
p *Followed by* et proficisti, *deleted.*
q *MS* faciendi.
r *The* e *is misshapen, and another* e *is written above it.*
s Sic *in MS.*
t *Added in margin.*
u *Note added in bottom margin:* uel quia continuo quidam milites tecum stabunt.
v Sic *in MS.*
w *MS* imperator et eciam.
x e *repeated above line.*
y *Followed by* territus, *deleted.*
z *MS* nesciebat.

a *Followed by* comitum, *deleted.*
b optime *added in margin.*

c *MS* depresse.
d *Followed by* stipendariis, *deleted*.
e *Followed by* et.
f *Followed by* manendi, *deleted*.
g *MS* expungnantes.
h *Perhaps for:* recesso castro, et expugnantibus recedentibus, castrum et omnia euanuerunt.
i *Followed by* plade *(deleted)* plaude *(deleted)* uel.

No. 8. For obtaining a boat (fols 21r–23r)

Vt vbicumque sis possis habere nauem, in qua tu cum quibuscumque voles quocumque ferris [a] vadas: ieiunus [b] die lune; ipsa die, luna crescente, ad celum serenum, id est sereno celo, solus [sis] in loco remoto, et fer tecum vnam [21v] costam hominis siue mulieris mortui, quam primo acuere debes, et facere cum ipsa in terra has figuras cum nominibus et aliis omnibus contentis in ipso circulo, vt hic apparet. [c] Quo facto, debes ingredi signatum locum, et voluendo te circa circulum, suffumiga ipsum cum medulla mortui, vt dictum est.

Quo facto, audies per aerem voces, facta suffumigacione; quibus auditis, hanc coniuracionem dices versus occidentem, vt scriptum est: *Fyrin* (quod [d] sic dicas: *O Fyrin*), *Dyspil*, *Onoroy*, *Sysabel*, *Cotroy*, *Tyroy*, *Orooth*, [22r] *Rimel*, *spiritus* [e] *habitatores aque, qui naues nauigantium periclitare conamini, ego vos coniuro et exorcizo, et prouoco vos, vbicumque sitis, aut in oriente aut in occidente aut in meridie aut in aquilone, aut in aquis aut in terris,* • *per indiuiduam ac inseparabilem trinitatem que in tribus personis existit, scilicet Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum ab vtroque procedentem,* • *et per illum qui perpetuus et eternus est,* • *et per illum qui concessit nobis graciam in inferno non stare.*

Item, ego coniuro vos [f] *et constringo vos* • *per quatuor flumina paradysi,* • *et per aduentum domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui frangens vectes ferreos sanctos patres de tenebris extraxit ad lucem.*
Item ego coniuro vos

- *per wltum, manus et pedes, atque plagas Ihesu Christi, vt hic venire debeatis, vos octo* [g] *spiritus prenominati, vt vos videam in forma na*[*u*]*tarum, et hoc sine prestolacione* [h] *aliqua faciatis. Item ego coniuro vos et impero atque precipio vobis* • *per potenciam et dignitatem Luciferi, Aphaleon, et Neutrion, vt nullam requiem habeatis donec ad me veniatis,* [i] *vt dixi. Venite, quia ego vos advoco ex parte domini dei Sabaoth, quo et gloria cuius celi et vniversa terra est repleta.*

Qua semel dicta, tenendo costam semper in manu dextra, videbis octo

nautas [j] cum magna reuerencia et timore dicentes, [22v] ‘Ecce, mittimur ad te; precipe nobis de omnibus ad nos pertinentibus, et erit sine mora fulcitum.’ Quibus dicis, ‘Volo vos coniurare ac promittere michi tot debeatis ad me venire teneamini cum a me fueritis coniurati.’ Qui maximum [k] facient sacramentum ad te venire et redire quandocumque libuerit, tuam parati facere voluntatem. Hoc iurato, sic dices: ‘Ego precipio vobis vt hunc circulum cum naui capiatis et ad talem locum sine mora me feratis.’ Hiis dictis, videbis ipsos cum ramis [l] ingredi nauim et imponere vela, et incipient nauigare. Et scias quod tibi videbitur esse in profundo maris, et in paruo temporis spacio voles quocumque ferris. [m] Quibus eciam precipias vt ad locum a quo acceperunt te instantissime reportent, qui statim facient. Et cum illic [n] fueris reportatus, dic eis eciam quod revenient, quod hec omnia sine fraude facient, eis quocienscumque iubebis, qui statim iurabunt ad te venire velociter quando eis vocaueris, et te solum vel cum quibus volueris in naui portare quocumque tibi placuerit accedere.

Quibus iuratis, des licenciam recedenti. Quibus recessis, aboleas circulum, et costam subterra ibi.

Cum igitur tu solus uel cum aliis voluntatem habueris nauigandi, cum ferro uel cum ligno uel digito vel cum aliquo signante fac circulum cum aliis, vt superius demonstraui, et cum aliis ingredere supradictum locum, dicens eis vt timere non de- [23r] beant, fingens eis aliquid. [o] Et cum omnes ingressi fuerint, sic legas semel: *O Syrim, Dyspyl, Onoroy, Sisabel, Cotroy, Tyroy, Orooth,* [*et*] *Rimel, sculpti in hoc circulo, ego invoco vos per vestram subieccionem michi factam, vt statim sine mora subito et incontinenti hinc* [p] *debeatis accedere, mites, subiecti, parati et obedire michi et tanquam na*[*u*]*te hunc circulum cum hac naui figuram vestram debeatis assumere, et nauigando debeatis nos portare ad talem locum ad quem intendimus profiscissi.* [q]

Et [r] conuocatione lecta, venient statim in naui octo naute placabiles, dicentes tibi, ‘O viri, [s] quo ire intenditis?’ Quibus tu dices, omnibus audientibus, ‘Ad talem locum.’ Tunc nauis et omnes [t] in aqua esse videbuntur, [u] et istos velociter nauigare, aspiciens qui nauigant, [v] et [w] ad locum optatum [venietis] vnius in[fra] hore spacium. Et cum ibi fueris, si in ipso loco manere volueris, dic nautis vt abiant, parati ipsum officium reassumere [x] et execucioni mandare quando eos invocaueris. Qui [y] subito, hoc audito, recedent. Et cum volueris remeare vel alias pergere, voca ipsos vt dictum

est, et omnia facient.
Et scias diligenter quod in ipsa naui similiter potest fiere nominacio sanctorum, sicut in vera cristianitate, quia hij spiritus sunt inter bonum et malum, non in inferno, non in paradyso morantes, quibus hanc artem facere proprium est. Et circulus ille insignia sua est.
Hoc enim experimentum vidi multos esse peritos, tamen aliter et aliter; hic autem modus est verus, pauci laboris, [z] et nullius periculi.
Et nota quod in isto libro sunt nomina et figure spirituum secundum suas proprietates, que ignota sunt; igitur occultande sunt et celande, propter ipsorum ineffabilem efficaciam pro certo, *etc*.

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a *Meaning* voles?
b u *partly covered by blot*.
c *Figure on fol. 21v: a single circular band in which are inscribed the names* Fyron, Dyspil, Onoroy, Sysabel, Cotroy, Tyroy, Rimel *and* Orooth. *A horizontal band bisects the circle, and a vertical band bisects the upper portion of the circle. A closed crescent shape (presumably representing a ship) appears in the upper two-thirds of the circle, with two dots beneath it at the prow and the stern. Within this crescent shape, below the horizontal band, is the inscription* Hic magister cum suis sociis. *The position* Occidens *is marked just inside the circular band, at the bottom*.
d *MS* qui.
e *Followed by* habitares, *deleted*.
f *MS* te.
g *Initial* o *corrected from* v.
h *MS* prestilacione.
i *MS* veneatis.
j *MS* naues.
k *MS has extraneous line over the* x.
l *MS* romis.
m *Sic in MS, perhaps for* quocumque vis te feret *or* volabis quocumque vis.
n *MS* illis.
o Sic *in MS*.
p Sic *in MS, meaning* huc.
q *Corrected in margin from* perfecisti.
r *MS* Aut.
s O viri *added in margin*.
t et omnes *added in margin*.
u *MS* videbitur, *assuming* nauis *alone as the subject*.
v Sic *in MS*.
w *Followed by* epulent, *deleted*.
x *MS* reasumere.
y *MS* Quo.
z *MS* laborum.

No. 9. For obtaining a horse (fols 23v–25v)

Volo eciam tibi mittere [a] quomodo equus, hoc est spiritus in equi forma, possit haberi, ferentis te tam per aquas quam per terram, tam per colles quam per planicies, quocumque volueris.

Primo enim, 6a luna, die Martis, ieiunus, forinsecus egrediaris cum quodam freno nunquam operato, et in loco secreto cum quodam clauo siue stilo ferreo fac circulum, vt hic apparet, [b] sculpiens in eo nomina et figuras ibidem apparentes. [c] Quibus factis, permanens in medio, genibus flexis, super freno versus orientem aliquantulum alta voce sic dicas: *O Lautrayth, Feremin,* [*et*] *Oliroomim, spiritus peccatoribus insistentes, ego, talis, in vestra* [24r] *virtute confidens, vos coniuro • per illum qui dixit et facta sunt, et omnia scit et cognoscit antequam fiant, • et per celum et terram, ignem et aerem et aquam, solem et lunam et stellas, • et per thronos, dominaciones, potestates, atque principatus domini nostri Ihesu Christi, • ac per omnes angelos et archangelos qui morantur ante thronum dei simili voce clamantes, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus Sabaoth, pleni sunt celi et terra gloria tua, osanna in excelsis; benedictus qui venit in nomine domini, osanna in excelsis', quatenus vos tres ad me venire debeatis suauiter, vt non terr*[*e*]*ar nec timeam, sed securus existam,* [d] *et quidquid vobis imperabo debeatis totaliter adimplere et cum maxima efficacia execucioni mandare. Item ego coniuro vos supradictos spiritus • per illum qui venturus est judicare viuos et mortuos et seculum per ignem, • et per tremendam diem judicij, • et per sentenciam quam audire debetis in ipsa die, • et* [*per*] *hunc circulum, quo efficaciter prouocamini,* vt sine mora huc meare cogamini, et precepta mea suppliciter obseruetis.

Quibus dictis ter, tres equites videbis a longe venire. Quos cum videris, dic donec ad te fuerint, *Leuaui ad te oculos meos in montes, vnde veniet auxilium michi. Auxilium* [24v] *meum a domino, qui fecit celum et terram* [Ps. 120:1f. Vulg.; cf. Ps. 122:1]. Et quando apud circulum fuerint, statim descendent equos, et tunc hilariter [te] salutabunt. Quibus dices, 'Dominus per sui misericordiam in statum pristinum vos reducat.' Hoc dicto, ipsi dicent, 'O magister, ad te venimus, vnanimes tuis preceptis seruire parati. Precipe igitur nobis illud, propter quod [e] nos huc venire fecisti, et erit penitus expeditum.' Quibus respondere debes, 'Volo vt presens frenum' – tenendo ipsum ambabus manibus – 'taliter consecretis vt quocienscumque ipsum squassauero ante me veniat equus, ori cuius ipsum possim imponere,

et ipsum ascendere possim, ipsum equitare tute et accedere quo michi libuerit proficisci.’ Hoc dicto, ipsi asserunt [f] dictum frenum velle secum ferre et ibidem tercio die reportare. Quibus ipsum [g] dabis. Et cum dederis, ascendent equos et sine mora recedent. Quibus recessis, egredere circulum, non abolendo [illum], et deinde recedas.

Tercia vero dei, in vesperis, reuertaris illuc, et invenies ibidem predictos spiritus offerentes tibi dictum frenum, asserentes tuam peticionem esse fulcitam. Et accepto freno, sic dicas: ‘Ego coniuro vos per deum deorum vt sine mei licencia de hinc [h] discedere non possitis.’ Hoc dicto, tibi respondebunt quod quantum voles ibidem [25r] permanebunt. Quo dicto, squassabis frenum, et subito illuc veniet equus niger, cui inpones frenum, et equitabis. Hoc facto, descendes [i] et remouebis frenum, et subito equus abibit.

Quo recesso, sic dices:

Ego iterum coniuro vos,

- *per omnia antedicta,* • *et per omnia habencia contra vos potestatem, vt iurare vos debeatis vt predictum equum semper* [j] *ad me venire cogetis.*

Qui iurabunt et promittent expresse hoc continuo cum efficacia facere. Quod cum iurauerint, dic quod cum salute recedant. Quibus recessis, egredere circulum et ipsum totum aboleas, et frenum tecum portes.

Et cum volueris equum venire, dic, squassando frenum, *Lutrayth*, *Feremim*, *Oliroomim*, et statim equuus veniet, cui[us] ori inpones frenum, et equitabis. De cuius cluni[bu]s aliquantulum incidere debes, quia micior erit, et hoc omni vice facere debes. Et cum volueris ipsum currere, punge ipsum uel verberes, quia illic more sagitte [volabit], de quo nunquam cadere poteris, nec timere poteris. Et quando voles descendere, nunquam recedet donec frenum de ore eius auferes. [k] Quo ablato, subito euanescet.

Facimus enim talia frena tenuissima, ita quod in paruo loco portare possimus, que nunquam frangi possi[n]t nec putrefieri, [25v] propter ipsam consecracionem.

Item est aduertendum quod si supradictum circulum, in corio equi cum sangwine equi scriptum, cum dente eciam equi, est [l] ostensum equis, subito moriuntur. Et si ipsum, vt dictum est scriptum, erga te tuleris, nullus equus ad te poterit appropinquare. Et [de] virtute huius circuli eciam ait Socrates in libro magice.

a Sic *in MS*.

b *Figure on fol. 23v: a single circular band, with a square inscribed, and a circle inside the square. Short bars extend outward from the middle of each side of the square and touch the inner side of the circular band. Names of the cardinal directions flank each of these bars*. Locus magistri *is marked in the centre of the circle. The band contains the names* Lantrayth, Feremni *and* Oliromim, *plus astronomical and other signs*.

Lantrayth *appears as* Lautrayth *in the text on the same folio, and as* Lutrayth *on fol. 25r*. Feremni *is given as* Feremin *on the same folio, and as* Feremim *(with a misshapen final m) on fol. 25r*. Oliromim *appears as* Oliroomim *in both later contexts*. *gloria tua, osanna in excelsis; benedictus qui venit in nomine domini, osanna in excelsis'*,

c *MS* apparencias.

d *Followed by* t, *deleted*.

e *MS* illud, quidquid.

f Sic *in MS.*

g *MS* ipsius.

h *Followed by* poss, *deleted*.

i *MS* descendens.

j *MS* predictum equum semper vt.

k *MS has recedent and* euanescent, *but the line over the last* e *in* euanescent *is faint. Evidently the writer meant to correct the plural to the singular*.

l *MS* eciam.

No. 10. For resuscitating a dead person (fols 25v–28r)

Cum volueris [in] aliquem mortuum infundere spiritum, ita quod viuus, [vt] erat prius, [a] videbitur, talis ordo tenendus est. Primo quidem ex auro anulum fieri facias. Eciam sculpta sint [b] in parte [c] exteriori hec nomina: Brimer, Suburith, Tranauit; in parte vero interiori sculpta sint hec nomina: Lyroth, Beryen, Damayn. [d] Quibus sculptis, die dominico ante ortum solis accedas ad aquam currentem et in ipsa pone dictum anulum, et quinque diebus ipsum in ea stare permittas.

Sexta vero die, ipsum extrahe et fer ad quoddam monumentum, et in ipso pone, ita quod moretur ipsa die Veneris et Sabbati die. Vero dominica die, ante solis ortum, accedas extra villam, sereno celo, in loco occulto et remoto, et fac circulum cum quodam ense, et in ipso scribe cum dicto ense nomina et figura[s] vt hic apparet. [e] [26r] Quibus scriptis, [f] ingredere in eum vt signatum est, et pone ensem sub genubus tuis, dicendo versus meridiem hanc coniuracionem: Coniuro vos, omnes demones scriptos in hoc anulo – quem in manibus habeas,

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,* • *et per omnipotentem deum, factorem celi et terre,* • *et per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, eius filium, qui propter humani generis*

salutem mortem sufferre dignatus est, • *et per gloriosam virginem Mariam, matrem eius,* • *et per lac* [26v] *eius sanctissimum Christi,* [g] *per quod angeli denunciando pastoribus locuti sunt, 'Gloria in excelsis deo, etc.'*

Item ego coniuro vos, O Brimer, Suburith, Tranayrt, Lyroth, Berien, Damay,

- *per omnes sanctos et sanctas dei,* • *et per hec nomina sancta dei: Tetragramaton, Oel,* [h] *Messyas, Soter, Adonay, Alpha et O, Sabaoth,* • *et per hec sancta nomina virginis Marie, scilicet regina, flos, rosa, lilium, scala, sapiencia, vita, dulcedo, misericordia, et spes,* • *et per paradisum celestem et terrestrem,* • *et per omnes angelos et archangelos, thronos, dominaciones, potestates, atque principatus, et maiestates et glorias regis celi et terre,* • *et per omnes principes, reges, dominos, et maiores vestros,* • *et per infernum vestrum,* • *et per omnia in eodem existencia quatenus vos omnes, constricti et ligati in voluntate mea et in potestate mea, debeatis huc accedere in benigna forma, vt nullum timeam, et consecrare ita et taliter presentum anulum, vt in eo hec virtus existat, videlicet quod quandocumque inposuero ipsum in digito alicuius mortui, vnus vestrum ipsum ingrediatur, et vt primo viuus* [i] *appareat in illa similitudine et forma, per illum qui viuit et regnat in vnitate Spiritus Sancti deus, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.*

Hiis semel dictis, apparebunt subito apud circulum 6 spiritus, [27r] petentes dictum anulum; quibus dabis. Quo dato, ipsi abient, et similiter tu egredere circulos, ferens tecum ensem, non destruens circulum.

Sexta vero die, cum predicto ense, reuerteris et versus meridiem sic dices: *Ego coniuro vos, O Brimer, Suburith, Tramayrt, Lyroth, Beryen, Damayn, per deum vnum, viuum, solum, et verum, vt nunc sine mora ad me venire debeatis, apportando anulum consecratum, ita quod quando inposuero ipsum in digito siue in manu alicuius persone viue cadat in terram sicut mortua, et quando abstulero ab ipsa in statum pristinum reuertatur, et eciam in quocumque* [j] *mortuo inposuero, vt dictum est, ipsum spiritus ingrediatur et viuus vt prius fuerat videatur, per omnia que possunt vos terrere et omnino constringere.*

Hiis dictis quater, videlicet primo versus meridiem semel, et similiter versus occidentem, deinde versus aquilonem et versus orientem, [k] videbis versus orientem venire quendam equitem, qui cum fuerit apud circulum sic dicet: 'Tales mittunt' – nominando [l] nomina suprascripta – 'tibi hunc anulum consecratum, dicentes [se] ad te venire non posse, quia non expediens est; experieris anuli virtutem, et si non habuerit virtutem a te postulatam, dicent quod quandocumque [vis] sunt ad te venire parati.' Quem anulum accipies, [m] dicendo ei, [27v] 'Graciam tibi et ipsis.' Hoc dicto, statim recedet, [n] et tu eciam exies de circulo, ipsum totaliter destruendo.

Et predictum anulum bene teneas involutum in syndone albo. Cum vero

volueris vt aliquis viuus mortuus videatur et ab omnibus videtur vita carere, pone in digito eius hunc anulum, et cadauer videbitur; et quando remouebis, veniet in primum statum. Et quando volueris aliquod cadauer animatum apparere, pone vt dictum est anulum, uel ad manum siue ad pedem liga, et ante horam surget in forma primo habita, et viua voce coram omnibus loquetur, et hoc monstrare poterit sex diebus, quia quilibet eorum sua die in ipso permanebit. Et si volueris [illum] ante dictum terminum vt primo erat esse, remoue anulum. Et hoc modo resurgere poteris defunctum.

Hec enim experiencia dignissima est et occultanda, quia in ipsa magna virtus existit.

Circulus eciam suprascriptus multas virtutes habet, cuius tres per me notas [o] exponam. Si enim die Veneris ipsum cum calamo vppupe et cum eius sangwine in carta edina nouata [p] scripseris, [q] et aliquam personam cum eo tetigeris, in eternum super omnes ab ipsa diligeris. Et si predictum circulum, scriptum vt dictum est, posueris super caput egroti, ipso ignoranti, si mori debet dicet se nullatenus euadere posse; et si debet euadere dicet se omnino [28r] liberatum. Et si predictum circulum, scriptum similiter, super te habueris, nullus canis tibi latrare valebit. Et ista sunt per me experta; inexperta [r] vero per me relinquo.

a *MS* primo; *cf. fol. 27r*.

b *MS gives* sit, *with a line over the* t, *which elsewhere in the MS is used for* sicut.

c *MS* ex parte.

d *The names are given on fols. 25v, 26r, 26v, and 27r. Spelling is consistent, except that* Tranauit *appears on 26v as* Tranayrt *and on and 27r as* Tramayrt, Beryen *is given on 26r and 26v as* Berien, *and* Damayn *lacks the final* n *on 26v*.

e *Figure on fol. 26r: a double circular band, with a pentagram inscribed.* O Brimer, Suburith, Tranauit *is inscribed in the outer band, with astronomical signs;* Lyroth, vnq *(sic)* Berien, Damayn *is inscribed in the inner band, with further signs.* Magister *is written in the centre of the pentagram. The cardinal directions* meridies, occidens *and* oriens *are marked outside the band. For alternative forms of the names, see above, n. e*.

f *Followed by* ingrediar, *deleted*.

g *Something missing – perhaps* et per cantum?

h *Presumably for* O El.

i *MS* vnus.

j *MS* cuicumque.

k *Followed by* et.

l *MS* nominando nominando.

m *MS* accipiens.

n *MS* recedes.

o *MS* notans.

p Sic *in MS.*
q *In margin:* Nota.
r *MS* inexperto.

No. 11. For invisibility (fols 28r–29v)

Tracto eciam de arte invisibilitatis, hodie quasi ab omnibus ignorata. a

Cum itaque volueris apud omnia, tam racionabilia quam non, invisibilis ac insensibilis haberi, primo, crescente luna die Mercurij, in prima hora diei, castus ante per triduum, et tonsus capillos et barbam, et albo indutus, extra villam in loco occulto, sereno celo, in plano solo, cum ense splendidissimo fac circulum vt hic apparet, b scribendo hec nomina [et] cum eis omnia ibidem apparencia. [28v] Hoc facto, fingas versus occidentem super Firiel dictum ensem. Et cum figeris, habeas vas in quo sit ignis cum thure, mirra, et olibano, et cum fumo ipsorum [circum]vade circulum, suffumigando ipsum, incipiendo a Fyriel et ibi finiendo. Hoc facto, habeas aquam benedictam et aspergas te et circulum, dicendo, *Asperges* c *me, domine, ysopo et mundabor; lauabis me et super niuem dealbabor* [Ps. 50:9 Vulg.]. Quo facto, voluendo te genubus flexis versus occidentem, emissa voce, sic dicas: *Ego, talis, coniuro vos, O Fyriel, Mememil, Berith,* [*et*] *Taraor, spiritus potentes, magnifici, et illustres,* d *in quibus omnino confido,* • *per vnicam, inseparabilem, ac indiuiduam trinitatem, scilicet Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,* • *et per deum vnicum, solum, viuum, et verum, qui omnia de nichilo formauit, et cui subdita sunt omnia, celestia, terrestria,* e *et infernalia,* • *per celum et terram, mare et infernum, et omnia in ipsis existencia,* • *et per omnes principes, reges, et dominos vestros,* • *et per illum deum quem timetis et adoratis,* • *et per omnia que habent* [*potenciam*] *vos terrere, constringere, et alligare, et quorum preceptum vos oportet totaliter adimplere, quatenus vos omnes 4or cum humilitate maxima huc venire debeatis, ligati, constricti, et iurati ad execucioni mandandum quidquid a uobis petiero. Venite sine mora; venite, quia invoco vos ex parte Patris, prouoco* [29r] *vos ex parte Filij, invoco vos ex parte Spiritus Sancti.*

Hac invocacione dicta quater, scilicet semel versus Firiel, semel versus Melemil et versus Berith et Tarator, aderunt subito in circulo 4or spiritus, dicentes tibi, ‘Dic nobis quid vis, et plene tibi obediemus.’ Quibus dices, ‘Ego volo quandam cappam invisibilitatis, que sit tenuis et incorruptibilis, qua cum indutus fuero nullus videre nec me sentire valeat.’ Hoc dicto, vnus

discedet, et ante horam apportabit ibi quandam cappam, quam ab ipsis petebas [f] vt tibi dare deberent. Qui respondebunt tibi dare non posse si primo ipsis non das tuum indutum album; quibus dabis, et cum dederis eis, ipsi tibi dabunt cappam. Quorum vnus statim induet indutum eis datum; similiter tu statim induas cappam. Quam cum indueris, illis spiritibus dices, 'Abite cum pace,' et statim recedent. Et cum abierint, debes dimittere circulum, ferendo ensem.

Tercia vero dei, cum cappa illuc reuertere, et invenies tuum indutum, quem accipies. Memento enim, si ipsa tercia die non reuerteris, siue tuum indutum ibi dimissum non accipias, quarta die nullum invenires, sed in septem diebus moreris. Accepto enim tercia die induto, ipsum in eodem loco combures. Et scias quod quando ipsum combures audies maximos planctus [29v] et querelas. Et cum combureris, aspergas cinerem per aerem, sic dicendo: *Coniuro vos, Firiel, Melemil, Berith,* [*et*] *Taraor,* • *per virtutem et potenciam vestram,* • *et per omnia habencia contra vos potestatem,* vt non habeatis virtutem nec potenciam ledendi me per hanc cappam, sed Ihesus Christus protegat et defendat me per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Quo dicto, habeas aquam benedictam et aspergas dictam cappam, sic dicendo:

Ego coniuro te, cappa,

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,* • *et per hanc aquam,* vt quandocumque te indutus fuero, nullus sentire nec videre me valeat, per dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, filium dei viuum, qui viuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

a *At top of page, in margin:* de invisibilitate.

b *Figure on fol. 28r: a plain circle, with the positions* oriens, meridies *and* occidens *labelled, a sword lying toward the east with its point near the centre,* Magister *inscribed near the centre (with* Firiel *to the west,* Melemil *to the south,* Berith *to the east, and* Taraor *to the north), and two figures.*

The names occur on fols 28r, 28v, 29r, and 29v. Spelling is consistent, except that Firiel *occurs twice on 28v as* Fyriel, Melemil *appears on 28v as* Mememil, *and* Taraor *is given on 29r as* Tarator.

c *MS* Asperiges.

d *MS* illustros.

e *The second* t *appears marked for deletion, erroneously.*

f *MS* petiebas.

No. 12. For obtaining a woman’s love (fols 29v–31v) [a]

Recipe ceram virgineam, arte virginizatam, et hoc [b] in die Jouis vel in die dominico, hora Veneris vel hora Jouis; ex dicta cera facias ymaginem ad carbones accensas sine fumo in vna olla positos. Et habeat magister de capillis mulieris pro qua wult facere, et tres fillos sete rubee, et habeas tecum cultellum albi manubrij ad hoc facti. Et vade ad locum vbi artifex facit acus, et tu facias facere ab eodem artifice, hora Solis vsque ad horam Saturni. Deinde magister [30r] habeat duos socios fideles, et vadat ad arborem fructiferam, et faciat magister circulum. [c] Et incipiat magister artem facere, siue ymaginem mulieris pro qua facis, semper murmurando in corde tuo, *Tu Belial, tu Astarotht,* [d] *tu Paymon, ad hoc sitis opus michi adiutores.*

Et similiter murmurando dices,

> *Ego, N., formo istam ymaginem in amorem talis, vt valeat ad quod facta est. Et tu, Belial, inicialis princeps, ad hoc opus sis michi adiutor.*

Et tunc [e] magister faciat ymaginem de predicta cera, incipiens hora Jouis, descendendo vsque ad horam Saturni. Et sic formata ymagine, faciat fieri [30v] magister ab artifice perito nouem acus, qui eas faciat corpore balneatus et nitidis vestibus indutus; faciat dictas acus hora Solis vsque ad horam Saturni. Postea magister fingat dictas acus in ymagine, ita collocando vnam in capite, aliam in humero dextro, terciam in sinistro, 4am vbi cor consueuit ab hominibus assignari, ita dicendo: *Sicut ista acus fingitur in cor istius ymaginis, ita fingatur amor N. in amorem N., quod non possit dormire, vigilare, iacere, sedere,* [*uel*] *ambulare,* [f] *quousque in meum exardescat amorem,* quintam in vmbilico, sextam in femore, septimam in latere [g] dextro, octauam in sinistro, nonam in ano. Sic formata ymagine, christianizes ipsam, inponendo sibi nomen [mulieris] pro qua facis, submergendo ter et dicendo, ‘Quomodo vocatur?’; et respondetur, ‘N.’ Et tu debes dicere, *Ego baptizo te, N., in nomine Patris, et Filij, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.* Et postea pone ymaginem in panno nouo et mundo, dimittendo ab hora Solis vsque ad horam Martis. Deinde facias istam coniuracionem sub arbore fructifera ad carbones accensos, et voluas te versus orientem, et dicas, *Coniuro, talis, N., caput tuum, crines tuos, oculos tuos, aures tuas, genas tuas; coniuro, talis, cerebrum tuum; coniuro, N., tunicas* [h] [31r] *cerebri* [i] *tui, scilicet duram et piam matrem; coniuro, N., oculos tuos;*

coniuro, N., tunicas oculorum tuorum; coniuro, N., frontem tuam; coniuro, N., dentes tuos; coniuro, N., os tuum; coniuro, N., mentum tuum; coniuro, N., nasum tuum; coniuro, N., nares tuas; coniuro, N., palatum tuum; coniuro, N., gingiuas tuas; coniuro, N., guttur tuum; coniuro, N., humeros tuos; coniuro, N., spatulas tuas; coniuro, N., pectus tuum; coniuro, N., mammillas tuas; coniuro, N., corpus tuum; coniuro vmbilicum tuum; coniuro, N., femur tuum; coniuro, N., renes tuos; coniuro, N., latera tua; coniuro, N., anum tuum; coniuro, N., costas tuas; coniuro, N., wuluam tuam; coniuro, N., genua tua; coniuro, N., crura tua; coniuro, N., talos [j] *pedum tuarum; coniuro, N., brachia tua; coniuro, N., digitos manuum tuarum; coniuro, N., manus tuas; coniuro, N. vngwes manuum tuarum; coniuro, N., cor tuum; coniuro, N., pulmonem tuum; coniuro, N., bucellas tuas; coniuro, N., stomachum tuum; coniuro, N., totam personam tuam; coniuro, N., totam substanciam tuam, vt non possis dormire nec sedere nec iacere nec aliud artificiale facere donec meam libidinosam compleueris voluntatem. Coniuro te • per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, • per magistratum* [k] *artis, • per virtutem ipsius,* [l]

> • *per sapienciam Salomonis, • per verum Sabaoth, • per verum seraphin, • per verum Emanuel, • per omnia corpora sanctorum* [31v] *que iacent in Roma, • per lunam et solem et dominum maiorem, • et per lac virginis, • per sanctam Mariam, matrem domini nostri Ihesu Christi, • per eukarisma sanctum, • per corpus et sangwinem Ihesu Christi.*
>
> *Coniuro vos ex exorcizo vos* [*et*] *impero vobis, vt sicut ceruus desiderat fontem aquarum* [Ps. 41:2 Vulg.], *ita desideres,* [m] *N., ad meum amorem. Et sicut coruus desiderat cadauera mortuorum, ita desideres* [n] *tu me. Et sicut cera ista liquefacit a facie ignis, ita desideret N. in meum amorem, quod non possit, etc.*

Signa autem mulieris hec sunt et sequentur: solitudo, inuolucio capitis, ploratus, gemitus, percussiones, euigilaciones, [et] eiulaciones. Tunc magister siue ille qui facit vadat ad illam, et si viderit illam solam stantem aut [o] sedentem, tunc corroboret magister coniuracionem vsque ad quintam diem. Et si illa in terra omnino fuerit, consumatur; si autem fuerit in villa aut aliam ciuitatem transierit, tamdiu magister faciat coniuracionem quousque illa possit venire.

Et in hoc fuerunt concordes nigromantici omnes astroloyci Hyspanici, Arabici, Hebrei, Caldei, Greci, et Latini. Et extractum fuit istud experimentum [ex libro] de secretis artibus ymaginarie artis, [ex libro] de

floribus omnium experimentorum, *etc.*

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a *In margin:* de amore.
b *Inserted above line.*
c *Figure on fol. 30r: a double circular band, with* Tu Belial, tu Astaroth, tu Paymon, ad hoc sitis [michi *deleted*] opus michi adiutores *inscribed in the band, and* Locus magistri *marked in the centre.*
The names appear on the same folio in the text. Spelling is consistent for two of them, but Astaroth *is rendered in the text as* Astarotht.
d Sic *in MS.*
e *Added both between lines and in margin.*
f *Followed by* sic.
g *MS* lattere *or* lactere.
h *Followed by* tuas, *deleted.*
i *MS* cerebrum.

j *MS* tales.
k *MS* mgrm *with line over last three characters*.
l *Presumably either incomplete or intended with reference to the previous phrase*.
m *MS* desiderat, *following the Psalm verse*.
n *MS* desideras.
o *MS* et.

No. 13. For constraining a man, woman, spirit, or beast (fols 32r–33r)

Per hoc experimentum constringitur homo, mulier, vir, spiritus, [vel] bestia, cuiuscumque condicionis existat.

Hec nomina in hunc modum sint scripta in spatula. [a] Postquam hoc totum adinpletum fuerit, quod vis eligere tibi. Si aliquem spiritum constringere volueris, scribe nomen eius in spatula inter b et e et in nomine quod est Bel. Si aliquem hominem constringere volueris, scribe nomen illius inter l et a. Si vero aliquam bestiam constringere volueris, scribe nomen eius inter a et n, et colorem eius. Pro spiritibus vero atque hominibus et pro mulieribus, agendum est ita et in eadem hora in qua expleta spatula fuerit ab accione, [b] ibi oportet vt in primis perquirantur lingna ex spina alba vel lingna que vagantur in aquis, et faciat inde ignem, carbonesque collige et in ollam nouam mitte, et desuper paulatim pone spatulam, et paulatim augmentando ignem donec spatula calefiat.

Et tunc invoca predictos spiritus, et dic hanc coniuracionem:

Asyel, Castiel, Lamisniel, Rabam, Erlain, [*et*] *Belam,* [c] *vobis precipio*

[A1] Si pro homine uel muliere quem uel qua[m] in tuo amore accendere volueris, sic dicas:

vt statim, etc.

secundum quod infra continetur. [d] [B] Si vero pro spiritu, [32v] nomina illum spiritum quem vis vt veniat ad te patenter, humiliter, pulcra facie, et blando sermone, dicendo,

Coniuro vos, Asyel, etc., vt N. spiritum N., [e] *qui potestatem habet super omne quod ab eo querere volo, ad me venire faciatis patenter, humiliter, blando sermone, eius forma vt dixi, scilicet militis* [*et*] *pulcherimi, ad complendum omnia que ei precipere voluero.*

[A2] Et cum pro viro aut muliere hoc facere volueris, fac ei prius notum vbi te invenire possit, quia nisi te inveniet pro cuius furore suo insaniet. [f] [C] Si pro bestia, [dic:]

Coniuro predictos spiritus vt constringant illam bestiam

quam vis, ne de loco in quo est se remouere valeat donec volueris.

[A3] [Conjuration to constrain a man or woman:]

Asyel, Castiel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Elam, Belam, ego vos coniuro

- *per deum verum,*
- *per deum viuum, qui vos creauit,*
- *et per eum qui Adam et Euam formauit,*
- *et per eum qui mare creauit aridamque fundauit, qui facit angelos suos spiritus et ministros suos ignem vrentem* [Ps. 103:4 Vulg.], *qui nouit ea que non sunt sicut ea que sunt, qui habet claues mortis* [*et*] *inferni, ipse enim primus et nouissimus, principium et finis, Alpha et O, et qui viuit et fuit mortuus et revixit,* [g] *qui vocauit deum patrem eius.*
- *Alphagramaton, per hoc nomen*

vos coniuro,

- *et per sanctum et ineffabile nomen dei Tetragramaton,*
- *et per id nomen quod nemo nouit nisi ipse* [33r] *qui est verbum dei,*
- *et per hec nomina dei: Hely, Heloy, Heloe, Sabaoth, Elion, Adonay, Saday,*
- *et per omnia nomina eius,*
- *et per ipsius virtutem,*
- *et per omnes virtutes celorum;*

item coniuro vos

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *et per sanctam trinitatem et vnitatem dei,*
- *et per illam coronam quam dominus noster Ihesus Christus in suo capite habuit,*
- *et per lac beate Marie virginis,*
- *et per hec predicta nomina et per omnes virtutes eorundem,*

et per istam coniuracionem precipio vobis, vt statim et cito et velociter et sine mora seducatis cor et mentem N. in amorem meum. Et sicut hec spatula calefit et incenditur, ita illum vel illam, N., incendatis et calefaciatis igne mei amoris, et ita vt nu[*n*]*quam quiescere valeat donec meam adimpleuerit voluntatem. In nomine quod est Bel, etc.*

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a *Figure at the bottom of fol. 33r (i.e., at the end of the experiment): a shield divided into 16 horizontal bands, with one vertical band down the centre. In the top band is inscribed,* Hec est figura spatule. *Succeeding bands bear the names* Asyel, Castyel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Olam *and* Belam, *each of which straddles the vertical band. In the vertical band are the letters* A *(at the intersection with the second horizontal band),* B *(fifth),* E *(seventh),* L *(ninth),* A *(eleventh) and* N *(thirteenth). Across the intersection of the vertical band and the twelfth horizontal band* Leo *is written.*

To the side is the note: Item nota quod spatula supradicta debet esse asinina vel leporina vel anserina vel caponina, secundum diuersos [usus?].

b Sic *in MS.*

c *Corrected in lower margin from* Bolam.

d *This phrasing occurs toward the end of the conjuration given in the next paragraph.*

e Sic *in MS.*

f Sic *in MS.*

g *Corrected above line from* refixit.

No. 14. For obtaining a horse (fols 33v–34r)

Vt equum habeas ad eundum quo vis, [debes] respicere aerem versus orientem, flexis genibus [et] iunctis manibus et si esses [a] in carcere, et dic cum magna fiducia et spe firmissima obtinendi,

O altissime et benignissime rex Orientis, exaudi oracionem meam et clamor meus ad te veniat; fiant aures tue intendentes in vocem deprecacionis mee [Pss. 101:2, 129:2 Vulg.], *per nobilissimam sedem maiestatis tue. Te invoco et adiuro*

- *per illum dominum quem cones* [b] *diligis, confidis, et speras,*
- *per legem legalem* [c] *et per spem sperantem et per karitatem karitatiuam,*
- *per On, El, Ely,* [*et*] *Tetragramaton, quod est nomen altissimum,*

- *et per locum vbi sedes in solio magne nobilitatis tue.*

Mitte ad me spiritum aereum, quo [d] *in eo valeam ad plenum, quod opto, proficere. Potens es,* [e] *domine, ipsum mittere, vt michi in hac hora tua magna potencia in omnibus et per omnia sit obediens et legalis.* [f] *Et ideo te, domine, invoco, adoro, et laudo nomen tuum in eternum, qui oriens omnes benedicte et gloriossisimus* [g] *per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.*

Hoc igitur dicto septies, dic audaciter:

Volo ire ad talem partem, et statim veni.

Vt si volueris spiritus uel equus, vel dormiendo uel vigilando. [h] Cum equus venerit, dic,

Coniuro te per dominum, qui creauit celum et terram, mare, et omnia que in eis sunt, tam visibilia quam invisibilia, vt [i] *sine strepitu et timore, dampno aliquo uel periculo seu* [j] *angustia mei cor-* [34r] *poris et anime portes me suauiter et depones me sine aliqua lesione presenti uel futuri, vsque ad talem locum suauiter me deponas.*

Cum enim deposuerit te vbi affectabis, dicas humiliter,

Gracias tibi ago, Oriens, qui dignum me fecisti in hac parte mea [k] *et pro tanta gracia et beneficio meo,* [l] *et me tibi offero, seruire et semper tuis obedire mandatis. Benedictum* [*et*] *laudatum sit semper nomen tuum, regnaturum super omnia secula seculorum. Et tibi eciam gracias ago, qui per coniuracionem nominum altissimi dei per me fatigare* [m] *dignatus es, etc.*

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a *MS* esset, *perhaps meaning* vt si esses?
b *Or* tones, *perhaps intending* toto corde?
c *Meaning* fidem fiducialem, *corresponding to the other theological virtues?*
d *Meaning* vt?
e *MS* est.
f Sic *in MS.*
g *Perhaps meaning* qui Oriens es, benedictus et gloriosissimus.
h *Probably meaning* Et si volueris spiritum uel equum, uel dormiendo uel vigilando.
i *MS* et.
j *Followed by* et.

k Sic *in MS*.
l *MS* mea.
m *Probably meaning* pro me fatigari.

No. 15. For obtaining a flying throne (fols 34r–35v)

Vade ad locum secretum et altum, tempore sereno et absque ventu, et dic: *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis, Secundum magnam misericordiam tuam* [Ps. 50 Vulg.], cum *Gloria Patri* totum, a *In manus tuas, domine, commendo spiritum et totum spiritum et corpus meum,* b *Domine deus, Pater omnipotens,* [et] *Iudica me* [Ps. 42 Vulg.]. Postea fac talem circulum vt inferius designabitur, c cum ollis, et [34v] pone in ollam septentrionis cinerem et farinam, et in orient[al]em ignem cum sale, in occidentalem d aquam et calcem. Et sede in medio circuli et verte te versus septentrionem, et voca regem nubium, nomine Bartha, vt mittat 3es de ducibus qui habent posse e [super] nubibus et ventris, scilicet Saltim, f Balthim, Gehim, qui ducent te absque lesione et absque periculo tui corporis et anime ad locum quem volueris. Et tunc apparebit tibi parua nubes, et de tribus ollis exibunt tres alie olle, dicen[te]s, *Ascende, ascende, ascende*. Tunc autem inperterrite ac et cum audacia parate g sellam magistro, hec dicas ter. Tunc videbis kathedram in medio nubis, et tu ascende illam, et dic,

> *Rex Bartha, et duces Saltim, Baltim,* [*et*] *Galtim, portate me placabiliter, sine timore et inpedimento et periculo aliquo mei corporis* h *et anime, vsque ad talem locum, et suauiter me leuate et suauiter me deponite. O tu rex Bartha, et o vos principes Saltim, Balthim, Galtyra,* i *vos potenter invoco vt cito et velociter me ducatis vsque ad talem locum sine omni timore et periculo mei corporis et anime, et ad hoc* j *vos invoco et coniuro potenter et exorziso per hec angelorum nomina altissima qui in aere sunt potentes: Mastiesel,* k *Emedel, Emethel, Sangel, Eymeal, Venoel, Gerbon, Seutan, Ty-* [35r] *robay, Teneyn, Teregey, Gerebon, Gamelorum, Tubairum, Ficary, Gysay, Austeron, Boreal, Gemeloy, Garoen, Sypro, Ebely, Aurora, Subseloy, Siego, Afonei, et Zephirim, Boreoth, Beolthoray, Aforax,* l *Aquelyo, Eureal, Fauelyon. Per hec nomina vos invoco et coniuro et exorcizo et constringo, vt sine mora veniatis ad me existentem in hoc loco, et multum* m *me suauiter et benigne deferatis et ducatis ad talem locum, sine omni timore, lesione, et periculo mei corporis et anime. Sic fiat, fiat, amen.*

Vade securus et non timeas, quia portabunt te quo volueris. Si forte socios habere volueris in via et in opere, oportet quod sitis impares, tamen plus. [n] Hec nomina dices, scilicet Semegibetelye, Sabolaay, [o] Saroten, Saramey, Cerbelli, Tyaurax. [p] Et sic ire poteris in omnem partem et terram securus quo volueris.

Si quis tibi forte nocere voluerit vel attemptauerit: Si a parte septentrionali senseris kathedram descendere, dic,

> *O Balthym, te invoco, coniuro, et constringo vt vindices me de isto qui michi nocere temptatur, [q] per hec septem nomina que in omnibus potestatem habent, scilicet Flegely, Stygeloy, [r] Melyon, Babaia, Regale, Setgaboy, Guitipabey.*

Et statim veniet tempestas super eum et timeas. [s] Si vero a parte occidentali quis tibi nocere temptauerit, dic audacter,

> *O Saltim, coniuro et constringo te per ista semptem nomina,* [35v] *scilicet Sebegyol, Sebely, Serbaton, Tymelyy, [t] Gerotal, Tyboel, Galtym. Fiat vt sit pluuia et nubes super illum, in tantum quod non possit videre nubem.*

Si vero ex parte orientali quis temptare voluerit, dic,

> *Veniatis, Galtym* [*et*] *Baltym, per ista nomina, scilicet Flegely, Stygeloy, Melyon, Barbaia, Regale, Segaboy, Guitipabey, et cadant tonitrua super [u] illum et nubes et tempestas, ita* [*quod*] *me temptare non audeat.*

Si forte in via videris super te tempestates uel serpentes aut aues aut alia terribilia, quibus forte posses terreri, dicas,

> *O tu rex Bartham, ego te invoco et coniuro et constringo, rex sapiens et fortis, per hec nomina, scilicet Alrogen, Segeuratetho, Spitalote, Frigonay, Gebelsey, vt hec terribilia [v] facias protinus remoueri statim.*

Dictis hiis verbis, sine mora recedent, et vltra non habebis contrarium.

Hic circulus debet fieri ad istud opus, *etc.* [w]

a Sic *in MS*.
b Sic *in MS; cf. Lk. 24:46*.
c *Figure at bottom of fol. 34r: a single circular band, with an inverted triangle inscribed within its outer boundary. Characters (in pseudo-Hebrew?) are inscribed along two sides of the triangle, within the band. In the intersections of the band and the triangle, circles with dots in them (evidently denoting positions for jars) are marked. Cardinal directions are shown*.
d *MS* occidentali.
e *Possibly meaning* potenciam; *followed by* michi, *deleted*.
f *Followed by redundant* Baltim, *deleted*.
g Sic *in MS*.
h *Corrected in MS from* corperis?.
i Sic *in MS*.
j *Or* hec.
k *Or* Masciesel.
l *Or* Afforax.
m Sic *in MS*.
n Sic *in MS*.
o *Corrected in MS from* Sabalaay.
p *Or* Tyanrax.
q *Meaning* temptat?
r *Or* Scygeloy.
s *Possibly meaning* et timebit *or* quem times.
t Sic *in MS*.
u *Partly covered by blot*.
v *MS* terrebilia.
w That is, the circle given already on fol. 34r, but perhaps drawn at the end of the experiment in an earlier manuscript.

No. 16. For finding something in sleep (fols 35v–36r)

Ad inveniendum in sompnis que vis, scribe hec nomina in carta virginea cum nominibus illius diei in hunc modum sicut inferius patebit. Postea pone sub dextra aure quando vadis dormitum, et videbis quidquid vis de preteritis, presentibus, et futuris.

Hec est con- [36r] iuracio que debet fieri super cartam:

> *O vos gloriosa nomina summi dei, cui omnia, presencia, preterita, et futura presencia sunt, rogo vos ego, seruus et subditus vester, quod mittatis michi angelos vestros* [a]*, qui scripti sunt in circulo isto, vt michi reuelare debeatis*

quidquid super talem rem, uel de quocumque vis negocio quod venturum est. Et hec dicas tribus [b] vicibus, et videbis quidquid vis, per potenciam dei.

Hic est circulus qui debet scribi cum ibis dormitum. [c]

---

[a] *Blot between* o *and* s.
[b] *MS* dicat.
[c] *Figure on fol. 36r: a double circular band, with eight lines of text inscribed within it:* Agla *Michael virtus dei* Gabriel fortitudo *Emanuel Paraclitus* Raphael medicina dei *Alpha et O, Oli, Ely* Tetragramaton, amen / Agla. *Each line of text has a cross inside a square at either end.*

No. 17. For obtaining a horse (fol 36r–v)

Ad equum habendum [a] scriba[n]tur in hostio domus vacui, in crepusculo noctis, more he- [36v] brayco, hec nomina cum sangwine vespertilionis: Tuditha, Stelpha, Alpha, Draco, Mariodo, Ypation. Quibus scriptis, recede modicum a loco.

Post horam paruam reuertaris, et inuenies equum paratum, quem [b] cum uolueris ascendere pone sinistrum pedem ad strepam et dic hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro te, eque bone,

- *per creatorem celi et terre,*
- *et per illum qui creauit vniuersa et omnia ad laudem et gloriam sui nominis,*
- *et per deum viuum,*
- *et per deum sanctum,*
- *et per deum verum,* [c]

vt non in corpore nec in anima nec in minimo membro meo vere obesse [d] *valeas, nec in aliquo me perturbes, sed me, N., ad locum talem deferas, placide, hilariter, jocunde, et velociter, absque omni inpedimento.*

Deinde ascende audacter et secure, quia omnino tibi nocere non potest. Signo vere crucis non te signabis, quia ipsum a te fugabis.

Cum autem perveneris ad locum prenominatum, descende de equo et accipe frenum, et absconde sub terra. Peracto autem tuo negocio, recipias frenum et scucte [e] firmissime, et statim veniet. Cum autem ascendere volueris, dic [f] precedentem coniuracionem et hec tria verba: *Rastelya, Elogo, Yetas, etc.*

---

a *Followed by* hec.
b *MS* quod.
c *Followed by a blot.*
d *Corrected from* abesse.
e Sic *in MS.*
f *MS* ac.

No. 18. The mirror of Floron, for revelation of past, present, and future (fols 37r–38r)

Hic incipit speculum Floron.

Fac fieri speculum de puro calibe, ad mensuram palme vnius in rotundo; habeatque manubrium ad tenendum, et sit illuminatum et lucidum vt ensis. Sitque factum in nomine Floron, et in circuitu istius speculi ex alia parte non lucida sint hec decim nomina, cum hiis decem caracteribus descripta, et nomen spiritus predicti sit in medio scriptum. [a] Postquam fuerit factum, in loco secreto vngatur ex puro balsamo ex parte lucida, et subfumiga, scilicet [37v] cum ligno aloes, ambra, et mirra, et olibano albo.

Hoc peracto, magister huius operis sedens faciat ipsum speculum teneri per manubrium cum ambabus manibus pueri virginis ante pectus suum, et ipse magister sit balneatus, eciam mundis vestibus indutus, qui antequam incipiat exercere hoc opus mel, lac, et vinum equaliter insimul mixtum in aerem aspergat, dicendo,

O Floron, in speculo sicut solitus es apparere citissime respondeas.

Hoc dicto, hanc coniuracionem coram speculo legat:

Bismille araathe mem [b] *bismissa gassim gisim galisim darrgosim samaiaosim ralim ausini taxarim zaloimi hyacabanoy illete laytimi hehelmini betoymi thoma leminao vnuthomin zonim narabanorum azarethia thathitat hinanadon illemay sard hucacef illemegiptimi sitaginatim viaice hamtamice tatiala taltarini alaoht haleytum gaptametuntij mortoorfail geibel huabaton albital hualepin halmagrilie hualeon huastanie hualtamemeth huatorzor illenie giptimi tatgnie gathegine lesuma lesanim aptasale albweroahit vlleath alfard vsemeth aptisile abfluwarth vllelath ant clulamoralie hahysitimi waleles* [38r] *lithimi caegine catlieginеles mirabolamini abtasile albiwahith alleath halamaton vnitia gaytatalon huia gay soze cemeselis phalmorath*

bethathure huaba lagis illemeammitimi gelgine gathegine lesmirapta libe albiwath vleuth. [c]

Dicta vero hac coniuracione, magister in speculo aspiciat, et videbit militem armatum in equo sedentem et armigerum suum comitantem secum, qui miles de equo descendet, et armiger eius equum tenebit. Cui militi sic dicet: ‘Se desperata, decentissime visibiliter greciomo.’ [d] Et tunc magister ipsum interrogat de preteritis, presentibus, et futuris, et ipse continuo certo scripto interrogata plenius insinuabit.

Non ergo tibi incredibile sit, quicumque fuerit [e] huius operis artifex, quia dum nouies ista perfeceris, idem spiritus manifeste vniuersa que prius per scripta insinuauerat ore ad os viua voce palificando denunciabit.

Dum ergo cuncta pro tuo velle perfeceris, eidem spiritui [f] cum pace precipe vt recedat, et iuxta preceptum sui domini redeat cum fuerit vocatus.

a *Figure on fol. 37r: a double circular band, divided into ten segments. Outer band has the names* Latranoy, Iszarin, Bicol, Danmals, Gromon, Zara, Ralkal, Sigtonia, Samah *and* Meneglasar *written in the ten segments; inner band contains corresponding figures. Inscribed within the bands is a rectangle, subdivided into six sections, which contain the letters* F-L-O-R-O-N.

b *Second* m *written with superscript line over it.*

c *Individual words in almost all cases separated by punctus.*

d Sic *in MS.*

e *Meaning* fueris?

f Sic *in MS.*

No. 19. The mirror of Floron, second version (fols 38r–39v)

Hic incipit speculum Floron, et alio modo quam supra sit notatum, quamuis cum eisdem regulis.

Fac fieri speculum de puro calibe, ad mensuram palme vnius in rotundo, et habeat manu- [38v] brium ad tenendum, et sit illuminatum et lucidum vt ensis. Sitque factum in honore et in nomine spirituum inferiorum, et in circuitu speculi et ex alia parte non lucida sint 10 nomina cum decem karacteribus suprascriptis, vt pateat in speculo, et hoc nomen Floron in medio sit sculptum. Et postquam factum fuerit, in loco tali secreto sicut scis vngatur puro balsamo in parte lucida. Et sit subfumigatum hiis speciebus, scilicet ligno aloes, ambra, mirra, splendenti, [a] et olibano albo.

Hoc facto, magister huius operis sedens faciat ipsum speculum teneri

ambabus manibus alicuius pueri virginis [b] ante pectus suum. Et ipse magister sit primo balneatus et mundis vestibus indutus, et ab omnibus aliis modis, vt bene nosti, ordinatus, [c] antequam incipiat hoc opus exercere. Mel, lac, et vinum mixta aspergantur in aere, et magister predictum spiritum proprio nomine [d] advocet vt in speculum sicut solitus est veniat et vera responsa de omnibus interrogatis per certa scripta vel verba respondeat.

Hoc dicto, magister coniuracionem sequentem C[h]aldaycis verbis scripta[m] perlegat hoc modo:

> *Brismassa cassini gossini gaissini gratagossini samalaosini raxini gratini caraxini maraxini sobohini herura banor allegalte alitisti alaro haletum ha-* [39r] *maymon hyalermon bispelimi bristedelimin hybelim bytho yhan bythoimin chosuma lonym lonynti torrimernum vitabanor atheretatat hyathet huyazalon vtaref illemegyptum biragyarius hyarite* [e] *heramenice conolar ganstraximi aloryoli helytum gayta mementum montoro lazyabel hubaton albnetal* [f] *hyxalepini almagarie hualeon hyaltanixe hualenyefet huatosor allemegitum cagine satogyne laminy lesymaybdo abtysilthi alluhuait valehat arfard huzeniecht aptihle abimerahit vllehath enzebula morabe balitum veralesucum teagyne lesmyro valanum aptalile asugnathecht valleaath hyamatharon hyabia gaytatalon hya yagapolozol phalmolmeth bethaure huaba laygip illenietentum taygine oragine deragrineles myraptalile vlleytith setrataha conox.* [g]

Magister inspiciat in speculo et videbit militem armatum in equo sedentem et armigerum suum commitantem secum. Qui miles de equo descendet, et armiger eius equum tenebit. Cui militi sic dicet: ‘Parate insilitio gytromon.’ Tunc magister interroget ipsum de preteritis, presentibus, et futuris, et ipse continuo certo scripto interrogata plenarie inti- [39v] mabit. Non sit igitur incredibile tibi, quicumque fueris huius operis artifex, quod cum con[iuracionem] predicta[m] feceris, idem spiritus qui prius manifeste insinuauerat per scripta postea vna nocte per exercicium et in die omni hora ore ad os pallificando denunciabit, et eciam omnia que sub circulo lune sunt et eciam in terra et super terram, visibiliter et [h] aperte demonstrabit.

Cum igitur cuncta perfeceris, precipe vt in pace recedat et iuxta preceptum magistri quacumque [i] hora vocatus fuerit quod festinanter veniat

et sine mora.

Nota quod 10 nomina cum suis caracteribus debent sculpi in speculo prima die Veneris, luna [j] crescente, et eciam speculum eadem die debet fieri. Et si non potest ex toto perfici eodem die Veneris, compleatur [secunda] uel tercia die Veneris, et semper luna crescente. Videat bene sculptor vel faber quod non sint poluti luxuria per 9 dies antequam accedant ad opus. Sint eciam balneati et loti et mundis vestibus induti, vt scis.

a Sic *in MS*.
b *MS* alicui puero virgini.
c Sic *in MS*.
d *Partly covered by blot*.
e *Followed by* heramite, *deleted*.
f *Or* albuetal.
g *Or possibly* conrox.
h *Followed by* apere, *deleted*.
i *MS* quecumque.
j *MS* lune.

No. 20. Another way of using a mirror (fols 39v–40v)

Item, secundum alium modum.

In coniunccione Veneris et Jouis, vade ad locum secretum ac secretissimum, vt infra assignabitur. Et habeas tecum candelas accensas, et tene tecum speculum calibeum limpidum et politum, factum luna 4a uel 7a vel xiija. [a] [40r] Et in sequenti die ieiunabis. Et cum operare volueris, vade ad locum vt supra dictum est, et fac circulum, et finge ibi speculum supradictum supra [b] lignum ad modum cultelli factum, et dicas hec verba:

> *Siclis piclis ticlis moturas baruch cortex garyn ruent hismuie haruel fuganes furtym fermal faruc cornalis bosuo zelades pasapa phirpa tirph. Tu qui es deus, Alpha et O, fac hoc speculum crescere et clarescere donec ad visum meum sufficiat.*

Hic non est defectus.

Sequitur [alia] coniuracio:

Coniuro te

- *per deum,*
- *et per tres pueros Sydrac, Mysaach, et Abdenago,*
- *et per tres magos Caspar, Balthasar, et Melchior,*
- *et per tres patriarchas Abraham, Ysaac, et Iacob,*
- *et per illum cui nomen est Theoden, Lien, Elyon, Vergiton, Christus, Deus fortis, Emanuel, Caspar, Caspan, Caspar, Corpion, Asmal.*

Hec dic tribus vicibus, et videbitur tibi clarescere et crescere, et apparebunt tibi multi in speculo tamquam in campo. [c] Tunc inquire secure de quacumque re quod volueris, et sufficienter tibi respondebunt.

Post primam autem vicem, [40v] quandocumque vis, vbicumque vis, in secreto tamen loco, hoc facere poteris dicens verba supradicta. Hoc enim speculum tibi consecrabitur ad illam quam tu vnquam plus affectasti in circulo nobilissimo de tribus militibus. [d]

Et nota quod omnis circulus et dicti circuli debent fieri quando [e] nubes non appareant, quod si postea apparuerint non est timendum, quia spiritus sunt, *etc*.

---

a xiija *duplicated in lower margin.*
b *MS* supera.
c *MS* canpo.
d Sic *in MS.*
e *MS* quod.

No. 21. For invisibility (fol. 40v)

Studeas invenire vnam cattam nigram, natam in mense Martij, et exviscera eam, corde tamen remanente; tunc abscide cor cum cultello qui sit de Venere facto, [a] et oculos erue dicte catte cum eodem cultello, et imple [b] foramina oculorum semine cuiusdam herbe que elyotropia dicitur, vnum in oculo dextro et aliud in sinistro, et tercium in cor[de], semper hec verba dicendo: *Sapreson lampsones sampsanay, invisibilis fiat homo*. Et reple eam cora, [c] et sepeli eam in ortu tuo in quo nemo intrat, et eam riga [d] cum sangwine humano et aqua commistis, hoc continuando per xv dies vsque quo crescit herba alba, cuius semen suo opere [e] semper illa verba repetendo. Scias tamen quod quelibet herba dabit semen, sed granum unum bonum, quod quidem sic eligere debes, et nomina semper repetendo. Habeas igitur speculum coram te, et respiciendo vnum granum post aliud in speculo, et

ponas omnia grana in ore tuo sub lingwa tua, et bene semper consideras granum illud quod ponis in os tuum. Et si in [f] quocumque grano posito in ore te videre non poteris in speculo, scias id esse bonum et vtile pro te, *etc.*

---

a *Meaning* cum cultello die Veneris facto*? The* e *in* de *is blotted out, but the word is replicated in the margin.*

b *Followed by* fro, *deleted.*

c Sic, *an alternative form of* cera.

d *MS* rega.

e Sic *in MS.*

f *Meaning* cum?

No. 22. For discovering a thief or murderer by gazing into a vessel (fol. 41r–42r)

Ad furtum inveniendum, recipe cultellum cum manubrio nigro vel albo, et facias circulum in terra, [a] dicendo has oraciones: *Deus, qui corda fidelium Sancti Spiritus, etc., Concede nos famulos tuos, etc.*, et *Homines sancti tui*. Et habeas puerum uel puellam virginem. Et magister intret [b] cum ea vel cum eo in circulum, et accipiet [c] magister serraginem bene mundatam intus et extra, et scribat super eum predicto cultello hoc signum et hec nomina similiter:

> *Onel,* [d] *On, Adonay, Emanuel, sanctus deus fortis, sanctus Ely, sanctus Elyon, sanctus dominus deus Sabaoth, mirabilis splendor, Alpha et O. Fiat.*

Quo scripto, accipias lumen et invngas desuper serraginem cum penna galline nigre, et de sinistra ala, hoc modo dicendo *Pater Noster* ter, tot cum *Kyrieleison, Christeleison, Kyrieleison* tribus vicibus, *Christus ab antiqua fraude, magnus, magnus et eternus; fiat, amen, Exaudi nos* tribus vicibus, *Pater de celis, miserere nobis; sancta Maria, ora pro nobis; sancte Michahel, orate pro nobis; sancte Raphahel, ora pro nobis; sancte Johannes Baptista, precursor domini, ora pro nobis; omnes sancti et sancte, ora pro nobis; Kyrieleison, Christeleison, Kyrieleison; Christe, audi nos.*

Hoc vero supra scriptum periurato, [e] dicat magister in auriculo pueri coniuracionem istam:

Coniuro te, puer,

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, cui omne nomen flectitur et omnis lingwa proclamat Osanna* [cf. Phil. 2:10];

Coniuro te

- *per sanctam Mariam semper virginem,*
- *per angelos et archangelos,*
- *per xxiiijor seniores,*
- *et per cxla milia martirum* [41v] *qui pro nomine Christi iugulati sunt,*
- *et per sanctum Johannem Baptistam,*
- *et per omnes patriarchas et prophetas,*
- *et per xij apostolos,*
- *et per 4or ewangelistas,*
- *et per septuaginta discipulos domini,*
- *et per omnes sanctos et sanctas dei,*
- *et per omnes virtutes omnipotentis dei, celestes, terrestres, et infernales,*

vt quidquid tu videas nobis insinues, et vt tu veraciter videre posses quis vel qui eciam sit vel sint qui furtum istud uel homicidium fecerunt, virtute omnipotentis dei [f] *et gracia.*

Coniuracione vero facta, dicas super caput pueri hanc coniuracionem:

Deus, creator omnium rerum, te deprecor humili deuocione, per tuam mirabilem potenciam, quatenus isti puero tribuas scienciam et intellectum, vt [g] *michi veritatem annunciet de furtis uel homicidiis, vt* [h] *cogatis, omni fallacia remota, inimicos,* [i] *vt exaltent nomen tuum, quod est benedictum in secula seculorum. Amen. Domine Ihesu Christe, qui cooperante Spiritu Sancto per mortem tuam mundum viuificasti, illumina cor* [j] *et corpus istius pueri, vt veritatem michi annunciet de furtis que interrogauero, per hec sanctissima nomina: Nazarenus, Messyas, Adonay, qui cum Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto viuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum.*

Precipiat magister puero vt intente inspiciat in vase illo idem ehimurili, [k] hoc vero modo vt alibi non respiciat aut aliquo modo visum suum ab eo auertat. Et si aliquo modo puer in prima vice nichil viderit, iterum coniuret illum puerum secunda vice, quousque videat puer hoc furtum vel homicidium et rem illam de qua dubitas. *Etc.*

---

a *Figure at the top of fol. 42r: double circular band, the interior of which is divided into six wedges. Pentagrams with* On *just beyond each point are inscribed in the upper and lower wedges, and to the lower left and right of the circle. Within the circle is inscribed* Hic sederat [=sedeat] puer super signum *(in the inner band, at top);* Hic sedeat magister super signum *(in the inner band, at bottom)* a latere sinistro *(in the outer band, at bottom). To the right of this figure is a column*

containing five horizontal bands and labelled Istud est signum; *in the bands is inscribed* Esto altissimus, vnus, eternus; amen, *with one word per band*.

b *Followed by blot.*
c *Altered in MS from* accipiat.
d *Meaning* On, El.
e Sic *in MS.*
f *MS* virtute dei omnipotentis dei.
g t *malformed, and duplicated above line.*
h *Meaning* et?
i *MS* inimici.
j c *blotted out, and word duplicated in margin.*
k Sic *in MS.*

No. 23. First mirror of Lilith (fol. 42r–43r)

Hoc est primum speculum Lilit et suorum virorum suorumque militum seniorum. Et hoc speculum debet fieri in magistratu sui speculi, et in memoria omnium nominum suorum seruorum, qui omnes res ante Caym faciunt in mundissimo loco. [a]

Coniuro vos demones vt veniatis et compareatis et dicatis michi de quocumque interrogauero vos omnem veritatem, in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Christus ✠ vincit ipsum ✠ Balbieit ✠ Zelans, [b] *Zelles, Dimedero, Cadar, es qui cottidie astra celorum ascendunt vbi sunt tres dogie* [c] *cruci uel breues actu uel ictu seculorum in quatuor partes seculi, ad faciendam totam voluntatem in eam, per deum vbi probabilit*[*er*] [d]*et licencia placabiliter et effabiliter, sine terrore, absque tocius ineffabili poten-* [42v] *cia deitatis summi viui, in hac veri dei virtute te exoramus, Lylet, per honorem patris tui Arieth, et per illud sacramentum quod tu Nocma matri tue fecisti verbo, vt in similitudine tua et non in coruorum similitudine, ad sermocinandum et ad sedendum nobiscum in quacumque hora requisierimus te in speculo isto, pacifice ac humiliter ac sine vlla deformitate, te michi ostendas; et amplius vt duo uel plures de seruis tuis, qui vero tam de furto quam de homicidio aut de quacumque alia re dubitabili de qua scire voluero michi dent vera responsa vel signa, in dei virtute et obediencia.*

Istud vero speculum debet formari ad modum Clypei, vel [e] alio modo [si] volueris, in cuius giro hec nomina depingantur: *Deus sanctus, deus omnipotens, deus fortis, deus inmortalis, pater futuri seculi.* Et circa duo lattera superiora sigilla Salomonis depingantur majora, in fine vero clypei

minus sigillum Salomonis, et in medio speculi hoc nomen ‘Lylet’ [f] depingatur, prout in hac patebit figura que infra ponitur. [g] [43r] Postea vero sicut alio vitro, sicut alia specula solent, circumdetur. [h] Quo vero facto, tacite et secrete defer ad quadriuium vel ad sepulc[r]um alicuius hominis interfecti, in crepusculo noctis, diei Martis vel Saturni, dicendo hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro te, Lylet, [i] *ac socios tuos,*

- *per Alpha et O,*
- *per primum et nouissimum, Abiel, Rotbons, Cafre, O deus, O male Christe, inclitus, On, Ely, Elyon, Messyas, Sabaoth, Adonay, Emanuel;*

coniuro [*te*] *eciam, Lylet,* [j] *atque socios tuos,*

- *per annunciacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,*
- *et per natiuitatem eius,*
- *et per aduentum Spiritus Sancti paracliti,*

vt in quacumque hora te vocauero, in hoc speculo michi appareas cum tuis sociis atque de re illa de qua scire voluero michi vera dando responsa vel signa.

Oracione vero ista completa, per aliam viam reuertaris ad hospicium tuum. Postea vero, eadem hora ac die, ad quadriuium vade et accipe speculum, et cum de re aliqua volueris scire dubitabili, ipsos per coniuracionem iam dictam venire compellas. Et quere quidquid volueris, et dicent tibi. *Etc.*

---

a Sic *in MS.*

b *Followed by* zo *(?), deleted.*

c Sic *in MS.*

d Sic *in MS?*

e *Largely blotted out.*

f *MS* Bylet.

g *Figure given at bottom right of fol. 42^{v}: shield with a single band around its edge. In the band is inscribed,* Deus sanctus, deus omnipotens, deus fortis, deus inmortalis, pater futuri seculi. *The name* Bylet [=Lylet] *appears in the centre. In the upper left-and right-hand corners are pentagrams with* On *just beyond each point; smaller version appears at bottom.*

h *Perhaps meaning:* Postea vero vitro, sicut alia specula solent, circumdetur.

i *MS* Bylet.

j *MS* Bylet.

No. 24. For learning about any uncertain thing by gazing into a crystal (fol.

Si vis scire de omni re de qua dubitaueris, accipe puerum virginem et cristallum, quem laua cum vino. Deinde scribe in illo cum oleo oliue hec nomina: [43v] Hon, Hely, Sabaoth, Adonay, Hel, Hely, Heloym, Sother, Emanuel, Alpha et O, [et dic,]

> *O vos sanctissima nomina, rogo vt mittatis michi duos angelos uel tres in hunc cristallum, qui dicant michi veritatem de hiis que ego inquiram. Et rogo vos angelos vt dicatis michi veritatem quam* [a] *ego inquiram a vobis.*

Primo hec [b] dicat puer:

> *Coniuro vos in nomine Dedeon, et dij Egarias et Semisonay, et ex parte magistri mei, quod veniatis in hunc cristallum, ita quod aperte* [c] *possim videre.*

Et repete nomina superius habita donec venerint.

Et cum venerint, puer dicat nomina supradicta et coniuret eos *in nomine Dedeon et dij, etc.*; quod fiat ter. Et super sedes aureas sedeant, et cum sedeant puer dicat,

> *Coniuro vos in nomine Bessabes, et Hint, et Serem, et Salaboni, et Lethem, vt non recedatis ab hoc cristallo sine licencia mei magistri, qui hic presens est.*

a *MS* que.
b *Or* hoc.
c *MS* apperte.

No. 25. For information about a theft by gazing into a crystal (fols 43v–44r)

Experimentum cristalli ad inveniendum furtum.

Accipias cristallum planum et lucidum, ad modum sigilli factum vel speculi, quem in cera reconde ex una parte virginea. Postea scribas in ipso cum oleo viridi hoc nomen: Honely. Postea dicas hanc coniuracionem:

> *Omnipotens, sempiterne deus, Domine Ihesu Christe, fili* [a] *dei viui, qui lapidibus, herbis,* [*et*] *predicacionibus virtutes michi gentissimas* [b] *atque*

[44r] *mirabiles contulisti*, [*et*] *lapidem istam; item*,

- *per natiuitatem sanctam tuam*,
- *ac per passionem ac gloriosam resurreccionem tuam et ascensionem*,
- *atque per hec sancta nomina tua: Adonay, Sabaoth, Hon, Ely, Eloy, Elyon, Honely, Sother, Tetragramaton, Emanuel, Alpha et O*,

consecrare [*et*] *benedicere digneris, per* [c] *tui honorem et gloria*[*m*], *qui viuis et regnas deus, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen. Agla, Otmonta, Panoneogens, Origmaria, non obstet Asya, Africa, nec Europa,* [d] *nec eius partes, quin ad nos veniatis. Fiat, fiat, fiat sine mora*.

Postquam vero apparuerint tibi in cristallo, dicas hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos angelos,

- *per deum viuum et verum,* • *et per natiuitatem* [e] *sanctam eius,* • *et per eius passionem,* [f]
- *et per eius resurreccionem sanctam,* • *et per eius missionem Sancti Spiriti paracliti,* • *et per sanctam eius aduentum,* • *et per hec sancta nomina dei: Honay, Sabaoth, Onel, Ely, Eloym, Sother, Emanuel, vt superius dictum est,* • *et per omnia nomina sancta dei, vt non recedatis ab hoc lapide quousque certificati fuerimus de omni re dubitabili de quo scire voluerimus, virtute dei omnipotentis et obediencia. Amen.*

Notandum eciam est quod non debet aliquis vti hoc experimento pro re vili vel modica, sed pro causa [g] ardua, et ne eciam secundum quod dictum est alibi, 'Ne sumas nomen dei tui in vanum [Ex 19:7], nec invoces invtiliter, etc.' [h]

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a *MS* filij.
b *Meaning* gratissimas?
c *Followed by* te.
d *MS* Eroupa.
e *MS* natifitatem.
f *Followed by two (?) deleted words.*
g *MS* casa.
h *Ex. 20:7 Vulg.:* Non adsumes nomen domini dei tui in vanum.

No. 26. Key of Pluto, to open all locks (fol. 44v)

Sume tibi ferrum inventum ex inprouisu, et fac tibi fieri clauem huiusmodi, factam die Veneris. [a] Et cum facta fuerit, repone eam per noctem cum sacrificio galli albi in quadruuio, dicens, *O spiritus Neyilon* [*et*] *Achalas, accipite sacrificium vt nichil contra me et contra clauem istam valeat sera vbi ista clauis ponetur*.

Et fac super istam clauem antequam posueris subtus terram hanc figuram de sangwine galli albi. [b] Et dimitte ibi tribus diebus. Tercia autem nocte, ante gallicinium, accipe eam inde. Cum transieris vrbem, recipe clauem cum sinistra manu de occidente in orientem, omnesque [c] seras aperiat. Et [d] dicitur hec [e] clauis Plutonis.

a *Figure on upper right of fol. 44v: a key, with a single tooth extending to the left and a single tooth to the right.*
b *Figure part-way down fol. 44v: a large cross, followed by* XL.
c *MS* omnia qui.

[d] *Deleted, but re-added in margin.*
[e] *Or* hoc.

No. 27-A. For obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail (fols 44v–45v) Ad furtum inveniendum, accipe puerum virginem de legittimo thoro, hora qua vis ante meridiem, et illius vngwem de pollice sinistre manus cum cultello bene purgabis. Deinde cedulam subnotatis nominibus scriptam in eodem digito ligabis sub ungwe. Et hec sunt nomina: Egippia, Benoham, Beanke (vel Beanre), Reranressym, Alredessym, Ebemidyri, Fecolinie, Dysi, Medirini, Alhea, Heresim, Egippia, Benoham, [a] Haham, Ezirohias, Bohodi, Hohada, Anna, Hohanna, Ohereo, Metaliteps, Aregereo, Agertho, Aliberri, Halba.

Hoc facto, si puer non vi- [45r] det aliquid, *etc.* [b] Si autem videt, liga corrigiam ouinam, quam ad tres missas quas perfecte audiuisti tecum habuisti, supra cedulam circa digitum, dicendo hanc coniuracionem: *O vos demones, qui coram me in vngwe istius pueri apparuistis,* • *per eum qui est Alpha et O, vobis impero et precipio et coniuro,*

- *per hec sacratissima nomina: Ely, Eloy, Messyas, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay,* • *et per On, quod est primum nomen domini Pantoncraton,* [c] *Anetheten,* • *et per alia nomina michi cognita et incognita, vt non habeatis potestatem recedendi cum vestris sociis donec omnino omnem meam voluntatem adimpleueritis, et sine omni mendacio et lesione alicuius. Et si hoc facere contempseritis, iubeo vos ligari sub profunditate aquarum maris, per hec duo nomina: Ioth* [*et*] *Nabnoth, per que Salomon constringebat in vase vitreo demones. Coniuro vos* • *per vij signa Salomonis,* • *et per sigillum et sapienciam eius, vt non habeatis licenciam recedendi hinc donec de quacumque re interrogauero michi dicatis et ostendatis veritatem.*

Hiis dictis, si puer non dicat directe, dic in aure eius hanc coniuracionem: *Coniuro te, virgo iuuenis,*

- *per deum verum Basyon,* • *et per nomen On, Berion, Sabaoth, Adonay; coniuro te* • *per baptismum* [45v] *et castitatem tuam sacratam, qua te regenerauit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, vt non habeas potestatem celandi, sed omnia que videris manifestes.*

Hiis coniuracionibus ter dictis, si te expedire [d] non expediant spiritus, adde hanc coniuracionem: *Vos demones ab oriente,* [e] *vos demones ab occidente, vos demones ab meridie, vos demones a septentrione, aperite nobis, Discobermath, Archidemath, Fritath, Altramat, Pestiferat, Helyberp, Hegergibet, Sathan.*

Qua coniuracione ter dicta seu repetita, clare videbit puer omnia.

Hoc eciam experimentum valet adhoc si aliquis vellet scire statum amicorum suorum, vtrum essent sani vel egri, et denunciat si essent in via vel non.

Coniuracio super corrigiam, de qua iam dictum est: Finita missa qualibet die, ter dicas hanc coniuracionem super corrigiam: *Coniuro te, Sona*,

- *per hoc nomen domini: Tetragramaton,* • *et per hoc nomen dei: Ioth,* • *et per hoc nomen dei: Nabnoth,* • *et per omnes virtutes et potestates herbarum et lapidum et verborum, vt virtutem talem recipias quod quocumque fueris ligata, ipsi spiritus non habeant potestatem recedendi quousque velle ligatoris perficiant.*

Explicit primum capitulum.

Cemay edo cuscutas, feferaton, San. [f]

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[a] *These two names, already given at the outset of the series, are here repeated.*
[b] *Partly blotted out.*
[c] Sic in *MS, for* Pantocrator?
[d] *Or possibly* expedite.
[e] *Followed by* ab occidente, *deleted.*
[f] *Fol. 46*^{r}*, following, is blank.*

No. 27-C. For obtaining information (fols 46v–47v) [a]

[…] *pueri; et* • *per nomen principis vestri summi,* • *per coronam capitis sui,* • *per obedienciam quam sibi debetis, vt veniatis ab omnibus partibus mundi, omni occasione postposita, et in vngwe istius pueri appareatis, et nobis sine dubio et sine fallacia illud quod a vobis scire volumus veraciter manifestetis. Fiat, fiat, fiat.*

Coniuro te, virgo iuuenis,

- *per* [b] *deum On, Orion, Sabaoth, Adonay, vt non habeas potestatem menciendi uel celandi de quocumque interrogauero; item* [c] *coniuro te, virgo juuenis,* • *per deum tuum, Alpha et O, qui est primus et nouissimus, vt michi veritatem dicas de hac re de qua te requiro; item coniuro te, virgo,* • *per baptismum quem* [d] *recepisti in nomine sancte et indiuidue trinitatis,* • *per castitatem et potenciam qua te reg*[*e*]*nerauit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, vt non habeas potenciam neque licenciam celandi uel menciendi quodcumque videris; item coniuro te, virgo iuuenis,* • *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,* • *per sanctum nomen dei Elthie,* • *per sanctum Tetragramaton,* • *per sancta nomina dei On, Ely, Eloy, Eloe, vt non habeas licenciam seu potestatem celandi* [e] *quodcumque sciueris; coniuro te, virgo iuuenis,* • *per baptismum quem accepisti de sancta credulitate, per castitatem et potenciam sacramenti qua te reg*[*e*]*nerauit de anima Spiritus Sancti, vt tam cito et sine*

mora, aperte et breuiter, in vngwe istius pueri veritatem [47r] *nobis ostendas, aliter, etc.* [f] *Infans, coniuro te* • *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,* • *per nomen* [g] *dei* [h] *Elthie,* • *per Tetragramaton,* • *per hec nomina domini nostri Ihesu Christi: Ely, Eloy, Eloem,* • *et per baptismum quem accepisti in nomine sancte et indiuidue trinitatis,* • *per caritatem dei, Alpha et O, quod est principium et finis,* vt aspicias in vngwe ita vt si deveniat clarus uel non.

Tunc interroga puerum si vngwis sit clarior quam ante. Si dicat non, lege iterum coniuracionem ab inicio, et tercia vice si necesse fuerit. Si dicit quod sit clarior, quere si videat aliquid. Si dicit quod videat hominem, faciat magister coniurare puerum illum [i] quem videt, in materna lingwa, sic: Tu qui es coram me, coniuro te

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,* • *et per sanctam Mariam et eius virginitatem,* • *per sanctum Iohannem et eius virginitatem,* • *per sanctam Katherinam et eius virginitatem,* • *per omnes sanctos et sanctas virgines,* • *et per virginitatem meam,* vt cito vadas pro rege tuo et facias eum venire coram me, ita vt ipsum possim expresse videre et intelligere.

Postea quere a puero si rex venit. Si non, coniuret iterum puer vt prius. Si venit, dicat puer regi quod descendat de equo suo et faciat afferri cathedram super quam sedeat. Tunc querat puer a rege si velit comedere. Si dicit quod non, tunc de quo volueris queras. Si dicit quod sic, dicat puer regi quod mittat pro vno ariete [47v] ad quemcumque locum voluerit et faciat ipsum excorriari et decoqui, et tunc dicat quod faciat poni mensam, et surgat et lauet manus, et sedeat ad mensam et faciat arietem poni coram se, et cito comedat. Postquam comedit, surgat et accipiat aquam et lauet manus.

Postea dicat puer regi quod remoueat coronam de capite et ponat manum dextram super caput suum et iuret per coronam suam et per ceptrum suum et per illod quod tenet sub manu sua dextra quod veraciter respondeat ad omnes questiones magistri. Deinde querat magister per puerum quidquid voluerit. Postquam satis factum questionibus magistri, detur spiritibus licencia, et puer sic dicat: ‘Ite. Pax sit inter nos et vos. Et quando magister vos vocauerit, estote parati sibi obedire in omnibus per omnia.’

Explicit secundum capitulum. [j]

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a *Text continued from fol. 51r.*
b per *repeated.*
c *Followed by blot.*

d *MS* quod.
e *MS* scelandi.
f *This element of conjuration, addressed to the spirit, seems misplaced in the midst of a conjuration addressed to the boy*.
g *MS* nomina.
h *Followed by* Elith, *deleted*.
i *Followed by* quod, *blotted out*.
j *Written twice*.

No. 28. For obtaining information by gazing at a bone (fols 47v–49r)

De [a] omni re dubitabili, eciam incerta, [pro] veritate habenda, accipe spatulam arietis dextram, oleo oliue invnctam, quam ponendo super manubrium cultelli, inspiciat puer [b] virgo. Tu vero ex alia parte, tenendo candelam accensam, dicas hoc modo: *Ergarrandras, Ornis, Arbes, Cargie, Ornis, Arbas, ego in virtute domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui est Alpha et O, primus et nouissimus, inicium et finis, coniuro vos demones et advoco,* • *per eum qui dixit omnia et facta sunt,* • *et per* [48r] *eum cui obediunt omnes creature,* • *et per eum* [*ante*] *quem tremunt omnes exercitus angelorum, celestium et terrestrium et infernorum,* • *et per ipsius virtutem et omnipotenciam,* • *et per tremendum diem iudicij summi dei,* • *et per ipsius nomina hec sancta: On, El, Ely, Eloy, Adonay, Alpha et O, Messyas, Soter, Emanuel, Pancraton, Occinomos, Tetragramaton, Agyos, Otheos, Athanatos, Yschiros, Kirios, Alleluia, Eleyson, Ymas,* [c]

> *quatenus sine mora visibiliter in hac spatula compareatis, ante faciem istius pueri virginis, et respondeatis et demonstretis omnem veritatem de hac re,* [d] *N., nobis dubitabili* [e] *et incerta. Britonia, Bresis, Diton, Crasis, Sanete, Garbamion, libera nos famulos ab omni malo. Pater noster, etc.*

Item coniuro vos demones

- *per caput et coronam principis vestri,* • *et per vestram potestatem, vobis a summo deo datam,* • *per anulum Salomonis, et per signa et sancta nomina in ipsis descripta,* • *et per vij celos et per omnes angelos in ipsis dispositos,* • *et per omnes potestates aereas* [f] *et infernales, quatenus cito, etc. Gospar, Dasper, Gespar, Lapir, Sparsis, Nota, Calius,* [g] *Asper. Item coniuro vos demones* • *per caput et coronam principis vestri,* • *et per* [h] *vestram potestatem, vobis a summo deo datam,* • *per anulos Salomonis et per signa et sancta nomina in ipsis descripta;* [i]
- *per angelos et archangelos, per thronos et dominaciones, per principatus et potestates* [48v] [*et*] *virtutes, per cherubin et seraphin, et per omnes virtutes celorum,* • *per celum et terram et mare et omnia que in eis sunt,* • *per xij apostolos,* • *per martires et confessores, virgines* [*et*] *viduas,* • *per patriarchas et prophetas et ewangelistas,* • *per* [j] *xxiij seniores,* • *per cxl milia innocentum,* • *et per omnes sanctos et electos dei qui sunt in celo et in terra*, quatenus cito et sine mora, *etc.*

Tunc inquiras a puero si videat spatulam crescere et clarescere, quod si sic, tunc dicat postea hanc coniuracionem: Coniuro vos spiritus

- *per virtutem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,* • *et per virginitatem sancte Marie,* • *et per virginitatem sancte Katerine et sancte Lucie et sancte Agate et sancte Cecilie et sancte Barbare,* • *et per virginitatem sancti Johannis ewangeliste,* [k]
- *et per caput sancti Johannis ewangeliste,* • *et per virginitatem meam, vt cito in hac spatula a*[*p*]*pareatis, vt vos videre possim.*

Quo spiritu viso in forma humana nigra, inquire ab ipso de tuo negocio, prout melius videris expedire, puero mediante [l] et per virginitatem [m] ipsum spiritum constringente.

Sit puer infra xij annos existens. Et post mane et in crepusculo noctis, circulum protrahendo, dicas, *Sator, arepo, tenet, opera, rotas. In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Acciones nostras, quesumus, domine, aspirando preueni et adiuuando persequere, vt cuncta nostra opera a te semper incipiant et per te cepta finiantur. Per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen. Deus, qui misisti Spiritum Sanctum super* [49r] *apostolos tuos, mitte Spiritum Sanctum tuum paraclitum super istum puerum, et illumina et clarifica intellectum ipsius atque animam, vt in spiritu videre possit creaturas tuas, et nobis reuelare omnem veritatem de hac re nobis dubitabili et incerta.*

Scribantur in spatula hec sancta nomina dei: On, El, Eloy, Adonay, Alpha et O, Pancraton, Occinomos, Tetragramaton. Dum volueris eos licenciare, fac signum crucis supra spatulam, dicendo, *In nomine Patris, et Filij, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Ecce crux* [n] *domini; fugite, partes aduerse;*

vicit leo de triba Juda, stirps Dauid. Ite in pace ad loca vnde venistis.

Poteris eciam coniurare puerum per virginitatem vt habeat potestatem videndi spiritum et non menciendi.

Explicit.

a *Repeated in margin.*
b *Followed by* vr, *deleted.*
c Sic *in MS.*
d *Followed by* nob, *deleted.*
e *Corrected from* dubitabile.
f r *blotted out, and replaced above line.*
g *Or* Talius.
h *Followed by* virtutem, *deleted.*
i *The lines* Item coniuro vos demones … per signa et sancta nomina in ipsis descripta *are repeated verbatim.*
j *Formation is irregular, as if the scribe began writing the sign for* et *and then changed it to that for* per.
k Sic *in MS, meaning* Baptiste.
l *Initial letter blotted out.*
m *Changed in MS to (or from?)* virginitates.
n *MS* crucem.

No. 29. The true art of the basin (fol. 49r–v)

Incipit ars verissima de bacimine.

Hec nomina dices in aurem pueri virginis:

Carab, Riasteli, Careb, Basal, Mistal, Oronothel, Fabanin, Non, Va, Vatuel. Coniuro vos • per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, • per a *sanctam Mariam virginem, • per ix ordines angelorum, • per patriarchas, • per prophetas [et] apostolos, • per martires, • per confessores, • per virgines, vt appareatis in bacimine isto, vt veraciter huius rei veritatem nobis ostendatis, vt non sit michi aliquod impedimentum veritatis in ista questione. Rabuel, Astena, Hytatol, cogitate facere voluntatem meam per predictas potestates.*

Hec tria nomina scribentur in cedula [49v] que ponitur in bacimine dum ars fiet.

Postea dic,

Deus celi, deus terre, deus angelorum, deus archangelorum, qui es rex sanctorum omnium, patriarcharum ac prophetarum, te deprecor humili deuocione vt isti puero tribuas scienciam et intellectum, vt michi veritatem de quibus[*cumque*] *interrogauero dicat, per hec sancta nomina tua: Ely, Eloe, Sabaoth, Adonay, Elyon, On, qui viuis et regnas per infinita secula seculorum. Amen. Domine Ihesu Christe, fili* [b] *dei viui, qui ex voluntate Patris, cooperante Spiritu Sancto, per mortem tuam mundum viuificasti, illumina istius pueri cor* [*et*] *mentem, et fac vt michi veritatem de hiis que interrogauero dicat, per hec sancta nomina tua: Jesus Nazarenus, Messyas, Sother, Emanuel, Fortis, Fons, Leo, Petra, vt indicet omnia de quibus postulo veritatem.*

Explicit.

Coniuracionem facio, tu qui es Alpha et O. Coniuro vos demones, • *per tres reges, Caspar, Balthasar, Melchior,* • *et per tres pueros, Sydrac, Misac, Abdenago,* vt omnes appareatis huic puero in hoc speculo uel ense, Abiniabyndo, Abyncola, Abracalos, Pyel, Thyel, Syel.

Quibus apparentibus, [c] dicet puer regi vt sedeat et mittat pro ariete, sic[ut] alias dictum est ante in secundo capitulo istius tractatus.

Postea sequatur coniuracio pueri sicut eciam ibidem dictum est.

Explicit.

a *Followed by* patriarches et prophetas, *deleted, and by a redundant* per *that is not deleted.*
b *MS* filij.
c *MS* aparantibus.

No. 30. Twelve names to make spirits appear in a boy’s hand (fols 49v–50v)

Bethala, Pamelon, Anguis, Floris, Ereth, [a] Alya, Cabyona, Ely, Eloy, Sadamay, Melgry, Asmyacre, intretis in nomine domini. Karacteres isti [50r] scribendi sunt vt infra docetur: A, Q, [b] O, P, E, V.

In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti, signum sancte crucis sit in fronte tuo, hoc modo signet te dominus Ihesus Christus, hoc modo signet te dominus sicut signauit in Chana Galilee. In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.

Hoc ter dicatur, qualibet vice signando frontem pueri cum pollice tuo dextre [c] manus. Hec nomina predicta xij, scilicet Bethela, [d] etc., tociens repetantur, quousque sex spiritus compareant in manu pueri. Postquam [e] comparuerint, precipiat puer eis in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti vt sedeant, et vnus eorum surgat, qui det vera responsa ex parte magistri sui.

Modus operandi idem: Accipe resinam albam quam accendes per candelam super lapidem aliquem planum sub pelui desuper aliquantulum eleuata. Postea cum penna noua colligas in pergamen[t]o aliquo uel corio albo puluerem illum adherentem pelui ex vaporacione resine predicte, et reserua quousque operari volueris. Tunc enim intinges digitum medium [f] dextre manus primo in oleo oliue, et linies inferiores quatuor articulos sinistre manus pueri masculi virginis. Deinde eundem digitum tuum intingas in puluerem prefatum, [g] et similiter lineas articulos pueri, sicut prius, et sic alternando, nunc cum oleo, nunc cum puluere, donec articuli predicti fiant sicut speculum clarum et resplendens.

Post[ea] dic verba illa duodecim supra nominata: Bethala, Pamelon, *etc.* Deinde cum signaueris frontem pueri et frontem tuam, si vis, dicendo, *In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti*, signum sancte crucis sit in fronte, etc., vt supra.

[50v] Cum autem predictos spiritus vis licenciare, puer dicat, Precipio vobis quod recedatis, in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.

Et iterum signare poteris frontem pueri et tuam si vis tercio, modo quo prius et verbis. Nota eciam quod in parte peluis predicte eleuata interius per circuitum cum cultello inscribendi sunt sex illi karacteres, qui supra in isto capitulo sunt nominati – scilicet A, Q, [h] *etc.* – antequam ipsa resina sub ipsa pelui accenditur.

Explicit. *Etc.* [i]

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a *Corrected in MS from* Areth.
b *MS has sign for* quod.
c *MS* dextro.
d Sic *in MS*.
e *Preceded by* Qui.
f u *misshapen, as if scribe began writing* e.
g *MS* prefato.
h *Formed as before*.

i *Remainder of fol. 50v is blank.*

No. 27-B. For obtaining information (fol. 51r) a

[…] *Cedon, Zephata, Eloym, Eloyay, venite et apparete in vngwe istius pueri sub forma humana, et ipsum b vngwem faciatis crescere et clarescere in tantum vt sufficiat ei ad videndum de quocumque ipsum interrogauero. Coniuro vos spiritus, • per tres reges, Caspar, Baltasar, Melchior, quibus stella apparuit, •* [*et*] *per virtutem domini nostri Ihesu Christi, vt natiuitatem suam manifestaret, c*
vt in vngwe istius pueri appareatis, et quod a vobis inquirere volumus nobis absque fallacia et sine dubio manifestetis. Coniuro vos spiritus qui vocati estis, • per tres pueros Sydrac, Misac, Abdenago, vt in vngwe istius pueri appareatis, nec ipsi puero timorem uel terrorem aut lesionem faciatis, et nos de omnibus que a uobis scire volumus certos faciatis. Coniuro vos spiritus qui vocati estis, • per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, • et per omnipotenciam eius et virtutem, • per cherubin et seraphin, • per thronos et dominaciones, • per principatus et potestates et virtutes, • per angelos et archangelos, • per patriarchas, • per prophetas, • per apostolos, • per confessores, • per martyres, • per monachos, • per virgines et viduas, • per omnes sanctos et electos dei, • per ix ordines angelorum, • per sanctam Mariam matrem domini nostri Ihesu Christi, • per virginitatem istius […] d

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a *Continuation of text from fol. 45v.*
b *MS* ipsam.
c *Meaning* qua natiuitatem suam manifestauit?
d *Fol. 51v is blank; text continues on fol. 46v.*

No. 31. The Book of Consecrations (fols 52r–59v and fols 135r–139r)

Incipit prologus libri consecracionum, a dividens b ac demonstrans ad quid inventus fuerit, et quid sit eius effectus. Quicumque aliquod opus inceptum perficere voluerit vt perveniat ad

[135r] Incipit prologus libri consecracionum dicens aut [demonstrans] ad quod inventus sint et quid sint eius a effectus. Quicumque enim aliquot opus inceptum et finire

effectum, prevideat sibi prius in omnibus et caueat ne in vanum operetur, et precipue in opere isto, quod pre cunctis locis aliis preciosissimum et magis laudabile atque certissimum, quod dei nominibus est consecratum et confirmatum, ne aliquis operator falli possit, si spem et fidem bonam habeat et certam in domino Ihesu Christo, a quo omnia bona procedunt, vt testatur sacra littera, qui non firmiter fideliterque crediderit, saluari non poterit. [c] Sic ergo fideliter crede[re] vnicuique operatori est necesse, ne fallatur.

Scias ergo pro certo hoc opus esse inventum propter [errorem] quorundam experimentorum remouendum, scilicet florum, vt per virtutem et invocacionem sanctorum dei nominum [et per] ineffabilem ipsius misericordiam, virtutem et potestatem efficaciter obtineant quem debeant obtinere, sicut inferius declarabitur. Quando aliquod experimentum virtutem et potestatem suam sana [d] amisit tali modo sicut postea declarabitur potest recuperari.

Nota quod multi sunt qui multa et magna querunt et multa eciam scripta habent et credunt de die in [52v] diem ad effectum pervenire, sed nunquam pervenient. Et sic se ipsos decipiunt, et opera sua amittunt, et melius valet virtus vnius verbi istorum quam pondus auri. Vnde dicitur, ‘Melius est sciencia quam secularis potencia.’ [e] Sic ista sciencia preualet omnibus aliis, quia

voluerit ut preueniat ad effectum, prouideat sibi primo que sibi [b] necessaria sunt, ne in vanum operetur, et precipue in opere isto [c] quod pre cunctis alijs magistris [d] est laudabile atque certissimum, quod sacris nominibus est consecratum ac confirmatum, ne aliquis operare possit falli, si spem et fidem firmam habeat i domino Ihesu Christo, a quo omnia bona procedunt, sicut sacra scriptura dicit, qui firmiter et fideliter non crediderit, saluus esse non poterit. Si[c ergo credere vnicuique operatori necesse est, ut non fallatur.

Scias ergo pro certo quod opus est inventum propter errorem quorundam experimentorum remouendum, ut per virtutem et invocacionem sanctorum nominum dei et per ineffabilem ipsius misericordiam, veritatem [g] atque potestatem efficaciter obtineant quod optinere debea[n]t, sicut inferius declarabitur. Cum igitur hoc experimentum virtutem ac potenciam suam amiserit, tali modo sicud postea docebitur recuperari poterit.

Nota. Multi sunt querentes magna scripta, et credunt de die in diem peruenire ad effectum, et non perueniunt. Sed se ipsos sic decipiunt, quod tempora [f] sua amittunt, et melius est scire virtutem vnius verbi quam pondus [g] auri, vnde dicitur, ‘Melius es sciencia quam secularis [h] potencia.’ Si ista sciencia plus valet omnibus sciencijs, que omnia experimenta sunt

omnia alia vera experimenta sunt corrupta, quorum quedam sunt ficta et sic omnia pene falsa.

Hiis igitur diligenter prenotatis, ad nostrum propositum recurras, et videamus quando et qualiter [f] exorcista siue operator habere debeat, et quid ei sit vtile ad operandum, ne fallatur.

In primis, quicumque hoc opus sit facturus ad quod vocatur liber consecracionum, ab omni pollucione mentis et corporis se debet abstinere in cibo [et] potu, in verbis ociosis siue inmoderatis, et sit mundis indutus [g] vestibus, nouem diebus ante opus inceptum, et debet audire in qualibet missam vnam, et librum istum secum deferre et pone super [h] altari donec missa finiatur quolibet die, quousque transacti fuerint omnia, [i] et hec devotissime faciat, cum oracionibus et ieiuniis, quia sicut scriptum est, per ieiunium et oraciones occulta ministeriorum celestium reuelatorque diuini sacramenti archana pendunt. [j] Et cottidie post missam librum portabis domi. Et habeas locum secretum [53r] ab omnibus absconditum, ne aliquis sit presens operi suo, [k] et prius aspergat locum aqua benedicta vbi librum istum [l] ponet, et cum cingulo sacerdotali et stola dedicata liget eum in modum crucis circumquaque, et flexis genibus versus orientem, dicat vij psalmos cum letania et oracionem sequentem antequam liber aperiatur. Et supra [m] librum predictum debet aperire cum victa et corrupta, et sic pene omnia vniuersa.

Hijs igitur diligenter prenominatis prenotatis ad imum recordamus ipso situm volentes quando operari et qualiter exorcista se habere debeat, et quit [i] sit ei vtile ne fallatur.

In primis, igitur, quicumque hoc opus sit facturus, quod vocatur liber consecracionum, ab omni pollucione mentis et corporis debet se abstinere, i cibo et in potu atque verbis ociosis, sit moderatus et sit mundis vestibus indutus ix diebus antequam [j] opus incipiatur, et debet audire qualibet die vnam missam [135v] et istum librum ferre secum et ponere in altari quousque missa finiatur, et hoc deuotissime faciat, cum oracionibus et ieiunijs, sicut scriptum est, ‘Per ieiunia et oraciones occulta misteriorum celestium reuelantur, archana diuine sacramenta pandantur.’ Et cottidie pos missam portatur librum domu et habea locum secretum, [k] ab omnibus inquinamentis mundum, nec aliquis sit presens huic operi, et aspergat locum aqua benedicta, scilicet vbi ponat librum et eum cingulo sacerdotis et stola benedicta liget [l] librum in modun crucis circumquaque, et flexis genibus ponat librum versus Orientem, dicens vij psalmos cum oracione longa et letaniam, sanctificet et benedicat et consecret istum librum suis sanctis nominibus insignitum, cum omni

humili deuocione et toto cordis [n] affectu, vt omnipotens deus misericordia et bonitate sua sanctificet ac benedicat et consecret istum librum sanctissimis nominibus suis insignitum, vt virtutem quam obtinere debeat potenter obtineat, vt valeat ad consecrandum vinculum spirituum et ad omnes invocaciones et coniuraciones ipsorum, et sic omnia alia experimenta.

Similiter nota hunc librum non valere habenti nisi ab ipso denuo consecretur.

Letania autem finita, aperi et dic hanc oracionem humiliter et animo perfecto et mente sincera.

Oracio. *Deus meus, miserere [o] mei et parce malis meis. Sana animam meam, quia peccaui tibi. Non obneges michi umquam que pluribus aliis contulisti. Exaudi, deus, oracionem famuli tui, N., et [p] quacumque die* [53v] *invocauero te exaudi me velociter, sicut exaudisti sanctam Mariam matrem tuam. Suscipe, domine, clamorem [q] confitentis. Audi [r] vocem precantis, per merita beatissime Marie wirginis matris tue atque omnium sanctorum tuorum, vt oraciones et preces perveniant ad aures pietatis tue, quas ego pro hoc libro consecracionum effundo coram te in hac hora, vt per tua sanctissima nomina que in ipso*

deuocione ac toto cordis affectu, et deus omnipotens sua bonitate ac misericordia sanctificet hunc librum, benedicat, et [m] consecraret suis sanctissimis nominibus [n] insignitum ut virtutem quem obtinere debeat videlic ad consecrandum vinculatum spiritum [o] valens ad omnes invocaciones et coniuraciones ipsorum et ad omnia [p] alia experimenta.

Item nota. Quicumque polluit hunc librum sciat eum vltra non valere nisi [q] ab ipso de nouo consecretur, [r] tunc oracione et letania viuificat librum.

Aperiat et dicat hanc oracionem humili corde et anima deuota, tunc incipe sicut sequitur:

Deus meus, miserere mei et parce malis meis, sana animam meam, quia peccaui tibi. Non abneges vni quod pluribus contulisti. Exaudi, deus, oracionem meam, famuli tui N., et [s] in quacumque die invocauero te, velocite exaudi me, sicut exaudisti Mariam matrem tuam. Suscipe, domine, clamorem confitentis anime. Exaudi, domine, vocem deprecantis, per merit et oraciones beatissime virginis [t] Mari matris tue, atque omnium sanctorum, oraciones et preces mee ad aures tue pietatis, quas ego pro [u] hoc libro consecracionum effundo coram te in hac hora, per tua sanctissima nomina, que in hoc libro continentur, sit

continentur sit consecratus et confirmatus a quocumque voluero, prestante domino nostro Ihesu Christo, qui viuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Oracio. *Domine Ihesu Christe, per ineffabilem misericordiam tuam, parce michi seu miserere mei et exaudi nunc per invocacionem nominis tui, scilicet Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti, vt accepta habeas et tibi placeant verba et oraciones oris mei, per invocaciones sanctorum tuorum nominum in hoc libro descriptorum. Humiliter et fideliter, deprecantissime, licet ego indignus, cum in te confidens vt sanctifices et benedicas librum istum sanctis nominibus tuis insignitum et consecres istum, vt per hec nomina tua sanctissima – On, Ihesus, Christus, Alpha et O, El, Eloy, Eloyye, Sithothith,* [s] *Eon, Sepmelamaton, Ezelpha-*[54r] *tes,* [t] *Tetragramaton, Elyoram, Ryon, Deseryon, Erystion, Ysyornus, Onela, Baysyn, Moyn, Messyas, Sother,* [u] *Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay – et per omnia secreta nomina tua que in hoc libro continentur, quatenus virtute, sanctitate, ac potestate eorundem nominum sit liber iste consecratus ✠ et benedictus ✠ et confirmatus ✠ per virtutem sacramenti corporis et sangwinis tui, vt virtutem quam liber iste debet obtinere efficaciter, sine aliqua fallacia, veraciter obtineat, ad consecrandum vinculum spirituum et ad consecrandum omnia experimenta consecratus et confirmatus, ad quodcumque voluero, prestante domin nostro Ihesu Christo, qui viuit et regn in secula seculorum.*

[136r] *Domine Ihesu Christe, per ineffabilem misericordiam tuam, parc michi et miserere mei. Exaudi me nun per inuocacionem nominis tui trini, scilicet Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, ut accepta habeas et placea*[*n*]*t tibi verba oracionis mee, p inuocacionem sanctorum nominum tuorum in hoc libro scriptorum. Humiliter et fideliter deprecans, licet ego indignus peccator, tamen in te confidens, ut sanctifices ac benedicas librum istum tuis sanctis nominibus insignitum, et consecres per hec sanctissima nomina tua, scilicet On, Ihesus Christus, Alpha et O, El, Ely, Eloye, On, Otheon, Stimlamathon,* [w] *Ezelphares, Tetragramaton, Elyoraz,* [x] *Eygiraem,* [y] *Vsirion, Oristion,* [z] *Orona Anellabiassim, Noyn, Messias, Cother* [a] *Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, et per omnia nomina secreta que in hoc libr continentur, quatenus sanctitate,* [b] *virtute, ac potestate eorundem nominum tuorum,* [*per*] *virtutem et potestatem tuam diuinam, sit iste liber consecratus ✠ benedictus ✠ sanctificatus ✠ et confirmatus, per virtutem corporis et sangwinis tui, ut virtutem quam debet obtinere obtineat efficaciter, sine aliqua fallacia, ad consecrandum* [c] *vinculatum spiritum,* [c]

corrupta, et perfectam virtutem et potestatem habeant ad quam sunt constituta, prestante domino Ihesu Christo, qui sedet in altissimis, cuius [v] *honor et gloria per infinita secula seculorum. Amen, amen, amen, amen, amen.*

Benedicat te Pater. Benedicat te Filius. Benedicat te Spiritus Sanctus. Amen. Sancta Maria, mater domini nostri Ihesu Christi, te benedicat et sanctificet, vt virtutem sacramenti in te obtineas quam obtinere debeas. Benedicant te omnes sancte virgines. Benedicant te hodie et omni tempore sancti et electi dei. Omnes virtutes celestes te benedicant et confirment, omnes angeli et archangeli, virtutes et potestates, principatus, throni et [54v] *dominaciones, cherubin et seraphin, et ex auctoritate et licencia dei te benedicant, per merita et oraciones et invocaciones omnium sanctorum tuorum.*

Oracio. *Domine Ihesu Christe, benedicas et sanctifices librum istum, et confirmes per omnipotenciam tuam, vt virtutem et potestatem obtineat ad quam institutus est et confirmatus, prestante domino Ihesu Christo, cuius regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in secula seculorum. Amen.*

Et sic in dei virtute confisus ad librum consecracionum accedas securus, et invenies quod optas. Hoc facto per ix dies, erit liber consecratus,

ad consecranda omnia experimenta corrupta, ut perfectam virtutem habeant ad ea ad que ipsa sunt constituta, prestante domino, qui sede in altissimis. Tui est honor et gloria pe infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

Oracio. *Benedicat te Pater, benedicat te Filius, benedicat te Spiritus Sanctus. Sancta Maria, mater domini nostri Ihesu Christi, benedicat et sanctificet te, ut virtutem sacrament obtinere debeas quam obtinere debes. Benedicant te omnes sancte virgines. Benedicant te hodie et in omni tempor omnes sancti et electi dei, omnes virtutes celestes, te benedicant et confirmant omnes angeli et archangel principatus, virtutes, potestates, troni, et dominaciones, cherubin et seraphin ex auctoritate et licencia* [e] *dei te benedicant, per merita et oraciones ac inuocaciones omnium sanctorum tuorum. Domine Ihesu Christe, benedic, consecra,* [136v] *et sanctifica librum istum, et confirma per omnem potenciam tuam, ut virtutem et potestatem optineat* [f] *ad quam constitutus et confirmatus est, prestan domino nostro Ihesu Christo, cuius regnum et imperium permanet sine fin in secula seculorum. Amen.*

Et sic in dei virtute [g] confisus, ac tute ad librum consecracionum acceda et inuenies quod hoc facto per ix dies, erit consecratus, et quociescumque

et quocienscumque aliud consecrare volueris, incipias primam oracionem legere, scilicet *Deus invisibilis*, cum reliquis sequentibus, et [w] in vtroque tuum Confiteor debes dicere, et aqua benedicta respergi, et signum sancte crucis fronti tuo inpone, vt deus infundat graciam [x] Spiritus Sancti ad opus tuum perficiendum.

Et sic vtere hoc exemplar et non fallaris. Et caue prudenter ne in manibus insipientium hoc magnum secretum deveniat, quod a sapientissimis phisichis est mag[n]is et sanctis dei nominibus consecratum.

Et si alicui experimento deficit documentum ante consecracionem, [55r] habeas istud preparatum, et sic cum documentis docens debes experimenta tua consecrare, et ponas vnum uel plura coram te, et dic primo et principaliter tuum Confiteor, et postmodum versus istos: *Ne derelinquas me, domine deus meus, ne disceseris a me. Intende in adiutorium meum, domine deus salutis mee* [Ps 37:22–23 Vulg.]. *Fiat misericordia tua, domine, super nos, quemadmodum spera[ui]mus in te* [Ps 32:22 Vulg.]. *In te, domine, speraui; non confundar in eternum.* [Ps 70:1 Vulg.]. *Intret in conspectu tuo oracio mea.*

Inclina aurem tuam ad preces nostras [cf. Ps 87:3 Vulg.]. *Domine, exaudi oracionem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat* [Ps 101:2 Vulg.].

aliquid consecrare volueris, incipe primam oracionem legere, scilicet ‘Deus inuisibilis,’ cum tribus reliquis subsequentibus, et inter utrumque debes dicere tuum Confiteor, et aqua benedicta te aspergere, et signum cruc in fronti tuo pone, ut deus infundat graciam Sancti Spiritus, ad opus tuum perficiendum.

Et vtere hoc exemplari, et non fallaris. [h] Et caue diligenter ne hoc magnum secretum in manus insipiencium deueniat, quod sapientissimis et paratissimis philosophis fuit absconditum, et nominibus dei sanctis insignitum.

Item si alicui experimento deerit documentum ante consecracionem, habeas illud in prompto et hijs [i] debes tua experimenta consecrare et ponas vnum uel plura circa te et dic primo et principaliter tuum Confiteor, etc., *Ne derelinquas me*, [*domine*] *deus meus, ne discesseris a me. Intende in adiutorium meum, domine deus salutis mee* [Ps 37:22–23 Vulg.]. *Fiat misericordia tua, domine, super me, quemadmodum speraui* [*in*] *te* [cf. Ps 32:22 Vulg.]. *In te, domine, speraui, non confundar in eternum. In iusticia tua libera me et eripe me* [Ps 70:1–2 Vulg.]. *Intret in conspectu tuo oracio mea. Inclina aurem tuam ad precem meam* [Ps 87:3 Vulg.]. *Domine, exaud oracionem meam, et clamor meus ad t veniat* [Ps 101:2 Vulg.].

Oracio. *Deus invisibilis, deus inestimabilis, deus incorruptibilis, deus piissime, deus excelse, deus gloriose, deus inmense, deus tocius misericordie, ego, licet indignus et plenus iniquitate, dolo, et malicia, suppliciter ad tuam venio misericordiam, orans et deprecans vt non respicias ad vniuersa et innumerabilia peccata mea, sed sicut consueuisti peccatori miserere* [y] *et preces humilium exaudire, ita quod me famulum tuum, N., licet indignum, exaudire digneris clamantem ad te, quod hoc experimento sanctissimis nominibus insignito vt virtutem quam obtinere debeat potenter obtineat, sed adereas* [z] *potestates et infernales principes, quod hanc [55v] oracionem consecratam mirabiliter constringant vt cum voluerit humano voluntati obediant, et cum exorcista voluerit in unum omnes congregare, et cum voluerit dispergat, et per sanctissimum nomen tuum quod scribitur 4or litteris, loth, hoth, vel hec, vel A G L A, g, e, he, van, quo audito* [a] *mare regreditur, aer commutatur,* [b] *vel N. concitatur,* [c] *terra tremit, ignis extingwitur, omnisque celestis exercitus, terrenus et infernalis, tremit et turbatur, et per hec sanctissima nomina tua – On, Alpha et O, Principium et Finis, E, El, Ely, Elyo, Eloe, Elyon, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Egge, Yaya, Eeye – consecratur hoc experimentum, eo potestate, cuius* [d] *honor et gloria* [*per*] *infinita seculorum secula. Amen.*

Oracio. *Deus inuisibilis, deus inestimabilis, deus ineffabilis, deus incommutabilis, deus incorruptibilis, deus pijssime, deus dilectissime, deus potentissime, deus fortissime, deus summe, deus gloriose, deus immense, deus totius misericordie, ego licet indignus et plenus iniquitate, dolo, et malicia, suplex* [j] *ad tuam venio misericordiam,* [137r] *orans et deprecans ne despicias ad uniuersa et innumerabilia peccata mea sed sicut consweuisti peccatorum misereri et preces humilium exaudire, ite me famulum tuum, N., licet indignum, exaudire digneris, clamantem ad te pr hoc experimento tuis sanctissimis nominibus insignito, ut virtutem quam obtinere debeat potenter obtineat, scilicet aereas potestates et insanabile* [k] *principes, per hanc oracionem consecratam, humiliter et mirabiliter constringat, vt velint vel nolint human voluntati obediant. Et cum exorcista voluerit, eos omnes in vnum congrege* [m] *et cum voluerit eos dispergat.* [n]

Oracio. *O summe deus, per sanctissimum nomen tuum quod scribitur per quatuor litteras,* [o] *scilicet ioth, varo, hee, thet, quo audito mare retrogreditur, aer commutatur et concitatur, terra* [p] *timet, ignis extingwitur, omnisque exercitus terrenus et infernalis tremet* [*et*] *turbatur, et hec sanctissima nomina tua, On, Alpha et O, Principium et finis, El, Ely, Eloy, Eloy, Elyon, Sothe*

Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Eggie, Ye
Ye, Ya, Ya, consecretur hoc experimentum, prestante illo cui est laus, honor, et gloria per infinita secu
seculorum. Amen.

Si autem quodcumque experimentum consecrare volueris quod pertinet ad invocaciones spirituum, tunc dicere debes: *Me* [e] *exaudire digneris, clamantem ad te, quod hoc experimento* [f] *vt virtutem quam obtinere debeat potenter obtineat, per sanctissimum nomen tuum quod scribitur*, et sic in qualibet consecracionem, vt supra dictum est. Finita oracione, procede vlterius:

Rubrica. Si autem aliquis aliud experimentum consecrare voluerit, quod non pertinet ad consecracionum spiritum, [q] tunc debes dicere quater, *M*
exaudire digneris clamantem ad te, ut hoc experimentum virtutem obtineat quam obtinere debet potenter, per sanctissimum nomen tuum quod scribitur per iiij litteras, scilicet Ioth, Varo, Hee, Teth, etc.

Deus, vniuersi conditor orbis, qui celum super altitudinem nubum extendisti et terram in sua stabilitate super aquas fundasti, [56r] *et mari terminum suum quem preteriri non poterit* [Ps 109:9 Vulg.] *tribuisti; qui solem et lunam et stellas in summo aere collocasti; qui omnia in sapiencia fecisti* [Ps 103:24 Vulg.]; *qui* [g] *vij*[*a*] [h] *die hominem ad ymaginem plasmasti tuam et de spiritu tuo in eum inspirasti; quem* [i] *eciam cum Euam propter preua*[*r*]*icacionem eiecisti; qui genus humanum in aqua diluuij perdidisti; qui Noe et eos qui cum eo erant in archa saluasti; qui Abrahe sub triplici persona ad radicem manibus* [j] *apparuisti; qui Loth de submersione Sodome et Gomorre liberasti; qui Moysi in medio rubi in flamma ignis locutus fuisti; qui populum tuum de*

Oracio. *Deus, vniuersi orbis conditor et redemptor, qui celum supe altitudinem nubium extendisti et terra in stabilitate sua super aquas fundasti et mari terminum quem preterire non potest tribuisti* [cf. Ps 103:5, 9, Vulg.] *et solem et lunam ac stellas in celo collocasti; qui omnia in sapiencia fecisti* [Ps 103:24 Vulg.]; *qui vja die hominem ad ymaginem ac similitudinem tuam formasti et ei spiraculum vite inspirasti*, [137v] *que vna cum Eua propter preuaricacionen de Paradiso eiecisti; qui genus humanum aquis diluuij saluasti; qui Abraham sub triplici persona ad Iheer* [r] *Mambre aparuisti; qui Loth de submersione Sodome et Gomorre liberasti; qui Moysi in medio rubi in flamma ignis apparuisti et ei locutus fuisti; qui populum tuum per manum*

captiuitate Egyptorum deduxisti et ei per medium [k] *maris viam aperuisti;* [l] *qui legem Moysi in Monte Synay dedisti; qui de petra aquas exire fecisti; qui Danielem de lacu leonum rapuisti;* [m] *qui tres pueros de camino ardenti, scilicet Sydrach, Mysaac, Abdenago, illesos abire fecisti; qui Susannam in te confidentem de falso crimine liberasti;* [*et qui*] *Yonam de ventre ceti saluasti, per hec et alia multa miracula que fecisti, exaudi propicius, pie Ihesu, oracionem famuli tui, N., et da huic experimento virtutem et potestatem super malignos spiritus, ad congregandum ipsos et ligandum et sol-* [56v] *uendum et maledicendum et in profundum abyssi* [n] *proiciendum si non obseruauerunt mandata exorciste, qui es sanctus et benedictus, et regnas per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.*

Moysi et Aaron de captiuitate Egiptiac eduxisti et eos per medium Maris Rubi viam fecisti; qui Moysi legem in Monte Sinay dedisti; qui aquas de petra Oreb exire fecisti; qui aquas amaras in Amarat per inmissionem ligni in dulcorem conuertisti; qui solem et lunam per inuocacionem Iosue stare fecisti; qui flumen Iordanis in ingressu filiorum Israhel diuidisti; qui Danielem de lacu leonum eripuisti; qui tres pueros, scilicet Sidrach, Misach, et Abdenago, de igne [*camini*] *ardentis abire illesos fecisti; qui Susannam in t confidentem de falso crimine liberasti, qui Ionam de uentre ceti saluasti – per hec et alia multa mirabilia que fecisti, exaudi, pie Ihesu Christe, oracionem famuli tui N., et da huic experimento potestatem et virtutem super malignos spiritus, ad ipsos* [s] *congregandum, ligandum, soluendum, et maledicendum, et in profundum abissi proiciendum si non seruant precepta e si non obediant mandatis exorciste, prestante domino, qui est sanctus et benedictus, regnans in secula seculorum. Amen.*

Oracio. *O gloriose Adonay, per quem creantur omnia et hec regenerantur et constituunt*[*ur*], *adesto propicius invocacionibus meis, et clementer presta vt hoc experimentum perfecte virtutem obtineat ad cogendum malignos spiritus, velint* [o] *humiliter obediant et eius mandatum impleant, te iuuante et iubente, qui sedes in*

Gloriose Adonay, per quem creantur et generantur omnia, et que [t] *subsistunt vniuersa, adesto propicius invocacionibus meis, et clementer mic presta ut hoc experimentum perfectam virtutem obtineat ad subiugandum malignos spiritus, vtrum velint vel nolint, semper exorciste obediant humiliter atque mandata eius implean

altissimis et cuncta custodis, etc. Honor sit et potestas per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

On pie, On iuste, Adonay sanctissime, qui es fons misericordie et pietatis, origo, rex regum, et dominus dominancium, qui sedes in magestate tua, intuens profundum abyssi, omnia cernens, omnia regens, omnia continens, et virtute tua moderaris, [p] *qui hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem tuam de limo terre formasti, vt in terra sicut in celo lauderis et glorificeris, vnde omnis terra adoret te et psallat tibi, et ego, licet indignus, psalmum dicam nomini tuo. Vnde piissime et misericordissime magestatem tuam imploro et cum humili deuocione expostulo suppliciter vt in virtute tua et gracia dono tuo consecrantur et confirmantur omnes consecraciones, coniuraciones, et invocaciones que in hoc libro continentur, vt virtutem* [57r] *et efficaciam ad quam institute* [q] *sunt potenter obtineant et potestatem exorciste super malignos spiritus perfecte tribuant cum invocati et exorcisati fuerint statim ex omni parte conueniant et responsa certa et vera reddant* [r] *et mandata exorcistarum perficiant, illo prestante cui laus et potestas, qui per omnia regnat et imperat, per omnia secula* [secul]*orum. Amen.*

Oracio. *Adonay, Meloth, Adonay, adiuuante et iubente qui sedet in altissimis et cuncta custodit, et cui est laus et honor per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.*

[138r] *On pie, on iuste, Adonay sanctissime, qui es fons misericordie e pietatis, origo, rex regum et dominus dominancium, qui sedes in maiestate tua intuens in profundum abissi, omni regens, omnia cernens, omnia contuens, omnia gubernans, omnia tu virtute moderans, qui hominem de lim terre et ad ymaginem et similitudinem tuam formasti, ut in terra sicut in celo glorificeris et lauderis, quia omnis terra adoret te et psallat tibi, et ego licet indignus peccator psallam tibi ac psalmum* [u] *dicam nomini tuo, pijssime et misericordissime deus, maiestatem tuam suppliciter exoro et cum humili deuocione tuam immensam sanctitate imploro et expostulo, ut in uirtute tua dona gracie tue consecrantur et confirmantur oraciones et consecraciones, coniuraciones, et inuocaciones que in hoc libro continentur, ut virtutem et efficaciam ad quam instituta sunt potenter obtineant et potestatem super maligno spiritus exorcisare perfecte tribuant, e cum exorcisati et inuocati fuerint, statim ex omni parte conueniant et responsa veritatis reddant et mandata exorciste perficiant, prestante illo cui est laus et potestas, qui regnat* [et] *imperat per eterna secula seculorum.*

Ioiloth, Exclaui, Azeth, Adonay, in quo cuncta creata sunt et sanctificata, [*per*] *misericordiam tuam et ineffabilem karitatem tuam, per hec sanctissima nomina invoco te, vt N.,* [s] *michi postulanti, licet indigno famulo tuo, N., auxilium gracie tue prestare digneris super has consecraciones [et] invocaciones tuis sanctissimis nominibus insignitas, que in hoc libro continentur:* [t] *On, El, Eloe, Adonay, Sadoy, Alpha et O, Ya, He,* [u] *Yhe, Aseroye, Esyon, Prearraton, Tetragramaton, Ezelphares, Otaizomos, Onoyteon, Stimulacio, On, Ely, Araz, Messyas, Sother, Emanuel, Saboath, Panttra,* [v] *Pramelius,* [w] *Principium, Primogenitus, Sapiencia, Virtus, Grabaton,* [x] *Osanna, Sol, Splendor, Gloria, Lux, Panis, Fons, Vitis, Mens, Hostium, Ianua, Petra, Lapis, Os, Verbum, Salus, Angelus, Sponsus, Sacerdos, Philosophia, Mediator, Agnus, Ouis, Vitulus, Serpens, Aries, Leo, Vermis, Athanatos, Kyrios, Ayos, Theos. Per hec nomina sanctissima, et per alia que* [57v] *nominare non licet, te suppliciter expostulo vt oracionibus, consecracionibus, atque invocacionibus istis, que continentur in hoc libro, virtutem et potestatem tribuas, per virtutem tuam diuinam, ad consecrandum* [y] *omnia experimenta et invocaciones demonium, vt vbicumque maligni spiritus in virtute tuorum nominum fuerint advocati et exorcizati, Amen.*

Adonay, Meloth, Adonay, Naioloth [v] *Leolam, Naoch, Adonay, per quem cuncta creata et significata sunt,* [*per*] *misericordias tuas et ineffabilem potestatem tuam, per sanctissima nomina tua te inuoco, ut michi postulanti licet indigno famulo tuo, N. auxilium gracie tue prestare digneris super has oraciones et invocaciones tuis sanctissimis nominibus insignitas, que in hoc libro continentur, On, El, Eloe, Adonay, Saday, Alpha et O, Ye, Ye, Aserie, Vsion, Pantrathon,* [w] *Tetragramaton, Acomiamos, Occinomos, Onoydeon,* [x] *On, Elioram, Messias, Sother, Stimulamaton, Emanuel,* [138v] *Sabaoth, Pantrather, Premelus,* [z] *Principium et finis, Primogenitus, Sapiencia, Virtus, Hrabathon,* [a] *Osanna, Sol, Splendor, Gloria, Lux, Panis, Fons, Vitis, Mons, Hostium, Ianua, Petra, lapis, Os, Verbum, Salus, Angelus, Sacerdos, Pastor, Propheta, Mediator, Agnus, Ouis, Vitulus, Serpens, Aries, Leo, Vermis, Athanathos,* [b] *Kirios, Ayos, Otheos – per hec sanctissima nomina tua et per omnia que nominare non licet, suppliciter expostulo vt* [c] *oracionibus et consecracionibus istis, scilicet in hoc libro contentis, virtutem et potestatem tribuas ut per virtutem diuinam ad consecrandum* [d] *omnia experimenta et* [*in*]*vocaciones* [e] *demonium vt* [f] *vbicumque maligni spiritus in uirtute tuorum nominum*

statim [*ex*] *omni parte conveniant et exorcizatoris voluntatem adimpleant,* [z] *nichil nocentes, neque timorem inferentes, sed pocius obedientes et ministrantes ad tua districta* [a] *virtute mandata perficientes. Fiat. Fiat. Amen.*

Notandum: si denuo aliquod [b] experimentum componere volueris, ad placitum inpone ei documentum et consecra ipsum sicut prius dictum est, et cum est consecratum pervenit ad effectum.

Oracio. *Omnipotens, sempiterne deus, qui in principio omnia creasti ex nichilo; cui obediunt omnes creature; cui omne genus flectitur, celestium, terrestrium, et infernorum; quem timent angeli et archangeli, dominaciones, potestates, adorant et tremunt; qui manu claudis omnia;* [*qui*] *Adam et Euam ad similitudinem* [*tuam*] *formasti et angelos tuos incredulos per superbiam eorum in profundum Thartari eiecisti, te rogo, te peto, clementissime pater omnipotens, et sic obsecro, per Ihesum Christum filium tuum, in cuius potestate sunt omnia, qui sedes* [c] *ad dexteram Patris omnipotentis, iudicaturus viuos et mortuos, tu qui es Alpha et O, primus* [58r] *et novissimus, rex regum, dominus dominancium, Joth, Agla, Nabuoth, El, Elyel, Enay, Enacuel, Ananyel, Aniazyel, Sodamel, Agyten, Colymas, Elyas, Schyros,* [d] *Athanathos,*

invocati fuerint et exorcisati, statim ex omni parte conueniant et voluntatem [g] *exorciste diligenter adimpleant, nichil ei nocentes nec terrorem ei inferentes, sed pocius ei ministrantes et* [h] *obedientes, per tremendum iudicium tuum et omnia mandata exorciste perficiant. Amen.*

[e] *Ymas, Ely, Messyas.*

- *Per hec tua sancta nomina,*
- *et per alia tua nomina aduoco te et obsecro te,* • *per natiuitatem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,* • *per puerum baiulantem,* [f]
- *per baptismum tuum,*
- *per passionem tuam,*
- *per resurrexionem* [g] *tuam,*

• *per spiritum paraclitum tuum,*

- *per amaritudinem anime tue quando exiuit de corpore,* • *et per v wulnera tua,*
- *per mortem tuam,*
- *et per sangwinem et aquam que exiuerunt de corpore tuo,* • *per misericordiam et omnipotenciam et virtutem ineffabilem tuam,* • *per sacramentum quod discipulis tuis dedisti pridie quam passus fuisti,* • *per sanctam trinitatem et indiuiduam,* • *per beatam Mariam, matrem tuam,* • *per angelos et archangelos tuos,* • *per omnes sanctos et sanctas tuas,* • *per omnia sacra misteria et beneficia que sunt in honore tuo,* • *per sanctissima nomina, cognita et incognita, adoro te et invoco, obsecro te et benedico te et rogo te, vt accepta habeas omnes coniuraciones et verba oris mei quibus vti. Peto, des virtutem et potestatem super angelos tuos qui de celo eiecti sunt, ad decipiendum genus eorum et loquelam eorum contrahendum, ad constringendum, ad soluendum, ad ligandum, ad cogendum* [h] *eos coram te, ad precipiendum, ad omnia que sunt eis* [58v] *possibilia, et verba mea et vocem meam vllo modo acceptent et me timeant. Per humilitatem et misericordiam et graciam tuam deprecor et peto te, Athon, Onay, Anay, Anathon, Vegeido, Ya, Yayay, El, Blemutum, Vsyon, Vsy, Elyas,*

• *per omnia nomina tua,*

- *per sanctos et sanctas,*
- *per archangelos, angelos, potestates, dominaciones, virtutes,* • *et per nomen* [i] *per quod Solomon astringebat dyabolos et conclusit eos, Shoeth, Hebatit, Het, Agla, Jocht, Othot,*

Vanecht, Nabuthi, • *et per omnia sacra nomina tua que scripta sunt in hoc libro,* • *et per virtutem eorundem, quatenus michi compareant et michi respondere de omnibus permittas que queram, sine lesione corporis et anime mee, per dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, filium tuum, qui tecum vivit, etc.*

Oracio. *Pater de celis deus, unus in substancia, trinus in personis, qui Adam et Euam et plurimos* [j] *peccare permisisti, et filium tuum vnigenitum pro eorum peccatis crucifigi et mori voluisti, clementissime igitur pater, te rogo et peto supplex metis* [k] *omnibus quibus possum,* [l] *per Alpha et O, Christum filium tuum,* [m] *vt me congregare et me adunare quosdam angelos tuos incredulos permittas, qui michi hanc* [n] *potestatem alloquendi et faciendi, quod volo et desidero, et hoc* [o] *sine lesione al*[*i*]*qua vel alicuius nocumento. Et per virtutem lapidum, harbarum, et verborum, et nominum tuorum, michi des potestatem soluendi et ligandi demones, verbis meis et auxilio tuo. Quod michi concedas per innumerabilem virtutem et omnipotenciam tuam. Amen.*

Pater de celis, vnus in substancia, trinus in personis, qui Adam et Euam pomum [j] *peccare permisisti, et tuum vnigenitum filium pro eorum peccatis cruci et morti* [k] *tradidisti, clementissim pater, te igitur rogo et peto ac suppliciter* [l] *per omnia nomina tua quibus possum, per Alpha et O, per Ihesum Christum* [m] *filium tuum, ut me, famulum tuum, N., facias congregare, adiurare angelos siue spiritus qui habent potestatem michi loqui et facer que volo ac desidero, sine lesione et nocumento corporis et anime mee et omnium viuencium, precipue qui dedisti potestatem et uirtutem herbis, lapidibus, verbis, per uirtutem omniun herbarum, lapidum, et verborum, et precipue sanctissima nomina tua* [n] *concede potestatem ligandi* [*et*] *soluendi demones verbis meis et auxili tuo. Hoc michi concedas per mirabile uirtutem et omnem potenciam tuam. Amen.*

[59r] **Oracio.** *O summa et eterna deitas, et virtus altissima, qui te disponente hiis vero iudicio vocaris nominibus: Emoytho, On,*

[139r] *O summa et eterna diuinita O* [o] *virtus altissima, qui* [*te*] *disponent hys nominaris nominibus: Oneytheon, Stimula, Mathon, Elelpharos,*

Strinolamaton, Elzephares, Tetragramaton, Elyeyon, Egyrion, Vsyrion, Oristion, Eryono, Vsy, Ormis, Euella, Brasym, Moym, Ioseph, Messyas, Sother, E, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, et eciam sicut superius scribuntur, te invoco, te adoro, tocius mentis viribus imploro, quatenus per te presentes oraciones, consecraciones, et invocaciones in hoc libro existentes consecrentur et preparentur, [p] quemadmodum conuenit, scilicet vbicumque maligni [q] spiritus in virtute tuorum nominum fuerint invocati seu exorcizati, statym ex omni parte conveniant [r] et voluntatem exorcistarum adimpleant diligenter, quod nichil nocentes nec timorem inferentes, sed pocius obedientes et ministrantes districta virtute mandata exorciste [s] perficientes. Fiat. Fiat. Amen.

In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi, Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti, tam trinitas et inseparabilis vnitas, te invoco vt sis salus, defensio, et proteccio corporis [t] et anime mee, nunc et in perpetuum, per virtutem crucis et passionis tue. Te deprecor, domine Ihesu Christe, fili dei viui, per merita et oraciones et intercessiones beatissime matris tue Marie atque omnium sanctorum, vt michi concedas graciam tuam atque potestatem diuinam super omnes malignos spiritus, vt quemcumque in virtute tuorum nominum invocauero, statim ex omni

Tetragramathon, [p] Osorion, E, Egyrio Vsyrion, Oristion, Orrona, [q] Vsiorius, Ouel, Byasim, Neym, Ioseph, Messias, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, etc., sicut modicum superius scribit[ur te inuoco, te adoro, te totis mentibus e verbis inploro, quatenus presentes oraciones, consecraciones, et invocaciones in hoc libro existentes consecrentur [r] et preparentur, quemadmodum conuenit, scilicet ut vbicumque maligni spiritus per virtutem [s] tuorum nominum fuerant aduocati et exorcisati, statim ex omni parte conueniant et voluntatem exorciste adimpleant [t] diligenter, ei nichil nocentes, nec timorem ei alique inferentes, sed pocius ei obedientes et ministrantes, et tua uirtute ac iudicio tuo districto mandata exorciste perficientes. Amen. Finis.

parte [59v] *conueniant* [u] *et voluntatem meam perfecte adimpleant, quod nichil nocentes* [v] *nec timore*[*m*] *inferentes, sed pocius obedientes et ministrantes, et tua districta virtute mandata mea perficientes.* [w] *Amen.*

a *Heading duplicated in MS.*
b Sic *in MS.*
c *Cf. Is 7:9, Lk 1:20, Lk 8:12, Rom 10:9, I Cor 1:21.*
d Sic *in MS.*
e *This quotation conveys the spirit of the Pseudo-Aristotelian tradition most fully conveyed in the* Secretum secretorum; *see M.A. Manzalaoui, ed.,* Secretum secretorum: Nine English Versions *(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977–).*
f *MS* equaliter?
g *MS* indutis.
h su *(?) duplicated above line.*
i *MS* omnes.
j *Meaning, perhaps,* occulta misteriorum celestium reuelantur, et diuini sacramenti archana panduntur?
k Sic *in MS.*
l *Partly blotted out.*
m Sic *in MS.*
n *MS* corde.
o *MS* miscerere.
p *MS* vt.
q *Followed by* confide, *deleted.*
r *Extraneous letter between* d *and* i *appears blotted out.*
s *Or* Sichochich?
t *Malformed, and duplicated below line.*
u *Followed by* ::: v.

a Sic *in MS.*
b *MS* scilicet.
c *Followed by* que, *deleted.*
d Sic *in MS.*
e *MS* et veritatem.
f Sic *in MS.*
g *Corrected in MS* to pondeus.
h *MS* solis aris?
i Sic *in MS.*
j *MS* antequem.
k *Followed by* abhominibus, *struck through.*
l *MS* ligat.
m *Followed by an extraneous stroke.*
n *Followed by* et.
o Sic *in MS.*
p alii *deleted.*
q *Followed by* abip *and a space.*
r *MS* consecratur.
s *MS* ut.
t *Followed by* matris, *deleted.*
u *MS* per.
v *MS* benedices.
w Sic *in MS?*
x *Followed by* ey, *struck through.*
y Sic *in MS?*
z Sic *in MS?*
a Sic *in MS.*
b *MS* sanctificati.
c *Followed by* vinctum spiritum, *deleted.*

v *Meaning* cui sit?

w *MS* et et.
x *MS* qm.
y *Corrected in MS from* misesere.
z *Meaning* ad aereas?
a *MS* auditu.
b Sic *in MS.*
c Sic *in MS.*
d *Presumably meaning* eius … cui.
e *MS* Mie.
f Sic *in MS.*
g *MS* quod.
h Sic *in MS.*
i *MS* quam.
j Sic *in MS.*
k *MS* modum.
l *MS* apperuisti.
m *MS* capuisti.
n *MS* abyssus.
o *MS has* velint *(?), followed by a space, possibly meaning* vt [humiliter obediant].
p *Meaning* moderans?
q *Final* e *blotted out.*
r *MS* reddunt.
s *Added above line; probably intended to be added after* michi.
t *Pointing hand drawn in margin.*
u *Duplicated in margin.*
v Sic *in MS?*
w Sic *in MS.*
x Sic *in MS?*

y *MS* consecrandam.
z *Followed by* et, *deleted.*
a *MS* districti?
b *MS* alique?
c *Note shift to second person, addressing Christ.*
d Sic *in MS?*
e Sic *in MS?*
f Sic *in MS?*

d Sic *in MS.*
e *MS* lancea.
f *MS* optineant.
g *MS* in die Iouis.
h *MS* vallaris.
i Sic *in MS?*
j Sic *in MS.*
k Sic *in MS.*
l Sic *in MS.*
m *MS* congregat.
n *MS* dispergit.
o *MS* litteris.
p *Followed by* tremet, *struck through.*
q Sic *in MS.*

r Sic *in MS.*

s *Followed by* ad.
t Sic *in MS.*

u *MS* psallmum.
v Sic *in MS?*

w Sic *in MS?*
x Sic *in MS?*
y Sic *in MS.*
z Sic *in MS?*
a Sic *in MS?*
b Sic *in MS.*
c *MS* et.
d *MS* sacrandam.
e *Followed by* demonum, *struck through.*
f *Followed by* vbique, *struck through.*
g *Followed by* d, *struck through.*
h *Written above line.*

g *MS* resurrexicionem.
h *MS* cog'endu.

i *Followed by* quod, *deleted*.
j Sic *in MS?*

k *Meaning* mentis?
l Sic *in MS*.
m *MS* Christi filij [*altered from* filium] tui.
n *MS* hunc.
o *Or* hec.
p *MS* preparantur.
q *MS* malignus.
r Sic *in MS?*
s *MS* exorcisti.
t *MS* corperis.
u *MS* conueniunt.
v *Corrected in MS, with second vowel blotted out and* e *substituted*.
w *MS* perficiem.

i b *added in margin*.
j Sic *in MS*.
k *MS* morte.
l Sic *in MS*.
m *Followed by* fli, *struck through*.
n *MS* sanctissimos nominum tuos.
o Sic *in MS?*
p Sic *in MS*.
q Sic *in MS?*

r *MS* consecrantur.
s *MS* iuret?
t *Followed by* et.

No. 32. Conjuration of Satan/Mirage

From fols 59v–62v

Per invocacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi, imperatoris et agni inmaculati, [a] *quod inde* [b] *arguant te angeli et archangeli; argua*[*n*]*t te Michael et Gabriel* [*et*] *Raphahel; arguant te tres patriarche Abraham, Ysaac, et Jacob, et prophete; arguant te apostoli Christi, sancti et electi dei. Deficiant ergo artes tue de die in hora et in mense et in momento, sic*[*ut*] *cessauerunt jam vos et membros,* [c] *vt cito et sine aliqua condicione obediatis dictis meis et voluntati mee subiciatis.* [d] *Amen.*

Deus angelorum, deus

From fols 109r–111v [A] & 139r–140r [B]

Per inuocacionem nominis domini Ihesu Cristi, Mirage, imperat tibi agnu immaculatus; perinde arguant te ange et archangeli, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael; arguant te tres patriarche, scilicet Abraham, Ysaac, et Iacob; arguant te prophete et omnes apostoli Christi; arguant te omnes sancti et electi dei. Deficient ergo aures [a] *tue in die et in nocte in hora et in mense et in momento,* [b] *sicut defecerunt Iamnes et Mambres* [II Tim 3:8], *nisi cito sine aliqua mora dictis meis obedias et voluntati mee subiciaris.*

Deus angelorum, deus

archangelorum, deus prophetarum, deus apostolorum, deus martyrum, deus confessorum, deus virginum et viduarum, deus pater [*domini*] *nostri Ihesu Christi, invoco nomen sanctum tuum preclare magestatis tue potencie.* [e] *Supplex exposco vt michi auxilium prestare digneris adversus istum spiritum Sathanam, vt vbicumque lateat, audito nomine tuo, velociter de loco suo exeat et ad me festinanter accedat. Ipse imperat tibi, dyabole, qui de supremis sedibus te in inferiora mire mergi iussit. Audi ergo, dyabole, et* [60r] *tu, victus et prostratus, accede in nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Tu ergo, nequissime, inimicus fidei, generis humani mortis temptator iusticie, delectator malorum, radix* [*et*] *fomes viciorum,* [f] *seductor hominum, et* [g] *magister, et stas et resistis cum scis te perdere vires tuas. Istum metue qui in Ysaac immolatus est, in Ioseph venundatus est, in agno occisus est, in homine crucifixus est, deum* [h] *surrexus triumphator. Audi ergo, diabole, et timeas verba dei, et esto michi paratus in omnibus negociis meis perficiendis. Amen.*

Adiuro te, non mea infirmitate sed

archangelorum, deus prophetarum, deus apostolorum, deus ewangelistarum, deus martirum, deus confessorum, deus domini nostri Ihesu Christi, inuoco nomen sanctum tuum i hac preclara tue maiestatis potencia. Supplex exposco ut michi auxilium tuum preparare digneris aduersus illu spiritum Miragem, ut vbicumque iacet [B 139v] *audito nomine tuo, velociter de loco suo exeat et festinanter* [c] *ad me accedat. Ipse imperat tibi, dyabole, qu te de supernis celorum sedibus in inferiora terre demergi* [d] *precepit. Auc ergo, Mirage nequissime, et time,* [e] *victus et prostratus, accede in nomine dei* [f] *nostri Ihesu Christi. Tu ergo, Mirage nequissime, inimicus fidei, humani generis mortis repertor,* [g] *iniusticie declarator, malorum radix, fomes viciorum,* [A 109v] *seductor hominis, demonum magister, qui stas resistis* [h] *cum scis te perdere vires tuas Illum metue qui in Ysaac est ymmolatus, in Ioseph venundatus, in agno occisus, in homine crucifixus, deum* [i] *surrexit triumphator. Audi ergo Mirage, et time verba dei, et esto mich preparatus in omnibus negociis prouidendis.* [j]

Adiuro te, serpens antique, per iudicem viuorum et mortuorum, per eum qui habet potestatem te mittere in Iehennam, vt facias cito quidquid precipio tibi, illo iubente qui sedet in altissimis. Amen.

Adiuro te, Mirage, non mea vi set

virtute Spiritus Sancti, vt subiectus sis meis mandatis perficiendis. Cede michi et ministris Christi illius, dyabole. Arguat te potencia [*eius*] *qui se* [i] *crucis* [j] *patibulo subiungauit, te illius brachium contremat,* [k] *qui te uictus gemitibus inferni* [l] *animas ad lucem perduxit. Sit timor tibi corpus hominis. Sit tibi formido ymago dei, quam sancta morte sua redemit. Nec resistes, nec moreris ap*[*p*]*ropinquare michi et velle meum adimplere, et ne me in infernum putes condempnandum,* [m] *dum me peccatorem nimis esse cognoscis.*

Imperat tibi dominus. Imperat tibi magestas. Imperat tibi deus Pater. Imperat tibi Filius. Imperat tibi Spiritus Sanctus. Imperat tibi apostolorum sedes, scilicet Petri et Pauli ceterorumque apostolorum. Imperat tibi indulgencia confessorum. Imperat tibi martyrum sangwis. Imperat tibi sacramentum crucis. Imperat tibi [n] *mysteriorum virtus. Imperat tibi virtus* [60v] *in quo nichil invenisti de corporibus tuis.* [o] [*Imperat tibi Christus,*] *qui te spoliauit, qui regnum tuum destruxit, qui te vinctum ligauit et vasa tua disrupit, qui te proiecit in tenebras, vt tibi cum ministris tuis erit preparatus interitus, sed quem nunc crudelem te recogitas, quem* [p] *temerarie retractas.*

uirtute Spiritus Sancti, ut sis subiectus mandatis meis, ea sine mora perficienda. Cede ministris Ihesu Christi. Illius potestas te vrgeat qui se pro nobis affligendo crucis patibulo subiugauit, illius enim brachium contremisce qui de victis gemitibus inferni animas ad lucem produxit. Sit tibi tremor cor[*p*]*us hominis. Sit tibi formido ymago dei, quam* [k] *Christus sancta morte redemit. Ne resistas, ne moreris* [l] *apropinquare michi, et uelle meum implere, et ne me infirmum pute ad condempnandum te.*

Tibi imperat deus Pater. Tibi imperat deus Filius. Imperat Spiritus Sanctus. Tibi imperat apostolorum fides, scilicet Petri et Pauli et ceterorum apostolorum. Imperat tibi indulgencia confessorum. Imperat tibi sa[*n*]*gwis martirum. Imperat tibi mundicia virginum. Imperat tibi continencia viduarum.* [A 110r] *Imperant tibi pia opera coniugatorum. Imperant tibi oraciones omnium bonorum hominum in ecclesia dei militancium. Imperat tibi sacramentum* [B 140r] *crucis. Imperat tibi virtus corporis et sa*[*n*]*guinis domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Imperat tibi misteriorum virtus. Imperat tibi Ihesus Christus in quo nichil iurauisti* [m] *de operibus tuis, qui te exspoliauit, qui regnum tuum destruxit, qui victum te ligauit et vasa tua disrupit, qui te proiecit in tenebras exteriores vbi tibi et ministris tuis est preparatus eternus interitus. Sed quid*

Reus [*es*] *omnipotentis dei, cuius statuta* [q] *transgressus es; reus* [r] *filij eius Ihesu Christi, quem temptare ausus es et crucifigere presumpsisti; reus humani generis, cui* [s] *mors tuis persuasionibus euenit. Impero tibi, draco nequissime, per imperium dominicum. Adiuro te in nomine agni inmaculati,* [t] *qui ambulat super aspidem et basiliscum, qui conculcauit leonem et draconem* [Ps 90:13 Vulg.], *vt facias cito quidquid precipiam. Contremisce et time, invocato nomine dei, quem inferi timent, quem celorum virtutes et potestates, dominaciones et virtutes,* [*et*] *alie subiecte sunt et timent et adorant, quem cherubin et seraphin indefessis vocibus laudant. Imperat tibi verbum qui* [u] *caro factum.* [v] *Imperat tibi natus ex virgine.* [w] *Imperat tibi Iesus Nazarenus, qui te creauit, vt cito impleas omnia que a te petam uel habere voluero uel scire desidero.* [x] *Quia quanto tardius feceris que tibi precipio vel precipiam, tibi supplicium magis crescit et crescat de die in diem.*

Exorcizo te, maledicte et mendacissime spiritus,

- *per verba veritatis,*
- *per omnipotentem,*
- *per Ihesum Christim Naza-*

[61r] *renum, agnum immaculatum, de altissimo progressu*[*m*], *de Spiritu Sancto conceptum, ex Maria virgine natum, quem Gabriel angelus nunciauit venturum, quem cum vidisset centurio* [y] *exclamauit, dicens, 'Vere hic est filius*

nunc, truculente dyabole retractus, qu temperie redardas? [n]

Reus es omnipoteni[*s*], *cuius statuta transgressus es; reus Ihesu Christi filij* [o] *eius, quem temptare ausu fuisti et crucifigere permisisti; reus humani generis, cui mors persuasionibus tuis euenit. Impero* [p] *tibi, nequissime, per imperium diuinur Adiuro te per agnum inmaculatum, qu ambulat super aspidem et basiliscum, qui conculcat leonem et draconem* [Ps 90:13 Vulg.], *ut facias cito quidquid impero tibi et precipio. Contremisce e time. Inuoco nomen domini, illum time cui uirtutes celorum, potestates, dominaciones, et principatus subiecti sunt, timent, et honorant,* [q] *quem cherubin et* [r] *seraphin indefessis vocibus laudant. Imperat tibi verbum caro factum,* [s] *imperat tibi natus de uirgine. Imperat tibi Ihesus Nazarenus Imperat tibi qui te creauit, ut impleas cito omnia que peto a te uel habere voluero uel scire cupio. Quia* [t] [A 110 *quanto tardius feceris ea que tibi precipio, tanto* [u] *magis supplicium tibi erit de die in diem.*

Exorcizo te, maledicte et [v] *nequissime ac* [w] *mendacissime spiritus*

- *per verbum veritatis,*
- *per deum omnipotentem,*
- *per Ihesum Christum*

Nazarenum, • *per agnum inmaculatum de altissimis progressum, de Spiritu Sancto conceptum, ex Maria virgine natum, quem Gabriel nunciauit, quem cum vidisset Johannes* [x] *exclamauit, dicens 'Hic est filius dei.'*

dei’ [cf. Matt 27:54].

Exorciso te, auctor dyabolice potestatis, inventor malorum, cum omnibus subditis tuis, in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti; in nomine gloriose deitatis, cuius ix ordines angelorum, throni, dominaciones, patriarche [z] *et apostoli, et omnes sancti* [a] *diebus ac noctibus proclamant, dicentes, ‘Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, qui erat et qui est* [b] *et qui venturus est, et qui est omnipotens’* [Apoc 4:8], *vt non presumas transgredi precepta mea, N. Nec tibi* [c] *lateat,* [d] *N., inminere tibi penas, inminere tibi tormenta, diem iudicij, diem supplicij, sempiterni diem, qui venturus est* [e] *velut clibanus ardens, in quo tibi atque vniuersis angelis tuis sempiternus erit preparatus interitus. Et ideo pro tua nequicia dampno te atque dampnabo. Da honorem deo viuo et vero, et michi subditus esto in omnibus operibus meis preparandis ac proficiendis. Da honorem deo viuo et vero; da honorem Ihesu Christo et* [f] *Spiritui Sancto Paraclito, in cuius nomine ac virtute precipio tibi ego,* [g] *N., vt nomini eius* [h] *et verbis meis obedias, cui omnis creatura deseruit, quem cherubyn et seraphym laudant, dicentes, ‘Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus* [i] *exercituum* [Is 6:3], *qui regnat et dominatur* [j] *per infinita secula. Amen, amen, amen.’*

Exorcizo te, auctor dyabolice potestatis, inuentor malicie, cum omnibus subditis tuis, in nomine Patris et Filij et Spritus Sancti, et in nomine gloriose deitatis, cui nouem chori angelorum, patriarche et prophete, apostoli, martires, confessores, [y] *virgines et* [B 140v] *vidue, et omnes electi dei diebus ac noctibus indefessa voce collaudant, dicentes, ‘Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, qui erat, qui est, et qui est venturus, et qui est omnipotens* [Apoc 4:8], *ut non presumas transgrec precepta mea. Nec tibi* [z] *lateat tibi imminere penas, tibi imminere tormenta, tibi imminere diem iudicij, tibi imminere diem suplicij sempiterni, per deum qui venturus est velud clibanus* [a] *ignis ardentis, in quo tibi et angelis tuis preparatus est semp*[*i*]*ternus introitus. Et ideo pro tu nequicia, dampnate* [b] *atque dampnande, da honorem deo viuo et vero, et esto* [c] *michi subiectus, ut omni precepta mea adimpleas. Da honorem Ihesu Christo filio eius, da honorem Spiritui* [d] *Sancto Paraclito, in cuius nomine atque virtute precipio tibi, Mirage, ut nomini eius ac preceptis meis obedias, cui omnis creatura deseruit, quem cherubin et seraphin laudant, dicentes, ‘Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus exercituum* [cf. Is 6:3], *qui regnat et dominatur* [A 111r] *per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.’*

[61v] *Coniuro et constringo atque precipio tibi, vt sine aliquo nocumento michi nunc et semper obedias, sine lesione et grauamine corporis et anime mee. Coniuro te, diabole,* • *per* [k] *omnia predicta sacramenta facta,* [l]

- *et per omnia scripta, dicta, facta, creata, viua* [*et*] *mortua,* • *et per istum qui te de paradyso eiecit. Coniuro te et precipio tibi, N.,* • *per hostiam sacram,*
- *per hostiam inmaculatam,*
- *per hostiam conscriptam et benedictam atque deo placentem.*

Coniuro te atque precipio tibi, Diabole, [m]

- *per omnia quibus constringi et ligari possis.*

Exorciso te

- *per nomen tuum et potestatem omnium spirituum,* • *et per omnes karacteres,*
- *et per sigillum Salominis,*
- *et per anulum* [n] *eius, ix candarias celestes, in malediccione et confusione et augmentacione penarum* [o] *tuarum* [p] *dupla,* [q] *de die in diem, quod tu, Diabole, non requiescas* [r] *nec cesses a labore continuo in eodem loco in quo modo es remouearis* [s] *et ab officio tuo et ab omni societate et temptacione et decepcione alicuius* [t] *priuatus statim, per verba et coniuraciones tibi predicta. Maledico te, dyabole, et nomen tuum confundo in eternum,* • *et per omnes dies vite tue,*
- *et per potestatem quam* [u] *habeo super te hic michi ab omnipotenti deo* [v] *data in baptissmo et in aliis sacramentis,* • *et per eukaristiam que est corpus Christi.*

Adiuro ac constringo et [e] *precipic tibi, Mirage, ut michi obedias sine aliquo impedimento uel nocumento u lesione et grauamine corporis et anime mee, nunc et semper. Iterum coniuro te, Mirage,* • *per omnia predicta sacramenta facta et faciend*
• *per omnia scripta sancta, creata, viua et mortua,* • *per illum qui te de celo proiecit.*

Coniuro te et precipio tibi

- *per hostiam sanctam et per hostiam inmaculatam,*
- *per hostiam scriptam et per hostiam benedictam atque deo placentem.*

Coniuro te ac precipio tibi, Mirage,

- *per omnia per que ligari et constringi possis.*

Exorcizo te

- *per nomen domini,*
- *per potestatem omnium spirituum,*
- *per omnes caractares,*
- *per sigillum Salominis,*
- *per annulos eius,*
- *per septem candelabra aurea ante dominum lucencia, ut tibi, Mirage, augmentatur penarum accerbitas de die in diem, ita vt non requiescas nec cessas a labore tuo continuo in eodem loco vbi nunc es remouere,* [f] *et ut remouearis ab omni officio tuo et ab omni societate et temptacione et decepcione, ut priuaris statim per verba coniuracionis tibi inflicta. Maledico* [B 141r] *te et nomen tuum confundo in eternum*
- *per omnes dies vite mee,*
- *per potestatem quam habeo super te, Mirage, michi ab omnipotenti deo data in baptismo et alijs sacramentis,*
- *per corpus domini nostri Ihesu Christi.*

Eciam te excommunico et maledico tibi et omne illud quod ad te pertinet [62r] *et confundo* [*te*], *per On,*

- *et per* [w] *Alph*[*a*] *et O,*
- *et per Emanuel,*
- *et per nomen dei ineffabile,*
- *et per sanctum Tetragramaton,*
- *et per omnia verba que dicta sunt tibi,* [x] *N.,*

vt facias statim, sine aliqua mora, mandatum meum et peticionem quam tibi manifestabo, dum vtinam comparas quod michi alloquaris.

In nomine Patris veni, et in nomine Filij veni, et in nomine Spiritus Sancti veni, et in nomine sancte trinitatis tibi dico veni, in nomine summi dei creatoris omnium creaturarum veni ad me in hac hora, sine aliquo nocumento,

Eciam te excom[m]unico, tibi maledico et omne id quod a[*d*] *te pertinet, et confundo te et omnia tua,* *per On,*

- *per Alpha et O,*
- *per Emanuel,*
- *per nomen dei ineffabile,*
- *per sanctum Tetragramaton,*
- *per omnia nomina et verba que dicta sunt,*

ut statim venias, Mirage, sine aliqua [111v] *mora, mandatum et potestatem meam quam tibi manifestabo, quam michi loqueris.*

In nomine Patris veni. In nomine Filij veni. In nomine Spiritus Sancti veni. In nomine sancte Trinitatis veni. Tibi dico, in nomine dei summi veni. In nomine creatoris et omnium creaturarum veni ad me in hac hora,

lesione, atque grauamine anime mee et corporis mei, uel alium mittas uel venire facias, qui sciat perfecte omne desiderium meum adimplere, et nullo modo a me recedat, [v] *nisi licenciatus fuerit a me, et voluntatem meam plenarie perfecerit. Coniuro te per hec et per hoc* [a]*, et ita vt supradicta sunt, vt facias michi venire vnum spiritum, qui auferat secum aurum et argentum denarios, et thesauros, antequam a loco isto recedam; et quocienscumque ipsum invocauero statim compareat,* [b] *benignus ac humilis, nulli nocens, et michi in omnibus ministrans, et voluntatem meam perficiens, fiat, fiat, amen; vt ducas uel mittas michi vnum spiritum prom*[p]*tum et ydoneum in omnia sciencia; vt habeat potestatem facere me invisibilem quandocumque voluero;* [c] [62v] *et michi placuerit, et eciam quod semper sit sub potestate mea; et concedas ei similiter potestatem consecrandi libros et experimenta et omnia quecumque voluero.* [d] *Amen, amen, amen.*

sine aliquo nocumento, lesione, atque grauamine corporis et anime mee, uel alium mittas, vel [a] *venire facias, qui sciat perfecte desiderium meum adimplere, et nullo modo a me recedere, nisi a me fuerit licenciatus u uoluntatem meam plenarie perficiat. Item coniuro te per hec que supradicta sunt, ut facias michi venire vnum spiritum qui portet* [h] *michi aurum et argentum uel thesauros absconditos, antequam de isto loco recedam; ut sit michi ministrans in omni uoluntate mea, et* [i] *quocienscumque ipsum inuocauero statim compareat michi, benignus ac humilis, nulli nocens, sed uoluntatem meam in omnibus adimplens et perficiens, fiat, fiat, fiat, amen; ut adducas michi vnum spiritum promptum et ydoneum in omni scienci et ut habeat potestatem me faciendi inuisibilem quandocumque voluero; et michi placuerit, et quod semper sit sub potestate mea; et concedas ei similiter* [*potestatem*] *consecrandi libros, experimenta, et omnia quecumque voluero. Amen.*

a *MS* imperatori et angnus inmaculatus.
b Sic *in MS?*
c Sic *in MS.*

d *Meaning* subiciaris?
e Sic *in MS.*
f *MS* vincorum.
g et *added above line.*
h resipis A.
i *Followed by* ab asserisus *(?), deleted.*
j *Followed by* suo, *deleted.*

a Sic *in MS.*
b momentu AB.
c vestinanter B.
d demerge A.
e tunc A.
f *Sic* AB, *presumably for* domini.
g *Corrected from* reperator *in* B.
h Sic *in MS, for* deus *or* deinde?

i *Sic* AB, *for* demum?

k *Corrected in MS from* contremiat?

l inferni *duplicated in margin*.

m *MS* condempnendum.

n *Followed by* minstriorum virtus, *deleted*.

o Sic *in MS*.

p Sic *in MS?*

q *MS* statera, *with* r *inserted above line, after another interlinear letter which is blotted out*.

r *Followed by* esse *(?), deleted*.

s *MS* tibi.

t *MS* inmaculatij?

u *Inserted above line*.

v *MS* caro factum est.

w *Followed by interlinear marking, apparently an* m *(presumably for* Maria), *which appears to be struck through*.

x desidero *added in margin*.

y centurio *duplicated in margin*.

z *Corrected in MS from* patriarchi?

a et omnes sancti *added in margin*.

b et qui est *added above line*.

c *MS* te.

d latet *altered in MS to* lataet.

e est *added above line*.

f deo viuo … Christo et *added in margin*.

g ego *added above line*.

h eius *deleted and* eus *substituted*.

i deus *added above line*.

j *Followed by* -turus, *deleted*.

k *Followed by* omnes, *deleted*.

l *Followed by duplication of* et per omnia sacramenta facta.

m *Followed by* quibus, *deleted*.

n *Corrected in MS from* annulum.

o *MS* puerum.

p *Followed by* fide *(?), deleted*.

q *MS* duplo.

r -equi- *erroneously struck through*.

s *Followed by* abo, *deleted*.

t Sic *in MS*.

u *Corrected in MS from* quem.

v deo *added above line*.

w *Added above line*.

x *Followed by* etc.?

j perfidend' B.

k quatenus A.

l moretis B.

m *Sic* AB.

n *Meaning* redardescis?

o Christo filio AB.

p imperat AB.

q honorent A.

r *Followed by* serahp, *struck through* B.

s *Followed by* est, *struck through (?)* B.

t que AB.

u tantum B, *but with the letter* o *written twice the margin*.

v ac B.

w et B.

x Sic *in MS*.

y martires et confessores B.

z te AB.

a clibanum AB.

b dampnante A.

c est A.

d Spiritu AB.

e ac B.

f *Sic* AB.

y *Followed by* dare *(?), deleted.*

a *Or* hec.

b *MS* comparaeat.

c *The clauses marked here as [B] and [C] are given at the end of 62r, after* Fiat, fiat, amen, *but are evidently intended as alternatives to the material here given as [A]. The lines on the top of 62v* (Et michi placuerit … Amen. Amen. Amen.) *may also be intended for reading here.*

d *MS* volueris.

g fere AB.

h portat AB.

i ut B.

No. 33. For obtaining information from a mirror (fols 62v–65r)

Circue cimiterium et collige tot lapides quot [a] sunt versus in psalmo *Misereri mei deus* [Ps 50 Vulg.]. [b] Cum hiis lapidibus, pone circulum quando vis, et inpone herbam que vocatur verbena. Postea accipe speculum, et line ipsum cum oleo oliue cum pollice, dicendo *Gloria in excelsis deo, etc.* Et intres circulum. Stes supra herbam, et verte primo ad orientem, dicens, *Coniuro te, Astra, Astaroth, Cebal,*

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,* • *per xxiiijor seniores,* • *et per tres pueros Sydrach, Mysaac, et Abdenago,* • *per Toth,* [c] *principem vestrum,* • *per Zambrim et Mambrim,* • *per Vsuel* [*et*] *per Saduel, quibus obedire tenemini de veritate,* [d]
- *et per baptismum quod recipitur in fonte a sacerdote, vt obediatis michi.* [e]

Cum venerit spiritus, dic si volueris, ‘Deum qui te genuit dereliquisti, et oblitus [es] domini creatoris tui.’ Cui tunc dicet spiritus, ‘Verum est.’ Tunc dic, ‘Ligo [f] et constringo vos demones, per verba que audistis a creatore vestro pendente [g] in cruce, vt nulli noceatis, sed [h] de [i] veritate respondeatis michi.’ Quod si noluerint, lege vinculum Salomonis; de vinculo spirituum non est soluendum, sed ymo pocius diuidendum et ymitandum. [j]

[63r] Sed tamen, vt predictum est, cauendum est ne in manus quorundam insipiencium hoc secretum deueniat. Eructuamus sapientissimum filium, per quod [k] predicti reges et principes [cum] omnibus subditis suis valeant subpeditari et cogi et ligari et in abissum proici. Si vero sunt ribelles et contradicentes et inobedientes exorciste semper, et si in omnibus non obedierint uel precepta exorciste non conseruauerint, hoc vinculum est legendum, [l] quod sic incipit: • *Per corroboratum et potentissimum nomen dei El, forte et ammirabile, vos exorcisamus atque imperamus,* • *per eum qui dixit et factum est,* • *per omnia nomina ipsius,* • *et per nomen Y et V et*

E, quod Moyses audiuit et locutus est, • *per nomen Genery, et in nomine Genery, quod Noe audiuit et locutus est, cum viija familia de linea sua,* • *et per nomen Y et V et E et X, et in nomine V et X,* [m] *quod Abraham audiuit et cognouit omnipotentem deum,* • *et per nomen Joth, et in nomine Joth, quod audiuit Jacob ab angelo secum comitante, et liberatus est de manu fratris sui Esav,* • *et per nomen Eyzaserie, et in nomine Eyzaserie, quod Moyses in monte audiuit, et meruit quod nunc est cum deo, et audire ipsum cum flamma loquentem,* [n]

- *et per nomen* [o] *Anathematon, et in nomine Anathematon, quod Aron audiuit, et eloquens et sapiens* [63v] *factus est,* • *et per nomen Sabaoth, et in nomine Sabaoth, quod Moyses audiuit et inde nominauit, et omnes aque egredi de terra ceperunt palidum,* [p] *et verse sunt in sangwinem, et putruerunt,* [q]
- *et per nomen Oristion, et in nomine Oristion, quod Moyses nominauit, et fluuij omnes ebulierunt ranas,* [r] *et absconderunt in domibus Egyptorum,* • *et per nomen Eloy, et in nomine Eloy, quod Moyses audiuit, percuciens puluerem terre, et factus est cinifes in hominibus et iumentis,* [s]
- *et per nomen Artifontite, et in nomine Artifontite, quod Moyses nominauit, et omne genus muscarum misit in Egyptum, et inter* [t] *Egyptios,* • *et per nomen Yephaton, et in nomine Yephaton, quod Moyses audiuit, et quod Moyses nominauit, percuciens terram, et grauis pestis percussit equos, asynos, et camelos, oues et boues interierunt,* • *et per nomen Arbitrios, quod Moyses nominauit, et tulit cinerem de cymiterio, et desparsit in celum, et facta sunt wlnera visicarum vrgentium in hominibus et iumentis, et in omni terra Egyptorum,* • *et per nomen Elyon, et in nomine Elyon, quod Moyses nominauit, et* [*facta est*] *grando talis qualis non fuerat ab inicio mundi, vsque ad presens tempus, ita quod homines et iumenta que erant in agris ceciderunt et interierunt,* • *et per nomen Adonay, et in nomine Adonay, quod Moyses voluit, et facte sunt locuste et apparuerunt super omnem terram, et quidquid residuum grandis erat* [64r] *deuorauerunt,* • *et per nomen Pantheon, et in nomine Pantheon, quod Moyses nominauit, et facte sunt vmbre horribiles tribus diebus et tribus noctibus,* • *et per nomen Arimon, et in nomine Arimon, quod Moyses media nocte nominauit, et omnia primogenita Egypti perierunt et mortua fuerunt,*

- *et per nomen Geremon, et in nomine Geremon, quod Moyses nominauit et totum Ysraheliticum populum in captiuitate* [u] *liberauit,*
- *et per nomen Yegeron, et in nomine Yegeron, quod mare audiuit, et diuisum est,*
- *et per nomen Ysiston, et in nomine Ysiston, quod mare audiuit et submersit omnes currus pharaonis,*
- *et per nomen On, et in nomine On, quod petre audiuerunt, et innumerabiles emanuerunt,*
- *et per nomen Anabona, et in nomine Anabona, quod Moyses in monte Synay audiuit, et meruit tabulas manu* [v] *saluatoris scriptas accipere,*
- *et per nomen Egyryon, et in nomine Egyryon, cum quo Yosue pugnauit et inimicos destruxit suos et victoriam obtinuit,*
- *et per nomen Patheon, et in nomine Patheon, vt* [w] *sanctus Dauid nominauit et liberatus est de manu Golye,*
- *et per nomen Eya, et in nomine Eya, quod Salomon audiuit et Gabaon et meruit in sompnis postulare et inpetrare sanctam sapienciam,*
- *et* [64v] *per nomen Pancraton, et in nomine Pancraton, quod Elyas orauit quod non plueret, et non pluit tribus annis et mensibus sex,*
- *et per nomen Symayon, et in nomine Symayon, quod Elyas orauit et celum dedit pluuiam, et terra dedit fructum suum,*
- *et per nomen Eloy, et in nomine Eloy, quod Elyseus nominauit et Esunamitis filium liberauit,*
- *et per nomen Athanatos, et in nomine Athanatos, quod Yeremias nominauit et preteri*[*i*]*t captiuitatem Jerusalem ciuitatis,*
- *et per nomen Alpha et O, et in nomine Alpha et O, quod Daniel nominauit, et per illud Bel destruxit et draconem interfecit,*
- *et per nomen Emanuel, et in nomine Emanuel, quod tres pueri in camino ignis ardentis* [x] *nominauerunt, et per hoc illesi exierunt et liberati,*
- *et per hec nomina et omnia alia nomina omnipotentis dei viui et veri, qui vos de excelso throno primum* [y] *de vestra culpa eiecit et vsque ad abissum locum vos proiecit.*

Exorcizamus [z] *atque viriliter imperamus,*

- *per eum qui dixit et factum est, cui obediunt omnes creature,*
- *et per tremendum diem iudicij dei summi,*
- *et per igneam deuoracionem,*
- *et per mare vitreum* [a] [cf. Apoc. 4:6] *quod est ante conspectum diuine magestatis,* [b]
- *et per 4or animalia contra sedem diuine magestatis gaudencia (uel gradiencia), oculos ante et retro ha-* [65r] *bencia* [cf. Apoc. 4:6–8],
- *et per sanctam trinitatem, que* [c] *est verus deus vnus,*
- *et* [d] *per nonaginta nouem nomina que dicunt filie Israel,* [e]
- *et per ineffabilem ipsius creatoris virtutem et omnipotenciam,*
- *et per* [f] *xxiiijor seniores ante* [g] *thronum circumstantes,*
- *et per angelos celorum, potestates et dominaciones, que sub eo creatore nominantur,*
- *et per summam sapienciam,*
- *et per anulum Salomonis* [*et*] *sigillum,*
- *et per sacratissimum nomen illius, quod omne seculum timet, quod scribitur 4or literis,* [h] *HV, V, et V, HV, AGLA,*
- *et per ix celestes candarias,*
- *et per earum virtutes,*

[*A*] *quatenus hodierno die vsque ad talem terminum rei michi integre*

custodiatis; [i] [B] *quatenus thesaurum istum quem huc vsque custoditis penitus michi relinquatis, sine aliqua diminucione, ita quod faciatis quod a nullo* [j] *valeat seperari;* [C] *et iam in hac hora veniatis* [k] *et debeatis michi respondere, de re et de rebus integre* [l] *de quibus vobis interrogauero veritatem dicere.* [m]

Item, si invenires spiritum vel spiritus rebelles uel contrariantes, sic dices:

Per nomen Pneumaton, et in nomine Pneumaton, quod Moyses nominauit et absorpti fuerunt a cauernis terre, Dath, An, et Abyron, et virtute illius sacratissimi nominis dei Pneumaton, maledicimus vos in profundum abyssi; vsque ad vltimum diem iudicij ponimus vos atque religamus, nisi precepto meo [n] *obediatis et desiderium meum duxeritis ad effectum.*

a *MS* quod.
b *Added in upper margin:* Nota: 47 versus sunt in isto psalmo.
c *Perhaps a reference to Thoth?*
d Sic *in MS.*
e *Followed in MS by* et per baptismum quod recepi in fonte a sacerdote meo, vt obediatis michi, *whether by way of pleonasm or as a correction.*
f *Followed in MS by* uel *(?).*
g *MS* pendens.
h *Followed in MS by extraneous* de *(?), deleted.*
i *Followed in MS by* virtute, *deleted.*
j Sic *in MS.*
k Sic *in MS. Perhaps* Eruct[u]amus sapientissimum verbum *(Ps. 18:3 Vulg.) is intended, which would explain the neuter* quod.
l *MS* ledendum.
m Sic *in MS.*
n Sic *in MS.*
o *MS* votum.
p Sic *in MS – evidently an echo of the biblical* paludes, *which would fit equally little into the present context.*
q *Cf. Ex. 7:17–21.*
r *Cf. Ex. 8:3.*
s *Cf. Ex. 8:17.*
t *Followed in MS by* in, *deleted.*
u *MS* captificate.
v *MS* manus.
w Sic *in MS.*
x *MS* ardenter.

y Sic *in MS.*
z *MS* Exorcistamus.
a *MS* viacum.
b *Followed by* gaudencia uel gradiencia, *deleted*.
c *MS* qui.
d *Added above the line*.
e *MS* Israeli.
f *Followed by* ignem ar, *deleted*.
g *Added in margin*.
h *Followed by a blot, or by* scilicet *(?)*.
i Sic *in MS.*
j *Meaning* a me nunquam?
k Sic *in MS?*
l Sic *in MS?*
m *Alternative C added in margin*.
n Sic *in MS?*

No. 34. List of demons (fols 65v–65r bis)

Barbarus [est] magnus comes et dux, et apparet in signo Sagitarij siluestris cum 4or regibus ferentibus tubas. Intellectus autem cum latratus canum inimicus boum et omnium animalium. [a] Loca thesauriorum facit aperiri que non custodiunt[ur] a magicis et a cantacionibus. Et est de ordine virtutum, et habet sub se xxxvj legiones.

Cason magnus dux est et fortis, et a[p]paret in similitudine senaphali. Dat ad plenitudinem vera responsiua [b] de presentibus, preteritis, et futuris, et occultis. [c] Dat graciam amicorum et inimicorum. Dat dignitates et confirmat. Habet sub se xlv legiones.

Otius magnus preses et comes [est], et apparet in signo Vipere, et habet deterrimam hominis speciem, sed cum suscipit formam humanam habet dentes magnos et tria cornua. In manu portat gladium acutum. Dat ad plenitudinem vera responsiua [d] de presentibus et futuris et occultis rebus. Dat graciam amicorum et inimicorum. Habet sub se xxxvj legiones.

Cvrson magnus rex est et fortis, et apparet in similitudine hominis. Facies leonina coronatus est dyademate. In manu fere[n]s [e] viperam fortissimam, equitat super [66r] dorsum feruentissimum, et ante ipsum semper precedunt tube. [f] Bene scit presencia, preterita, et futura [et] occulta pandere. Loca thesaurorum ostendit et aperiri [g] facit. [h] Libenter suscipit corpus humanum et aereum, et dat vera responsa de diuinis et occultis rebus, de deitate et mundi creacione. Dat optimos familiares. Habet sub se xxij legiones, partim de ordine virtutum et partim de ordine thronorum. [i]

Alugor magnus [j] dux est. Apparet in similitudine militis pulcherrimi, ferens lanceam, vexillum, et sceptrum. Ad plenitudinem dat vera responsa de occultis rebus et de duellis, quarum [k] fieri debeant et quarum [l] aduentura sunt. Dat eciam milites in occursum, et dat graciam omnium regum, marchionum, et omnium militum. Habet sub se l [m] legiones.

Taob magnus est et princeps. Apparet in signo medici cum suscipit figuram humanam; [est] doctor opti[m]us mulierum, et facit ardere in amorem virorum. Si sibi iussum fuerit, facit eas transmutari in aliam formam, quousque veneri[n]t coram dilectis; finis [n] facit eas steriles. Habet sub se 25 [o] legiones, *etc.*

[66v] Volach magnus preses est. Apparet [in forma] pueri, et habet alas ad modum angeli. Equitat super draconem. Duo habet capita. Dat ad plenitudinem vera responsa de occultis thesauris, in quibus [locis] videntur et apparent. Serpentes et absque illis custodibus [p] posse omnium serpentum tradit in manus exorciste. Habet sub se xxvij legiones.

Gaeneron dux est fortis et potens, et apparet in similitudine pulcherrime mulieris. Ductili coronatur coria. [q] Equitat super camelum. Dat ad plenitudinem vera responsiua de presentibus, preteritis, et futuris, et de occultis thesauris, in quibus locis videntur et apparent. Dat optime amorem mulierum, et precipue puellarum. Habet sub se xxvij legiones.

Tvueries marchio magnus et fortis [est], regnans et imperans in Afforanis [r] partibus. Docet ad plenitudinem gramaticam, loycam, rethoricam, ac dictata, [s] et facit loca thesaurorum aperiri, [t] et occulta ostendi [u] facit. Eciam hominem velocissimo cursu mare et flumina transire uel transmeare [facit]. In specie militis apparet. Equitat super equum nigerrimum et superbitatem. [v] Habet sub se xxx legiones.

Hanni preses magnus [est], et apparet in flamma ignea, sed cum suscipit formam humanam [65r bis] [w] mirabilem reddit hominem abilem in astronomia et [x] in aliis artibus liberalibus. Dat optimos familiares et graciam magnatum et principum, et loca thesaurorum que a spiritibus custodiunt[ur] mirabiliter ostendit. Habet sub se xxx legiones.

Svcax magnus marchio est, et apparet in similitudine hominis. Wltum habet femineum. Videtur beniuolus. Multum mirabiliter dat amorem mulierum, et maxime omnium viduarum. Dat ad plenitudinem omnia genera li[n]gwarum. Facit hominem transire de regione in regionem velocissimo cursu. Habet sub se 23 legiones.

a Sic *in MS*.
b Sic *in MS*.
c *MS* occulte, *perhaps intended to modify* dat, *but more plausibly construed as parallel to the preceding substantives, as in the following paragraph*.
d Sic *in MS*.
e *Or perhaps meaning* fert.
f Sic *in MS*.
g *MS* apperui, *but either* aperiri *or* apparere *is presumably intended*.
h *MS has extraneous vertical line between* c *and* i.
i *MS* throni.
j *Followed by a blot*.
k *Meaning* quando *or* quomodo?
l *Meaning* quomodo?
m Sic *in MS?*
n *Meaning* si vis?
o *Duplicated in margin*.
p Sic *in MS*.
q *Meaning* ducali coronatur corona?
r *Meaning* Africanis?
s *MS* dictate.
t *MS* apperire.
u *MS* ostendere, *followed by a blot*.
v *Meaning* superbum?
w *Fol. 65 bis occurs between fols. 66 and 67*.
x et *duplicated*.

No. 35. For obtaining a woman's love (fols 65r bis–67v)

Incipiunt experimenta bona [a] et probata et verissima, primo de modo scribendi [b] Bel et Ebal.

Nota: in feria quinta, nouis vestibus indutus et balneatus, in crepusculo, scribe in costam nomen tuum et mulieris, Bel et Ebal – Bel in principio, et in medio nomen tuum et nomen mulieris, in fine Ebal – et pone ad ignem et fac cremari costam, et quando est in maximo calore uel furore lege coniuracionem que sequitur, et consequeris desideratum:

[65v bis] *Coniuro vos spiritus infernales Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in ista costa scripta sunt et in igne ardescunt,*

- *per omnes virtutes celorum et terre,*
- *per thronos, principatus et potestates, et dominaciones,*
- *per cherubin et seraphin,*
- *et per omnia que sub celo sunt,*

vt nunquam requiem habeatis, quin [c] *cor eius in amore mei ita ardere faciatis vt nunquam dormire, comedere nec bibere, nec ire nec stare, nec flere nec ridere, nec aliquod opus perficiat, quin cordis mei desiderium*

prius adimpleat. Item coniuro vos, Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in [d] *igne ardescunt,*

- *per dominum omnipotentem,*
- *et per Ihesum Christum filium eius,*
- *et per Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *et per virtutem sancti dei,*
- *et per ipsam prouidenciam dei,*
- *et per terram, mare, et profundum abissi,*
- *et per clemenciam* [*dei*],
- *et per visionem dei,*
- *per noctem et tenebras,*
- *et per tremendum diem iudicij,*

vt nunquam requiem habeatis quin cor [e] *eius in amore mei ita ardere faciatis vt nunquam dormire, comedere nec bibere, ire nec stare nec iacere, nec flere nec ridere, nec aliquod opus perficere valeat, quin cordis mei desiderium penitus adimpleat.* [f] *Item coniuro vos, Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in igne ardescunt,*

- *per deum* [67r] *verum, per deum viuum, per deum sanctum, qui vos et cuncta creauit, qui Adam et Euam de limo creauit, qui fecit angelos suos spiritus* [Ps. 103:4 Vulg.], *qui scit presencia, preterita, et futura, qui habet claues celi,* [*qui*] *claudit et aperit,* [*qui*] *claudit et nemo aperit* [Apoc. 3:7],
- *per eum qui fuit mortuus et resurrexit, qui est principium et finis, Alpha et O, primus et nouissimus* [cf. Apoc. 21:6, 22:13],

vt nunquam, etc. Coniuro vos, O Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in igne ardescunt,

- *per hec sancta nomina dei: Ely, Eloy, Eleon, Tetragramaton, Tupanoel, Fabanoel, Sabaoth, Sathay, Adonay.*

Coniuro vos

- *per virtutem qua dominus noster Ihesus Christus ianuis clausis ad dissipulos suos intrauit.*

Coniuro vos, Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in igne ardescunt,

- *per spineam coronam quam dominus noster Ihesus Christus in capite sustinuit,*
- *et per fixuram clauorum qui pias manus et pedes transfixerunt,*
- *et per sangwinem et aquam de latere fluentem,*
- *et per lacrimas beate virginis Marie,*
- *et per mortem et sepulturam Christi,*
- *per resurreccionem et ascensionem Christi,*

vt nunquam requiem habeatis, quin cor mulieris in amore ita ardere faciatis quod nunquam dormire, comedere nec bibere, nec stare nec sedere, [*nec flere*] *nec ridere, nec aliquod opus perficere valeat, quin cordis mei desiderium* [67v] *penitus adimpleat, et quod illud nullatenus obmittat.* [g] *Hoc* [h] *precipio vobis, per eum qui viuit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen. Amen. Amen. Etc.*

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a *These three words occur twice, the first time as a heading.*
b *Followed by a blank space.*
c *MS* quoniam.
d *Followed by* ige.
e *MS* corus.
f *MS* adimpleatis.
g *MS* obmittatis.
h *Or* hec.

No. 36. Generic preparation for conjuring spirits (fols 67v–68v)

De responsione spirituum. [a]

Cum magister voluerit vocare spiritus, vadat ad locum [b] secretum cum duobis sociis, et [c] habeat cultellum cum manubrio albo uel nigro, in cuius lamina hec nomina ex utraque parte sunt scripta: Agla [et] Sabaoth. Et faciat [d] cum eodem cultello exteriorem circulum, [e] dicendo, *Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei Patris omnipotentis, qui solo verbo vniuersa creauit.* Et in eodem circulo scribat cum cultello prelibato hec nomina: contra orientem, Agla; contra occidentem, Tetragramaton; contra septentrionem, Adonay; contra meridiem, Sabaoth. Deinde faciat secundum circulum, dicendo, *Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei viui, qui humanum genus humano sangwine redemit.* Tercium vero circulum faciat dicendo, *Hunc circulum facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracliti, qui* [f] *apostolorum et prophetarum corda*

sua gracia illustrauit. Post hec faciet crucem per omnes circulos, [dicens], *Per hoc signum sancte crucis gracia dei defendat nos ab omni malo.* Tunc accipe turribulum, inposito thure [g] et mirra, [et] circuas [h] ex- [68r] teriora circuli, [i] dicens, *Hanc fumigacionem facio in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.* Et post hec, [j] stans contra orientem extra circulum, [k] dicat vij psalmos cum letania, [l] deuote et humiliter, et has oraciones:

> *Adiuro [m] te, rex regum et dominus dominancium, eterne et incommutabilis deus, [n] intellige clamorem meum nunc et spiritus mei gemitumque cordis mei, [o] vt respirem [p] in te saluatorem meum. Da [q] michi intellectum sanctum et bonum, et aufer a me quod malum est; et commutans me in omnem dileccionem tuam qua formasti me et saluasti, tribuas [r] incrementum michi. Exaudi, domine, precem meam qua clamaui ad te, et exaudi me. Reuela et illumina oculos mentis mee et carnis, vt considerem et intelligam mirabilia tua. Viuifica me in iustificacionibus tuis, vt preualeam in conspectu aduersariorum [s] meorum et dyaboli.* [t]

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a *Line duplicated in margin of MS.*
b *MS* locrum.
c *MS* aut.
d *MS* faciendo.
e *Figure at top of fol. 68v: a triple circular band, with* Sabaoth *and* meridies *marked just outside at the top,* occidens *and* Tetragramaton *at the right,* septentrion [sic] *and* Adonay *at the bottom,* oriens *and* Agla *at the left. The outermost circle bears the inscription,* ✠ Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei Patris omnipotentis, qui solo verbo vniuersa creauit. *The middle circle has the inscription,* ✠ Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei viui qui humanum genus humano sangwine redemit. *The innermost contains the inscription,* ✠ Hunc circulum facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracliti, qui [*MS* quia] apostolorum et prophetarum corda sua gracia illustrauit. *In the upper left, a further inscription begins in the outer circle and ends in the middle one:* Per hoc signum sancte crucis gracia dei defendat nos ab omni malo. *The interior is left blank.*
f *MS* quia.
g *MS* thus.
h *MS* circuat.
i *MS* circulum.
j *Or* hoc.
k *Followed by* in, *deleted.*
l *Followed by* et.
m *Redundant* a *struck through.*
n *Followed by* dominus, *deleted.*
o Sic *in MS.*
p Sic *in MS.*

q *MS* dat.
r *Followed by* in- *(?), deleted.*
s *Followed by* et.
t *Followed by a blank space left for the title of the following material, and by this fragment (evidently in the same hand, but less careful than usual):* Aloe epacium quando im aracum *(?)* pliwis wirnies *(?).*

No. 37. Manual of astral magic (fols 68v–96v)

37a. Conjurations for each day of the week

Incipiunt coniuraciones dierum super composicionem sacrificiorum, quod fiet quando debuerit aliquid operare [a] antequam illud incipiat. Coniura ergo cum alia coniuracione sequentium dierum quibus operabis, et scribenda fuerint. Scribe ea die suo.

Coniuracio diei dominici sequitur, *etc.*

[1.] [69r] Coniuracio diei solis. [b]

Coniuro et confirmo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti,

- ✠ *In nomine Adonay, Adonay, Eye, Eye, Eyu, qui est ille qui fuit, est, et erit, Eye, Aloraye,*
- *in nomine Sadaye, Saday, Cados, Cados, Cados, altus, super cherubin sedens,*
- *et per nomen ipsius magni, sancti, fortis, potentis, et exaltati, super omnes celos, Eye, Saraye, Plasmatoris seculorum, qui creauit mundum, celum, et terram, mare, et omnia que in eis sunt in primo die celorum, et sigillauit super eos cum nomine sancto suo,* [c] *Yhon, super terram que sigilla terra est, honorato, precioso nomine suo Yhaa,*
- *et per nomina sanctorum angelorum qui dominantur in primo exercitu et seruiunt coram potentissimo Salamia, angelo magno et honorato,*
- *et per nomen stelle que est Sol,*
- *et per signum inmensissimum dei viui et quod omnia per predicta.* [d]

Coniuro

- *super Raphael angelum* [e] *qui est prepositus diei dominici,* [f]
- *et per nomen Adonay, dei Israel, qui creauit mundum et quicquid est in eo,*

quod pro me labores et adimpleas omnem voluntatem meam et peticionem iuxta meum velle et votum in negocio et causa mea.

Dicas autem secundum quod tibi videbitur.

[2.] Coniuracio diei lune. [g]

[69v] *Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti,*

- *in nomine Adonay, Adonay, Adonay, Eye, Eye, Eye, Cados, Cados, Cados, Hatyn, Hatyn,* [h] *Hatyn, Va, Va, fortis, Va, qui apparuit* [i] *in monte Synay cum glorificacione regni sui, Ya, Adonay, Saday, Sabaoth, Hanath, Hu, Haxi, Ya, Ya, Ya, Marmalita, Abym, Yea, qui maria creauit, stagna, et omnes aquas in secunda die, quosdam in celis,* [j] *quosdam in terra, et sigillauit mare cum virtute sua et alto nomine suo vt terminum quem sibi posuit non preterierent* [Ps. 103:9 Vulg.],
- *et per nomina angelorum qui dominantur in secundo exercitu, qui seruiunt Oraphaniely, angelo magno, precioso, et honorato,* [k]
- *et per nomen stelle que est Luna,*
- *et per sigilla et per nomina predicta.* [l]

Coniuro super te Gabriel, qui est prepositus diei secundo, scilicet Lune, quod pro me labores et adimpleas omnem meam peticionem. Amen.

[3.] Coniuracio diei Martis. [m]

Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti,

- *per nomen Ya, Ya, Ya, A, A, Va, Hy, Hy, Haa, Haai, Va, Va, Han, Han, Hon, Hy, Hyen, Haya, Haya, Hol, Hol, Hay, Hael, Hon,*
- *per nomina* [n] *domini Adonay, Haya, Hol, Plasmatori seculorum, Cados, Cados, Cados,* [70r] *Ebel, El, Ya, Ya, Ya, Eloy, Arar, Eloym, Eloym,*
- *et per nomen ipsius alti dei qui fecit aridam apparere et vocauit eam terram et produxit arbores et herbas de ea, et sigillauit super eam precioso et honorato* [*et*] *metuendo nomine suo,*
- *et per nomina angelorum dominancium exercitui tertio et ministrando Acynerim, angelo magno, forti, potenti, et honorato,*
- *et per nomen stelle que est* [o] *Mars,*
- *et per nomen Adonay, dei viui et veri.*

Coniuro super te, Samael, angelo qui est [p] *prepositus diei tercio, scilicet Marti, quod pro me laboretis et adimpleatis omnem meam voluntatem et totam meam peticionem, vt sicut in primo capitulo, etc., etc.*

[4.] Coniuracio diei Mercurij. [q]

Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti et potentes,

- *in nomine fortis, metuendi, et benedicendi, Ya, Adonay, Eleoym, Saday, Saday, Saday, Eye, Eye, Eye, Asaame, Asaomie, Asamye,*
- *in nomine domini Adonay, cum quo super verba hominum sigillauit Saa, quid, Sayguans,* [r] *Capym, Say, Saaqui,*
- *et per nomina* [s] *Cryasy, Adonay, Taguaasas, Adonay, dei Israel, quia ipse est* [t] *[qui creauit] diem et noctem,*
- *et per nomina omnium* [u] *angelorum seruiencium* [70v] *exercitui 4o, quorum Thytagora, angelo maiori, forti atque potenti,* [v]
- *et per nomen stelle que est Mercurius,*
- *et per nomen sigilli cum quo sigillatur Adon, fortissimo et honorato,* [w]
- *et per omnia predicta.*

Coniuro super te, angele magne Michahel, qui es prepositus diei 4o,

- *et per nomen sanctum quod in fronte Aaron sacerdotis altissimi creatoris* [x] *erat,*
- *et per nomina angelorum qui in gracia confirmati sunt creatoris,*
- *et per nouem sedes animalium habencium seuas* [y] *et alas,*

vt pro me laboretis in [*causa*] *mea, vt cicius ducatur ad effectum optatum, etc.*

[5.] Coniuracio diei Veneris. [z]

Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti atque potentes,

- *in nomine Hay, Hey, Hea, Ya, A, Ya, Ya, Ananey,*
- *in nomine Saday, qui creauit quadrupedia et animalia reptilia et hominem in sexto die, et dedit Ade potestatem super omnia animalia – inde benedictus sit nomen creatoris in loco suo,*
- *et per nomen angelorum qui seruiunt exercitui sexto coram Daghyel, angelo magno principi, forte* [a] *atque potenti,*
- *et per nomen stelle que* [b] *est Venus,*
- *et per sigillum eius, quod quoddam sigillum est sacratum,*
- *et per omnia predicta.*

Coniuro super te, angele magne Anael, qui es prepositus diei sexto, vt pro me labores, vt supra.

[6.] [71r] Coniuracio diei Jouis. [c]

Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti atque potentes,

- *per nomen Cados, Cados, Cados, Eseraye,* [d] *Esoraye, Eseraye, Hatym, Va, fortis firmatoris seculorum, Catiney, Yaheiz, Yaruc, Yarac, Calloac, Allae, Assaf, Maataf, Barifay, Abnaym,*

- *et per nomen Adonay, qui creauit* [e] *pisces et reptilia in aquis et aues volantes super faciem terre versus celos die quinto,*
- *et per nomina angelorum seruiencium exercitui quinto, pastore angelo magno sancto et potenti principi,*
- *et per nomen stelle que* [f] *est Jupiter,*
- *et per nomen sigilli sui,*
- *et per nomen Adonay, supremi diei omnium creatoris,* [g]
- *et per nomina omnium stellarum, et per vim et virtutem eorum,*
- *et per nomina predicta.*

Coniuro super te, Satquiel, angele magne qui est [h] *prepositus diei Jouis, quod pro me labores vt meus affectus ad effectum deueniat.* [i]

[7.] Coniuracio diei Saturni. [j]

Coniuro et confirmo et presciendo [k] *super vos, Captiel, Matatori, Sartaquidi, angeli fortes et potentes,*

- *per nomen Adonay, Adonay, Eye, Ey, E, Eye, Hacyn, Hacyn, Hacyn, Cados, Cados, Cados, Yma, Yma, Yma, Saday, Ya, Sar, domini formatoris seculorum,* [*qui*] *die septimo quieuit, et illam in beneplacito suo filiis Israel in hereditatem* [71v] *et obsequium dedit, vt eum firmiter seruarent et custodirent et sanctificarent ad habenda inde bona et in alio seculo remuneraciones, et nomina angelorum seruiencium exercitui septimo coram Boel, angelo magno, potenti principi,*
- *et per nomen stelle que* [l] *est Saturnus,*
- *et per sanctum* [m] *sigillum eius,*
- *et per omnia predicta.*

Coniuro Captiel, qui prepositus es [n] *diei septimo, qui est* [o] *dies sabbati, vt pro me labores* [p] *et non desistas* [q] *donec totum affectum ad effectum perducas. Amen.*

37b. Seals for seven angels

Sequitur videre et scire septem sigilla que [a] signanda sunt in quolibet opere secundum diem septimane.

Hec sunt sigilla vij planetarum discurrencium vij celos, secundum quod dixerunt vij physici sapientes, quotquod opus facies, quod si non scies non complebitur sine signis istis sequentibus, quoniam quelibet dies suum sigillum et suam [b] planetam et suos angelos et suum regem spirituum cum adiutoriis suis et sua[s] creatura[s] et suffumigium suum, secundum quod inferius tibi dicetur, et quando feceris hec, [c] scias quod perfectum ipsum fuisse et magnum qui hunc librum composuit. Et scias quod quidquid quesieris perficietur, [d] et virtute dei, cuius nomen sit benedictum per infinita

secula seculorum, amen.

[1.] [72r] Ecce sigillum Raphahelis, angeli cuius stella est Sol. Fac illud die Solis in signo Leonis. [e]

[2.] Ecce sigillum Gabrielis, angeli cuius stella est Luna. Fac illud die Lune, hora Lune, in signo Cancri, *etc.* [f]

[3.] Ecce sigillum Samaelis, angeli cuius stella est Mars. Fac illa die Martis, hora Martis, in signo Arietis uel Scorpionis. [g]

[4.] Ecce sigillum Michahelis, angeli cuius stella est Mercurius. Fac illa die Mercurij et hora Mercurij, in signo Capricorni uel Gemini uel Virginis. [h]

[5.] Ecce sigillum Satquielis, angeli cuius stella est Jupiter. Fac illa die Jouis, et hora Jouis, signo Sagittarij et Pissis, *etc.* [i]

[6.] [72v] Ecce sigillum Anaelis, angeli cuius stella est Venus. Fac illa die Veneris, hora Veneris, in signo Thauri et Libre, *etc.* [j]

[7.] Ecce sigillum Caffrielis, [k] angeli cuius stella est Saturnus. Fac illa die Sabbati, hora Saturni, in signo Capricorni et Aquarij. [l]

37c. Seals for days of the week

[1.] Ecce sigillum diei dominici, quod fieri debet Sole ascendente. [a]

[73r] Ecce signum Solis, quod [b] est planeta die[i] dominice. [c]

[2.] Ecce sigillum Lune, quod fieri debet Luna ascendente. [d]

Ecce signum Lune, quod est planeta diei Lune. [e]

[3.] Sigillum diei Martis, quod debet fieri Marte ascendente. [f]

[73v] Signum die[i] Martis, quod est planeta diei Martis. [g]

[4.] Sigillum Mercurij debet fieri Mercurio ascendente. [h]

Signum Mercurij, quod est planeta Mercurij diei. [i]

[5.] Sigillum Jouis, quod fieri debet Joue ascendente. [j]

[74r] Signum Jouis, quod est planeta diei Jouis. [k]

[6.] Sigillum Veneris, quod debet fieri Venere ascendente. [l]

Signum Veneris, quod est planeta diei Veneris. [m]

[7.] Sigillum Saturni, quod debet fieri Saturno ascendente. [n]

[74v] Note de signis vij planetarum, id est septem dierum. Conpleta signa vij dierum ebdomade super planetis et signis eorum. Caue igitur in illis tibi, quia [o] maxima virtus est in eis, quare quia in eis complebuntur opera tua.

37d. Names of the angels who rule over the days of

the week

Nomina angelorum regnancium a diebus septimane sunt dicenda, et sequitur que opera habet [a] nominare in operibus septimane.

[1.] Angelus diei dominici est Raphahel.

[2.] Angelus diei Lune est Gabriel. [b]

[3.] Angelus diei Martis est Samael.

[4.] Angelus diei Mercurij est Michael.

[5.] Angelus diei Jouis [75r] est Satquiel.

[6.] Angelus diei Veneris est Anael.

[7.] Angelus diei Saturni, id est Sabbati, est Captiel. [c]

In isto igitur opere nominabis angelum diei in quo facies opus tuum, et scribe illa, quare [d] si fuerint scripta multum iuuabunt te cum potencia creatoris.

37e. Spirits who rule over the days of the week

Regum spirituum vij diebus in septimana regnancium nomina subscribentur super eos angelos dominantes diei quando facies opus et sic venient et complebunt voluntatem tuam et respondebunt tibi in omnibus que quesieris. [a]

[1.] Die ergo dominico regnat et seruit rex Saytam. Coadiutores sui sunt [b] Taatus, Candas, Vanibal.

[2.] Et die Lune regnat et seruit rex Almodab. Coadiutores sui sunt Sylol, Millalu, Abuzaba.

[3.] Die Martis regnat et seruit rex filius dyabuli. [c] Coadiutores sunt Carmath, Utanaual, Pascami.

[4.] Die Mercurij regnat et seruit rex Saba. Coadiutores sui sunt [d] Conas, Pactas, Sanbras.

[5.] Die Jouis regnat et seruit rex Madrath, filius Arath. Coadiutores sui sunt Hyrti uel Hyiti, Ignaro, [e] Quiron, Saalalebeth.

[6.] Die Veneris [75v] regnat rex et seruit Saabotes. Coadiutores sui sunt Nassath, Ynasa.

[7.] Die Saturni regnat Hayton, Assayby. Coadiutores sui sunt Abimalyb et Haybalydoth et Yfla.

Conpleta sunt nomina regum spirituum regnancium et seruiencium septem diebus septimane.

37f. Suffumigations for each day of the week

Quilibet enim dies septimane habet suffumigium sibi appropriatum, cum quo suffumigabis [a] opus tuum quod facies in ea, et complebitur opus tuum sine dubio.

[1.] Suffumigium dies dominice assandalum croceum vel rubeum uel simile sibi.

[2.] Die Lune est aloes, anacap, uel simile sibi.

[3.] Die Martis est piper aut abana, cyg [b] uel sibi simile.

[4.] Die Mercurij est altast aut ei simile.

[5.] Die Jouis est olibanum aut croceum uel ei simile.

[6.] Die Veneris est almastic aut lignum radim uel ei simile.

[7.] Die Saturni est assandaron et sulphur aut ei simile.

Et si in die Saturni operare volueris ad ligandas lignas, [c] erit suffumigium thus Odee Capre. [d] Hec [e] sunt suffumigia dierum septimane.

37g. Purposes served in each day of the week

[1.] In die dominico operari poteris ad ligandas li[n]gwas aut ad alias ligaciones hominum.

[2.] Die Lune operandum est ad beniuolenciam et ad concordiam et amiciciam.

[3.] Die Martis [76r] operandum est ad infirmandum homines et destruendum.

[4.] Die Mercurij operandum est ad ponendum inimiciciam siue odium inter homines.

[5.] Die Jouis operandum est ad faciendum pacem inter homines discordantes.

[6.] Die Veneris operandum est ad coniu[n]gendum homines in amicicia uel prouocandos de loco ad locum ad beniuolenciam.

[7.] Die Saturni operari poteris ad ligandum [a] interiora [b] balnea, molendina, aut similia. [c]

Dictum est de operibus dierum septimane in qua operandum est.

Quacumque die septimane operari volueris ad beniuolenciam aut quo[d]libet bonum uel malum, attende diligenter quod illa sit operi faciendo conueniens, [d] nec dimittas opus tuum de die in diem uel differas, quare si illud opus non confirmaretur uel non duceretur ad effectum forsitan

putaret[ur] illud esse falsum.

37h. Angels serving on each day of the week

Sciendum quod qualibet [a] die septimane presunt tres angeli ad seruiendum homini et opera eius perficienda.

[1.] Diei dominico presunt tres angeli, scilicet Raphahel, Dardiel et [b] Vrlacafel.

[2.] Die Lune presunt [c] hij: Gab[ri]el, Michael, Sammyel.

[3.] Diei Martis presunt hij, scilicet Satyel, Sanyel, Barma- [76v] ly.

[4.] Diei Mercurij presunt hij, scilicet Gemi, Sabael, Sarpiel, Muriel.

[5.] Diei Jouis presunt hij, scilicet Pacta, Castiel, Assassael.

[6.] Diei Veneris presunt hij, scilicet Anael, Sarquiel, Sacquiel.

[7.] Diei Saturni presunt hij, scilicet Captiel, Mataton, Sartquiel, id est Satraquel.

In omni opere quod facies, invocabis angelos illius die[i] quo operari volueris, et ipsi tuam complebunt voluntatem et ducent ad effectum opus tuum.

37i. Names of God

Sequuntur consequenter nomina que scribere habent in principio cuiuslibet operis quod facies ei et respondebunt voluntati tue. Et sunt ex nominibus creatoris. Ista ergo nomina cum nominari volueris invocanda sunt, scilicet Anguas, Yna, Dei Israel, Ybae, [a] Subae, Guabas, Ynissamon, Haa, Dosa, Barian. In omnia alia karta quam scribes opus hoc vt scribat in ea vbi sit alique ex materia carte quod si fuerit de amicicia et si fuerit de inimicicia et si ad medicinam similiter sic obseruet[ur] in omnibus. [b]

37j. Names of the hours of the day, and their functions

Scribere nos oportet nomina horarum [a] diei quibus horis perficientur opera que facies.

[1.] [77r] Prima ergo diei hora dicitur Yayn. In hac hora facienda est carta ad destruendas voces hominum et mala verba eorum et lingwas

ligandas.

[2.] Secunda enim hora diei dicitur Yan, Or, et in ea operaberis ad amiciciam et graciam et beneficium obtinendum et ad societatem hominum aduittandum [b] ad reges et ad potentes.

[3.] Tercia vero hora diei dicitur Nassura. In ea facias cartam uel ymagines ad venerandum [c] feras vel aues, siue ad inplicandum pisces, uel aliquod quodlibet nascencia perhibenda. [d]

[4.] Quarta hora diei dicitur Sala. In ea fac cartam uel ymaginem ad ligandum omnes bestias siluestres, leones, vrsos, et similia.

[5.] Quinta hora diei dicitur Sadadat. In ea fac cartas ad ligaciones et ad applicandas quaslibet bestias, et ad quidquid vis aliud.

[6.] Sexta hora diei dicitur Tamhut. In ea operari poteris ad extrahendum captiuos de carcere, ad ligatos soluendos.

[7.] Septima hora diei dicitur Caror. In ea operatur ad ponendum pacem inter reges.

[8.] Octaua hora diei dicitur Tariel. In ea operari poteris ad mandeolenam et discor- [77v] diam [e] ponendam inter homines.

[9.] Nona hora diei dicitur Karon. In ea facienda est carta ad itinerandum [f] uel ad eundum inter latrones sine timore.

[10.] Decima hora diei dicitur Hyon. In ea operari poteris ad demonia uel demoniacos uel ventum malum uel pauorem uel iuuandum ad dominas.

[11.] Vndecima hora diei dicitur Nathalon. In ea operari poteris ad prouocandum sangwinis fluxum in mulieribus et ad ligandum virum cum muliere uel e contrario.

[12.] Duodecima hora diei dicitur Abat. In ea operari poteris inter maliuolos ad pacem ponendam inter virum et mulierem.

37k. Names of the hours of the night, and their functions

[1.] Iste sunt hore diei, et operibus sibi pertinentibus. [a]

Prima hora noctis dicitur Leron. In ea fac ad demoniacos opera tua, aut ad uentos malos aut ad congregandas et loquitur cum eis. [b]

[2.] Secunda hora noctis dicitur Latol. In ea operari poteris ad piscariam et ad omina nascencia aque.

[3.] Tercia hora noctis dicitur Hami. In ea operari poteris ad

accendendum uel ad exti[n]gwendum ignem et ad omnia que in eo volueris operari.

[4.] Quarta hora noctis dicitur Atyn. In ea operari [78r] poteris ad destruendum domum uel huiusmodi ad expellendum homines de loco ad locum.

[5.] Quinta hora noctis dicitur Caron. In ea fac questiones vt in sompnis videat quod futurum est in mundo uel in diebus uel in annis et ad secreta reuelanda.

[6.] Sexta hora noctis dicitur Zaia. In ea operari poteris ad arbores et fructus earum et ad ceteras plantas terre et ad omne quod operandum est in terra.

[7.] Septima hora dicitur Nectius. In ea operari poteris ad expellendum homines de domo sua uel quod infirmetur uel quod moriatur.

[8.] Octaua hora noctis [c] dicitur Tafat. In ea poteris operari ad inimicicaam ponendam inter quos volueris.

[9.] Nona hora noctis dicitur Conassuor. In ea poteris operari ad ligaciones li[n]gwarum aut ad intrandum ad reges et dominos.

[10.] Decima hora noctis dicitur Algo. In ea operari poteris ad destruendas li[n]gwas uel omnem cogitacionem super te aut concilium malum quod super te cogitatum fuerit.

[11.] Vndecima hora noctis dicitur Caltrua. In ea operari poteris que volueris in auibus, ad eas ligandas [d] uel capiendas.

[12.] Duodecima hora noctis dicitur Salaij. In ea poteris [78v] operari ad inveniendum quidquid predictum est uel ad reuelacionem furti uel malorum factorum.

37l. Names of angels that rule each hour of the day and of the night

Cvm aliquod opus uel cartam volueris scribere, nomen hore et nomen angeli et hore et qui ei dominatur uel ministratur oportet te nominare. Hec sunt nomina angelorum dominancium omnibus horis diei noxium [a] septimane. Prime hore diei dominatur Raphael. 2e hore Anael. 3e Michael. 4e Gabriel. 5e Gaffriel. 6e Satquiel. 7e [b] Samael. 8ue Raphael. 9e Anael. 10e Michael. Vndecime Gabriel. 12e Cafriel.

Nocte diei Lune prima hora dominatur Satquiel. 2e hore Samael. 3e

Raphael. 4e Anael. 5e Michael. 6e Gabriel. 7e Cafriel. 8e Satquiel. 9e Samael. 10e Raphael. 11e [c] Anael. 12e Michael. Sic autem intelligere debes de omnibus aliis noctium et dierum prenominatis quidem enim angeli dominatur et ministrat horis secundum dominacionem planetarum uel ministracionem in eis. Omni hora Solis ministrat uel dominatur Raphael. Hora Veneris, Anael. Hora Mercurij, Michael. Hora Lune, Gabriel. Hora Saturni, Caffriel. Hora Jouis, Satquiel. Hora Martis, Samuel. Diei eciam cuiuslibet planete cum angelis suis signaque planetarum distributa horum angelorum nomina debent concordare et respondere [79r] nominibus capitulis supra proxime positus et angelo qui continetur infra in coniuracionibus cuiuslibet diei et in capitulis de ymaginibus deorum quibus ministrant adinuicem. [d]

Diei dominici ergo ministrat Sol, et angelus eius Raphael, eiusque signum Leo. Diei lune [e] ministrat Luna, et angelus eius Gabriel, eiusque signum Aries et Scorpio. Diei Martis ministrat Mars, et angelus eius Samael, eiusque signum Cancer. Diei Mercurij ministrat planeta Mercurij, et eius angelus Michael uel Mathael, eiusque signum Gemini uel Virgo. Diei Jouis ministrat Jupiter, et angelus eius Samael, eiusque signum Sagitarius et Pisces. Diei Veneris ministrat Venus, et angelus eius [f] Anael, eiusque signum Thaurus et Libra. Diei Sabbati ministrat Saturnus, et angelus eius Caffriel, eiusque signum Capricornus et Aquarius.

Nomina [g] siue istis v nominibus opus tuum perficere non poteris. Prima hora diei Lune ministrat uel dominatur Gabriel. Secunda hora Caffriel. 3a hora Satquiel. 4a hora Samael. 5a hora Raphael. 6a hora Anael. 7a hora Michael. 8a hora Gabriel. Nona hora Caffriel. Decima hora Satquiel. Vndecima hora Samael. Duodecima hora Raphael.

37m. Images to be used for each hour of the day

[79v] De operibus ymaginum diei.

[1.] Nota primo malas li[n]gwas. Prima hora diei facienda est ymago ad ligandas li[n]gwas, et li[n]gwa que ligata fuit illa hora nunquam erit potens loquendi malum verbum de te. Prima hora diei fac ymaginem canis ex argento uel stanno [a] puro, et sculpe in capite ymaginis nomen illius super quem operaris et nomen domini hore et diei in quo hec [b] facis, et in ventre ymaginis nomen potentissimi et altissimi domini, et suffumigabis ymaginem suffumigio supra dicto, et cum sangwine rubeo et involues eam in panno

albo nouo, et sepelies eam ad partem illius de quo volueris, tunc non loquitur de te malum. Et sic ligabunt omnia ora et oculi hominum, et tibi nunquam nocere poterit quamdiu durabit ymago ista. In ventrem ymaginis scribe nomen Lune et nomen signi et angelorum tempore quo hoc [c] facies. Hec autem nomina sunt nomina creatoris multum preciosa et benedicta, quibus creatum fuit [d] celum et terra. [e] Hic [f] autem cum sculpes, sculpe eam totaliter vt bene appareat. [g] Et hec sunt nomina: Lyara, Lyalguana, Loaffar, Vialuarab, Lebara, Lebarion, Layasales. Hec sunt vij nomina que scribes in ventre forme, et scribes ea in omnibus operibus omnium rerum pertinencium hominibus, aut auibus et bestiis et omnibus creaturis de concordia et amicicia.

[2.] [80r] Secunda hora diei facienda est ymago benivolencie, et vna ymago viri et altera mulieris de purissimo stanno fusile et [in] capite ymaginis mulieris nomen viri, et in capite viri nomen mulieris, in pectore vero et in ventre ymaginis [h] sculpes vijtem subsequencia nomina simul cum vijtem nominibus supradictis, et iunges ymagines, conglutinando [i] eas cum cera, ita quod inter se bene firmantur, et sepelias [j] in domo illius quem volueris alium sequi, et fiet inter eos amicicia durabilis quamdiu ymagines durabunt. Et hec sunt ista vij nomina, hec scribes: Malthayl, Caramel, Azariel, Zaraimayl, [k] Parsail, Porbayl, Seralabelis. Et hec [l] quod [m] legi possunt.

[3.] Tercia hora diei facienda est ymago ad prouocandas omnes aues et tota omnia piscamina [n] ad locum signatum. In hac hora fac ex ere rubeo ymaginem animalis quod applicare volueris, et sculpe in capite ymaginis nomen domini hore et in pectore similiter et in ventre vij nomina prime hore, et suffumiga eam cum feniculo aut ordeo yndo, et sepeli eam in loco ad quem volueris applicare animalia sub quorum similitudine ymaginem formasti, et videbis mirabilia creatoris quando veniant ad locum istum.

[4.] [80v] Quarta hora diei facienda est ymago ad animalia prouocanda uel effuganda, vt scorpiones et omnia reptilia et bestias siluestras. In hac hora fac ymaginem ex ere croceo ad similitudinem animalis cuius genus [ge9] in loco signato volueris applicare, sculpe nomen animalis in capite ymaginis et in pectore nomen domini hore, et vij supradicta nomina, prima hora [o] sculpe in ventre ymaginis et sepeli ymaginem in loco quo vis applicari. Hec quidem ymago applicabit omnia animalia que tunc non in loco erant.

[5.] Qvinta hora diei facienda est ymago ad feras mitigandas, vt leones,

vrsos, et lupos, aut [p] quaslibet alias feras nocentes. In hac hora funde ymaginem animalis cuius genus volueris applicari uel mittigari, et sculpe in capite ymaginis nomen animalis, et in pectore nomen hore et nomen domini hore, et in ventre vij nomina prime hore, et suffumiga ymaginem cum ligno yndo et cum sandalo rubeo, et sepeli ymaginem in loco vbi volueris, et auxilio domini te adiuuante videbis quod omnia illa animalia ad voluntatem tuam reuertentur.

[6.] Ad liberandos incarceratos. Sexta hora diei facienda est ymago pro captiuis aut incarceratis, uel dampnandis ad mortem uel saluandis. In hac [81r] hora funde ymaginem illius uel istorum quos saluari volueris ex argento uel stanno, et sculpe in capite ymaginis nomen viri saluandi, et in pectore nomen hore, et in ventre [q] septem nomina prime hore, et [r] dona [s] ymaginem alicui eorum, quod eam secum teneat carcere et ista nocte euadent a carcere cum potencia dei creatoris.

[7.] Ad uenandum uel ad piscandum. [t] Septima hora diei facienda est ymago pro uenacione et piscacione, et est fortis et vtilis multum. Funde ymaginem ex optimo argento in hac hora, et sculpe in capite ymaginis nomen domini hore, et in pectore ymaginis vij nomina 2e hore, et omni hora qua piscatum vel venatum ieris ymaginem tecum porta et [u] applicacionem, venacionem, uel piscacionem quam volueris.

[8.] Ad maliuolenciam et discordiam ponendam inter homines. Octaua hora diei facienda est ymago ad domos uel ad loca destruenda [v] et deponenda. In hac hora funde ymaginem ex ere rubeo cum duobus capitibus, quorum vnum sit asininum, reliquum vero hominis, et sculpe in capite asinino nomen loci quod deletum esse volueris, et in capite humano sculpe nomen domini loci, et ministratores domini loci et in pectore ymaginis nomen domini hore, et suffumiga ymaginem cum sangwine hominis inter- [81v] fecti uel cum auxugia carnis, et sepeli eam in loco quem depopulatum rem [w] volueris et fugient omnes homines et depopulabitur iste locus talis quod nec quoddam [x] brutum animal remanebit.

[9.] Quod poteris transire vbicumque volueris et nullus tibi nocere potest. Nona hora diei facienda est ymago ad ambulandum sine timore inter leones aut feras et transire per eas sine timore [uel] terrore, et ad omnia itineranda secure. In ea hora funde ymaginem sub similitudine de qua quesieris, [y] et scribe in capite ymaginis nomen domini hore, in ventre vij nomina prime hore, et suffumiga ymaginem cum supradicto [z] fuste et croco. Portans eam tecum, transibis per quemcumque locum volueris sine timore, qui[a] oculi

cunctorum videre te non poterunt et eorum li[n]gwe obmutescent. Poterisque transire, [et non] fiet tibi dampnum, cum potencia dei.

[10.] Ad optinendum quidquid volueris coram [a] regibus et [b] principibus. Decima hora diei facienda est ymago ad intrandum ad reges et potestates. In hac hora funde ymaginem hominis ex argento, et sculpe in capite ymaginis nomen hominis, et in pectore nomen hore et nomen domini hore, et in ventre vij nomina prime hore, et suffumiga ymaginem cum croco et fuste supra- [82r] dicto, et involue eam in panno nouo lineo et albo, et hora qua ad aliquem volueris intrare vel ire porta eam tecum, et obtinebis quid volueris cum adiutorio dei.

[11.] Ad faciendum concordare discordantes. Vndecima hora diei facienda est ymago ad prouocandam concordiam inter discordantes uel inter virum et mulierem. In hac hora funde duas ymagines, vnius ponderis et vnius quantitatis et qualitatis, et sculpe nomen viri in capite femine, et nomen femine in capite masculi, et in pectoribus ambarum ymaginum sculpes nomen hore et nomen domini hore, et in ventris nomina 2e hore, et pone eas facie ad faciem, et suffumiga eas cum croco et fuste supradicto, et pone eas in secreto ad stellas, et videbis mirabilia, quomodo vnus inqui[e]tet alium et non poterit vnus sine alio stare.

[12.] Ad ligandas li[n]gwas. Dvodecima hora diei facienda est ymago ad ligandas li[n]gwas. In hac hora fac ymaginem hominis ex optimo stanno, et sculpe in capite nomen eius, et in pectore nomen hore, et in ventre nomina prime hore, et suffumiga cum croco et fuste supradicto, et pone ad stellas vij noctes, et cum mochazat et cum sandaras, et coniura eam cum qui sic incipiunt Samahil, et non erit potens loqui super eum malum verbum.

[82v] Finite sunt vij ymagines que faciende sunt in similibus horis diei cum omnibus suffumigacionibus et operibus suis. Caue igitur in illis, quia exanimate sunt et vere et ne per te mentiantur, [c] quia per eas totam perficies tuam voluntatem, in gracia dei, cuius nomen sit benedictum. Amen.

37n. Images to be used for each hour of the night

De operibus ymaginum noctis.

Modo dicam operacionem ymaginum noctis, sicut studuerunt antiqui qui nominati sunt; invocantur qui ipsi eas composuerunt, vt omnes homines operantes eas scirent de lucerna que nunquam exti[n]gwi possit.

[1.] Prima hora noctis facienda est ymago ad illuminanda loca tenebrosa

uel quemlibet alium locum obscurum. In hac hora funde candelam eream quasi crucibulum habens vij ora, et sculpa in quo[libet] ore crucibuli hec nomina: Sarastan, Hasas, Dalas, Sassa; et pone in quolibet ore crucibuli lignum [a] de bombace, et scribe super os crucibuli hec xij nomina: Bezat, Berith, Zenit, Caffan, Dalfat, Dana, Aneth, Beas, Manith, Hassas, Dalaph, Sefa. Et fac ex eo super crucibulum ymaginem hominis tenentis secum quasi formam vasis in similitudinem fundentis oleum in candela, et imple candelam oleo quod non fuerit expressum manibus, et sculpe super faciem ymaginis istud [83r] nomen: Leorphahel [uel] Leorpahel, et super formam nomen istud: Rosahal. Et similiter supra candelam crucibuli, et cooperi faciem ymaginis quod non possit discooperiri, et accende ora crucibuli, et nunquam exti[n]gwetur. Poteris facere ymaginem in loco quod nulla mulier poterit transire, nec ibi stare, nec ibi stetur. [b]

[2.] Secunda hora noctis faciendum est ymago ad presciendum fortunium. Istud testificatus est homo Almera, qui fuit ex sapientibus antiquis, qui cum ingressus fuisset quamdam ciuitatem quam nominabant Alandar fecit in ea ymaginem istam et vlterius ingressa non fuit mulier in eam. In hac hora funde ymaginem ex ere lympide, et scribe super faciem ymaginis hec nomina: Notooa, [c] Har, Beel, Cead, Vasas, Naaya, Haat. Et hec alia sculpes in quodam folio oris [d] et ponas in manu ymaginis; hec sunt nomina, scilicet, Raagor, Ralaz, Branar, Cundaz, [e] Natho, Jany. Et sepeli ymaginem in medio ciuitatis siue ville, vt nullus te videat dum hoc [f] feceris. Et cum hac ymagine poteris prescindere scorpiones aut cetera nocencia de loco.

[3.] Ad fugandum omnia reptilia. Tercia hora noctis facienda est ymago ad predestinendum reptilia nocencia aut bestias malas aut locustas, vt viperas aut omnem rem malam. In hac hora funde ymaginem [83v] eream ad similitudinem reptilis quod volueris fugari et scribe in facie eius hec nomina: Vabros, Wiez, Bercca, [g] Beror, Berabut, Baramel. Et sepely ymaginem vbi volueris, et omnia de dictis effugabunt.

[4.] Ad destinandum villam aut locum quem volueris depopulari, aut inimiciciam. Qvarta hora noctis facienda est ymago ad villam vel locum destruendum quem volueris depopulari, aut inimiciciam. [h] In hac hora minge tu ipse retro in ore cameli uel catti, et collige in panno hominis, et vade ad domum inimici tui, et [scribe] ista nomina cum ista aqua in porta domus eius: *Raccedi,* [i] *Palicos, Pytalas, Pila, coniuro vos quod cito destruetis domum illius,* N., et tam cito factum erit.

[5.] Ad dispergendum exercitum. Qvinta hora noctis faciendum est ymago ad dispergendum exercitum congregatum super castrum aut quemlibet alium locum, aut malas nubes aut grandinem. In hac hora funde ymaginem ex plumbo et ere rubeo equaliter mixtum sitque 4or librarum, et sculpe in ea hec nomina: Baraa, Atle, Hate, Carbara, Garglale, Ha, Conadiuro Famal, [j] Alul, Beaali, Aguel, et Arpa, Nafaca, Paluo. Et suffumiga ymaginem suffumigiis que docuimus, et [k] coniura super eam vij nomina scripta, et sepeli [l] ymaginem in altori loco, et tale infor- [84r] tunium eueniet quod totus exercitus dispergetur, [et] fugiet. Et si operatus fuerit ad dispergendas nubes, sepeli eam in altiori loco et propinquiori monte, ville, morce, uel loco seminato, et dispergetur nubes et complebitur quod quesieris, videbisque mirabilia et potenciam creatoris.

[6.] Ad faciendum fugere inimicos uel inimicum. Sexta hora noctis facienda est ymago ad expellendum inimicum a villa de domo in qua moratur. In hac hora funde ymaginem ex ere rubeo, et sculpe in ea hec nomina: Tartarath, Acuta, Col, Cafra, Cal, Guabrath, Afah, Audena, Cal, Matha, Coltasia, Bal, Mathail, Cafia, Falduc, Atal, Parclena, [m] Cul, Mathiel, Fustaul, Gaulyar, Etal, Patath, Cicubael, Barath, Cabuel, Athael, Pera, Patua. Et in capite ymaginis sculpe nomina illius pro quo ymaginem facis, et suffumiga ymaginem supradictis suffumigiis, et pone eam prope [n] habitacionem eius, et recedet maliuolus fugiendo de villa vel domo, nec quiescet, et pauescet, et distruetur eius sensus totalis.

[7.] Ad comburendum [o] nascencia terre. Septima hora noctis facienda est ymago ad comburenda nascencia terre. In hac [84v] hora funde ymaginem ex ere rubeo, et sculpe in ea hec nomina: Agug, Cantzit, Totman, Catua, Via, Meracuat, Vanath, Gara, Turat, [p] Nuxae, Artha, Nar. Descendat ignis de celis in terram, qui [q] tremat totum terminum istum. Adrat, Mararat, Beguayl, Algayl, Carat. [r] Et sepeli ymaginem in termino ville, et in toto termino folium viride non [s] cremabit.

[8.] Ad congregandum apes aut columbas uel alias quascumque aues. Octaua hora noctis facienda est ymago ad applicandas apes ad aluarium suum, aut columbas ad columbarium suum, aut quascumque alias aues ad locum signatum de longinquis partibus terminis in circuitu. In hac hora funde ymaginem apis de auro ad pondus vnius aurei, et sculpe in ea ista nomina: Cadota, Carosa, Astab, Yatyon, [t] Vetartuna, Taracta. Et sepely ymaginem in altiori loco illius termini et applicabunt illuc omnes [u] apes qui erunt in circuitu loci illius aut columbe ad columbarium suum vbi fuerit

ymago columbe facta secundum quod supra dictum est. Similiter et omnes alie aues.

[9.] Hanc ymaginem facies ad omnia que volueris prouocare ad capiendum aues quas volueris. [85r] Nona hora noctis facienda est ymago ad prouocandas aues quarumlibet ad quemlibet locum volueris. In hac hora fac ymaginem illarum auium quas volueris prouocare, et sculpe in ea ista nomina: Totarati, Tuata, Berhantual, Toluhaya, Ya. Et pone eam quo volueris aues applicari, et applicabunt.

[10.] Ad dispergendum exercitum obsidentem [v] villam uel castrum. Decima hora noctis facienda est ymago ad dispergendum exercitum obsidentem villam uel castrum. In hac hora funde duas ymagines ex duobus generibus diuersorum metallorum: vna sit ex ere rubeo, 2a ex plumbo, 3a de stanno, 4a de argento, 5a de ferro. Sint autem hee due ymagines in vno corpore, et ista ymago habeat duo capita, vnum leonis, reliquum vero thauri, habens cornva a parte anteriori, [w] et sculpe in testis illis ista nomina: Horata, Taramat, Bata, Velaheia, Laa, Veda, Eaeffaxa, Lylatrala, Calmaatur, Mantut, Caatuas. Et sculpe in ventre formam leonis et formam bouis, et pone inter eas de sepo bouis et de sepo colubri, et suffumiga ymaginem cum eis et sepely eam vbi sedet exercitus, et cadit in eo talis occisio quod ipsimet se occident, et nunquam reuertatur medietas ad terram suam de ordine.

[11.–12.] [85v] Vndecima et duodecima hora noctis nichil per ymagines manuum est operandum, nisi per oracionem et postulacionem, sic enim dixerunt sapientes: Qui de hac sapiencia inquirere uel addiscere voluerit, oportet eum primitus scire horar et nomina dierum, quia in hiis est tota virtus magisterij, et cum hiis perficies opera tua in virtute creatoris, cuius nomen est benedictum in secula [secul]orum. Amen.

37o. Names of angels serving specific times

Qvando volueris operari ex libro isto adnomina nomen Terre in tempore suo quolibet eorum 4or nominum, videlicet in quolibet opere vnum. Et quia hoc [a] precipitur, quia si fieret aliqua transgressio per operantem, nullum [b] veniret ad effectum, *etc.*

Cvm autem aliquod opus aut ymaginem operare volueris ad precidendum [c] da[m]pnum hominibus siue seminibus aut gregibus, accipiet [d] tempus diei quo hec [e] facies, et si de nocte operatus fueris, accipiet tempus noctis cum nominibus angelorum mendancium [f] tempus in quo operaberis, in nomen

non prohibende vt lucuste grandis et malorum nubium aut rei que tibi videbitur, et hec sunt nomina que scribes in primo tempore. [g]

Nomina angelorum primi temporis: Gatrat, [h] Cassa, Tait, Amatyel, Gramsatos, et nomen potentis super istos est Oamquiel, et nomen capitis Singlytiel, et Venatyel, Atatyel, [86r] nomen vero auium est Nerastas.

Nomina angelorum secundi temporis sunt hec: Bartatel, Turiel, Vlmiel, et nomen capitis signi Labael.

Nomina angelorum seruiencium tempori 3o sunt hec: Tarquayl, Acartayl, Acayl, Gaabarayl, et nomen capitis signi Calguarath.

Nomina angelorum seruiencium tempori 4o sunt hec: Amabel, Terayl, Atraa, Atratrayl.

Cvm autem operari volueris, accipe nomen temporis quo hoc [i] facies, et scribe alia nomina aut signa secundum quod fuerit opus, et omnia venient ad effectum in virtute et potencia creatoris, cuius nomen est benedictum in secula [secul]orum. Amen.

37p. Names of the planets and of parts of the earth

Nota de nominibus Solis.

Dicere nos oportet et docere cupiditates scire ista sciencia [j] ymaginum et nomina Solis et Lune et Terre, et 4or parcium mundi, in quolibet tempore.

Nomen igitur Solis in primo tempore est Abrayn. In secundo tempore Acamon. In 3o Abragon. In 4o Rifar.

Primo tempore Solis sunt hec nomina signorum eius: Aries, Thaurus, Gemini. Tempore 2o Cancer, Leo, Virgo. Tempore 3o sunt hec: Libra, Scorpio, Sagitarius. Tempore vero 4o sunt hec: Capricornius, Aquarius, Pisses. [k]

De nominibus Lune. [86v] Primo tempore nomen Lune est Lunatulant. Secundo tempore Albora. Tercio tempore Alladyn. Quarto tempore Saarbaquia.

De nominibus celorum. Primo tempore celorum est Asaptaa, Tima. Secundo tempora Armatrassi. Tercio Mafatyn, Gnam. [l] Quarto Safatem.

De nominibus Terre. Primo tempore Terre nomen Inamodon. Secundo tempore Festaen. [m] Tercio Tabian vel Rathbil. Quarto Yemat uel Yaneaa.

De nominibus 4or parcium mundi, scilicet Orientis, Occidentis, Meridiei, et Septentrionis.

Primo nomen 4or parcium mundi, scilicet Orientis in primo 4or

temporum est Gnaandon. 2o Pibdaya. 3o Aldebath. 4o Pedioth. Nomen Occidentis tempore primo Amana. 2o Tana. 3o Ytadaon. Quarto Malchaam. [n] Nomen Meridiei tempore primo Mantham. 2o Yasaory. 3o Azut. Quarto Danor. Nomen Septentrionis tempore primo Manbasut. 2o Gasson. 3o Mascyel. Quarto Yamhor.

De aliis 4or nominibus Terre: alia nomina Terre in 4or temporibus: In primo tempore Talyn. 2o Cosmaaram. [o] Tercio Aydarael. Quarto Saybath.

Vt scias que sunt 4or tempora.

Scias quod primum tempus incipit a medio Marcij et finit in medio Junij, et menses [p] Aprilis [87r] et Maij sunt in medio, et sunt de tempore primo. Secundum tempus incipit a medio Junij et finit in medio Septembri, et Julius et Augustus sunt in medio, et sunt de tempore 2o. Tercium tempus incipit a medio Septembri et finit in medio Decembri, et October et Nouember [q] sunt in medio, et sunt de tempore 3o. Quartum tempus incipit a medio Decembris et finit in medio Marcij, et Januarius et Februarius sunt in medio, et sunt de tempore 4o.

37q. Images and conjurations for days of the week

De ymaginibus vij dierum ebdomade.

Sapientes philosophi et experti qui composuerunt istum librum confidentes in deo qui est super omnes deus ordinauerunt ymagines vij dierum ebdomade ad faciendum peticiones, et est sciencia altissima et honorata et multum secreta et non conceditur omnibus hominibus nisi viris magni et profundissimi sensus et intelligencie.

Caue igitur tibi in illis, et proba, et invenies veritatem sanctissimam.

[1.] De ymagine diei dominice. Prima ymago est diei dominici. Forma eam ex auro uel auricalco aut cera crocea, et scribe super eam nomina sequencia, et si in altitudine dicitur ascensio Leonis in mense Augusti aut Aprilis. Hec sunt nomina angelorum man- [87v] dancium Leonem: Raphael, Dardyel, Vrlathafel. Nomina ventorum sunt hec uel spirituum qui semper mandant Leonem: Baythan, et eius adiutores Cahatus, Cardas, Yabal. Cum volueris ligare li[n]gwas, fac ymaginem istam in horis nominatis que tibi conuenit [r] et altitudine dicta, et coniura super eam per ista coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos, angeli sigillo Solis consignati: Banarga, Lyon, Cylon, Bamayon, Admyon, Assuerop, Tayuf, Rem, Letana, Baupa, Yanoth,

Haralyl, Quilil, Casub, Nubtub, Caytuli, Catub, [s] *per creatorem celi et terre et 4or parcium mundi et ventorum qui* [t] *sunt inter celum et terram, qui est super omnes deus, fortissimus et altissimus, et non est alius deus preter eum, et ipse est rerum et conditor omnium naturarum: Yat, Faoli, Ydardyel, Ycalatasyel. Item coniuro vos per hec nomina: Vasamiaa,* [u] *Licaa, Cassaa, Lamubatub, Olot, Elos, Cymehalod, ipse est qui scit sciencias secretas et apertas, Yfael, Cardiel, Telataph, El, laborate et complete peticionem meam et opus quod cupio compleri.*

[2.] Secunda ymago est [diei] Lune, et est facienda ex auro vel ex stanno aut ex cera alba. Ymago hec est ad maximam beniuolenciam et concordiam, et hi [v] sunt angeli super eam dominantes: Gab[ri]el, [88r] Michael, Samuel. Cum autem volueris facere concordiam et magnam beniuolenciam, fac ymaginem istam 2a hora [w] diei Lune, in altitudine Cancri, [x] in mense Julij aut Martis, uel in mense Piscium. Hec sunt nomina ventorum qui [y] manda[n]t Cancrum: Heletel, Halmital, et huius adiutores sunt Bellomilalum, [z] Abuzaba. Et coniura super eam per istam coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos angeli quibus commissum est signum Lune, Comoha, Bamoha, Zihil, Bephaha, Casal, Nata, Vada. Coniuro vos per honorem dei vt compleatis hanc peticionem, nec in aliam rem laboretis donec festinetis [a] *compleueritis. Rogo te, G*[*abriel*], *M*[*ichael*], *et S*[*amuel*], *quod hec* [b] *mea peticione adimplere confirmare non remaneat* [c] *quousque eam perfecte adimplebitis et confirmabitis, diuina nobis concessa gracia et virtute.* [d]

[3.] Tercia ymago est die[i] Martis. Forma eam ex ere rubeo aut cera rubea, die Martis et hora Martis, mense [e] Aprilis aut Decembri. [f] Et scias quod hoc opus est multum honoratum et forte, quando volueris istud opus operari. Nomina angelorum commissorum sigillo Martis sunt hec, scilicet Sariel, Taryel, Harmalil, et nomina ventorum qui seruiunt ei super [g] hec: Harmabia, Blisacana, Ababob, et eius 3es adiutores Coaamal, [h] Vmial, [i] Perasas. Et coniura per istam coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos [88v] *principes angelorum et ventorum eius, Edus, Mafraas, Dadayus, et Hydus, Habat, Alat, Nays, Madasia, Yaral, Fastriath, Ysamtiel, Ytatel, Haramalil, nomine Cabar, Carachar, Ycidanis, Yalens, Harab, et dominum lucis altum Bathaquius, diuini* [j] *Honris,* [k] *Tortur,*

Hamahe, Dana, Cadara, dominum celorum et terre, nec est alius deus preter ipsum, deum Salciel, Tariel, Hatamalil, precipe [l] *Hamar, Benall,* [m] *et adiutoribus eius, quod faciant et compleant quod ab ipsis postulaui.*

Si volueris depopulare domum, ad sa[n]gwinis fluxum prouocare, aut aliquem infirmari, aut quodlibet aliud dampnum facere, forma [n] ymaginem ex ere rubeo et sepely ymaginem iuxta aquam currentem.

[4.] Qvarta ymago est diei Mercurij, et hec sunt nomina angelorum quibus super eam constituunt: Michael, Fanuel, [o] Sarpiel; et nomina ventorum sunt hec mandantium eam, scilicet Tobha et adiutores eius Danhas, Paclas, Sambas. Forma ymaginem mense Julij aut Octobris, et plumbo; sculpe in ea nomina ista ad seperandos beniuolentes et ponendas inimicicas inter eos, [p] et coniura sic per ista coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos angeli per nomen creatoris, preter quem nullus est vince[n]s, ipse enim est creator et preceptor, et omnis potestas est in manu sua, uel eius sibi eciam est virtus insuperabilis, quia ipse est potens et invincibilis rex, sub cuius [89r] *auctoritate omnia sistunt et viuunt. Coniuro vos, Michael, Sarpiel, Muriel, Peruerl,* [q] *Yeserie, Adonay, Sabaoth, Yo, Yo, domini celorum et terre, venite per bonitatem veri fortis qui solus fuit, est, et erit. Michael, Sarquiel, Muriel, complete peticionem meam,* [r] *vt veniat ad effectum.*

[5.] Qvinta ymago est diei Jouis, et angeli super eam constituti sunt Satquiel, Pattar, [s] Constiel, Assassayel, et hij sunt venti constituti super ymaginem: Silite, Maraben, Halharit, et sui adiutores sunt Yse, Riron, Naasay, Eladab. Et quando igitur volueris hoc opus operari, forma ymaginem ex ere croceo aut ex cera crocea die Jouis, et intinge eam cum viridi, et fac pro viro et pro muliere, [si] hoc modo volueris ponere amiciciam inter duos viros aut mulieres aut inter virum et mulierem. Forma duas ymagines ex cera viridi mense Maij, scilicet in altitudine Piscium, aut mense Januarij in altitudine Sagitarij, et scribe nomen viri super cor ymaginis femine et nomen femine super cor masculi, et dic coniuracionem istam:

Domine deus, omnipotens creator rerum visibilium tam invisibilium, pone beniuolenciam et mansuetam concordiam inter mulierem talem, filia[m] *talis, et talem, filium talis, quam posuisti inter Adam et Euam, et*

inter Jacob et Rachelem, et inter Michaelem et Gabrielem, quorum vnus est igneus et alter aqueus, vnus [*autem*] *alteri non* [89v] *nocet, sed est inter eos concordia magna, et quemadmodum posuisti concordiam in angelo cuius medietas est ignea, altera niuea, vt nix ignem non extingwit, nec ignis niuem consumit, et tu pariter inuidiam concordare facis. Ita, domine, tua sanctissima pietate et misericordia* [t] *talem, filiam talis, concordare, diligere, et amare cum tali, filio talis, facias. Coniuro vos angeli nomine Yafaa, Safaa,* [u] *Alleya, Hayala, Haya, Halix, Hayul, Ataya, Hytoia, Saffetaba, Coffossol, Remlestar,* [v] *El, domine deus, qui scis secreta cordium et es finis et principium, qui nunquam morieris. Festina, Sarafem, Custyeli, et precipe Amaris* [w] *et adiutoribus eius, vt cito faciant et compleant peticionem meam.*

Et sepeli ymaginem in loco per quem transeant, et videbis mirabilia omnipotentis dei.

[6.] Sexta ymago est diei Veneris, et angeli mandantes eam sunt Anael, Naquiel, Sagriel, et venti sunt Sarabores, et 3es adiutores Trathacas, Nasat, Nasaa. Quando de ymaginibus operari volueris, formas illas die Veneris ex cera alba mense Maij, in altitudine Thauri, aut in mense Octobris, et scribe nomen viri super cor ymaginis mulieris, et nomen mulieris in capite ymaginis viri, et suspende eas ad stellas, et percute eos cum virga oliue, et coniura eas cum ista coniuracione:

Venite, Anael, Tarquiel, Samuel, [*90r*] *Hassahaa, Saaca, Giraca, Adtulia,* [x] *Archalia, Aler, Gnad, Alualia, Saana, Samorie, Mahyra, Cartel, Harat, Maslatym,* [y] *Caci, Yca, Yca, Dad, Dada, per ipsum qui est Cados, Salba, dominum angelorum et ventorum, Heyt, Asseveye, Adonay, El, Salday, Saraoth, Sabaoth, Lyaste, Ady, Gualbroa,* [z] *vir fortissimus, virorum fortissimum,* [a] *deus altus et magnus, creator noster, preter cuius potenciam non est alia, A, Cya, Ya, Barquissaquil, Sabguyel, et per istam coniuracionem quam super vos coniuro, et per virtutem El, Veneris, bene fortunate, coniuro vos vt bene proficiatis in hac mea causa,* [b] *et compleatis cito meam voluntatem, commemorando filium talis, et talem filiam* [c] *talis, sicut ferrebat* [d] *cor Eue per amorem Ade in omnibus, Haycrab, Hayclas, Canael, Taltoth, Scarpe, cor talis, filie tali*[*s*]*, pro loco condenso vbi cottidie transeat.* [e]

[7.] Septima ymago est diei sabbati, cuius planeta est Saturnus, et hec

ymago est multum honorata et preciosa, super omnes alias ymagines, eo quod Saturnus est in septimo celo. Hanc autem ymaginem mandant isti angeli: Castuel, Maratron uel Matraton, Satael. Et venti huic seruientes sunt hij: Memmi, Aloybain, Aflas, Analuabith. Quando autem volueris ligare li[n]gwas aut balneum [90v] aut [f] molendinum aut centorium, uel ponere discordiam inter duos diligentes se, forma ymaginem ei et [g] sculpe in ea nomina dicta, et porta eam tecum, necessaria cum ea, per portam ciuitatis aut ville uel domus, et sepeli eam in medio vbi volueris, et ligabunt omnes li[n]gwe hominum loci illius. Et si volueris ponere discordiam inter duos beniuolos, uel inter virum et mulierem, forma duas ymagines de pice clara, sitque facies ymaginis viri facies porci, et facies ymaginis mulieris facies canis, et pone eas tergo ad tergum, et scribe in cartha virginem [h] sequencia verba, et ponis [i] eam inter costas ymaginis, et hec sunt verba que faciunt inter eos vt istos discordiam et inimiciciam, maliuolenciam, pec[t]orum percussio, capillorum depilacio, abhominaciones, et fuga, vt nunquam vnus ab altero possit diligi, sed ab inuicem sibi tristes obuient. Et sepeli ymaginem sub porta domus vnius illorum, et videbis mirabilia. Et coniura super eam [j] cum ista coniuracione:

> *Venite, Cya, Mutaron, Sathauel, [k] angeli commissi sigillo Saturni Stigis [l] quod in hac hora in adiutorium michi, et precipite spiritibus Amamni [m] et Astaba, Hertanalit, [n] vt venia*[n]*t cito, meum completum [o] mandatum, per nomen domini benedictum Albilfael, Fiel, Ignaborum, Yada, Yaffla, Tasagaf, Hyaalym, Anagodyny,* [91r] *Dymas, Anazana, Salodaya, Athym, Adyr, Elsyday, Adaptinor, Sabath, Adoray, Eloym, Eloe, Gna, Cithe, Sereaye, Alssylayessus, Agnibora, [p] Osatietas, angelorum Cassie, Mittaron, Satquiel, precipite me Mira et Affla, et Alualuaht, Sayp, Aladep, vt idem meam compleant voluntatem per [q] sanctitatem coniuracionis huius, quam super vos scripsi.*

37r. Summary

Cvm operare volueris, accipe semper tempus, siue de die siue de nocte, cum nominibus angelorum mandancium tempus in quo operaberis, et nomen rei, et ibi sunt nomina supradictorum angelorum mandancium tempus, que [a] scribere debes in primo tempore et in 2o tempore et in 3o et 4o, et eciam nomina signorum eius, sicut ibi iacet, in quolibet tempore suo, et isti sunt

angeli cerciores et meliores, secundum librum quendam illi quod dedit, uidetis et quod [b] vocas principes xij mensium, vt sequitur infra, et loco istorum nominabis et pones istos supradictos. Nota quod sicut supradicti angeli sunt nominandi, sicut eciam nomina dierum in quo operaberis, [c] sicut continentur in capitulo quod incipit, ‘Conplete sunt vij signa dierum’. Ista sunt dicta Iudei. [d]

Nota quod isti sunt principes angelorum xij [91v] mensium, qui dominantur in suis thronis in quinto celo, qui habe[n]t thronos 4or. Primus thronus est in parte orientali, in quo dominantur tres angeli qui sunt principles. Secundus thronus est in parte occidentali, et ibi dominantur alij 3es angeli et principes. Tercius thronus est in parte septentrionali, et ibi dominantur 3es alij angeli, vt infra statim melius declarabitur.

Nota quod semper vni throno [e] deseruiunt tres menses, et vnum tempus, vt infra patebit. Primus ergo angelus est princeps, qui est in primo throno et in parte orientali, dominatur primo tempore et mense primo, et iste vocatur Aysansasyel, et iste et [f] alij principes supradicti [g] habent plures alios seruientes eis [h] et obedientibus eorum imperiis ornare quilibet princeps dominus est invocandus et nominandus secundum tempus et ordinem suum cum suis seruitoribus, et imo iste primus angelus concordat cum primo tempore et mense, et secundus [i] [sic] cum 2o, et 3us cum 3o, 4us cum 4o, et sic de aliis.

Primum tempus: [j]

2o mense regnat et dominatur princeps Ragiel cum suis seruitoribus.

3o mense regnat et dominatur princeps Dyrnaot cum suis seruitoribus.

[92r] Secundum tempus: [k]

4o mense regnat et seruit princeps Tanenon cum suis seruitoribus.

Quinto mense regnat et dominatur [l] princeps Terogat cum suis seruitoribus.

Sexto mense regnat et dominatur princeps Morel cum suis seruitoribus.

3m tempus: [m]

Septimo mense regnat et dominatur princeps Patderon cum suis seruitoribus.

Octauo mense regnat et dominatur princeps Illdegage cum suis seruitoribus.

Nono mense regnat et dominatur princeps Andegor cum suis seruitoribus.

4m tempus: [n]

Decimo mense regnat et dominatur princeps Macgmel cum suis seruitoribus.

Vndecimo mense regnat et dominatur princeps Assandaran cum suis seruitoribus.

Duodecimo mense regnat et dominatur princeps [o] Abarthiel cum suis seruitoribus.

Nota eciam quod sicut mensium sunt nominandi sic eciam nomina dierum sunt in quo operaberis, quorum nomina sunt: Prima enim dies dominica [p] vocatur Metraton. Et 2a Yaspel, Tercia Geminiel. 4a Gabriel. 5a Michael. 6a Raphael. 7a Sarphiel uel Captiel, vt scribitur in sacra scriptura. Distingwe tempora et concordabis scripturis, [q] et ideo primo distingwenda sunt tempora et cognoscenda, [92v] et 2o in quolibet opere quod operare volueris si vis opus tuum perficere et vt posses tempora disti[n]gwere et cognoscere, scias quod primum tempus cum fiunt 4or tempora incipit a medio Marcij et finitur in medio Junij, et menses [r] Aprilis et Maij sunt in medio, et sunt de primo tempore, et [s] sic continentur ad tale signum. [t]

Et cum tempus summum [u] continentur 3es menses supradicti, 3es menses et eorum principes, possunt eis adaptari et coniungi et cum eis nominari et invocari quo ad primum tempus, quia sunt primo tempore orientali et in primo throno orientali.

Cvm eciam secundum tempus contineat 3es menses et eorum principes presente 2o tempore adaptari, nominari, et [in]vocari, cum sunt dicitur [v] tempore occidentali et throno occidentali.

Cvm eciam 3m tempus continet 3es menses et eorum principes, possunt 3o tempore adaptari nominari et invocari, cum eciam sunt de 3o tempore et throno meridionali.

Cvm 4m tempus eciam continet 3es menses et suos principes presunt [pn^t] 4o tempore [w] adaptari et nominari et invocari cum sunt de 4o tempore et throno septentrionali, ad tale signum invenies angelos cerciores et meliores, qui habent concordare cum 4or temporibus.

Cvm volueris coniurare seu cartham scribere vel nomina invocare, dic nomina angelorum [93r] dominancium tempore et mensi et altitudini qua facies opus. Prima enim altitudo mensis est Nysan, 2a est Yar, et sic de aliis, quod si operatus fueris ad bonas [x] vel ad bonum, narrabis angelos bonos, et si ad malum malos, et sic facies in omnibus que volueris operari, et ita complebitur opus tuum, et probatum libri doctrina est vera et cetera. [y]

Cvm eciam oporteat te nominare nomina Solis et signorum et Lune et

terre et parcium 4or mundi, et cum nomina Solis sunt 4or et 4or sunt [z] tempora, concordabit primum cum primo, atque nominabis et invocabis, et secundum cum 2o, et 3m cum 3o, et 4m cum 4o. Et cum sint 3a nomina signorum eius in quolibet tempore, facies idem. Et cum sint eciam 4or nomina Lune concordabis cum predictis et nominabis primum cum primo tempore, et secundum cum 2o, et 3m cum 3o, 4m cum 4o. Et cum eciam sint 4or nomina terre quod eciam oportet te nominare, facies eciam quod primum nominabis cum primis et secundum cum 2is, et 3m cum 3is, et 4m cum 4is, sic[ut] habetur superius in capitulo. Dicere oportet et ita facies de 4or nominibus quod terra signabit [sigibt] aliter ibi in fine dicti capituli. [a] Et eciam oportet te nominare 4or partes [b] mundi, videlicet orientis, occidentis, et meridiei, et septentrionis, et cum quolibet istorum habeat 4or nomina secundum tempus suum, primum nominabis et invocabis cum primis, secundum cum 2o, [93v] 3m cum 3o, 4m cum 4o, et sic de aliis.

Et auertas quod sigillum et signum diei scribatur seu depingatur dies et hora est in qua debes opus tuum facere seu incipere, quia magna virtus est in eis, quare cum eis complebunt opera tua, et nomina angelorum regnancium in diebus septimane dicenda sunt, et sequitur que nomina habet [c] nominare in operibus septimane secundum diem suum.

Angelus diei dominici est Raphael, et si operatus fueris in die dominico istum nominabis et [in]vocabis, et sic de omnibus aliis, vt continetur in supradicto capitulo completa, *etc.* In omni igitur opere nominabis angelum diei in quo facies opus, et scribe illud, quia si fuerit inscripto, [d] quia multum iuuabit te cum potencia creatoris.

Regum eciam spirituum vij diebus septimane regnancium nomina subscribentur, seu omnes angelos dominantes diei quo facies opus, et sic veniunt et complebunt voluntatem tuam, [et] respondebunt tibi in omnibus que quesieris.

Diei ergo dominico regnat et seruit Baytan rex, coadiutores sui sunt Caatus, Candas, Vambal, et sic de aliis, vt ibi invenies.

Nota eciam quod quilibet dies septimane habet suffumigium suum sibi a[p]propriatum, cum quo [94r] suffumigari oportet opus quod facies in ea, et complebitur opus tuum sine dubio. Suffumigium diei dominice est assandalis croceum uel rubeum vel sibi simile, et sic de aliis, vt ibidem continetur, et eciam ibi subsequentur [e] invenies qualia opera facere debes in quolibet die.

Nota quod eciam oportet te scribere nomina horarum die[i] quibus

quidem horis perfic[i]entur opera que facies. Prima ergo diei hora dicitur Yayn. In hac hora facienda est cartha ad destruendas [f] voces hominum et mala verba eorum, et li[n]gwas ligandas, et sic invenies ibi de aliis horis, tam diurnis quam nocturnis.

Nota eciam quod cum aliquod opus aut cartham scribere volueris, nomen hore et nomen domini hore, id est angeli qui ei dominatur uel ministrat, oportet te nominare. Vnde hec sunt nomina angelorum dominancium omnibus horis diei septimane. Prima enim hora diei dominatur Raphael, et sic de alijs que ibi invenies quo ad idem, et sic eciam est de nocte. Vnde nocte diei Lune prima hora dominatur Sarquiel, et sic eciam de aliis, vt ibi invenies, *etc.*

Nota eciam quod sic est de omnibus horis supradictis, ita eciam est et intelligere debis, quod quidam angeli dominantur uel ministrant horis secundum dominacionem planetarum uel ministracionem in eis. Omni enim hora Solis dominatur uel ministrat Raphael, et sic de aliis, vt ibi invenies, *etc.*

[94v] Nota eciam diligenter de concordia, quod eciam habens, [g] debes facere de omnibus supradictis, et coniunccione eorum est regula talis. Diei eciam cuilibet planete cum angelis suis signaque planetarum distributa horum angelorum nomina debent concordare et respondere nominibus et capitulis supra scriptis, et angelo qui [h] continetur in coniuracionibus cuiuslibet diei, vt supra in capitulis de ymaginibus dierum quibus ministrant adinvicem diei, ergo dominico ministrat Sol, et angelus eius est Raphael, eiusque signum est Leo, et sic de aliis, vt ibi invenies.

Omnia predicta oportet te seruare quandocumque volueris operare secundum istum librum, et in aliquo deficere non posses, quia hec per ordinem invenies quomodo et qualiter habere te debes, et opus tuum secundum istum librum facias et nichil dimittas, si non vis errare, et primo semper respicere mensem lunarem, quia mensis lunaris dierum alij boni sunt, alij sunt mali, vt habetur supra in libro isto, et ideo regula est talis, quod quocumque die septimane operare volueris ad quo[d]libet bonum siue malum facere vis, attende diligenter, quod illa dies sit operi fiendo respiciendo mensem lunarem, vt dictum est. Et si illa dies sit bona et conueniens, non dimittas opus tuum de die in diem, uel differas, quare quia [i] opus tuum non veniret ad effectum, et forsitan putares illud esse falsum.

[95r] Avertas eciam diligenter quod in principio vnius cuiusque tui operis debes scribere nomina que respondebunt voluntati tue, et sunt hec nomina

ex nominibus creatoris. Cum igitur illa nomina altissima nominare volueris, flexis genibus humiliter, invocabis sic:

Invoco et humiliter supplico vobis nomina altissima dei, vt nos adiuuetis in opere tali, ad complendum, ad perficiendum: [j] *Agnas, Yana, dei Israhel, Ybat, Suliat, Gnalas, Yemssamon, Haa, Dosa, Barian, Barian, etc.* [k]

Inuoco et appello te, Captiel, angele qui es [l] *prepositus diei* [m] *septimo, qui es dies sabbati, quod pro me labores* [n] *et* [non] *desistas donec totum meum effectum et desiderium ad* [o] *effectum perducas. Rex Mayron, Assayby, invoco te et appello et tuos adiutores Abymalib et Haybaly, Dot et Yfla, quod pro me laboretis et non desistetis donec totum meum affectum et desiderium compleuerit*[*is*].

Vos [p] *angeli qui presidetis diei sabbati, Captiel, Mataton, Sarquiel, id est Satraquiel, invoco et appello vos vt pro me laboretis et non deficiatis donec totum meum affectum compleueritis. O sanctissima nomina dei, Agmas,* [q] *Yana, dei Israel, Ydar, Subar, Gnabas, Yemssamon, Haa, Dosa, Ba-* [95v] *rian,* [r] *invoco vos et requiro toto corde et ore vt dignemini me exaudire et adiuuare, et totum meum desiderium complere, vt valeam videre mille armatos in meo seruicio.*

Cyayn, prima hora diei invoco te vt adiuues me, vt facias me videre predictos spiritus armatos, et te eciam, Yan, oportet, que es [s] *2a hora, et te eciam, 3a hora Dasura, et te eciam, 4a hora, Sala.*

Invoco eciam et appello angelos dominantes predictis horis, Raphael, 2o Anael, 3o Michael, 4o Gabriel. Invoco eciam Saturnum et eius angelum Captielem, et eius signum Capricornum et Aquarium, et suum sigillum quod est hoc quod hic pono, [t] *vt me adiuuent et faciant michi apparere predictos spiritus armator in meo seruicio.*

Terra, que [u] *in 4o tempore vocaris* [v] *Yemat vel Yaneaa, invoco te et appello, vt tu adiuues me et facias apparere predictos spiritus armatos in meo seruicio. O nomina angelorum qui seruitis 4o tempore, Amabel, Terayl, Atrarayl, invoco vos et appello, vt faciatis michi* [96r] *venire spiritus in forma militum armatos in meo seruicio. O angeli fortes, Castiel, Matraton, Fatael, invoco vos vt meum desiderium compleatis et predictos spiritus venire faciatis. Et vos ventos, Genuum, Altibayn, Aflas,* [w] *Analuabet,* [x] *venite Eya, Mittaton, Sathane, uel angeli promissi, sigillo Saturni, sitisque in hac hora in adiutorium michi, et precipite spiritibus*

Amamim [y] *et Astabam et Hactanaabit, vt veniant cito meum comple* [z] *mandatum, per nomen benedictum Abilfaelfiel, Anogodym, Dymaon, Ana, Ana, Saoday, Athym, Adyr, Essiday, A, Daymior, Sabat, Adonay, Eloym, Eloe, Gna, Cythe, Seredye, Assylla, Yssessus, Agnabora. O societas* [a] *angelorum, Cassie, Matraton, Satquiel, precipite me Mira et Affla et Abralualit, Sayp, Aladep,* [b] *vt iam meam compleatis voluntatem, per sanctitatem coniuracionis huius, et per coniuracionem quam super vos feci. O Tomitat, nomen Solis in 4o tempore, invoco te vt tu adiuues ad faciendum venire supradictos spiritus in forma militum in seruicio meo. O nomina signorum 4ti temporis, invoco vos vt adiuuetis me quod supradicti spiritus venient in meo seruicio, Capricornus, Aquarius, et Pisces. O Saarlaquia, nomen Lune in 4o tempore, rogo te et invoco vt tu adiuues me, quod fa-* [96v] *cies venire supradictos spiritus in forma militum in meo seruicio. O Safaten, nomen celorum in 4o tempore, rogo te et invoco vt tu adiuues me, quod facias venire supradictos spiritus in forma militum in meo seruicio. O nomina 4or parcium* [c] *mundi, Orientis Pedyoth, Malchaam,* [d] *Mendie, Danoe, Septentrionis Yamhor, vos invoco et rogo vt vos adiuuetis me et faciatis venire supradictos spiritus in forma militum in servicio meo.*

a *Note that* operari *and* operare *are used interchangeably*.
b *Heading duplicated in margin*.
c u *corrected from another letter, which is blotted out*.
d Sic *in MS*.
e *MS* angele.
f *Meaning* dominico.
g *Heading duplicated in margin, and again at top of fol. 69v*.
h *Corrected both times from* Hatym.
i *MS* apparauit
j *MS* celos.
k *MS* honorata.
l *MS* predictos.
m *Heading duplicated in margin*.
n *Followed in MS by* men, *deleted*.
o *MS* qui.
p Sic *in MS*.
q *Heading duplicated in margin*.
r Sic *in MS?*
s *Followed in MS by* et.
t *Followed by* ide, *struck through*.
u omnium *added below line in MS*.

v Sic *in MS*.
w Sic *in MS*.
x *Corrected in MS from* creatis.
y Sic *in MS?*
z *Heading duplicated in margin*.
a *Corrected in MS from* fortem.
b *MS* qui.
c *Heading duplicated in margin at bottom of fol. 70v*.
d *Corrected in MS from* Esaraye.
e *Followed by* pissces, *struck through*.
f *MS* qui.
g *Presumably meaning* supremi dei, omnium creatoris.
h Sic *in MS*.
i *MS* deueniant.
j *Heading duplicated in margin*.
k Sic *in MS*.
l *MS* qui.
m *Followed by* g, *struck through*.
n Sic *in MS*.
o *MS* es.
p *MS* laboras.
q *MS* desistac *or* desistat.
a *MS* qui.
b *MS* suum.
c *Or* hoc.
d perficietur *duplicated in MS*.
e *Followed by seal*.
f *Followed by seal*.
g *Followed by seal*.
h *Followed by seal*.
i *Followed by seal on top of 72^{v}*.
j *Followed by seal*.
k *Or* Casfrielis?
l *Followed by seal*.
a *Followed by four lines of seals*.
b Sic *in MS, here and in following cases*.
c *Followed by two lines of seals*.
d *Followed by two lines of seals*.
e *Followed by one line of seals*.
f *Followed by five lines of seals*.
g *Followed by two lines of seals*.
h *Followed by five lines of seals*.
i *Followed by one line of seals*.
j *Followed by two lines of seals, and three further lines at the top of 74^{r}*.
k *Followed by one line of signs*.
l *Followed by four lines of signs*.
m *Followed by one line of signs*.
n *Followed by 6 lines of signs at the top of 74^{v}*.
o Sic *in MS*.

a Sic *in MS.*
b r *in* Gabriel *partly blotted out in MS.*
c *Or* Capciel?
d Sic *in MS.*
a Sic *in MS.*
b *Followed in MS by* Sylol, Candas, *struck through.*
c Sic *in MS.*
d *Followed in MS by* Comas, *deleted.*
e Sic *in MS?*
a fumi *blotted out in MS.*
b Sic *in MS, for* cygminus?
c *Meaning* linguas?
d Sic *in MS?*
e *MS* Hee.
a um *blotted out in MS.*
b *Initial* i *blotted out in MS.*
c *Followed by* Quacumque die septimane.
d *Meaning* quod illa sint operi faciendo conueniencia?
a *MS* quilibet.
b *MS* uel.
c *MS* prosunt *(here and in the following five cases).*
a *Corrected in MS from* Ybas *(?).*
b *This entire paragraph seems obscurely written.*
a *MS* horas.
b *Meaning* admittendam *or* admittendorum?
c *Presumably meaning* venandum.
d Sic *in MS.*
e c *added above line in MS.*
f *MS* itenerandum.
a *Presumably meaning* opera eis pertinencia.
b Sic *in MS.*
c *Corrected in margin of MS from* nothis.
d *First* a *inserted above line, substituting for a letter that is blotted out.*
a Sic *in MS.*

b *Blotted out in MS.*
c *MS* 12.
d Sic *in MS.*
e *Corrected in MS from* luna.
f *MS* eiusque.
g Sic *in MS.*
a *MS* stangno.
b *Or* hoc.
c *Or* hec.
d *Presumably meaning* quibus creauit.
e *In margin of MS:* Nota nomina, *and pointing hand.*
f *Meaning* hanc [ymaginem]?
g *MS* appariat *or* apperiat [appiat].
h *MS* ymaginem.
i *MS* conglutinaando.
j *MS* sepelieas.
k Sic *in MS?*
l *Or* hoc.
m *Meaning* quoque?
n Sic *in MS.*
o *MS* hore.
p *MS* aut.
q *MS* virtute.
r et *slightly malformed, and duplicated above line in MS.*
s *MS* tona.
t *Heading added in margin of MS.*
u *Meaning* ad?
v *Meaning* depopulaturum?
w Sic *in MS?*
x *Followed in MS by* p, *struck through.*
y *Perhaps meaning* sub similitudine bestie de qua quesieris?
z Sic *in MS.*
a *Followed in MS by* te, *struck through.*
b *Followed in MS by* pueri *(?), struck through.*
c Sic *in MS.*
a *MS* lignium.
b Sic *in MS.*
c Sic *in MS?*
d Sic *in MS.*
e Sic *in MS?*
f *Or* hec.
g Sic *in MS?*
h Sic *in MS.*
i Sic *in MS?*
j Sic *in MS.*
k *Followed in MS by sign for* con-, *blotted out.*
l *Followed in MS by* eam, *deleted.*
m Sic *in MS?*
n *MS* proprie.
o *MS* comburendam.

p Sic *in MS?*
q *Followed in MS by* creauit te, *struck through*.
r Sic *in MS*.
s Sic *in MS*.
t *Followed in MS by* Vertart, *struck through*.
u *Followed in MS by* aues, *deleted*.
v *MS* absidentem.
w Sic *in MS?*
a *Or* hec.
b *MS* nullo.
c Sic *in MS*.
d Sic *in MS*.
e *Or* hoc.
f *Presumably meaning* ministrancium.
g *This entire paragraph appears to be obscurely written*.
h Sic *in MS?*
i *Or* hec.
j *Possibly meaning* et cupitis scire istam scienciam.
k Sic *in MS*.
l Sic *in MS?*
m Sic *in MS?*
n Sic *in MS?*
o Sic *in MS?*
p *MS* mensis.
q *MS* Octobri et Nouembri.
r Sic *in MS?*
s *Followed in MS by* et.
t *MS* que.
u Sic *in MS?*
v *MS* si.
w *MS* 2am horam.
x *MS* Cancer.
y *MS* que.
z Sic *in MS?*
a -ne—*accompanied by dots normally indicating deletion. Perhaps an adverb is intended?*
b *Or* hoc.
c Sic *in MS*.
d *MS* virtus.
e *MS* mensis.
f *MS* Decembris.
g *Meaning* sunt?
h Sic *in MS?*
i Sic *in MS?*
j *Meaning* dominum?
k Sic *in MS?*
l Sic *in MS*.
m Sic *in MS?*
n *MS* formam.
o Sic *in MS?*
p *MS* eas.

q Sic *in MS?*
r *MS* mean.
s Sic *in MS?*
t *MS* misericordiam.
u *Corrected in MS from* Safea *(?).*
v Sic *in MS?*
w Sic *in MS?*
x Sic *in MS?*
y Sic *in MS?*
z Sic *in MS?*
a Sic *in MS.*
b *MS* meam casam.
c *MS* tali filia.
d *Perhaps intended for* furebat.
e *The final words read like fragments of instruction that do not belong to the conjuration, but the passage is evidently confused.*
f *MS* ad.
g *Meaning* eorum?
h *Meaning* virginea?
i *Meaning* ponas?
j *MS* eas.
k Sic *in MS?*
l *I.e., Saturn (the spirit) of Styx.*
m Sic *in MS?*
n Sic *in MS?*
o Sic *in MS.*
p *Followed in MS by* Osan *(?), struck through.*
q *MS* pre.
a *MS* qui.
b *This passage appears confused.*
c Sic *in MS.*
d Sic *in MS*?
e *MS* throni.
f et *added above line in MS.*
g *MS* supradicte.
h *MS* eius.
i *MS* secundo.
j *Written on right side of page.*
k *Written on right side of page.*
l *Followed in MS by* Terogat, *struck through.*
m *Written on right side of page.*
n *Written on right side of page.*
o *Followed in MS by* Abra, *struck through.*
p *MS* dominice.
q *Followed in MS by an extraneous* et, *struck through.*
r *MS* mensis.
s *MS etc.*
t Sic *in MS.*
u Sic *in MS.*
v *This passage appears confused.*

w *MS* tempori.
x Sic *in MS.*
y *Meaning* certa?
z *Changed in margin to* sint.
a *MS* capitulum.
b *MS* parcium.
c *Meaning* habes?
d Sic *in MS.*
e *Meaning* subsequenter?
f *MS* destruandas.
g *Followed in MS by* de, *struck through.*
h *MS* que.
i Sic *in MS.*
j *Followed in MS by* Agnas, Yna, Yana, dei Israel, Ybat, Subat, *struck through*.
k *Pointing hand drawn in margin, with inscription* Nota nomina.
l *MS* est.
m *MS* dei.
n *MS* laboras.
o *Followed in MS by blot.*
p *MS* Quos.
q *Or* Aginas?
r *Second pointing hand shown in margin of fol. 95r.*
s *MS* est.
t *Followed in MS by three signs, given next to each other across the page.*
u *MS* quod.
v s *struck through in MS?*
w Sic *in MS?*
x Sic *in MS?*
y Sic *in MS?*
z Sic *in MS.*
a *Followed in MS by* ange, *struck through.*
b Sic *in MS? Third letter is blotted out.*
c *MS* temporum.
d Sic *in MS?*

No. 38. For obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail (fols 96v–99v) [a]

Accipe puerum virgineum de legittimo thoro, et socios quos tibi placuerint, et vadas ad locum secretum, et facias circulos 3es cum gladio. Ad primum dic, *In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.* Ad secundum dic, *In nomine indiuidue trinitatis, Alpha et O, deus et homo.* Ad 3m dic, *Ego te facio per illum qui creauit celum et terram, mare et omnia que in eis sunt.* [b]

Hoc finito, fac quod vnusquisque habeat gladium suum, et non minus 4or gladiis extractis, et accipe sedem tripedem, et pone inferiorem circulum, et scribas [97r] nomen pueri ad sedem, et benedic puerum per hanc

benediccionem, circu[i]endo per caput eius cum gladio, dicens, Crux Christi tecum. Crux Christi est quam semper adoro. Crux Christi est vera salus. Crux Christi soluit vinculum mortis. Crux Christi est invincibilis per arma. Crux Christi est mobile signum. Crux Christi superat omne malum.

Et da [c] puero gladium tenere ad manus, et fac illi crucem ad frontem, dicendo, *Crux sancta sanctificet* [d] *te et omnes oraciones sacerdotum benedicant te.*

Et fac puerum sedere ad sedem, et radas sibi vngwem cum cultello, et vnge sibi vngwem cum oleo oliue, et tunc benedicas socios tuos, semper vnum post alium, et te ipsum cum predicta benediccione, sicut tu puerum benedixisti. Et facias eos sedere, vnum post alium, ad inferiorem circulum, et da vnicuique gladium suum tenere ad manum, et facias eos habere silencium, et fac puerum cla[u]dere oculos, et benedic puerum et te ipsum et omnes socios tuos per inicium sancti ewangelij secundum Johannem: *In principio erat verbum, et verbum erat aput deum, etc.* [Jn 1:1].

Hoc finito, fac puerum inspicere vngwem quousque se reuertat et ipse coniurare, *Vmon, Progemon, Mithiomo, Pist, Vralchim, Althes, Panite, Fabar, Thobar, Cormes, Felsmes, Diles, Dilia, Dies, Onaris, coniuro vos demones prenominatos, per hec nomina sancta, On, Ton,* [97v] *Gon, Ron, Apt,* [e] *Galapt,* [f] *Ivs,* [g] *Calens, Timel, vt citissime iam nullam requiem habeatis, nec in celo nec sub celo, nec in terra nec sub terra, nec in pluuiis nec in ventis, nec in nubibus nec in aeribus, nec in ignibus nec in aquis, nec in abissis nec in arundinibus, nec in ponis* [h] *nec in aliis quibus*[*cumque*] *locis, nisi furem cum furto isto puero ostendens* [i] *vngwem istius pueri virginei oleo linito crescere, clarescere, tanta latitudinis apparere, vt poterit euidenter videre in eo furem et furtum factum nobis ablatum, et locum vbi adhuc latet,* [j] *et quicumque cum ipso furto actum.*

Tunc sibyla ter. Ad primum dic, *O domine* [k] *Ihesu Christe.* Ad secundum dic, *O deus fortis.* Ad 3m dic, *O potestas.*

Hoc finito, dic coniuracionem: *Coniuro vos, principes omnium demoniorum, Astaroth, Belzebub, Berit, Fornicator, Temptator, et Seductor, Possessor hominum, Natheus, Molbet.* [l] *Precipio vobis vt vestrum vnus in forma nigra veniat vt iste puer possit eum euidenter videre in sua vngwe.*

Hoc finito, queras a puero si videt latitudinem at altitudinem in suo

vngwe. Si non, dimittas formam nigram et incipe predictam coniuracionem vsque quod videbit omnia. [m] Tunc facias venire sicut prius posui, eciam precipias ipsis per hec nomina: *El, Eloy, Elyon, Aloe, Sappa, Sother, Emanuel, Tetragramaton, Saday, Luamay, Athanatos, Ysos, Kyrie, Primogenitus, Vita, Finis, Via, Flos, Fons, Ve-* [98r] *ritas, Sapiencia, Virtus, Paraclitus, Ego sum qui sum, Mediator, Agnus, Ouis, Vitulus, Serpens, Aries, Leo, Os, Verbum, Ianua, Ymago, Gloria, Lux, Sol, Splendor, Lapis angularis, Sponsus, Pastor, Propheta, Sacerdos, Immortalis, Lex, Rex, Christus, Pater, Filius, Spiritus Sanctus, Agla, Petra, Eternitas, Neon, Burnon, Parli, Caon, Aepton, Alpha et O, Omnipotens, Misericors, Caritas, Eternus Creator et Redemptor, Primus et Nouissimus, Dator et Receptor, Ayos, Otheos, Yschyros, Sanctus Deus, Fortis et Paciens, Iustus Iudex in vltimo die. Per ista lxxija nomina Christi precipio vobis vt michi sitis obedientes et isto puero virgineo de qua re et de qua interrogacione quod factum est* [*nichil*] *retineatis, quod verum est numeretis et dicatis.*

Hoc finito, queras si videt demonem saltantem et gaudentem. Tunc dic ad puerum, et facias ad socios tuos simul loqui quod puer non habeat timorem. Hoc finito, incipe coniurare et fac istum recedere et furem cum furto minare: [n]

Coniuro vos, prenominatos demones,

- *per istum qui creauit celum et terram et omnia que in eis sunt,* • *et per istum qui nos et vos creauit et nos redemit cum suo precioso sangwine,* • *et per istum qui venturus est,* • *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,* • *et per sanctam obedienciam,* • *et per corpus domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui hodie et cottidie celebratur per vniuersum mundum,* • *et per sanctam trinitatem,* • *per deitatem,* • [98v] *per humanitatem,* • *per deum verum,* • *per deum viuum,* • *per deum sanctum,* • *per deum omnipotentem,* • *per sanctam Mariam, matrem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,* • *per eius vnicum filium,* • *et per tremendum diem iudicij,* • *per resurrex*[*i*]*onem omnium mortuorum, vt recedas et furem cum furto* [*et*] *loco, cui adducas, vt iste puer euidenter possit videre furem cum furto N.*

Non [o] dicas aliam coniuracionem: Coniuro vos, prenominatos demones,

- *per annunciacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,* • *per sacrum ieiunium domini nostri Ihesu Christi,* • *per baptismum domini nostri Ihesu Christi,* • *per temptacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,* • *per passionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,* • *per milia sex wlnera domini nostri Ihesu Christi,* • *per centum sex wlnera domini nostri Ihesu Christi,* • *per quinquaginta sex wlnera domini nostri Ihesu Christi, sine alijs de capite vsque ad plantas,* • *per spineam coronam quam in capite domini nostri Ihesu Christi posuerunt et genua flectebant* [*et*] *illudebant sibi, dicentes, 'Aue rex Iudeorum',* • *per arundinem et alapas, quibus Christum cedebant,* • *et per 3es clauos,* • *per lanceam qua sacratum corpus domini nostri Ihesu Christi perforatum est dum continuo exiuit sa*[*n*]*gwis et aqua,* • *per*

emissionem sue sanctitatis domini nostri Ihesu Christi, 'In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum', • *per anxietatem quam beata virgo Maria, mater domini nostri Ihesu Christi, habuit dum vidit filium eius pendentem in cruce, dicens, 'Flecte ramos, arbor alta,' et non secundum quod compositum est ex 4or litteris, scilicet Alpha et O, deus et homo factus.* [p]

Coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per omnes sanctos angelos, thronos, et dominaciones, principatus, potestates, virtutes celorum, cherubin et seraphin, qui non cessant* [99r] *clamare, dicen*[*te*]*s, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus',* • *et per virtutem domini nostri Ihesu Christi, scilicet propter nos homines descendit de celis et natus ext ex Maria virgine, sub Poncio Pylato passus est,* • *et per 3es angelos, scilicet Michael, Gabriel,* [*et*] *Raphael,* • *et per dominicam oracionem, scilicet Pater noster,* • *per vij candelabra que in manibus angelorum odoriferum,* • *per eorum miracula deo beneplacita, qui sunt sub christiana.* [q]

Hoc finito, queras a puero si videt. Si non, tunc dic hanc coniuracionem: Coniuro vos, prenominati demones,

- *per 4or ewangelistas, Lucam, Marcum, Matheum, Johannem,* • *per 4or sermones,* • *per xij apostolos,* • *per 3es magos, scilicet Caspar, Balthasar,* [*et*] *Melchior,* • *per patriarchas* [*et*] *prophetas,* • *per martires et confessores,* • *et per omnes papas Romanorum, et omnes virgines et viduas,* • *et per omnes episcopos,* • *et per omnes abbates,* • *per omnes priores,* • *per omnes preponitos,* • *per omnes archidiaconos,* • *et per omnes deconos,* • *per omnes monachos,* • *per omnes moniales,* • *per omnes sacerdotes,* • *per omnes dyaconos et subdyaconos,* • *per omnes sanctos dei,* • *per merita omnium sanctorum,* • *per omnem populum Christianorum,* • *et per omnes sanctos qui sunt in celo et in tera,* • *et per centum et* [r] *xliiij milia innocentum qui non sunt loquentes loqui in puericia, passi sunt supplicia,* • *per omnes karacteres Salomonis,* • *per sapienciam suam,* • *per omnia experimenta Virgilij,* • *per celum et terram,* • *per mare,* • *per omnia que in eis sunt,* • *per omnes Cesares,* • *per omnes* [99v] *reges,* • *per omnes principes,* • *per comites,* • *per omnes milites,* • *per omnes ciues.*

Hoc finito, queras si videt furem cum furto et si venisti ad finem. Tunc terge puero vngwem tunica tua, et accipias vnugla[m] pueri, [s] et benedicas puerum tali modo, faciendo crucem cum gladio ad 4or partes corporis sui, dicendo, *Pater, Filius, Spiritus Sanctus, sancti,* [t] *custodiant te*. Et fac puerum gladium recipere ante se, et exire de circulo, et omnibus sociis tuis ita facies et tibi.

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a *This experiment begins a section that is labelled on fol. 96v as follows:* Incipiunt experimenta verissima et probata: Incipiunt experimenta verissima et probata, primum ad omnia indaganda que volueris, siue presencia, siue preterita, siue futura, *etc.*

b *Cf. Ps. 145:6 Vulg.*

c *MS* dat.

d *MS* sanctificat.

e Sic *in MS?*

f Sic *in MS?*

g Sic *in MS?*

h *Meaning* pontibus?

i *MS* ostendans.

j *MS* iatet.

k *Followed in MS by first stroke of an* x, *struck through.*
l Sic *in MS?*
m omnia, *written in margin of MS, probably belongs here.*
n *Presumably for* minari.
o *Meaning* nunc?
p Sic *in MS.*
q Sic *in MS.*
r *Followed in MS by* l, *struck through.*
s *MS* domini.
t Sic *in MS.*

No. 39. For obtaining information by gazing into a fingernail (fols 99v–103r) Incipit secundum [experimentum] bonum et probatum. [a]

[100r] Accipe puerum virginem de legittimo thoro, et fac 3es circulos. Ad primum circulum dic, *In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.* Ad secundum dic psalmum *Celi enarrant.* [b] Ad 3m dic *Deus tuum regi da.* [c] Post hec, [d] accipe sedem tripedem quercinium, et subtus scribe nomen pueri, et sub pedibus pueri scribatur hoc nomen Tetragramaton, et ponantur desuper duo lapides, ne puer tangat nomen pedibus. Postea scribe in manubrio cultelli et nomen pueri et hec nomina: Istath, Hoaz, Abays, Fastich; et in pollice scribe Alpha et O. Deinde rada vngwem dextri pollicis [e] cultello, cuius manubrium sit factum de cornu nigro uel albo.

Deinde dic, *Domine, secundum peccata, etc.* [f] Postea fac crucem ✠ tali modo in fronte pueri, dicens, *Tu qui es Alpha et O, fac verum dicere puerum virginem istum, N., qui est creatura tua. In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.* Et dic, *Domine Ihesu, fili dei viui, qui pro nobis peccatoribus de synu Patris descendisti ad terram, ostende nobis veritatem. Amen.* Deinde susurra puero ad aurem dextram, *Sathan, Belzebub, Astaroth, Berith, Azraro, Rotunda;* hec [g] dic ter.

Deinde intra circulos et pone te contra faciem pueri, et tunc lineas vngwem pueri rasum cum oleo oliue, et da puero cultellum ad manum, et dic, *Abgo, Safrit, Bos, Zelentes, Vm, Vom, Motmyo, Thitodens,* [h] *Gemitias,* [i] *Gana, Vresius, Pharachte, Foliath, Gebath, Dyrus,* [100v] *Virus, Vnyrus, Peamde, Febat, Gebat, Tyros, Vijas,* [j] *Nubar, Azathi, coniuro vos prenominatos demones • per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, • per deum omnipotentem, • per Ihesum Christum filium eius, • et per trinitatem illius, • et per ipsam prouidenciam quam deus in mente habuit prius quam mundus fieret,* [*vt*] *obediatis imperio meo, non per virtutem meam sed per virtutem magestatis omnipotentis dei. Coniuro et contestor vos demones*

• *per sapienciam eternitatis dei, qua celum supra stare fecit, terram autem deorsum fundauit et perfecit, elementorum que* [k] *in opus mundi connexit,* • *et per prudenciam qua deus lucem a tenebris separauit et vtrumque creauit, vt arte et magisterio, a magistro vestro Astaroth vobis concessa, vngwem huius pueri, N., oleo linitum, crescere et clarescere faciatis et procreare latitudinem, vt apparere possit euidenter et videre in eo furem et furtum nobis ablatum, et* [l] *locum de quo ablatum est, et in quem locum translatum est, et vbi adhuc positum est, et quidquid ex ipso furto* [m] *actum est. Item adiuro vos prenominatos demones* • *per verbum dei, quo celum et terram creauit et herbam virentem in ea genere suo, solem et lunam et stellas et signum et tempora, fulgura et tonitrua, voces,* [n] *et omnia quecumque sint in terra, mare, et inferno,* vt arte, *etc.* Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones • *per annunciacionem,* • *per natiuitatem,* • *per circumcisionem,* • *per baptismum Christi,* • *et per omnia que fecit Ihesus in Chana Galylee quando conuertit aquam et vinum,* [101r] *ut arte, etc. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones* • *per ieiunium Christi,* • *et per istum gressum quando in Monte Oliuete ascendere voluerit adorandum Patrem, dicendo, 'Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste';* [o]

- *et per sudorem sa*[*n*]*gwineum Ihesu Christi, qui de suo corpore emanauit pro nobis peccatoribus,* • *et per omnia archana secretorum,* • *per sa*[*n*]*gwineas guttas sudoris Christi,* • *per solem obscuratum,* • *per lunam conuersam in sa*[*n*]*gwinem et terribilem clamorem Christi pendentis in ligno crucis,* • *per sup*[*p*]*licium mortis,* • *et per emissionem sui sanctissimi spiritus,* • *et per istam virtutem qua velum templi cissum est, et inquinamenta aperta sunt,* • *et per misterium sacri sepulchri,* • *et per virtutem dei,* • *et per dispositionem* [p] *diuine ordinacionis,* • *et per* [q] *dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, quem adoramus, crucifixum, passum, et sepultum credimus, et scimus resurrexisse et* [*in*] *celos ascendisse confitemus,* vt arte, *etc.* Coniuro vos prenominatos demones • *per celum et terram, mare et omnia que in eis sunt;* • *et per omnia que concludunt 4or partes mundi,* • *et per serpencia et volatilia celi, bipedia, tripedia,* [*et*] *quadrupedia,* • *et per omnes aereas potestates, vt arte (vt supra).*

Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per angelos et archangelos, per thronos et dominaciones, principatus et potestates, per virtutes celorum, per cherubin et seraphin,* • *et per diuinum officium miseracionis,* • *et per eos qui prosunt,* • *et per omnia* [101v] *que subiecta sunt omnipotenti deo,* • *et* [r] *per ipsum omnipotentem deum qui ex nichilo creauit cuncta* [*et*] *ad laudem et ad gloriam nominis sui fecit,* vt arte, *etc.* Coniuro vos prenominatos demones • *per v secula et vij etates mundi,* • *et per tremendum diem iudicij* • *et per lxij nomina Christi,* • [*et per*] *etatem et claritatem Christi, quam habuit prius quam mundus fieret,* • *et per centum et xliiij milia innocentum ante deum astancium,* • *et omnes ordines ecclesiasticos,* vt arte, *etc.* Coniuro vos prenominatos demones • *per coeternam sapienciam dei, qua deus hominem creauit cum non esset, et Adam* [s] *ad ymaginem et similitudinem suam formauit, vt arte,* [*etc.*]. *Coniuro vos prenominatos demones* • *per sanctissima nomina Christi: Messyas, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Panthon, Panthocrathon, Eloy, Theos, Hon,* [t] *Visio, Saluator, Alpha et O, primus et nouissimus, primogenitus, principium et finis, via, veritas, et sapiencia, virtus, paraclitus, ego sum qui sum, qui es, mediator, agnus, ouis, aries, vitulus, serpens, edus, verbum, ymago, gloria, gracia, salus, lux, sal, pax, splendor, panis, fons, vitis, pastor, propheta, spes immortalis, rex, pater, omnipotens, misericors, eternus,* [u] *summum bonum, trinitas, vnitas, pater, El, Eloy, Eloe, Eleon, Saday, Symator, Tu, Ye, Ye, princeps pacis, Enstriel,* [102r] *spiritus, timor, pietas, tu, vnitas vnitatis, trina deitas,* vt arte, *etc.* Coniuro vos prenominatos demones • *per fidem prophetarum,* • *per preconia patriarcharum,* • *per dignitatem xxiiijor seniorum,* • *et per symbolum apostolorum,* • *et per passionem sanctissimorum martyrum,* • *per confessionem piorum confessorum,* • *et per continenciam sanctarum virginum ac viduarum,* • *et per omnes sanctos et electos dei,* • *et per 4or ewangeliastas et eorum ewangelia,* vt arte, *etc.* Coniuro vos prenominatos demones • *per salutem omnium sanctorum, viuorum et mortuorum,* • *et per sancta sacrificia sacerdotum,* • *et per omnes diuinos oraciones sanctorum,* • *et per omnia corpora sanctorum dei,* • *et per eorum animas in statu salutis eterne,* vt arte, *etc.*

Si puer non videt ad tunc, [v] dicas, Jaspar, Balthasar, Melchior, Smoagel, Emanuel, et deus fortis, te deprecor vt ungula N. efficiatur lata et crescat et clarescat.

Ad quamlibet coniuracionem debet operans puerum interrogare si vngwis crescat. Si non, repetatur eadem coniuracio, *Jaspar*, *etc.*, donec videat crescentem, latam, et magnam, quousque sufficiat. Quere a puero si aliquid videat. Si [w] videt, dic statim sub ungwe hanc coniuracionem: Lytim, cum tuis subditis Ygrim, Andyron, Vzmyas, Ytelteos, Zymens, Bylent, Baruth, precipio vobis, demones, • *per omnipotentem deum, viuum et verum,* • *et per tres magos Jaspar, Balthasar,* [*et*] *Melchior, vt veniatis, vbicumque sitis, ad visionem istius pueri, N., veris* [x] *in specie humana, et in specie istorum qui hoc furtum perpetra-* [102v] *uerunt.*

Quere a puero si aliquid videat. Si non, repetatur eadem oratio, Lytmy, donec appareant.

Ipsis autem apparentibus, dic hanc coniuracionem: *Precipio vobis, demones, per trinitatem et inseparabilem vnitatem que facta fuit super ipsum in Iordanis flumine, in* [y] *columbe specie, quod vos ostendatis et dicetis huic puero, N., vbi acceptum uel reconditum sit hoc furtum, et in quo loco adhuc restat.*

Si adhuc non prodest, dic hanc coniuracionem:

> *Coniuro vos demones et precipio vobis per nomen Naamay, Syy, qui Syrum de lepra mundauit, et Danielem de lacu leonum liberauit, et 3es pueros* [z] *de camino ignis illesos abire fecit, quod vobis detis auctoritatem huic puero, N., audiendi, interrogandi, et videndi.*

Post coniuracionem factam, fac puerum claudere oculos, et purga sibi vngwem, et fac crucem super eum, ante eum, [et] retro eum, et accipe sibi cultellum de manu. Postea benedic te et ipsum, et dele circulum, et exeas secure cum eo, scilicet puero. Cum autem vis exire circulum, dic, *Pax ipsi* [a] *sit nobis et vobis.* Tunc reges recedunt ad propria regna, et dic, *Cum vos iterum* [b] *vocauero, sitis parati obedire michi. Hoc* [c] *vobis precipio* • *per eternum et viuum deum, qui in cruce passus* [*est*] *et ex latere eius exiuit sa*[*n*]*gwis et aqua.*

Insuper precipio vobis

- *per hostiam sanctam, per hostiam puram, per hostiam inmaculatam, qui est Ihesus Christus,* vt cito michi tunc veniatis et omnem voluntatem meam adimpleatis. Amen. *Etc.*

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a *This line is given twice; between the two occurrences is the following figure: a triple circlar band, with the inscription* In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti *in the outermost band;* In nomine indiuidue trinitatis, Alpha et O, deus et homo *in the middle band, and* Ego te facio per illum qui creauit celum et terram, mare et omnia que in eis sunt *in the innermost band.*

b *Ps. 18 Vulg.*

c *Cf. Ps. 71:2 Vulg.* (deus, iudicium tuum regi da). *Figure at top of fol. 103r: a triple circular band, with* In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti *in the outer band,* Celi enarrant *in the middle band, and* Deus tuum *[*sic*]* regi da *in the innermost.*

d *Or* hoc.

e *Followed in MS by* cuius.

f *Cf. Ps. 102:10 Vulg.* (non secundum peccata nostra fecit nobis) *and Ps. 118:65 Vulg.* (Domine, secundum verbum tuum).

g *Or* hoc.

h *Or* Chitodens.

i Sic *in MS?*

j Sic *in MS?*

k *MS* quos.

l *Followed in MS by* in.

m *MS* furtu.

n *MS* tunitrua.

o *Cf. Matt. 26:39.*

p *MS* disponsicionis.

q *Followed in MS by* Ihesum.

r *MS* vt.

s Sic *in MS?* adia – *should be a form of 'adicio', but 'adam' is required.*

t *For Greek* ho on.

u *Line over* u *deleted in MS.*

v *Meaning* adhuc?

w *MS etc.*

x *Meaning* venientes?

y *MS* eciam.

z *MS* puero.

a *Meaning* Christi?

b *Followed in MS by* vobi, *deleted.*

c *Or* hec.

No. 40. For obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail (fols 103r–105v) Experimentum verum de furtu et probatum.

In ortu solis fac 3es circulos, et crucem in medietate circulorum, [a] et fac tibi porrigere sedem tripedem de quercu et cultellum cum manubrio albo et linito cum oleo oliue. Hoc facto, scribe diuisim hec [b] xxiijor nomina; sunt 4or literas uel lapides parum latos et 3es literas pone subtus sedem et vnam subtus pedem [c] pueri, et ipsa omnia nomina subscripta [103v] scribe super vnam literam, quam pones super caput pueri. Hoc facto, tolle puerum ad circulos et loca puerum super sedem. Vertas sibi faciem contra orientem, et scabe puero ambas ungwes pollicis, et pone sibi vnum pollicem super alium, et scribe super manubrium nomen pueri et Astaroth, et des puero cultellum ad manus, ita quod cultellus sit subtus pollices. Hoc facto, vnge puero ungwem superiorem cum oleo oliue ad modum crucis, in omni pietate electa, vt illictis et districtis appareatis in vngwe istius pueri, N. Tu vero sede super sedem qualemcumque volueris, et tu tene puerum inter genua, et dic vt diligenter inspiciat ad vngwem. Hoc facto, caues ne aliquas operaciones habeas sextis aut sabbatis diebus.

Hec sunt nomina que scribi debent: in nomine Progeneri, Mutimo, Possunt, Thomopest, Vtany, Votanes, Filij, Fibos, Fibet, Baruth, Sachith, Propiietas, Voltam, Panyte, Farum, Farum, Farum, Cubarum, Crutines, Tyrygel, Dyrus, Formys, Fembusalk, Berith, Sathanas.

Incipe coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos, demones,

- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctam,* • *et per incarnacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,* • *per baptismum Christi,* • *per ieiunium Christi,* • *per mortem Christi,* • *per passionem Christi,* • *per resurrexionem Christi,* • *per ascensionem,* • *per adventum Spiritus Sancti paracliti,* • *per* [104r] *tremendum diem iudicij, in* [d] *quo omnes estis dampnandi, vt appareatis in vngwe istius pueri, N., in specie furis uel furum qui rem aut res istius hominis, N., accepit; absque omni decepcione appareatis, sicut promisistis. Emogeni, Thomo, Gyton, Sertugidis,* [e] *Jubutzis.*

Tu qui es Alpha et O, fac verum dicere hunc puerum, N., virgineum, qui est creatura tua. Justus es, [f] *domine, et rectum iudicium tuum.* [g] *In circuito tuo, domine, lumen, est et non deficiet. Nichil occultum quod non reueletur, et coopertum quod non sciatur. Domine Ihesu Christe, fili dei viui, qui propter nos peccatores de sinu Patris descendisti ad terram, ostende nobis tuam* [*veritatem*] *et veritatem huius rei.*

Abgoth, Sanfrielis, Selentis, Vniueny, Vtimo, Geremittarum, Dydones, Rayma, Rofanes, Panyte, Fabath, Gallath, Dyrus, Fyrus, Virytus, Finibet, Arath. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones • *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, et deum omnipotentem, Ihesum Christum*

filium eius vnigenitum, • *et per deitatem ipsius,* • *et per ipsam prouidenciam quam deus habuit prius quam mundus fieret,* vt obediatis imperio meo. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones • *per sapienciam dei, qua deus celum sursum stare fecit et terram deorsum fundauit, et mare in termino suo collocauit,* • *et per virtutem qua deus confusionem elementorum in opus mundi convertit,* • *et per* [104v] *sapienciam dei, qua deus lucem et tenebras creauit, qui diem ac noctem adunauit, vt arte et magisterio a magistro vestro Asef Caroth vobis concessa sicut* [h] *sunt vt faciatis vngwem istius pueri, N., oleo linitum, crescere et clarescere et tante latitudinis comparere, quod euidenter iste puer, N., in eo videre possit furem uel fures et furtum furis nobis ablatum, et rei locus* [i] *de quo ablatum est, et locum in quem deportatum est, et locum in quo adhuc latet, et quidquid cum ipso furto est, vt huic reueletis. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones* • *per magistrum vestrum Astaroth, vt compareatis* [j] *in forma furis et furti, et quidquid cum hoc furto factum est ad nostram faciatis noticiam pervenire. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones* • *per illum qui fecit celum et terram et herbam virentem in genere suo, solem et lunam et stellas celi, signa et tempora, fulgura et tunitrua, voces et omnia quecumque in terra, in mari,* [*et*] *in inferno sunt,* vt arte, *etc.* Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones • *per ieiunium domini nostri Ihesu Christi,* • *et per iter quod fecit ad montem Oliueti ad orandum Patrem, 'Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste',* vt arte, *etc.* Coniuro vos prenominatos demones • *per v wlnera domini nostri Ihesu Christi, et fixuras cla-* [105r] *uorum,* • *et per lanceam et clauos quibus crucifixus est dominus.*

Coniuro [*vos*] *prenominatos demones* • *per omnia que concludunt 4or partes mundi,* • *et per etates mundi,* • *et per omnia animalia que sub celo sunt,* • *et per serpencia et volatilia, bipedia, tripedia,* [*et*] *quadrupedia,* • *et per omnes aereas potestates,* vt arte, *etc.* Coniuro vos prenominatos demones • *per tollerancia*[*m*] *spinee corone* [k] *quam sustinuit dominus suo capite,* • *et per poculum quo potatus est in cruce felle et aceto.* [l]

Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones

- *per angelos et archangelos, thronos et dominaciones, principatus, potestates, virtutes celorum, cherubin et seraphin,* • *et per dominicum sacrificium et officium miseracionis,* • *et per eos qui presunt aliis,* • *et per omnia que sunt deo subiecta,* • *et per deum omnipotentem,* • *et per deum qui ex nichilo omnia creauit ad laudem et ad gloriam sui nominis ac magestatis,* [m]

vt arte, etc. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones • *per coeternam sapienciam qua* [n] *deus hominem creauit cum non esset, condidit ad ymaginem et similitudinem suam, vt arte, etc. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones* • *per fidem prophetarum,* • *per preconia patriarcharum,* • *per dignitatem xxiiij seniorum,* • *per symbolum apostolorum,* • *per passionem sanctissimorum martyrum,* • *per confessionem piorum confessorum,* • *et per continenciam sanctarum virginum ac viduarum,* • *et per lacrimas beate Marie virginis, quas fudit, [105v] et per planctum sancti Johannis ewangeliste, cum viderunt Ihesum Christum in cruce exspiratum,* • *et per solis obscuracionem et lunam versam in sa[n]gwinem in signa transacta Filij dei,* • *et per tremendum diem iudicij in quo omnes estis dampnandi, vt appareatis in vngwe istius pueri, N., in specie furis uel furum qui* [o] *rem uel res istius hominis, N., ac[c]eperit ad nostram noticiam faciatis peruenire.* [p]

Finito experimento, dic hunc versam: Protege, salua, benedic, sanctifica populum cunctum per crucis signum domini. Morbos auerte corporis et anime. Hoc contra signum nullum stet periculum. Amen. Per crucis hoc signum defendat nos Ihesus Christus. Amen.

a *Figure at bottom of fol. 105v: a triple circular band, with a cross dividing the interior into four wedges. The outermost circle has the inscription,* ✠ Hunc circulum facio in nomine Patris omnipotentis dei, qui solo verbo cuncta creauit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, dextera domini exaltauit me, non moriar sed viuam et narrabo opera domini. Castigans ca- *(finished outside the circle:* stigauit dominus*). The middle circle bears the inscription,* ✠ Hunc circulum facio in nomine filij unigeniti dei viui, qui humanum genus proprio sangwine redemit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, dextera domini exaltauit me, non moriar sed viuam et narrabo opera. *The innermost band contains the inscription,* ✠ Hunc circulum facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracliti, qui corda apostolorum et prophetarum suorum sanctissima gracia *[MS* sanctissimam graciam*]* illustrauit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, *etc. The word* onus *appears at the edge of each wedge. Toward the middle are the fragments* Fren, ---p'on *(?),* on *and* N.p *(presumably for* Nomen pueri.

b *Followed in MS by* nomina, *deleted.*

c m *blotted out in MS.*

d in *blotted out in MS.*

e Sic *in MS?*

f *MS* est.
g *Ps. 118:137 Vulg.*
h Sic *in MS.*
i Sic *in MS.*
j *MS* comparaeatis.
k *MS* corane.
l *MS* acceto.
m *Followed in MS by* fecit.
n *MS* quo.
o *MS* uel.
p *Followed in MS by* vt arte, etc., *extraneously added.*

No. 41. For discovering hidden treasure in sleep (fol. 106r–106v) A[d] sciendum vbi thesaurum sit absconditum, primum est quod oportet hominem confiteri generaliter peccata sua, luna crescente, videlicet die dominico, sole existente in leone, de mane. Et cum a prima surrexeris, asperge te aqua benedicta, dicens antyfonam, *Asperges me, domine, ysopo, etc.* totam, cum *Gloria Patri.* Postea vade ad crucifixum et dic coram eo *Miserere mei, deus* totum, semper respiciendo crucifixum, cum omni deuocione. Et cum hec dixeris, tunc dic deuotissime corde et contrito, *O rabi, rabi, rex meus et deus meus ac dominus dominancium, qui conditor es vniuersorum, exaudi oracionem mei, misere et indigne* [a] *creature, et redempcionis tue in hac hora et semper,* [b] *et indignus clamor meus ad te perueniat.*

Hoc dicto, vade ad domum tuum et cameram tuam optime mundatam, et versus orientem dic hanc oracionem deuotissime quam potes: *O Oriens benigne, maior pars mundi, celi, terreque sator, cuius nutu* [c] *omnia, tam celestia quam terrestria, prouide facta sunt, confirma intellectum meum in hoc opere per tui regni dominium, quod nunquam dimittitur. Rege et paue me in hac mea supplicacione. Et precor te* • *per tuos reges quod tenet et stringit, sanat et confirmat,* [d]

- *et per omnes regias tuas potestas,* • *per Sotuem, Sortfen, vt in nocte sequenti veniat ad me in sompnis Haram, spiritus benignus, et inflammet cor meum et mentem meam, vt sciam thesaurum* [106v] *invenire, si aliquis est in partibus istis uel in aliis, et ducat me et signum ibi faciat vt cognoscam verum et ipsam veritatem,* [e]
- *per tuum solem sanctissimum et sacratissimum thesaurum nitidissimum, candidum et fulgentissimum, quod mittit tua excellencia et remittit tua manifesta et benigna potestas,* • *et per omnes dignitates tuas et regimina vocor* [f] *et contestor vt mich*[*i*] *spiritum veritatis in sompnis mittere digneris hac nocte, vt michi reuelet* [g] *thesaurum absconditum.*

Hoc fiat versus orientem et genibus flexis. Hanc oracionem ter dicas.

Q[u]ando autem intras lectum, dicas nouem vicibus, Oriens, Oriens, Oriens, precor, rogo, et peto, benignissime Oriens, vt votum meum adimpleas, et velis respicere ad offensiones meas.

Et tunc veniet ad te spiritus qui te non offendet, sed sompniare te faciet thesaurum, et ducet te recte ad locum.

Mane autem facto, quando surrexeris, fac 3es elimosinas in honore magni regis scientis, et vade associatus uel solus ad locum vbi est thesaurus in domo tua, et recipe eam. Postquam habebis thesaurum, fac cantare 3es missas: primam ad honorem sancte trinitatis, 2am pro peccatis mortuorum, terciam pro [h] [in]columitate vite tue, *etc.*

---

a *MS* miserere et indige.
b Sic *in MS.*
c *MS* nuta.
d Sic *in MS.*
e Sic *in MS.*
f Sic *in MS.*
g *MS* reuelent.
h *MS* pro pro.

No. 42. The name Semiforas (fols 106v–107r)

Nota: hoc est nomen magnum Semiforas, quod erat [107r] scriptum in fronte Aaron, sacerdotis creatoris. Crescat in me virtus tua, omnipotens deus, creator celi et terre, quemadmodum locutus fuisti, dicendo, *Saday, Hay, Resel,* [a] *H, Q,* [b] *Ayn, Yemino, Selatados, Braruth, Huy, Adonay, Eya, Yen, Yhn uel Tunehy, Vo,* [c] *Da, Ey, Aha, Heye, Heye, Heye, Haya, Haya, Haya, Ey, Ey, Ey, Ya, Ya, Ya, Han, Han, Han, Ga, Ga, Ga.*

Conpletum est nomen Semiforas, benedictum nomen eius cuius regni non erit finis per infinita seculorum secula. Amen.

a *Followed in MS by blank space.*
b Sic *in MS?*
c Sic *in MS?*

No. 43. For obtaining a horse (fol. 107r–v)

Ad equum habendum, hoc scribatur in hostio domus vacue in crepusculo noctis, more Hebrayco, hec nomina cum sa[n]gwine vespertilionis: Tuditha, Stehiha, Alpha, Draco, Mariodo, Ypanon. Quibus scriptis, recede modicum a loco.

Post horam paruam, reuertaris et invenies eqqum paratum, quem cum volueris ascendere, pone sinistrum pedem ad screpam et dic hanc coniuracionem: Coniuro te, eque bone,

- *per creatorem celi et terre,* • *et per illum qui creauit vniuersa et omnia ad laudem et gloriam sui nominis,* • *et per deum viuuum* • *et per deum sanctum* • *et per deum verum,* vt non in corpore nec in anima nec in minimo membro meo vere obesse valeas, nec in aliquo me perturbes, sed me, N., ad locum talem deferas, placide, hilariter, jocunde, et velociter, absque omni inpedimento.

Deinde ascende audacter et secure, [107v] qu[i]a omnino tibi nocere non potest. Signo vere crucis non te signabis, quia ipsum a te fugabit.

Cum autem perueneris ad locum prenominatum, descende de equo et accipe frenum, et absconde sub terra. Peracto autem tuo negocio, recipias frenum et scucte firmissime, et statim veniet. Cum autem ascendere volueris, dic precedentem coniuracionem et hec tria verba: [d] kostolya, elogo, yetas.

d *Followed by* kostelia, *deleted*.

No. 44. Fragment of an experiment for averting harm (fol. 107v) [a]

[…] creauit [b] mundum et septem dies, in quibus cuncta creata fuerint in vna torta, et obseruabis cartam, et cum hoc prohibes omnia dampna hominibus, cunctaque nocencia arboribus et nascoiciis, [c] nominabisque hec nomina sursum posita et deorsum. Et hec sunt nomina, scilicet: Layalym, Lyalgnea, Yalgnal, Narath, Lybarye, Lymbaros, Lyaslam. Cum hiis igitur signis prohibes omnia mala et dampna in mundo, et numquam ad locum reuerte[n]tur vnde fuerint expulsa.

a *This fragment occurs on the middle of fol. 107v, separated by double horizontal lines from the preceding and subsequent material.*

b *Followed by* mundum, *deleted*.

c *Meaning* nascenciis?

No. 45. For invisibility (fols 107v–108r)

Nunc igitur sume albam columbam, die Sabbati de nocte, et cartam agni virgineam, pergasque ad riuum iuxta quadruuium et occide columbam, dicens, *O vos quibus sacrificium debetur, estote michi completium votum meum.* a

Hoc dicas contra occidentem primo, postea ad meridiem, deinde ad b orientem, post[e]a ad [108r] septentrionem. Et scribe de huius c collumbe sangwine hanc figuram. d

Reuertansque de mane ante solis ortum, invenies ibi aliam literam et as quodam involutum, illudque ligabis in capillis tuis cum volueris esse invisibilis. Et precaue tamen quod ibi dimittas columbam et cartam, ne ipsam accipias modo aliquo.

a Sic *in MS, for* completio voti mei?
b *Inserted above line in MS.*
c *MS* hac.
d *Figure toward top of fol. 108r: a complex horizontal design.*

No. 46. Favourable and unfavourable days of the month for inscriptions (fol. 108r–v) Mensis lunaris dierum alij sunt boni, alij mali ad scribendas a cartas. Prima dies mensis, scilicet lunaris, tota est bona. Secunda die mane est bona, et non plus. Tercia nil facere debes. Quarta dies tota bona. Quinta vsque ad horam terciam, et vltra non. Sexta die nichil facies. Septima die, prima hora bona est, et non plus. Octaua, mane bona. Nona nichil facies. Decima die omnino nichil facias, b quia mala c est ad omnia facienda. Vndecima bona est tota. Duodecima bona est vsque ad terciam uel quartam [horam]. 13a nichil facias. 14a tota bona est. 15a die d nichil facies. 16[a] mane tota bona est, postea nichil valet. 17a et 18a vsque ad meridiem mala est, et postea est bona. 19a nichil in ea agas. 20a et 21a et 22a [108v] dies, mane sunt bone, et non plus. 23a [et] 24a, e nichil facias. 25a mala, nec bona. 26a et 27a, nichil facias. 28a et 29a et 30a bona est toto. *Etc.*

a *MS* scribendos.
b *Followed in MS by* quare.
c *MS* male.
d *MS* hora.
e *Followed in MS by* u, *struck through (?)*.

No. 47. Fragment of a chemical prescription (with a note in German)

(fol. 108v) Item recipe salis petri, vitrioli, rorani, [a] ana tere, et fac aquam fortem ex eis, et dissolue in ea lune limaturam quantum soluere potes, [b] et quando non plus soluit lunam, tunc recipe illam aquam in qua luna est soluta et inpone mercurij crudi quantum coagulare potest. Istum mixtum sit coagulatum. Accipe et pone eum in crusibulum super stratum istarum rerum. Recipe ceram nouam, thuris albi, gummi arabicum, oxicroceum, asafetidam, serabiuum, boracem, semen orobi, cantarides, puluis buffonum, [c] cerusam, sal nitri, sal commune, vernicium, terebentinam, euforbium, ouum, ana partes equales, et fac similiter fluere. *Etc.*

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a Sic *in MS?*
b *Corrected in MS from* potest.
c *Note added at bottom of fol. 108v:* Puluis *[MS* Poluis*]* buffonum ist daz kupfer daz vom hamer felt, so mans schmihet *[?]*.

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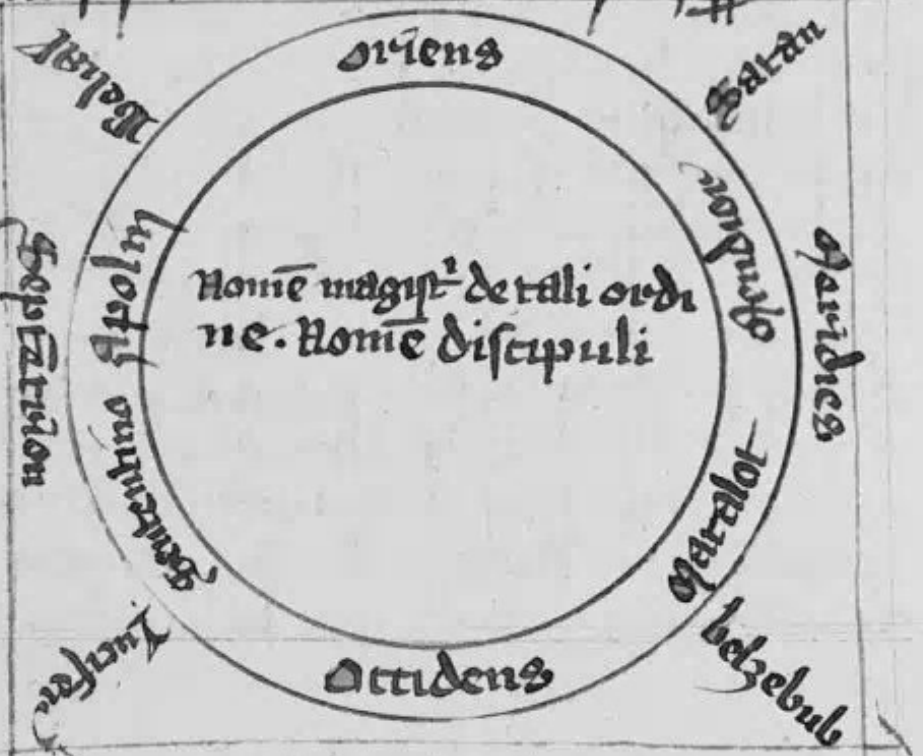
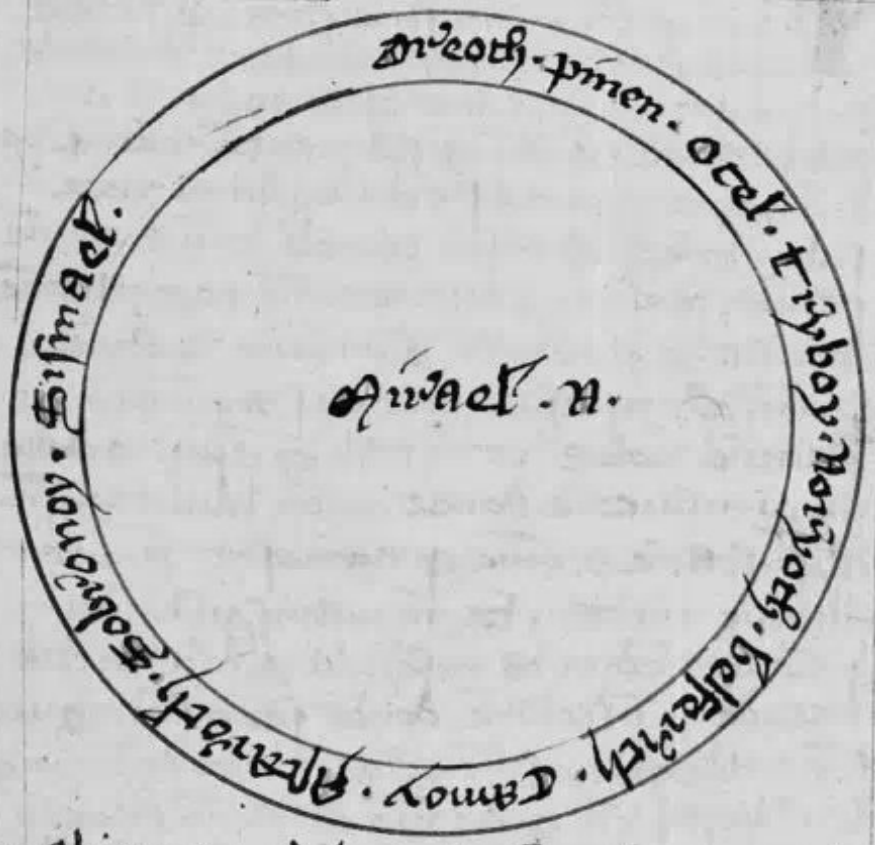
Plates

All the folios from 3r–108v of Clm 849 that contain magic diagrams or characters are reproduced.

Ego famulꝰ tuus mte credes & omnino
confidens q tu es fortis & valens rogo p
incomprehensibile magestatē tuā vt famu
lus & subiectꝰ tuus talis magist mꝰ
dabeat ad me venire qui a cunctis sit
potest p virtutē & potentiā tuā qua
es magna & maxima in secula seculoꝝ
Amen Et similit dicit Jesus Nauelochi
mutando nomē Et Jesus Nauelochi si
militꝝ. Hiis dictis accipe de eo sanguē
& scribe in medio cuiusculi nomē tuum
cū supō deo conde vt hic stet mis
rius deinde scribe cū deo conde in sin
gulis quatuor illa nomina vt hic sequunt



Fol. 4v, no. 1: Single band inscribed within a square; names of eight spirits inscribed in and around the band; cardinal directions marked; *Nomen magistri*, *de tali ordine* and *Nomen discipuli* marked in the centre.



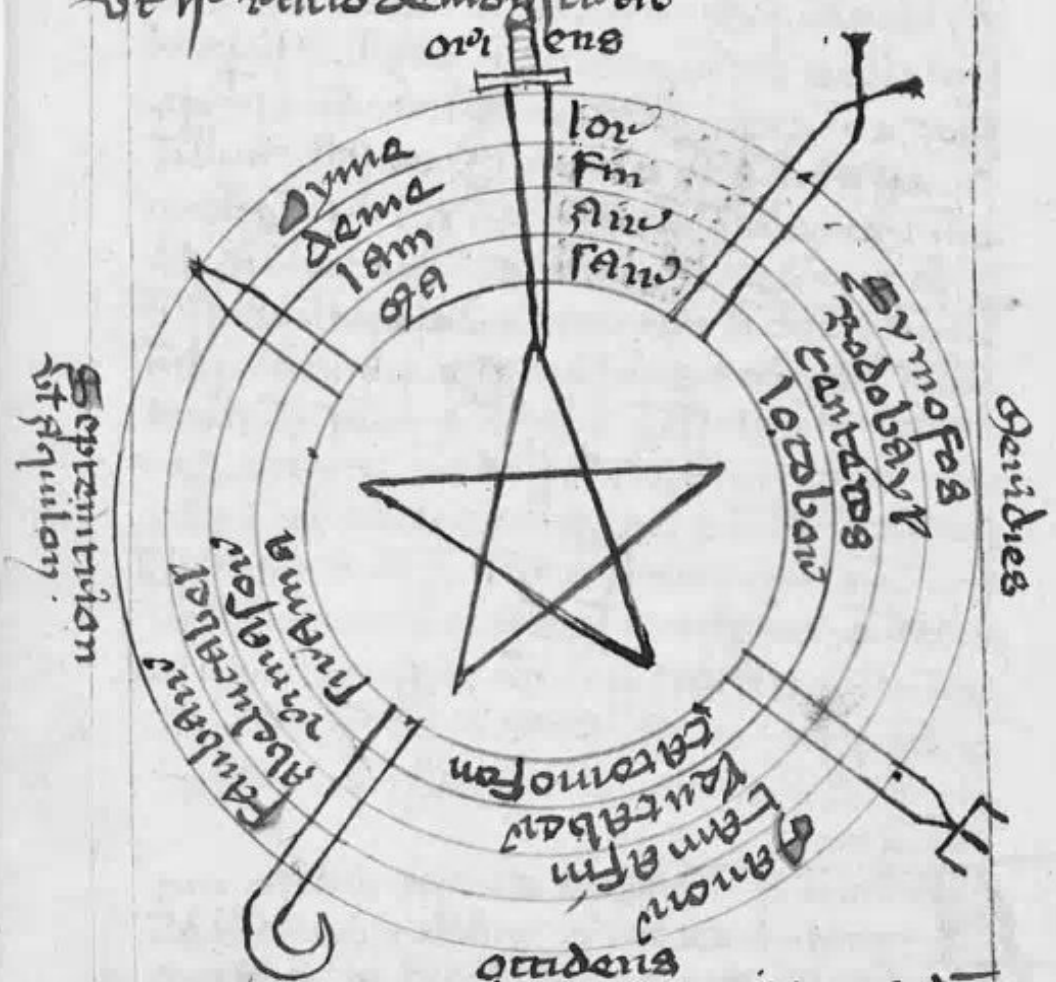
malignos videlz Dreoth · pmen · ocel ·
tryboy · Norzoth · Belfarith · Camoy ·
Astaroth · sobrenoy · sismael · pmdui
duam tuitatā videlz pīam & filiū
ꝑm sem Abrahe ꝓcedentā & ꝓuēie
dam & timedam diem judicij & ꝓna q
fuerunt & sunt & erūt & sicut in hoc ta
culo figati estis tuētuit talem vt ita
vere & effectatev & existant ꝑsonā ei⁹
cuētuatis & sensꝰ ei⁹ talit affligatis &
ignoiētis dementes stultꝰ & mēte capitis

Fol. 6v, no. 2: Simple band; names of Mirael and victim in centre, names of ten demons in band.

Conuoco vos demones in hoc circulo sculptos quibus data et potestas et potestas ducendi et affligendi mulieres in amore vivos et mortuos et potestas manifestatis diuine et per thronos et dominationes et potestates et principatus illius qui dixit et facta sunt et per illos qui non cessant clamare una voce dicentes sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth pleni sunt celi et terra gloria tua osanna in excelsis.

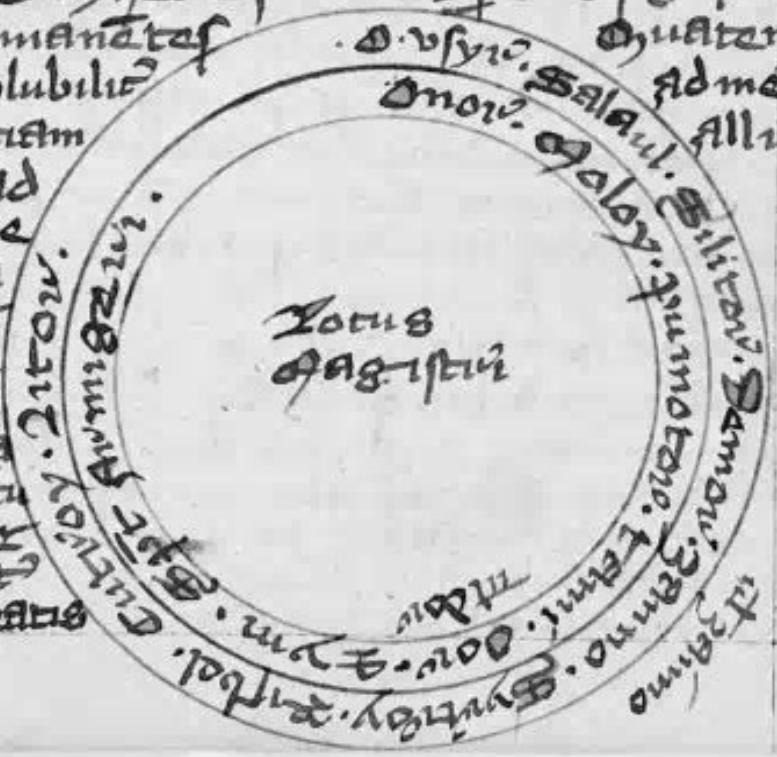
Fol. 10r, no. 3: Simple band with names of eleven demons; position of the master marked in centre.

Vt die dñica m meridie ꝛ debes tatu ferire
ensem lucidissimu ꝛ fluem vpuia et eu
deo ense m quoda remoto loco facia tiu
culos ꝙbꝫ feis eu ftie ꝙ dca ensis sobe
ra debes. xvj. nota vt m fiꝫ fluabit ꝛ
illa figura ꝙibꝫ feis debas fige versꝫ
orientē m mtatiōn circulo dcm ensem
vt hec ratio demonstrat



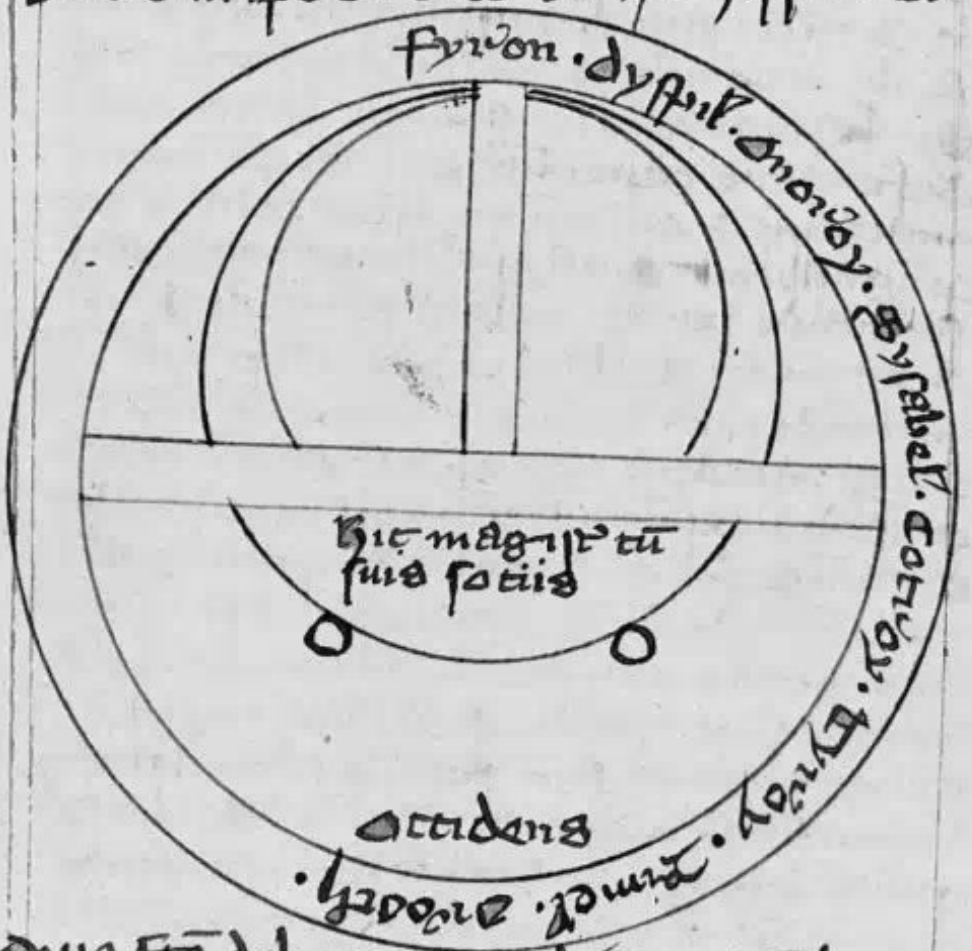
Fol. 15v, no. 6: Four bands; pentangle inscribed; cardinal directions marked; names of four spirits written in each band; position of sword marked to east; four other objects placed across the bands toward other directions.

ego quinq vos om̃s ꝑnominatos ſit̃ dæmones
ꝑpriam & miſericordiſſiam & mirabilia ſit
incorrupta virginis marie matris dñi
nri ihu xpi q̃ p miſeris ꝓcordib9 mortem
ſumas nos ad celeſtia patria reuocaturi
Ita ego quinq vos ſup̃ dos ſit ꝑ om̃s
ſcos & ſcas dei & ꝑ om̃s ꝛplos martires
confeſſores virgines & viduas et ꝑ hec
ꝑciosiſſia ac meffabilia nomina om̃ tuꝛba
tonitrus ꝙb9 omes ligami et q̃ tuent oia
celeſtia terreſtria & infernalia. o. ſ. ſ. ely.
ſother. adonay. cal. ſabaoth. adoyas.
alazabita. & oſion. Ego quinq vos & ex
orizo ꝑ virtute & potentia om̃ ꝑncipu re
gu inferoꝝ & maiorꝝ virtutum & ꝑ virtute & poſ
ſibilitate ac potentia viriam & ꝑ habitatiu
bium tuglat & formica. & ꝑ om̃s figuras in
tipo ꝙmanetes
vos i ſolubiles
potentiam
gratia ad
meſſme
ſtola
tion et
vanis
debeat
tiſmta
li habitu
ut me
alig
no



Fol. 19r, no. 7: Double band; names of nine spirits in outer band, six more (‘arms-bearing spirits’) in inner band, position of master marked in centre.

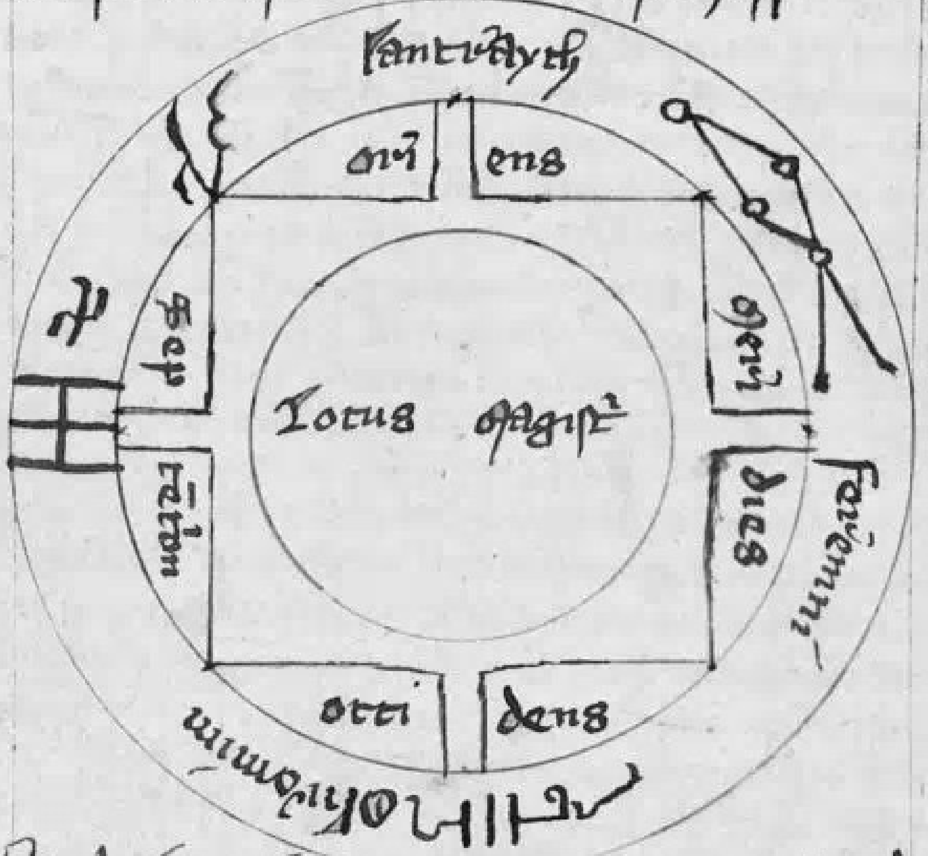
costam hois siue mulieris mortui quam
primo actuere debes et facta ei ipsa inter
ea has figuras in oribus et alias oib⁹
tentis in ipo circulo vt hic apparet



Quo facto debes magredi signaculum totum
et voluendo ea circa circulu sustinendo
ipm cu medulla mortui vt dictum est
Quo facto audies placita votes eius sus
sumgarios quibus audituis habe quidam
tionē dicas ysti attidenti vt scripti et
fyrion qui sic dicas ofyrion . dysfil .
anoroy . gysabel . cotroy . tyroy .
aroath .

Fol. 21v, no. 8: Band with names of eight spirits, horizontal band across centre, vertical band across upper semicircle, all surmounted by crescent with two small circles, place of master and companions marked at bottom of crescent, east marked toward bottom.

Valeo etiā tibi mittere q[uo]m[od]o eq[uu]s h[ic] ā p[otes]t ieq forma
possit h[abe]ri faciens te tam p[er] aquas q[uam] p[er] ter
ram tu p[er]colles q[uam] p[er] planities quotiens volueris
Primo enim crescente luna die martis ieiunus foras
facies egrediaris cu[m] q[uo]da[m] plano nu[n]q[uam] opera
to & in loco secreto cu[m] quoda[m] clavo sive
stilo ferreo fac circulu[m] ut hic apparet



Sculpiens in eo nomina & figuras ibi
dem apparentes q[ui]bus f[a]c[t]is p[ro]st[er]nas te in
medio genib[us] flexis sup[er] planū versus
orientē aliquantulū alta voce sic dicas
O lautidayth. ferēmin. alwdomim p[ro]
p[ro]ctorib[us] in p[re]sentes Ego talis in vera

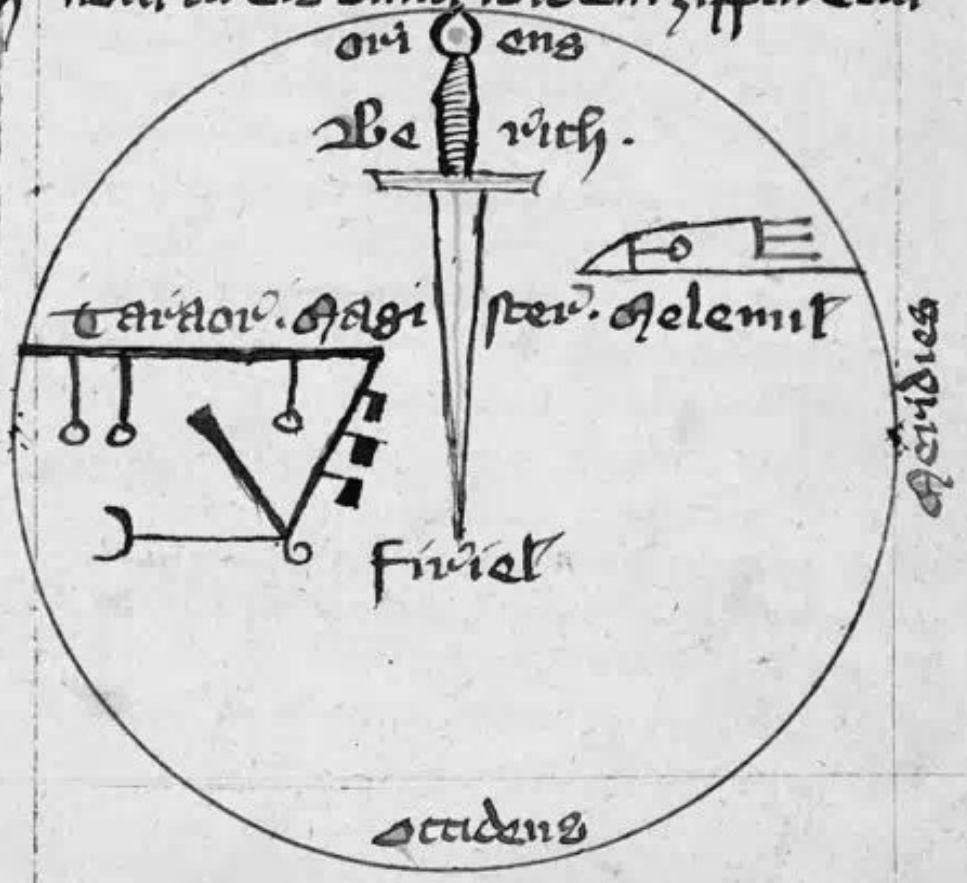
Fol. 23v, no. 9: Band containing three names, three characters, and crosses; square inscribed within circle, and arms protruding from the square, with cardinal directions; position of the master marked in centre.

Oinbꝰ scꝛiptis migꝛiadꝰ migꝛeda
ꝛe m̄ cum vt signatu ast Et pone
ensem sub genubꝰ tuis dicendo vsus
meridie hanc gnuatione cōmo
vos omꝰ damones sctos m̄hor A
mulo qte m̄ mandbꝰ habetis p̄ pꝛez
tꝛ filiū tꝛ sss tꝛ p̄ potata deū scitto
ꝛdm cali tꝛ tꝛaꝛde Et p̄ dnm nrm ie
sum xp̄m eiꝰ filiū qui tꝛ hūani ge
neris salutem mortem suscepꝛe
dignatꝰ ast Et p̄ gloꝛiosa vīgi
nem matꝛem eius tꝛ plac

Fol. 26r, no. 10: Double band, drawn with sword; character and three names in each band; pentangle inscribed; cardinal directions indicated on sides; position of the master marked in centre.

libertatu Et si pdem cultulu scptu simili sup te habuis nullo canis tibi latitanz valebit Et ista sut pme exputa // pto vo pme rel mquo

Marto etiã de hute mvisibilitatis ho die quasi albor ignorãtia cũ ira et volutis. Apud dia ta rõnabit qp nõ mi visibilis fac msansibilis hui. Primo cũ scenta luna die mercurij m prima hora diei casto fm ptuldum et tonsu capillos et barbã et albo mdutu exẽ villã i loco occulto sereno celo ipiano solo cu ase ple divisio fac cultulu ut h' fuper scbendo hc nota cu eis omia ibidem Apparentia



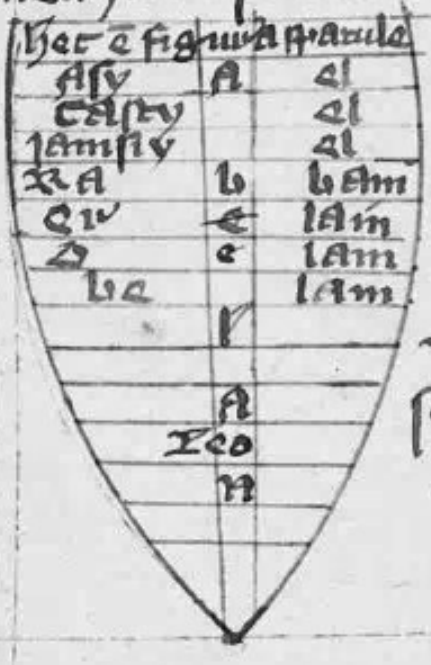
Fol. 28r, no. 11: Plain circle, with place of master and name Firiel marked near centre, name Taraor and elaborate character to left, name Melemil and further character to upper right.

Veat duos socios fideles & vadat
ad Arbonem fructiferā & faciat
magist̄ cultellū Et incipiat magist̄
Autem facere sue ymagine mulier
pro qua fa tis semp
mi vando
cor de tuo

tu Belial
voht. tu Baalzebuth.
ad hoc sitis opus mihi ad nutones
& simul mutuando dites Ego. A.
formo ista ymagine in amore talis
ut valeat ad q̄d facta est Et tu belial.
initialis princeps ad hoc op̄ sis mihi
ad nutum Et magist̄ faciat ymagine
de pdicta cera incipiens hora Jouis
dextrando vsq; ad primam saturni
Et sic formata ymagine faciat sicut

Fol. 30r, no. 12: Single band with invocation of Belial and two other spirits, and position of the master marked in centre.

qui & verbu dei & p hec nomia dei Hely. heloy.
Heloe. Sabaoth. Elion. Adonay. Sadday.
& p oia nomia eius & p ipius virtute & p
omes virtutes celay & quinos vos pier
pvam & filiu & S.S. & p sctam tnitatem
& vnitatem dei & p q illa coronam
q dns mi ihc xpc m suo capite hunc
& p hec bte marie vnginis & p ho
rata nomia & p omes virtutes adqua
& p ista quinta cruz propio voto ut sta
tim & alto & valoat & sine mora se
ducatis cor & meam. A. in amorem
man & sicut hec scatula calefit &
mendit ita illu ut illa. A. mendatis & calefactatis igne mei amoris
& ita ut nuq quiescat valeat don
mea Adimplauit voluntate amore q ebet. &c

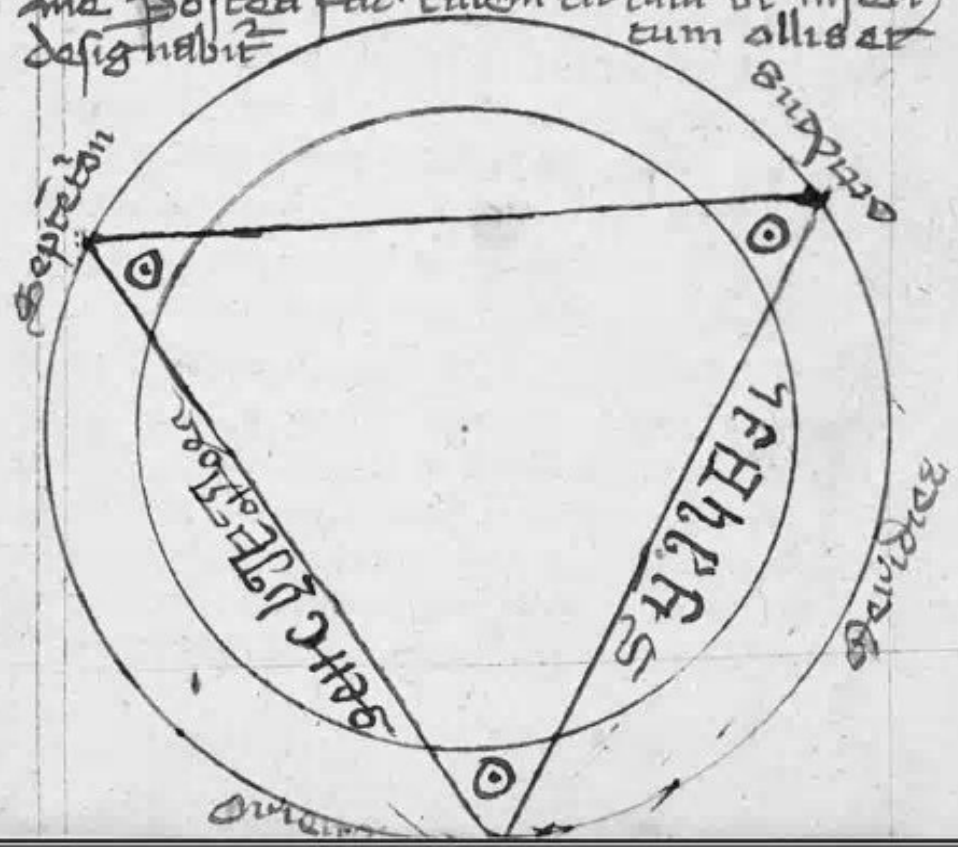


Iam nota q ista
tula supdicta
debet esse & sini
ta val leporina
val anserina
val caponina
secudu diuersos

Fol. 33r, no. 13: Shield divided into sixteen horizontal bands, with one vertical band down the centre; names Asyel, Castyel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Olam and Belam in horizontal bands, each straddling the vertical band; *A*, *B*, *E*, *L*, *A* and *N* in the vertical band; *Leo* written across the intersection of the vertical band and the twelfth horizontal band.

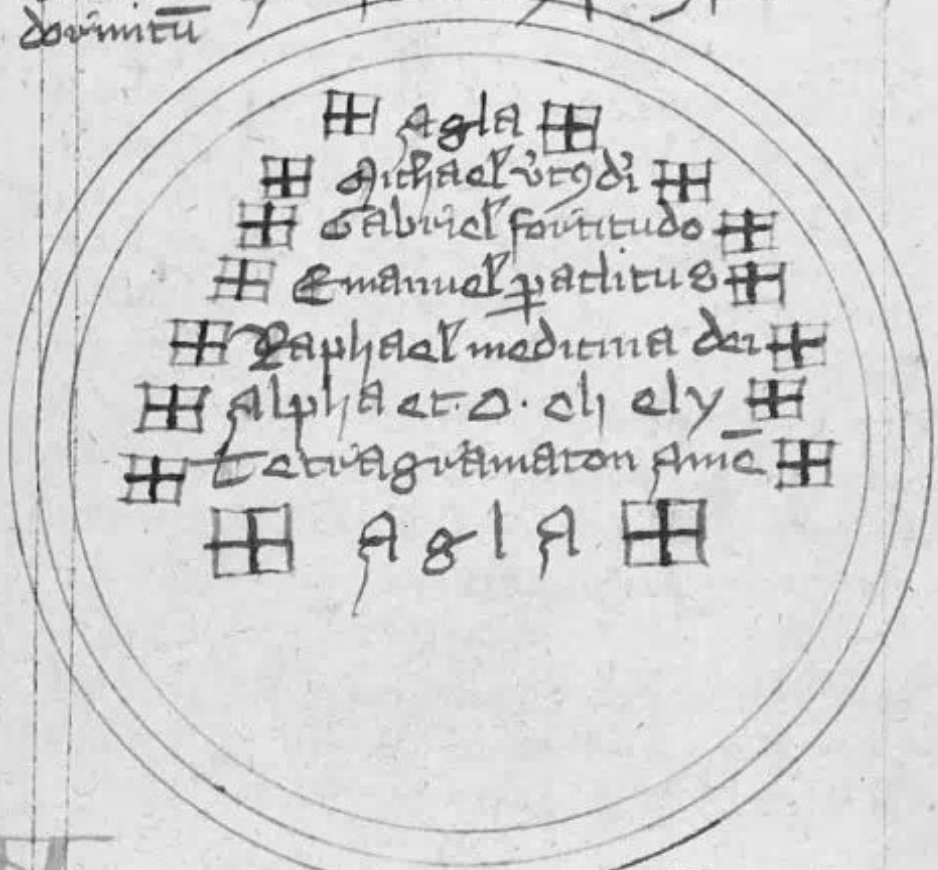
poris ⁊ ſñe poritas ma ſuſcipit ⁊ daponas
ma ſñe aliqua laſiona ꝓnti vt fiatuꝰ vſq
ad talem loci ſuſcipit me dapontis cu eis
dapoſuerit te vbi affectabis dicas humilit
ꝓcatias tibi ſigo ꝙ indignu me fati
ſti mhalc ꝓca mea ⁊ ꝓtanta ꝯra me bene
ficio mea ⁊ me tibi offero ſeruitute ⁊ ſam
uel tuis obedire mandatis benditu lau
datu ſit ſemp nom tuu regnatu ſup omia
ſecula ſeculoꝝ Et tibi atia gras ſigo qui
ꝑ gñdalitate nomiu altiſſimi dei ꝓme fati
ſtine dignatꝰ es de inde adloru ſeruitu
⁊ alteu tpe ſereno ⁊ libeꝛ ventu ⁊ dit ſcia
mentia ouia ꝓnobis ſm magna miſericondi
am tuam cum gloria qui totu ⁊ inmanq
tuas dne ꝙmodo ſum ⁊ to ſm ⁊ corpo
mei dne deus qui omipotens iudicia
ma poſtea fac talem tentatu vt mſeriq
daſig habit

tum alios ar



Fol. 34r, no. 15: Band, with triangle inscribed in outer circle, cardinal directions marked on outside, occult characters on two sides of triangle, positions of jars marked in angles.

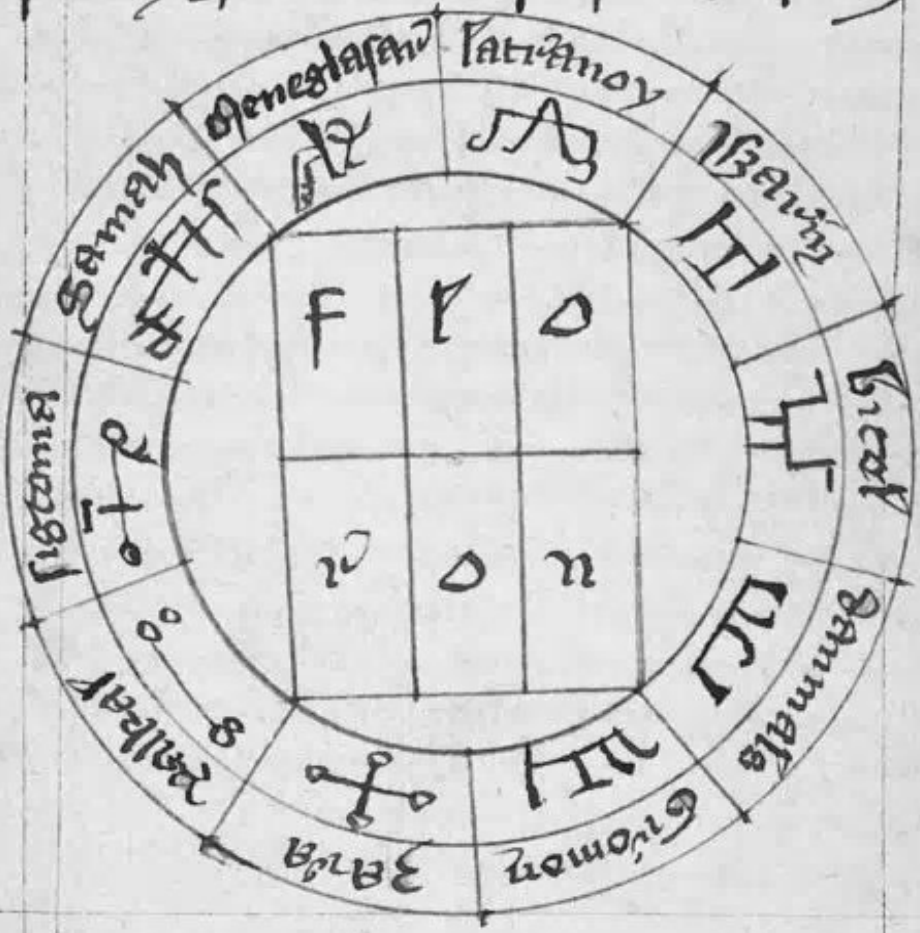
uiuario q debz fieri sup cruta. O. vos
gloriosa nomia sumi dei cui ois potia
ptia & futura potia sut Rogo vos
ego seruus & subditus vr q mittatis
mihi Angelos vros q qui sciunt sunt
in cristulo isto vt mihi voluntate debe
atis q q sup talam vam ut desiderij vr
negotio q ventur est & hr dicat tui
bus uitib9 & vidabis q q vis potes
tam dei hic est cristulo q debz sibi tui bis
dormitu



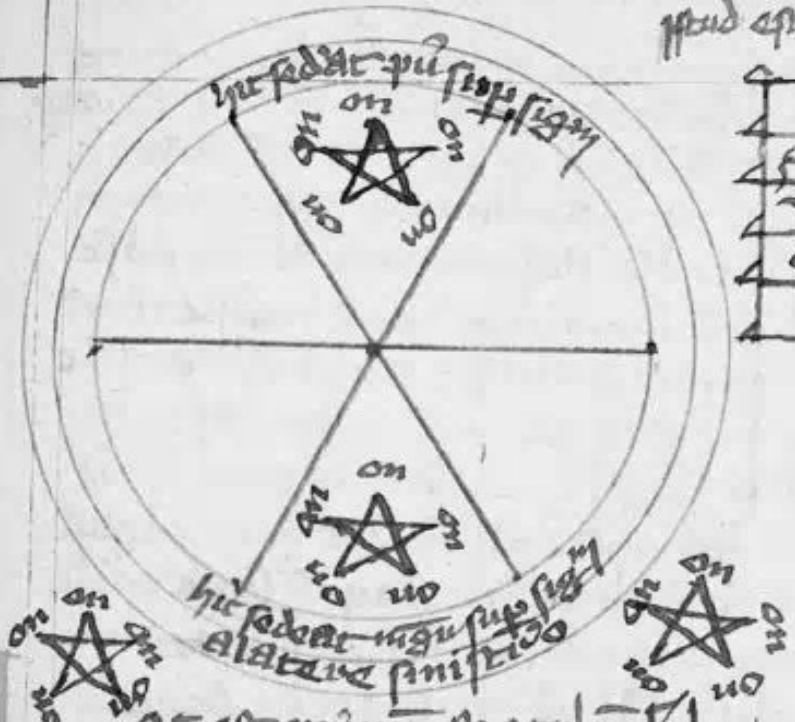
d equu hndu hr scribat in hostio dom
vatua in cr equsculo nostr mova hc

Fol. 36r, no. 16: Double band, with eight lines of text inscribed; cross inside square at either end of each line of text.

Incipit speculu florom fiat sicut
speculum de puro calibe admixta
palma vnius mvotudo. habeat q vna
nubium adtenendu & sit illustratu & lu
cidu vt ensis Sit q sem in nocte florem
& mane curatu isti speculi ex alia pte no
lucida sint hat derm nomia cu hiis de
cem characteribus descripta & nome dei
dei sit in medio septu post quem fiat
sem in loco sacrato vngatum ex puro bal
samo ex pte lucida & subfumiget sali



Fol. 37r, no. 18: Double band with ten segments; name of a spirit in outer part; occult character in inner part of each segment; inscribed and segmented vertical rectangle containing the letters F-L-OR-O-N in segments.

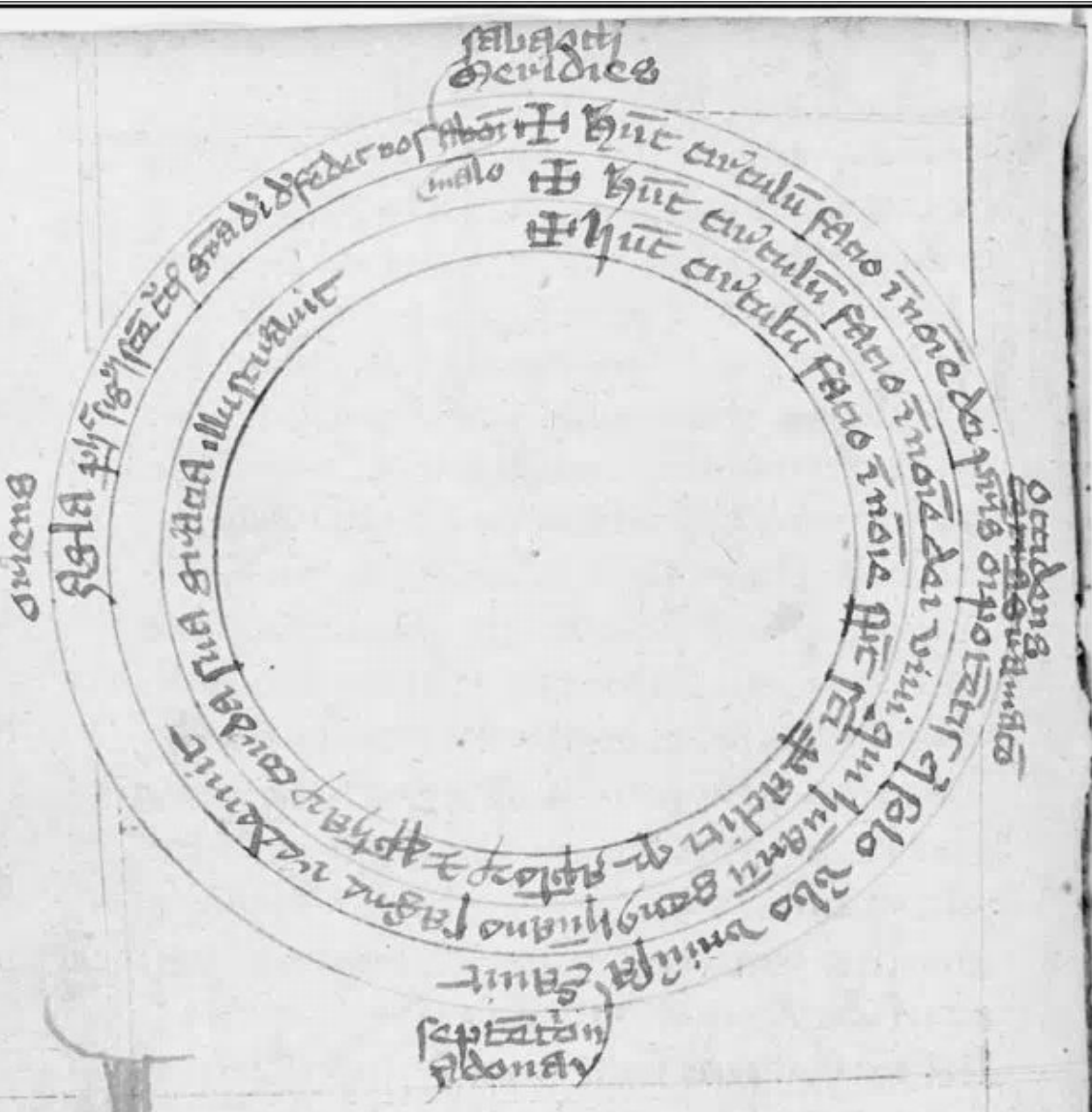


Ac ast primu speculu fuit & suorum
vox suoq; multu senior & hoc pe
culum debat fieri in magistu sui speculi
& in memoria dim nom suoq; seculoq; qui
oms vas Ante Caym fatuit in hu dissimo
loco Comuno vos dnoas vt veritis & q
patris & dicatis mihi deq; mr vosa
uero vos oem vitate in nomine pris & filii
& s. s. sma xpt & vnitt ymi & balbieit.
& zelens. zalles. dmado. eadan. es.
qui cottidie sitiu calor ascendut vbi sut
tres dogie eri ut breues fatui ut ictu
seculoq; in quatuor ptes seculi adstate
dam tota voluntate mea videri vbi vo
bilit & luctia placabilitate & affabilitate
sma tauro & absq; toto meffabili pote

Fol. 42r, no. 22: Double band; interior divided into six wedges; pentangles (inscribed with *on*); positions of master and boy marked; lined column (with inscription) to right.

tia deitatis sumi vnii in hac vi dei vnitata
ta exoramus. bylet ꝑ honora ꝑris tui sanctis.
et illud sacratissimum q̃ tu natura matris
tua fecisti vt ꝙ similitudie tua et non in
corporis silitudie fidelissimo tradu et fidele
dandu nobis tu inquisitor hoya vaq̃ sacratissimus
ta in speculo isto placiste fac humilit fac sine
villa dissimulata ta mihi ostendas et sim
plig vt duo ut plas deseruus tuus q̃ vo
tam defuncto qua delectidio aut dequa
cuq̃ alia re dubitabili dequa sua voluo
mihi dant vera visa vt signa in dei vnitate
et obea. Istud vo speculu debet
fieri admodu clypei et alio modo
volus in cuius gruo hec noia depinget
tur. Deus stb. ds opt. de. fortis. ds immortalis
hic fiat fiat saecula. et tu tetragrammaton
ora sigilla salomonis depigan
tur in margine
sine vo clypei
mini sigillu salomonis et in medio
speculi hec nomina
bylet depinga
tur sicut in hac
presenti figura
hic infra ponitur

Fol. 42v, no. 23: Shield; inscription addressed to God; pentangles (*sigilla Salomonis*, inscribed with *on*); name Lylet inscribed near centre.

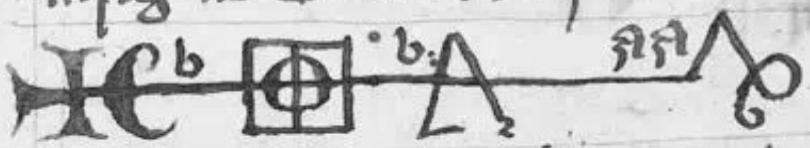


Incipit communiones dies sup ꝓpositos
sacrificiorum qui fiunt in debitis aliquid
operantes sintaquidem illud incipiat quod
ceteris in aliis communionibus sequentium
dierum quibuscumque scribenda sunt
scribas ad die suo // Communio dies
Dominici sequitur &c

Fol. 68v, no. 36: Three bands containing a tripartite prayer.

Ecce sigillū Raphaelis Angeli Cui⁹ stel
la ☉ Sol. fac illud die solis ī signo leonis

Ecce sigillū Gabrielis Angeli Cui⁹ stella
☽ luna fac illud die lune hora ☽ luna
ī signo Cancri ☌ ☍

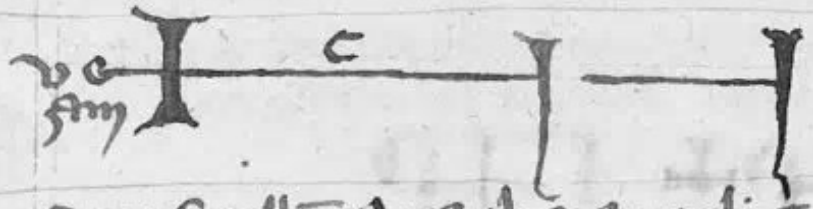


Ecce sigillū Samaelis Angeli Cui⁹
stella ♂ mars fac illa die martis ho
ra martis ī signo Arietis uel scorpionis

Ecce sigillū Michaelis Angeli Cui⁹
stella ♃ Iouis fac illa die mercurii ☌
hora mercurii ī signo ♍ Virginis uel
Geminii uel virginis.

Ecce sigillū Sachquiels Angeli Cui⁹
stella ♄ Saturni fac illa die Iouis ☌ hora
Iouis signo Sagittarii ☌ piscis ☍

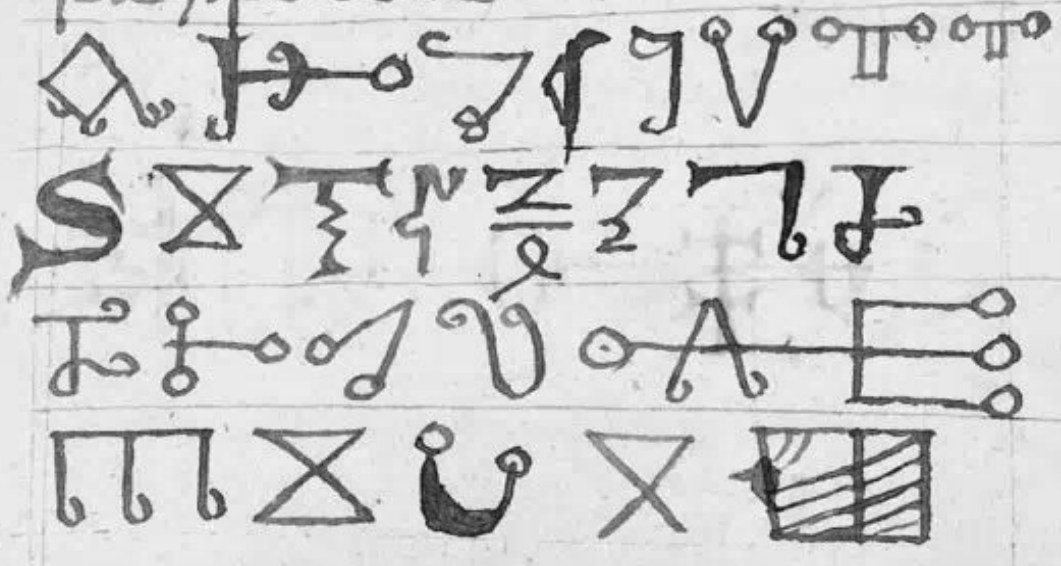
Fol. 72r, no. 37b: Seals for angels.



Ecce sigillū Anaelis Angeli cuius stella
& venus fac illa die veneris hora veneris
in signo thaurus et libre ℞

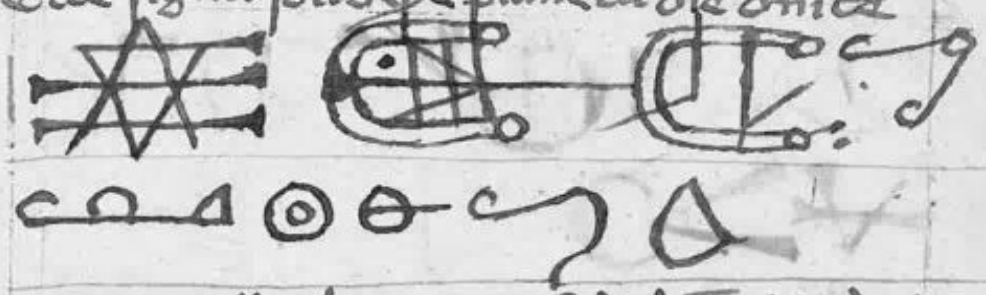
Ecce sigillū Cassiaelis Angeli cuius
stelle & saturnus fac illa die sabbati.
hora sathurni in signo Capricorni ℞

Ecce sigillū diei dmici q̄ fieri debet
sole ascendente.

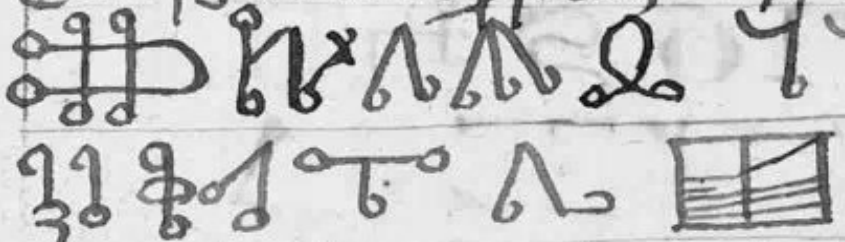


Fol. 72v, nos 37b–37c: Seals for angels, seals for planets and days of the week.

Ecce signū solis q̄ planeta die dñica



Ecce sigillū luna q̄ fiēt die luē ascendēte

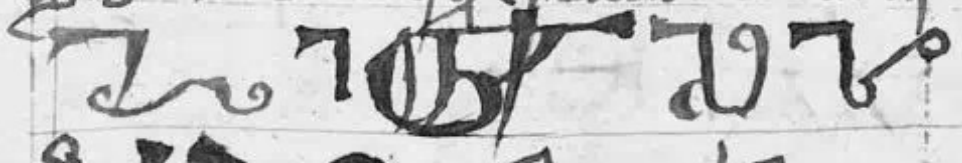


Ecce signū luna q̄ planeta diei luē

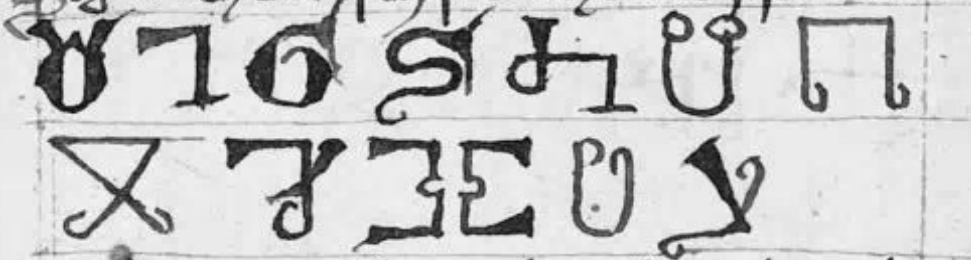
Sigillū diei martis q̄ die fiēt hora ascendēte

Fol. 73r, no. 37c: Seals for planets and days of the week.

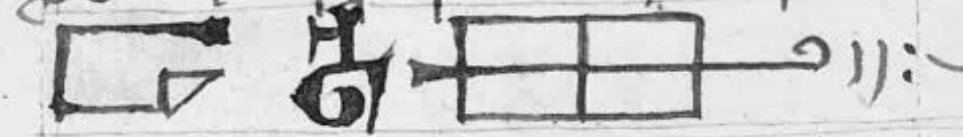
Signū die martis q̄ planeta dici martis



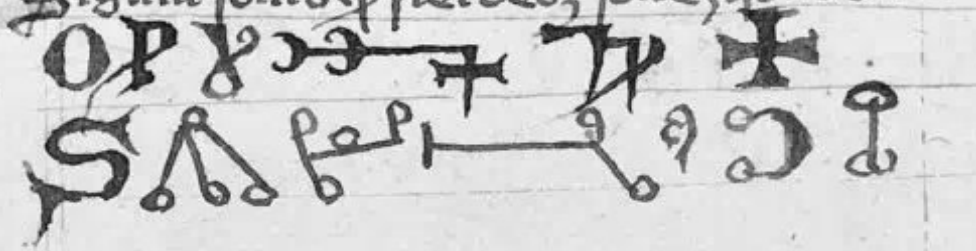
Sigillū ☿ turni dz fieri ☿ turno ascendente



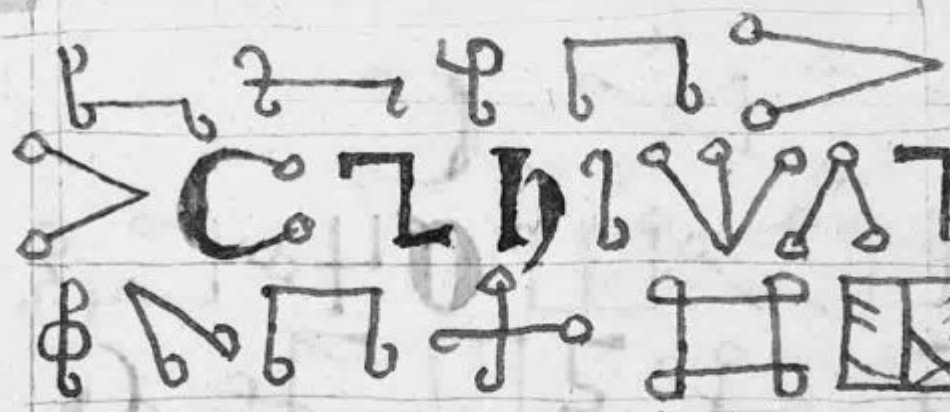
Signū ☿ turni q̄ planeta ☿ erutij dicī



Sigillū jouis q̄ fieī debz joue ascendente

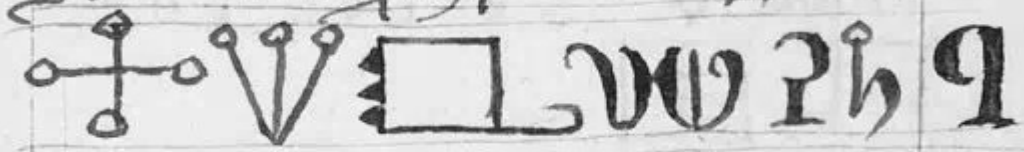


Fol. 73v, no. 37c: Seals for planets and days of the week.



Signū Jouis q̄ est planeta diei Jouis

Sigillū ueneris q̄ debz fieri ueñe ꝛ extendita



q Signū ueneris q̄ planeta diei ueneris

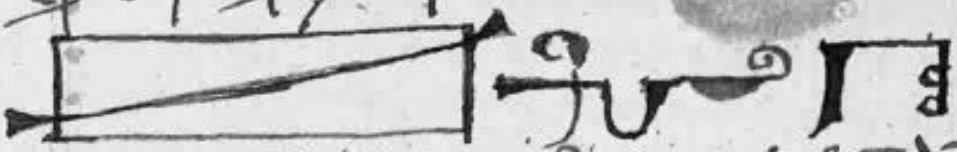
q Sigillū saturni q̄ debz fieri saturno extendata

Fol. 74r, no. 37c: Seals for planets and days of the week.

Hec dasignis. vij. planetaꝝ. q. septem
diep completa signa. vij. diep addo
mada sup planet & signis eop & tue
rgit milles tibi q̄ maxia virtus est
maior. quam q̄ maior populus op
tua. Nona Angelop regnatiu; hdie
bus septimale sit dicenda & sequitur
que opa hꝫ nom & opib; septimale
Angelus dei dnici est Raphahel
Angel; dei lune est Gabriel
dei martis & Samael.
mercurij & Michael.

Fol. 74v, no. 37c: Seals for planets and days of the week.

vtam. Jnvoco vos & precipio toto corde
& ore vt dignemini me exaudire & ad
juuare & totu meu desiderium quleua
vt valeam videre mille animatos
i meo seruitio tfi Cyrayn. Jnuoco
dei tuoto te vt adiuuas me vt fa
cias me videre pdctos fire animatos
& te etiam yah. oz q dic. 2. hoya
& te etiam 3. hoya Dasuya. & te e
tiam 4. hoya sala. tfi Jnuoco etiam &
appello angelos dnantes pdcis ho
ris Raphael. 2. Anael. 3. michael.
4 gabriel Jnuoco etia sanctos & oy
angelu capacitatem & oy signu &
virtutum & aquariu & suu sigillum
q & hc q fit pono vt me adiu

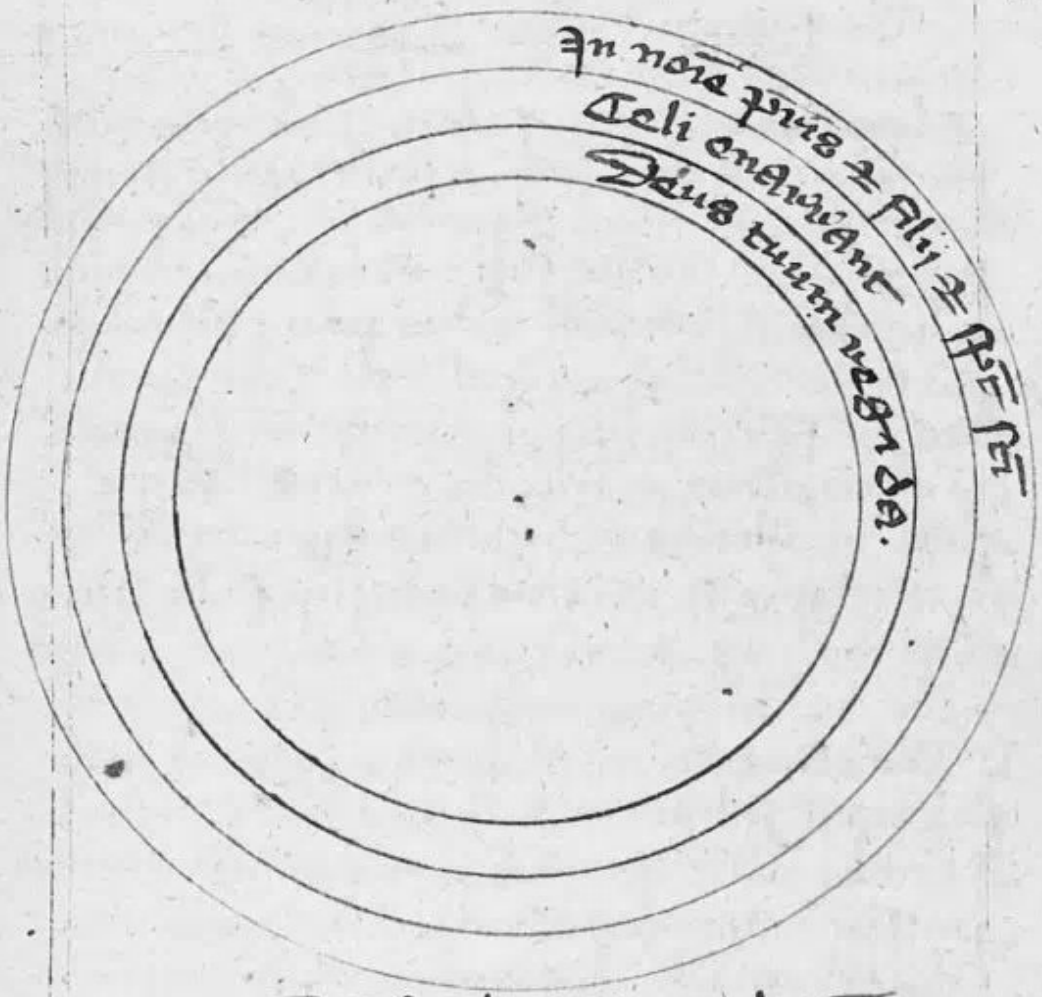


uent & faciant michi appetere pdcos
spiritus animatos in meo seruitio
Cauda q i q tpe voluntis yemalt.
vt yaneala. Jnuoco te & appello vt
tu adiuues me & facias appetere
pdctos fire animatos i meo seruitio
& nostri angeloy q seruiut & tpe
Amabal. Cauayl. Aeuaiayl. Jnuoco
vos & appello vt faciatis michi

Fol. 95v, no. 37r: Seal of Solomon (three characters).

reges ꝓ vos ꝓncipes ꝓ comites ꝓ vos milites
ꝓ vos ciues hᵉ finito q̄tus si vidᵗ fuꝛe cu
fuꝛto ꝛ si vidisti ad finē et tange ꝓ̄no
ungue manū tuā et accipias vnguēta
dū ꝛ benedicas ꝓ̄m tū mo sacerdo cōuerta
cu gladio ad .q. ꝓ̄tas cōuīs sū dicēdo ꝓ̄
filiꝰ ꝑt os ꝑ cū custodiat te. ꝛ hoc ꝓ̄mo
gladiū vagīe fm sa ꝛ q̄ꝛe dextrulaꝛ
oīb⁹ sociis tuis ita facias ꝛ tibi
ꝙ̄ipit fm bonū ꝛ ꝓbatū

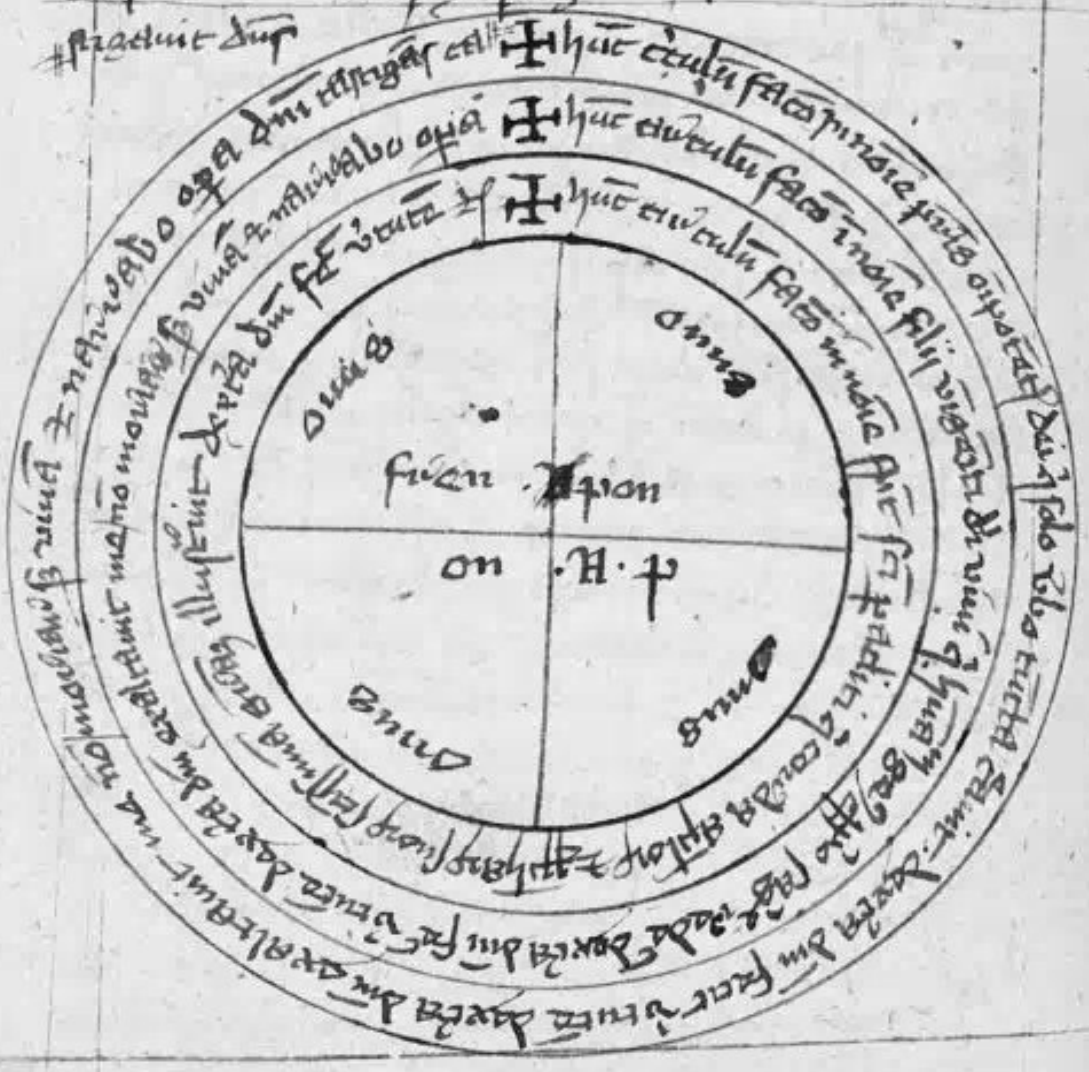
Fol. 99v, no. 39 (first circle): Three bands containing a tripartite prayer.



Exurgat deus dissipentur

A ortu solis fac. xps cantulos et tuncz
Immediata tuū tuloz et fac tibi quod
vigava sedem tuā quedam de querdu et
cultellū cū manubrio albo et limito cū
oleo oliue hic feto scripta dissim hic noia
xxuiior noia sut. qr. lras. ut lapides pal
lato 8 et xps lras quas sub tu sedem et una
sub tu pedes pūr et ipse dic noia subscripta

Fol. 103r, no. 39 (second circle): Three bands containing a tripartite prayer.



Fol. 105v, no. 40: Three concentric bands; centre of innermost divided into inscribed quadrants; each circle dedicated to member of Trinity.

Septentrio et scribe desuper colubre signum
hoc figura

Reuertens se de mane cum solis ortu
mureces ibi filiam tuam et as quadrantem vo
lutu illudq; ligabis in capillis tuis qua
volutus erit inuisibilis et pectus tu
pi ibi dimittes colubram et tenta ne
ptam accipies nec aliq

Ensis lunaris dies. Alii sut boni alii
mali adscribendes tenetis. Prima dies
mensis felix lunaris tota bona. Secun
da die mane bona et non plus. Tria nil
facere debes. Quarta dies tota bona
Quinta usq; ad horam tertiam et vltra non.
Sexta die nichil facies. Septima die prima
hora bona est et non plus. Octaua mane
bona. Nona nichil facias. Decima die de
nichil facias cura qui male et adoria facie
da. Undecima bona et tota. Duodecima bona
et usq; ad tertiam ut quidam - 13m. nichil facias
- 14m. tota bona et 15m. hora nichil facies. 16.
mane tota bona et postea nichil valz. 17m.
et. 18m. usq; ad meridiem mala et et postea et
bona 19m. nichil tota agas 20m. et 21m. et 22m.

Fol. 108r, no. 45: Complex character.

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Liber Juratus Honorii

or

The Sworne Booke of Honorius

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Permission is hereby granted to make one handwritten copy for personal use, provided the master bind his executors by a strong oath (juramentum) to bury it with him in his grave. Beyond this, whoever copies this sacred text without permission from the editor will be damned.

INTRODUCTION:

Liber Juratus is one of the oldest and most influential texts of Medieval magic. The prologue says the text was compiled to help preserve the core teachings of the sacred magic, in the face of intense persecution by church officials. This may be a reference to the actions of pope John XXII (1316-34).

1. Page, Sophie. *Magic in Medieval Manuscripts (Medieval Life in Manuscripts)* . Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004, p.44-45.

I believe the almost legendary reputation of this work led to the forgery of the so-called *Grimoire of Pope Honorius*, a ridiculous work so despised by Eliphas Levi and A. E. Waite.

2. Levi, Eliphas (i.e. Constant, Alphonse Louis), and A. E. Waite. *The History of Magic* . 1939, p. 299.

3. Waite, Arthur Edward. *The Book of Ceremonial Magic* . London: W. Rider & Son, 1911, p. 19, pp. 103 ff.

According to Lynn Thorndike, it is also known as *Liber Sacer* or *Liber Sacratus* by which name it is mentioned at least twice in the thirteenth century.

4. Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*. Vol. 2. New York: Macmillan, 1923, pp. 281 ff.

Editions

Latin. A critical edition of the Latin text has recently been published by Gösta Hedegård.[5] Hedegård's text was largely based on Sl. 3854, which is the most complete, most senior, and "least tampered with".

5. Gösta Hedegård, *Liber Iuratus Honorii: A Critical Edition of the Latin Version of the Sworn Book of Honorius (Studia Latina Stockholmiensia,*

English. The only attempt at publishing any significant portion of the English translation was Daniel Driscoll's *The Sworn Book of Honourius* (sic) *the Magician*, Heptangle Books, 1977. Unfortunately, Driscoll did not make use of the best manuscripts, omitted large portions, misread and

misplaced angelic names and words from the prayers, and otherwise took serious liberties with the text. It is however a fine example of the book publisher's craft, and has become a valuable collectable.

48) Stockholm: Almovist & Wiksell International, 2002.

Manuscripts

The *Sworne Book* is represented in several manuscripts including the following found in the British Museum:

R Royal MS 17Axlii (Latin and English, dated mid-sixteenth century because of borrowing from Agrippa not found in the older manuscripts). 82 folios. Does not include all of the text, but breaks off just after the beginning of chapter CXV, namely just short of the actual instructions for invoking the angels. The title in the catalog reads 'The Sworne Booke of Honoryus':

```
'THE SWORNE BOOKE' of 'Honoryus' (see f. 4 b,
11.  3, 6):  a translation of a book of magic, entitled (see
Sloane MS. 3854,  f. 138 b) 'Liber de vita anime racionalis,
qui liber sacer uel liber angelorum vel liber iuratus
nuncupatur, quem fecit Honorius magister Thebarum',
purporting to be compiled by Honorius filius
Euclidis as the result of a conference of 89 magistri from
Naples, Athens, and Toledo, convened by the authority
of the Pope and cardinals (cf. also Sloane MSS. 313,
f. 1, 3885, f. 58).  Beg.  'When wycked sprites ware
gathered  together'.
   On f. 82 is a charm, in a 16th cent. band, on the word, 'Calendant'
against ague.
   Vellum;  ff. 82. 7 1/2 in. x 5 1/2 in.  XV cent.  Gatherings  of 4 leaves
(viii5, xiv6, xv10, xix2).  Sec, fol.  'and ye cause'.  Pen-drawings of
angels and spirits and marginal floral ornament, usually coloured,
sometimes in gold;  chapter-headings in red, blue, or green.  On the
fly-leaf (f. 1) are some late 16th cent. pen-drawings with the initials
R. T.  This  MS.  and the next two are bound together.
```

S313 Sloane MS 313 (late fourteenth or early fifteenth century). This manuscript is known to have been in the collection of John Dee, and contains marginal notes in his handwriting. The title in the catalog reads simply "Tract on Magic.", or "Salomonis opus sacrum ab Honorio ordinatum, tractatus de arte magica." It is an important independent witness to most of the text.

Sloane 3826 (fol. 58-83) 16th century. Excerpts from LJ. The catalog of angels found in Royal MS 17Axlii also has parallels in Sloane 3826.

Sloane 3849 (art. 7) Excerpts from LJ.

S3 Sloane 3853: This manuscript contains large portions of the *Sworn Book*. Mid 16th century, also with excerpts from Agrippa (with citations) and many other texts. English and Latin. Although belonging to the same family of manuscripts as Sl. 3854 and Sl. 3885 (see below), it is important, in that it is the only second witness to portions of the text, including the drawing of the magic circle, and shows some independence. It has the odd trait of occasionally replacing letters steganographically, but the result is hardly disguised at all, e.g. "cpnkuro" for "conjuro" and "dfmpnes" for "demones."

Contents:

127v-137v ("fol 163f"): Catalogued as 'The Divine Seal of Solomon', 127v variation of Sigillum Dei Aemeth;
128r-v: English version of IV.49-65;
129r-130v: XXVII-XXX, LXXVII-LXXIX, LXX;
130v-134v: CII-CXV.48;
134v-135v: LXXIII, XCIII;
135v-137v: CXXXV.8-17, CXXXVII.1-19, CI.2-8.
149r ff: CXXVII ff.

S4 Sloane 3854: (art. 9, fol 117-144) 14th century. "Honorii Magistri Thebarum liber cui titulus 'Juratus.'" or "Liber Juratus, vel liber de vita Animæ rationalis Qui Liber Sacer, vel Liber Angelorum nuncupatur quem fecit Honorius Magister Thebarum," etc.

Sloane 3883: (fols. 1-25) 17th century. "De modo ministrandi sacrum" (revealed to Solomon by an angel)

S5 Sloane 3885: (fols. 1-25). The watermark has been dated to 1588. "Liber sacer Salomonis," repeated at fold 96v-125; (fols. 58-96) "Tractatus de re magica ab Honorio filio Euclidis magistro Thebarum ex septem voluminibus artis magicae compilatus, et intitulatus Liber sacer, sive juratus.", or "Opera Salomonis ab Honorio ordinata" (cursive script).

Of these, Sloane 3854 is the most reliable, complete, and readable.

All of the manuscripts seem to be missing some text, as shown by internal references to material not actually to be found. One example is the reference to the seals of angels. To make up for these evident deficiencies, the Royal manuscript seems to have inserted some additional text not found in the other manuscripts, namely the information on angels and incenses, most of which is taken from Agrippa and De Abano. It is also missing some text found in the other manuscripts.

Variants are of some interest. Note the recurring sound changes: "i" (R manuscript) becomes "g" (S5 manuscript), e.g. "ienomos" [R] = "genomos" [S5], ..iel [r] = ..ihel [S5], e.g. "kariel" [r] = "karihel" [S5]; also frequent interchange of y to i and i to y; ..am [r] = ..um [S5], e.g. "lemeliham" [r] = "lemelihum" [S5]. possible evidence of mss tradition in some other script [Hebrew or Greek?] or oral tradition.

John Dee, in his Mystical Experiments, was originally told to use a version found in one of his books. Dee consulted several sources, and consulted the angels to resolve the discrepancies. This prompted them to detail an almost totally new version of the Sigil. One of Dee's sources was apparently Sl.313. Roberts and Watson, in their 1990 *John Dee's Library Catalogue*, pg. 168, identify Sloane 313 as being one of Dee's manuscripts. They give it catalog number DM70, and note, "On fol.9 (originally the first leaf, fol.1-8 having been misbound) is [Dee's ladder symbol] and, very faint, 'Fragmentum Magicum', which may be in Dee's hand. At the foot is 'Sum Ben: Jonsonij liber'."

Note also that the section 'On the composition of the Divine Seal' also occurs in the Hebrew version of the Key of Solomon (fol. 3b-5b).

Note too that the Orations found in *Liber Juratus* parallel (and are probably derived from) those found in the Ars Notoria, for example:

Liber Juratus: [Oratio 17, Royal, fol. 37v]	**Ars Notoria: The oration of the physical art**
O Jesu the sonne of the incomprhensible god **hancor hanacor hamylos [or hanylos] iehorna theodonos helyothos [heliotheos] phagor corphandonos norizaue corithico hanosae helsezope phagora**. **Eleminator candones helos helee resphaga thephagayn thetendyn thahonos micemya [S4: uicemya] hehor tahonas [heortahonos] nelos [uelos] behebos belhores hacaphagan belehothol ortophagon corphandonos** borne in the shape of a man for us sinners and yow holy angells **heliothos phagnora** herken and teche me and gouerne me (*hic dic petitionem tuam sed p visione diuina dic ut sequitr*.) that i may come to obtayne the visyon of the deyte thorow the glorious and moste gentle and moste almighte creator oure lyuyng lorde holy infinite godely and euerlastinge to whome be prayse honor and glorye worlde withowt ende. amen.	IHesus fili Dominus Incomprehensibilis: Ancor, Anacor, Anylos, Zohorna, Theodonos, hely otes Phagor, Norizane, Corichito, Anosae, Helse Tonope, Phagora. *Another part of the same oration.* Elleminator, Candones helosi, Tephagain, Tecendum, Thaones, Behelos, Belhoros, Hocho Phagan, Corphandonos, Humanae natus & vos Eloytus Phugora: Be present ye holy angels, advertise and teach me, whether such a one shall recover, or dye of this infirmity.

This edition.

This edition is based on the English translation of the Royal manuscript, but with deficiencies and some variant readings from Sl. 3854 (designated S4), Sl. 3885 (abbreviated S5), and Sl. 3853 (designated S3) are also noted.

A complete transcription of R is included on the left-hand side, with a slightly modernized (for readability) version on the right. I have also supplied translations of some of the Latin passages.

The diagram of the Sigillum Dei Aemeth is based on that in Sloane 313, but with a few corrections based on the description in the text. It has been reconstructed using the excellent Schreibweise font from Andrew Leman at E-phemera. It was developed from a sample of a German manuscript dating from 1492. This is fairly close to the (although considerably corrupted) version shown in Athanasius Kircher in his monumental work *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1562). The drawing of the sigil does not occur in Royal, Sloane 3854, or Sl.3885. The version in Sloane 3853 (reproduced in C.J.S. Thompson, *The Mysteries and Secrets of Magic*, New York, 1973, pg. 186, but without identifying the source) is somewhat different. The drawing, with interesting differences, also appears in an Italian manuscript of the *Key of Solomon* in the Bodleian Library, MS. Mich. 276.

Abbreviations

GH	Gösta Hedegård (2002)
R	British Library MS Royal 17Axlii
S3	Sloane 3853
S313	Sloane 313
S4	Sloane 3854
S5	Sloane 3885

Section numbers follow GH. Corrected readings are indicated by * in front of the correct form. Text in <> is to be deleted.

Liber Iuratus Honorii

or

The Sworne Booke of Honorius

[1r]

when wycked sprites ware gathered to get-| her Intending to sende devills In to the hartts off men| to the entente thay wolde dystroy all thinges profyta-| ble ffor mankynde and to corrvpte all the whole wor-| lde even to the vttermost off there powr sowing Ipo-| crysye and envy and rooting bysshops and prelates| In pryde even the pope him selfe and his cardenall-| es which gathering them selves to gether sayde| won to a nother as here folowethe */*/*/*/*/*/*

[I. Prologue]

When wicked spirits were gathered together, intending to send devils into the hearts of men, to the intent they would destroy all things profitable for mankind, and to corrupt all the whole world, even to the uttermost of their power, sowing hypocrise and envy, and rooting bishops and prelates in pride, even the pope himself and his cardinals, which gathering themselves together said one to another as here follows:

Notes:

the helth which the lorde hathe| gevin his people Is now through magecke and| negromansy turned Into the damnacyon of all pe-| ople, for even the magyans them selves being in-| toxycated and blynded by the devill, and contrary| to the order of christes chvrche and transgressing| the commavdement of god, which dothe saye tho-| w shalte not tempe the lorde thy god, but him on-| ly shalte þ^{u} serve, but these negromansers or ma-| gyans denying the sacryfyce dew vnto god and in| tempting him hathe donne sacryfyce

The health which the Lord has given his people is now through magic and negromancy turned into the damnation of all people. For even the magians themselves, being intoxicated and blinded by the devil, and contrary to the order of Christ's Church, and transgressing the commandment of God, which says, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, but him only shalt thou serve."

"You shall not t
Lord your God"
(Deut.6:16); "bu
shall serve him
(Deut. 6:13)

vnto devi-| lls and abvsed his name In calling of them co-| ntrary to the profession made at there baptin,

But these negromancers or magians, denying the sacrifice due to God, and in tempting him have done sacrifice to devils, and abused His Name in calling of them, contrary to the profession made at there baptism,

[1v]

for there it is sayd: for sake the devill and all his| pompes, but thes magyans and negromansers| dothe nott follow only the pompes and workes| of sathan but hathe also brought all people th-| rough there meruelus ellusyons In to þ^{e} err-| ors drawing the ignorant and suche lyke In| to the damnasyon bothe of sowle and body, and| they thinkinge this for no other purpose. but| that by this they shulde destroye all other scye-| nces, it is thought mite therfore to plucke vp| and vtterly to dystroy this dedly roote and all the| followers of this arte, but they throvghe the I-| nstygasyon off the deuill and being moued w^{t}| envy and couetusnes vnder the simylytude of| truthe they did publyshe and spred abrode þ^{e} f-| alshed speking falce and vnlykely thinges, for| It is nott possible þ^{t} a wicked and vnclen man| shulde worke trwly In this arte, for men are n-| ott bownde vnto sprites, but the sprites are co-| nstrayned agaynst þ^{r} wills to answere men þ^{t}| be clensed or clene, and to fulfill there requeste-| s, yet agaynst all yo^{s} willes we haue gone abo-| wt to set forthe the princyples of this arte

for there it is said, "Forsake the devil and all his pomps." But these magians and negromancers do not follow only the pomps and works of Satan, but have also brought all people through their marvellous illusions into the errors, drawing the ignorant and such like into the damnation both of soul and body, and they thinking this for no other purpose but that by this they should destroy all other sciences.

It is thought meet [=proper] therefore to pluck up and utterly to destroy this deadly root, and all the followers of this art, but they through the instigation of the devil, and being moved with envy and covetousness under the similitude of truth, they did publish and spread abroad the falsehood, speaking false and unlikely things. For it is not possible that a wicked and unclean man should work truely in this art, for men are not bound to spirits, but the spirits are constrained against their wills to answer men that are cleansed or clean, and to fulfill their requests. Yet against all those wills we have gone about to set forth the principles of this art,

[2r]

and þ^{e} cause of truthe, and for that cause thay h-| ad condemned this arte and Iudged hus to dethe.

and the cause of truth, and for that cause thay had condemned this art and judged us to death.

we therfore throughe godes sufferance haui-| ng a fore knoledge of that Iudgement knowing a-| lso þ^{t} by it shulde folow miche mischefe and þ^{t} It| was impossible to vs to scape the handes of the| people by owre owne strengthe w^{t} owt the helpe| of sprites dowting þ^{t} a greter danger wolde folo-| w upon it, for the wicked power of the sprites a-| tt owre commaundement wolde

We therefore, through God's sufferance, having a foreknowledge of that judgement, knowing also that by it should follow much mischief, and that it was impossible to us to escape the hands of the people by our own strength without the help of spirits, doubting [i.e. fearing] that

1. The number g S4 and S5 is 89; reads '8', while I 811. The reveali angel is spelled 'Hocrohel' in the manuscripts.

haue destroyed| them all vtterly In on, wherfore we called on ge-| nerall counsell off all the masters In the which| counsell of *811* masters which camme owte of| naples athence and tholetus we dyd chuse on| whose name was honorius the sonne of euclud-| vs master of the thebanes, In the which cytye th-| is art was redd þ^{t} he shulde worke for us in| this sayde arte, and he throughe the counsell| of a sertayne angell whose name was hocroell| dyd wryte *7* volumes of arte magicke, geuy-| ng vnto hus the kernel and vnto other the sh-| alles owt of the which bookes he drw owt *93*| chapiters in the which Is bryffely contayned

a greater danger would follow upon it, for the wicked power of the spirits at our command could have destroyed them [i.e. those who condemned us] all utterly in an hour.

Wherefore, we called a general council of all the masters. And out of the which council of 811 [*89][1] masters which came out of Naples, Athens, and Toledo, we did choose one whose name was Honorius, the son of Euclid, master of the Thebians, in the which city this art was read, that he should work for us in this said art. And he through the council of a certain angel whose name was Hocroel, did write seven volumes of art magic, giving to us the kernel, and to others the shells. Out of the which books he drew out 93 chapters, in the which is briefly contained

[2v]

the effecte off this arte, off the which, chapters he| made a booke which we doo call the sacred or sworne| booke for this cause, for in it is contayned a *100*| sacred names of god and therfor it is callyd sac-| red as ye wolde saye made of holy thinges, or ell-| es be cause by this booke he came to the knowled-| ge of sacred or holy thinges, or elles be cause It| was cosecrated of angells, or elles be cause the a-| ngell hocroell did declare and show vnto him þ^{t} | it was consecrated of god, then they prynces &| prelates being pacefyed w^{t} burning of serten f-| ables or tryffles, thought verely this arte had| bin vtterly destroyed, and therfore we being som-| whate moued made this othe amounge oure se-| lues, first þ^{t} this book shulde be delyueryd to no| man vntyll suche tyme as the master of the ar-| te were in Ieoberdye of dethe and þ^{t} it shulde| be copyed but vnto *3* att the most, and þ^{t} it sh-| ulde be delyueryd to no woman nor to any ma-| n excepte he were off lawfull aghe which shulde| also be bothe godely and faythfull whose gode-| ly behauer had bin tryed by the space of a whole| yere, and þ^{t} this booke shulde no more here after

the effect of this art, of the which chapters he made a book which we do call *The Sacred or Sworn Book* for this cause, for in it is contained the 100 sacred names of God, and therefor it is called sacred, as you would say "made of holy things," or else because by this book he came to the knowledge of sacred or holy things, or else because it was consecrated by angels, or else because the angel Hocroel did declare and show him that it was consecrated of God.

[The oath]

Then the princes and prelates being pacified with burning of certain fables or trifles, thought verily that this art had been utterly destroyed, and therefore we being somewhat moved, made this oath among ourselves:

- First, that this book should be delivered to no man until such time as the master of the art were in jeopardy of death, and

- That it should be copied but to three at the most, and
- That it should be delivered to no woman, nor to any man except he were of lawful age, and he should also be both Godly and faithful, whose Godly behavior had been tried for the space of a whole year, and
- That this book should no more hereafter be destroyed, but that it should be restored again to the honor, or to his successors, and

[3r]

be dystroyed, but þ^{t} it shulde be restored agayne to þ^{e}| honore or to his successors, and yf there cane nott| be founde an able and a sufficyent man to who-| me this booke mighte be delyueryd, þ^{t} then the mast-| er bynde his executors by a stronge othe to bury | it withe him in his graue, or ells he shall him se-| lfe whyle he liueth bury it him selfe, in some pl-| ace honestely and clenly, and newer after to reu-| ele the place by any surcumstances to any creat-| ure, and yf the master shall haue nide of any sco-| llers or will proue them any man of wayes þ^{t} for| to fulfyll his commaundementes yff nide be they| shall euen suffer dethe rather then they will decl-| are eyther the sayinges or doinges of there ma-| ster, or þ^{t} he knoweth any suche thinges, nor decl-| are any suche thing by any man of surcumstan-| ces. and lyke as a father dothe cause on of his so-| nnes to loue another, euen so doth the master v-| nytte and kintt together his discyples or scholler-| s in concorde and loue so þ^{t} alwayes the on shall| helpe to bayre the others burthen, nor on shall no-| tt revele the secretes of a nother, but they shall be| faythfull off on mynde and concorde, and he þ^{t}

- If there cannot be found an able and a sufficient man to whom this booke might be delivered, that then the master bind his executors by a strong oath to bury it with him in his grave, or else he shall himself while he lives bury it himself in some place honestly and cleanly, and never after to reveal the place by any circumstances to any creature, and
- If the master shall have nide of any scholars or will prove them any manner of ways that for to fulfill his commandments if need be, they shall even suffer death rather than they will declare either the sayings or doings of their master, or that he knows any such things, nor declares any such thing by any man of circumstances. And like as a father causes one of his sons to love another, even so does the master unite and knit together his disciples or scholars in concord and love, so that always the one shall help to bear the others burden, nor one shall not reveal the secrets of another, but they shall be faithful of one mind and concord, and he that he shall truely perform, observe, and keep every article of his oath.

[3v]

he shall trewly performe obserue and kepe every art-| ycle off his othe and for this cause this is callyd | the sworne booke: {*ffinis prologi */*/*/*/*/*

And for this cause this [book] is called *The Sworn Book.*

End of prologue.

In the name off the almighty god o^{r} lorde Iesus | christ the trew liuing god. I honoryus haue thus | appoynted in my booke the workes of salomon I | haue first apoynted the chapters þ^{t} it maye be the mo-| re playne. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

heare be geneth the chapters of the first worke.}

the first chapter Is of the composyssyon of the gre-| ate name of god which the hebrues call sememp-| horas which dothe consyst of *72* h. t. o. e. x. o. r. a. | b. a. l. a. y. q. c. I. y. s. t. a. l. g. a. a. o. w. o. s. v. | l. a. r. y. t. c. e. k. x. p. f. y. o. m. e. m. a. n. a. r. e. | l. a. t. e. v. a. t. o. n. o. n. a. o. y. l. e. o. t. s. y. m. | a. letters which is the beginning in this arte the | *2* chapter is of the visyon of the deytey, the *3* | of the knowledge off the deuyne power, the *4* | of the for gyuenes off synnes, the *5* that a man | shuld nott fall into dedely sine, the *6* of the rede-| msyon off *3* sowlles owt of purgatorye */*/*/*/*/*/*/*|

the chapters off the .2. worke */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

the *7* chapter is off the knowledge off the heau-|

[4r]

ens, the *8* to know the angells off euery heauen.| the *9* to know euery angell his name and his po-| wer, the *10* to know the seales off euery angel, | the *11* to know vnder whome euey angll is, the | *12* to know the offyce of euery angell, the *13* | of the inuocatyon of euery angell and of his com-| pany. the *14* how a man shulde obteyne his w-| ill by euery angel. the *15* to obtayne all scyen-| ces, the *16* to know the hower of dethe, the *17* to | know all thinges present past and to comme. the | *18* to know the planetts and the starres. the *19* to | know the vertu of the planetts and starres and | there influences. the *20* to alter or chaunge þ^{e} | influence of the planetts and sterres. the *21* to ch-| ange the daye in to nighte and the nighte in to þ^{e} | daye. the *22* to know the sprites of the ayre. the | *23* to know the sprites of the fyer, and there n-| ames and there superyors, there seales power | and vertu, the *24* to know the names and þ^{e} | powers off the higher sprites. the *25* to know | there seales. the *26* to know the alteratyon and | changinge of the elymentes and of the bodyes | that be mixte of them, the *27* to know all herb-|

[4v]

es, plantes, and bestes being vpon the earthe | and of

[II. Contents]

In the name of the almighty God, our Lord Jesus Christ, the true living God. I Honorius have thus appointed in my book the works of Solomon. I have first appointed the chapters that it may be the more plain.

Here begins the chapters of the first work.

1. The first chapter is of the composition of the great name of God, which the Hebrews call *Schemhamphoras* which consists of seventy-two letters: h. t. o. e. r. o. r. a. b. a. l. a. y. q. c. l. y. s. t. a. l. g. a. a. o. w. o. s. v. l. a. r. y. t. c. e. k. r. p. f. y. o. m. e. m. a. n. a. r. e. l. a. t. e. v. a. t. o. n. o. n. a. o. y. l. e. o. t. s. y. n. a., which is the beginning in this art.
2. The second chapter is of the vision of the Deity,
3. The third of the knowledge of the devine power,
4. The fourth of the forgiveness of sins,
5. The fifth that a man should not fall into deadly sin,
6. The sixth of the redemption of three souls out of Purgatory.

The chapters of the second worke.

7. The seventh chapter is of the knowledge of the heavens,
8. To know the angels of every heaven
9. To know every angel, his name, and his power,
10. To know the seals of every angel,
11. To know under whom every angel is,
12. To know the office of every angel,
13. Of the invocation of every angel and of his company,
14. How a man should obtain his will by every angel,
15. To obtain all sciences,
16. To know the hour of death,

the chapters of the *3* worke. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

the *34* off the constrinksyon of sprites by word-| es. the *35* of the constrinsyon of sprites by | seales. the *36* of the constrinckesyon of spri-| tes by tables. the *37* to giue euery sprite his | shape. the *38* off inclosing of sprites. the *39* | off a sprite þ^{t} is inclosed þ^{t} he maye answere or | nott, the *40* to cause thunder and lightenin-| g. the *41* off burning to be made. the *42* | off the powrging of they ayer. the *43* off þ^{e} corruptyon of the ayer. the *44* to cause sno-|

[5r]

w and yse, the *45* off dewes rayne. the *46* | to cause flowers and frutes. the *47* to go I-| nuysyble. the *48* off a horse. the *49* to bring-| e agayne a man that is gone saffe in an how-| er. the *50* to haue a thing carryed whether th-| ow willte in moment. the *51* to take a waye | a thinge. the *52* to bringe a thinge agayne. | the *53* to change the shape of euery thinge.| the *54* to make a fludde in a dry grounde. the | *55* to make a commotyon att thy pleasure.| the *56* to distroy a kingdome or an empyre.| the *57* to haue power over euery man. the *58* | to haue a *1000* armed men. the *59* to forme a | castell þ^{t} shall neuer be dystroyed. the *60* to m-| ake a wicked glasse. the *61* to destroye a place | or a holde by a wicked glasse. the *62* off a glasse | wherin thow shalte se the whole worlde. the *63* | to bringe agayne a thiffe which þ^{t} he hathe stoll-| en. the *64* to open lockes. the *65* to cause disco-| rde and debate. the *66* to cause vnyte and con-| corde. the *67* to haue the fauor of euerybodye. | the *68* to obtayne or gett rytches. the *69* to

[5v]

hele all man of disseses. the *70* to cast in to | sickenes whome ye will. the *71* to kill whome | ye will. the *72* to cause danger bothe by se | and lande. the *73* to delyn a shipe þ^{t} is stoppe-| d in the sea by the adamaint stone. the *74* to | avoyde all man of dangers. the *75* to gayther | byrdes to gether and to take them, the *76* to ge-| ther fysshes to gether and to take them. *77* to | gather wylde bestes to gether and to take the-| m. the *78* to cawse warre amonge fysshes fow-| lles and suche lyke. the *79* to make burninge to | apeyre. the *80* to make Iuggelers or mayde-| ns singing to apeyre. the *81* to make gardens

The chapters of the third work.

34. Of the constrinksyon of spirits by words,
35. Of the consthinksyon of sprits by seals,
36. Of the constrinckesyon of spirits by tables,*
37. To give every spirit his shape,
38. Of enclosing of spirits,*
39. Of a spirit that is enclosed, that he may answer or not,*
40. To cause thunder and lightening,
41. Of burning to be made,
42. Of the purging of the air,
43. Of the corruption of the air,
44. To cause snow and ice,
45. Of dews [and] rain,
46. To cause flowers and fruits,
47. To go invisible,
48. Of a horse [which will carry you anywhere you wish in a single night],**
49. To bring again a man that is gone safe in an hour,
50. To have a thing carried where you will in a moment,
51. To take away a thing,
52. To bring a thing again,
53. To change the shape of every thing,
54. To make a flood in a dry ground,
55. To make a commotion at your pleasure,
56. To destroy a kingdom or an empire,
57. To have power over every man,
58. To have a thousand armed men,
59. To form a castle that shall never be destroyed,*
60. To make a wicked glass,*
61. To destroy a place or a hold by a wicked glass,*
62. Of a glass wherein you shall see the whole world,*
63. To bring again that which a thief has stollen,
64. To open locks,
65. To cause discord and debate,
66. To cause unity and concord,
67. To have the favor of everybody,
68. To obtain or get riches,
69. [To have the desire of women.]**

* These chapter extant, even in t manuscripts.

** See chapter (which recounts chapters.

[6r]

the chapters off the *4* worke */*/*/*/*/*/*

the *88* to delyur them þ^{t} be in pryson. the *89* | to locke agayne the gattes of the castell. the | *90* to haue all treasures mettalls pressyns sto-
nes and all other thinges hyd in the grounde. | the *91* off the appeyringe off ded bodyes that | thay seme to aryse agayne and to speke. the *92* | that ye shulde thinke beastes to appeyre crea-| ted agayne off the earthe but these *2* chapters | haue we takyn awaye be cause they be agayn-| st the will of god. thus endeth the nottes off all | the chapters
/

The chapters of the fourth work.

88. To deliver them that be in prison,
89. To lock again the gates of the castle,[1]
90. To have all treasures metals, precious stones, and all other thinges hidden in the ground,
91. Of the appearing of dead bodies that they seem to arise again and to speak,
92. That you should think beasts to appear created againe of the earth

But these two chapters have we taken away, because they be against the will of God.

Thus ends the notes of all the chapters.

1. Better: To un
bars and prisons

---

here beginnithe the booke.*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

[III.] Here begins the book.

---

we therfore thorow godes helpe Intendinge to | folow the stepps and precepes of salomon, th-| erfore to the receyuing of suche an highe mi-| sterye we prefesse to be oone chiffe princy-| ple or begininge, note therfore that the first | and chiffe princyple or begininge is the de-| vyne maiestye, and the trew Inuocatyon m-| ust cume frome the very faythe of the harte, | the which faythe the workes shall declare, [6v] ffor salomon sayde there is one only god | one mighte, or power, oone faythe, of whome | oone worke, oone princyple or begininge, | and of whome the prefectyon and effecte of | euery worke dothe comme althoughe this | be deuyded into many partes, ffor lyke as | all the holle partes doo sauor and smel of the | body euen to lykewyse dothe of these thin-| ges comme all perfectyon and effect. */*/*/*

We therefore, through God's help, intending to follow the steps and precepts of Solomon, therefore to your receiving of such a high mystery, we profess to be one chief principal or beginning. Note therefore that the first and chief principal or beginning is the Divine Majesty, and the true invocation must come from the very faith of the heart, the which faith the works shall declare. For Solomon said there is one only God, one might or power, one faith, of whom one work, one principal or beginning, and of whom the perfection and effect of every work comes, although this be divided into many parts. For like as all the whole parts do savour and smell of the body, even so likewise of these things come all perfection and effect.

In the name therfore of the true And ly-| uing gode which Is alpha et omega þ^{e} | beginninge and the endinge which is the fat-| her the sonne, and the holy gost *3* persones | and on god the gyuer off lyffe and the dest-| royer off dethe for he destroyed oure dethe | and thrughe his resurrectyon restored vs | agayne to lyffe. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

In the name therefore of the true and living God, who is **Alpha and Omega** the beginning and the ending, which is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, the giver of life, and the destroyer of death. For he destroyed our death and through his resurrection restored us again to life.

off the makinge off the seale of god, for | the knowledge of the first parte, of the | knowledge of the deytye, for the knowle-| dge of þ^{e} *2* parte. in þ^{e} *3* parte of the | vysyon of angells, the *4* of þ^{e} constr- [7r] inkesyon, the *5* parte off the bownde of | deadmen */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Of the making of the Seal of God, for the knowledge of the first part, of the knowledge of the diety, for the knowledge of the second part, in the third part of the vision of angels, the fourth of the constrinkesyon, the fifth part of the bonds of dead men.[2]

2. Lat. "de ligati infernorum" (co the binding of th inhabitants of th underworld).

off angels there are *3* kyndes */*/*/*/*/* | some be selestyall, and some of the ayre and some | be of the earthe. off the celestyall there are also *2* | kyndes somme of them doo serue god only and | those be the *9* orders of angells that is to saye | cherubin, and seraphin, trones, domynatyons, | vertuse, princypates, and potestates, arkangells | and angells off whome it is to be spoken amo-| unge mortall men, for they will nott be constray-| ned by any artyfysyall powr, and therfore | they oughte nott to be Inuocated for they a-| lwayes stande before the deuyne maiestye an| d are neuer seperated from his presens, yet be | cause the sowle of man was creatyd with | theme and to there lykenes, lookinge to be re-| wardyd with them maye through the gyfte | and grace of god his bodye yet lyuing beh-| olde the deuyne maiestye, and with them to | prayse and know god þ^{e} creator, and this kn-| owledge is nott to know god in his magestye [7v] and power but euer as adame and the | prophettes dyd know him,

Of angels there are three kinds. Some are celestial, some are of the air, and some are of the earth. Of the celestial, there are also two kinds. Some of them serve God only, and those are the nine orders of angels, that is to say, cherubin, seraphin, thrones, dominations, virtues, principates, potestates, archangels, and angels. Of whom it is to be spoken among mortal men, for they will not be constrained by any artificial power. And therefore they ought not be invocated, for they always stand before the Divine Majesty, and are never separated from His presence. Yet because the soul of man was created with them, and to there likeness, looking to be rewarded with them may through the gift and grace of God, his body yet living behold the Divine Majesty, and with them to praise and to know God the creator, and this knowledge is not to know God in his majesty and power, but ever as Adam and the prophets did know him.

but this is p-| rincypally to be noted that there are *3* ky-| ndes off men þ^{t} worke in this arte Iwes, ch-| ristyans and pagans, the pagans doo sacry-| fyce to the sprites of the ayre and of the ea-| rthe but they doo nott

But this is principally to be noted, that there are three kinds of men that work in this art: Jews, Christians, and pagans. The pagans do sacrifice to the spirits

constrayne or bynde th-| em, but the sprites doo fayne them selues to | be bownde by the wordes of there law, to the | Intent they maye make them to committ ido-| letrye, and neuer turne to the true faythe, | and by cause there faythe is nought therfore | there workes be nawght, he þ^{t} will worke aft| er þ^{t} man must forsake the lyuing god, and | must doo sacryfyce vnto sprites and Idolles | for it is faythe that worketh in a man good | or euill, wherfore it is sayde in the gospell þ^{e} | faythe hathe made the saffe, the Iwes doo in | nowyse worke to obtayne the visyon of the | deytye, for by the comminge of christe they lo-| st there prehemynence nor they can nott | comme to heauen, for the lorde dothe saye [8r] he that is nott baptysed shall be damned, and | so in all angells they worke Imperfectly, nor | they canontt throughe there inuocatyons brin-| ge any worke to effecte excepte they be liue | in christe. ffor it is sayd by the prophet, when | the kinge of kinges and the lorde of lordes | Is cume then shall youre anoyntinge cease w-| hich shulde neuer haue ceasyd yf they cowlde | haue wroughte effectually by this arte, and so | there workes are noughte, and althoughe the | Iwes in that þ^{t} they are Iwes are condemny-| d of yet they doo wurship the highe creator but | nott after a dew sorte, yet thorow the powr of | the holy names of god spirrites are constray-| ned to comme. but Iwes because they are no-| tt signed w^{t} the signe of god that is to saye | with the signe of the crosse therfore they | sprites will nott answere them trewly, ther-| fore the christyan man only dothe worke | trewly to cum to the vysyon of the deyte, and | in all other workes, and althoughe *3* sortes | of men doo worke by this arte magyke, yet [8v] It is nott to be thoughte þ^{t} there is any eu-| ill in this name magyan, for this same na-| me magyan dothe signefy in the grike twunge | a philosopher, and in the hebru twunge a sc-| rybe, and in the latten twunge it signefyeth | wyse and so this name of arte magyke is co-| mpownded of this worde magos wiche Is | as muche to saye as wyse and of ycos wiche | by interpretasyon is knowledge for by it a | man is made wyse, for by this arte a man | maye know thinges present past and to | come */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

of the air and of the earth, but they do not constrain or bind them, but the spirits do fain themselves to be bound by the words of their law, to the intent they may make them commit idolatry, and never turn to the true faith. And because their faith is nought, therefore their works are nought. He that will work after that man must forsake the living God, and must do sacrifice to spirits and idols. For it is faith that works in a man good or evil. Wherefore it is said in the Gospel, "your faith has made you safe."

The Jews do in no wise work to obtain the vision of the Deity, for by the coming of Christ they lost their preeminence, nor can they come to heaven, for the Lord says, he that is not baptized shall be damned. And so in all angels they work imperfectly. Nor can they through their invocations bring any work to effect, except they believe in Christ. For it is said by the prophet, "when the king of kings and the Lord of Lords is come, then shall your annointing cease," which should never have ceased if they could have wrought effectually by this art. And so theire works are nought. And although the Jews in that they are Jews are condemned, of yet they do worship the High Creator, but not after a due sort. Yet through the power of the holy names of God, spirits are constrained to come. But Jews because they are not signed with the sign of God, that is to say with the sign of the cross, therefore those spirits will not answer them truely.

Therefore, the Christian man only works truely to come to the vision of the Deity, and in all other works. And although three sorts of men do work by this art magic, yet it is not to be thought that there is any evil in this name *Magian*, for this same name *Magian* signifies in the Greek tongue *a philosopher*, and in the Hebrew tongue *a scribe*, and in the Latin tongue it signifies *wise.* And so this name of art magic is

compounded of this word *magos* which is as much to say as 'wise,' and of *ycos* which by interpretation is 'knowledge.' For by it a man is made wise. For by this art a man may know things present, past, and to come.

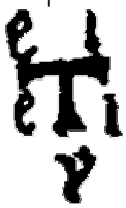
here folowithe the makinge off the seale off the trwe | and lyuinge god */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

[IV.] Here follows the making of the Seal of the true and living God

Primo fac unum circulum cuius diameter | sit trium digitorum propter tres clauos do-| mini, vel *5* propter *5* plagas, vel *7* pr-| opter *7* sacramenta, vel *9* propter *9* ordin-| es angelorum, sed communiter *5* digitorum | fieri solet. deinde infra illum circulum fac | alium circulum a primo distantem duobus | granis ordei propter duas tabulas moysi, [9r] vel distantem a poimo [*primo] tribus granis prop-| ter trinitatem parsonarm, deinde infra illo-| s duos crculos in superiori parte quæ | dicitur angulus meridiei fac vnam crucem, | in cuius tibia aliquantulum intrat crc-| ulum interiorem. deinde a parte dextra | crucis stribe .h. aspirationem deinde .t. dein-| de .o. deinde .e. x. o. r. a. b. a. l. a. y. q. c.^{t} i. y. s. | t. a. l. g. a. a. o. w.^{n} o. s. v. l. a. r.^{t} y. t. c. e. k. x.^{s} p. f. | y. o. m. e. m. a. n. a. r. e. l. a. t. e. v.^{t} a. t. o. n. o. | n. a. o. y. l. e.^{p} o. t. s. y. m. a. et iste literæ su-| nt eque distantes, et circumdent circulum. eo | ordine quo sunt prenominatæ et sic mag-| num nomen domini schemhamphoras *72* | literarum erit completum. hoc facto in m-| edio circulorum scilicet in centro fac unu-|

m pentagonum talem, in cuius me-| dio sit signum tav tali

et super ill-| ud signum stribe hoc nomen dei el, et sub n-| omine aliud nomen dei



[.l.] .ely. isto modo | deinde infra angulum superiorem penta-| goni stribe istas duas litteras .l.h. et infra | alium angulum dextrum .a.l. et in alio [9v] post istum [istas duas .l.a. et in alio post istum .l.c. et in alio

First, make a circle with a diameter of three fingers, on account of the Lord's three nails, or five on account of the five wounds, or seven on account of the seven sacraments, or nine on account of the nine orders of angels, but generally five fingers are customary.

Then, below that circle make another circle, distant from the first by two barley grains (on account of the two Tablets of Moses), else the distance from the first can be three grains (on account of the three persons in the Trinity.)

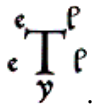
Then below those two circles in the uppermost part, which is called the southern angle, make a single cross, the leg of which may slightly enter the innermost circle.

Then, from the right side of the cross, write .h. (the "exalation"), then .t., then .o. then .e. x . o. r. a. b. a. l. a. y. q. c. i. y. s. t. a. l. g. a. a. o. n. o. s. v. l. a. r [t]. y. t. c. e. k. s. p. f. y. o. m. e. m. a. n. a. r. e. l. a. c. e. d. a. t. o. n. o. n. a. o. y. l. e. [y]. o. t. m. a. and these letters may be made an equal distance apart, and may surround the circle. And with that series of letters which was previously named the circle will thus be filled with the great name of the Lord, Schemhamphoras, of 72 letters.

post istum] .n.m.. deinde circa pentagonum | fac vnum eptagonum cuius latus superius | secundum sui medium contingat angulum | superiorem pentagoni vbi .l.h. scrbebatur, | et in eodem latere eptagoni scribe hoc nomen | scante [*sancti] angeli quod est [.casziel. et in alio latere a dextris istud nomen alterius sancti angli quod est] .satquiel. deinde in | alio .samael. et in alio .raphael. postea .anael. | postea .michael. postea .gabriel. et sic *7* | latera eptagoni sunt adimpleta, deinde circa | istum eptagonum predictum fac alium e-| ptagonum non quoquo modo factum priu-| s sed taliter quod vnum latus ipsius in-| carceret latera alterius, deinde fac alium | eptagonum [talem] qualis prius fuit cuius ang| uli *7* contingant angulos *7* eptagoni se-| cundi qui bus esse videtur. hic tamen ept-| agonus infra perdictum secundum conclu-| detur, [unum] latus secundi eptagoni supernudo et a-| liud subenudo, [sed] latus primo angulos succe-| dens subenudo ibit. et quæ sequntur serie | supereuntis et subeuntis alterutrum se | habebunt, deinde in quolibet angulo secu-| ndi eptagoni vna crux depingatur, deinde [10r] in illo latere secundi eptagoni quod transit ab | vltimo angulo [eiusdem] ad secundum angulum eiusdem | in eadem parte quæ est super .casziel. silla-| be cuiusdam scaneti [*sancti] dei nominis scribatur, | ita quod hac sillaba .la. scribatur in illo lo-| co lateris perdicti qui est supra primam si-| llabam de .casziel. et hac sillaba .ya. in illo loco | [eiusdem] lateris qui est supra vltimam sillabam eius-| dem de .casziel. et hæc silliba .ly. in illo loco | eiusdem lateris qui est latus intersecans pr-| edictum latus et crucem secundi anguli eiu-| sdem, deinde in latere illo quod tendit ab an-| gulo primo eiusdem secundi eptagoni ad te-| rtium angulum eiusdem scribatur hoc nom-| en sanctum dei .narath. ita quod hæc sillaba | .na. scribatur in illo loco eiusdeum lateris | qui est supra primam sillabam de .satquiel. | et haec sillaba .ra. in illo loco qui est supra | vltimam eiusdem, et [hec] dua literæ .t.h. in illo | loco qui est in eodem [latere] inter latus secans ip-| sum et crucem tertiam, deinde in illo latere | eiusdem secundi eptagoni quod tendit .a. | tertio angulo eiusdem ad quartum eiusdem [10v] scribatur hoc creatoris nomen sanctum | quod dicitur .libarre. ita quod hæc sillaba | .ly. scribatur supra primam sillabam, de | .raphael. et hæc sillaba .bar. supra vltimam | sillabam eiusdem, et hæc sillaba .re. in illo | loco eiusdem lateris qui est inter latus int-| ersecans ipsum et quintur angulum eiusdem |

This done, in the middle of the circles, namely in the center, make a pentagram thus:

in the middle of which should be the sign 'Tau', thus: , and above that sign, write the name of God **El,** and underneath this another name of God, namely, **Ely**, in this fashion:



Then, below the uppermost angle of the pentagram, write these two letters: .l.x.
And below the other in the right angle, these two: .a.l.
and in the next after those, these two: .l.a.
and in the next after that: .l.c.
and in that following: .u.m.

Then, around the pentagram make a heptagon; it may touch the uppermost side of the pentagram, <its second> which is after the middlemost top angle, where are written .l.x.

And in the same side of the heptagon write this name of the holy angel, which is Casziel.
And in the next side from the right -most, the name of the holy angel, which is Satquiel.
Then in the next Samael, and in the next Raphael, afterwards Anael, afterwards Michael, followed by Gabriel. And thus the seven sides of the heptagon will be completed.

Then, around that preceding heptagon, make another heptagon, not made like the first, but in such a manner that the one side of it will intersect the previous side of the same.

Then make another such heptagon, like the first, whose seven angles touch the seven angles of the second heptagon,

secundi eptagoni, deinde in illo latere eiusd-| em secundi eptagoni quod est .a. quinta cru-| ce vsque ad vltimam scribatur hoc aliud sa-| crum creatoris nomen .libares. ita quod | hæc sillaba .ly. scribatur in illo loco lateris | qui est supra primam sillabam ipsius .michael. | et hæc sillaba .ba. in illo loco lateris qui | est supra vltimam sillabam eiusdem, et hæc | sillaba .res. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est | inter latus intersecans ipsum et vltimam cr-| ucem. deinde in illo latere eiusdem secundi ip-| tagoni quod vadit a secundo angulo eiusdem | secundi eptagoni ad quintum scribatur [hoc] aliu-| d sacrum nomen dei .lialg. cum coniuncti-| ua ita quod coniuunctiua in illo loco eiusd-| em lateris scribatur quid est supra primam [11r] sillabam de .samael. et hæc litera .ly. in illo loco | eiusdem lateris qui est supra vltimam eiusdem, | et hæc sillaba .alg. in loco eiusdem lateris qui | est inter latus intersecans ipsum et quartam | crucem, sed caue quod ra coniunc tiua sic de-| bet scribi et cum titulo intersecante propter | timorem dei malum volitum diuidentem, de| inde in illo latere eiusdem eptagoni tendente | a quarta cruce ad sextam scribatur hoc aliud | sacrum dei nomen, .veham. ita quod hæc sill-| aba .ve. scribatur in illo loco eiusdem lateris | qui est supra primam sillabam de .anael. et | hæc litera .h. supra vltimam sillibam et hæc | sillabam .am. in illo loco eiusdem lateris q-| ui est latus secans ipsum et sextam crucem, | deinde in illo latere quod tendit a sexto [angulo] eiusd-| em secundi eptagoni ad primum angulum sc-| ribatur hoc aliud sacrum dei nomen .yalgal. | ita quod hec litera .y. scribatur in alla [loco] eiusdem | lateris qui est supra primam sillabam de .gabriel. | et hæc sillaba .al. super vltimam et hæc | sillaba .gal. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui | est inter latus intersecans ipsum et primam [11v] crucem, deinde in medio latere primi et tertii | eptagoni a dextris scribatur .vos. et in sequen-| ti latere eiusdem tertii eptagoni a dextris hoc | nomen .duymas. et in alio .Gyram. et in alio | .Grani. [*Gram] et in alio .Aysaram. et in alio .Alpha. | et omegal in alio. deinde in alio spaciolo quo-| d est sub secundi et tertii angulo primo epta-| gonorum scribatur hoc nomen dei .el. et in a-| lio spaciolo quod est a dextris sub angulis | secundi et tertii eptagonorum sub secunda cr-| uce hoc nomen .on. et in [illo] alio spaciolo sub t-| ertia cruce itarum hoc nomen .el. et in alio | sub quarta cruce iterum .on. et in alio sub | sequenti [*quinta] cruce

and the which should be shown doubled.

<Yet here, the heptagon under the preceding second will be contained,> *unum latus secundi heptagoni supernudo et aliud subenudo, sed latus primo angulo succedens subenudo ibit. et quae sequntur serie supereuntis et subeuntis alterutrum se habebunt.*

Then, in each of the angles of the second heptagon make a cross.

Then, in that side (of the second heptagon) which goes from the last angle to the second angle of the same, in that part which is above the first syllable of Casziel, this syllable from a sacred name of God should be written: la, and above the last syllable of the same (Casziel) should be written this syllable: ya, and in the space [between] the intersection and the second cross should be written the syllable ly.

Then, in that side which extends from the first angle of the second heptagon, and continues to the third angle of the same, this holy name of God should be written: Narath, and the first syllable, Na should be written in that space of the same side which is above the first syllable of Satquiel, and the syllable Ra in the space which is above the last syllable of the same, and the two letters 't,' 'h' made in that place which is in the same side between the side intersecting itself and the third cross.

Then, in that side (of the same second heptagon) which extends from the third angle of the same to the fifth of the same, should be written this holy name of the Creator, which is called Libarre, such that the syllable Ly is written above the first syllable of Raphael, and the syllable bar is over the last syllable of the same, and the syllable re in that space of the same side which is between the side intersecting itself and the

iterum .el. et in alio sub se-| quenti [*sexta] cruce iterum .on. et in alio sub sep-| tima cruce .ω. deinde in alio [*illo] spacio quod | clauditur inter angulum [primum] secundi eptagoni | et secundum angulum eiusdem et primum la-| tus tertii eptagoni et portionem circuli con-| tingentem illos angulos depingatur vna crux, | in medio scilicet spacii illius et in bucca sup-| eriori a leua crucis scribatur hæc litera .a. | et super buccam crucis secundam a dextris [12r] hæc litera .g. et sub bucca inferiori a dextris | scribatur hæc [alia] litera .a. et sub quarta bucca hæc | [alia] litera .l. deinde in alio spaciolo sequenti a dextr-| is in medio scribatur hoc nomen dei .ely. et | in alio hoc nomen .eloy. et in alio .christus. et | in alio .sother. et in alio .Adonay. et in alio | .Saday.

fifth angle of the same second heptagon.

Then, in that side (of the same second heptagon) which is farthest from the fifth cross, this other sacred name of the Creator should be written: Libares, such that the syllable Ly is written in that space of the side which is above the first syllable of Michael, and the syllable ba in that space of the side which is above the last syllable of the same (Michael), and the syllable res in that space of the same side which is between the side intersecting itself and the last cross.

Then, in that side (of the same second heptagon) which goes from the second angle (of the same second heptagon) to the fourth, this other holy name should be written: Lialg *cum coniunctiua ita quod coniunctiua in illo loco eiusdem lateris scribatur* which is above the first syllable of **Samael** and this syllable ly in that space of the same side which is above the last syllable of the same (Samael), and this syllable alg in that place of the same side which is between the side intersecting itself and the fourth cross.

But beware that the *coniunctiua* (connective) should be written thus: [figure] with the inscription intersecting, because of the fear of God *malum volitum dividentem.*

Then, on that side (of the same heptagon) that goes from the fourth cross to the sixth, write this other sacred name of God: Ueham, such that the syllable ve is written above the first syllable of Anael, and the letter h is above the last syllable of the same, and the syllable am is in the space of the same side which is [inter]secting the side itself and the sixth cross.

Then on that side which goes from the sixth angle (of the same second heptagon) to the first angle, this other sacred name of God should be written: yalgal,

such that the letter y is written in the space of the same side which is above the first syllable of Gabriel, and the syllable al is above the last, and the syllable gal should be written in the space of the same side which is between the intersection and the first cross.

Then, in the middle of the first side and the third heptagon, to the right, should be written vos, and in the next place Duymas, and in the next Gyram, and in the next Gram, andin the next Aysaram, and in the next Alpha, and in the next ω.

Then, in that small space which is under the second and the third angle of the first heptagon, should be written this name of God: el,
and in that small space which is to the right under the second and third angles of the heptagons under the second cross, this name: ON,
and in the next space under the third cross, again this name: el,
and in the next under the fourth cross, again: ON,
and in the next under the fifth cross, again: el,
and in the next under the sixth cross, again: ON,
and in the next under the seventh cross: ω.

Then in that small space which is enclosed between the first angle of the second heptagon and the second angle of the same, and the first side of the third heptagon, and the part touching those angles of the circle, draw a single cross in the middle, namely in that space. And in the top-left space of the cross, write the letter: a,
and in the top-right space of the cross this letter: g,
and in the lower-right space write another letter: a,
and in the fourth lower space this other letter: l.

This of course comprises AGL (acronym/name based on "Attah Le'olam Adonai first four words second benedict Shemoneh 'Esre Agrippa OP3.11 *Jewish Encyclo* The drawing in shows the 'a' on bottom left, and on the bottom ri

Then in the middle of the next small space to the right, write this name of God: Ely,

deinde scias quod communiter in exe-| mplaribus pentagonus fit de rubeo cum cro-| ceo in spaciis tincto. Et primus eptagonus de a-| zurio, secundus de croceo, tertius de purpureo, | et circuli de nigro, et spacium inter circulos | vbi est nomen de maximum. ac venerabile | .Schemhamphoras. tingitr croceo, omnia alio | spacia viridi habent tingi, sed in operationibus | aliter fieri debet, quia de sanguine aut talpæ. | aut turturis aut vpupæ aut vespertilionis | aut omnium horum figuratur, et in pergameno | virgineo vitulino, vel equino, vel ceruino, et sic | completur dei sigillum, et par hoc sanctum et | sacrum sigillum quando erit sacratum poteris. | facere operationes quæ postea dicentur in hoc | libro [sacro] modus autem sacrandi hoc sacrum sigi-| llum talis sicut sequitr debet esse.
//*/*/*/*/*

and in the next, this name: Eloy,
and in the next: Christos,
and in the next: Sother,
and in the next: ADONAI,
and in the next: Saday.

After this you shall know that commonly in the exemplars the five-cornered star or amulet is made of red, with the space within dyed saffron [yellow], and the first seven-cornered star of azure, the second of saffron, the third of purple, and the round circle of Black.

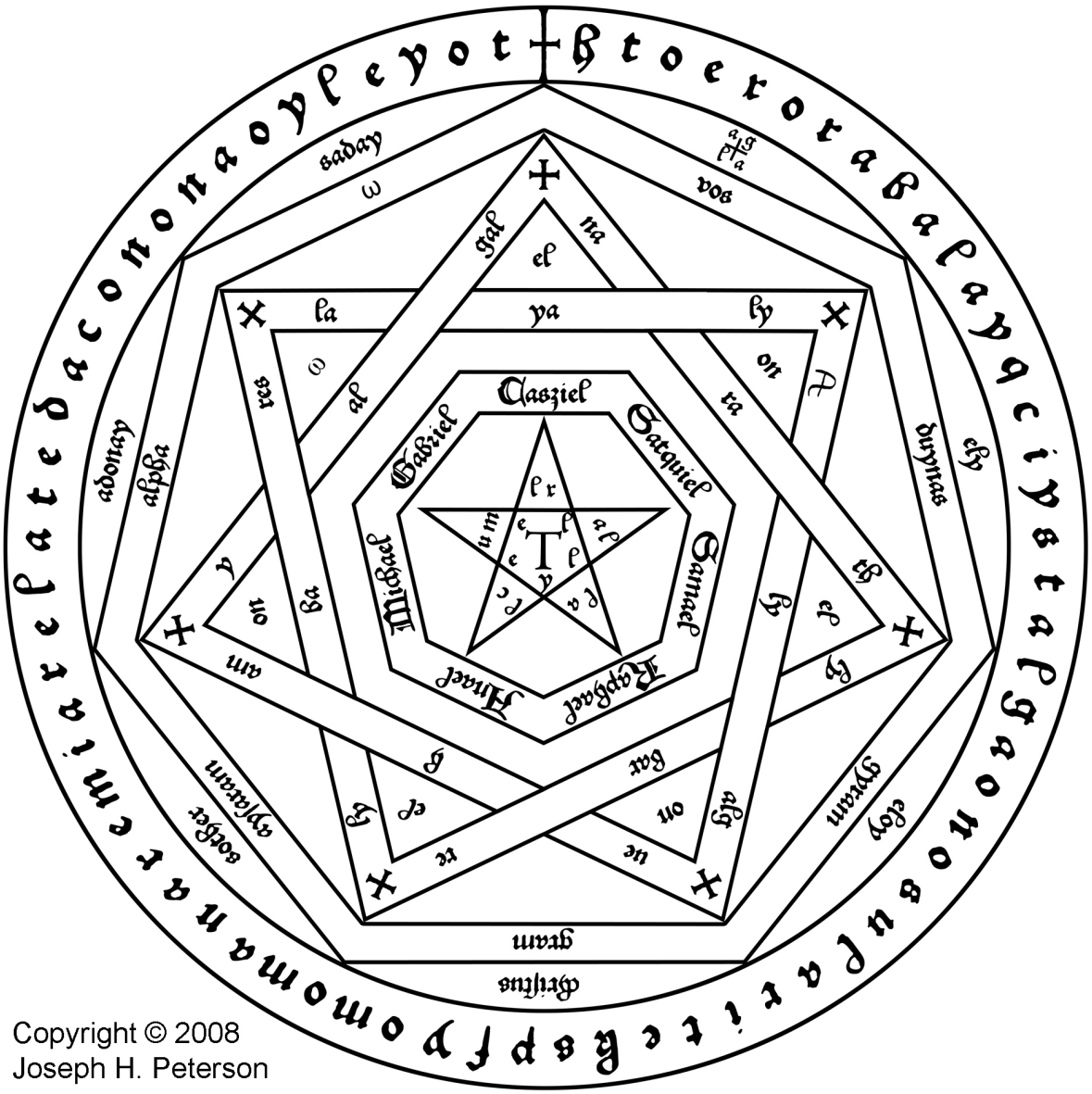
And the space between the circles where the name **Schemhamphoras** is, is died with saffron. At other spaces are to be coloured with green.

<Where **Tetragrammaton** ye & the circle about that white, with the angels names and planets.>

But in operations it must otherwise be done. For it is made with the blood either of a mole or of a turtledove, or a lapwing, or of a bat, or of them all, and in virgin parchment of a calf, or of foal, or a hind calf [i.e. deer]. And so is the Seal of God perfect.

And by this holy and consecrated seal after it is consecrated, you may work operations which shall be declared afterwards in this book. The manner of consecrating of this holy seal ought thus to be as followeth.

S3: After this th
knowe that com
the examplars th
cornarde cyrkyl
mullet [=amulet
made of redd di
saffron w^{t}in the
& the ffirst c^{r}ke
corners of azure
seconde of saffr
thirde of purple
rounde cerkelie
Black. / & the sp
betwene the circ
wher the name
Shemhamphoras
dyed w^{t} saffron.
other spaces are
coloured w^{t} gre
tet'grammaton y
xkyll abowght th
wyght w^{t} the Ar
names & planet
in operacyons it
other wyse be d
it is made w^{t} the
either of a mow
a turtyll doue. o
lappwynge or of
or of the all & in
virgynu~ parcha
a calfe or oa foc
hynde calfe. and
the seale of god
perfecte. / and b
holy & consecra
seale aft^{r} it be
consecrated thou
worke operacion
shalbe declared
afterwarde in th
Booke. The mar
consecratyng of
holy seale ought
be as folowethe.



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Joseph H. Peterson

[12v]

Inspirante domino dixit salomon unus | est solus deus, sola fides, sola virtus, quam | dominus hominibus voluit reuelari et di-| stribui hoc [*tali] modo. dexit angelus .Samael. | Salomoni hoc dabis populo Israel qui et | aliis similiter tribuent [sic placuit creatori] et iubet ipsum domin-| vs taliter consecrari, primo sit mundus op-| erans non pollutus, et cum deuocione fac-| iat non astute, non commedat neque vibat, | donec perfecerit opus, et sanguis quo scrip-| tus [*scriptum] fuerit primo sit benedictus sicut postea | dicetur, deinde suffumigetr, hoc sigillum am-| bra musco aloe lapdano albo et rubeo, mastice, | olibano margaritis et thure. Inuocando et | orando dominum sicut postea de visione di-| uina erudietur, post, Inuocando angelos sic-| ut

By the inspiration of God, Solomon said: there is only one God, one faith, and one virtue, which the Lord intended to be revealed to men and distributed of this wise. The angel [Samael] said to Solomon, "This shall you give to the people of Israel who also shall likewise give to others. So it has pleased the creator."

And the Lord commands it thus to be consecrated: § First, let the worker be clean, not polluted, and let him do it with devotion, not deceytfully. § Let him not eat nor drink till he has done his work. § And the blood wherewith it shall be written, first must be blessed as shall be said afterward.

S3, fol. 128r: By
inspiracion of g
Salomon said: þ
one god only fai
vertue wch the l
wolde to be reue
men & distribut
this wyse. The a
said to Salomon
shalt thow geve
people off Israel
whiche also sha
likewise geve to
so it hathe pleas
creato^r. / & the l
comaundeth it t
cõsecrated / ffir
worker be clean
polluted & let h
w^t deuocion not
deceytfully / let
eate nor drynke
heaue done his
& the blode whe
shalbe written fi

etiam infra dicetur, mutabitur tamen pe-| ticio hoc [*tali] modo,

Then the seal must be [per]fumed with amber, musk, aloes, lapdanum, white and red mastick, olibanum margarith [i.e. pearls], and frankincense, calling upon and praying to the Lord and all holy angels, by saying as follows:

be blessed as sh
afterward. than
must be fumed
amber, muske, a
lapdanum the w
redd / mastyke,
Olibanum marg
encensce, callyn
& prayng to the
all holy angels,
as foloweth.

vt tu domine per annuncia-| tionem concepcionem et citera hoc sacratissi-| mum nomen ac sigillum tuum benedicere et | consecrare digne ris [*digneris] vt per ipsum et [*te] median-| te possim vel possit talis .N. celestes coniu-| ncere potestates aereas et terreas cum infer-| nalibus subiugare, inuocare, transmittaere [*transmutare] coniurare,

[13r]

constringere, excitare, gongregare, dispergere, | ligare ac ipsos innocuos reddere homines | placare, et ab eis suas peticiones graciosius | habere, inimicos pacificare, pacificatos disimi-| gere, sanos in sanitate custodire vel infirmare | infirmos curare homines bonos a malis cu-| stodire et distinguere, et cognostere, omne cor-| porale periculum euadere, Iudices in placi-| to placatos reddere, victoriam in omnibus o-| btinere, peccata carnalia mortificare et spirit-| ualia fugare vincere, et euitare, diuitias in | bonis augmentare et dum in die indicii app-| arelit [*apparebit]. a dextris tuis cum sanctis et electis tu-| is tuam possit cognoscere maiestatem */*/*/*/*

Oration.

"That you, O Lord, through the annunciation, the conception" etc.[1] "that you would deign to bless and consecrate this most holy name and your seal, so that through it with your mediation, I or such person N, will be able to conquer such heavenly powers, of the air or earth, with the infernal ones, to subjugate, invoke, transmute, conjure, constrain, arouse, congregate, disperse, bind and return them without harm. To appease people and favourably obtain from them their petitions, to pacify enemies, to disunite those pacified, to protect the health of those who are healthy, or to sicken them, and to cure the sick. To guard good people from evil, and to distinguish and recognised them, to evade all physical danger, to make favourable judges be favourably disposed again, to have victory in all things, to destroy carnal sins, and rout, conquer, and rout spiritual ones, to increase wealth in good things, and on the Day of Judgement that I may appear on your right hand with your

1. Tr. JHP. This is given in full i chapter CXIX, unfortunately nc included in J. S 128v: That thow by the annuncia conceptiõ &c. w vouchesafe to b cõsecrate this th holy name & se by it through th mediacion I ma suche one maye convitco heuenl powers ayrely e infernall to subc invocate to alter coniure, cõstray reyse up, cõgreg dryve away to b to make them nc hurte or harme t men & of them graciouslye myr peticions to quy enemyes. / them peace to disseue kepe seke [=sicl in helth or to ma seeke./ to make men whole, to k evyll men from to dyvide & to k them. / to skape bodely daunger, Iudges pacified pleasure./ to obt victory in all thy mortifie carnall & to dryve away ouercome & avc spirituall./ to en riches in good tl whan in the day iudgement, I or appere of thy ry hande w^t thy say electe I or he ma knowe thy maie

saints and elect, and be able to recognise your majesty."

et tunc illa nocte sub aere [sereno] extra domum dimitt-| at, tunc habeas chirotecas nouas sine creace fa-| ctas in quas quis numquam manum posu-| it [*posuerit] in quibus signum glutetur, et sic complebit-| ur hoc sacrum [*sacrosanctum] sigillum, cuius primus eptago-| nus .7. ordines, secundus .7. articulos duplos | tertius .7. sacramenta designat */*/*/*/*/*/*

Then that night let him lay it without the house in the clear air. Then you shall have new gloves made without fingers thereon [perhaps better: without whitening with chalk], into the which no man ever did put his hand, in the which the seal shall be fast put and thus is accomplished this holy [*consecrated] seal [whose first heptagon designates the seven orders, whose second designates the seven twofold events, and whose third designates the seven sacraments.]

S3, fol. 128v: T
nyght let hym le
w^{t}out the house
cleare ayre, ther
shalt haue new g
made w^{t}out fyng
theron, in to the
man euer dyd pu
hande in the wh
seale shall be fa
thus is compliss
holy seale.

Prima mundatio that is to saye the beginninge of the | clensinge or powrginge of him þ^{t} shall worke in this arte ffor | he must be cleane ffrom all filthynes of soule and bodye. */*/*/*

[V.] The beginning of the cleansing or purging of him who shall work in this art, for he must be clean from all filthiness of soul and body.

[13v]

Now that we haue fynisshed the composityon | or makinge of the seale of god, let vs procede to kno-| w how we shall obtayne the visyon or sighte of the deite. | ffirst he þ^{t} shall worke must be very penitent and trew-| ly confessed of all his sinnes. he muste vtterly forbere þ^{e} | company of women and all there intycements, in so | muche þ^{t} he maye nott looke vpon them, ffor as salo-| mon sayeth, it is better to abyde withe a bere or a ly-| on in there dennes then to be in a howse w^{t} a wickyd | woman, he maye kepe no company w^{t} wicked or sin-| full men, for as dauid sayethe w^{t} þ^{e} holy thow shalte | be holy, and w^{t} the wicked thow shalte be wicked. the-| rfore he muste leade a pure and a clene lyffe. for dau-| id sayeth blyssed are the vndefyled and those þ^{t} walke | in the lawe of þ^{e} lorde, lett not his apparryll be filthe | but rather new, or elles very cleane waschyd, sal-| omon meanithe here by þ^{e} new garmentes vertu | and purenes of lyffe, ffor god and his holy ang-| ells care for no wordely thinges, and that do-| the appere, for the pore men doo soner worke | effectually in this arte then

Now that we have finished the composition or making of the Seal of God, let us proceed to know how we shall obtain the vision or sight of the Deity.

First he that shall work must be very penitent and truly confessed of all his sins. He must utterly forbear the company of women and all their enticements, insomuch that he may not look upon them. For as Solomon says, "It is better to abide with a bear or a lion in their den than to be in a house with a wicked woman." He may keep no company with wicked or sinful men, for as David says, "With the holy you shall be holy, and with the wicked you shall be wicked." Therefore he must lead a pure and clean life. For David says, "blessed are the undefiled and those that walk in the law of the Lord." Let not his apparel be filthy, but rather new, or else very clean washed. Solomon means here by the new garments virtue and pureness of life, for God and his holy angels

"Blessed is the s
Matt. 24:46.

the ryche men, | but in this worke folowinge clene apparr-

[14r]

yll is necessarye, for angells doo abyde w^{t} me~ | and they be clene, and therfor they desyre to h-| aue clene apparryll, and therfore salomon di-| d speke generally aswell of the clennes of þ^{e} | soule as of the clennes of apparryll, and let | him that shall worke neuer be ydell least | his harte doo the soner enclyne to synne for | the scripture sayeth, be alwayes doinge som-| e thinge lest ye be fownde ydle, and lett | him alwayes praye vnto god withe these praye-| rs folowinge for the scripture sayethe bless-| ed is the seruant whome the lorde when | he commethe shall fynde wakinge */*/*/*/*/*

care for no worldly things, and that does appear (?). For the poor men do sooner work effectually in this art than the rich men. But in this work following clean apparel is necessary, for angels do abide with men and they be clean, and therefore they desire to have clean apparel. And therefore Salomon did speak generally both of the cleanness of the soul and of the cleanness of apparel. And let him that shall work never be idle, lest his heart do the sooner incline to sin. For the scripture says, "Be always doing something lest you be found idle." And let him always pray to God with these prayers following. For the scripture says, "blessed is the servant whom the Lord when he comes shall find waking."

---

the suffumigatyons as heare foloweth */*/*/*/*

The suffumigations as here follows.

The following s
on suffumigatio
the names of an
not found in oth
manuscripts of *I*
Iuratus (S5, S4,
Sl.313). They ju
directly to the C
I have according
placed the text i
The section on
suffumigations s
have been taken
Agrippa (1533),
Agrippa's source
Sepher Raziel. T
section on the n
the angels is not
in Agrippa.

Thimiamate for the satter daye is all good | things and well smelling roottes as ys cost-| us and herbe thuris, */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Thimmiamate for Saturday *is all good things and well smelling roots such as costus and the herb thuris.*

OP1.44 (based i
on Raziel): "a
suffumigation o
is all fragrant ro
as costus and he
frankincense"; "
Sun is all gums,
frankincense, m
benjamin, storax
ladanum, amber
musk."

Thimiamate vpon sounday is masticke, | muscus and suche lyke and all other good

[14v]

gumes of good odoure, as thus, beniamen, | storax, labdanum, ambre armoniacum, | and such lyke */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Thimiamate for Sunday *is mastic, musk, and such like, and all other good gums of good odor, as thus, benjamin, storax, labdanum, amber armoniacum, and such like.*

Thimiamate vpon moondaye is folium | mirti, and lawlri, and leues of good odor | of all swet flowers */*/*/*/*/*/*

Thimiamate for Monday *is folium mirti, and lawlri, and*

OP: "For the mo
the leaves of all
vegetables, such
indum leaf
(malabathrum?)

Thimiamate on the tewsdaye is sanders | the redd blake and white, and all swete | woodes as lygnum aloes cipres, balsami | and such lyke
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

leaves of good odor of all sweet flowers.

Thimiamate on the wedsoundaye is the ry-| ndes of all swete woodes, as cinamum, ca-| ssia ligina corticus, lauri, and macis and | all swete sedes */*/*/*/*/*/*

Thimiamate for Tuesday *is sanders, the red, black, and white, and all sweet woods as lignum aloes, cypress, balsam, and such like.*

leaves of myrtle laurel"; "of Mar fragrant woods, sandalwood, cyp balsam, and ligr aloes"; "For Me

Thimiamate on the thowrsdaye is all swe-| te frutes as nuttmuges, cloues, the ryndes | of orenges and citrynes drye and powdred | with suche lyke of good odoure
//*/*

Thimiamate for Wednesday *is the rinds of all sweete woods, as cinnamon, cassia ligina corticus, lauri, and macis, and all sweet seeds.*

are the barks of and fruits, such cinnamon, lignu cassia, mace, cit and laurel seeds also all fragrant "of Jupiter is all fruits, such as n or cloves."

Thimiamate for Thursday *is all sweet fruits as nutmeg, cloves, the rinds of oranges and citrines, dry and powdered with such like of good odor.*

Thimiamate on the frydaye is mace roses

[15r]
violates and all other frutes or flowers | of good odoure as crocus and suche lyke */*/*/*

Thimiamate for Friday *is mace, roses, violets, and all other fruits or flowers of good odor, as crocus and such like.*

Agrippa: "For V flowers, such as rose, violet, croc the like."

Hermes sayde of thimiamate, that thimia-| mate of the ☽ is cinamonium, and lignum | aloes, and masticke, and crocus, and costus, | and maces, and mirtus we put this þ^{t} yche | planett haue a partye in it.
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Hermes said of thimiamate, of the Moon is cinnamon, lignum aloes, mastic, crocus, costus, maces, and myrtle. We put this that each planet has a part in it.

Compare Agripp OP1.44: "But *H* describes the mo powerful fume t viz. that which i compounded of seven aromatics according to the of the seven pla it receives from pepperwort, fro Jupiter, nutmeg, Mars, lignum-al from the Sun, m from Venus, saf from Mercury, cinnamon, and f Moon, the myrtl

Salomon making a destinctyon upon the | dayes and planettes of the spyce with þ^{e} | which aman oughte to make thimiamate, | sayde that of ♄ is eche good rootte in good | and euill, of ♃ all frutes, of ♂ eche tree, | of ☉ eche gumme, of ☿ eche rynde, of ♀ | eche flowers and odoriferus herbe, of the | ☽ eche lefe, */*/*/* bacce, cardamonum wax, | put also with ∧^{thes} thinges
//*/*/*/*/*

Solomon, making a distinction upon the days and planets of the spice with which a man ought to make thimiamate, said that of Saturn is each good root in good and evil, of Jupiter all fruits, of Mars each tree, of Sol each gum, of Mercury each rind, of Venus each flower and odoriforus herb, of the Moon each leaf. Bacce, cardamonum wax, put also with these things.

OP1.30: "every that bears fruit i Jupiter, and eve that bears Flowe from Venus, all and Bark is fron Mercury, and al from Saturne, a Wood from Mar leaves from the

Hermes sayeth that he founde in an olde | booke þ^{t} these were þ^{e} more suffumigatyons | thimiamate

Hermes says that he found in an old book that these were the

OP1.43: "And H saith, that there nothing like the Sperma Ceti

grecum, masticke, sandalus,

[15v]
galbanum, muscharlazerat, mirram and | ambram and these be þ^{e} collectyons of spir-| ites */*/*/*/* and he saythe there is no suche | suffumigatyon to call spirites as is amb-| ra, lignum aloes, costus muscus crocus | and bloode of a lapwinge w^{t} thimiamate | mixt all to gethere w^{t} equall porcions, so | þ^{t} it be odiferus of the goumes. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*

more suffumigations: thimiamate grecum, mastic, sandalus, galbanum, muscharlazerat, myrrh, and amber, and these be the collections of spirits. And he says there is no such suffumigation to call spirits as is ambra, lignum aloes, costus muscus, crocus, and the blood of a lapwing, with thimiamate mixed all together in equal portions, so that it be odiferus of the gums.

[spermaceti] for raising of spirits wherefore if a fu made of that, an Lignum-aloes, Pepperwort, Mu Saffron, red Sto tempered togeth the blood of a L it will quickly g airy spirits toget

Suffumigacions compounded of sartai-| ne thynges heare foloweth. atrubited vn-| to the planettes.
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Suffumigations compounded of certain thinges here follow, attributed to the planet.

Agrippa OP1.44 compositions of fumes appropria the planets." For suffumigations planets see also *Picatrix*, Ed. Pir pp. 200-2.

☉ For the sonne take saffrone, amber, muske, | lignum, aloes, lignumbalsami, the frutte | of laurell, w^{t} cloues, mir, and thuer equall | porcions so þ^{t} it be mixt all to gether after | such manner þ^{t} it be veri swete of odour | of the goumes aforsaide, put to this þ^{e} | braines of an eygell and the bloude of an | whytte coke suche quantite as yt may be

For the Sun *take saffron, amber, musk, lignum, aloes, lignum balsam, the fruit of laurel, with cloves, myrrh, and thuer equal portions, so that it is mixed all together after such manner that it be very sweet of odor of the gums aforesaid. Put to this the brains of an eagle and the blood of an white cock, such quantity as it may be very odiferous as before said. And make it into little balls or pills and keep it very closed from the air or wind for your use.*

Agrippa: We ma suffumigation fo Sun in this mann of saffron, ambe musk, lignum-al lignum-balsam, of the laurel, clo myrrh, and frankincense, al being bruised, a mixed in such a as may make a s odour, must be incorporated wi brain of an eagl blood of a white after the manne or trochisks.

[16r]
verie odiferus as before sayde and mak-| eyt in lyttell balles or pylles and kepe yt | verie close frome the aier or wynde for | youre use.
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

☽ For the mone take the heades of froges | made of the aier which you may gather aft-| er some showers of raigne, with the eyes of | a bull and the sede of whytt popye w^{t} thure, | and camphyre equall porcions, mixt all to | gethere w^{t} sangine menstruo, and the bloud | of a whytt gander suche quantyte as yt may | be verie odiferus, and laye ytt safflye vp | for youre vse as before sayde.*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

For the Moon *take the heads of frogs made of the air, which you may gather after some showers of rain, with the eyes of a bull and the seed of white poppy with thure, and camphir, equal portions, mixed all together with sangine menstruo, and the blood of a white gander, such quantity as it may be very odiferus, and lay it safely up for your use as before said.*

♂ For mars take euphorbium, bedellium, ar-| moniacum, the rottes of bothe þ^{e} hearbes ca-| lled elleborus, of some yt is called bearfotte, | w^{t} the powder of the stone called magnes, | and mirr, w^{t} a lyttell sulphuer, but of the | other equall porcions, mixt all to gether

For Mars *take euphorbium, bedellium, armoniacum, the roots of both the herbs called Helleborus (of some it is called bearfoot), with the powder of the stone called magnes, and myrrh, with a little sulphur, but of the*

[16v]

w^{t} the braines of a rauen, and humayne | bloude w^{t} the bloude of a blak catt suche | a quantie as yt maye be verie odiferus, | and laye yt up for youre vse as before sa-| ide.
/

☿ For marcurie take mastike, thuer, cloues, | the hearbe called sunckfoyle and of the st-| one in pouder called an agath, of equa-| ll porcions and mixt all thes to gethere, | w^{t} the braines of afox and of a wesell, w^{t} þ^{e} | bloude of a pye called a hagester, suche | a quantyte as shalbe expedient, so þ^{t} it be | verie odiferus of the goumies aforesaide, | and laye yt vp saffe for youre vse as be-| fore is first wrytten. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

For Mercury *take mastic, thure, cloves, the herb called cinqfoil, and of the stone in powder called an agate, of equal portions, and mix all these together with the brains of a fox and of a weasle, with the blood of a pie called a hagester, such a quantity as shall be expedient, so that it be very odiferus of the goumies aforesaid, and lay it up safe for your use, as before is first written.*

♃ For the planett iubiter take the sede of a~ | ayche tree, lignum aloes, storax, beniame~ | and of the stone þ^{t} is called lapis lazuli, | and the greate endes of the quiells of

[17r]

a pecoke equall porcions, and mixtall th-| es to gether w^{t} the bloude of a storke, of | a swalowe, and the braines of stagg call-| ed an hartte when he is kylled in the pr-| ecens of the prince, the male or female | will serue, but take suche a quantite as | yt may be verie odiferus of the foresai-| de gumes, and layeyt vp vere well fo-| r youre vse as before saide. */*/*/*/*/*/*

For the planet Jupiter *take the seed of an ash tree, lignum aloes, storax, benjamen, and of the stone that is called lapis lazuli, and the great ends of the quills of a peacock, equal portions, and mix all these together with the blood of a stork, of a swallow, and the brains of stag called an hart, when he is killed in the presence of the prince, the male or female will serve, but take such a quantity as it may be very odiferus of the foresaid gums, and lay it up very well for your use as before said.*

♀ For the planett venus, take muscke, ambre, | lignum aloes, redd roses, and of the stone in | pouder called corall, of þ^{t} whiche is redd eq-| uall porcions and mixt all thes to gethere, | with the braines of sparowes male and | female, and w^{t} the bloude of a turcledoue | or of a howse doue being whytte, hauinge | allwayes respect that it be odifires of | the goumies as afore mencioned, and | kepe yt verye well for youre vse, vt supra,

For the planet Venus, *take musk, amber, lignum aloes, red roses, and of the stone in powder called coral, of that which is red, equal portions, and mix all these together with the brains of sparrows, male and female, and with the blood of a turtledove, or of a house dove being white, having always respect that it be odiforous of the goumies as aforementioned, and keep it very well for your use, ut supra (as above).*

[17v]

♄ For the planett saturne take the sedde of bla-| ke popye the sede of henbane, the rotte of ma-| ndragg,

For the planet Saturn *take the seed of black poppy, the seed of henbane, the root of mandrake,*

and of the stone in powder called ma-| gnes, and of mirr, equall porcions, mixt | all thes to gethers with the braines of abl-| ake catt, and the bloude of backes called fl-| uider myse, hauinge respecte to the quanti-| te that it be odiferouse of the goumie afore | specified, kepeinge it verie well for youre | vse as is first wrytten. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

and of the stone in powder called magnes, and of myrrh, equal portions, mix all these together with the brains of a black cat, and the blood of backes called fluider mice [i.e. bats], having respect to the quantity that it be odiforous of the goumie afore specified, keeping it very well for your use as is first written.

Heare foloweth of maruelous efficacei sa-| rtaine suffumigacions accordinge to the de-| monstracion of lerned and wyse men aft-| er the opnione of philosophye. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Here follows of marvellous efficacies of certain suffumigations according to the demonstration of learned and wise men after the opinion of philosophy.

A suffumigacion made of thes hearbes as | foloweth causeth a man to see scecreate vis-| ions to fore shewe and pronogsticate hidd | and secreat mystires concerninge the hole | vse of the world, and to revele and open-| ley declare the quallities and operacion

[18r]
therof */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*
Take of sede of flex the sede of the hearbe | called flesede, the rottes of violettes the | rottes of persley, and make a fumigaci-| on accordinge to the vse as you shalbe | tawghe in this booke, and you shall thor-| owe the grace and healpe of allmightie | god haue your desyere. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

A suffumigation made of these herbs as follows causes a man to see scecreate visions to foreshow and prognosticate hidden and secret mysteries concerning the whole use of the world, and to reveal and openly declare the qualities and operation thereof.

Take of seed of flex the seed of the herb called fleseed, the roots of violets, the roots of parsley, and make a fumigation according to the use as you shall be taught in this book, and you shall through the grace and help of almighty God have your desire.

A suffumigacion made of thes erbes cau-| sethe visions in the ayer or els wheare | to apeare. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

A suffumigation made of these herbs cause the visions in the air or elsewhere to appear

Take coriander of some called colender | and henbane, and the skine þ^{t} is withein | the poundgarnet and the fumygacion m-| ade yt is finished þ^{t} you desyere. */*/*/*/*

Take coriander of some called colender, and henbane, and the skin that is within the pomegranite. And the fumigation made, it is finished [=accomplished] that [which] you desire.

A suffumygacion made of thes hearbe-| s as folowithe causethe visions of the | earthe to appeare.*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Take the rotte of the cane reede, and

[18v]

the rott of fenill giaunte, which is called feru-| la, with the skynne þ^{t} is w^{t} in the pourgarnet, | and henbaune, and the herbe tassi barbassi | and reed saunders and blake poppie, the | conffeccione of thes made it is finished that | you desyere
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

But iff this hearbe perslie with þ^{e} rote of | ytt be added vnto the fore sayde confecsion | yt destroyethe the forsayde matter and | maketh it cleane voyde from all places | and yt shall come to no effecte. */*/*/*/*/*/*

A suffumigation made of these herbs as follows causeths visions of the earth to appear

Take the root of the cane reed, and the root of giant fennil, which is called ferula, with the skin that is within the pourgarnet, and henbane, and the herb tassi barbassi, and red sanders, and black poppy. The confection of these made, it is finished that [which] you desire.

But if this herb parsley with the root of it be added to the foresaid confection, it destroys the forsaid matter, and makes it clean void from all places, and it shall come to no effect.

A suffumigacion made of thes hearbes | as foloweth expellyth and driuith a-| waye all visions, and fantices in slepe | or other wyse */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Take piones peniriall, mintes and þ^{e} | hearbe called palmacrist, and make a | confeckecion therof at your goinge to | bedd or at ani other tyme when as n-| ede requireth and yt shalbe donne that

[19r]

you requier */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

A suffumigation made of these herbs as follows expels and drives away all visions, and fantasies in sleep or otherwise.

Take peonies, pennyroyal, mints and the herb called palmacrist, and make a confection thereof at your going to bed, or at any other time when as need requires, and it shall be done that [which] you require.

A suffumigacion made as folowith dryvi-| th and expellith all poysons and venomes

Take the pemies of a peroke the hidden | partes of the longes of an asse and ma-| ke a conffeccion thereof and yt is donne | that you desire
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

A suffumigation made as follows drives and expels all poisons and venoms.

Take the fumes of a peacock [feather, and] the hidden parts of the lungs of an ass, and make a confection thereof, and it is done that [which] you desire. Agrippa, OP1.4

A suffumigacion made as folowith ca-| wsyth a howse or suche places where yt | is made to sime as yt were full of wa-| ter or blowde.
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Take the galle of the fyshe called a cuttle | the swete

A suffumigation made as follows causes a house or such places

gum called arminioicum & | rosses and lingum aloes, if then the sa-| yde confeccion be put in the place wher | ani water of the sea hathe benne or ani | bloude hath benne or put of the sayde | water or bloude in to the sayde confeccion | þ^{t} beinge congelyd and dried and therof | a fimigacion made in a howse or ani pl-

[19v]

ace where you are dyssposed to proue this | and yt shalbe donne that you desyere and | put in to thys place where you worke th-| ys forsayde matter ther earth þ^{t} fallyth or | hangeth on a plowe, and it wyll sem that | all the earthe dothe tremble and shake.

where it is made to seem as it were full of water or blood.

Take the gall of the fish called a cuttle, the sweet gum called armoniac, and roses, and lignum aloes. If then the said confection be put in the place where any water of the sea has been, or any blood has been, or put [some] of the said water or blood into the said confection, that being congealed and dried, and thereof a fumigation made in a house or any place where you are disposed to prove this, and it shall be done that [which] you desire. And put into this place where you work this forsaide matter, the earth that falls or hangs on a plow, and it will seem that all the earth trembles and shakes.

A suffumygacion made as hearafter folo-| with in anie place where you will ca-| wseth all thinges there hiddin never to | be founde or reuelyd */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Take thes hearbes, coriander, and saffron, | henbanne, parslie and blake popie the | water therof the popie dysstilled and te-| mpered w^{t} the iuce of the poungarnet | skine the which is w^{t} in the sayde poun-| garnet this being in a confeccion made | and laye w^{t} yt golde syluer or anie other | precious thinge w^{t} in the water the ear-| the or anie other place where you will, | or make a fumigacion of the foresayde

[20r]

conffeccion upon the sayde place which | thoue wilte hyde anie thinge in the ☽ | at the same present be in coniunccion | w^{t} th sonne in the .4. howse which is þ^{e} | angle of the earthe or the pointe of m-| idnight and yt shalbe allways kepte | secrett for beinge found or reuelyd by | anie waye or means it is sartaine an-| d true. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

A suffumigation made as hereafter follows in any place where you will, causes all things there hidden never to be found or revealed.

Take these herbs, coriander, and saffron, henbanne, parsley, and black poppy, the water thereof the poppy distilled and tempered with the juice of the poungarnet skin, the which is within the said poungarnet. This being in a confection made and lay with it gold, silver, or any other precious thing within the water, the earth, or any other place where you will, or make a fumigation of the foresaid confection upon the said place which you would hide anything in. The Moon at the same present [=instant] be[ing] in conjunction with the Sun in the fourth house, which is the angle of the earth, or the point of midnight, and it shall be always kept secret, for being found or revealed by any way or means, it is certain and true.

A suffumygacion made of, as after fo-| lowith cawsyth visions in the ayer & | the shadowes of sepulcors of the arthe | to appeare. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

A suffumigation made of, as after follows, causes visions in the air

Take the naturall seed of the fyshe called a wh-| alle, lingnum aloes, costus, muske saffronne, | armoniacum, w^{t} the blude of the foule called a | lapwinge, and make a conffeccion therof, w^{t} this | sayde conffeccion make a fumigaccion in a conu-| enient place, and you shall see visyons in the | ayer, take of the sayd conffeccion and make

[20v]

a fumygacion aboute the sepulkers and | vissions of the dedd shall and wyll appeare. | And note and marke all this well, that thes sai-| de matters hathe tymes and dew, obseruacions | perffyttley to be donne and keepte properley vnd-| er the trew frome and concourse of the heaunes, | accordinge to ther proper qualites and influe-| nces, in eche degre. for the whiche you maye w-| orke as in the chapters before wrytten yt app-| erethe more plainley. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

and the shaddows of sepulchers of the earth to appear.

Take the natural seed of the fish called a whale, lignum aloes, costus, musk, saffron, armoniac, with the blood of the foul called a lapwing, and make a confection thereof. With this said confection make a fumigation in a convenient place, and you shall see visions in the air. Take of the said confection, and make a fumigation about the sepulchers, and visions of the dead shall and will appear.

And note and mark all this well, that these said matters have times and due observations perfitly to be done, and kept properly under the true frame and concourse of the heavens, according to their proper qualites and influences, in each degree. For the which you may work, as in the chapters before written it appears more plainly.

the suffumigacions of the .12. signes, and of ther-| e facies. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

♈ take for þ^{e} fumigacion of the singe of aries mir.
♉ take for the fumigacion for þ^{e} singe of taurus, | costus. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*
♊ take for the fumigacion for the singe of ge-| mini, mastike.*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*
♋ take for the fumigacion for the singe of ca-| ncer, camphyer, */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*
♌ take for the singe of leo, thi fumigacion, | thus. */*

[21r]

♍ take for the fumygacion for the singe of vi-| rgo, saunders. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*
♎ take for the singe of libra, this fumigaci-| on, galbanm. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*
♏ take for the singe scorpio, thys fumyga-| cion, oponianac. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*
♐ take for the singe of sagitori, thys fumy-| gacion, lingnum. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*
♑ take for the singe of capricorne, thys fu-| migacion, asam. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*
♒ take for the singe of aquarie thys fu-| mygacion,

The suffumigations of the twelve signs, and of their faces.

- *[Aries] Take for the fumigation of the sign of Aries myrrh.*
- *[Taurus] Take for the fumigation for the sign of Taurus, costus.*
- *[Gemini] Take for the fumigation for the sign of Gemini, mastic.*
- *[Cancer] Take for the fumigation for the sign of Cancer, camphor.*
- *[Leo] Take for the sign of Leo, the fumigation, thu.*
- *[Virgo] Take for the fumigation for the sign of Virgo, sanders.*
- *[Libra] Take for the singe of libra, this fumigation, galbanum.*
- *[Scorpio] Take for the sign Scorpio, this fumigation, oponianac.*
- *[Sagittarius] Take for the sign of Sagittarius, this fumigation, lignum [aloes].*

Agrippa, OP1.4
twelve signs als
Zodiac have the
fumes, as Aries
myrrh; Taurus,
pepperwort; Ge
mastic; Cancer,
camphor; Leo,
frankincense; V
sanders; Libra,
galbanum; Scor
opoponax; Sagi
lignum-aloes;
Capricornus, be
Aquarius, euphc
Pisces, red stora

euphorbium. */*
♓ take for the synge of pysses thys fum-| ygacion, thimiamatyis called armoniacum.

- *[Capricorn] Take for the sign of Capricorn, this fumigation, asam*
- *[Aquarius] Take for the sign of Aquarius, this fumigation, euphorbium*
- *[Pisces] Take for the sign of Pisces this fumigation, thimiamatis, called armoniacum.*

Suffumigacions of the facies of the .12. signes.

Primafacies .♈ teuer mirram .2. scam-| onum .3. pip nigrum . prima ♉ costu-| m .2. cardamonum .3. coprssum, prima | facies .♋. muscum .2. succhum .3. nucem | muscatum, prima .♎. galbanium .2. ut alm-,

[21v]

ea .3. garyophilum, prima facies .♑. as-| afetedam .2. celephamam, .3. pip longum, | prima .♒. euforbium, .2. ruberberum .3. | scamoneam, prima .♓. tenet thimiama. | .2. crocum .3. sandalum album .1. .♌. ten-| et thus .2. lingnum balsum, .3. mir mu-| scata, prima .♍. sandalus .2. crocum, .3. | masticem. And looke what fumigacion | we giue the first hower of the ☉ the sa-| me muste yow giue all that daye & | so lykewyse of other. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Suffumigations of the faces of the twelve signs.

- *Prima facies ♈ teuer mirram; 2. scamonum; 3. pip nigrum.*
- *Prima [taurus] costum; 2. cardamonum; 3. coprssum.*
- *Prima facies [cancer] muscum; 2. succhum; 3. nucem muscatum.*
- *Prima [libra] galbanium; 2. ut almea; 3. garyophilum.*
- *Prima facies [Capricorn] asafetedam; 2. celephamam; .3. pip longum.*
- *Prima [aquarie] euforbium; 2. ruberberum; 3. scamoneam.*
- *Prima [Pisces] tenet thimiama; 2. crocum; 3. sandalum album.*
- *1. [Leo] tenet thus; 2. lignum balsum; 3. mir muscata.*
- *Prima [Virgo] sandalus; 2. crocum; 3. masticem.*

And look what fumigation we give the first hour of the ☉; the same must you give all that day, and so likewise of others.

De suffumigationibus temporum

//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

In primo tempore lignum aloes, thus, et croc-| um, in secundo tempore thimiama, id est ar-| moniacum, costum, masticem, in tercio temp-| ore sandalos, cassia et mirtum, in quarto | tempore muscum succum et lignum balsami,

De suffumigationibus temporum.

- *In primo tempore lignum aloes, thus, et crocum.*
- *In secundo tempore thimiama, id est armoniacum, costum, masticem.*
- *In tertio tempore sandalos, cassia et mirtum.*
- *In quarto tempore muscum succum et lignum balsami.*

De fumigationibus quatuor pertium mundi | quatuer elementorum */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

In oriente parte et super ignem sunt ambra,

[22r]

muscus, et alba cera, in parte meredei, et terræ, sunt | algalya, almea, et tyryaca, in occidentali parte et | in aere sunt balsamus, camphora, et olium ol-| marum, in septentrione et aqua sunt lignum | aloes, nux muscata, et maceys. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

De fumigationibus quatuor pertium mundi quatuer elementorum.

- *In oriente parte et super ignem sunt ambra, muscus, et alba cera.*
- *In parte meredei, et terrae, sunt algalya, almea, et tyryaca.*
- *In occidentalii parte et in aere sunt balsamus, camphora, et olium olmarum.*
- *In septentrione et aqua sunt lignum aloes, nux muscata, et maceys.*

The names of the angells that haue powr vpon þ^{e} | .7. dayes in the wicke and vpon the .7. sterres and | goethe vpon the .7. heauens and other whyle in th-| ere chayers be these. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Capziel . satquiel . Samael . raphael . anael .l. Amael . | Michael . et gabriel. and the powr of theys is that ca-| pziel is the power of sabaday .♄. satquiel of Zedet | .♃. samael of madin .♂. raphael of hamina .☉. ana-| el of noga .♀. michael of cocab .☿. and gabryel of la-| bana . ☽. and euery wan of thes sitteth in his heau-| en. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Nomina aeris in quatuor temporibus in primo | tempore dicitr ystana, in secundo .surail. in tertio . | oadyon in quarto gulynon, et nomina angelorum | qui habent potestatem in aere et super sunt hæc | Raphael . guabryel . michael . cherubin . seraphyn .

[22v]

orchyne . pataceron . mycraton . sandalson . ba-| rachyel . rageyel . tobyell et nominabis eos in | omnibus rebus quæ facias in aere . et deo adi-| uuante prosperabis. */*

Nomina terræ in quatuor . temporibus anni in primo dicitur nyguedam in secundo yab-| assa . in tercio . tobell, in quarto . aradon, et an-| geli terræ sunt hæc. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Samael . yatayell . baranyell . oryell . arfanyel . | tatgryel . danael . affaryell . pactryell . baell . |

[The names of the angels.]

The names of the angels that have power over the seven days of the week, and over the seven stars, and who go upon the seven heavens, and other while in their chairs be these.

Capziel, Satquiel, Samael, Raphael, Anael (or Amael), Michael, and Gabriel.

And the power of these is that Capziel is the power of Sabbathai (Saturn), Satquiel of Zedek (Jupiter), Samael of Madim (Mars), Raphael of Hamina (Sol), Anael of Nogah (Venus), Michael of Cocab (Mercury), and Gabryel of Labana (The Moon). And every one of these sits in his heaven.

Nomina aeris in quatuor temporibus.

- *In primo tempore dicitr ystana.*
- *In secundo, surail.*
- *In tertio, oadyon.*
- *In quarto gulyon,*

And the names of the angels who have power in the air and above these are: Raphael,

byenyell . et nominabis hæc nomina angel-| orum super terram in his rebus quæ faci-| s in terra, et deo adiu~ante prosperabis. */*/*/*

Guabriel, Michael, Cherubin, Seraphin, Orchyne, Pataceron, Mycraton, Sandalson, Barachyel, Rageyel, Tobyell, and you will name them in all things which you may accomplish in the air, and with God's help you will succeed.

Nomina terrae in quatuor . temporibus anni:

- *In primo dicitur Nyguedam.*
- *In secundo, Yabassa.*
- *In tertio, Tobell.*
- *In quarto, Aradon.*

And the angels of the Earth are these:

Samael, yatayell, baranyell, oryell, arfanyel, tatgryel, danael, affaryell, pactryell, baell, byenyell. And you should name these names of the angels over the Earth in those things which you accomplish in the Earth, and with God's help you will succeed.

11. the names of the monthes be these */*/*/*
nisan . yar . mantanius . abelul . tysyryn . mar-| quesnam . quislep . tobenor thus tebethe sab-| at . adar . postadar . postremus .

11. *The names of the months are these:*

Nisan, Iyar, *mantanius*, *abelul*, Tishrei, *marquesnam*, Kislev, Tevet, Shevat, Adar, *postadar*, *postremus*.

The Jewish mor
names are: Nisa
Sivan, *Tammuz*,
Elul, Tishrei, He
Kislev, Tevet, S
Adar. Compare
list given below

The names | of the potestates be these and they be .12. | princes or rulors . that is one vppon eue-| rye month of the .☽. and the rather is .or-| yel . sasuyell . amaryel . noryel . beraquiel . | magnyuya . suryel . barfiell . adoniel . anael . | gabryel . romyel . lacyel and euery of these

[23r]
hathe so many potestates or helpars | more or greater as there be dayes in the | monthe or many other seruantes of them.

The names of the potestates are these,

and they are twelve princes or rulers, that is, one for every month: Oriel, Sasuyell, Amariel, Noriel, Beraquiel, Magnyuya, Suriel, Barfiell, Adoniel, Anael, Gabriel, Romiel, Laciel.

And every one of these has as many potestates or helpers, more or greater as there are days in the month, or many other servants.

12. the names of the angells of the .12. monthes.
The names of the angells that be mighty and | more mighty in the first monethe which is | sayde nysan, be these . oryel . malaquiram . ac-| ya . zaziel . paltifur . yesmachia . yaryel . araton . | robyca . sephatya . anaya . guesupales . seniquiel . | sereryel . malquia . aricasom . pacyta . abdyel . ram-| asdon . cafiel . nascyasori . sugni . aszrus . sornadaf . | admyel . necamya . caysaac . benyh . q~uor . adziryell .

12. *The names of the angels of the twelve months.*

The names of the angels that are mighty and more mighty in the first month, which is called Nisan, are these:

Oriel, Malaquiram, Acya, Zaziel, Paltifur, Yesmachia, Yariel, Araton, Robica, Sephatia, Anaya, Guesupales, Seniquiel, Sereriel . Malquia, Aricasom, Pacita, Abdiel, Ramasdon, Cafiel, Nascyasori, Sugni, Aszrus, Sornadaf, Admiel, Necamia, Caysaac, Benyh, Q~uor, Adziriell.

13. the names of the .2. monthe which is sayd yar | in the language of hebrewe. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*
Safuelor . sasnyeil . santon . cartemat . alyel . palt-| nya . bargar . galmus . necpys . aarom . manyt . | aadon . quenanel . quemon . rasegar . affrye . absa-| mon . sarsall . aspyn . carbyel . regnya . athlas . nad-| ys . abytasy . abytan . palylet . */*/*/*/*/*/*

The names of the second month, which is called Iyar in the Hebrew language.

Safuelor, Sasnyeil, Santon, Cartemat, Aliel, Paltnia, Bargar, Galmus, Necpis, Aarom, Manit, Aadon, Quenanel, Quemon, Rasegar, Affrie, Absamon, Sarsall, Aspin, Carbiel, Regnia, Athlas, Nadis, Abitasi, Abitan, Palilet.

14. the names of the angells of the .3. mon-| the that is sayd */*/*/*/* sifan be these.
Amaryel . tabryell . casmuch . nastyfa . almur . naa=

[23v]
mab . mamica . zicaran . samysarach . naaseyn . andas . | paltamus . abrys . borzac . saforac . yayat . dalya . azyger. | nabsuf . abuifor . zenam . dersam . cefanya . maccasor . | naboon . adyell . maasyell . szarzyr . tartalyon . adyysar .

The names of the angels of the third month that is called Sivan are these:

Amariel, Tabriell, Casmuch, Nastifa, Almur, Naamab, Mamica, Zicaran, Samisarach, Naasein, Andas, Paltamus, Abris, Borzac, Saforac, Yayat, Dalia, Aziger, Nabsuf, Abuifor, Zenam, Dersam, Cefania, Maccasor, Naboon, Adiell, Maasiell, Szarzir, Tartalion, Adyysar.

15. these be the names of þ^{e} angelles of þ^{e} .4. monthe | þ^{t} is sayd thamuth. noryel . safyda . asaf . mazica . | sarsac . adryyaac . nagron . galuf . galgal . danroc . saracu . | remafydda . lulyaraf . nedylar . tyaf . taanat . lafayel . gan-| yda . nedyr . delqua . maadon . samyel . amrael . lezaydi . as . | ohoc . nasyby . razyarsady .

These are the names of the angels of the fourth month, which is called Tammuz.

Noriel, Safida, Asaf, Mazica, Sarsac, Adryyaac, Nagron, Galuf, Galgal, Danroc, Saracu, Remafydda, Lulyaraf,

yadna . caspa . garytan . elysa-| fan . pastama . maday.

Nedylar, Tyaf, Taanat, Lafayel, Ganida, Nedir, Delqua, Maadon, Samiel, Amrael, Lezaydi, As, Ohoc, Nasyby, Razyarsady, Yadna, Caspa, Garitan, Elysafan, Pastama, Maday.

16. the names of the angells | of the .5. monthe be these
Ab beraquyell or ber-| aquyel . mãhy . or amarya . haya . byny . madrat . aman . | tulyell . cossuro . fartis . nactif . nekyff . pegner . tablic . | manuat . amasya . guatyell . reycat . gnynzy . palyel . gade-| ff . nesgnyraf . abrac . animiter . carnby . nachall . cabake | loch . macrya . sase . essaf .

The names of the angels of the fifth month, called Av, are these:

Beraquiel, Manhy (or Amarya), Haya, Byny, Madrat, Aman, Tuliell, Cossuro, Fartis, Nactif, Nekyff, Pegner, Tablic, Manuat, Amasya, Guatiell, Reycat, Gnynzy, Paliel, Gadeff, Nesgnyraf, Abrac, Animiter, Carnby, Nachall, Cabake, Loch, Macria, Sase, Essaf.

17. these be the names of þ^{e} | angells of the .6. monthe that is sayd elul. |
magnyny . arabyell . hanyell . nacery . yassar . rassy . | boell . mathyall . naccameryf . zacdon . nafac . rapyon . | saspy . salhy . rasersh . malquyell . sanytyell . yoas . guala-| ly . danpy . yamla . golum . zaszyell . satpach . nassa . | myssyn . macratyf . dadyell . carcyell . effygmato */*/*

These are the names of the angels of the sixth month, which is called Elul.

Magnyny, Arabiell, Haniell, Nacery, Yassar, Rassy, Boell, Mathiall, Naccameryf, Zacdon, Nafac, Rapion, Saspy, Salhy, Rasersh, Malquiell, Sanytiell, Yoas, Gualaly, Danpy, Yamla, Golum, Zasziell, Satpach, Nassa, Myssyn, Macratyf, Dadiell, Carciell, Effygmato.

18. these be the names of þ^{e} angells of the .7. | monthe that is sayd tysyrin. surgell or suryel . | sarycam . guabryza . szncaryell . sabybyall . ytrnt . | cullya . dadyel . marham . abercaysdon . sacdon . pagn-| lan . arsabon . aspyramon . agnyel . sastyracnas . alt-

[24r]

ym . masulaef . salamyel . sascunyel . barcaran . yahnt . alycas . vlysacyaia . abry .

These are the names of the angels of the seventh month, which is called Tishrei..

Surgell (or suriel), Sarycam, Guabryza, Szncariell, Sabybiall, Ytrnt, Cullia, Dadiel, Marham, Abercaysdon, Sacdon, Pagnlan, Arsabon, Aspyramon, Agniel, Sastyracnas, Altym, Masulaef, Salamiel, Sascuniel, Barcaran, Yahnt, Alycas, Vlysacyaia, Abry.

19. the names of the angells | of the .8. monthe that is sayde marquesnan | be these barbyts . or barfiell . tylzdyell . raamyell . | nehubaell . alysaf . balyel . arzaf . rashyel . alson . nasp-| yell . becar . palyel . elysu . aiguap . nacpas . sansany . | aesal . maarym .

The names of the angels of the eighth month, which is called marquesnan [Heshvan], are these:

sascy . yalsenac . mabynt . magdyell . | saneinas . maalyel . arsafael . nanyseyorar . vecabalaf . | napybael . sucyel . nabnell . saryell . sodyel . marenell . | palytam .

Barbits (or Barfiell), Tylzdiell, Raamiell, Nehubaell, Alysaf, Baliel, Arzaf, Rashiel, Alson, Naspiell, Becar, Paliel, Elysu, Aiguap, Nacpas, Sansany, Aesal, Maarym, Sascy, Yalsenac, Mabint, Magdiell, Saneinas, Maaliel, Arsafael, Nanyseyorar, Vecabalaf, Napybael, Suciel, Nabnell, Sariell, Sodiel, Marenell, Palytam.

20. the names of the angells of the .9. | monthe be these which is sayde quislep.*/*/*/*

edoniel . radyel . maduch . racyno . hyzy . maryel . azd-| ay . mandyel . gumyel . seryel . kery . sahaman . osmyn . | sechyel . pazehemy . chalchyphay . gey . Idael . necad . | mynael . arac . ararygugel . galnel . gimon . satuel . elynzy . | baquylaguall

The names of the angels of the ninth month, which is called Kislev, are these:

Edoniel, Radiel, Maduch, Racino, Hyzy, Mariel, Azday, Mandiel, Gumiel, Seriel, Kery, Sahaman, Osmyn, Sechiel, Pazehemy, Chalchyphay, Gey, Idael, Necad, Mynael, Arac, Ararygugel, Galnel, Gimon, Satuel, Elynzy, Baquylaguall.

21. the names of the angells of the | .10. monthe that is sayde thebeth be these.*/*/*

Anael . amyel . acyor . naslya . rapynes . raacpel . pa-| crel . halion . guanrynasnihe . aslaom . naspaya . neapry . | sanihay . hasasylgason . gastaset . yfaryamy . man . | polimas sarananuf . olyab . saryel . canel . razyell . | pmla . nisquem . sarman . malysan . asyzat . mari-| moe .

The names of the angels of the tenth month, which is called Tevet, are these:

Anael, Amiel, Acior, Naslia, Rapines, Raacpel, Pacrel, Halion, Guanrynasnihe, Aslaom, Naspaya, Neapry, Sanihay, Hasasylgason, Gastaset, Yfaryamy, Man, Polimas, Sarananuf, Olyab, Sariel, Canel, Raziell, Pmla, Nisquem, Sarman, Malysan, Asyzat, Marimoe.

22. the names of the angells of the .11. mon-| the which is sayd cyuanth be these.*/*/* gabryel . | ysrael . natryel . gaszyel . nassam . abrysaf . zefaell . | zamyel . mamyel . talyel . myryel . sahinyel . guryel . sa-| mhyell . daryel . banorsasty . satymn . nasyel . ransyel . tal-| guaf . lebrachiel . dalyell . gandryel . sahuhaf . myschyel .

The names of the angels of the eleventh month, which is called Shevat, are these:

Gabriel, Ysrael, Natriel, Gasziel, Nassam, Abrysaf, Zefaell, Zamiel, Mamiel, Taliel, Myriel, Sahiniel, Guriel, Samhiell, Dariel, Banorsasty, Satymn, Nasiel, Ransiel, Talguaf, Lebrachiel, Daliell, Gandriel, Sahuhaf, Myschiel.

23. the names of þ^{e} angells of the .12. monthe | that is sayde adar be these. romyel . patyel .

[24v]

guryel . azryel . paamyel . cartyel . el . anunalbeh . | parhaya . ysael . beryel . laell . tenebyel . panten . pan-| teron . fanyel . falason . mancyel . pataron . labyel . ra-| gael . cetabyel . nyazpatael .

24. the names of the | angells of the .13. moneth þ^{t} is sayde büs-| extilis which is sayde adar the laste in | marche be these, lacyel or lantyel . ardyel . nos-| myel . ardyel . celydael . amyel . malquyel . gabalyel . | susuagos . barylaguy . yabtasyper . magos . sangos . | yayell . yel . yasmyel . steluyel . garasyn . ceyabgos . | sacadyel . garacap . gabanael . tamtyel .

The names of the angels of the twelfth month, which is called Adar, are these:

Romiel, Patiel, Guriel, Azriel, Paamiel, Cartiel, El, Anunalbeh, Parhaya, Ysael, Beriel, Laell, Tenebiel, Panten, Panteron, Faniel, Falason, Manciel, Pataron, Labiel, Ragael, Cetabiel, Nyazpatael.

The names of the angels of the thirteenth month, which is called Büsextilis, which is called Adar the last in March, are these:

Laciel (or Lantiel), Ardiel, Nosmiel, Ardiel, Celydael, Amiel, Malquiel, Gabaliel, Susuagos, Barylaguy, Yabtasyper, Magos, Sangos, Yayell, Yel, Yasmiel, Steluiel, Garasyn, Ceyabgos, Sacadiel, Garacap, Gabanael, Tamtiel.

25. the names | of þ^{e} dayes of the wicke w^{t} there angells stronge | and mighty vpon euery daye, and euery won in | his daye . the names of þ^{e} angells that seruithe | in the daye of ☉ be these. danyel . olyeyll . saffyell . | dargoyeyll . yelbrayeyell . cemaguyll . gebarbaya . | faceyeyll . caram . neyeyll . talgylueyl . bethtaez . raneyl . | salha . hyeyll . armaquieyeyll . romayl . gybryll . zema-| yl . mychaze . zarsayeyll . amayl . antorayeyll . ronay-| eyll . reniayeyll . barhyl . marhyll . rarorhyll . merhyll . | zarafyll . zarayll . an . quyhym . ceytatynyn . eznyah . | vehych . dunedryneylyn . yedemkyeyl . esmaadyn . elb-| edagrin . zamaanel . yocaleme . detryeyll . aryeyl . arna -| eyll . veremedyn . vnaraxidyn .

The names of the days of the week with their angels, strong and mighty upon every day, and every one in his day.

The names of the angels that serve in the day of ☉ are these:

Daniel, Olyeill, Saffiell, Dargoyeill, Yelbrayeiell, Cemaguill, Gebarbaya, faceyeill, Caram, Neyeill, Talgylueil, Bethtaez, Raneil, Salha, Hyeill, Armaquieyeill, Romail, Gybrill, Zemail, Mychaze, Zarsayeill, Amail, Antorayeill, Ronayeill, Reniayeill, barhil, Marhill, Rarorhill, Merhill, Zarafill, Zaraill, An, Quyhim, Ceytatinin, Ezniah, Vehich, Dunedryneylin, Yedemkieil, Esmaadin, Elbedagrin, Zamaanel, Yocaleme, Detryeill, Aryeil, Arnaeill, Veremedin, Vnaraxidin.

26. these be the ange-| lls in the daye of the ☽
semhazylyn . semyhy-| lym . yasrozyn . agrasnydyn . aymsylyn . cathney-| lyn . alrasachysyn . abrachasyn . layralosyn . lang

[25r]
hasyn . anaenym . niangaroryn . aezonyn . montaz-| yn . labelas . mafatyn . feya . rachyn . cadanagyn . lae-| radonyn . caffrnbryn . bachramyn . varthalyn . | amnanyneylyn . hacoylyn . balganaychyn . aryeylyn . | badeylyn . abranoryn . tarmanydyn . amdalysyn . sahg-| ragynyn . adyanienyn . sacstoyeyn . latebayfanysyn . | caybeinynyn . nabyalyn . cyzamanyn . abramacyn . lar-| yagathyn . bofealyquyn . bayealadyn . gasoryn . asaph -| yn . daryenyn . macnayelyn . gomraoryn . marybyn . yeb-| yryn . arylyn . faryelyn . nepenyelyn . banyelyn . astyey-| lyn . ceradadyn .

These are the angels in the day of the ☽

Semhazylin, Semyhylim, Yasrozin, Agrasnydin, Aymsylin, Cathneylin, Alrasachysin, Abrachasin, Layralosin, Lang, Hasin, Anaenim, Niangarorin, Aezonin, Montazin, Labelas, Mafatin, Feya, Rachin, Cadanagin, Laeradonin, Caffrnbrin, Bachramin, Varthalin, Amnanyneylin, Hacoylin, Balganaychin, Aryeylin, Badeylin, Abranorin, Tarmanydin, Amdalysin, Sahgragynin, Adyanienin, Sacstoyein, Latebayfanisin, Caybeininin, Nabyalin, Cyzamanin, Abramacin, Laryagathin, Bofealyquin, Bayealadin, Gasorin, Asaphin, Daryenin, Macnayelin, Gomraorin, Marybin, Yebirin, Arilin, Faryelin, Nepenyelin, Banyelin, Astyeilin, Ceradadin.

27. these be the angells that serue in þ^{e} | daye of ♂.
samayelyn . tartalyn . doppeyl . racyelyn . | farabyn . cabyn . asymolyn . mabareylyn . tralyeylyn . | rubbelyn . marmaryn . tafanyelyn . fuheylyn . ruffar . | aneylyn . rabsylyn . eralyn . pyrteplyn . brofylyn . cacy -| rylyn . naffreynyn . nupuryn . raffylyn . nyrylyn . nye -| nyolyn . nybyryn . celabryll . tubeylyn . haayn . veyn . | paafyryn . cetenoylyn . letytyeylyn . rarafeyll . canu-| eyl . bastaylyn . costyryn . montyelyn . albylyn . parach-| beyll . alyeyll . vaceyll . zalcycyll . amadyeyll . vsararyey-| ll . lyncodoneyl . daffrypeyl . vnlylyn . carfzoneyll . | gronyeyll . gabrynyn . narbeyll .

These are the angels that serve in the day of ♂:

Samayelin, Tartalin, Doppeil, Racyelin, Farabin, Cabin, Asymolin, Mabareilin, Tralyeilin, Rubbelin, Marmarin, Tafanyelin, Fuheilin, Ruffar, Aneilin, Rabsilin, Eralin, Pyrteplin, Brofilin, Cacyrilin, Naffreinin, Nupurin, Raffilin, Nyrilin, Nyenyolin, Nybirin, Celabrill, Tubeilin, Haain, Vein, Paafirin, Cetenoilin, Letytyeilin, Rarafeill, Canueil, Bastailin, Costirin, Montyelin, Albilin, Parachbeill, Alyeill, Vaceill, Zalcicill, Amadieill, Vsararieill, Lyncodoneil, Daffripeil, Vnlilin, Carfzoneill, Gronieill, Gabrinin, Narbeill.

28. the names of þ^{e} | angells that serue in þ^{e} daye of ☿ be these.
michael . beerel . dafngel . aryhyryel . boel . baryel . | meryel . amyel . aol . semeol . aaen . beryon . saryno~ . | keineryon . feynon . aneynyn . zamazynyn . can-|

The names of the angels that serve in the day of ☿ be these.

Michael, Beerel, Dafngel, Aryhyriel, Boel, Bariel, Meriel,

anyn . aall . merygall . pegal . gabal . veal . aum-

[25v]
eal . faranyeal . gebyn . carybyfyn . autarylyn . | metorylyn . nabyafsyn . fysfyn . barsslylyn . carup-| hylyn . danyturla . fenyturla . geumyturla . amya . | alnamya . tabynya . nafya . myacha . tyagra . bec . | alacaorynyll . benenonyll .

Amiel, Aol, Semeol, Aaen, Berion, Sarinon, Keinerion, Feynon, Aneinin, Zamazinin, Cananin, Aall, Merygall, Pegal, Gabal, Veal, Aumeal, Faranyeal, Gebin, Caribifin, Autarilin, Metorilin, Nabyafsin, Fysfin, Barsslilin, Caruphilin, Danyturla, Fenyturla, Geumyturla, Amia, Alnamia, Tabinia, Nafia, Myacha, Tyagra, Bec, Alacaorinill, Benenonill.

29. þ^e^ names of þ^e^ angells | in þ^e^ daye of ♃ be these.
satquyel . ahyell . yebel . anen-| yel . Iumyel . Iunyel . amyel . fanyel . ramuel . sanfael . | saccynyel . galbyel . lafyel . mazyel . ymraell . memyell . | paryel . panhynyel . toupyel . ambanyel . omyell . orfyell . | ael . hearel . memyel . ynel . syumelyel . tranfyel . mefenyel . | antquyel . quisyell . cumyryel . rofynyel . rubyeyel . beell . | baryel . cheduryel .

The names of the angels in the day of ♃ are these:

Satquiel, Ahyell, Yebel, Aneniel, Jumiel, Juniel, Amiel, Faniel, Ramuel, Sanfael, Sacciniel, Galbiel, Lafiel, Maziel, Ymraell, Memiell, Pariel, Panhiniel, Toupiel, Ambaniel, Omiell, Orfiell, Ael, Hearel, Memiel, Ynel, Syumeliel, Tranfiel, Mefeniel, Antquiel, Quisiell, Cumiriel, Rofiniel, Rubyeiel, Beell, Bariel, Cheduriel.

30. the names of the angells of þ^e^ daye of | ♀ be these.
hasuayeyl . barneyeyl . verday . heyll . alze-| yeyll . szeyeyll . bacapel . zelfayeyll . morayeyll . borayeyll . | alpheyeyll . arobylyn . canofylyn . ourylyn . zaryalyn . | marylyn . bacoraye . kolfayelyn . azrayeylyn . ambaye-| yryn . mayeylyn . cabueyryn . alseyryn . asueyryn . alney-| ryn . nenanryn . rayoryn . orynyn . gedulyn . hareryn . | namylyn . halylyn . hymeylyn . reffylyn . narraabylyn . | hahyeylyn . landelyn . esfylyn . thefealyn . patnelyn . key-| alyn . naylyn . leyrayell . ablayeyll . talraylanrayn . bar-| kalyn . bahoraelyn .

The names of the angels of the day of ♀ are these:

Hasuayeil, Barneyeil, Verday, Heill, Alzeyeill, Szeyeill, Bacapel, Zelfayeill, Morayeill, Borayeill, Alpheyeill, Arobilin, Canofilin, Ourilin, Zaryalin, Marilin, Bacoraye, Kolfayelin, Azrayeilin, Ambayeirin, Mayeilin, Cabueirin, Alseirin, Asueirin, Alneirin, Nenanrin, Rayorin, Orinin, Gedulin, Harerin, Namilin, Halilin, Hymeilin, Reffilin, Narraabilin, Hahyeilin, Landelin, Esfilin, Thefealin, Patnelin, Keyalin, Nailin, Leyraiell, Ablayeill, Talraylanrain, Barkalin, Bahoraelin.

31. þ^e^ names of þ^e^ angells in þ^e^ daye of | ♄ be these.
myeraton . pacrifon . polypon . capeyell . | ehenyton . alfyton . cheryon . sandalson . panyon . almyon . | erpyon . paxon . calyrxon . horryon . melyson .

The names of the angels in the day of ♄ are these:

unryon . ton-| elyon . refaebylyon . monyteon . bornaylon . paxylon . lel-| alyon . onoxyon . quybon . quyron . vyxasmyon . relyon . cassy-| lon . tyfonyon . muryon . degyon . dapsyon . lena-| yon . orleunyon . foylyon . monychyon .

[26r]
gabyon . paxonyon . pynsylon . lepyron . loeloon . saron . | salyon . pyon . nargeron . aaron . selyypon . pinmybron . raco-| ncall . zelybron . ffinis.
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Myeraton, Pacrifon, Polypon, Capeiell, Eheniton, Alfiton, Cherion, Sandalson, Panion, Almion, Erpion, Paxon, Calirxon, Horrion, Melison, Unrion, Tonelion, Refaebilion, Moniteon, Bornailon, Paxilon, Lelalion, Onoxion, Quibon, Quiron, Vixasmion, Relion, Cassilon, Tifonion, Murion, Degion, Dapsion, Lenaion, Orleunion, Foilion, Monichion, Gabion, Paxonion, Pinsilon, Lepiron, Loeloon, Saron, Salion, Pion, Nargeron, Aaron, Selyypon, Pinmibron, Raconcall, Zelibron.

Finis.

Before that these .3. prayers folowinge be sayd ouer | the bloude ye must go towardes Ierusalem that Is | estwarde and ye must saye ouer the bloud þ^e exorcisme | that Is sayd ouer þ^e salte that Is putt Into haly wat-| er, and that must be sayd .3. but that þ^e names must be | changed thus. **I exorcyse the o þ^u creature of bloude**, In | the styde of þ^e creature of salte, which god commaundyd | by salomon to be putt In to þ^e seale, In þ^e stide of which | god commaundid by his prophet helyzeus to be putt | Into water and so forthe of the resydewe, and this | exorcysme thus sayd .3. with astole abowt thy neke the~ | saye the prayers folowing thryse that donne þ^e bloude | shall be consecrated and mete for the seale.

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Before that, these three prayers following must be said over the blood. You must go [=face] towards Jerusalem, that is, Eastward, and you must say over the blood the exorcism that is [also] said over the salt which is put into holy water. And that must be said three [times], except that the names must be changed thus, "I exorcise thee O thou creature of blood", instead of "... thou creature of salt," which God commanded by Solomon to be put into the seal, instead of which God commanded by his prophet Helyzeus to be put into water, and so forth of the rest, and this exorcism thus said three [times], with a stole [=scarf] about your neck, then say the prayers following thrice. That done, the blood shall be consecrated, and meet [=suitable] for the seal.

This introductor paragraph to the exorcism of bloo "discussed but n in full" in the La manuscripts (He p. 17). Also, the manuscripts me only salt, not substituting bloo

32 Exorcizo te creatura sanguis + per deum vivum + per deum verum + per deum sanctum + per deum qui Salomonen In eius deuinam Sigillum primum In ssic: vt sanaretur sterilitas Sanguis efficiaris exorcizatum In

Exorcizo te creatura sanguis + per deum vivum + per deum verum + per deum sanctum + per deum

The exorcism of blood is not fou Latin manuscrip though it is expl the previous par Compare this ex with that in Sco

salutem credencium: et sis omnibus te Sumentibus Sanitas anime et corporis et effugiat atque desendat ab Iste sanguine omnia samasia et nequita vel versucia diabolice fraudis: omnisque spiritus In mundus adiuratus per eum qui venturus est Iudicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per Ignem. Amen. Exorcizo te creatura Sanguis que In nomine + Dei patris omnipotentis et In nomine +

[26v]

Iesu xpi filii eius dni nostri, et In virtute Sps | Sancti, vt fias Sanguine exorcizate ad effuganda-| m omnem potestatem Inimiel et Ipsum Inimicu-| m eradicare et explantare valeas cum angelis | Suis apostaticis, per virtutem eiusdem dni nos-| tri + Iesu xpi qui vnturus est Iudicare vivos et | mortuos et Seculum per Ignem. Amen. * * * *

O Inuisyble god, O Inestymable god, O Ineffable | god, O Incommutable god, O Incorrvptyble | **GOD**, O most mercyfull god, O most Swettest god, O | Highe and gloryous god. O god of Infynite mercye, | I althought vnworthe Synner full of Iniquyt deceyte | And malyce most Humbly come vnto thy mercy pr-| ayinge and beseching the not to haue respecte to all & | Innumerable myn Iniquytes, but even As þ^{u} arte | wonte to haue mercye vpon Synners, and to here þ^{e} | prayers of þ^{e} Humble and meke, even so I beseche þ^{e} to | vouchsaffe to here me thy Seruant althoughe vnworthy | yet calling vnto þ^{e} ffor þ^{e} blessinge And consecrating | of this bludd thy creature that It maye be made apte | and worthy ffor þ^{e} ynke of thy most precyous and | Holy Seale and of thy name . SememphoraS . so þ^{t} It | maye haue þ^{e} aptnes and metenes whith It ought to | haue by thy most Holy name, which Is written with | .4. letters . Joth . He . vau . Deleth . Agla . eloy . yay-| in . theos . Deus . which being harde all celestyall terr-| estryall and Infernall creatures doo tremble feare &

[27r]

worship It, and by thyes thy most Holy names . on . Alpha et | omega . principium . el . ely . eloe . eloy . elyon . Sother . emanuel . Sa-| baoth . Adonay . egge . ya . ya . ye . ye . this creature of bludd may | be blessyd preparyd and made apte ffor þ^{e} ynke of thy Holy sea-| le and of thy most Holy name . SememphoraS . which

qui Salomonem in eius diuinam Sigillum primum in ssic: ut sanaretur sterilitas Sanguis efficiaris exorcizatum in salutem credentium: ut sis omnibus te sumentibus sanitas animae et corporis et effugiat atque disendat ab iste sanguine omnia samasia et nequitia vel versutia diabolicae fraudis: omnisque spiritus in mundus adiuratus per eum, qui venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem. Amen.

Exorcizo te creatura Sanguis que In nomine + Dei patris omnipotentis et In nomine + Iesu Christi filii eius domini nostri, et in virtute Spiritus Sancti, ut fias sanguine exorcizate ad effugandam omnem potestatem inimiel et ipsum inimicum eradicare et explantare valeas cum angelis suis apostaticis, per virtutem eiusdem domini nostri + Iesu Christi qui vnturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem. Amen.

[CXXXVII 1-19]

O Invisible God, O Inestimable God, O Ineffable God, O Incommutable God, O Incorruptible God, O most mercifull God, O most Sweet God, O High and Glorious God. O God of infinite mercy, I, although an unworthy sinner, full of iniquity, deceit, and malice, most humbly come to your mercy,

Is ble-| ssyd worlde with owt ende . Amen .

praying and beseeching you not to have respect to all and innumerable mine iniquities, but even as you are wont to have mercy upon sinners, and to hear the prayers of the humble and meek, even so I beseech you to vouchsafe to hear me, your servant, although unworthy, yet calling unto you for the blessing and consecrating of this blood, your creature, that it may be made apt and worthy for the ink of your most precious and Holy Seal, and of your name **Schemhamphoras**, so that it may have the aptnes and meteness which it ought to have by your most holy name, which is written with four letters, **Joth, He, Vau, Daleth, Agla, Eloy, Yayin, Theos, Deus,** which being heard all celestial, terrestrial, and infernal creatures do tremble, fear, and worship it. And by these your most holy names, **On, Alpha and Omega, Principium, El, Ely, Eloe, Eloy, Elion, Sother, Emmanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Egge, Ya, Ya, Ye Ye,** may this creature of blood be blessed, prepared, and made apt for the ink of your holy seal, and of your most holy name, **Schemhamphoras**, which is blessed, world without end. Amen.

Another prayer ffor the Same

O good Iesu christ ffor thy Ineffable mercy Spare me and | haue mercy vpon me and here me now thorow the Invo-| catyon of the name of the Holy trynyte the father the Sonne | and the Holy goste and that þ^{u} woldest accept and take In good | worthe the prayers and wordes of my mouthe, by the Invo-| catyon of thy .100. Hooly names that Is to Saye **. AglA | monhon . tetragramaton . olydeus . Ocleiste . Amphinethon . lam-| tara . Ianemyer . Saday . Hely . Horlon . portenthymon . Ihelur . | Gofgamep . emanuel . On . Admyhel . Honzmorp . Ioht . Hof-| ob . Rasamarathon . Anethi . erihona . Iuestre . Saday . maloht . | Sethœ . elscha . Abbadaia . Alpha et omega . leiste . Oristyon . Iere-| mon . Hosb . merkerpon . elzephares . egyryon . betha . Ombo-| nar . Stymulamathon . Orion . eryon . noymos . peb . nathano-| thay . theon . ysyston . porho . Rothon . lethellethe . ysmas . Adonay . | Athionadabir . Onoytheon . Hosga . leyndra . nosulaceps . tuthe-| on . Gelemoht . paraclitus . Occymomyon . erchothas . abracio . | anepheneton . Abdon . melche . Sother . usiryon . baruch . Sporgo-| ngo . Genonem . messyas . pantheon . zabuather . Rabarmas . | Yskyros . Kyryos . Gelon . Hel . Rethel . nathi . Ymeynlethon . | Karex . Sabaoth . Sallaht . cirhos . Opyron . nomygon . Oryhel . theos . | ya . Horha . christus . Holbeke . tosgac . Occymomos . elyorem .**

[27v]

Heloy . Archyna . rabur . humbly & faythfully beseching the | althoughe unworthe yet trusting In þ^{e} that þ^{u} woldest sanctefy & | blesse this bloude by thy most Holy names afforsayd, & by this name | . Sememphoras . of .72. letters that by þ^{e} power Holynes and | vertue of þ^{e} same names & by þ^{i} deuyne mighte & power this bloude | maye be cõsecrated, blyssed, & strengthed by þ^{e} vertu of þ^{i} most Holy bod-| ye & bloude þ^{t} It may haue þ^{e} vertue & aptnes which it oughte to | haue w^{t} out any discet, þ^{t} it maye be worthy to wrighte þ^{i} Holy seale | þ^{t} it may haue þ^{e} effecte which it ought to haue thorow o^{r} lorde Iesus | which syttethe in þ^{e} hyghest to whome be honor prayse &

Another prayer for the same.

O good Jesus Christ, for your ineffable mercy, spare me and have mercy upon me and hear me now through the invocation of the name of the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that you would accept and take in good worth the prayers and words of my mouth, by the invocation of your one hundred holy names, that is to saye, **Agla, Monhon, Tetragrammaton, Olydeus, Ocleiste, Amphinethon, Lamtara, Ianemyer, Saday, Hely, Horlon, Portenthymon, Ihelur, Gofgamep, Emmanuel, On, Admihel, Honzmorp, Ioht, Hofob, Rasamarathon, Anethi, Erihona, Iuestre, Saday, Maloht,. Sethoe, Elscha, Abbadaia, Alpha et Omega, Leiste, Oristion, Ieremon, Hosb, Merkerpon, Elzephares, Egirion, Betha, Ombonar, Stimulamathon, Orion, Erion, Noimos, Peb, Nathanothay, Theon, Ysiston, Porho, Rothon, Lethellethe, Ysmas, Adonay, Athionadabir, Onoytheon, Hosga, Leyndra, Nosulaceps, Tutheon, Gelemoht, Paraclitus, Occymomion, Erchothas, Abracio, Anepheneton, Abdon, Melche, Sother, Usirion, Baruch, Sporgongo, Genonem,**

Compare list wi
chapter CI.. S4
include the entir
but uses "etc."

glorye wo-| rlde w^{t} owt ende Amen

Messias, Pantheon, Zabuather, Rabarmas, Iskiros, Kyrios, Gelon, Hel, Rethel, Nathi, Ymeinlethon, Karex, Sabaoth, Sallaht, Cirhos, Opiron, Nomigon, Orihel, Theos, Ya, Horha, Christus, Holbeke, Tosgac, Occimomos, Eliorem, Heloy, Archina, Rabur. humbly and faithfully beseeching you, although unworthy yet trusting in you that you would sanctify and bless this blood by your most holy names aforesaid, and by this name **Schemhamphoras** of seventy-two letters, that by the power, holiness, and virtue of the same names and by your divine might and power this blood may be consecrated, blessed, and strengthed by the virtue of your most holy body and blood, that it may have the virtue and aptness which it ought to have without any deceit, that it may be worthy to write your holy seal, that it may have the effect which it ought to have through our Lorde Jesus, who sits in the highest, to whom be honor, praise, and glory, world without end. Amen.

:::::the blessing of It::::: God the father | blesse þ^{e} God þ^{e} sonne blesse þ^{e} God þ^{e} Holy gost blesse þ^{e} Hooly mar-| ye mother of o^{r} lorde Iesu christ maye blesse & Sanctefy þ^{e}, o blou-| de þ^{t} þ^{u} mayst Haue þ^{e} mighte and power of a sacrament In wr-| yting of þ^{e} Seale of God. All Holy virgins maye blesse þ^{e} this, | Daye & euer. All þ^{e} Holy & electe of God and All þ^{e} celestyall po-| wers

The blessing of it.

God the Father bless you, God the Son bless you, God the Holy Ghost bless you. May Holy Mary mother of our Lord Jesus Christ bless and sanctify you,

maye blesse the and confyrme and Strengthen the, All | Angells and Archangells vertues, principates, potestates, | thrones, and domynatyõs, cherubin & Seraphin by þ^{e} auchtoryte | & lycency of god may blesse þ^{e}, by þ^{e} merytes & all þ^{e} prayers of | thy sayntes O lorde Iesu christ þ^{t} þ^{u} woldest blesse + sanctyfy + | & consecrate + this bloude & strengthen it, by thy almighty pow^{r}, | & þ^{t} thy seale þ^{t} shall herew^{t} be wrytten may haue þ^{e} power which | it oughte to haue & for þ^{t} purpose & intent for þ^{e} which it is | ordeyned thorow o^{r} lord Iesu christ whose reygne & em-| pyre dothe contynew worlde w^{t} owt ende. Amen :::::

Oh blood, that you may have the might and power of a sacrament in writing of the Seal of God. May all holy virgins bless you this day and ever. May all the holy and elect of God, and all the celestial powers bless you, and confirm and strengthen you. May all angels and archangels, virtues, principates, potestates, thrones, and dominations, cherubin, and seraphin, by the authority and license of God, bless you, by the merits and all the prayers of your saints, O Lord Jesus Christ, that you would bless + sanctify + and consecrate + this blood, and strengthen it, by your almighty power, and that your seal that shall herewith be written may have the power which it ought to have, and for that purpose and intent for the which it is ordained through our Lord Jesus Christ, whose reign and empire does continue, world without end. Amen.

[28r]

oratio prima

[VI.] First Oration.[1]

Acciones nostras quesumus domine aspirando | parueni, et adiuuando prosequerem it cuncta nostra | operatio a et semper incipiat, et per et ince-| pta finiatur qui viuis et regnas deus per omnia | secula seculorum amen */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Direct, we beg you, O Lord, our actions by your holy inspirations, and carry them on by your gracious assistance, that every prayer and work of ours may begin always with you, and through you be happily ended. Amen.

J2

1. Actiones nost
This prayer app
the *Book of Hou*
other medieval
collections of pr
Sinclair, p. 407.

oratio secunda

[VII.] Second Oration

Aue maria gratia plena dominus tecum bened-| icta tu

Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with

in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris | tui ihesus mater [dei] ora pro nobis amen */*/*

thee. Blessed art thou amongst women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus. Holy Mary, Mother [of God], pray for us. Amen.

oratio Tercia

[VIII.] Third Oration.[2]

Salue regina [mater] misericordie vita dulcedo et spes n -| ostra salue, ad te clamanes exules filii eue, ad te | suspiramus gementes et flentes, in hac lachri-| marum valle eya ergo aduocata nostra illos t-| uos misericordes oculos ad nos conuerte et | Ihesum benedictum fructum ventris tui nob-| is post hoc exilium ostende o clemens o pia | o dulcis [virgo] maria ora pro nobis sancta dei ge-| nitrix, vt digni efficiamur promissionibus | christi */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Hail holy queen,
mother of mercy,
Hail our life, our
sweetness and our
hope.
To you do we cry poor
banished children of
Eve,
To you do we send up
our sighs, mourning
and weeping
in this valley of tears.
Turn then, most
gracious advocate
your eyes of mercy
toward us.
And after this, our
exile,
Show us the fruit of
your womb, Jesus.
O clement, O loving, O
sweet [virgin] Mary.

Pray for us, Holy
Mother of God
That we may be made
worthy of the promises
of Christ.

2. This is the we known Salve Re prayer (up to "C [virgin] Mary") with the standar response.

oratio quarta

[IX.] Oration 4

O gloriosa domina[1] virgo semper maria mater gloriæ, mater ecclesiæ, mater pietatis et indulgentiæ, aue carissima domina semper virgo maria, mater luminis, honor eternus, signum sereni-

[28v]
atais, aue piissima domina maria aula dei porta caeli | sacrarium spiritus sancti, aue piissima domina [maria] vbna[2] aurea templum dignitatis[3] reclinatorium eterne pieta-| tis, aue clementissima domina maria decus virginum | domina gencium regina cælorum[4], aue amantissima do-| mina maria fons ortorum, ablutio peccatorum lanc-| rum[5] animarum, aue desideratissima

O glorious <lady>
Mary, eternal virgin,
glorious mother,
mother of the church,
mother of piety and
leniency, hail, O
dearest lady, Mary,
eternal virgin, mother
of light, the eternal
honour, the image of
serenity. (2) Hail, most
pious lady Mary, the
court of God, the gate
of heaven, the shrine of
the Holy Spirit. Hail,
most pius lady Mary,
that vessel of gold, that

1. S4 omits "dor

2. S4: urna.

3. S4: diuinitatis

4. S4: angelorur

5. S4: lavacru~.

6. S4: orphanor

7. S4: mamilla parvulorum.

8. S4: memorun

9. S4 adds: sem

10. S4: es.

11. S4 adds: mo GH: maris.

domina maria | mater orphanarum[6] manurilla peruulorum[7], consolatio | miserorum, Salue sancta parens, salue sancta et in-| maculata virginitas assistens vultui dei memor[8] esto | nostræ fragilitatis, salue benignissima, salue suauis-| sima, salue misericordissima, propiciaberis semper | virgo benedicta et gloriosa[9] virgo maria quæ virga | sacratissima dei et mater et[10] piissima [11] stella clarissima, | salue semper gloriosa, margarita preciosa, ficus, liliu-| m, formosa, olens velut rosa alba dirige me in visiõe | beata, obsecro te regina perhennis sancta maria per | amorem patris et filii et spiritussancti, et per com-| mendatum tibi celeste sacrarium, et per multas mi-| serationes quas fecit super me et super genus | humanum, et per virtutes et per misteria sancte | crucis, et per sanctos claues fixas[12] in suas prec-| iosas manus et pedes, et per sancta .5. vulnera | sui preciosa corporis, et per precium sancti corp-

temple of the divinity, cushion of eternal piety. Hail, most merciful lady Mary, the glory of maidens, the ruler of nations, the queen of the angels. Hail most loving lady Mary, overflowing fountain, the washing of sins, the refreshment of souls. Hail, most desired lady Mary, mother of orphans, the breast of infants, comforter of the wretched. Hail, holy parent. Hail, holy and immaculate virgin, who stands near the face of God, mindful of our frailty.

Hail, most kind, hail, most agreeable, hail, most merciful. You will be propitiated, eternal virgin, blessed and glorious, ever chaste Mary, you who are the most hallowed virgin and blessed mother of God, brightest star of the sea.

Hail, ever glorious, precious pearl, beautiful as the lily, fragrant as the rose. Halleluia! Direct me in this blessed vision.

I entreat you, eternal queen, holy Mary, through the love of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and through your trusted heavenly shrine, and through the great pities which you have made over me and over the human race, and through the virtues and through the solemn mysteries of the cross, and through the holy nails fastened to his precious hands and feet, and through the five sacred wounds to his precious body,

[29r]

oris sui quo nos redemit in sancta cruce vt ores | pro me et pro omnibus peccatis meis et necessitati-| bus meis anime et corporis mei ad dilectum filium | tuum */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

12. S4: clavos fi

where he redeemed us on the holy cross, in order that you may plead to your beloved son on my behalf, and on behalf of all my sins, and for the needs of my soul and of my body, (*petition, e.g.*) *in order that I, while yet living, may be worthy to see and praise you*. Amen.

here recyte youre peticion accordinge to the effecte of | the which you worke, doo so in the [blank space of approx 12 chars] of euery | prayer before wrytten and [rest of line is blank]

(*Here recite your petition according to the effect of the which you work. Do so in the [appropriate place] of every prayer before written, and [...]*)

Gaude virgo maria genitrix inmaculata gaudium | mihi dona, gaude que gaudium ab angelo suscepi-| sti et gaudium visionis diuine mihi dona. gaude quæ ge-| nuisti eterni luminis claritates[2], gaude dei genitrix et | gaudium visionis diuine in[3] dona, vt subleuer de omni-| bus angustiis et tribulationibus et vitiis meis quæ | sunt in corde meo et quero amplius vt tecum sim a | latere constans [hic recita petitionem tuam, pro visione | die ad videndum me viuente deum eternum][4] adoro et[5] sa-| ncta mater domini nostri iesu christi et laudo et magnif-| ico te, adoro altitudinem tuam, adoro castitatem et | virgnitatem tuam, adoro pietatem et misericordi-| am tuam, adoro viscera beata tua quæ portauer-| unt deum et hominem, adoro beatum vterum tuum | qui portauit iesum dominum, adoro beata vtera[6] | tua quæ lactauerunt saluatorem mundi, precor te | carissima semper virgo maria par amorem filii tui | domini nostri iesu christi vt intercedas pro me

[X.]

Rejoice,[1] O immaculate virgin, mother of God. Give me joy. Rejoice, you who received the tidings of joy from the angel, and give me the joy of the vision of God. Rejoice, you who brought forth the clarity of eternal light. Rejoice, mother of God, and give me the joy of the vision of God, that I may be raised up from all my difficulties and tribulations and the faults which are in my heart, and I ask further, that I may be firmly by your side, for seeing the living and eternal God. I adore you, O holy mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and I praise and glorify you. I adore your exaltation. I adore your chastity and virginity. I adore your piety and your mercy. I adore your blessed innermost parts, which have born God and Man. I adore your blessed womb, which has born Lord Jesus. I adore your

[29v]

peccatore Heare recyte your perticion whate your de-| syere is to haue.[7] Ad visionem dei eterni me viuente | habendam et sis[8] mihi auxiliatrix[9] in omnibus an-| gustiis et necessitatibus meis et ne derelinquas | me neque sim sine adiutorio in hac visione bea-| ta neque in illo tremendo die cum exierit anima | [mea][10] de corpore meo, aut in mirabili hora cum rapta | fuerit ad videndum me viuente deum [eternum][11], postulo | gratiosa me ad portas paradisi facere venire vt | merear ibi videre[12] filium tuum et merear habere | leticiam

1. Translation b 2010. This is an adaptation of th popular eighth c *Anthem of the B Virgin*, also kno the *Five Gaude antiphon*. S4: de
2. S4: claritatem
3. S4: michi.
4. Instead of "hi recita..." S4 reac uidendum me ui deum eternum."
5. S4: te.
6. GH: ubera.
7. S4 omits "He haue."
8. S4: succurras
9. S4 omits.
10. S4.
11. GH.
12. S4: uidere it
13. GH: ipso.

sempiternam visionis diuine cum chri-| sto[13] filio tuo gloriosissimo qui viuit et regnat per | omnia secula seculorum. amen */*/*/*

blessed breasts, which have nursed the savior the World. I beg of you, dearest Mary ever virgin, through the love of your son our Lord Jesus Christ, to intervene for me, a sinner, that I may have the vision of the eternal God while yet alive, and assist me in all my difficulties and needs, and do not abandon me, so I may not be without help in this blessed vision nor on the terrible day when my soul departs from my body, or in that wonderful hour, when it will be dragged away, for seeing the living eternal God. I gratiously ask you to make me come to the gates of Paradise, that I may be worthy to see your son there, and that I may be worthy to have the wondrous eternal divine vision, with your most glorious son himself, who lives and reigns world without end. Amen.

oratio saxta

[XI.] Oration *5.

Ego peccator indignus ad laudem et honorem | gloriisissime semperque virginis mariæ | genitricis domini nostri iesu christi eius sacra n-| omina cum sim indignus iuxta meum exiguum | senssum spiritu sancto dictante nominare curo. |

I, an unworthy sinner, for the praise and honor of the most glorious and eternal virgin Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, of his sacred names, since I am unworthy, because of my meager perception I take care to name with the Holy Spirit's command.

O gloriosa dei genitrix [semper virgo][1] maria me [*ne in-][2] digneris con-| tra [me][3] nequissimum et innumerabili iniquita-| te plenum, sed accipe propitia misericorditer | quod indignus ad honorem tuum offero

O glorious mother of God, O eternal virgin Mary, do not deem me unworthy because of my great wickedness

1. S4 adds.

2. Text correctic S4.

3. S4 adds.

et a-| ffecto, etenim piissima sacra tua nomina corde | ore opere distincte nominare et exaltare volo, | nominaris namque maria genitrix, mater, spo-| nsa, filia, theoton[4], virga, vas, balsamus, nubes,

[30r]

ros, pacifica, princeps, regina aurora, imperatrix, | domina, ancilla, ortus, fons, puteus, vita, via,[5] se-| mita, splendor, stella aurea, lumen, luna, fenestra | vitrea, ianua, porta, velum cella, domus, hospiti-| um, capsa, templum, aula, tabernaculum, manua,[6] | ciuitas, liber, stola, flumen, pons, vna malum, gr-| anatum[7] femina, nutrix, mulier, turris, nauis, | redemtrix, liberatrix, amica, thalamus, vallis, | cinamomum, turtur, columba, lilium, rosa, con-| solatio, portus, spes, salus, gloria, fundamentum, | vera peccatorum medicina, sacrarium, | spiritus, sancti, radix, iesse, antidotum, recrea-| trix, syon, puella, miser[a]trix, tuam deprecor, | sanctissima misericordiam vt per hæc tua di-| uina nomina quæ ego tibi nunc plenus in-| mundicia coram altari tuo de te presumen-| do optuli vt in hac hora me audias [et] insacia-| biliter digneris me facere */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/* hic peticionem tuam recita sed pro visione | diuina tunc dic vt sequitur,[8] videre atque la-| udare te et tuum filium gloriosum corpusc-| ulo meo viuente */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

and innumerable iniquities, but mercifully and favorably accepting that which I, although unworthy, offer and desire for your honour. And so I wish to clearly name and exalt your holy names most conscientiously, with my heart, with my mouth, and with my labor.

So you are named Mary, Creator, Mother, Bride, Daughter, Theotan, Virga, Vessel, Balsamus, Cloud, Dew, Peace Maker, the First, Queen, Dawn, Empress, Lady, Handmaiden, Risen, the Spring, the Well, the Way, the Life, the Path, the Brilliance, the Golden Star, the Light, the Moon, Glass Window, the Doorway, the Gate, the Curtain, the Chamber, the Home, Guest Room, the Receptacle, the Temple, the Hall, the Tabernacle, the Manna, Community, Free, the Stole, the River, the Bridge, the Grape, the Pomegranate, Female, Nurse, Woman, Tower, Ship, Redemptress, Liberator, Friend, the Bedroom, the Vally, Cinnamon, the Turtle-dove, the Dove, the Lily, the Rose, the Consolation, the Refuge, the Hope, the Salvation, the Glory, the Foundation, the True Medicine of Sinners, the Shrine of the Holy Spirit, the Root of Jesse, the Antidote, the Recreatrix, Sion, the Girl, She who is Compassionate.

I beg for your most

4. GH: Theotan.

5. GH: Via, Vita

6. GH: Manna.

7. GH: "Uva, Malogranatum,"

8. S4 omits this

holy compassion, that through these divine names of yours, which I, though full of filth, have now dared to offer before your altar, in order that you hear me in this hour and may you unsatiably (?) deem me worthy to see and praise you and your glorious son, while my small body is still living.

Teque interpello gloriosa per filium tu-| um quem concepisti, quem genuisti,

[30v]

quem peperisti, quem in carnem [*carne][9] concepisti, quem | in balneo misisti, [quem pannis involvisti,][10] quem in templo presentasti, quem | predicantem audisti, quem in cruce pro nobis suspe-| nsum vidisti, quem mortuum et sepultum inspexi-| sti, [quem][11] surgentem a mortuis sciuisti, quem ad cælos ad | patrem ascend.entem vidisti[12], et inde venturus est iu-| dicare viuos et mortuos et seculum per ignem, per | ipsum quoque pollutus labiis pollutus [carne, pollutus] [13] corpore | pollutus in mente[14] ausus nominare [imploro][15]. hic recita | tuam petitionem, nisi fit pro visione diuina tunc | die vt sequitur * *[16] quatenus[17] in hoc opere te et sa-| nctam trinitatem cum sanctis angelis [tuis][18] facias | me aspicere et videre et in extremo magno iu-| dicio ab eternali pena eripias pær christum do-| minum nostrum amen
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

And I disturb you, O glorious one, through your son, whom you conceived, whom you begat, whom you have borne, whose body you nursed, whom you bathed, whom you wrapped in cloths, whom you presented at the temple, whose preaching you heard, whose suspension from the cross on our behalf you saw, whose death and burial you witnessed, whose rising from the dead you observed, whose ascension to the Father in heaven you saw, and who will soon return from there to judge the living and the dead and the world by fire, likewise through him I dare to name [you] and beg for help, with impure lips, with impure flesh, with impure body, with impure mind, (*here recite petition*)[16] that through this work you will enable me to look at and see yourself, and the holy Trinity, with your holy angels, and in the end at the Great Judgement you will snatch me away from eternal punishment, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

9. Corrected per

10. GH adds.

11. GH adds.

12. GH: quem a ascendentem ad vidisti.

13. GH adds.

14. GH: pollutu [te].

15. GH adds.

16. S4 omits thi

17. GH: quatinu

18. GH adds.

þ^e crede[1]
Hic oportet te dicere simbolum tuum vsque ad | finem et postea dic hunc psalmum quicunque vu-| lt vsque ad finem */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

[XII. Oration 6. The Creed.]

[I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth. And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord: who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried; he descended into hell; the third day he rose again from the dead; he ascended into heaven; sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the living and the dead. I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy Catholic Church, the communion of Saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting. Amen.]

1. In margin. GI the text of the A Creed - Roman Latin: "Credo in Patrem omnipot et vitam eternan Amen."

Quicumque vult salus esse et visionem diuinam[1] habere | ante omnia opus est vt teneat catholicam fidem. Quam nist [*nisi] qui-| sq^e integram in uiolatamq^e seruauerit: absq^e dubio ineter-| num peribit et[2] visionem diuinam non hababit. Eid-| es [*Fides] autem catholica heoe~ [*hec est]: vt vnum deum in trinitate & trini-| tatem invnitate veneremur Neq^e confundentes person-| as: neq^e substantia separantes Alia est enim perso-

[31r]
na patris, alia filii alia spiritussancti. Sed patris & filii & spiritussancti vn-| a est diuinitas: equalis gloria coeterna maiestas: Qualis | pater talis fili[u]s: talis spiritussanctus. Increats pater increats filis: | increatus spiritussanctus. Immensus pater immensus filius: | immensus spiritussanctus. Eterns pater eterns filis: eternus sp-| iritussanctus. Et tamen non tres eterni: sed vnus eternus: Sic-| ut non tres increati nec tres immensi: sed vnus increatus | & vnus immensus: Similiter omnipotens pater, omnipotens filis. omnipotens spiritu-| ssanctus. Et tamen non tres omnipotentes: sed vnus omnipot-| ens. Ita deus pater deus filis: deus spiritussanctus. | Et tamen non tres dii: sed vnus est deus. Ita dominus pater | dominus filis: dominus spiritussanctus. Et tamen non tres | domini: sed vnus est dominus. Quia sicut sigillatibus [*singillatim] vnamquamq^e | personam deum ac

[XIII. Oratio 7: Symbolum Athanasianum]

"Whoever wishes to be saved [and have the vision of God], should above all things hold to the Catholic faith. Whoevery fails to keep it whole and undefiled, without doubt shall perish everlastingly. And the Catholic faith is this: That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity, neither confounding the persons, nor dividing the substance. For there is one person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Spirit. But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit is all one, the glory equal, the majesty coeternal. Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost. The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate, and the Holy Ghost uncreate. The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible. The Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Ghost eternal. And yet they are not three eternals, but one eternal. As also there are not three uncreates, nor three incomprehensibles, but one uncreate and one

(This oration is the well-known Athanasian Cree (*Symbolum Athanasianum*.)

1. GH: Dei.

2. GH omits the words.

3. GH adds: et v divinam habere.

4. GH adds: et d visionem.

5. GH adds: et v divinam, quam petimus.

6. GH adds: cui abrenunciare postulamus.

7. GH omits the the creed, and c with: nec hanc d visionem optine quibit.

dominum confiteri: christiana veritate compellimur. | Ita tres deos aut dominos dicare: catholica religione prohibem-| ur. Pater a nullo est factus: nec creatus nec genitus. | Filis a patre solo est: non factus nec creatus sed genitus | Spiritussanctus a patre & filio: non factus nec creatus nec ge-| nitus sed procedens. Unus ergo pater non tres patres: | vnus filius non tres filii: vnus spiritussanctus non tres | spiritussancti. Et in hac trinitate nihil prius aut po-| sterius: nichil mais [*maius] aut minus: sed tote tres persone | coeterne sibi sunt et coequales. Ita vt per omnia sicut | iam supradictum est: & vnitas in trinitate: & trinitas in | vnitate veneranda sit. Qui vult ergo saluus esse[3]

[31v]

ita de trinitate sentiat. Sed necessarium est ad eternam sa-| lutem:[4] vt incarnationem quoq$_e$ domini nostri iesu christi fide-| liter credat. Est ergo fides recta vt credamus & confit-| eamur: q$_e$ dominus noster iesus christi dei filius deus et | homo est. Deus est ex substantia patris ante secula genitus: | & homo est ex substantia matris in seculo natus. Per-| fectus deus perfectus homo: ex anima rationali & humana | carne subsistens. Equalis patri secundum diuinitatem: | minor patre secundum humanitatem. Qui licet deus sit | et homo: non duo tamen sed vnus est christus. Unus autem non | conuersione diuinitatis in carnem: sed assumptione hum-| anitatis in deum Unus omnino non confusione subst-| antie: sed vnitate persone. Nam sicut anima rationalis | & caro vnus est homo: ita deus et homo vnus est | christus. Qui passus est pro salute nostra descendit ad | inferos: tertia die resurrexit a mortuis Ascendit | ad celos sedet ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis: | inde venturus est iudicare viuos et mortuos. Ad | cuius aduentum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corp-| oribus suis: & reddituri sunt de factis propiis rati-| onem. Et qui bona egerunt ibunt in vitam eternam:[5] qui vero | mala in ignem eternum.[6] Hec est fides catholica: quam | nisi quisq$_e$ fideliter firmiterq$_e$ crediderit saluus esse | non poterit.[7] Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sanc-| ti. Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in

[32r]

secula seculorum. amen. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

incomprehensible. So likewise the Father is almighty, the Son almighty, and the Holy Ghost almighty. And yet they are not three almighties, but one almighty. So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, and yet they are not three Gods, but one God. So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son Lord, and the Holy Ghost Lord, and yet they are not three Lords, but one Lord. For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity to acknowledge every person by himself to be God and Lord, so are we forbidden by the Catholic religion to say there are three Gods or three Lords. The Father is made of none, neither created, nor begotten. The Son is of the Father alone, not made nor created, but begotten. The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son, neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding. So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts. And in this Trinity none is before or after another, none is greater or less than another. But the whole three Persons are co-eternal together, and co-equal. So that in all things, as is aforesaid, the Unity in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped. He therefore that will be saved must thus think of the Trinity. Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation that he also believe rightly the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the right faith is, that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man. God, of the substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds; and Man, of the substance of his mother, born in the world. Perfect God, and perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting. Equal to the Father as touching his Godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching his Manhood. Who, although he be God and Man, yet he is not two, but one Christ. One; not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into God.

One altogether, not by confusion of Substance, but by unity of Person. For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and Man is one Christ; Who suffered for our salvation, descended into hell, rose again the third day from the dead; He ascended into heaven, he sitteth on the right hand of the Father, God, Almighty; from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies; and shall give account for their own works. And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting; and they that have done evil into everlasting fire. This is the Catholic faith, which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen."

42 Ego diuina institucione formatus et preceptis | salutaribus imprecatus audebo dicere hic dic | orationem dominicam. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

[XIV. Oration 8]

Following divine instruction, and the teachings of the Saviour +called down+, I dare to say:[15]

15. The mass in the Lord's Praye nearly identical wording: GH co "imprecatus" (c down, prayed fo uttered curses o blessings) as co

43 Pater noster qui es in celis, sanctificetur nomen | tuum. adueniat regnum tuum, fiat voluntas tua, | sicut in cælo et in terra. panem nostrum quotid-| ianum da nobis hodie, et dimitte nobis debita nost-| ra: sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris, | et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos | a malo. **Amen.** */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Our Father,[1] who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil. Amen.

1. This of cours well-known "Lo Prayer."

44 Alpha et omega: deus omnipotens | principium omni-| um rerum sine principio finis sine fine exaudi | hodie preces meas piissime neque secundum | iniquitates meas neque secundum peccata | mea retribue mihi domine deus meus sed se-| cundum,

[XV. Oration 9.][1]

Alpha and Omega, O almighty God, the beginning of all things, without beginning, the

1. Tr. JHP. Com *Not.* in Agrippa, *Omnia*, Lugdun Berignos Fratres p. 582.

misericordiam tuam quae est maior | omnibus rebus visibilibus et invisibilibus | miserere mei sapientia patris christe lux an-| gelorum [gloria sanctorum,] spes [et] portus et refugium peccator-| um, cunctarum rerum conditor et humanæ

[32v]

fragilitatis redemtor, qui cælum [et] terram mare que | totum ac montium pondera palma concludis, te | piissima deprecor [et exoro] vt una cum patre illumines | animam meam radio sanctissimi spiritus tui. | Hic recita tuam petitionem pro divina visione | dic vt sequitur */*/*/*/* quatenus in hac sacrosan-| cta arte taliter possim perficere vt valeam [ad facialem] tui | deus eternæ visionem [virtute] tui sanctissimi spiritus | et tui nominis peruenire. et tu qui es deus me-| us qui in principio creasti cælum et terram et | omnia ex nihilo qui in spiritu tuo [sancto] omnia refor-| mas, comple, instaura, sana animam [meam] vt glori-| ficem te per omnia opera cogitationum mear-| um et verborum meorum deus pater oratio-| nem meam confirma et intellectum meum auge | et memoriam meam. Recita petitionem tu-| am sed si fit pro visione diuina tunc dic vt | sequitur */*/*/*/* ad suscipiendam beatam | visionem tuam meo viuente corpusculo et | ad cognoscendum superexcelsam et super-| eternam facialiter tuam essentiam qui viuis | et regnas per infinita secula seculorum. Amen. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

ending without an end, hear today my prayers, O most holy one, neither repay me according my iniquity nor my sins, O Lord, my God, but according to your mercy, which is greater than all things visible and invisible. Have mercy on me, the wisdom of the Father, O Christ, the light of the angels, the glory of the saints, the hope and haven and refuge of sinners, the originator of all things and redeemer of human frailties, who holds the weight of heaven and earth, and the seas and mountains in the palm of your hand. I beg and entreat you, O most holy one, that you, being one with the Father, will illuminate my soul with the ray of your most Holy Spirit, (*Here recite your petition; if for the divine vision, say as follows:*[2]) that I may be able to progress in this most sacred art, so that I might be worthy to achieve the vision of your face, O God eternal, through the virtue of your most Holy Spirit and of your name. And you, who are are my God, who in the beginning created the heaven and the earth, and all things out of nothing, who through your holy Spirit you restore, fill, and renew all things, heal my soul, that I may glorify you through all my thought, and words, and deeds. O God the Father, strengthen my oration, and increase both my comprehension and my memory, for undertaking your

2. This phrase is S4.

blessed vision while my mortal body is yet living, and for learning the most high and eternal, facing your essence, you who live and reign through the infinite ages of the ages. Amen.

Oratio decima

45 Helysemath . hasaram . hemel . | saduch . theou [*theon][2].

[33r] heloy . zamaram . zoma . iecromaym . theos . | deus . pie . et fortis hamathamal . iecronama-| yhala . zanay . hacronaaz . zay . colnaphan . sa-| lmazaiz . ayhal . gemelam . haymasa . ramay . | genzi . zamath . helyemath . semay . selmar . ie-| crosamay . iachar [*iachat][7] . lemar . [harana .][8] harnany [*hamany][9] . memothe-| math . hemelamp . and thow holy father almi-| ghte and incomperhensyble god in all thy | workes which are holy iuste and good . mag-| alhamethor [*megalhamethor][11] . semassaer . zamachamar [*zamathamar][12] . . geogr-| emay [*geogremai][13] . megus . monorail . hamezeaza . hillebata . | maraama . iehenas . iehemia . malamay [*malamai][14] . seph-| ormay . zemonoma . melas . hemay . hemesna [*hemesua][15] . | iecormay . lemesey . senosecari . [zemaher .][16] heltamay [*helcamay][17] . calion . | tharathos [tronios . nebay . tharathos][18] . vsyon . geysethon [*gezsethon][19] . semyna . themas [*seminathemas][20] . | zezehas . thaman [*thamam][21] . helomany . hamel. amen.

[XVI.] Oration 10.

Helysemath + **hazaram**[1] + **hemel** + **saduch** + **theon** + **heloy** + **zamaram** + **zoma** + **ietromaym** + **theos** + *Deus pie et fortis* **hamathamal** + **ietronamayhala** + **zanay** + **hacronaaz** + **zay** + **colnaphan** + **salmazaiz** + **ayhal .** **gemelam** + **geromelam** + **haymasa** + **ramay** + **genzi** + **zamath** + **heliemath** + **semay** + **selmar** + **iecrosamay** + **iachat** + **lemar** + **harana** + **hamany** + **memothemath** + **hemelamp** + and thou, holy Father, almighty and incomprehensible God, in all thy works which are holy, just, and good + **megalhamethor** + **semassaer** + **zamathamar** + **geogremai** + **megus** + **monorail** + **hamezeaza** + **hillebata** + **maraama** + **iehenas** + **iehemia** + **malamai** + **sephormay** + **zemonoma** + **melas** + **hemay** + **hemesua** + **iecormay** + **lemesey** + **senosecari** + **zemaher** + **helcamay** + **calion** + **tharathos** + **tronios** + **nebay** + **tharathos** + **vsyon** + **gezsethon** + **seminathemas** + **zezehas** + **thamam** +

1. Corrected per

2. Corrected per

7. Corrected per iachat; S5: Iatha

8. Omitted in R, found in S5.

9. Corrected per

11-12. Correcte

13-14. Correcte GH.

15. S5 has "hem corrected to "he

16. In S5.

17. Corrected pe

18. In S5.

19. Corrected pe

20. Corrected pe GH: semynathe

21. Corrected pe

helomany + hamel.
Amen.

Oratio 11a

46 Theos uel Itheos . megale . | patir . y-| mos . hebrel . habobel . hecoy . haley . helyhot . hety . | hebiot . letiel . iezey . sadam . saloseey . salatyal . | salatelly . samel . sadamiel . saday . helgyon . hellyel . | lemegos . micron . megos . myheon . legmes . muthon .

[33v]
michoyn . heel . hesely . iecor . granal . sem-| hel . semozhat . semeliha . samay . geth . gehel . | rasahanay . gelgemona . semana . harasynuhon . | salepatir . selapati . ragion . saletha . thurigium . | hepatir . vsion . hatamas . hotanas . harayn . |

[XVII.] Oration 11.[1]

Theos + megale + patir + ymos + hebrel + habobel + hecoy + haley + helyhot + hety + *hebeot + letiel + iezey + sadam + *salaseey + salatial + salatelli + samel + sadamiel + saday + helgyon + helliel + lemegos + mitron + megos + myheon + legmes + muthon + *michohyn + heel + hesely + iecor + *graual + semhel + semobzhat + semeltha + samay + geth + gehel + rasahanay + gelgemana + semana + *harasymihon + salepatir + selapati + ragion + saletha + thurigium + hepatir + vsion + hatamas + hetanas + harayn.

1. Cf. Ars Not. 1 de la version B, 149. Corrected f GH.

47 O allmighty and euerlastinge god the father, the | sonne and the holy goste * adonay * the lighte of | the worlde the geuer and inestimable disposer of all | wisdome and of all spirytuall grace knowinge all | thinges before thei be donne makinge bothe lighte | and darkenes putt forth thy hande and touche | bothe my soule and body and make it cleane as | a new scowred swerde. */*/*/*/*/* hic recita tuã | petitionem sed si sit pro visione diuina dic vt sequitur: | That I may se thy deyte and make it as a chosen | shafte or as a whete kernil to beholde thy glorio-| us face, and send thy holy sprite o lorde in to my | hart and in to my soulle to receue thy gyfte, to | purche and clense my consyence to beholde thy | deuyne mageste by the promes that thow haste | made that is to say by thy right hande of thy gode-| ly forknoledge and infunde or power thy grace

[34r]
moste mercyfully and moste gentely into me and |

[XVIII.][1]

O almighty and everlasting God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Adonay, the light of the world, the giver and inestimable disposer of all wisdom and of all spiritual grace, knowing all things before they be done, making both light and darkness.

Put forth thy hand, and touch both my soul and body, and make it clean as a new scoured sword.[2]

(*Here recite your petition; if it is for the divine vision, say as follows:*)

That I may see thy deity, and make it as a chosen shaft or as a wheat kernel, to behold thy glorious face, and send thy Holy

1. Cf. *Ars Not.* 1

2. Cp. Isaiah 49

For the Divine v

teche and instruct me and renew all my sences and | teche me claryfye and purche me and correcke me | acordinge to thy moste godely dissyplyne euen vnto | my lyues ende. */*/*/*/*/* hic dic tuã petitionem | sed si laboras pro visione diuina tunc dic vt sequitur. | Ande helpe me w^{t} thy godely councell that i may se | thy deuyne maieste face to face through thy infin-| ite greate mercy and goodnes. amen. */*/*/* hic | si vis laborare ad habendum aliquã scientiã vel ad cõs-| ecrãdum librum vel adiuuandum spiritum tunc mutabis pe-| ticionem orationis predicte ita dicens */*/*/*/*/* | put forth thy hande and touche my mouthe and | make it as a sharpe swerde to pronounce these holy | wordes and make my tunge like a chosen shafte | to pronounce and tell owt thy meruelles and w-| onders and also to retayne them in my memory. |

Spirit, O Lord, into my heart and into my soul, to receive thy gift, to purge and cleanse my conscience, to behold thy divine majesty, by the promise that thow hast made, that is to say by thy right hand of thy godly foreknowledge, and infunde or pour thy grace most mercifully and most gently into me, and teach and instruct me, and renew all my senses, and teach me. Clarify and purge me, and correct me according to thy most godly disipline, even unto my life's end.

(Here recite your petition; if it is for the divine vision, say as follows:)

And help me with thy godly council, that I may see thy divine majesty face to face, through thy infinite great mercy and goodness. Amen.

Si laboras pro sciencia tunc dic vt iam monstraui | sed pro cõsecratione libri dic vt sequitur. */*/*/* | put forth thy hande and touche my mouthe and ma-| ke it lyke a scharpe swerde to consecrate and | sanctefy thes as well deedes as wordes and make | them euen as a chosen shafte to confirme the treuthe of all thy wonders and to pronounce the and

[34v]

to obtayne them at my pleasure. */*/*/* | Sed pro inuocatione spirituum dic vt sequitur */*/*/* put for-| th thy hande and touche my mouthe and make it lyke | a sharpe sworde to declare and speke forthe aswell | wordes as deedes as other thinges to constrayne an-| d compell to cum and to answere to stande and to | go away suche sprytes * N * unto me * N * the sune of | suche a man * N * to shew me the maruels of thy | holy power and to speke vnto me and to be subiecte | unto me. */*/*/*/*/* And yf thow wilte aske | for any other thinge then is afore mentyoned then | alway alter and change thy petycyon accordinge | to thy entente and purpose. and not onlie in the for-| esayde prayers, but in all the other prayers folouinge.

[XIX]

For knowledge.

Consecration of Sworn Book.

Invocation of sp

(If you wish to work towards obtaining some knowledge, or for the consecration of the book, or for the help of a spirit, then alter the petition in the oration preceding, thus saying.)

Put forth thy hand and touch my mouth, and make it as a sharp sword, to pronounce these holy words, and make my tongue like a chosen shaft to pronounce and tell out thy marvels and wonders, and also to retain them in my memory.

(If you are endeavoring for knowledge, then say as I have shown here, but if for the consecration of the book, say as follows.)

Put forth thy hand and touch my mouth and make it like a sharp sword, to consecrate and sanctify these as well deeds as words, and make them even as a chosen shaft, to confirm the truth of all thy wonders, and to pronounce them and to obtain them at my pleasure.

(if for the invocation of spirits, say as follows.)

Put forth thy hand and touch my mouth, and make it like a sharp sword, to declare and speak forth as well words as deeds as other things, to constrain and compel to come and to answer, to stand, and to go away, such spirits * N *, unto me * N *, the son of such a man * N *, to shew me the marvels of thy holy power, and to speak unto me, and to be subject unto me.

(And if thou wilt ask for any other thing than is aforementioned, then always alter and change thy petition according to thy intent and purpose. And not only in the foresaid prayers, but in all the other prayers following.)

48 Assaylemaht uel As-| sailamath

rasay semaht azahat | araaht lameth hazab-| at hamat hamae gesem-| on grephemyon zelamye hazatha hamatha hazar-| emehal hazanebal helial zebial seziol semyhor ha-| missiton fintiugon tintiugethe hamissirion sebarnay | halmoth alymyon gemail halimot sadail hehomail neo-| mail cristos thiothot sepha taphamal paphalios sicromemior | laupdau laupta iothileta lazahemor iemeamor

[35r]

. letahemor . saromegall . haemor . giseleccor . giheler-| athon . glereleon . gamasgay . semagar . semalgay . semasg-| yy . balna . atheton . iesamahel . gegemahelay . hala . hela . | iemay . semethay . may . semnay . geles . syney . iolehelney . | iesmar . samennay . bariaccoca . cariactera . tharietha . soc-| almata . getymay . socalma . socagamal . helgezamay . | balma . hailos . halos . zaynos . ienenegal . sarimalip . | sacramalaip . tamygell . thamal . sathabynhel . sathab-| mal . samal . maga . samalanga . saminaga . satalmagu . | silymal . salmana . sagnaht . silymythu . semalsay . gahit . | galiht . gezamanay . sabal . zegahaton . zehanphaton . | iezamycrathon . iecnaphaton . iezemo . iezelem . ios-| elimen . hatanathos . hathanathay . semaht . zemehet . | iezorahel . chetorab . helgezorabal . craton . hariobal . ha-| riagal . hanagai . hariagil . parithomegos . samaziel . si-| mazihel . leosemaht . leosamaty .

[XX] Oration 12.[1]

1. Cf. *Ars Not.* 1

Corrected per S.

Assaylemaht. rasay. semaht. azahat. haraaht. lameth. hazabat. hamat. hamae. gesemon. grephemyon. zelamye. relamye. hazatha. hamatha. hazaremehal. hazanebal. helial. zebial. seziol. semyhor. hamissiton. fintiugon. tintiugethe. hamissirion. sebarnay. halmoht. alymyon. gemail. halmiot. sadail. hehomail. neomail. Cristos. thiothot. sepha. taphamal. paphalios. sicrogramon. laupdau. laupta. iothim. iothileta. lazahemor. iemeamor. lotahemor. fitcomegal. haemor. giselector. gilzelerethon. glereleon. gamasgay. semagar. semalgay. semasgyy. balua. arethon. iesamahel. gegemahelay. hala.

thenuathol . genynatol . | gemizacol . hebalthe . halabee . hamysschon . seban-| ay . halmye . gemail . sadail . neomahil . cristolepha . cap-| hanial . hazaron . gezamel . haymal . haihala . sememay . | geliesmoy . thanccha . gemiazay . zohanphaton . iele-| samen . hathanathay . gemaht . iesomabel . haynosiel . | halabethen . iabaioge . halabeht . ebalohe . myphos . | phabos . phelior . phobos . ydolmassay . predolmass-| ay . pholior . negioggen . neginather . pharamnee . phar -| anhe . stomicopten . sohomythepoten . hymaliassenon . | ymiamos . manyhas . geromay . yemay . ierathay-

[35v]

azai . passamaht . thon . beht . bon . sathamac . hagy-| nol . naragal . semozihot . nerothinay . ragnathi . | ranal . ragnali . ragahal . hagmal . hagamal . sagomossyn . | fagemesym . domogetha . theomegen . theromagen . salma-| tha . salamaht . zalamatha . hon . bolon . lialon . sephezium . | sapinon . saphiamon . hamon . harion . vsyon . gemessyon . | sepha . phalymyt . sebanay . hamyssithon . thnitingren . | harcon . rogonbon . vsyon . amen. */*/*/*/*/*/*

hela. iemay.
semethay. may.
semnay. geles. syney.
iolehemey. iesmar.
samennay. bariactoca.
cariactera.
tharihetha. socalmata.
getimay. socalma.
socagamal.
helgezamay. balma.
hailoso halos. zaynos.
ienenegal. sarimalip.
sarmalaip.
sacramalaip. tamygel.
thamahel.
sathabynhel.
sathabinal. samal.
maga. samalanga.
saminaga. satalmagu.
silimal. salmana.
saguaht. silimythu.
semalsay. gahit.
galiht. gezamannay.
sabal. zegahathon.
zahanphaton.
iezanycrathon.
ietuaphaton. iezemo.
iezelem. ioselimen.
hatanathos.
hathanathay. semaht.
zemehet. iezorahel.
checorab. Hel.
gerozabal. craton.
hariabal. hariagal.
hanagai. hariagil.
parithomegos.
samazihel. simazihel.
leosemmaht.
leosamaty.
themiathol. genynatol.
gemizacol. hebalthe.
halabee. hamisschon.
sebanay. halmye.
gemail. sadail.
neomahil. cristolepha.
caphanial. hazaron.
gezamel. haymal.
hayhala. sememay.
gehesmoy. thariattha.
gemiazai.
zohanphaton.
ielesamen.
hatanathay. gemaht.
iesomabel. haynosiel.
halabethen. iabaioge.
halabeht. ebalohe.|1h-
nyphos. phabos.
phelior. phobos.
ydolmassay.
predolmassay.
pholihor. negioggen.

neginather.
pharampnee.
pharanehe.
scomicopoten.
sohomychepoten.
hymaliassenon.
ymiamos. manyahas.
geromay. iemay.
ietathama-zai.
passamaht. Theon.
beht. bon. sathamat|1i
- hagynol. naragal.
semozihot.
nerothinay. raguathi.
raguali. ranal.
ragahal. hagmal.
hagamal. fagomossyn.
fagemesym.
domogentha.
theomogen.
theromogen.
salmatha. salamaht.
zalamatha. Hon.
bolon. halon.
sephezimu. sapynon.
saphiamon. hamon.
harion. usion.
gemession. sepha.
phalymyt. sebanay.
hamyssithon.
thyutyugren. hactou.
rogoubon. lon. usion.
Amen.

49 Hazailzemaht | uel Hasaylemath . | lemaht . azac . gessemon . thelamoht . hazab . habatal . hae-| bal . sezior . sicromagal . gigoro . mogal . gielotheon . sama-| goy . haphiles . pamphilos . sicragalmon . lanpda . iothun . | halnal . hailos . halna . genenogal . samanlay . tacayhel . | thamiel . secalmana . hoesemolas . hesemelaht . gesatham . | cethal . stilmon . saibaiol . semalsay . crathon . hanagnil . | panconuegos . tyngeny . hamyssitoy . sebarnay . hassin-| ilop . thenaly . soday . henaly . halaco . meahil . crihicos . | sepha . caphanal . hazaron . tezamahal . haila . saraumay . | gelior . synoy . bariachacha . gehemizay . ietrafagon . | legelyme . hathamathay . senac . gromyazay . sothal . ma-| gaal . iemazai . zehemphagon . hasihezamay . legelime .

[36r]

hacama . ieizobol . ierozabal . symalyel . seymaly . seihel . | leosamaht . gemyhacal . halabre . cyophagros .

[XXI. Oration 13.][1]

Hazailemaht. lemaht. azat. gessemon. thelamoht. hazab. halatal. haebal. sezior. sicromagal. gigoro. mogal. gielocheon. samagoy. (2) haphiles. pamphilos. sicragalmon. laupda. iothim. haiual. hailos. halua. geneuogal. samanlay. tacayhelthamyel. secalmana. (3) hesemolas. hesomelaht. gethasam. cethalsam. scilmon. saibaiol. semalsay. crathon. hanaguil. pancomnegos. tyngeny. hamissitoy.

1. Corrected per GH.

theos . phab-| os . ycolmazay . negen . pharamepht . nehihahon . sehon . | gethorem . nehehom . helisemaht . saratihai . ierasiai . hyn-| aliha . sememamos . gezamay . iecremai . passamaht . | thagail . hagamal . fagamesy . fagamesym . themegoman . | zemegamary . salamatha . salamothono . bon . lon . sep-| izihon . harion . vsyon . semession . tegon. amen. */*/*/*

(4) sebarnay. hassimilop. thenaly. soday. henaly. halaco. meahil. crihicos. sepha. caphaual. hazaron. cezamahal. haila. saramnay. gelior. synoy. bariachacha. (5) gehemyzai. iecrafagon. legelyme. hathamathay. senac. gromyhazay. sothal. magaal. iemazay. zehemphagon. hasihezamay. legelime. hacama. ieizobol. (6) ierozabal. symaliel. seymaly. seihel. leosamaht. gemyhacal. halabre. cyhophagros. Theos. phabos. ycolmazai. negen. (7) pharameht. nehihahon. sehon. gethorem. nehehom. helisemaht. saratihai. ierafiai. hynaliha. sememanos. gezamai. iecremai. (8) passamaht. thagail. hagamal. fagamesy. fagamesym. themegoman. zemegamary. salamatha. salomothono. bon. lon. sepizihon. harion. usyon. semession. tegon. Amen.

50 lemaht uel Lenthath . | sebanthe . helitihay . gozogam . romasim . hegeto . | gozimal . exiophiam . sorathim . salathaam . besapha . sap-| hrez . samiht . sanaioho . phetaloym . harissim . genges . | lethos. amen. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

[XXII. Oration 14.][1]

Lemaht. sebanthe. helitihay. gozogam. romasim. hegetti. gozimal. exiophiam. sorathim. salathaam. besapha. saphiez. haculam. samiht. senaiho. phethaloym. harissim. genges. lethos. Amen.

1. Corrected per GH.

51 Lameht uel Lameth . | lenat . lemahat . semaht . selmahat . helmam . helymam . | helmamy . zezecca . zezegta . gezegatha . zozagam . | remasym . themare . masym . ieranyhel . phnerezo . | gamyhal .

[XXIII. Oration 15.][1]

Lameht. lenat. lemahat. semaht. selmahat. helmay.

1. Corrected per GH.

zetogamyaal . hezetogamyal . heziephi-| at . hozoperbiar . iosacchin . iosathin . iosany . gosamyn . | salaht . salatoham . salatehen . salatabel . henehenbem . | habena . henbezepha . bosephar . thamar . sahalat .

[36v]

hafar . tycmar . thimas . tirimar . namor . semyhot . semo-| hit . zemyhot . semohit . zemyhot . semoiz . lemdihon . lem-| ahat . phetalon . hamiht . phetalonamie . zomize . zamiht . | prihici . philei . haphin . gergeon . gergohen . ierthon . lothios . | lothos . semyhot . lemahat . semohit . lemaiho . phetalon . hamye . | hamyphyn . pethio . gergion . lecton . iergohen . thothios . lecco-| s . amen.

helymam. helmamy. zezetta. zezegta. gezegatha. zozogam. remasym. themaremasym. ieranyhel. phuerezo. gamyhal. zecegomyhal. hezetogamyhal. (2) heziephiat. hozoperbiar. iosaithyn. iosathyn. iosany. gosamyn. salaht. salatoham. salatehen. salatambel. hen. henbem. habena. henlezepha. bosephar. thamar. sahaletromar. (3) hafartitmar. thimas. tirimar. namor. semyhot. semohit. zemyhot. semoiz. lemdihon. lemahat. phethalon. hamiht. phethalonamie. zomye. zamiht. prihiti. philei. haphyn. gergeon. gergohen. (4) ierthon. lothios. lothos. semyhot. lemahat. zemohit. lemaiho. phetalon. hamye. hamyphyn. pethio. gergion. lecton. iergohen. thothios. lectos.. Amen.

52 o most highe and inuisible god . theos . patir . | behemnos . lehemuyos . behenny . we b-| esiche the ymos . by thy most hooly angells which are | michael . which is as miche to say as the medicyne of | god . raphael . the strengthe of god . gabryel . burni~ge . & | seraphin . helyphamassay . cherubin . ielomiuctos . gada-| bany . zedabanay . gederanay . saramany . lomtecy . loccosi . | gerohanathon . zahamany . lomyht . gedanabasy . serema-| nay . henlothant . henloramyht . samanazay . | gedebandi . ffullnes, of syence . cherubyn . and seraphin . | we most humbly besiche yow and the iesus christ by | all thy holy and glorious angells whose names are | blessyd of god which ought nott to be spoken of vs | which be these . deihel . dehel . depymo . dewhel . excludo . | depymon . helynon . exmogon . paryneos . exmegan . | pheleneos . nanagen . hosiel . oragon . garbona . rathion . | monyham . megonhamos .

[XXIV. Oration 16.[1]]

O God, the most high, invisible God. **Theos. Patir. behemnos. lehernnyos. behenny.** We ask you, Ymos, through your most holy angels, who are **Michael**, i.e. the medicine of God, **Raphael**, the Strength of God, Gabriel, burning, (2) and Seraphim: **helipha. massay.** Cherubim: **ielomynctos. gadabany. zedabanay. gederanay. saramany. lomtety. loctosy. gerohanathon. zahamany. lomyht. gedanabasy. setemanay. seremanay. henlothant. helomyht. henboramyht. samanazay. gedebaudi.** (3) [From] the fullness of the knowledge, we humbly as you cherubim and seraphim, and you, O Jesus Christ, through all your saints and glorious [arch]angels, the names of which are consecrated by God, which must not be spoken by us, which are these: (4) **Deihel. Dehel. Depymo. Dein. Hel. Exluso. Depymon. Helynon. Exmogon. Parineos. Exmegan. Pheleneos. Nauagen. Hosyel. Dragon. Garbona. Rathion.**

1. Corrected per GH.

Monyham. Megonhamos.

53 I beseche the o my lorde lyghten and pourge my | soule and my conscyence with the brightnes

[37r]

of thy light illumyn and confyrme my under-| standinge with the oder of the switenes of thy holy sprite.| Hic recita peticionem sed si sit per visione deitatis tunc dic vt | sequitur.) that I may obtayne to se the gloryous visyõ | which now I desyer to se. garnishe my soule o lorde that I | may se thy face and here thy glory and prayse reforme | my harte o lorde and renew my sensys and geue me | a good memorye to beholde the blessed vision of thy | face temper most gentyll lorde bothe my soule and | tonge to haue that glorious visyõ by thy glorious and | ineffable names thow which arte the fowntayn and | begininge of all goodenes and godelynes suffer me | o lorde and geue me grace and a good memorye that I may | obtayn the blissed visyon which I haue desy-| red of the in this godely prayer. Hic rursus incipe. |

Thow lorde which dost nott by and by cond-| empne the sinner but thorow | the mrrcy doest abyde his repentance, i onworthy syn-| ner doo be siche the o lorde that thow wilte wype aw-| ay all my synns and wickednes and utterly quenche | in me all instigatyons. Hic recita tuã petitionem sed per | deitate dic sequitr: that i may be made mete o lorde | thorow this petycyon to obtayne the sight of thy diuy-| ne maiste by the vertu and power of thy holy angells | and archangells of whome i spake before thorow thy | gloryous maiestye thow which arte one allmyghty | and euerlastinge god to whome be prayse and honor | for euer. amen.

[XXV.]

I beseech thee, O my Lord, lighten and purge my soul and my conscience with the brightness of thy light. Illumine and confirme my understanding with the odor of the sweetness of thy Holy Spirit.

(*Here recite the petition, if for the vision of the Deity, say as follows.*) that I may obtain to see the glorious vision which now I desire to see. Garnish my soul, O Lord, that I may see thy face and hear thy glory and praise. Reform my heart, O Lord, and renew my senses, and give me a good memory to behold the blessed vision of thy face. Temper most gentle Lord both my soul and tongue to have that glorious vision by thy glorious and ineffable names, thou which art the fountain and beginning of all goodness and godliness. Suffer me, O Lord, and give me grace and a good memory, that I may obtain the blessed vision which I have desired of thee in this godly prayer. (*Here repeat the beginning*).

Thou, Lord, which dost not by and by condemn the sinner but through the mercy dost abide his repentance, I, unworthy sinner, do beseech thee, O Lord, that thou wilt wipe away all my sins and wickedness, and utterly quench in me all instigations. (*Here recite the petition, if for the vision of the Deity, say as follows.*

[37v]

Oratio 17.

56 O Iesu the sonne of the incomprhensible god | hancor hanacor hamylos iehorna | theodonos heliothos phagor corphandonos nori-| zane corithico hanosae helsezope phagora.

[XXVI.] Oration 17.

O Jesus, the son of the incomprehensible God, **hancor. hanacor. hanylos. iehorna. theodonos. helyothos. heliotheos. phagor. corphandonos. norizaue. corithico. hanosae. helsezope. phagora.**

57 Eleminator candones helos he-| lee resphaga thepha-| gayn thetendyn thah-| onos micemya hehortahonas nelos behebos be-| lhores hacaphagan belehothol ortophagon corpha-| ndonos / borne in the shape of a man for vs sinners | and yow holy angells heliothos phagnoraherken | and teche me and gouerne me. Hic dic peticionem | tuã sed per visione diuina dic vt sequitr. that i may | come to obtayne the visyõ of the deyte thorow the | glorious and moste gentle and moste almighte | creator oure lyuyng lorde holy infinite godely and | euerlastinge to whome be prayse honor and glory-| e worlde withowt ende. amen.

[XXVII.] Oration.

Eleminator. candones. helos. helee. resphaga. thephagayn. thetendyn. thahonos. Ulcemya. heortahonos. uelos. behebos. belhores. hacaphagan. belehothol. ortophagon. corphandonos. born in the shape of a man for us sinners, and you holy angels **Heliothos. phagnora** [sacred angels] teach me and govern me. *(Here recite your petition -- if for the Divine vision, say as follows:)* that I may come to obtain the vision of the Deity through the glorious and most gentle and most almighty creator, our living Lord, holy, infinite, godly, and everlasting, to whom be praise, honor, and glory, world without end. Amen.

58 Lameth . ragna . ragahel . ragia . ra-| giomab . hagnaht . hagno-| lam . exaccodan . hanthono-| mos . hethaeneho . hemones . iothe . lothesezatha . | sazaratha . hensazatha . serail . marab . minathil . m-| arathal . mairathal . brihamocon . thahamathon . le-| prodoz . lephoris . leprehoc . lephons . hesacro . hesa-| crohen . corquenal . choremal . gnoyoemel . validiol .

[38r]

salail . salaiz . salaior . halaiz . salquihel . gessydomy . | gessenazi . iessonay . hazoroz . hazarob . tharhal .bo-| styhal . hamol . hamalamyn. amen.

[XXVIII.] Oration [18].[1]

1. S3 adds: "Ista debet dici quotie quater / þ[e] fyrst the mone." (Thi must be said fou daily / the first c the Moon.) Cp. 34.

Lameht. ragua. ragahel. ragia. ragiomab. hagnaht. hoguolam. exactodan. heractodam. hanthonomos. hethaeneho. hemones. iothe. lothensezaiha. sazaratha. hensazatha. serail. marab. mynathil. marathal. mairathal. brihamocon. thahamathon. leprodoz. lephoris. leprohoc. lephorijs. hesacro: hesacohen. corquenal. choremal. guoyemal. ualiaiol. salail. salaiz. salaior. halaiz. salquihel. gessidomy. gesseuazi. iessonay. hazoroz. hazarob. tharahal. bostihal. hamol. hamalamyn. Amen.

R. has some wo margin, but they mostly illegible. (?)... Sem... Lan 3[o] ..." There is a drawing of a ha

59 semeht uel semeth . | seghehalt . ragnaht . reloymal . haguliaz . exhator . ha-| nthomos . lezen . saccail . marab . briamathon . leph-| ez . hiesacco . themay . salaihel . agessomagy . arotha-| tamal .

[XXIX. Oration 19.][1]

Semeht. seghehalt. raguaht. reloymal. haguliaz. exhator. hanthomos. lezen. saccail. marab. brihamathon.

1. Corrected per GH.

lephez. hiefacto. themay. salaihel. agessomay. arathotamal.

60O Incommutable god which in menorye art irr-| eperhensible whose wisdome can not be spok-| en agaynst the angell of the euerlastinge cownsell | may this day embrace my harte in his right han-| d and may fill my conscyence w^{t} the remembrav-| nce of the and the oder of thy oyntementes and | the switenes of thy grace may furnisch my my-| nde with the brightenes and clernes of thy holy | spryte with the which thy angells o lorde with all | the powers of heauen do desyre to beholde the | face euerlastinglye (Hic recita petitionem tuam | sed per deitate dic vt sequitr) that I may w^{t} them | most marcyfull lorde beholde the face thow wh-| ich w^{t} thy wysdome hast repayred all thinges | with thy euerlastinge blisse wherunto thow hast | restored the angells by man which was fallen w-| home thorow thy loue thou hast drawen agayn w^{t}

[38v]
thy glorye and didest voucsaffe to instrue adam | with all knoledge infforme replenishe instrue restore | correct claryfy and refreshe me that I may be a ne-| w man to understande thy commaundementes.

Recita petitionem sed per deitate dic vt sequitur.

that I may obtayne the blissed syghte of the to þ^{e} | helthe my soule and body and all faythfull people | to the honor and glorye of thy name which Is | blessed for euer. amen.

[XXX. Oration.]

O incommutable God, which in memory art irreprehensible, whose wisdom cannot be spoken against the angel of the everlasting council, may this day embrace my heart in his right hand, and may fill my conscience with the remembrance of thee, and the odor of thy ointments, and the sweetness of thy grace may furnish my mind with the brightness and clearness of thy Holy Spirit, with the which thy angels, O Lord with all the powers of heaven do desire to behold thy face everlastingly *(Here recite your petition -- if for the vision of the Deity, say as follows:)* that I may with them, most merciful Lord, behold the face, thou which with thy wisdom hast repaired all things with thy everlasting bliss, whereunto thou hast restored the angels by man which was fallen, whom through thy love thou hast drawn again with thy glory, and didst vouchsafe to instrue Adam with all knowledge, inform, replenish, instrue, restore, correct, clarify, and refresh me, that I may be a new man, to understand thy commandments. *(Here recite your petition -- if for the vision of the Deity, say as follows:)* that I may obtain the blessed sight of thee, to the health of my soul and body, and all faithful people, to the honor and glory of thy name, which is blessed forever. Amen.

61 Hazaram uel hazacam . hihel . hehelil-| em . hethelile-| m . thelihem . | hazagatha . agriraz-| cor . hizgeocir . hazahe-| imn . iesan . zezor . iesar . ysail . and yow hooly angells | whose names ar written in the booke of lyffe and | there be rehersed rasaym . boros . helsa . heremogos . my-| recagil . resaym . lemay . rasamen . lemar . themamoht . | irasym .

[XXXI. Oration 20.]

Hazaram. hihel. hehelilem. hethelilem. *theiihem. hazagatha. *agruazcor. hizguor. *liaiah. *isenesan. zezor. iesar. ysail. and you holy angels whose names are written in the Book of Life, and there be rehearsed (i.e.

* Per H4, GH.

iemamoht . themamoht . secray . soctaht . sehã . | hanathar . thansethay . helymaht . iosoihel . helimoht . | saccamaht . helymyhot . iosey . thedony . iasamaht . phar-| ene . panetheneos . phate . neynehos . haramen . theos . | hathamaym . hanataiphar . hatanazar . basiaccor . ies-| enenay . iesamana . haziactor . hamynosia . zezaman-| ay . hamos . hamynos . hiatregilos . cahegilihos . | zagnel . zacahel . amen.

recited): **, iasym. horos. helsa. heremogos. myrecagil. resaym. lemay. lemar. rasamen. lemar. themamoht. irasim. iemamoht. themamoht. secray. sotthaht. sehan. *hanamar. *thau. *sechay. helymaht. iosoihel. helymoht. *sattamaht. helymyhot. iosey. theodony. iasamaht. pharene. panetheneos. phateneynehos. haramen. Theos. hathanaym. hanataiphar. hatanazar. basiactor. *ieseuemay. iesamana. iesamanay. haziactor. hamynosia. zezamanay. hamos. hamynos. hiatregilos. cahegilihos. zaguhel. zatahel.** <Amen.>

[39r]

62 Hielma uel Hyhelyma . | helma . helymar . herina . hutanathas . hemyna . huan-| athois . helsa . hebros . hiebros . helda . hagasa . hocto-| megos . raictotagti . coicragon . myheragyn. amen.

[XXXII. Oration 21.]

Hielma. helma. *helimat. *heuina. hytanathas. hemyna. hitanathois. helsa. hebos. hiebros. helda. hagasa. hoccomegos. raitotagum. coictagon. myheragyn. <Amen.>

* Per S4, GH.

63 Conffyrme strenthen and illumune | abba . theos . behenmyhat . | hehemornhos . bethar . husurnhnut . hotarins . theos . | god the father god the soñe god the holy goste my pr-| ayer god confyrme my understoudyng and my soule | and my memorye. Recita petitionem sed per deitae | dic vt sequitr. to recene know see and beholde þ^{e} | sighte of the and thy blessed and glorious face. amen.

[XXXIII. Oratio 22.]

Confirm, strengthen, and illumine, **abba + theos + behetimyhat + hehem + ruhos + bethar + *husuruhunt + hetarius + theos +** God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, my prayer. [O] God, confirm my understanding and my soul, and my memory. *(Here recite the petition; if for the [vision of the] Deity, say as follows:)* to receive, know, see, and behold the sight of Thee, and thy blessed and glorious face. Amen.

Oratio 23

Agloros theomithos . theomiros . | shocodothos . haccisamel . | sozena . haptamygel . sozie-| nziha . hemya . geccaholzer . helyna . sothoneya . gehe-|

[XXXIV.] Oration 23.

Agloros. theomythos. themyros. sehocodothos. zehocodos. hattihamel. sozena. haptamygel. sozihenzia. hemya. gettahol. helyna. sothoneya. geherahel. halimyz. zezoray.

* Per S3, S4, S5

1. See LI.9; see S4 in marg.: De omnium, qui es meus, qui qui in principio omnia nichilo creasti, Spiritu tuo omni reformasti, com restaura, sana intellectum meu

rahel . halymyz . zezoray . gezetiz . gerehoinuhaziol . | hazaimegnos . megalos . usion . saduhe . amen.

gezetiz. gerehona. hazihal. hazai. *meguos. megalos. usyon. *saduhc. <Amen.>

[O God of all, you who are my God, who in the beginning created all out of nothing, who in your Spirit has transformed all, fill, restore, and cure my comprehension, that I may glorify you through all my thoughts, words, and deeds.][1]

glorificem te pe
opera cogitacior
verborum meor

Megal . agal . iegal . hariothos . handos . | hanathos . hanothos . lemozay . | semezai . lamezai . lethonas . iechonay . zemazphar . | zeomasphar . zeomaphar . tetragramos . thethagran-| ys . hatamar . haziamahar . zahamir . iechoiaphor . zethesaphir . gethor . saphor . halagitha . hasacapria .

[39v]

hasamypa . haragaia . hazagny . phasamar . samar . | saleht . salym . salmeht . sameht . saloht . sillezaleht . sad-| ayne . neothatir . neodamy . hadozamyr . zozena . | belymoht . hazat . helyot .

[XXXV.] Oration [24].

Megal. agal. iegal. hariothos. handos. [hanathos.] hanathoios. *hauothos. lemazai. semezai. lamezai. lethonas. iethonay. zemazphar. *zeomaspar. zeomaphar. tetragramos. thethagranys. hatammar. hazaamahar. zahamyr. iechosaphor. zethesaphir. gethor. saphor. hasagitha. hasacapha. hasamypa. haragaia. hazaguy. phasamar. samar. saleht. salym. salmeht. sameht. saloht. sillezaleht. sadayne. neothatir. neodamy. hadozamyr. zozena. belymoht. hazat. helyhot.

O

the truthe the way and the lyffe of all creatures | oryghtewos god quicken me and visit me and my | understoudinge claryfy my soule and pourge it. Recita | peticionem sed per deitate dic ut sequitr. that lyke as | thow dyddest shew unto Ihon and pawle the syght of | the when thow didest take them up in to heuen euyn | so lorde that I may whyle this my body lyueth see & | beholde thy face. amen.

[XXXVI] Oration[1]

O the truth, the way, and the life of all creatures, O righteous God, quicken me, and visit me, and my understanding, clarify my soul and purge it *(recite the petition, if for the [vision of the] Deity, say as follows:)* that like as thou didst shew unto John and Paul the sight of thee when thou didst take them up into heaven, even so, Lord, that I may while this my body liveth see and behold thy face. Amen.

1. compare Ars.

Hamicchiahel uel Hamathahol . hamsa-| hel . dai-| hyr . hayr . | hael . zedach . | hazarach . | zedaich . hazaias . lezorial . zezorias . iechori . alsem-| aya . ysamya . zama . ysa . samina . ysaray . ysameht . | ysathay . lemehyel . nehel . semehel . iemymehel . mytin-| ab . mybhahal .

[XXXVII][1]

Hamycchiahel. hamsahel. dalihir. hair. halel. zedach. hazarach. zedaizh. hazaias. lezorihal. zezorias. iechori. alsemaia. ysamyha. zama. ysa.

1. Compare Ars 54.

mychyn . mybacaiab . hamyly . mynab . halyasal . hometibymal . helymal . hymbos . zebracal . zelim-| al . iechro . samaril . zezocha . iecrosahal . melos . zalyme-| bor . zalymylos . zagahel . mychathomos . myhero-| mos . mycracosmos . nycromyhos. amen. <amen.>

samma. ysarai. ysameht. ysathay. lemyhel. nehel. semehel. iemymehel. mythynab. nybahal. mychyn. mybancaiab. hamyly. mynab. heliasal. hometibymal. helymal. hymbos. zebracal. zelimal. iechro. samaril. zezocha. iecrosahal. melos. zalimebor. zalymylos. zaguhel. mychathomos. myheromos. mycracosmos. nycromyhos. Amen.

[40r]

I wretched sinner in thy syght o lorde my god to whose | syghte all thinges are open and manyfest, in whose | hande all thinges are clene and pure pourge and clense | me o almyghte god these thinges do i speke that the error | of infydelytie and the fylthines of sine beinge taken awaye, | the good holy spryte maye helpe me and quicken me as it | dothe quicken all thinges and put away all myne incre-| dulyte and fylthynes. Recita peticionem sed per deitate | dic ut sequitur that i thought i be unworthy thorow | thy mercy with owt lett may obtayne to se thy most glo-| ryous face. amen.

[XXXVIII]

I, wretched sinner in thy sight, O Lord my God, to whose sight all things are open and manifest, in whose hand all things are clean and pure, purge and cleanse me, O almighty God. These things do I speak that the error of infidelity and the filthiness of sin being taken away, the good Holy Spirit may help me and quicken me as it doth quicken all things, and put away all mine incredulity and filthiness, *(Recite the petition. If for the vision of God, say as follows:)* that I, though I be unworthy, through thy mercy, without [fail] let me obtain to see thy most glorious face. Amen.

Semoht uel Gymath gehel . helymoht . hem-| eb . sabahel . zerothay . | zabayel . gerozay . | hebel . crosay . hamagra . hatiag-| ra . ragen . zeromay . zehez . | hezehengon . iezomay . heme-| hegon . hamagrata . cezozoy . gesommay . hesehengnon . let-| homai . halla . hathanathon . hagigel . hatamyhel . lamahy-| hel . hathomas . hecobay . zemohay . theageta . theal . | regon . hagen . iezeragal . iehalragen . geht . zeregal . hamab-| ihat . hezegon . gethage . madaaios . zadaanchyos . exhedon . | palathoros . zallachatos . thelthir . threhodios . zezoch-| thiam . palliticatos . nethi . delthis . heromodios . helmela-| zar . helyne . zazarharon . gezero . mymyhel . henthon . | hermelazar . sython . genython . hezdmyel . heymemy . | heelmelazar . cremymyel . exheruz . zorol . mochora . | rabyhel . samyb . lamely . melyon . sarabyhel . samyl . ta-| myl . samyhel. amen.

[XXXIX]

Semoth + gehel + helymoht + hemeb + sabahel + zerothay + zabahel + gerozay + hebel + crosaihamagra + hatchagra + ragen + seromay + zehez + hezehengon + iezomay + hemehegon + hamagrata + cezozoy + gesommay + hesehengnon + lethomay + halla + hathanaton + hagigel + hatamyhel + hathomas + hecohay + zemohay + theageta + theal + regon + hagem + iezeragal + zehalragem + geht + zeregal + hamabihat + hezegon + gethage + madiaaios + zadanchios + exhedon + pallathoros + zallachatos + thelthis + trehodios + zezochthiam + pallititacos +

nethi + delthis + heremodios + helmelazar + helyne + zazar + haron + gezero + mymyhel + henthon + hermelazar + sython + genithon + hezdmyel + heymemy + helmelazar + cremymyhel + exheruz + zorol + mothora + rabihel + samyb + lamely + melion + sarabihel + samyl + tamyl + samyhel. Amen.

[40v]

Allmyghty and euerlastinge god moste mercyffull father which | arte blyssed foreuer whith [sic] hast geuine unto us o eternall & | irreperhensyble god a helthfull and incommutable remedy which | for the almightynes of thy maiesty hast geuen us leaue to prayse | and glorify the and hast graunted unto us to se thy gloryous | maiestye the which is to other creatures denyed whose determ-| ynacyon cane in no wyse be altered, whose nature is eternall & | of deuyne substance with the holy trynyte which is the father | þ^e sonne and þ^e holy goste which is exalted aboue all heavens | wher the godhead and þ^e deyte dothe abyde. x. I besiche thy | maiesty o lorde and glorify thy allmighty power and þ^e mer-| velous þ^e hyghest and euerlastinge power I most lamentably | besiche þ^e o my god which arte the inestimable wysdome & | þ^e ineffable lyffe of angells þ^e incomperhensyble god in whose | syghte doo stoude þ^e multytude of angells. Recita peticione~ | tuam sed per visione diuina dic ut sequitur. that thow | wilt fforthwith graunt me thy holy visyon, and that your | wilte helpe me and geue me helthe that I may se þ^e clerenes | of thy visyon and graunt me thy pure understouding & | perseuerance in thy lawes þ^t I may be worthy to se the | face which lyuest and reynest eternally in the syghte of | all celestyall powres now and euer and euery where | worlde with owt ende. amen.

[XL.][1]

1. Cf. *Ars Not.* 6

Almighty and everlastinge God, most merciful father, which art blessed forever which hast given unto us, O eternall and irreprehensible God, a healthful and incommutable remedy, which for the almightiness of thy majesty hast given us leave to praise and glorify thee, and hast granted unto us to see thy glorious majesty, the which is to other creatures denied, whose determination can in no wise be altered, whose nature is eternal and of divine substance, with the holy Trinity which is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which is exalted above all heavens, where the godhead and the Deity doth abide. x. I beseech thy majesty O Lord, and glorify thy almighty power and the marvels, the highest and everlasting power, I most lamentably beseech thee O my God which art the inestimable wisdom and the ineffable life of angels, the incomprehensible God, in whose sight do stand the multitude of angels. *(Here recite your petition. If for the divine vision, say as follows.)* that thou wilt forthwith grant me thy holy vision, and that thou wilt help me and give me health that I may see the clearness of thy vision, and grant me thy pure understanding and perseverance in thy laws that I may be worthy to see thy face which livest and reignest eternally in the sight of all celestial powers, now and ever and everywhere, world without end. Amen.

semoht uel Lemoth: | lamen . lezahel . salmatihal . zamatihel . mahaziel . zamazi-| hal . ezeleaz . mahatioten . hezole . helzoleam . megos . hemol . | hemuoleha . methos . hazamegos . halzamyhol . alzamoy . [41r] memmamiccos . memomiccos . zely . marayhathol . zolmazath-| ol . zemeney . iemenay . lameley . zethemalo . zetheneran . labdaio . | lodeho . zabday . hoton . ladaiedon . lapdaihadon . lothanan . hizema-| zihe . izthanacihe . [iotha . uahuzuzif .] phomos . zeherem . zeheziehelmos . hie . hanath-| ie . homos . zeherem . hessymatal . hessicomalon . thehe . sihotil . magal . | hesiothil . micho . halpha . husale . omis . flum . fais . hallemassay . | alesemony . salemanasay . helemasay . zazacco . semanay . nacha-| iro . natham . gemehol . yetulmassaye . gemahol . iezemalo . magul . | gehamas . senadar . iezema . salpha . sacramagay . iehetmagay . | zehetyn . zemazadair . iehir . ramagay . geiama . salpha . gema-| ma . suphniohet . Iohabos . haymal . hamanal . thanoctomas . | Iobohe . hamynal . zanogromos . nyzozoronba . mygeroz-| oma . negero . rabaly . negora . hohalym . nytheromathum . thol-| ynthay . tolomay . loynar . tholumgay . zenolozihon . hisomomel-| yhon . samyhel . giethy . sicrozegamal . thoneihos . carmolehos . | samhel . gehiszefyhor . Iezolnohit . phicrose . gramaht . theone-| hos . carmelos . lamyhel . larmanail . gezezihor . semarnail . za-| armethihail . heliozo . thael . semail. amen.

[XLI.][1]

Semoht + lamen + lezahel + salmatihal + zamatihel + mahazihel + zamazihal + ezeleaz + mahatihoten + helzoleam + megos + hemol + hemnoleha + methos + hazamegos + halzamyhol + alzamoy + menmanittos + memomittos + zely + marayhathol + zolmazathol + zemeney + iemenay + lameley + zethemalo + zathenaran + labdaio + lodeho + zabday + hoton + ladaiedon + lapdaihadon + lothanan + hizemazihe + izthamhihe + iotha + uahuzuzif + zihanatihephomos + zeherem + zehe + ziehelmos + hiehanathihe + homos + zeherem + hessimathal + hessicomal + on + chehe + sihotil + magal + hesiothil + mycho + halpha + husale + ouus + flum + fals + hallemassay + alesemonoy + salemanasai + helemasay + zazaico + semanay + nachairo + natham + gemehol + yetulmassay + gemahol + iezemalo + magul + gehamas + senadar + iezema + salpha + secramagay + iehennagay + zehetyn + zemadazan + iehir + ramagay + geiama + salpha + gemama + suphu + ioher + iohabos + haymal + hamanal + thanoctomas + iobohe + hamynal + zanogromos +

1. Cf. *Ars Not.* [illegible]
Corrected per S[illegible]

nyzozoroba + nygerozoma + negero + rabali + negora + hohalym + nytheromathum + tho + lymchay + tolomay + loynar + tholinngay + zenolozihon + hisonomelihon + samyhel + giethy + sicrozegamal + thoneos + carmolehos + samhel + geiszefihor + iezolnohit + phicrose + gramaht + theonthos + carmelos + lamyhel + larmanail + gesezihor + semarnail + zaarmatihail + heliozo + thahel + semail. Amen.

Genealogon reealologon . tenealogo . | saphay . zazaiham . sap-| hya . zede . zemeziham . zeomonriel . sanamam . samna . gegn-| ognal . samayhel . Ieremyhel . horaciotos . hetha . siothos . sep-| haraym . henemos . genozabal . Ieremabal . hethemel . geno-| theram . genorabal . semyha . semua . mynaron . ymuathon . | [geristel . hymacton .] chalos . phabal . resaram . marachihel . naratheos . Ietrinaic-| cho . Iezibathel . sephoros . thesirara . zepharonay . hazana . | messihel . sother . haziel . semichros . chiel . hamacal . hator . zem-| othor . sanaday . morothochiel . semenos . satabis . themaay . horel . | remay . [renay .] zenel . hasa . gemol . zemelaza . Iemozihel . zemey .

[41v]

zemeihacon . zechor . helichos . semysenue . hiacon . Iechor . | meholim . hazenethon . semale . mepathon . zemolym . syst-| os . eloy . semegey . manos . helipos . hemiclopos . geys . | seray . sephet . sephamanay . heliothos . cherobalym . hassene-| thon . hisistos . domengos . Iemyrohal . samanathos . seme-| ham . behenos . megon . hanythel . Iochomeros . Ielama-| gar . remelthot . genay . domathamos . hathamir . serihon . | senon . zaralamay . zabaihon . amen.

[XLII. First Terminus][1]

Genealogon + reealologon + tenealogo + saphay + zazaiham + saphia + zede + zemoziham + zomonrihel + sanaman + samna + gegnognal + samyhel + Ieremyhel + horaciotos + hetha + siothos + sepharaym + henemos + genozabal + Ieremabal + hethemel + genotheram + genorabal + semyha + senma + mynaron + yninathon + geristel + hymacton + chalos + phabal + resaram + marachihel + naratheos + ietrinantho + Iezibathel + sephoros + thesirara + zepharonay + hazana + messihel + sother + hazihel + semicros + chiel + hamacal + hator + zemothor + sanaday + morothochiel + semenos + satabis + themay + horel + renay + zenel + hasa + gemol + zemelaza + Iemozihel + zemei + zemeihaton + zechor + helycos + semysemie + hiacon + iethor + mehohin + hazenethon + semale + mepathon + zemolym + sistos + eloy + semegey + manos + helypos + hemyclopos + geys + seray + sephet + sephamanay + helihothos + cherobalym +

1. *Lat.* "Primus terminus". This series of eight p called "termini" goals), a descrip taken over from *Notoria*, 127a.

Geolym hazenethon . ysiscos . eloy . sephey . | manay . helihotas . Ierobalym . | semalet . gonay . heliothos . domathamos . hathamyr . sery-| hon . hamynyr . senoz . magamagol . sethar . senam . magel-| hel . helymothos . helseron . zeron . phamal . Iegromos . | herymyhothon . lanthamos . heramathon . landamos . lana-| ymos . seplatihel . sephatihel . hagenalis . legenale . hegernar . | stanazihel . stancchel . hathanathos . hegrogebal . rogor . here-| mynar . henecyman . marothon . Iechar . naym . henomos . | Iezeduhos . gezconos . sabam . gortaray . helyccheym . | helestymeym . sepharma . mathar . saphar . manacham . | bezezay . samay . sephay . syamathon . balair . samamar . | hamyhel . marmamor . henemos . gegohomos . samar . sab-| ar . hamyhel . gezamahel . sacramay . Iezamathel . hama~-| samel . [hamazamoly] . geromol . Iezemon . sycromal . Iezabal . samua . | zama . hatanathos . theos . helyhene . zelym . helyhem . | hezelym . cromemon . henethemos . gegenol . hemthemos . | Iamam . harathamam . megon . megnon . cemon . strymay . |

[42r]

hethemel . hemel . sethor . helsethor . sophornay . behelthoi . sesal-| ihel . ranahel . homyhal . Iezahel . zemahel . homal . guomag-| nos . semyr . Iechor . nomemal . gehangno . genair . Iecoruame . | malihagnathos . hachamol . Iecromagnos . [magnarht . noynemal . hagnathos . hamathalis . iecoragnos .] sammazihel . | Ieconail . hesuogem . choto . mynamchanamaycha . chanaym . | raymara . senayhel . homuogenthon . lanamyhel . gehemgnor . | gemyochar . lananyhel . sezyhel . magol . samanay . haganal . me-| nya . ferymay . sarranay . lanamyhel . [gnohemgnor . gemõthar . lãmyhel .] zezihel . magnol . sam-| anay . hagamal . mena . ferymay . sarranay . lacham . lihares . | lechanagihel . nathoes . samayrlyazer . egyhel . thamazihel . | hacaros . cazaihel . hacarraz . hacacoharona . semyday . hacca . |

[XLIII. Second Terminus.][1]

Geolym + hazenethon + ysistos + eloy + sephei + manay + helyhotas + Ierobalym + semalet + gonay + heliothos + domathamos + hathamyr + seryhon + hamynyr + senoz + magamagol + sethar + senam + magel + hel + helymothos + helseron + zeron + phamal + Iegromos + herymyhothon + lanthamos + heramathon + landamos + lanaymos + seplatihel + sephatihel + hagenalis + legenale + hegernar + stanazihel + stanithel + hathanathos + hegrogebal + rogor + heremynar + henecyman + marothon + ietharnaym + henozios + Iezeduhos + gezconos + satam + gortaray + helycychcym + helestymeym + sephalzna + mathar + saphar + manatham + bezezay + samay + sephay + syhemathon + balair + samamar + hamyhel + marmamor + henemos + gegohomos + samar + sabar + hamihel + gezamahel + sacramay + iezamamel + hamansamel + hamazamoly + geromol + lezemon + sycromal + iezabal + sanma + zama + hatanathos + theos + helyhene + zelym + helyhem + hezelym + cromemon + henethemos + gegehuol + hemthemos + iamam + harathinam + megon + megnoncemon + scrymay + hethemel + hemel + sethor + helsethor + sophornay + behelthor + sesalihel + tanahel + homyhal + Iezahel + zemahel + homal + guomagnos + sennyr + iechor + nomemal + gehangno + genayr + iecorname + malihagnathos + hachamol + iecromagnos + magnarht + hassenethon + hisistos + domengos + Iemyrohal + samanathos + semeham + behenos + megon + hanythel + iechomeros + Ielamagar + remelthet + genay + domathamos + hathamyr + seryhon + senon + zaralamay + sabayhon. Amen.

1. "Secundus ter
Cf. Ars Not. 127
232-3.

chaharon . semelay . Iamye . Iazabal . lanerecabal . Iamm-| eze . thabal . coouachoros . hacoronathos . sathanael . haryham . | zachhar . harathar . haziber . zechar . hazihem . hazathar . | loenigemar . hazanather . hamegnar . semal . gehen . negemar . | hemegnol . semam . hathamanos . hatimairos . rechihamos . | hamognal . semar . temualamos . sebranay . sebemuay . byr-| nchata . Ialon . hespnhos . ramel . semal . reuilsemar . Iela-| macrom . Ielama . crimisaiber . segher . sayher . Ierolognos . | Iegemagnolon . geiemamagnosam . haminos . Iamozia . | Iozihon . Iacuhosia . hagnyhosio . Iecologos . hazeoyon . | hamynos . hamyr . matharihon . machanon . senos . helioth-| on . zenos . semear . lanar . lamar . sacronalon . gemal . secrm-| agnol . sacromehas . lamagil . sethoham . sechoiro . maihol . | socromagnol . genos . thomegen . nycheos. <amen. amen>

noynemal + hagnathos + hamathalis + iecoragnos + sammazihel + ieconail + hesuogem + chotorim + mynamtanamaytha + thanaym + raymara + senayhel + honmon + genthon + lanamyhel + gehemgnor + gemyhothar + iamnamyhel + sezihel + magol + samanay + haganal + menya + ferimay + sarranay + lanamyhel + gnohemgnor + gemonthar + lammyhel + sezihel + magnol + samanay + hagamal + mena + ferimay + sarranay + lacham + lyhares + lethanagihel + nathes + samairliazer + egihel + thamazihel + hacacaros + cazaihel + hacaraz + hacatoharona + semyday + hacca + choharon + semelay + iamye + iazabal + lauerecabal + iammeze + thabal + cumachoros + hacoronathos + sathanael + hariham + zathhar + harathar + haziler + zechar + hazihem + hazathar + loenigemar + hazanathar + hamegnar + semal + gehen + negemar + hemegnol + semam + hathamanos + latimairos + rechihamos + hamognal + semar + temnalamos + sebranay + selamnay + baructhata + ialon + hespnhos + ramel + semal + renylsemar + ielamacrom + ielama + crymyzaiber + segher + sayher + ierolognos + iegemagnolon + geiemamagnosam + hamynos + iamozia + iozihon + iacuhosia + hagnyhosio + yecologos + hazeoyon + hamynos + hamyr + matharihon + mathanon + senos + heliothon + zenos + semear + lanar + lamar + setronalon + gemal + secromagnol + secromehal + lamagil + sethoham + sechoiro + maihol + socromagnol + genos + thomegen + nycheos.

Oratio 32

[XLIV. Third Terminus.][1]

1. Compare Ars 127c.

Agenos theomogenos . theos . hatan-| athos . kirihel . ypalis . ypile .

Agenos + theomogenos + theos + hatanathos + kirihel + ypolis + ypile + karihel + cristopholis + hon + ymalihor + ymas + harethena + chenathon

kariel . cristapholis . hon . ymalihor . ymas . harethena . chena-| thon . leonbon . boho . usion . Ieromegnos . hagenoy . hisychon . | geromagol . hagyhamal . latham . zarthamal . senar . petonahal . | lacramagnal . sebar . sehan . Iezerom . genomoly . Ienomos . | Iezoro . nomeros . henahihel . gemehegate . gemyha . Iethem-| uahos . myhayhos . semana . hahel . semahel . hotheihos . hat-| azaihos . saphar . nemenomas . hoheihos . hacaz . ayhos .| caphar . nemenomos . horihos . hataz . haihos . seiha . chomo . | chomacanay . lamam . lanamyr . lamyhar . lamanazamir . le-| myar . hagramos . generamoseht . senyha . erhagel . hamagr-| on . semaharon . semyr . haramua . mamail . haramcha . moth-| ana . ramay . Ioseramaht . hanaramay . Iole . Christus . hamyri-| stos . hamyrrios . carathos . caratheos . saleht . semamary-| m . Iasol . salem . semyhamaym . hallehuma . haristeiz . | bohem . ruhos . halla . samyey . syloht . samyhel . hallenomay . | samychy . methonomos . Iechonomos . gedonomay.

+ leonbon + boho + usyon + ieromegnos + hagenoy + hysichon + geromagol + hagyhamal + latham + zarchamal + senar + peconahal + lacramagral + sehar + sehan + iezetom + genomoloy + genomos + iezoro + nomeros + henahihel + gemehagate + gemyha + iethenmahos + myhayhos + semana + hahel + semahel + hoteihos + hatazaihos + saphar + nemenomos + hoheihos + hataz + ayhos + caphar + nemenomos + horihos + hataz + haihos + seiha + chomo + chomothanay + lamam + lamnamyr + lamyhar + lamanazamyr + lemyar + hagramos + generamoseht + senyha + exagal + hamagron + semaharon + semyr + harauma + mamail + haramcha + mothana + ramay + iose + ramaht + hanaramay + iole + Christus + hamyristos + hamirrios + tharathos + caratheos + saleht + semamarim + iasol + salem + semyhamaym + hallehuma + haristeiz + bohem + ruhos + halla + samyey + syloht + samyhel + hallenomay + samychi + methonomos + iethonomos + gedonomay.

Genathores sanamathocos . gn-| anatores . zanothor-| os . genomos . Ienazar . samua . marathos . senather . sema-| cheher . senachar . gernb . Iamam . exihel . chnblaman . hesihel . | sethei . semylihel . zomyhel . genocomel . chanyham . machar . | hachay . hazanathay . theos hamanatar . hazanechar . | chetonay . chiathar . theohon . namacar . senuales . samyha . | hesaca . semaly . hesamem . semyhahes . sarcihate . nazihatel . | hanazihatel . hasilihatel . pamilihel . hazilihatel . hagenerõ . | hagenorem . hagenorozom . samaht . samoht . habitumaht . hendon . habysanhat . tyngehen . crogohem . hazamgeri . | hazamguhem . lemohot . hasomgeri . Iomoyhot . semiha .

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riahaccon . semymarithaton . semynar . zihoton . zagnam . | horay . honethe . hoparathos . nabramala . rothos . hazata . | helralathos . horecha . horalathos .

1. See Ars. Not.

[XLV. Fourth Terminus.][1]

Genathores + sanamathotos + gnanatores + zanothoros + genomos + ienazar + seuma + marathos + senather + sematheher + senachar + gerub + iamam + exihel + chublalaman + hesihel + sethei + semylihel + zomyhel + genocomel + thanyham + machar + hachay + hazanathay + theos + hamanatar + hazanethar + theconay + chiathar + theohon + namacar + senuales + samyha + hesaca + semaly + hesamen + semyhahes + sarcihate + nazihatel + hanaziathachel + hasilihacel + pamylihel + haziliatel + hagenoron + hagenorem + hagenorozom + samaht + samoht + habisumaht + hendon

[horetha . horalothos .] harab . lethos . geno . zab-| ahal . lemaht . hazocha . lema . talmay . halmay . Iemalis . seco-| mathal . harmarlemaht . sethemaesal . rabasadail . semuazliel . | lechom . hagyhal . legos . patis . Iethomagihal . genomythoo . | samyhas . Ienemeros . samma . zasamar . hazamyha . hasa-| ymam . chagnoro . landethe . pharon . thagromothon . landot-| hes . pharen . decarpe . medyhos . decapochen . duhomelath-| us . decaponde . dyhamelathos . semyharicht . samyhan . | genathely . zazamar . myremoht . satharios . geuolyam . | sacrehos . saphorenam . saphoro . megon . hassahamynel . | hazaa . myrahel . gerizo . Ieristo . symychos . hothos . hy-| mycros . otheos.

+ habysanahat + tyngehen + cragohen + hazamgeri + hazamaguhem + lemehot + hasomgeri + iomoyhot + semiha + riahacton + semymarithaton + semynar + zihoton + zagnam + horay + honethe + hoparathos + nahamala + rochos + hazata + helralacos + horetha + horalacos + horetha + horalothos + haralo + lethos + geno + zabahal + lemaht + hazocha + lematalmay + halmay + iemalis + secomathal + harmarlemaht + sethemaesal + rabasadail + semnazliel + lethom + hagihal + legos + patis + iethomagihal + genomythos + samayhas + ienemeros + samma + zasamar + hazamyha + hasaymam + thagnoro + bandethepharon + thagromathon + landothes + pharen + decarpe + medyhos + decapochen + duhomelathus + decaponde + dihamelathos + semyhariht + samyhan + genathely + zazamar + myremoht + satharios + gemiliam + sacrehos + saphorenam + saphoro + megon + hassahamynel + hazaa + myrahel + gerizo + ieristosymythos + hothos + hymicros + otheos.

Sematby uel Senrathy

motheham . sema . th -| iotheos . hesapope . | hesaphopanos . gra-| myhel . garamanas . sapho-| moron . gelbaray . Ieblaray . | hetidyham . henzan . hezidiham . canazpharis . hanathe -| sion . canast . phasis . holithos . hosschyhon . samatihel . ram-| aihel . semiramoht . sathanos . gecabal . hostosion . lemelih-| am . saphara . negon . zaramyhel . geriston . zimphoros . | hocho . hadalomob . nagem . nagenay . megos . maymogos . | semazihar . helaph . herlo . holopherno . lopheo . hornob-| ahoceo . nydeht . herihegil . rognohon . nydocricib . negal . | neguabel . momoht . hemel . gemoht . sagnanar . clarapalos . | zenozmyhel . Iesagat . geuoz . hamel . guara . maziel . | gerathar . sathamyanos . sahamuham . guamazihel . mac-

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helaglilos . geraguaht . sathamyham . huriel . phaloma-| gos . phalomgros . Iotho . megon . saraht . saaysac . hor -| amylichos . carmelychos . hezaladuha . hezelam . hisi

1. Cp. Ars Not.

[XLVI. Fifth Terminus.[1]]

Sematby + motheham + semathyotheos + hesapopa + hesaphopanos + gramyhel + garamanas + saphomoron + gelbaray + ieblaray + hetidiham + henzan + hezidiham + canazpharis + hanthesion + canastphasis + holithos + hosschihon + samatihel + ramaihel + semiramoht + sathanos + gecabal + hostosion + lemeliham + saphara + negon + zaramyhel + zamyrel + geriston + zymphoros + hocho + hadalomob + nagem + nagenay + megos + naymogos + semazihar + helaph + herlo + holopherno + lopheo + hornobahoceo + nydeht + herihegil + rognhon + nydocricib + negal + neguabel + memoht + hemel + gemoht +

-| hel . hemal . usyon . lamal . raguam . sablachom . sabsacom.

Serognegnos uel seregneguos

geronehos . | samanachor . | sazanachoray . | zamachoray . sanatihel . lamamathios . sanaziel . cha-| myquiol . zazarahel . kyrion . zamynel . kyris . cremem -| on . caristomon . sacronomay . soromono . hestimpandos . | Iechampanidos . [ietham . panydos .] methalamathon . merassamaty . saba-| arna . helnhama . guathamal . hemdamyhos . thega . my-| habal . teguamathal . cathanathel . theogethos . cehogn-| os . sananazihel . cathanathel . cehogethos . cehognos . | canazay . teneloyhos . zenelyhos . cathalihel . theome-| guos . lapdamylon . landamelyhon . Ierothyhon . lapd-| amozyhon . homen . samal . samochia . homy . samal . | samaziho . sathamenay . samohaya . sathonomay . ge-| romaziel . haccho . macalon . hothemegalon . guetaza-| manay . hazatamel . hazabanas . Iechro . tynognale . | sehor . gehoraia . haramanay . harathaciel . hazabamoht . | hamython . lapdaas . hazatham . thihel . hazabanos . | hamacon . hamamabyhon . samalyhon . samalerihon .

[44r]

usiologihon . legyn . heleys . hymon . machitilon . theos . | helotey . sarramazili . samachily . helamon . chihamon . vel . chilamon . hel . lamochyamon . lagay . lemechiel . semezi-| hel . laymos . lanos . hazamathon . themohan . thanacon . | theon . natharathon.

sagnanar + clarapalos + zenozmyhel + iosagat + genoz + hamel + guara + maziel + guaramaziel + gerathar + sathamyanos + sahamuham + guamazihel + machelaglilos + geraguaht + sathamyham + huriel + phalomagos + phalomgros + iotho + megon + saraht + saaysac + horamylichos + carmelichos + hezaladuha + hezeladam + hisihel + hemal + usyon + lamal + raguam + sablathom + sabsacom.

1. Cf. Ars Not. I

[XLVII. Sixth Terminus.][1]

Serognegnos + geronehos + samanachor + sazanachoray + zamachoray + sanatihel + lamathios + sanazihel + thamyquiol + zazarahel + kyrion + zamynel + kyris + crememon + caristomnon + sacronomay + soromono + hestimpandos + ietham + panydos + methalamathon + merasamaty + sabarna + heluhama + guathamal + hemdamyhos + thega + myhabal + teguamathal + chathanathel + thehogethos + cehognos + sanazihel + cathanathel + tehogethos + tehognos + canazay + teneloihos + zenelyhos + cathaliel + theomeguos + lapdamylon + landamelyhon + ierothihon + lapda + mozihon + homen + samal + samochia + homy + samal + samaziho + sathamenay + samohaia + sathomonay + geromazihel + hoccho + macalon + hothomegalon + genetazamanay + hazatamel + hazabanas + iechro + tynognale + sehor + gehoraia + haramanay + harathacihel + hazabamoht + hamython + lapdas + hazathan + thihel + hazabanos + hamacon + hamamalyhon + samalyhon + samalerihon + usiologihon + legyn + heleis + hymon + machitilon + theos + heloty + sarramazili + samachili + helamon + chihamon + hel + lamochiamon + lagay + lemechiel + semezihel + laymos + lanos + hazamathon +

Magnus uel magnys magnol . nazihacol . naziathos . heliam . mathon . saphar . haza-| chon . gemehihel . Iomorihel . samaychel . sazanyhel . saramel . sezi-| mel . lebathon . Iarachon . Iaratham . basihas . lamuay . ronala . | mathacon . rasiohs . layna . choro . laymateram . labynegual . sto-| mycros . bazihos . lamua . labimegas . herezemyhel . pheamycros . | negemezihol . relmalaguoram . hanamyhos . hanomos . gracos-| ihos . gracomessihos . sothiron . geuozepha . chelahel . zopascanel-| yhos . zepastonomos . hamaraziohs . zenaziel . geramathiel . | gecramathiol . hasaguar . hasagiri . paramyhot . hapasyri . hara-| namar . senales . hasagnanamar . semagel . secastologyhon . [genagnolos .] heuag-| nolothegos . sozor . hamay . seroguomay . sorosomay . Iam-| aramos . remolithos . lammaramos . zenon . Ierolen . zabay . | peripaton . haryhat . hananyhos . crastozios . graguomoyu-| hos . sichiron . geuozempha . zezael . sephastaneos . hamaristi-| gos . senazihel . geramatihel . pazomyhol . haphasy . zyhaza-| nagar . senahel . secasehagihon . geuaguolos . hegonele . thegos . | sorozomay . sozor . vel soror . hamay . Iamaramos . zelyhon . | Iezolen.

themohan + thanathon + theon + natharathon.

1. Cp. Ars Not.

[XLVIII. Seventh Terminus.][1]

Magnus + magnol + nazihacol + nazihathos + heliam + mathon + saphar + nazachon + gemehihel + iomorihel + sanayhel + sazanyhel + saramel + semyhel + sezimel + lebachon + iarachon + iaratham + basihas + lamnay + ronala + mathathon + rasihos + layna + choro + laymatham + labynegual + scomycros + bazihos + lamna + labnnegas + herezemyhel + pheamicros + negemezihol + relmalaguoram + hanamyhos + hanomos + gracosihos + gracomessihos + sothiron + genozepha + chelahel + zopascanelios + zepasconomos + hamarizihos + zenazihel + geramathihel + gecramathihol + hasaguar + hasagiri + paramyhot + hapasiry + haranamar + senales + hasagnanamar + semagel + secastologihon + genagnolos + hagenolo + thegos + sozor + hamay + seroguomay + sorosamay + iamaramos + remolithos + lammaramos + zenon + serolen + zabay + peripaton + harihat + hananyhos + crastrosihos + graguomoysihos + sichiron + genozem pha + zehahel + sephastaneos + hamaristigos + senazihel + geramacihel + pazamyhol + haphasy + zihazanagar + senasel + secasehogyhon + genaguolos + hegonele + thegos + sorozamay + sozor + hamay + iamaramos + zelihon + iezolen.

Remolithos uel R-|

[44v]

emolohos . ypomehiles . hazimelos . samal . haz-| ara . magos . gelomyhel . gezeno . meg-| ual . hanacristos . hanaipos . gemotheon . samahot . helyhemon . hiala-| mun . salamyhym . hamyuos .

1. Continuation Not. 127i.

[XLIX. Eighth Terminus.][1]

Remolithos + ypomehiles + hazimelos + samal + hazaramagos + gelomyhel + gezeno + megual + hanacristos + hanaipos + gemotheon + samahot + helihemon +

gezelihos . sartharay . sarthamy . | gechora . maray . gechoramy . Ieguoram . myhamy . theos . agios . | crehamuos . Iskyros . athanathos . probihos . meguon . hacazmazy . | hecohy . uriel . Iebozihel . sarib . rogay . halomora . sarahihel . hecamaz-| ihel . sezamagua . Iechar .

hialamum + salamyhym + haminos + gezelihos + sartharay + sarthamy + gechora + maray + gethoramy + ieguoram + myhamy + theos + agios + crehamnos + yskyros + athanathos + probihos + meguon + hacazamazay + hecohy + uryhel + iebozihel + sarib + rogay + halomora + sarahihel + hechamazihel + sezamagua + iechar.

[L.] **[J3] Part 3.**

NYNE prayers are sett in the beginninge | which doo last unto this prayer . **helisthemaht hazara-| m** wherof the firste 8 are a preparatyon of the way to worke | and to prepare the worke to obtayne but the 9 Is off the effect | of this worke as for the fyrst 8 they oughte to be sayd euery | day that yow wil worke very early in the morninge before the bre-| ke of the daye and no more to be sayd that day and the 9 owght | alwayes to be sayd in the beginninge of the prayers that folowe-| th those 8 and in the ende of them also,

NINE prayers are set in the beginning which do last unto this prayer: '**Heliscemaht, hazaram**' (XVI) whereof the first 8 are a preparation of the way to work and to prepare the work to obtaine, but the 9 is of the effect of this work. As for the first 8, they ought to be said every day that you will work, very early in the morning before the break of the day, and no more to be said that day. And the 9 ought always to be said in the beginning of the prayers that followeth those 8, and in the end of them also.

Novem orationes sunt in principio posite usque ad illam orationem: 'Helistemaht, hazaram...', quarum octo sunt preparacio vie [S4 fol 121v] ad operandum et preparacio operis ad obtinendum, sed nona est prima oratio de intrincesitate huius operis. de octo dico [tibi] quod summo mane paululum ante crepusculum matutinum ante incepcionem operis cuiuslibet diei ipse sunt proferrendae, et non oportet de tota die amplius, de nona dico, quod semper in principio orandi per orationes alias ab illis octo praedictis et

in fine est proferenda.

after that there be othere 8 | prayers folowing which be called the **8 termes** and the be good | to cause yow to obtayne your request at godes hande, so upon þ^{e} | fryday after that yow haue truly repented your selfe and confe-| ssyd yow shall fast breade and water and very early in the mor-| ninge before the breke of the daye thow shalt say 10 prayers | which thow shalte fynde wrytten after that Is to say the 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, and these muste ye saye | w^{t} greate deuocyon.

After that you shall pause a while, remembering your petition and rehearsing it, and then shall ye say the **8 terms** afore written, and in the end of every **term** you shall pause a little and rehearse your petition. After that, when you have thus done once in the morning, you must do so again about the 3 hour, and likewise about the midday, and then you may dine.

After that yow shall pawse a whyle remem-| bring your petycion and rehersing It and then shall ye saye | the **8 termes** afore wrytten and in the ende of euery **terme** | yow shall powse a lytle and reherse your petycyon. After þ^{t}

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when yow haue thus donne once in the morninge yow must doo | so agayne abowt the 3 hower, and lykewyse abowt the middaye & | then yow may dyne.

The day following, that is to say upon Saturday, you must do even as ye did the day before. In any wise upon the Sunday you shall do likewise, saving that you shall not fast, but that you may eat fish or flesh as ye will, but moderately. Then after noon, that is to say when ye have prayed 3 times, then in the night following shall be revealed unto you by an angel, whether you shall obtain your petition or no.

the day folowinge þ^{t} is to saye upon | satturday yow moste doo euen as ye did the day before in any | wyse upon the sonday yow shall doo lykewyse sauinge þ^{t} yow | shall nott fast but that yow may eatte fyshe or fleshe as ye | will but moderately, then after noñe that Is to saye when | ye haue prayed 3 tymes then in the nyghte folowinge shall be | reuelyd unto yow by an angell whether yow shall obtayne your pe-| tycyon or noo.

If your petition be granted, then shall ye do as you shall be taught in this book, and if it be denied, then shall you await another time, and in the meanwhile ye shall prepare yourself better, that you may obtain your petition.

yf your petycyon be graunted then shall ye doo as yow | shall be tawght in this booke, and yf hit be denyed then shall yow | awayte another tyme and in the meane whyle ye shall prepare | your selfe better that yow may obtayne your petycyon:

But here is to be noted that this prayer, "O Jesus the Son ...," etc. [XXVI] with that prayer that followeth, "Eleminator ..." [XXVII] because it is part of the same prayer ought to be said

But | here is to be noted that this prayer **O Jesu the sonne | etc.** with that prayer that foloweth **Elyminator,** be cause it | Is parte of the same prayer owght to be sayde thryse after | euery tyme

of your prayinge softely and allwayes at the | ende of them to reherse your petycyon, then yf þ^{t} be put | backe that thow doest nott obtayne, then doo as yow dyd the | fryday saturday and sonday before sauynge that upon the | sonday in stede of your fast yow shall geue almose to 3 poore | folke charytably and w^{t} good deuocyon.

thrice after every time of your praying, softly and always at the end of them to rehearse your petition; then if that be put back that thou dost not obtain, then do as you did the Friday, Saturday, and Sunday before, saving that upon the Sunday instead of your fast, you shall give alms to three poor folk charitably and with good devotion.

after that in the fyrst | moone that Is to say the munday folowinge doo as ye dydest | before and after the same maner lykewyse the 2, 3, and 4 | moone or munday and so euen to the ende that peraduenture | god will haue mercy upon the, but in the latter prayers þ^{u} | must change thy petycyon that is to saye þ^{u} shallte nott | desyer of god to graunte the thy petycyon butt onely that | he wyll haue mercy upon the.

After that in the first moon, that is to say the Monday following, do as ye didst before, and after the same manner. Likewise the 2, 3, and 4 moon or Monday, and so even to the end that peradventure God will have mercy upon thee, but in the latter prayers thou must change thy petition, that is to say, thou shalt not desire of God to grante thee thy petition, but only that he will have mercy upon thee.

And It Is to be noted th-| at he that will saye those prayers or suche lyke | must be chaste and cleane and he must say them | with greate deuocyon and he that doth otherwyse | he shall be openly plaged of god, in those greke,

And it is to be noted that he that will say those prayers or such like must be chaste and clean, and he must say them with great devotion, and he that doth otherwise he shall be openly plagued of God. In those Greek,

[45v]

hebrue and chaldey prayrs there be the most sacred and hooly na-| mes of god and his holy angells which owght nott to be spoken | of man but only thorow the mercy of godd, and when thow | arte put bakke of thy request thow oughtst not to dispayre | but truely to confesse thy selffe and not to dissemble with god | and to serche thy conscyence thorowly and to geue almose la-| rgely, and to cause dyuerse massys to be sayd, and to say dyu-| ers prayers knelyng upon thy knees and with bitter teeres | to entrete and besiche almighty god to be mercyful unto þ^{e} | ffor thus were the wyse men wont to doo to cume to theyr | purpose.

Hebrew, and Chaldaic prayers there be the most sacred and holy names of God and his holy angels, which ought not to be spoken of man but only through the mercy of God, and when thou art put back of thy request thou oughtest not to dispair, but truly to confess thyself and not to dissemble with God, and to search thy conscience thoroughly, and to give alms largely, and to cause diverse masses to be said, and to say diverse prayers kneeling upon thy knees and with bitter tears to entreat, and beseech almighty God to be merciful unto thee for thus were the wise men wont to do to come to their purpose.

Yff Adonay that Is to say, allmyghty god doo graun-| te the thy request or petycyon that Is | to say revele unto the in thy slepe that thow shalt obtayne | then must þ^{u} worke as here after folowythe, that is to saye þ^{e} | 4, 8, 12, 16, 20, 24, 28, 32 of the moone in the morning thow | shallte say these prayers folowynge oonce abowt 3 of the

[LI. The first purification.][1]

1. S4: Prima Mundacio.

IF ADONAY, that is to say, almighty God, do grant thee thy request or petition, that is to say, reveal unto thee in thy sleep that thou shalt obtain, then must thou work as hereafter followeth, that is to say, the 4, 8, 12, 16, 20, 24, 28, and 32 of the Moon in the

| cloke oonce abowt 9 of the cloke and oonce at euening þ^{t} is to say | **assaylemaht and nazaihemaht lameht leynaht, | O most high and Inuisible god theos,** and **I beseche the o | my lorde** and that which Is the prologge that Is to saye | **o most hyghe and Inuisible god,** but that those 3 fyrst | prayers are of the secretes of this arte, **alpha et omega** | and **helischemaht** and **theos megale patir** with | there prologe **o almyghte and euerlastinge god the | father the lyght** which ought to be sayd after yt must be sa-| yd fyrst

morning thou shalt say these prayers following once about 3 of the clock, once about 9 of the clock, and once at evening, that is to say, **"Assaylemaht and nazaihemaht lameht leynaht, O most high and invisible God theos",** and **"I beseech thee O my Lord",** and that which is the prolog, that is to say, **"O most high and invisible God,"** but that those 3 first prayers are of the secrets of this art, **"Alpha et Omega"** and **"helischemaht"** and **"Theos megale patir"** with their prolog **"O almighty and everlasting God, the father the light"** which ought to be said after that [which] must be said first.

and after that lett **hassailemaht** be sayd but | yow must fyrst pawse a lytle and reherse your petycyon þ^{t} | same most holy prayer **lameht ragna** with his parte | folowinge **Semeht Segaht** with his prologge ought to | be sayd the fyrst daye of the moone 4 tymes that Is to | saye early in the morning abowt 3 of the cloke oonce,

And after that let **"hassailemaht"** be said. But you must first pause a little and rehearse your petition that same most holy prayer **"lameht ragna"** with his part following **"Semeht Segaht"** with his prolog ought to be said the first day of the Moon 4 times, that is to say, early in the morning about 3 of the clock once, about 9 of the clock, 3 about midday, 3, and the 3 moonday ye must say it thrice, that is to say in the morning once, about 9 of the clock once, and about the midday once.

[46r]

abought 9 of the clok, 3 abowght myddaye, 3 and the 3 | moondaye ye must saye It thryse that Is to saye In the | morning oonce, abowte 9 of the clokke oonce, and abowt | the myddaye oonce, the 3 daye of the moone It must be sayde 3 | In the morninge oonce, abowte 9 of the cloke oonce, and abowte | 12 of the cloke oonce, the 6 daye of the moone It must be sayde | twyse that Is at 9 of the cloke oonce, and at 12, the 9 daye | It must be sayd 3 in the morninge 3 at 9 of the cloke 3 and 3 | at 12, the 12 daye It must be sayd 3 in the mrning [sic] 3 at 9 of | the clokke 3 3 at noune and 3 at nighte the 15 day It must be | sayd 3 in the morninge at 9 of the cloke 3 at 12 of the cloke | 3 and 3 at nyghte, and upon the 18 daye, 21 daye, and the 23, | 26, 29, and 30 daye ye must say them euyn as yow dyd up-| on the 15 daye **but note that this prayer must be | sayd** in greate chastite and cleines.

The 3rd day of the moon it must be said 3 in the morning once, about 9 of the clock once, and about 12 of the clock once.

The 6th day of the moon it must be said twice, that is, at 9 of the clock once, and at 12.

The 9th day it must be said 3 in the morning 3, at 9 of the clock 3, and 3 at 12.

The 12th day it must be said 3 in the morning 3, at 9 of the clock 3, 3 at noon, and 3 at night.

The 15th day it must be said 3 in the morning [3], at 9 of the clock 3, at 12 of the clock 3, and 3 at night.

And upon the 18th day, 21st day, and the 23rd, 26th, 29th, and 30th days ye must say them even as you did upon the 15th day. **But note that this prayer**

it is good to be sayde | also agaynst all perrylles and daungers of fyer beastes and | dyuells but then yow nyde not haue respecte to the day our | hower, but that most holy prayer **hazaram hihel** w^{t} his | 4 partes folowinge which be these **hihelma helma** & | c. **agloros theomythos and c**, **megal agal and | c. hamicchiahel and c.** with there prologges which are | these **confyrme strengthen** and c. **almyghty and euerlastinge | god** and c. **o the truthe the waye** and c. **I wretched synner** & | c. as the ly be fore in order owght to be sayd plesauntely and | with good deuocyon after the forsayd prayers **lameth ra-| gua** the same dayes and howers excepte hit be in one | cause that when your petycyon Is for sume great busy-| nes as to speke with sprytes or to se the deyte, then it | ought nott to be sayd but oonce that is to say in the morn-| inge

must be said in great chastity and cleanness.

It is good to be said also against all perils and dangers of fire, beasts, and devils, but then you need not have respect to the day or hour, but that most holy prayer "Hazaram hihel ..." [chap XXXI] with his 4 parts following, which be these, "Hihelma helma ..." [XXXII], "Agloros theomythos ..." [XXXIV], "Megal agal ..." [XXXV], "Hamicchiahel ..." [XXXVII], with their prologs, which are these, "Confirm, strengthen ..." [XXXIII], "Almighty and everlasting God ..." [XXXIVb], "O the truth, the way, ..." [XXXVI], "I, wretched sinner..." [XXXVIII], as they lie before in order, ought to be said pleasantly and with good devotion after the foresaid prayers "Lameth ragna ..." [XXVIII] the same days and hours, except it be in one cause that when your petition is for some great business as to speak with spirits or to see the Deity, then it ought not to be said but once, that is to say in the morning.

but when yow aske for scyence or knoledge or to be | saued from euylles, or for the knoledge of the heauens & | angells and there seales or suche thinges then muste ye [46v] doo as Is afore sayde of **lameht . ragna .** and this pray-| er hathe the same effycacye and strengthe that **lameht . | ragna .** hathe and sumwhat more specyall or that Is better | excepte it be in case þ^{t} yow wil aske of þ^{e} celestyall sprytes any | greate or harde thinge as to come doune and speke to a man or | ells to constrayne the sprytes of þ^{e} ayer or of þ^{e} earthe to cume | and obey yow

But when you ask for science or knowledge, or to be saved from evils, or for the knowledge of the heavens and angels and their seals, or such things, then must ye do as is aforesaid, of "lameht ragna" [XXVIII] and this prayer hath the same efficacy and strength that "lameht ragna" hath, and somewhat more special, or that is better, except it be in case that you will ask of the celestial spirits any great or hard thing, as to come down and speak to a man, or else to constrain the spirits of the air or of the earth, to come and obey you.

and this prayer **Semoht . Gehel .** and þ^{e} other | **Almyghty And euerlasting Gog,** [sic] and this other pra-| yer, **Semoht lamen**, with this **O Jesu**, shall be sayde in | those dayes in the which þ^{e} other owght nott to be sayde as Is | before appoynted that the shulde not be sayde as þ^{e} 2 day of þ^{e} | moone the 5, 7, 14, and so forthe of other as Is apperythe | before and not yf any man hathe any greate cause beforre | a Iudge which cane nott be

And this prayer "Semoht Gehel" [XXXIX] and the other "Almighty and everlasting God" [XL], and this other prayer "Semoht lamen" [XLI] with this "O Jesu" [XXVI] shall be said in those days in the which the other ought not to be said, as is before appointed that they should not be said as the 2nd day of the moon, the 5, 7, 14, and so forth of other, as appears before. And note, if any man hath any great cause before a judge

determyned, then þ^e daye before | he shall go to þ^e courte to playte his cause lett him fast breade | and water and after lett him saye twysy these 3 prayers | folowinge softely **Semoht Gehel** and cc. **Almighty | And euerlasting God** and **Semoht lamen**, and | there shall be suche wysdome and eloquence gyuen him in | propownding of his cause þ^t he shall soune obtayne but he | must be chast and clene also yow ought to say this prayer | with **lameht Ragna**, when any spryte is called and | dothe come that yow may auoyde þ^e perylls and daunger | and to abtayn wysdome and eloquence to speke boldely | unto the sprite that Is called.

which can not be determined, then the day before he shall go to the court to plead his cause, let him fast bread and water, and after let him say twice these 3 prayers following softly: "Semoht Gehel..." [XXXIX], "Almighty and everlasting God..." [XL], and "Semoht lamen..." [XLI], and there shall be such wisdom and eloquence given him in propounding of his cause that he shall soon obtain. But he must be chaste and cleane. Also you ought to say this prayer with "lameht Ragna..." [XXVIII] when any spirit is called and doth come, that you may avoid the perils and danger and to obtain wisdom and eloquence to speak boldly unto the spirit that is called.

Now Seing that he | shall doo no other thinge althought he hathe done nor th-| ought upon any syne yet lett him contynually pray upon | god in other howers then in the fyrst appoynted howres | with the 6, 10, and 12 prayers and in the morning lett | him go to the chyrche and as he goeth lett hym saye the | 16 prayer and in the chyrche lett hym saye the 22 pra-

[47r]

yer and also þ^e 14, 24, 21, 32, 33, 34, 29, 30, and so lett hym doo | contynually by þ^e space of 20 dayes, and lett hym alwayes | take dylygent hyede that he fall in to no syn, and yf by cha-| nce he fall into syn lett him forthewith repent and be confess-| ed and yf he cane lett him fast contynually yf nott lett him | release the oone, but by the space of 7 in order he must fa-| st and abstayne from all dedely syn

then lett hym haue awa-| re and a faythfull priste which may saye unto hym matters | pryme and howres and a masse of the holy gost and in his int-| royt lett hym say þ^e 13 prayer, and after the offertory the 9 | prayer, then take francumsence and incense and cence the alter | saying þ^e first prayer and be cause the holy fathers did trust in þ^e | sayntes þ^t were there named therfore thei did so, and yf he that | shall worke haue more douocyon to any other sayntes then be ther | named lett hym change name for name for faythe dothe alwa-| yes worke as I sayd before

[LII.]

Now seeing that he shall do no other thing although he hath done, nor thought upon any sin, yet let him continually pray upon God in other hours than in the first appointed hours, with the 6th, 10th, and 12th prayers, and in the morning let him go to the church, and as he goeth let him say the 16th prayer, and in the church let him say the 22nd prayer, and also the 14, 24, 21, 32, 33, 34, 29, 30, and so let him do continually by the space of twenty days, and let him always take diligent heed that he fall into no sin, and if by chance he fall into sin, let him forthwith repent and be confessed, and if he can, let him fast continually; if not let him release the one, but by the space of 7 in order he must fast[1] and abstain from all deadly sin.

1. *I.e.* he should fast every other day for at least seven days.

Then let him have a wary and a faithful priest which may say unto him matters prime and hours, and a mass of the Holy Ghost, and in his *introit* let him say the 13th prayer, and after the *offertory* the 9th prayer. Then take frankincense and incense and cense the altar saying the first prayer, and because the holy fathers did trust in the saints that were there named, therefore they did so, and if he that shall work have more devotion to any other saints, then be there named, let hym change name for name, for faith doth always work, as I said before.

then lett þ^e 2 prayer be sayde In-| imedyatly and after te igiter in the masse lett be sayd the 3, 4, | 5, 7, 8 prayers and so in consecrating of þ^e body of chryst, let the | pryst praye for hym þ^t shall worke, þ^t thorow the grace of god | he may obtayn the effecte of his petycyon and so must þ^e pryst | doo in all his prayers that he shall saye for hym þ^t shall worke | but adde nothinge ells to then [sic], also after þ^t poscconione þ^e pryst | shall saye the 26 prayer and after masse he that shall worke | shall receue þ^e sacrment [sic] sayng the 19 and 20 prayer, but lett | hym take hide þ^t he receue nott þ^e body of chryst for an euille | purpose, for þ^t were dethe unto him, wherfore sum man haue | entytuled this booke callinge It þ^e dethe of þ^e soule and þ^t is trew | to them that worke for an euil entente and purpose & nott to | haue sume scyence or sume good thinge, for þ^e lorde sayeth aske & | It shall be geuen yow seke & ye shall fynde & in an other place | he sayeth where 2 or 3 are gatheryd to gether in my name I ame [47v] in the myddest of them and euery thing that thei shall | aske the father in my name and he will fullfyll and doo it.

Then let the 2nd prayer be said immediately and after *te igiter* in the mass; let be said the 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 prayers and so in consecrating of the body of Christ, let the priest pray for him that shall work that through the grace of God he may obtain the effect of his petition. And so must the priest do in all his prayers that he shall say for him that shall work, but add nothing else to them. Also after the communion the priest shall say the 26 prayer, and after mass he that shall work shall receive the sacrament saying the 19th and 20th prayer. But let him take heed that he receive not the body of Christ for an evil purpose, for that were death unto him, wherefore some men have entitled this book calling it *The Death of the Soul*, and that is true to them that work for an evil intent and purpose, and not to have some science or some good thing; for the Lord sayeth "Ask, and it shall be given you, seek and ye shall finde," and in another place he sayeth "where 2 or 3 are gathered together in my name, I am in the midst of them and everything that they shall ask the father in my name and he will fulfill and do it."

The prayers whereof sum are named before | and sume here after are thes.

[LIII]

The prayers, whereof some are named before and some hereafter, are these:

Agla the lighte the truthe the lyfe and the waye | mercyfull Iudge the way the strengthe by thy | pacyence conserue and helpe me :::: Hic recita peticyoñem | sed per deitate dic ut sequitur:::: and helpe me in this holy | visyon and for thy greate mercy haue mercye upon me, | and for the service of this Holy fumygatyon, and for this | Holy sacrafyce of o^r lorde Iesus Christ and by the merytes of | the gloryous virgin marye mother of thy sone owr lord Iesus | christ and by the merytes of the Holy apostells, peter, paule, | andrew, Iames, philip, bartholemew, mathew, Symon, | thadee, lyne, clete, clement, sextus, cornelius, cypriane, | laurenes, grisogone, Ihon, and paule, cosme, and damya-| ne, and all thy sayntes thorow

[First Oration.][1]

AGLA, the light, the truth, the life, and the way, merciful judge, the way, the strength, by thy patience conserve and help me. *(Here recite the petition -- if for the [vision of the] Deity, say as follows)* and help me in this holy vision, and for thy great mercy have mercy upon me, and for the service of this holy fumigation, and for this holy sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ and by the merits of the glorious virgin Mary, mother of thy son our Lord Jesus Christ and by the

1. S4, S5, GH: Prima oracio. Cf. Ars. Not. 53.

whose merytes and prayer-| s. :::: Hic recita petycyonem tuam sed per deita dic ut seq-| uitur :::: thow wilte graunte me thy holy visyon thorow the | sonne owr lorde Iesus christ. Amen.

merits of the holy apostles, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, Philip, Bartholemew, Mathew, Simon, Thadee, Lyne, Clete, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cypriane, Laurenes, Grisogone, John, and Paul, Cosme, and Damiani, and all thy saints, through whose merits and prayers... *(Here recite the petition -- if for the [vision of the] Deity, say as follows)* thou wilt grant me thy holy vision through thy son, our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

monhon lorde holy father almightye and everla-| stinge god in whose sighte are all the | foundatyon of all vysible and inuisible creatures, whose eyes | hathe sene myn Imperfyttenes, whose swite charyte or loue | hathe filled heauen and earthe, whose eares do here all thinges, | which haste seene all thinges before they be doone in whoso booke | all dayes are nombred and all men wrytten looke this daye | upon thy servant which hath submitted him selffe to the w^{c} all | his mynde and all his harte by thy holy sprite confyrme and | stregthen me :::: recita peticionem sed per deitate dic vt sequit-|

[48r]
ur :::: that I may se the, blysse me this day and order all my | actes and deeds toward this holy syghte and contynually lygh-| ten with thy hooly visitacyon. Amen.

[LIV. Oration 2.[1]]

1. Cf. Ars. Not. 128.

Monhon, Lord, holy father almighty and everlasting God, in whose sight are all the foundation of all visible and invisible creatures, whose eyes hath seen mine imperfectness, whose sweet charity or love hath filled Heaven and Earth, whose ears do hear all things, which hast seen all things before they be done, in whose book all days are numbered and all men written, look this day upon thy servant which hath submitted himself to the which all his mind and all his heart by thy Holy Spirit, confirm and strengthen me *(Here recite the petition — if for the [vision of the] Deity, say as follows)* that I may see thee, bless me this day and order all my acts and deeds toward this holy sight, and continually lighten with thy holy visitation. Amen.

Tetragramathon looke o lorde god most | mercyfull and everlast-| ing father, of all thinges the disposer of all vertues consyder my | workes this day thow whith dost beholde the actes and deede | of men and angelles and þ^{e} discerner of them :::: dic tuam pe-| ticionem sed per deitate dic vt sequitur :::: therfore I besiche that | þ^{e} meruelous grace of thy Holy sufferance maye

[LV. Oration 3.[2]]

2. Cf. Ars. Not. 129.

Tetragrammaton, look O Lord God most merciful and everlasting father, of all things the disposer of all virtues, consider my works this day thou which dost behold the acts and deeds of men and angels and the

wouchsaffe to | fill In me the powre of this hooly visyon and power Into me | so miche strengthe to the honor and glorye of thy name which | dost schid owt thy prayse Into þ^{e} mowthes of them that loue | the. Amen.

discerner of them *(Here recite the petition — if for the [vision of the] Deity, say as follows)* therefore I beseech that the marvellous grace of thy holy sufferance may vouchsafe to fill in me the power of this holy vision and power into me so much strength to the honor and glory of thy name which dost schid out thy prayse into the mouths of them that love thee. Amen.

Hely god the creator adonay of all Inuysyble creatures m-| ost godely father which abydest euerlastingly in þ^{e} lyght | inaccessyble and before the begininge of the worlde disposyng & | gouerning all thinges I doo make intercessyon to thy euerlastin-| g and incomperhensyble deyte withe most humble wordes þ^{t} þ^{e} | effect of this sacramentall and mistycall worke thorow thy | power and thy holy angells may so appere in me ::: dic tuã | petycionem sed per deitate dic ut sequitr ::: that þ^{e} syghte and | beholdinge of thé may shyne in me and by the names of thy | holy angells It may abunde and increase in my mynde and | memorye that I may know the workes of thy holy visyon | and that It may shyne in me everlastingly. Amen.

[LVI. Oration 4.][3]

Hely God, the creator, Adonay, of all invisible creatures, most Godly father which abidest everlastingly in the light, inaccessible and before the beginning of the world, disposing and governing all things, I do make intercession to thy everlasting and incomprehensible Deity with most humble words that the effect of this sacramental and mystical work through thy power and thy holy angels may so appear in me *(Here recite the petition -- if for the [vision of the] Deity, say as follows)* that the sight and beholding of thee may shine in me and by the names of thy holy angels it may abounde and increase in my mind and memory, that I may know the works of thy holy vision and that it may shine in me everlastingly. Amen.

3. Cf. Ars. Not. 130.

Hocleiste uel Athanathos ::: | holy god and godly father the Indissoluble argumentacyon | of the harte which hast stabylisched heaven earthe the se and | the depthe In whose sight all reason, all communycatyon

[48v]

all workes, and Holynes dothe by these precyous

[LVII. Oration 5.][4]

Hocleiste (or Athanathos) holy God and godly father, the indissoluble argumentation of the heart which hast established Heaven, Earth, the sea, and the depth, in whose sight all

4. Cf. Ars. Not. 135.

sac-| ramentes of thy holy angells graunt unto me that thing | which I desyer ::: recita tuam peticionem per deitate dic | ut sequitur ::: for I beliue þ^{t} I shall se þ^{e} grace and glor-| ye of thy Holy deyte w^{t} owt any euil Intent. Amen.

reason, all communication, all works, and holiness doth by these precious sacramentes of thy holy angels grant unto me that thing which I desire. *(Here recite the petition -- if for the [vision of the] Deity, say as follows)* for I believe that I shall see the grace and glory of thy holy Deity without any evil intent. Amen.

hamphimethon heloy most merc-| yfull creator the | gyuer of influence, and þ^{e} reformer of all lyuing soules, þ^{e} | allower & orderer of all good willes bow doune thy selfe | and looke must godely to my mynde þ^{t} that which I most | humbly desyre of y^{e}, of þ^{e} abundance of thy mighty power | thow wilte graunte it me lyke as before Is promysed | me. Amen.

[LVIII. Oration 6.][5]

Hamphimethon + heloy, most merciful creator, the giver of influence, and the reformer of all living souls, the allower and orderer of all good wills, bow down thyself, and look most godely to my mind that that which I most humbly desire of thee, of the abundance of thy mighty power, thow wilt grant it me like as before is promised me. Amen.

5. Cf. Ars. Not. 137.

Iamyhara uel Hamyhamy-| haram allmighty and mercyfull father þ^{e} gove-| rner of all creatures, þ^{e} euerlastinge | Iudge, o^{r} refuge, and lorde of all lordes which haste wo-| uchssafe to geue to thy sayntes wysdome holynes and | glorye that I may se thy mervells which descenest [sic] & | Iudgest all thinges lyghte my harte this daye with þ^{e} | shyne of thy clerenes clennes and holynes ::: dic pet-| itionem tuam sed per deitate dic ut sequitur ::: that I | may know understonde and se th [sic] face and thy glorye, | and that I maye Se thy glorye Is All my desyer. | Amen.

[LIX. Oration 7.][6]

Lamyhara[7] almighty and merciful father, the governor of all creatures, the everlasting judge, our refuge, and Lord of all lords, which haste vouchsafe to give to thy saints wisdom, holiness, and glory, that I may see thy marvels which descendest and judgest all things, lighten my heart this day with the shine of thy clearness, cleaness, and holiness, *(Here recite the petition — if for the [vision of the] Deity, say as follows)* that I may know, understand, and see thy face and thy glory, and that I may see thy glory is all my desire. Amen.

6. Cf. Ars. Not. 138.
7. So S4, GH.

[49r]

Hanazay uel Halacazay zarahoren . | hubisenaar . ghu . hirbaionay . gynbar . zanaile . selchora . <ze-| lchora .> zelmora . hiramay . iethohal . ysaramel . hamatha . | mathois . iaboha . gechors . cozomerag . zosomeraht . hamy .| phodel . denos . gerot . haoalos . meliha . tagahel . sechamy .| salyhelethon . monocogristes . lemenron . hachagnon . ham-| yhon. <Amen.>

[LX. Oration 8.][8]

Hanazay + zarahoron + hubisenaar + ghu + hirbaionay + gynbar + zanailt + selchora + zelmora + hiramay + iethohal + ylaramel + hamatha + mathois + iaboha + gethos + cozomerag + zosomeraht + hamy + phodel + denos + gerot + hagalos + meliha + tagahel + sechamy + salihelethon + monocogristes + lemenron + hachagnon + hamyhon.

8. Corrected per S4, GH. Cf. Ars. Not. Glose de la version B, § 140, V p. 197.

The englishe of þ[e] prayer þ[t] goeth before.

[LXI.] The English of the prayer that goeth before.[9]

9. Cf. Ars. Not. 139.

Ianemyer vel Zanamyher: | on [sic] greate meruelous and euerlastinge god, þ[e] angell of the | euerlasting cowncell þ[e] disposer maker and orderer of all | vertues this daye garnyshe my understanding, & encrea-| se In me reason þ[t] I may repent & mak me clere & geue | unto me þ[e] same knowledge & understonding þ[t] thow hast | geuyn other creatures to pronounce þ[e] names of þ[e] celesty-| all angells, & graunte unto me þ[e] same scyence & puern-| es accordinge to thy promysse ::: dic peticionem tuam | sed per deitate dic ut sequitur ::: and geue unto me effe-| cte of thy visyon þ[t] I may discerne it. Amen.

Ianemyer one, great, marvellous, and everlasting God, the angel of the everlasting council, the disposer, maker, and orderer of all virtues, this day garnish my understanding and increase in me reason, that I may repent, and make me clear, and give unto me the same knowledge and understanding that thou hast given other creatures to pronounce the names of the celestial angels, and grant unto me the same science and pureness according to thy promise, *(Here recite the petition — if for the [vision of the] Deity, say as follows)* and give unto me affect of thy vision that I may discern it. Amen.

Hadyon usyon . omnium . potestaum [*potestatum] atque regnorum | & Iudiciorum eterna conspiratione cons-| picimus omnium administrans glorae [*glorie] et tuæ visionis | in cuius regimine nullum impedimentum dabis instaura | queso habitam innocentiam et repetitam

[LXII. Oration.][1]

Hadyon + usyon + beholding with thy eternal conspiration all powers, kingdoms, and judges, administering all manner of languages to all, and the

1. Per S4, GH. Compare Ars. Not. 141 ("Vision...")

et adhuc maior-| em cor meum voluntatem meam linguam meam, opus | meam [*meum] ad mai [*mei] animam mundificandam [absolvendam] et tui faciem faci-| aliter videndam et ad [*ab] habendum quæ in hac arte necessaria | auctoritas diuina commendat et in me perfectae compleantur. Amen.

[49v]

glory of thy vision, and of whose power there is no end; restore and increase I beseech thee, my heart, my will, my tongue, my work, purifying and absolving my spirit, and grant that I may behold thy living face and whatever thy divine authority commendeth necessary in this art, perfectly fulfill them in me. Amen.

Hely azelechias neloreos mohan zama | Sarnelohatehus Saguaht . adonay . zo-| ma lenezothos lithon Ietemothon . Sabahot, and | thow mercyfull god conffyrme thy promyses in me | lyke as by the same wordes thow dyddest confyr-| me It to king . Salomon . and by syde, them to Ihon . | and . paule. send unto me O lorde thy powre ow [sic] of | heauen þ^{t} It may Illumyne my harte, and confyr-| me my mynde, & comfort O god my understandinge | & my soule, renew me and washe me w^{t} the waters | which are aboue the heavens, and power owt of thy | sprite into my flesche and into my bowelles to do | and performe thy Iudgements w^{t} humblenes and | charyte wherw^{t} thow hast made heauen & earthe & | hast formed & created man to thyn owen simylytude | & lykenes shide þ^{e} lyght of thy bryghtnes into my un-| derstanding þ^{t} I beinge grownded and rooted in thy | mercy may loue thy name, & know & se and wursch-| ippe the that I may obtayne and understande all þ^{e} | wayes of this arte þ^{t} I maye obtayne þ^{e} visyon or | syghte of the for þ^{e} which all þ^{e} mysteryes of fygures | and holynes are sent of god by the handes of his | angells, all which thinges I besiche the I may haue | and know in my harte and in þ^{e} understandinge of | my mynde þ^{t} I may obtayne þ^{e} effecte of this ar-| te truely thorow the power of thy gloryous and | holy name. Amen.

[LXIII. Hebrew Oration.][1]

1. S4, S5: Oracio hebraica.

Hely + azelechias + neloreos + mohan + zama + sarnelohatehus + saguaht + adonay + zoma + lenezothos + lithon + ietemothon + sabahot, and thou, merciful God, confirm thy promises in me like as by the same words thou didst confirm it to king Solomon, and beside him to John and Paul. Send unto me, O Lord, thy power of Heaven that it may illumine my heart and confirm my mind, and comfort O God my understanding and my soul. Renew me and wash me with the waters which are above the heavens, and pour out of thy spirit into my flesh and into my bowels, to do and perform thy judgements with humbleness and charity, wherewith thou hast made Heaven and Earth, and hast formed and created man to thine own similitude and likeness, shide the light of thy brightness into my understanding that I, being grounded and rooted in thy mercy, may love thy name, and know and see and worship thee, that I may obtain and understand all the ways of this art, that I may obtain the vision or sight of thee, for the which all the mysteries of figures and holiness are sent of God by the hands of his angels, all which things I beseech thee I

may have and know in my heart and in the understanding of my mind that I may obtain the effect of this art truly, through the power of thy glorious and holy name. Amen.

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[LXIV. Oration 9.]

Sadyon vel Herlon I know þ^{t} I delyg-| ht in the greate and meruelous and ineffable worke, and | that you wilte geue me the sighte which thow hast prom-| ysed to them y^{t} haue this worke acordinge to thy greate | and incomperhensible truethe **theon . hatagamagon . | haramalon . zamoyma . thamasal . Ieconomarum . | harionathor . Iecomagol . gelamagos . remelyhot . re-| manthar . hariomagalathar . hananehos . ueloman-| nathar . haiozoroy . Iebasaly.**

Sadyon I know that I delight in thy great and marvellous and ineffable work, and that you wilt give me the sight which thou hast promised to them that have this work according to thy great and incomprehensible truth. **Theon . hatagamagon . haramalon . zamoyma . thamasal . ieconomaril . harionathor . iecomagol . gelamagos . remelihot . remanathar . hariomagalathar . hananehos . velomanathar . haiozoroy . iebasaly.**

by these most sacred | and most glorious and profounde mysteryes of god & | by the most precyous clennes and vertu of thy visyon | encrease in me & fulfyll þ^{t} þ^{u} haste begonne & reforme þ^{t} | thow hast shewed in me, zemabar . henoranaht . grena-| tail . samzatham . Iecornazay .

By these most sacred and most glorious and profound mysteries of God, and by the most precious cleanness and virtue of thy vision, increase in me and fulfill that thou hast begun, and reform that thou hast shewed in me. **Zemabar . henoranaht . grenatail . samzatham . iecornazay,**

Compare *Ars Not.*, Oration 12.

fundamentum . altissime . | omnium . bonitatum & scientiarum . atque . vertutum . tribue | famulo tuo tibi displicentia vitare contagia et lauare | et tua veritate pura et intentione sancta possim satia-| ri ut tuam promissionem toto corde desiderans et possi-| dens in omnibus tam vertutibus quam puritatibus et | vitiorum absolutionibus precipue per hæc sancta mi-| steria videar et cognoscar adipisti et bene in ista arte | proficiar penitus[1] laudabilis ac pro sancta visione | mundus.

you enable your servant to avoid contagions displeasing to yourself, and to be washed clean, and filled with your pure truth and holy striving, as you have promised, greatly desiring with my whole heart and striving in everything, that I may be seen and recognized as with the virtues as with the purities and with the absolution of sins especially through these sacred

1. Ars. Not. also reads "penitus", but GH reads "peritus".

mysteries to arrive at and better attain that art, praiseworthy, and pure for the sacred vision.

Hely reuerende allmyghte and gouernor of the | superyor angells and archangells and all | celestyall creatures and also infernall of whose ple -| ntyfull goodenes It cõmeth þ^{t} we do thé any good seru-

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ice, whose power governeth þ^{e} 4 partes of the | worlde which haste created man of boones soule | and sprite to thyne owne symylitude and lykenes gyue | unto me the knowledge of thys arte :::: dic peticionem | tuam sed pro deitate dic ut sequitur ::: and the effecte | of thy visyon strengthing me in the lybertei of this vis-| ion and Holy scyence. Amen.

[LXV. Oration 10.]

Hely reverend, almighty, and governor of the superior angels and archangels, and all celestial creatures, and also infernal, of whose plentiful goodness it cometh that we do thee any good service, whose power governeth the four parts of the world, which hast created man of bones, soul, and spirit to thine own similitude and likeness, give unto me the knowledge of this art (*Here recite your petition — if for the Deity say as follows:*) and the effect of thy vision, strengthening me in the liberty of this vision and holy science. Amen.

Horlon vel Cadion god which haste | made all thinges in number weyght and measure th -| orow whose gyft every weake heade shall be lyft up | who hathe appoynted the measures of all momentes | and dayes who alone doest name the starres & numbre | them gyue unto me the effecte of thy visyon that in the | knowledge and workinge of thys arte I maye loue the | and se the and of thy goodenes may haue the gyft of þ^{e} | visyon or syghte of the. Amen.

[LXVI. Oration 11.][1]

Horlon God, which hast made all things in number, weight, and measure, through whose gift every weak head shall be lifted up, who hath appointed the measures of all moments and days, who alone dost name the stars and number them, give unto me the effect of thy vision that in the knowledge and working of this art, [that] I maye love thee and see thee, and of thy goodness, [and I] may have the gift of the vision or sight of thee. Amen.

1. This oration is the only one that is never mentioned in the descriptions of the rituals. See GH, p. 49. Compare Ars. Not. 142.

Correncymon vel Correri-| mon the mediator of all creatures & operatyons | of whome naturally commethe all good thinges | and all good gyftes and all effectuall and perfytt thinges | whose worde is lyuely and cõmeth from the pryncely | seate, thorow thy grace into ower harts, all other thi| nges in the meane whyle kepinge scylence in a meane | thorow thy greate loue and charyte so order my und-| erstandinge that I may obtayne the most excellent | mistery of this arte and of thy holy visyon that I may

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obtayne the perfytt effecte of the hooly thinges. amen.

O ffather allmyghty Iudge which hast shewed unto | hus thy sauing helthe and in the sygte [sic] of all people | hast reuelyd thy iustice, open myn eyes and lyghten | my harte w^{t} thy helthfull Iustice that I may se the | glorious meruells, & how miche inuocencye I maye | obtayne in this arte & clernes of understandinge, | & þ^{t} thorow the helpe which oñely doest meruells I | may in this worke sodenly be made wholy þ^{t} thorow | my holynes and Innocencye Ioyned w^{t} thy loue ::: dic | petitionem tuam sed pro deitate dic ut sequitur :::: | I may se and behold the & thy holy visyon & thorow þ^{e} | intercessyon of thy celestyall powres I may honor | the world wythowte ende. Amen.

[LXVII. Oration 12.] **[J4]**

Correncymon (or Correrimon) the mediator of all creatures and operations, of whom naturally cometh all good things, and all good gifts, and all effectual and perfect things, whose word is lively, and cometh from the princely seat, through thy grace into our hearts all other things in the meanwhile keeping silence in a mean through thy great love and charity, so order my understanding that I may obtaine the most excellent mystery of this art and of thy holy vision, that I may obtain the perfect effect of the holy things. Amen.

[LXVIII. Oration 13.]

[Ihelur], O father, almighty judge, which hast shewed unto us thy saving health and in the sight of all people hast revealed thy justice, open mine eyes and lighten my heart with thy healthful justice, that I may see thy glorious marvels, and how much innocence I may obtain in this art, and clearness of understanding, and that through the help which only dost marvels I may in this work suddenly be made holy, that through my holiness and innocence joined with thy love *(Here recite your petition — if for the Deity say as follows)* I may see and behold thee and thy holy vision, and through the intercession of thy celestial powers I may honor thee, world without end. Amen.

Gosgamel vel Gasgamyel :: | the honor of all wisdome, þ^{e} gyuer of all knowledge to | them in whome Is noo synne, þ^{e} master of all spirituall | disciplyne & spirytuall gyft þ^{e} banysher of all vyce, the | doe I besiche o lorde by thy ãgells, & archãgells, thrones, | pryncypatp,

[LXIX. Oration 14.]

Gasgamel, the honor of all wisdom, the giver of all knowledge to them in whom is no sin, the master of all spiritual discipline and spiritual gifts, the banisher

potestates, & vertues, by cherubyn, & seraph-| yn, & 24 elders, & by all þ^{e} celestyall hoost I doo worsh-| ipe, inuocate, desyre, & feare gloryffye & exalte thy most | holy ffearfull & mekest name. I beseche þ^{e} o lorde þ^{t} thow | wylte this illumyne my harte w^{t} þ^{e} lyghte of thy holy spr-| yte þ^{t} it may be made fruytfull & clensyd w^{t} þ^{e} grace of þ^{i}

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hooly visitayon [sic] and that thow wylte strengthe It wyth | charyte thow which art thre persons & oone Substance. Amen.

of all vice, thee do I beseech, O Lord, by thy angels and archangels, thrones, principalities, potestates and virtues, by cherubin and seraphin, and 24 elders, and by all the celestial host, I do worship, invocate, desire and fear, glorify and exalt thy most holy fearful and meekest name. I beseech thee O Lord, that thou wilt this [day] illumine my heart with the light of thy Holy Spirit, that it may be made fruitful and cleansed with the grace of thy holy visitation and that thou wilt strengthen it with charity thou which art three persons and one substance. Amen.

[LXX. Oration 15.]

Emanuel I worship the O kinge of kinges my | god And My Substance, and Also my | knowledge my memorye And My Strengthe whych In | oone Hower dyddest gyue dyuerse kynde of Speches to the | buylders of the tower, and which Also diddest shide In to thy | Holy apostles the Anoynting of the Seuen folde grace of thy | holy Sprite and didest then þ^{e} gyfte Sodenly to Speke All | maner of langwages, & commaundest them to teche us the | princyples or letters of all those Spiches by the vertu of | thy worde, wher w^{t} thow hast made all thinges, And by the | power of this holy thinge breath in to my harte and pow-| er into it the dew of thy grace that I beinge sodenly bre-| athed upon w^{t} the lighte of thy holy sprite may obtayne þ^{e} | effecte of this worke and the puryfycatyon of my sou-| le and the effecte of all these holy visyons, and A subtyle, | and A wyttye, and A clensyd, and puryfyed mynde. Amen.

Emanuel I worship thee O king of kings, my god and my substance, and also my knowledge, my memory, and my strength, which in one hour didst give diverse kind of speechs to the builders of the tower, and which also didst shide into thy holy apostles the annointing of the seven-fold grace of thy Holy Spirit, and didst then the gift suddenly to speak all manner of languages, and commandest them to teach us the principles or letters of all those speechs by the virtue of thy word, wherewith thou hast made all things, and by the power of this holy thing, breath into my heart, and pour into it the dew of thy grace that, I being suddenly breathed upon with the light of thy Holy Spirit may obtain the effect of this work and the purification of my soul, and the effect of all these holy visions, and a subtle, and a white, and a cleansed, and purified mind. Amen.

Hon vel Lynozathemos: |
ezethomos . Iezemonos . hazalathon . azaithon . hentynethel . | hezemtinethel . zamay . zathon . hamanzathon . zamarzathon . | Hezemegnor . zecromanda . Iechomancha . Ieraphay . zarapha-| my . phalezethon . phabogheton . seremyhal . sacramyzan . Ieth-| emathon . sacramazaym . secranal . sacramathon . Iezemy . hala-| thon . hathezihatos . Iecely . mathon . ateriathos . zay . mazay . | zammazazay . guygu . cheibib . gigithios . guahiros . megalon

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senegalon . heracruhit . ciarihuht . haracrihuz.

[LXXI. Oration 16.]

Hon (or Lynozathemos) ezethomos iezemonos hazalathon azaithon hentynethel hezemtynethel zamayzathon hamanzathon zamarzathon Hezemegnor zecromanda iechomancha ieraphay zaraphamy phalezethon phaboghecon seremyhal sacramyzan iethemathon sacramazaym secranal sacramathan iezemy halathon hathezihacos ieceley mathon ateriathos zai mazay zamma zazay guygucheibib gigithios guahiros megalon senegalon heracruhit ciarihuht haracrihuz.

O lord god Incompshensyble Invysyble and Immor-| tall and w^{t} owt mans understandinge whose cou-| ntenance angells and archangells and all the celestyall powers | doo ardently desyre to beholde whose maiestye I desyer to | worship euerlastingly and contynually to my power I doo | exercyse myselfe to worship the ome [sic] god worlde wyth o-| wt ende. Amen.

[LXXII. Latin Oration.]

O Lord God, incomprehensible, invisible, and immortal, and without [beyond] man's understanding, whose countenance angels and archangels, and all the celestial powers do ardently desire to behold, whose majesty I desire to worship everlastingly and continually to my power I do exercise myself to worship the one God, world without end. Amen.

Admyhel lorde god hooly and almighty father here | this daye my prayers & bowe dou~e | thyn eare to my petycyons chemon . gezomelyhon . samaht . | gezagam . Iezehator . lesebator . sezehacon . saymanda . sa-| may . gezihel . gulahentihel . Iezel . Iezetihel . galatihel . | gazay . hetihel . ☽☽ +

[LXXIII. Oration 17.]

Admyhel, Lord, God, holy and almighty father, hear this day my prayers and bow down thine ear to my petitions **Chemon . gezomelyhon . samaht . gezagam . iezehator . | lesehator . sezehacon . saymanda . samay . gezihel . gulahentihel .**

iezel . iezetihel . galatihel . gazay . hetihel.

[In marg:] O god **** arte ********** ********** ********** ********** ********* by the power of thy holy [Spirit into my mind and understanding, and grant that the] gifte of thy grace may shine into my harte & into my sowle nowe & ever more. Amen. (that must folowe after the prayer admel which is þ^e^ 17 prayer.[1]

[LXXIV. Latin Oration.]

Oh God eternal, the way, the truth, and the life; give thy light and the flower and virtue of thy Holy Spirit into my mind and understanding, and grant that the gift of thy grace may shine forth in my heart, and into my soul, now and evermore. Amen.

1. Oracio Latina.

deus [S3 adds meus] semper via vita veritas da lucem tuam florere per virtutem sancti spiritus in conscienciam meam et mentem meam et concede ut fulgeat et clarescat domus [GH: donum] operacionis tuæ et donum graciæ tuæ in cor meum et [S3 adds: in] animam meam nunc et per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Honzimorib vel Horysmorb : | lemogethon . Hegemothon . Hazathay . Hazathar . Hazam-| athar . [hazatha . hazamathar .][3] Iazamathan . Zegomothay . Gohathay . Zachana . Lego-| mothay . Iathama . Legomezon . Legornezon . Lemdomethon . H-| athanathyos . Lamdomathon . Iegomaday . Hathaman . Zacha-| mos . Hathanayos . Hellestymon . Zelezyon . Naderabar . Na-| gedarom . Lamuanaht . Lamandy . Gemethor . Guomon . Gehor . | Genamchor . Hellemay . Iezecromay . Iecromal . Iecrohaly . | Tholomanos . CColomaithos .

[LXXV. Oration 18.]

honzimorib lemogethon Hegemothon Hazathay Hazathar Hazamathar hazatha hazamathar Iazamathan Zegomothay Gohathay Zachana Legomothay iachama Legomezon Legornezon Lemdomethon hathanathios Lamdomathon Iegomaday hathamam Zachamos Hathanayos helesschymon zelezion Vaderabar Vagedarom lamnavaht lamandi Gemethor Guomon Gehor Genamchor Hellemay Iezecromay Iecromal iecrahaly Tholomanos colomaithos.

O the lyffe of men and of all creatures visible and inui-| sible þ^e^ euerlastinge bryghtenes of þ^e^ celestyall | sprites the endeles helthe of all men the fowntayn of all godelines | which

[LXXVI. Latin Oration.]

O the life of men and of all creatures visible and invisible, the everlasting

Knowest all thinges before thei be done which Iudgest all | thinges visible and inuisible, and by thy unspekeable dispotycyon

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doest diserrne them, gloryfy thy hooly and ineffable name | this daye & stregthen [sic] my harte my understandinge & my sowle, | and encrease myne Innocencye and confyrme my prayers & | make my sowle pure & cleane ffrom all vyce, & indwe it w^{t} | vertues & pennance, w^{t} morninge & Inuocencye þ^{t} thorow | þ^{e} abundance of puernes & inuocencye gyven me of thé & | thorow the ssyle of pennance, & of thy grace I may laude & | prayse the and know þ^{e} w^{t} owt any shadow or fygure & þ^{t} | I may se the face to face and may gloryfye thy name to | thy honor & prayse worlde w^{t} owt ende. Amen.

brightness of the celestial spirits, the endless health of all men, the fountain of all godliness, which knowest all things before they be done, which judgest all things visible and invisible, and by thy unspeakable disposition dost discern them, glorify thy holy and ineffable name this day and strengthen my heart, my understanding, and my soul, and increase mine innocence, and confirm my prayers, and make my soul pure and clean from all vice, and endue it with virtues and penance, with mourning and innocence, that through the abundance of pureness and innocence given me of thee, and through the sile of penance, and of thy grace I may laud and praise thee and know thee without any shadow or figure, and that I may see thee face to face, and may glorify thy name to thy honor and praise, world without end. Amen.

Ioht omaza vel Phet ::: |behea . theon . megal . menehon . exhehal . tirigel . harapheioc-| om . Semenoyn . Sehumeny . hachemathan . hiemaraym . | Gemehehon . lucharanochyn . exnotheyn . themelyhen . segyhon . hyho-| nenyr . HacrisentHeon.

[LXXVII. Oration 19.]

Ioht . omaza . behea . theon . megal . menehon . exhehal . tirigel . harapheiocon . Semenoyn . Sehumeny . hachemathan . hiemarayn . Gemehehon . lucharanochyn . exnotheyn . themelihen . segyhon . hihovenyr . hacrisientheon.

kynge of kynges god of Infynite mercye & maiestye þ^{e} | graunter þ^{e} disposer, & distributor & stablysher of | all foundatyons laye þ^{e} foundatyõ of all thy vertues in me & take | frõ me þ^{e} folyschenes of my harte þ^{t} my sences may be stablyssh-| ed in þ^{e} loue of thy charite, and lett thy holy sprite be my instr-| ucter acordinge to thy creatyõ & inuocatyõ of thy name þ^{t} I | may haue

[LXXVIII. Latin oration.]

King of kings, God of infinit mercy and majesty, the granter, the disposer, and distributor and establisher of all foundations, lay the foundation of all thy virtues in me, and take from me the foolishness of my heart, that my senses may be established in the love of thy

effectually þ^{e} syghte of thy face whiche liuest & | regnest god worlde wyth owt ende. Amen.

charity, and let thy Holy Spirit be my instructor according to thy creation and invocation of thy name, that I may have effectually the sight of thy face, which livest and reignest God, world withoit end. Amen.

hofely vel zozely god the ffather all-| mighty form whome all good thinge dothe cõme whose greatenes | is incomperhensyble here this daye my prayers which I offre | in thy syghte and graunte me þ^{e} gyfte þ^{t} I aske of þ^{e}, & geve me þ^{e} | Ioye of thy sauinge helth, & þ^{t} I may this day forsake all mye

[LXXIX. Oration 20.]

Hofob, God the father almighty, from whom all good things doth come, whose greatness is incomprehensible, hear this day my prayers which I offer in thy sight, and grante me the gift that I ask of thee, and give me the joy of thy saving health, and that I may this day forsake all my iniquities, and take thy ways and the paths of thy knowledge, and let all stubborn and unbelievers convert unto thee, and even as I think with my heart, and speak with my mouth, so lay the foundation in me, that in this work I may seem and appear to be helping of thee. Amen.

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Iniquytes & take thy wayes & þ^{e} pathes of thy knowledde, and | lett all stubborne & unbeliuers conuerte unto þ^{e}, & even as I thy-| nke w^{t} my harte, & speake w^{t} my mouthe so lay þ^{e} fowndatyon in | me þ^{t} in this worke I may seme and appere to be holpen of | the. Amen.

Messamarathon vel Azeffamadathon . | gezomothon . ezomathon . haiha-| ca . hagibar . hagiathar . haihatha . | Lethasiel . Lechisihel . Gethiduhal . Geguhay . Iechonay . Samazaraht . | Samazarel . zamazchel . Sergomazar . Hazomathon . Hazoth-| ynathon . Iesomathon . Iezochor . Heihasai . Heihazar . Samy . z-| amyn . Helihel . Saraehelyhel . Syloth . Sylereht . Gezemachal . | Ierezonay . Iecornenay . Samyhahel . Hefemyhel . Secozomay . | Sedomazay . Sechothamay . Saima . Rabiathos . Hamnos . H-| amnas. Amen.

[LXXX. Oration 21.][1]

Messamarathon gezomothon ezomathon haihatha hagihar hagiathar haihatha Lethasiel Lechisihel gethiduhal Geguhay iethonay samazataht Samazarel zamazthel Sergomazar Hazomathon Hazothynathon Iesomathon Iezochor heihazay Heihazar Samy Zamyn Helihel samehelihel siloth silereht gezemathal iecoronay Iecornenay Samyhahel hesemyhel Secozomay sedomasay sethothamay Saima rabihathos Hamnos Hamnas. Amen.

O everlastinge god king & Iudge þ^e^ sercher of all good conscyen-| ce clense and puryfye this day my mynde ffor thy holy nam-| es sake by thyes thy holy sacramentes, þ^t^ even as water falleth | owt of heauen so maye inuocentye entre into my Inward pa-| rtts & lett it cum in to my bonnes lyke oyle thorow þ^e^ o god þ^e^ | savyor of all thinges which arte þ^e^ fowntayne & springe of all | goodenes & all godlynes, dyrecte me and bringe me to thys | hooly visyon whych I aske of the whych arte 3 persones | and oone Godd. Amen.

[LXXXI. Latin Oration.]

O everlasting God, king and judge, the searcher of all good conscience, cleanse and purify this day my mind, for thy holy name's sake, by these thy holy sacraments, that even as water falleth out of heaven, so may innocence enter into my inward parts, and let it come into my bones, like oil through thee O God, the savior of all things which art the fountain and spring of all goodness and all godliness, direct me, and bring me to this holy vision which I ask of thee, which art three persons and one God. Amen.

hanethi vel hamethy the god of all | Godlynes and creator of all thinges þ^e^ euerlasting Helthe, and þ^e^ | redemptyon of þ^e^ people, þ^e^ inspyrer of all Graces & holynes þ^e^ | Graunter of all pure operatyons or workes of whose onely | Gyfte and mercy thy Servantes haue remissyon of there sines

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whych hast Graunted unto me wretched synner þ^e^ way | to know thy secret misteryes, thow lorde defende me and | pourge my soule & delyuer my harte from þ^e^ wicked thow-| ghtes of this worlde and all pleasures therof, qwenche in | me utterly & subdew all þ^e^ lustes of fornycatyõ þ^t^ I may | delyghte in clennes, & in þ^e^ workes of ryghteousnes, & in all | vrtues, & þ^t^ þ^u^ wyllte Gyue me þ^e^ petycyon of my harte þ^t^ beinge | confirmed & hauynge pleasure in thy glorye maye loue ::: petic-| yon ::: and þ^t^ I may effectually see þ^e^ face whylles my body lyueth | & þ^t^ þ^e^ power of thy holy sprite maye increase in me by thy helthe | and þ^e^ rewarde of all faythfull people to þ^e^ helthe bothe of soule & | body. Amen.

[LXXXII. Oration 22.]

Cf. Ars. Not. 101.

Hanethi, the God of all godliness and creator of all things, the everlasting health and the redemption of the people, the inspirer of all graces and holiness, the granter of all pure operations or works, of whose only gift and mercy thy servants have remission of their sins, which hast granted unto, a me wretched synner, the way to know thy secret mysteries, thou, O Lord, defend me and purge my soul, and deliver my heart from the wicked thoughts of this world and all pleasures thereof, quench in me utterly, and subdue all the lusts of fornication that I may delight in cleanness, and in the works of righteousness, and in all virtues, and that thou wilt give me the petition of my heart that being confirmed, and having pleasure in thy glory may love. *(Here recite the petition)* and that I may effectually see thy face whilst my body liveth, and that the power of thy Holy

Spirit may increase in me by thy health and the reward of all faithful people to the health both of soul and body. Amen.

O God the almighty ffather of whõe cõmethe all þ[t] Good Is & | most mercyfull O most myghty God burne my reynes w[t] the | Grace of thy holy sprite, & w[t] þ[e] fyer of thy vysytacyon vysytt me | this daye and be mercyfull to me, & Graunte me thy mercy þ[t] I may | drynke of thy well evyn my fyll, & þ[t] I maye knowe thy wyll | that I maye singe & see thy mervells whych arte 3 persõnes | and oone God. Amen.

[LXXXIII.][1]

O God, the almighty father of whom cometh all that good is and most merciful, O most mighty God burn my reins [i.e. test my feelings][2] with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, and with the fire of thy visitation, visit me this day, and be merciful to me, and grant me thy mercy, that I may drink of thy well even my fill, and that I may know thy will, that I may sing and see thy marvels, which art three persons and one God. Amen.

1. Cf. Ars. Not. 100.

2. "Ure renes meos": Cf. Ps. 26.2.

Heriona vel Haryona allmyghty | incomperhensible invisible & indiuisible god this day doo I wor-| ship thy holy name I onworthy & most wretchyd synner lyftin-| ge up my prayers my understanding & my reason to thy | holy temple of thy celestyall ierusalem, & to stande befor the | this day my god knowleginge þ[e] to be my lord, & my creator, | & my savyor & I a reasonable creature I this day besiche thy | glorious mekenes þ[t] thy holy sprite maye vyset my infyrmyte,

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and thow o lorde my god which gavest to moyses & aaron thy | seruantes, thorow fayth & puryte grace to see the, gyue unto me | this daye þ[e] grace of thy abundante swettenes wherw[t] thow | didest indewe thy seruantes, & w[t] þ[e] knowledge which þ[u] gauest | them by þ[e] prophettes, & euyn as þ[u] didest for aspace gyue unto | them thy grace, even so giue me þ[e] grace of inuocencye which I | desyer & powrge my conscyence from dead workes, & leade | my understandinge in to thy

[LXXXIV. Oration 23.][1]

Heriona, almighty, incomprehensible, invisible, and indivisible God, this day do I worship thy holy name, I unworthy and most wretched sinner, lifting up my prayers, my understanding, and my reason to thy holy temple of thy celestial Jerusalem, and to stand before thee this day my God, acknowledging thee to be my Lord, and my creator, and my savior, and I a reasonable creature — I this day beseech thy glorious meekness that thy Holy Spirit may visit my infirmity, and thou, O Lord my God, which gavest to Moses and Aaron thy servants, through faith and purity, grace to see thee, give unto me this day the grace of thy abundant sweetness wherewith thou didst endue thy servants, and with the knowledge which

1. Cf. Ars. Not. 115.

2. Cf, Heb. 9:14.

holy waye o thow lorde god wh-| ich didest vouchsaffe to create me to thyn owne image and | lykenes here me in thy ryghtewossies, & teche me in thy tru-| the, & replenishe my soule w^{t} thy grace accordinge to thy greate | marcy þ^{t} I may so miche þ^{e} more delyghte in þ^{e} multytude of | thy mercyes, & in thy greate workes, & þ^{t} I may haue pleasure | in þ^{e} fulfillinge of thy cõmaundementes, & being holpen with | thy grace, & restored to good workes shall reioyce in harte, | & my conscyence beinge pourged I maye trust in þ^{e}, & may | ffeede in thy syghte, & exalte thy name becawse it is good, o lord | sanctefy me this daye in þ^{e} sighte of all thy sayntes þ^{t} I maye | lyue in faythe perffytte hope, & constante charitye of the visyon | which I desyer, & þ^{t} thorow grace gotten I may be exalted streng-| thened & illumyned I may loue þ^{e} & know þ^{e}, & þ^{t} I may haue | assuredly Inuocentye wisdome clennes & holynes whych | þ^{u} promisedest to geue unto men from þ^{e} seates of thy euerlastinge | hylles, & þ^{t} I may retayne them in my memorye o Iesu christ the | only be gotten sonne of god into whose handes þ^{e} father befroe [sic] | all worldes gaue all thinges gyue unto me this daye for thy | holy gloryous & ineffable names sake compe~te (?) norischement | bothe of soule & body, & giue unto me a clere will, & a free soule | & a redy þ^{t} whatsoeuer I aske thorow thy mercy & truthe, & will | it maye be gyuen me & all my prayers & actes maye be rooted

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in the and confyrmed according to thy pleasure open unto me o lo-| rde my god & father of my lyffe þ^{e} fowndacyõ of þ^{e} syghte which | I desyer to see, open unto me o lorde þ^{e} fowntayne which thow | openedest to ower forfather adam, and to abraham, Isaac & | Iacob thy seruantes þ^{t} thei mighte biliue loue & obey glorifye | and sanctefy þ^{e}, receue for me this day þ^{e} prayers & intercess-| yons of all sayntes, and of all þ^{e} celestyall powers that I m-| ay be made apte to be tawght. Amen.

thou gavest them by the prophets, and even as thou didst for a space give unto them thy grace, even so give me the grace of innocence which I desire, and purge my conscience from dead works,[2] and lead my understanding into thy holy way. O thou Lord God, which didst vouchsafe to create me to thine own image and likeness, hear me in thy righteousness, and teach me in thy truth, and replenish my soul with thy grace according to thy great mercy, that I may so much the more delight in the multitude of thy mercies, and in thy great works, and that I may have pleasure in the fulfilling of thy commandments, and being holpen with thy grace, and restored to good works, shall rejoice in heart, and my conscience being purged, I may trust in thee, and may feed in thy sight, and exalt thy name because it is good. O Lord, sanctify me this day in the sight of all thy saints that I may live in faith, perfect hope, and constant charity of the vision which I desire, and that through grace gotten I may be exalted, strengthened, and illumined [that] I may love thee and know thee, and that I may haue assuredly innocence, wisdom, cleanness, and holiness which thou promised to give unto men from the seats of thy everlasting halls, and that I may retain them in my memory. O Jesus Christ, the only begotten son of God, into whose hands the Father before all worlds gave all things, give unto me this day for thy holy, glorious, and ineffable names' sake competent (? Lat. ineffable) nourishment both of soul and body, and give unto me a clear will, and a free soul, and a ready [one], that whatsoever I ask through thy

mercy and truth and will, it may be given me and all my prayers and acts may be rooted in thee and confirmed according to thy pleasure. Open unto me, O Lord my God and father of my life, the foundation of the sight which I desire to see. Open unto me, O Lord the fountain which thou openedest to our forefather Adam, and to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob thy servants, that they might believe, love and obey, glorify, and sanctify thee. Receive for me this day the prayers and intercessions of all saints, and of all the celestial powers, that I may be made apt to be taught. Amen.

Iuestre vel Celieste I worshyp | the kinge of kings & lord of lordes, o everlasting & imperm-| utable kinge understondinge this daye my crye, and þ^{e} mor-| ninge of my sprite & harte þ^{t} my understoninge being cha-| nged & hauinge a fleshly harte in þ^{e} stidd of a stonye harte | I maye trust in þ^{e} o my lorde & sauyo^{r}, washe me inwar-| dely o lorde w^{t} thy new sprite, and for þ^{e} evil understondin-| ge of my fleshe giue me thy holy understandinge & take | from me þ^{t} that is evill changinge me into a new man, | & þ^{t} thorow þ^{e} loue wherw^{t} þ^{u} haste reformed þ^{e} worlde þ^{u} | wilte reforme me, & þ^{t} thy holynes may geue unto me þ^{e} | encrese of all holynes, here this daye o lorde my praye-| rs w^{t} þ^{e} which I cry unto þ^{e}, and open þ^{u} þ^{e} eyes of my | fleshe þ^{t} I may consyder perceue & understande þ^{e} mer-| uells of them þ^{t} shall be powrched & gloryfyed by thy | spirytuall grace, þ^{t} beinge iustefyed in thy ryghtewousnes | I maye preuele in þ^{e} sighte of þ^{e} devill which is aduers-| arye to all faythfull people, here me o lord my god & be | mercyfull unto me þ^{u} which hast creatd me shew me this | day thy mercy &

[LXXXV. Oration 24.][1]

Yvestre, I worship thee, king of kings and Lord of Lords, O everlasting and immutable king, understanding this day my cry, and the mourning of my spirit and heart, that my understanding being changed and having a fleshy heart instead of a stone heart, I may trust in thee O my Lord and savior. Washe me inwardly O Lord with thy new spirit, and for the evil understanding of my flesh give me thy holy understanding and take from me that which is evil, changing me into a new man, and that through the love wherewith thou hast reformed the world thou wilt reform me, and that thy holiness may give unto me the increase of all holiness. Hear this day, O Lord, my prayers, with the which I cry unto thee, and open thou the eyes of my flesh, that I may consider, perceive, and understand the marvels of

1. Cf. Ars. Not. 116.

putt forthe to me þ^e^ helthfull cuppe þ^t^ I

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may drinke, & be satisffyed of þ^e^ well of thy grace þ^u^ o god & þ^t^ | I may be oone of those which shall be sanctefyed & þ^t^ shall see | thy holy visyon which I desyer & wysche for this daye þ^t^ I may | singe w^t^ under standinge in my soule, & may stande & beholde thy holy | visyon, & lett þ^e^ grace of thy holy sprite cum thys daye owt of heauen | and rest in me. Amen.

them that shall be powrched and glorified by thy spiritual grace, that being justified in thy righteousness I may prevail in the sight of the devil, which is adversary to all faithful people. Hear me, O Lord my God, and be merciful unto me, thou which hast created me. Shew me this day thy mercy, and put forth to me the healthful cup that I may drink, and be satisfied of the well of thy grace, thou O God, and that I may be one of those which shall be sanctified and that shall see thy holy vision which I desire, and wish for this day, that I may sing with understanding in my soul, and may stand and behold thy holy vision, and let the grace of thy Holy Spirit come this day out of Heaven and rest in me. Amen.

Saday oo lord I sinner confesse unto þ^e^ oo ffather maker | of heauen & earthe & of all visible & inuisible creatur-| es þ^e^ disposer of all vertues, & gyuer of all good graces, which, which ke-| pyst thy wysdõe & knowledge & thy charyte frõ þ^e^ proud and | wicked, & deest shew it to þ^e^ humble & meke, humble this day my | harte & stablyshe my understandinge, & my mynd, encrease my | understandinge & my cõscyence þ^t^ I may loue þ^e^, understand þ^e^ & se | þ^e^, sygne me this day o lord w^t^ þ^e^ lyghte of thy countenãce that | I beinge renewed & clensed from all dede workes & all my sinnes | may preuayle amonge them þ^t^ shall see þ^e^, proue me O most mercyfull | & almighty god, & burne my raynes strengthen my harte this | daye, & illumyne it w^t^ þ^e^ grace of thy holy sprite, & vysett me w^t^ þ^e^ | feruent grace of thy visitatyon lighten my mynde & gyrde my | loynes w^t^ stronge stabylite, & piett in to my righte hande the | staffe of comforte, & lett me be washed amonge them þ^t^ shall be | washed w^t^ thy droopes, & dyrecte my mynde into thy holynes, & | confyrme my sprite

[LXXXVI. Oration 25]

Saday, O Lord, I a sinner confess unto thee O Father, maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all visible and invisible creatures, the disposer of all virtues, and giver of all good graces, which, which keepest thy wisdom and knowledge and thy charity from the proud and wicked, and dost shew it to the humble and meek, humble this day my heart, and establish my understanding and my mind. Increase my understanding and my conscience, that I may love thee, understand thee, and see thee. Sign me this day O Lord with the light of thy countenance, that I being renewed and cleansed from all deeds, works, and all my sins, may prevaile among them that shall see thee, prove me O most merciful and almighty God, and burn my reins,

w^{t} þ^{e} worke of thy handes þ^{t} all vyces & | ffylthynes of synne beinge rooted owt of me I maye strongely | preuele in þ^{e} loue of thy mercyes inspire in to me o lorde þ^{e} breihe | of lyffe & encrease my mynde & my understandinge thorow þ^{e} | constancye & stablenes of thy holy spryte þ^{t} my spryte maye be | conforted & encrease in þ^{e} exercyse of thy workes & prayse, be-| holde o lorde & cõsyder this daye þ^{e} worke of my mynde & lett | thy godly will be shewed in me & send owt of heauen unto me in to þ^{e} | earthe þ^{e} cõfortor thy holy spryte þ^{t} he may stablyshe me & helpe

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me, that I maye se the and prayse the and enioye þ^{e} whõe I de-| syer which arte my grace my glorye & my defence. amen.

strengthen my heart this day, and illumine it with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, and visit me with the fervent grace of thy visitation. Lighten my mind and gird my loins with strong stability, and piety into my right hand the staff of comfort, and let me be washed among them that shall be washed with thy drops, and direct my mind into thy holiness, and confirm my spirit with the work of thy hands, that all vices and filthiness of sin being rooted out of me, I may strongly prevail in the love of thy mercies. Inspire into me, O Lord, the breath of life, and increase my mind and my understanding, through the constancy and stableness of thy Holy Spirit, that my spirit may be comforted, and increase in the exercise of thy works and praise. Behold O Lord, and consider this day the work of my mind, and let thy godly will be shewed in me, and send out of Heaven unto me into the Earth the comforter thy Holy Spirit, that he may establish me and help me, that I may see thee and praise thee, and enjoy thee whom I desire, which art my grace, my glory, and my defense. Amen.

Maloht otheos hara . magiel . hacaha . mar -| yhel . gezozay . iezoramp . | Gezozay . Saziel . Sazamay . Iezoramp . Zazamanp . Sacamap . | Zachamay . Iecornamas . Iecoharnampde . Salatiel . Gezomel . | Zarathiel . megall . nachama . nechamyha . Sazamaym . Sophonaym . | lazamar . mehisrampna . Hamamyl . Zamanyl . Syhel . Deloth . Ham-| amyn . Hazeme . loch . moys . Ramna . Secozam . Hanasichonea . Ser-| onea . Zaramahe . <Sacromaahe> . Sacromohem . Iegonomay . Zara-| mohem . Chades . Bachuc . Iezemeloht . Harngo . Semorgizethon . |

[LXXXVII. Oration 26.][1]

Maloht + otheos + hatamagiel + hataha + marihel + gezozay + iezoray + Gezozay + Saziel + Sazamay + Iezoramp + Zazamanp + Sacamap + Zachamay + Iecornamas + iecohornampda + Salatiel + Gezomel + Zarachiel + megalis + nachama + nechamyha + Sazamaym + sophonaym + lazamair + mehisrampna + Hamamyl

1. Cf. Ars. Not. 118.

Malaparos . Malapatas . Helatay . Helahenay . mechay . meray.

+ Zamanyl + Sihel + Deloth + Hamamyn + hazemeloch + moys + Ramna + Secoram + Hanasichonea + Seronea + Zaramahem + Sacromohem + Iegonomay + Zaramohem + Chades + Bachuc + Iezemeloht + Harngo + Sezorgizechon + Malaparos + Malapatas + Helatay + Helahenay + Methay + Meray +

O mercyffull god O gentyll god O almighty god þ^{e} gyuer of all | thinges doo for me this daye whych doo beliue althynges po-| ssible helpe thys daye my unbeliffe and haue mercy upon me euen | as thow haddest mercy of adam when he repented which also didest | gyue unto him asoodayn gyfte of all vertues thorow þ^{e} mercy of thy | allmightynes giue unto me this daye thoro thy mercy þ^{e} grace that | I desyer, þ^{t} I hauing delighte in þ^{e} greatenes of thy workes may ob-| tayne þ^{e} effecte of thy visyõ which I desyer, O most gentyll ffather be | nighe this daye unto my worke, O most gentyll sonne of god con-| fyrme & strenthen me breathe upon me w^{t} thy holy sprite O holy & | allmighty god stablyshe my worke this daye and teche me that | I may walke innocentely in thy sighte O glorious god þ^{t} þ^{u} mayste | delyghte in the abundance and thy plentyfull grace þ^{t} þ^{e} violence of | þ^{e} ffloode of thy most holy spryte may make þ^{e} cyte of my harte | gladd & may make it pwer in þ^{e} faythe of thy holy visyon and in þ^{e} | hope of þ^{e} effectuall inuocencye for þ^{e} which I labour and maye | replenishe my harte w^{t} thy abundant charite, and quicken me w^{t}

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þ^{e} beames of thy holy spryte and defend me w^{t} þ^{e} everlastinge loue | of thy abundant mercy, and þ^{t} thy grace be nott voyde in me I besic-| he the o lorde my god, but þ^{t} it maye abyde in me alwayes abundan-| tly, hele my soule o lorde w^{t} thy inestymable & ineffable goodenes | because I

[LXXXVIII. Latin Oration.][1]

1. Cf. Ars. Not. 119.

O merciful God, O gentle God, O almighty God, the giver of all things, do for me this day, which do believe all things possible, help this day my unbelief and have mercy upon me even as thou hadst mercy on Adam when he repented, which also didst give unto him a suddain gift of all virtues through the mercy of thy almightiness, give unto me this day through thy mercy the grace that I desire, that I having delighted in the greatness of thy works may obtain the effect of thy vision which I desire. O most gentle father, be nigh this day unto my work. O most gentle Son of God, confirm and strengthen me. Breath upon me with thy Holy Spirit. O holy and almighty God, establish my work this day, and teach me that I may walk innocently in thy sight, O glorious God, that thou mayst delight in the abundance and thy plentiful grace, that the violence of the flood of thy most Holy Spirit may make the site of my heart glad, and may make it pure in the faith of thy holy vision, and in the hope of the effectual innocence, for the which I labor and may replenish my heart with thy abundant charity, and quicken me with

haue sinned agaynst þ^{e} comfort my harte this daye þ^{t} | I may receue inwardely that which þ^{u} wylte gyue me and kepe | it that I maye be apte and mite to see thy face thorow the most | holy sacramentes aforsayd thorow þ^{e} workinge of the grace of | the father of the sonne & of þ^{e} holy goost. Amen.

the beams of thy Holy Spirit, and defend me with the everlasting love of thy abundant mercy, and [grant] that thy grace be not void in me. I beseech thee, O Lord my God, but that it may abide in me always abundantly. Heal my soul, O Lord, with thy inestimable and ineffable goodness, because I have sinned against thee. Comfort my heart this day, that I may receive inwardly that which thou wilt give me, and keep it that I may be apt and mite to see thy face, through the most holy sacraments aforesaid, through the working of the grace of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Sechce vel Sethye oo godely father | O mercyfull soñe, | O gentyll holy spryte 3 persoñes and oone god, O ineffable and inestymable | kinge I besiche þ^{e} and thy holy name, & thy aboundant ryghteousnes which | worketh all thinges þ^{t} þ^{u} wylte remitte & forgyue and haue mercy upõ | me wretched synner persuming unto this worke which I haue begone | þ^{t} is to know and haue þ^{e} sighte of þ^{e} þ^{t} þ^{u} O my lorde and thy grace whic-| h I desyer may abundantely wex and grow stronge in me, open o lo-| rde myn eares þ^{t} I may here, comfforte my handes þ^{t} I may worke | clense þ^{e} syghte of myn eyes þ^{t} I may see, make me cercamspecte | þ^{t} I may performe and bringe to passe, strengthen my sytte þ^{t} I may | walke, open my nosthrells and my mowgthe þ^{t} I may smelle and | taste, and speke, those thinges þ^{t} may be plesant unto þ^{e} now and euer | to the honor of thy name which is blyssed for euer. amen.

[LXXXIX. Oration 27.][1]

Sechce, O Godly Father, O merciful Son, O gentle Holy Spirit, three persons and one God, O ineffable and inestimable king, I beseech thee and thy holy name, and thy abundant righteousness which worketh all things that thou wilt remit, and forgive, and have mercy upon me, a wretched sinner, presuming unto this work, which I have begone, that is, to know and have the sight of thee, that thou, O my Lord, and thy grace which I desire, may abundantly wax[2] and grow strong in me. Open, O Lord, mine ears that I may hear, comfort my hands, that I may work; cleanse the sight of mine eyes, that I see, make me circumspect, that I may perform and bring to pass; strengthen my sight [*feet],[3] that I may walk; open my nostrils and my mouth that I may smell and taste, and speak those things that may be pleasant unto thee now and ever, to the

1. Cf. Ars. Not. 120.

2. *Lat.* vigeat.

3. *Lat.* Confirma pedes meos, ut ambulem.

honor of thy name, which is blessed forever. Amen.

Alstha vel Elsta ::: O my God thys daye doo Llyft up þ^{e} sensys of my fleshe unto | þ^{e} and my harte þ^{t} I may please the this daye O lorde and that | my syghyng may be knowne in thy sight and þ^{t} my wordes and | workes may be acceptable in thy sighte, & lett thy allmighty gooden-| es & mercye shyne in my bowelles, & lett my mynde be effectually | clensed in thy workes & lett thy glorye encrease in my soule, lett thy

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grace floryshe in my harte and in my mowthe þ^{t} þ^{e} synne which | I haue committed I may putt awaye evyn as marye maged-| elen dyd put awaye hers, & þ^{t} I maye performe and brynge to | effecte that wiche I shall receyue of þ^{e} gyfte of thy grace euyn | as thy holy apostle saynt paule dyd, & as abraham kepe It & | as Isaac remembred it so I may remember it & þ^{t} beynge fo-| wnded and rooted in þ^{e} strength of thy puernes, I maye reioy-| ce þ^{t} þ^{e} fowndatyõ of thy mercy is layd in me, & þ^{t} I delyghtyn-| ge in þ^{e} workes of thy handes may contynually obtayne righ-| twosnes and peace of mynde & body, & shortely after þ^{e} holy visyõ | of þ^{e} & Inioye it contynually, & þ^{e} grace of thy holy spryte plent-| eosly workinge in me I maye reioyce þ^{t} I haue ouercome all | þ^{e} craftes and subteltyes of myn enemyes bothe vysyble | and Invysyble. Amen.

[XC. Oration 28.][1]

Alscha, O my God, this day do lift up the senses of my flesh unto thee, and my heart, that I may please thee this day O Lord, and that my sighing may be known in thy sight, and that my words and works may be acceptable in thy sight, and let thy almighty goodness and mercy shine in my bowels, and let my mind be effectually cleansed in thy works, and let thy glory increase in my soul. Let thy grace flourish in my heart and in my mouth, that the sin which I have committed I may put away, even as Mary Magdelin did put away hers, and that I may perform and bringe to effect that which I shall receive of the gift of thy grace, even as thy holy apostle Saint Paul did, and as Abraham kept it, and as Isaac remembered it, so I may remember it and that being founded and rooted in the strength of thy pureness, I may rejoice that the foundation of thy mercy is laid in me, and that I delighting in the works of thy hands, may continually obtain righteousness, and peace of mind and body, and shortly after the holy vision of thee and enjoy it continually, and the grace of thy Holy Spirit, plentiously working in me I may rejoice that I have overcome all the crafts and subtlties of mine enemies both visible and invisible. Amen.

1. Cf. Ars. Not. 121.

Obdadia vel Abladya ::: |O god þ^e disposer and distrybuter of all kyngdomes and of all | power visible and invisible þ^e governor of good wells dispose | my wyll after þ^e cownsell of thy good spiryte and quicken this daye | my weykenes and my weyke power, & order my mynde aryghte | oo lorde & my wyll to goodenes O lorde þ^t it maye please þ^e, and of | thy gentyll lyberallyte grauntt me mercyffully thy manyffolde grace | nott lokinge to þ^e multytud of my synnes but acordinge to my desyer | gyue me a wyll conformable to þ^e and a wytt reioysing in the power g-| yng þ^e grace of my soule gyuing unto it a good affectyon w^t thy | grace & vysitt me w^t þ^e vysytacyon of thy holy spryte that the fyl-| thynes which I haue thorow my fleshe or thorow my byrthe may | be putt awaye thorow thy deuyne and ineffable goodenes w^t the | which in þ^e beginninge thow didest wouchsaffe to creat heauen and | earthe þ^t thy spirytuall & great mercy w^t þ^e which thow didest wo-

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vchsaffe to restore agayne man beinge lost to the olde state of gra-| ce ffrom whome þ^e will and Iudgement of þ^e deuyll hadd taken | awaye þ^e lybertye to se thy face thow o lorde whose wytt whose | wisdome and brightenes recheth from the beginninge to þ^e endinge | disposing all things pleasavntly myghtely and mercyfully restore | in me all sinceryte and puernes that I onworthy and wretched sy-| nner being confyrmed in all thy workes maye of them be made we-| ll seme and excellent in those thinges which I desyer, and that I may | obtayne the 3 folde and seuenfolde grace of the father + þ^e sonne | + and of the holy gost + that I maye obtayne the holy syght of | the hooly and gloryous trynite whyle I lyue the lord grauntyng & | admynistrynge and workinge it by his most hooly grace which lyue-| the and regneth threy and oone. Amen.

[XCI. Oration 29.][1]

1. Cf. Ars. Not. 122.

Abbadya, O God, the disposer and distributor of all kingdoms and of all power, visible and invisible, the governor of good wills, dispose my will after the counsel of thy good spirit, and quicken this day my weakness and my weak power, and order my mind aright, O Lord, and my will to goodness, O Lord, that it may please thee, and of thy gentle liberality. Grant me mercifully thy manifold grace, not looking to the multitude of my sins, but according to my desire give me a will conformable to thee, and a wit, rejoicing in the power, giving the grace of my soul, giving unto it a good affection with thy grace, and visit me with the visitation of thy Holy Spirit, that the filthiness which I have through my flesh, or through my birth may be put away through thy divine and ineffable goodness, with the which in the beginning thou didst vouchsafe to create Heaven and Earth, that thy spiritual and great mercy with thee, which thou didst vouchsafe to restore again man, being lost to the old state of grace from whom the will and judgment of the devil had taken away the liberty to see thy face, thou O Lord whose wit, whose wisdom, and brightness reacheth from the beginning to the ending, disposing all things pleasantly, mightily, and mercifully. Restore in me all sincerity and pureness, that I [an] unworthy and wretched sinner being confirmed in all thy works may of them be made well, seem, and excellent, in those things which I desire, and that I may obtain the three-fold and seven-fold grace of the

Father + the Son + and of the Holy Ghost + that I may obtain the holy sight of the holy and glorious Trinity while I live, the Lord granting and administering, and working it by his most holy grace, which liveth and reigneth three and one. Amen.

Alpha . et . omega God and lord of all lyu-| inge creatures the ad-| minystrator and Increaser of all visyble and invisyble thinges | Gyvinge all thinges to all creatures accordinge to þ^{e} abundance of | his mercye, accordinge to þ^{e} deseruynges of angells and men shide | into me the abundance of thy celestyall grace, and the grace of thy | holy spryte maye this daye illumyne my harte, and thow o lorde | encrease in me the gyftes of thy holy spiryte, and strengthen me | and renew in me þ^{e} Inwarde man and washe me w^{t} þ^{e} dewe of thy | grace w^{t} þ^{e} which thow hast moystered þ^{e} angells adowrne me w^{t} the | abundance of thyn Innocencye, w^{t} þ^{e} which thow hast adourned and | beautyfyed thy faythfull frome þ^{e} beginninge, þ^{t} þ^{e} gyftes of þ^{e} seuen-| ffolde grace of þ^{e} holy gost maye worke in me, and þ^{e} waters of þ^{e} | celestyall fluddes of the celestyall Ierusalem cõing w^{t} great vehe-| mencye maye washe and fyll the pytt of my conscyence that it | maye ouerfflow wyth the brightenes wherw^{t} thow cõmest owt | of heauen upon þ^{e} waters of þ^{e} holy & pure sacrament of þ^{e} maiesty & | cõfyrme in me þ^{e} mightie thinges of this most holy visiõ. amen.

[XCII. Oration 30.][1]

Alpha and Omega, God and Lord of all living creatures, the administrator and increaser of all visible and invisible things, giving all things to all creatures according to the abundance of his mercy, according to the deservings of angels and men, shide (i.e. pour) into me the abundance of thy celestial grace, and the grace of thy Holy Spirit. May this day illumine my heart, and thou O Lord increase in me the gifts of thy Holy Spirit, and strengthen me and renew in me the inward man, and wash me with the dew of thy grace[2] with the which thou hast moystered (i.e. moistened) the angels. Adorn me with the abundance of thine innocence, with the which thou hast adorned and beautified thy faithfull from the beginning, that the gifts of the seven-fold grace of the Holy Ghost may work in me, and the waters of the celestial floods of the celestial Jerusalem, coming with great vehemence may wash and fill the pit (i.e. well) of my conscience, that it may overflow with the brightness wherewith thou comest out of Heaven upon the waters of the holy and pure sacrament of the majesty and confirm in me the mighty things of this most holy vision. amen.

1. Cp. Ars. Not. 123.

2. Wash me with the dew of your grace: *Lat.* "fecunda me rore tue gracie" (make me fertile with the dew of your grace).

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Leiste vel Trayeste | I conffesse to the o lorde god the ffather of all thyng whych | hast shewyd unto us thy celestyall secretes the doo I humbly | besiche, and thy maiesty doo I desyre and prayse þ[t] euen as þ[u] | arte kinge and prynce of thowghts wylls sowls and all other | vertues euyn so here my prayers this daye and lett my work-| es prosper in thy sighte, and lett my dedys preuayle in the | syghte of all celestyall powers, I cry this daye unto þ[e] oo my | god now here my crye, I make my moone to the thys daye here | the morning of my harte, and I commende this daye my | sprite, my body, my soule in to thy handes and my thowghts | oo my father & my god & lett me nott perceue my selfe to | be forsaken of the but gyue unto me thy mercy þ[t] thy | name maye be exalted in me: o most gentyll god þ[e] holy | gost, whose goodenes is everlasting, whose mercye is | incomperhensible, whose bryghtenes is perpetuall wherof | heauen & earthe is full breath & looke upon me oo lorde, & | unto this my worke, and for thy honor & prayse grawnt | unto me þ[t] that I deuoutly aske & all forwardenes towarde | thy holy visiõ thorow thy godely dispensatyõ may be fulfilled | in me. teache me O lord for in þ[e] doo I putt my selfe to be tawght, | puryfy me for in þ[e] doo I putt my selfe to be puryfyed, clarify | me for in þ[e] doo I putt mi selfe to be clarefied, make me cleane for | in þ[e] doo I putt my selfe to be clensyd, make me innocent for in þ[e] | doo I putt my selfe to be made innocent, gloryfye me o lord for | in þ[e] doo I putt my selfe to be glorified, gouerne me o lorde for | in þ[e] doo I putt my selfe to be gouerned, & power þ[e] faythe of thy

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grace into me, and fasten it in me that the holy gost maye cum into me & | maye reygne and governe me, þ[t] I may obtayne this holy visyon. Amen.

[XCIII. Oration 31.][1]

Leiste, I confess to thee, O Lord God, the father of all things, which hast shewed unto us thy celestial secrets. Thee do I humbly beseech, and thy majest do I desire and praise, that even as thou art king and prince of thoughts, wills, souls, and all other virtues, even so hear my prayers this day, and let my works prosper in thy sight, and let my deeds prevail in the sight of all celestial powers, I cry this day unto thee O my God, now hear my cry. I make my moan to thee this day; hear the mourning of my heart, and I commend this day my spirit, my body, my soul, into thy hands, and my thoughts, O my Father and my God, and let me not perceive myself to be forsaken of thee, but give unto me thy mercy, that thy name may be exalted in me. O most gentle God, the Holy Ghost, whose goodness is everlasting, whose mercy is incomprehensible, whose brightness is perpetual, whereof Heaven and Earth is full, breathe and look upon me, O Lord, and unto this my work, and for thy honor and praise grant unto me that which I devoutly ask, and all forwardness toward thy holy vision, through thy godly dispensation may be fulfilled in me. Teach me, O lord, for in thee do I put myself to be taught. Purify me for in thee do I put myself to be purified. Clarify me, for in thee do I put myself to be clarified. Make me clean, for in thee do I put myself to be cleansed. Make me innocent, for in thee do I put myself to be made innocent. Glorify me, O lord, for in thee do I put myself to be glorified.

1. Cp. Ars. Not. 124.

Govern me, O Lord, for in thee do I put myself to be governed, and pour the faith of thy grace into me, and fasten it in me, that the Holy Ghost may come into me, and may reign and govern me, that I may obtain this holy vision. Amen.

Horiston vel Horystyon | O god be cause I ame thy servañt I serue the this daye and confesse befor | the maiestye of thy glorye in whose syghte all magnyfycence and all holy-| nes is I besiche thy holy and ineffable name þ^{t} þ^{u} woldest this daye bowe | þ^{e} eares of thy pytye to þ^{e} offyce of this my worke & open þ^{e} eyes of thy m-| aiestye þ^{t} thy hande beinge open I maye be satysffyed w^{t} þ^{e} grace which | I desyer & made fruytffull w^{t} charyte & bryghtenes wherw^{t} þ^{u} hast | ffowded heaven & earthe omst godly ffather of thy lyberalyte which lyue-| st and reygnest one god worlde w^{t} owt ende. Amen.

[XCIV. Oration 32.]

1. Cf. Ars. Not. 125.

Horistion, O God, because I am thy servant I serve thee this day, and confess before the majesty of thy glory in whose sight all magnificence and all holiness is. I beseech thy holy and ineffable name that thou wouldest this day bow the ears of thy pity to the office of this my work and open the eyes of thy majesty, that thy hand being open, I may be satisfied with the grace which I desire, and made fruitful with charity and brightness, wherewith thou hast founded Heaven and Earth, O most godly Father of thy liberality, which livest and reignest one God, world without end. Amen.

Ieremon vel ysemon o most m-| ekest my | lorde and my god haue mercy upon me and forgeue my synnes heale | my soule, for I haue synned agaynst þ^{e}, deny nott þ^{t} thinge to oone which | thow hast gyuen to mãy heare o god the prayer of thy servant N. | þ^{t} in what daye soeuer I shall call upon þ^{e} thow wylte here me quickeli | as þ^{u} dydest here holy marye magdalene, receue o lorde þ^{e} prayers | of him þ^{t} confessythe hymselfe to þ^{e}, & here þ^{e} voyce of my prayer thor-| ow þ^{e} intercessyon of þ^{e} most blessyd virgin marye thy mother, & of all | thy sayntes þ^{t} þ^{e} prayers & intercessyons which I make to the in | this hower for this holy vysyõ may cum to thy pytyffull eares

[XCV. Oration 33.]

Jeremon, O most meekest, my Lord and my God, have mercy upon me and forgive my sins. Heal my soul, for I have sinned against thee. Deny not that thing to one which thou hast given to many. Hear, O God, the prayer of thy servant N. that in what day soever I shall call upon thee thou wilt hear me quickly, as thou didst hear holy Mary Magdalene. Receive, O Lord, the prayers of him that confesseth himself to thee, and hear the voice of my prayer, through

þ^{t} I | thorow thy most holy & sacred names which be these::::: Hosel . | Iesel . Hazaiacol . Iosel . Anthiachar . Hazacol . Gezor . Gezamyhor . | namathar . Senales . Iole . Tharotheos . Lochos . Genos . Halla . Sa-| myhel . Ramay . Sacharios . Logos . Patir . Saraht . Iothosym ::::: | Beinge clensyd and purefyed and clarefyed made innocent and | consecrate maye see the glorious and holy sighte of thy face thor-| ow o^{r} lord Iesus christ which lyueth & raygneth worlde wyth owt | ende. Amen.

the intercession of the most blessed virgin Mary, thy mother, and of all thy saints, that the prayers and intercessions which I make to thee in this hour for this holy vision may come to thy pitiful ears, that I through thy most holy and sacred names which be these: **Hosel + Iesel + Hazaiacol + Iosel + Anthiachar + Hazacol + Gezor + Gezamyhor + namathar + Senales + Iole + Tharotheos + Lochos + Genos + Halla + Samyhel + Ramay + Sacharios + Logos + Patir + Saraht + Iothosym,** being cleansed and purified and clarified, made innocent, and consecrate, maye see the glorious and holy sight of thy face, through our Lord Jesus Christ, which liveth and reigneth world without end. Amen.

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[XCVI. Oration 34.]

Hosbor O hyghe lord O Inuisible god, O inest-| imable god O ineffable god, O incomu-| table god, O Incorruptyble god, O pytyffull god, O most | swytest god, O hyghe and gloryous god, O Infynyte god, | O almighte god, father of all mercy I unworthye synner full | of iniquite deceyte & malyce cum humbly unto thy mercye | prayinge & besechinge þ^{e} nott to looke upon all myn & innv-| merable synnes but euen as þ^{u} arte wonte to haue mercye | upon synners & to here þ^{e} prayers of þ^{e} humble & meke, euyn | so wouchsaffe to here me thy servant N. allthough unwo-| rthe crying unto þ^{e} ffor this most hooly & godely vision most | humbly & hartely asking it of þ^{e} by prayer adourned w^{t} thy | holy & sacred names which are these:::: Hosel + Iesel + et | c :::: þ^{t} I may haue vertue & grace which I ought to haue for suc-| he an hyge visyon that Is to saye pryte, Inuocencye, clerenes, | wysdome, holines, charyte, sinceryte, humilite, stedfastenes & | good wyll thorow thy gyft whych syttest in the hyghest to who-| me be

Hofbor, O high Lord, O invisible God, O inestimable God, O ineffable God, O incommutable God, O incorruptible God, O pitiful God, O most sweetest God, O high and glorious God, O infinite God, O almighty God, father of all mercy, I [an] unworthy sinner, full of iniquity, deceit, and malice come humbly unto thy mercy, praying and beseeching thee not to look upon all mine innumerable sins, but even as thou art wont to have mercy upon sinners and to hear the prayers of the humble and meek, even so vouchsafe to hear me, thy servant N., although unworthy, crying unto thee for this most holy and godly vision, most humbly and heartily asking it of thee by prayer adorned with thy holy and sacred

laude glorye and honoer worlde wyth owt ende. | Amen.

names which are these: **Hosel + Iesel +** etc. that I may have virtue and grace which I ought to have for such an high vision, that is to say, purity, innocence, clearness, wisdom, holiness, charity, sincerity, humility, steadfastness, and good will, through thy gift which sittest in the highest to whom be laud, glory, and honor, world without end. Amen.

[XCVII.][1]

[If you wish to know the sequence of these orations, consider the sequence of the one hundred names of God in this book, because the orations always begin with those. And note, that those preceding sacred names of God: **Hosel, Iesel**, and the rest, must be said a little after the beginning of the praying, and also at the beginning of any other oration.]

1. Per S4, GH. Not found in J: Si seriem harum oracionum scire vis, respices [GH: respice] seciem .100. nominum dei huius libri, quia per illa semper incipiunt oraciones. // Et nota quod illa sacra dei nomina predicta .hosel. Iesel. et cetera debent dici paulo post principium orande eciam in principia cuiuslibet oracionis.

Here begineth the .2. parte of clensyng or makyng clene to obtayne the syght of the deyte.

[XCVIII] Here begins the second part: Of cleansing (making [onesself] clean to obtain the sight of the Dei

After that, he that wyll see þ^e deyte hathe pourged & | clensyd & macerated his body we comaunde him | þ^t he kepe him selffe allwayes very clene, & to be garnysshed w^t | all vertues & lett him allwayes remembre

After that, he that will see the Deity hath purged and clear macerated his body; we command him that he keep himself alw clean, and to be garnished with all virtues. And let him always r God, and pray unto Him for the forgiveness of his sins, for God righteous and ought to be feared, for he that doth not love Him, Solomon sayeth, "the beginning of wisdom is to fear God."[1] The every man ought to fear him, for no man of his own worthiness

god, & pray vnto | him for þ^e forgyuenes of his synns, for god is righteous & | ought to be feared, for he þ^t dothe nott loue him, as salomõ saye-| th the begini~ge of wisdome is to feare god, therfore every | man ought to feare him for no man of his owen worthines or

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goodenes dothe deserue or dothe gett glorye or helthe nor can see god w^t | owt grace of his savyo^r, & agayne lett him fast other .12. dayes bread and | water holly w^t owt any other refeccyõ doinge as he dyd before in þ^e other | dayes untill he cum to the .13. daye which must be a thursdaye, & | then agayne yffe he perseue any wyckednes or syne in him selffe lett him | pourge it, & then agayne receyue þ^e body of chryst sayinge :::::

goodness doth deserve or doth get glory or health nor can see G grace of his savior. And again let him fast other twelve days bre water wholly, without any other refection [i.e. respite], doing as before in the other days until he come to the thirteenth day, whi a Thursday. And then again if he perceive any wickedness or sir himself, let him purge it, and then again receive the body of Chr saying:

A prayer to be sayde before þ^e receyving of the body of chryst:::::

A prayer to be said before the receiving of the body of C

O thow lorde Iesu chryst þ^e savo^r of all men whych dydest wo-| uchsaffe to sacryfyce thy bodye for þ^e helth of me most myser-| able synner & for other þ^t liue in þ^e world w^t þ^e whych þ^e .5. day that | is to saye þ^e thursdaye þ^e daye of thy supper thow dydest fide thy | holy apostles w^t thy precyous body & blovde coummavding þ^t in | thy name o^r holy mother þ^e churche shulde consecrate thy most ho-| ly body & bloude þ^t it might be þ^e helthe & lyffe of þ^e soules þ^t beliue | in þ^e, I vnworthy synner receyvinge þ^e o lorde Iesu chryst knowing | & confessinge þ^e to be my lorde & my creator whome I oonly shall | see in my fleshe & noone other, whom I looke for to cõme to be my | Iudge graunt vnto me mercyfull lorde by þ^e vertue of thys holye | misterye þ^t lyke as I doo confesse & know vysyblye thy devine | spirituall & corporall

O thou Lord Jesus Christ, the savior of all men, who didst vouchsafe to sacrifice thy body for the health of me, most miserable sinner, and for other[s] that live in the world wit which the fifth day, that is to say the Thursday the day of t supper thou didst feed thy holy apostles with thy precious b and blood, commanding that in thy name our holy mother t Church should consecrate thy most holy body and blood, t might be the health and life of the souls that believe in thee unworthy sinner, receiving thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, know and confessing thee to be my Lord and my Creator, whom only shall see in my flesh and none other, whom I look for come to be my judge, grant unto me, merciful Lord, by the virtue of this holy mystery that like as I do confess and kno visibly thy divine spiritual and corporeal power by the redemption of thy most holy body and blood, so vouchsafe clarify and purge my body, that, my body being washed, m soul may visibly see the with thy nine orders of angels whil live, and praise thee, who livest and reignest, God, world without end. Amen.

power by þ^e redemptyon of thy most holy | bodye & bloode, so wochsaffe to claryfy & pourge my body, þ^t my | body being washed my soule may vysyblye see þ^e w^t thy .9. ord-| ers of angelles wylles I lyue & prayse þ^e which lyvest & reygnest | god worlde wyth owte ende. Amen.

This doone Go home to thy Howse and begin thy worke after th-| ys soorte :::::: Thow shallte saye þ^e same thursday þ^e psalter w^t þ^e | letanye w^t þ^e proper prayers folowinge it. After þ^t thow shalte | saye þ^e . 25 . 26 . 31 . prayer & thow shalte add ::: peticyo ::: that | thow by þ^e annuncyatyõ conceptyon natyvite, cercvmcysyon perch-| ing, baptyme, and ascentyõ of thy most blessyd sonne o^r lord I-| esu chryst woldest wouchsaffe to claryffye and pourege my bo -| dy ::: peticyo ::: þ^t it being washed I maye visybly see the whyle

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I lyue w^t thyn .9. orders of angelles þ^t my soule maye worship | & prayse þ^e. at the last thvs ende yor prayer for þ^u god art migh-| ty aboue all & mercyfull which lyuest & reygnest god in vnite | and trynite and shallt raygn worlde w^t owt ende. Amen.

ffrom hence forthe thow shalt be in some secret place where | there is no greate resorte of people & every daye þ^u shalt | saye thies prayers folowinge w^t those þ^t goe before þ^t be appo-| ynted for him þ^t shall worke w^t these names folowinge **. Agla . | monhon . tetragramaton . ely . deus . ocleyste . ampheneton . | lamyara . Ianemyer . sadyon . hely . horlon . porrenthymon . | yelur . gofgamel . emaunel . on . admyel . honzmorib . ioht . he-| lon . resamarathon . anethi .**

[XCIX.]

This done, go home to thy house and begin thy work after [i.e. manner]:

[The propitiation of the Divine Majesty.][1]

Thou shalt say the same Thursday the psalter with the litar the proper prayers following it. After that thou shalt say the 25th and 31st prayer, and thou shalt add:

(*Petition*) "... that thou by the annunciation, conception, nativity, circumcision, piercing, baptism, and ascension of t most blessed Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, wouldst vouchsafe clarify and purge my body (*Petition*) that it being washed I visibly see thee whilst I live, with thine nine orders of ange that my soul may worship and praise thee."

At the last thus end your prayer:

"... for thou, God, art mighty above all and merciful, Who l and reignest God in Unity and Trinity, and shalt reign, worl without end. Amen.

[C. Separation.]

From henceforth thou shalt be in some secret place where great resort of people and every day thou shalt say these prayers following, with those that go before, that be appointed for him t work, with these names following:

Agla, Monhon, Tetragramaton, Ely Deus, Ocleiste, Amphynethon, Lamyara, Ianemyer, Sadyon, Hely, Horl Porrenthimon, 3 Yelur, Gofgameli, Emanuel, On, Admy Honzmorb, Ioht, Hophob, Mesamarathon, Anethy, Ery Yuestre, Saday, Maloht, Sechce.

After that thou shalt say this prayer:

eryona . yvestre . saday . maloht . |
sechce :::::::After that þ[u] shalt saye this prayer ::::::

O my god father allmighty of everlastinge power wh-| ich arte able to make him clene þ[t] is conceyved of an vnclene | seede . primogenitus . primellus . principium . sapientia . vertus . | sol . splendor . gloria . pax . lux . panis . os . verbum . salus . ange-| llus . sponsus . perpheta . agnvs . ovis . vitulus . serpens . aries . | leo . vermis . here mercyfully þ[e] prayers & invocatyons of | thy servant þ[t] thorow þ[e] vertue of thy holy names my body | being washed I maye see the visiblye whilles I liue w[t] thy | .9. orders of angells þ[t] my soule may worship & prayse the. Amen. ::::::: After that saye these names :::::::

O my God, father almighty, of everlasting power who art al to make him clean that is conceived of an unclean seed. **Primellus, Principium, Primogenitus, Sapiencia, Virtus, Sol, Splendor, Gloria, Pax, Lux Patris, Os, Verbum, Sal Angelus, Sponsus, Propheta, Agnus, Ovis, Vitulus, Serp Aries, Leo, Vermis** Hear mercifully the prayers and invocations of thy servant, that through the virtue of thy ho names, my body being washed, I may see thee visibly whils live, with thy nine orders of angels, that my soul may worsl and praise thee. Amen.

After that, say these names:

Escha . fortis . abbdya . iuste . alpha et omega . piissime . | leiste . dulcissime . oristion . potentissime . yeremon . ercell . | entissime . hosbr . excelse . merkerpon . adiutor . elzephares . | defensor . egyrion . protector . pheta . largitor . here gentely | þ[e] prayers of thy seruãt þ[t] thorow þ[e] gyft of thy grace and | thorow þ[e] intercessyon of þ[e] blissed virgin mary thy mother | & of thy angells & archangells . michael . gabriel . vriel . and | raphael . & all other thy celestyall angells, & of thy apostoles | peter . paule . Ihonn . & Iames . andrew . mathew . simond . | & Iude . philip . thomas . & barthlemew . my body & cc cc ::::

Strong Elscha, just Abbadia, most pious Alpha and Om sweetest Leiste, most potent Oristyon, most excellent Yeremon, lofty Hotbor, Merkerpon the helper, Elzepha the defender, Egyryon the protector, Pheta the generous Hear gently the prayers of thy servant, that through the gift thy grace and through the intercession of the blessed Virgi Mary thy mother, and of thy angels and archangels **Michae Gabriel, Uriel,** and **Raphael,** and all thy other celestial ang and of thy apostles Peter, Paul, John, and James, Andrew, Matthew, Simon, and Jude, Philip, Thomas, and Barthleme my body and (*etc.*).

+ After that saye these names +

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Ombonar . ineffabilis . stimulamathon . in substantia . inu-| isibilis . oryon . inestimabilis . ethion . Impermutabilis . | nomios . clementissime . pep . incõmensurabilis . nathanat-| hoy . incorruptibilis . theon . inmense . vsiston . gloriose . porho . | tocius . misericordiæ :::: After þ^{t} saye this prayer folowinge ->

looke gentely to thy prayers of thy seruant not hauing respe-| ct to the innvmerable iniquites which I haue done against the | for yf þ^{u} regardest owre iniquites o lorde who may abyde þ^{e} but | thow o lorde doest lyft þ^{e} feeble ffrom þ^{e} earthe & the poore owt | of þ^{e} myre . in þ^{e} vertu of holy humilyte & obedyence as it is | written he was obedyent evyn to deathe & in another place | I haue humbled my selfe very low which humelite thow | didest wouchsaffe to take vpon þ^{e}, & to suffer for synners . so | gentely receyue my prayers for I confesse & know þ^{t} þ^{u} hast | mercye vpon all creatures þ^{t} call vpon þ^{e} faythffully as da-| uyd sayeth an humble & a contrite harte thow shall nott | dispyse, & in another place þ^{e} lorde is nighe to them þ^{t} call v-| pon him truely þ^{t} þ^{u} wilte rayse my soule ffrom the darknes | of my body & from þ^{e} fylthynes of synne that my body be -| ing washed & cc cc as before at this signe ::::::: Here ffoloweth the names of the lyvyng gode ::::::::::

+ Rothon + maker of heauen & earth | lethellete + which ast | stretched owt heaven above the heyght of the clowdes + | ysmas + which hast stablysched the earth aboue the waters + | Adonay + which hast appoynted þ^{e} sea her bowndes which she | cane nott passe + Bathinadir + which hast sett þ^{e} sonne and the | moone and all þ^{e}

After that, say these names:

Ombonar + Ineffabilis + Stimulamathon + Insubstantia Invisibilis + Oryon + Inestimabilis + Ethion + Impermutabilis + Nomios + Clementissime + Pep + Incommensurabilis + Nathanathoy + Incorruptibilis + Theon + Immense + Usiston + Gloriose + Porho + Totiu Misericordiae.

After that, say this prayer following:

Look gently to the prayers of thy servant, not having respec the innumerable iniquites which I haue done against thee, f thou regardest our iniquities, O Lord, who may abide thee, thou, O Lord, doest lift the feeble from the Earth and the pc out of the mire. In the virtu of holy humilty and obedience, is written, "He was obedient even to death," and in another place "I have humbled myself very low which humility thou didst vouchsafe to take upon thee," and, "to suffer for sinne So gently receive my prayers, for I confess and know that t hast mercy upon all creatures that call upon thee faithfully, David sayeth, "an humble and a contrite heart thou shall no despise," and in another place, "the Lord is neigh to them th call upon him truly," that thou wilt raise my soul from the darkness of my body and from the filthiness of sin, that my body being washed and, (*etc. as before at this signe :::::::*)

Here followeth the names of the Living God:

+ *Fothon + maker of Heaven and Earth, **+ Lethellete +** w hast stretched out Heaven above the height of the clouds, **+ Hysmas +** who hast established the Earth above the waters, **Adonay +** who hast appointed the sea her bounds which sh cannot pass, **+ *Hachionadabir +** who hast set the Sun and Moon and all the stars in the height of Heaven, **+ *Omythe +** who hast done all things through wisdom, **+ *Hofga +** wl the sixth day didst create man in thine own similitude and likeness, **+ *Leyndra +** who didst put Adam, and Eve who thou gavest him for a companion, in the paradise of pleasur whom also for transgressing of thy commandment thou did

sterres in þ^{e} heyghe of heaven + Onoitheon + | which hast done all thinges thorow wysdome + hosga + | which the .6. daye dydest created [sic] man to thyn owen symylyt-| ude and lykenes + lemdra + which didest putt adam and | eve whom þ^{u} gavest him for acompanyon in þ^{e} paradyse of pl-

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easure, whome also for transgressing of thy commaundement þ^{u} dydd-| est by and by cast owt of the same + nosulaceps + which didest | accepte abells oblatyon + tutheon + which didest dystroy þ^{e} worlde | avr the wickednes therof w^{t} þ^{e} water of the flowde + telemoht + w-| hich didest saue noe & those that were w^{t} him in þ^{e} water of þ^{e} deluge | by whome also thow didest restore agen mankynde + paraclitus + | which didest appere to abraham thy servant at þ^{e} footte of mambre | in þ^{e} lykenes of .3. persons + occynonenon + which didest take vp | enoche and helyas into heavens to fyghte agaynst þ^{e} tyranne + | Ochothas + which mercyfully delyverdst thy servant loth from | the drowninge or synkinge of sodome & gomorre + Abracio + | which didest speke to thy serwant moyses in the midest of a bu-| she in a flame of fyer + Anepheneton + which madest aarons | rodde, to budd & floryshe and to bringe forthe frute, + Ab-| don + which browghtest thy people mightely owt of þ^{e} lande of | egypt ffrom there captyvite + melche + which openedest þ^{e} | waye in þ^{e} myddes of þ^{t} þ^{e} went thorow drye ffooted + Sother + | which gavest thy people a lawe in mownt synay by þ^{e} handes of | moyses + vsyryon + which gauest to thy thyrsty people owt of þ^{e} | hard roke inumuerable waters to drinke + baruch + which bro-| wghtest danyel þ^{e} prophet owt of þ^{e} lyons denne saffe and sownde | + SporgonGo + which cawseddest

by and by cast out of the same, **+ Nosulaceps +** who didst accept Abel's oblation, **+ Tutheon +** who didst destroy the world and the wickedness thereof with the water of the floc ***Gelemoht +** who didst save Noah and those who were wit him in the water of the deluge, by whom also thou didst res again mankind **+ Paraclitus +** who didst appear to Abrahar thy servant at the foot of Mambre in the likeness of three persons, **+ Occynonerion +** who didst take up Enoch and E into heavens to fight against the tyrant[1] **+ Ochothas +** who mercifully didst deliver thy servant Lot from the drowning sinking of Sodom and Gomorrah, **+ Abracio +** who didst s to thy servant Moses in the midst of a bush in a flame of fir ***Anephenethon +** who madest Aaron's rod to bud and flor and to bring forth fruit, **+ *Abdon +** who didst bring thy pe mightily out of the land of Egypt from their captivity, **+ *Melthe +** who didst open the way in the midst of that they went through dry footed, **+ Sother +** which gavest thy peop law in Mount Sinai by the hands of Moses, **+ Usyrion +** wh gavest to thy thirsty people out of the hard rock innumerabl waters to drink, **+ Baruch +** who broughtest Daniel the Pro out of the Lion's den safe and sound, **+ Sporgongo +** who c cause the three children, Shadrac, Mishac, and Abdenago (t is to say, Ananias, Azarias, and Misael) to come harmless c of the burning furnace, **+ *Genovem +** who didst deliver Susanna having a sure trust in thee from the false crime of t false judges, **+ Messias +** who didst preserve the prophet Jo in the whale's belly three days and three nights, **+ Pantheon** who madest the prophet [David] to escape the hands of Gol with victory.

O just, mighty, and patient God **+ Agios + Otheos + Hisky + Athanathos + Eleyson + Ymas + Christ,** strong, almigh and immortal God, Jesus of Nazareth, full of mercy, who o through contrition of heart dost forgive sins, hear, most gen and merciful Lord the prayers of thy servant which I speak through the power of thy majesty that through thy mercy ar grace which thou hast given to thy saints thou wouldst vouchsafe to grant unto me, let the power of thy Holy Spiri come down upon me thy servant although I be full of sin, y made of thee, which may obtain forgiveness of my sins, tha through thy celestial dew the foulness of my body may be p away, that my body being washed and (*etc. as before ":::: petition :::::"*)

This prayer aforesaid ought to be said in all perils and dan keepeth men in health, it maketh sick men whole, it doth obtain of sins, it pacifieth anger, and increaseth friendship, it comfortet desperate persons, it cherisheth the poor, it mitigateth the wrath overcometh all tribulations and perversities, it driveth away tem doth frustrate enchantments, it doth constrain and bind spirits. A ought to be said fasting and kneeling, and with great devotions, that shall work by it must be humble patient and chaste.

Thus therefore shalt thou the Friday, Saturday, Sunday, M Tuesday, and Wednesday following say all these three times eve that is to say, in the morning, at noon, and at night.

þ^e .3. children .sydrac . mysaac . | and abdenago . þ^t is to saye . Ananias . Azarias . and misael . to | cum harmles owt of þ^e burninge fornace + tenonem + which | delyuerydst susanne having a sure stust in þ^e ffrom þ^e fallsse crime | of þ^e fallsse Iudges + messyas + which didest preserue þ^e prophet | Ionas in the whalas bely .3. dayes and .3. nightes + panthe-| on + which madest the prophet to escape þ^e handes of golyas with | victory, O Iust mighty and pacyent god . agyos . otheos . hisky-| ros . athanathos . eleyson . ymas . christ . stronge allmighty & | Immortall god . Iesus of nazereth ffull of mercy which | only thorow contricyon of harte doest fforgeue synns here most

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gentil and mercyfull lorde þ^e prayers of thy servant which I | speke thorow þ^e power of thy maiestye þ^t thorow thy mercye & | grace which þ^u haste gyuen to thy sayntes thow woldest wou-| chsaffe to graunt vnto me lett the powre of thy holy sprite cum | downe vpon me thy servant allthovgh I be full of synne yet | made of þ^e which may obtayne forgevenes of my synns þ^t tho-| row thy celestyall dewe þ^e fowlnes of my body maye be putt | awaye þ^t my body being wasched and cc cc as beffore :::: pet-| ysyon ::::: II . thys prayer aforsayde owght to be sayde in all | perrylls and daungers ffor it kepethe men in helthe, it m-| aketh sycke men hole, it dothe obtayne remissyon of synns, | it pacyfyeth angre, and encreasyth frendship, it cõforteth | desperat persons, it cherysschythe the poore, it mitygateth | the wrathe of god, it overcometh all tribulatyons and perversytes, | it dryveth away tempestes, it dothe frustrat Inchauntementes, | it dothe constrayne and bynde sprytes: and it owght to be sayde | fastinge and knelynge, and w^t great devocyons, and he þ^t shall | worke by

it must be humble pacyent and chast. thus therfore | shalte þ^{u} the .fryday . saturday . sonday . munday . twesdaye . & | wendensdaye . ffolowinge saye all thes and .3. everye daye | that is to saye in the morninge att nonne and at mighte [sic]:*:

now to the effect of the worke ::: upon thurday early in the | morninge saye as thow saydest before and then make a cow-| che of heye, and a bowt it strew assches that be cleane cyfted | and in them wryghte the hundreth names of god

:::: these | are the names of godd :::::::

Aglai .1. monhon .2. tetragra-| maton .3. olydeus .4. Ocleiste .5. Aniphinethon .6. Lamiara .7. Iane-| myer .8. Saday .9. Hely .10. Horlon .11. portenthymon .12. Ihelur | .13. GofGamep .14. Emanvel .15. On .16. Admyhel .17. Honzmo| rp .18. Ioht .19. Hofob .20. Rasamarathon .21. Anethi .22. erihona

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.23. Iuestre .24. Saday .25. maloht .26. Sethee .27. elscha .28. Abbadia | .29. Alpha et omega .30. leiste .31. Oristyon .32. Ieremon .33. hosb | .34. merkerpon .35. elzephares .36. egyryon .37. Betha .38. O-| mbonar .39. stymulamathon .40. Orion .41. eryon .42. noymos | .43. peb .44. nathanothay .45. theon .46. ysyston .47. porho .48. | Rothon .49. lethellete .50. ysmas .51. adonay .52. Athionadabir | .53. Onoytheon .54. Hosga .55. leyndra .56. nosulaceps .57. tuth-| eon .58. Gelemoht .59. paraclitus .60. Occymomyon .61. ecchothas | .62. Abracio .63. Anepheneton .64. Abdon .65. melche .66. sother .67. | vsiryon .68. baruch .69. sporgongo .70. genonem .71. messyas | .72. pantheon .73. zabuather .74. rabarmas .75. yskyros .76. | Kyryos .77. Gelon .78. Hel .79. rethel .80. nathi .81.

[CI.] Now to the effect of the work.

Upon Thurday early in the morning, say as thou saidst bef then make a couch of hay, and about it strew ashes that be clean and in them write the hundred names of God.

These are the names of God:

Agla .1.	Maloht .26.	Ysmas .51.	Iskiros
Monhon .2.	Sethee .27.	Adonay .52.	Kyryos
Tetragramaton .3.	Elscha .28.	Athionadabir .53.	Gelon .
Olydeus .4.	Abbadia .29.	Onoytheon .54.	Hel .79
Ocleiste .5.	Alpha et	Hosga .55.	Rethel .
Aniphinethon .6.	omega .30.	Leyndra .56.	Nathi .8
Lamiara .7.	Leiste .31.	Nosulaceps .57.	Ymeyn
Ianemyer .8.	Oristyon .32.	Tutheon .58.	Karer .8
Saday .9.	Ieremon .33.	Gelemoht .59.	Sabaoth
Hely .10.	Hosb .34.	Paraclitus .60.	Sellaht
Horlon .11.	Merkerpon .35.	Occymomyon .61.	Cirhos .
Portenthymon .12.	Elzephares .36.	Ecchothas .62.	Opyron
Ihelur .13.	Egyryon .37.	Abracio .63.	Nomyg
GofGamep .14.	Betha .38.	Anepheneton .64.	Oryhel
Emanvel .15.	Ombonar .39.	Abdon .65.	Theos .
On .16.	Stimulamaton .40.	Melche .66.	Ya .91.
Admyhel .17.	Orion .41.	Sother .67.	Horha .
Honzmorp .18.	Eryon .42.	Usiryon .68.	Christu
Ioht .19.	Noymos .43.	Baruch .69.	Hosbek
Hofob .20.	Peb .44.	Sporgongo .70.	Tosgar
Rasamarathon .21.	Nathanothay .45.	Genonem .71.	Occym
Anethi .22.	Theon .46.	Messias .72.	Elyoren
Erihona .23.	Ysyston .47.	Pantheon .73.	Heloy .
Iuestre .24.	Porho .48.	Zabuather .74.	Archyn
Saday .25.	Rothon .49.	Rabarmas .75.	Rabur .
	Lethellete .50.		

ymeynleth-| on .82. Karer .83. sabaoth .84. sellaht .85. cirhos .86. Opyron .87. | nomygon .88. Oryhel .89. theos .90. ya .91. horha .92. christus | .93. hosbeke .94. tosgar .95. occymomos .96. elyorem .97. hel-| oy .98. Archyna .99. Rabur .100 ::::::::

And when he | hath thus doone, thus lett him begyn his worke lett him take | fayre clere water and colde of aspringe wherin he shall washe | him selfe sayinge :::::::::

O lorde hooly father allmy-| ghty and everlasting god whose spryte before the creac-| yon of þ^{e} worlde was borne vpon þ^{e} waters, which in þ^{e} | creacyon of þ^{e} worlde didest blesse it w^{t} þ^{e} other elementes | which didest gyve it to thy thyrsty people for there refres-| hinge, and þ^{t} the owtwarde ffylthynes of this worlde sh-| ulde by them be washed away, which woldest be baptysed | in water of Iordane by Ihon

And when he hath thus done, then let him begin his work. take fair clear water and cold of a spring, wherein he shall wash saying:

O Lord, holy Father, Almighty and everlasting God, whose spirit before the creation of the world was born upon the waters, who in the creation of the world didst bless it with t other elements which didst give it to thy thirsty people for t refreshing, and that the outward filthiness of this world sho by them be washed away, which wouldst be baptised in wa of Jordan by John the Baptist, that through the misery of th most holy body all waters through the blessing should incre and like as by it all outward filthiness is washed away even by it and by thy Holy Spirit, our inward filthiness, that is to our sins, may be washed away, as the prophet David testifie saying, "thou shall sprinkle me with Hyssope and I shall be

baptyst þ^{t} thorow þ^{e} misier-| ye of thy most holy body all waters thorow the blessing | shulde encrease, and lyke as by it all owtwarde ffylthynes | is wasshed away even so by it and by thy holy sprite owre | inwarde ffylthines þ^{t} is to say ower synns may be wassh-| ed awaye, as þ^{e} prophet david testefyeth saying þ^{u} shall sp-

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rinkyll me w^{t} ysope and I shall be cleane þ^{u} shalte washe me | and I shall be whyter then snow, which in rememberance of | this hooly mistery dydest thy hooly apostles ffeete which gauest | vnto hus owt of thy percyons syde water to drinke ffor the | refectyon of o^{r} soule and dyddest wouchsaffe to haue thy syde | bytterly percyd w^{t} a spere for us, graunt I besyche the that | lyke as by this water my owtwarde partes of this my wre-| tchyd body are washed so by þ^{e} vertue of thy holy baptyme w-| hich I haue receyued vpon me in thy name voutsaffe þ^{t} the | dew of thy grace maye descende vpon me wherby my inw-| arde synns may be washed awaye that my body beinge wa-| shed and cc cc as before at this marke :::: petycyon ::

and | know that noo man þ^{t} is trobeled w^{t} worldely thinges canne | doo this thinge ffor the soule by means of earthely blyndenes | is vtterly sequestrate from all goddely secretes therfore it | doeth very hardely vnderstand them but so muche the more | as þ^{e} fleshe dothe consent to the workes of þ^{e} sprite soo muche | the soner and easelyer doeth it vnderstande the secret mister-| yes and therfore they that founde owt these scyences did | þ^{e} more abyde in secret places because they wolde nott | thorow worldely temptacyons be lett from there workes. | and yff he that shall worke but for a parte of this scyence | must be sequestred ffrom worldely thinges how muche | the more owght he to abstayne that

clean, thou shalt wash me and I shall be whiter than snow," which in rememberance of this holy mystery didst wash thy holy apostles' feet, which gavest unto us out of thy percyon side water to drink for the refection of our soul, and didst vouchsafe to have thy side bitterly pierced with a spear for grant I beseech thee, that like as by this water my outward p of this my wretched body are washed, so by the virtue of th holy baptism which I have received upon me in thy name vouchsafe that the dew of thy grace may descend upon me whereby my inward sins may be washed away, that my boc being washed and (*etc. as before at this mark :::: petition :*

And know that no man that is troubled with worldly things this thing, for the soul, by means of earthly blindness is utterly s from all godly secrets. Therefore it doth very hardly understand so much the more as the flesh doth consent to the works of the s much the sooner and easier doth it understand the secret mysteri therefore, they that found out these sciences did the more abide places, because they would not through worldly temptations be their works. And if he that shall work but for a part of this scien sequestered from worldly things, how much the more ought he t that shall work for the whole.

Then let him put on a haircloth next to his skin, and black and so go into the choir and there sit, then let him begin the Psal the litany and the proper prayers following, and all other as I sai and when he hath done, let him say these names following:

shall worke ffor the | whole ::::: then lett him put on a heyr nexte to his skyn | and blacke clothes, and so goe into the quere and there | sytt, then lett him begin the psalter wyth the letany & | the proper prayers folowinge, and all other as I said | before and when he hathe donne lett him say thyes | names folowing ::::::

zabuather . rabarmas . yskyros . | kyryos . gelon . hel . tethel . nothi . ymei . alethon . karex . sabaoth . | sellal . chiros . opron . nomygon . oryel . theos . ya :::: a prayer :::

Zabuather + Rabarmas + Iskiros + Kyryos + Gelon + H
Tethel + Nothi + Ymei + Alethon + Karex + Sabaoth +
Sellal + Chiros + Opron + Nomygon + Oryel + Theos +

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O GOD allmyghty stronge in batyll kinge of | eternall glorye þ^e plesauntnes of whose br-| ightenes dothe fyll heaven and earth whome | angells and archangells doo feare worship & | prayse sayinge . Holy . Holy . Holy . lord god of | sabaoth heaven and earth are full of thy glorye . Osa-| nna in the hyghest which to be lorde over mankynde | cammest owt of heauen dowen to the earthe . OrHa . wh-| ich be gabryel in the temple of Ierusalem dydest gyue | knowledge to marye þ^e vergin thy mother of þ^e beginni-| nge of thy incarnatyon . Christus . which dydest | shadow thy selfe in her wombe w^t owt spott of corrup-| tyon evin as the sonne entereth into a glasse . Hospe-| sk . which madest the dry rodd to floryshe in the hand-| es of Ioseph . GofGar . which by Ihon baptist dydest | sende vnto thy people of Israell testymonye and afor-| knowledge of thy cumminge by prechinge of those | thinges whiche were spoken of the and of thy byrthe | by the prophetes, and dydest send a lighte vnto men sytt-| ing in darkenes by þ^e which they knew thy hooly comm-| inge . Occynnomos . which dydest sende the fyrst starre | to the .3. kinges Iaspar melchyor and balthazar wch | cam to worship the, and thow dydest receyue there | gyftes shewing thy selfe vnto them to be very god and |

A Prayer:

O God, almighty, strong in battle, king of eternal glory, the pleasantness of whose brightness doth fill Heaven and Earth whom angels and archangels do fear, worship, and praise, saying, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, Heaven a Earth are full of thy glory. Hosannah in the highest," which be Lord over mankind camest out of Heaven down to the E

OrHa, which be Gabriel in the temple of Jerusalem didst give knowledge to Mary the virgin thy mother of the beginning of thy incarnation.

Christus, which didst shadow thyself in her womb without spot of corruption even as the son entereth into a glasse.

Hospsk, which madst the dry rod to florish in the ha of Joseph.

GofGar, by which John the Baptist didst send unto people of Israel testimony and foreknowledge of thy comi by preaching of those things which were spoken of thee a of thy birth by the prophets and didst send a light unto me sitting in darkness by the which they knew thy holy comi

Octynnomos, which didst send the first star to the t kings, Jaspar, Melchior, and Balthazar, who came to wors thee, and thou didst receive their gifts, showing thyself un them to be truly God and mortal man, and shewest unto th in their sleep by thy angel the falsehood of Herod, which crowned gloriously in Heaven the holy innocents who suffered for thy name.

Elyorem, which being presented unto God in the temple of Jerusalem by the hands of Simeon, gavest unto same Simeon the effect of knowledge as he doth witness himself, saying, "now Lord lettest thou thy servant depart peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou prepared before the face of all people alight to lighten the Gentile's and the glory of the people of Israel."

Theloy, which at the marriage of a certain ruler dids turn water into wine.

mortall man, and shewest vnto them in there slepe | by thy angell the fallshed of herode, which hast crow-| ned gloryously in heaven the holy innocentes whiche

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suffered for thy name . elyorem . which being presented | vnto god in the temple of Ierusalem by the handes of | Symeon gauest vnto the same Symeon the effect of kno-| wledge as he dothe wyttenes him selfe sayinge now lord | lettyst þ^{u} thy seruant depert in peace ffor myn eyes ha-| ue seen thy saluacyon, which þ^{u} hast prepared befor þ^{e} | face of all people alight to lyghten the gentylls and the | glorye of the people of Israell . theloy . which at the | maryagh of a certen ruler dydest turne water in to w-| yne . Archima . which .32. yeres dyddest preche vnto | the people the catholyke ffaythe which didest make pe-| ter, Iames, and Ihon, barthemew, and thomas, and | other of the apostles perfect in knowledge and grace | . Rabuch . which by the space of .40. dayes dydest | fast in desert, and there warte tempted of the deuyll, | which dydest remytt and forgyue marye magdelen | weping most bytterly at thy fyte wepinge them w^{t} her | here and anoyntinge them all here synns, and dydest | rayse agayne from dethe lazarus her brother which | had lyne deade .4. dayes, and gauest sighte vnto him | that was bornne blynde, and dyddest voucsaffe thy bo-| dy to be sacrafyced to be drawen cruelly, to be entretyd | and spytefully to be Iudged, and to be blasfemyd, & to be | bytterly whipped w^{t} sharpe cordes, to be vexyd w^{t} buffe-| tts & spyttinges, to be crowned w^{t} thorne, to be nayled to þ^{e} | crosse w^{t} sharpe naylles bothe hand & footte, to derinke | vynegar & gall, & thy syde to be openyd w^{t} a spere & to be

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layde in thy graue, and to be kepte of souldyers & | all for vs myserable synners,

Archima, which thirty-two years didst preach unto people the Catholic faith, which didst make Peter, James, John, Bartholomew, and Thomas, and other of the apostle perfect in knowledge and grace.

Rabuch, which by the space of forty days didst fast the desert, and there were tempted of the devil, who didst remit and forgive Mary Magdaline weeping most bitterly thy feet wiping them with her hair and annointing them al sins, and didst raise again from death Lazarus her brother had lain dead four days, and gavest sight unto him that wa born blind, and didst vouchsafe thy body to be sacrificed t be drawn cruelly, to be entreated and spitefully to be judg and to be blasphemed, and to be bitterly wipped with shar cords, to be vexed with buffets and spittings, to be crowne with thorns, to be nailed to the cross with sharp nails both hand and foot, to drink vinegar and gall, and thy side to b opened with a spear and to be laid in thy grave, and to be of soldiers and all for us miserable sinners, which by thy mighty power and with the sign of thy holy cross with the which I do now sign me with mine own hands.

which by thy mig-| hty power and w^{t} the sygne of thy holy crosse w^{t} þ^{e} | which I doo now sygne me w^{t} myn owne handes

In the name off the father + and of þ^{e} sonne + | and of þ^{e} holy gost + brakest þ^{e} brasen gaates and | delyuerydst thy fryndes owt of þ^{e} darke place- | s of hell, also o lorde by þ^{e} fayth which I confesse | and know and haue in theis holy misteryes evyn | so delyuer my soule from þ^{e} darknes of my | bodye þ^{t} in this corruptyble body I maye visib-| ly see the w^{t} þ^{e} .9. orders of angells þ^{t} whyle I lyue | my soule may looke vpon þ^{e} prayse þ^{e} and gloryfy þ^{e}, | thow therfore lorde which the thrid [sic] daye didest | ryse agen from þ^{e} deade and didest revele thy res-| urrectyon on to mary magdalen and to mary Ia-| mes and to mary solome, and to thy disciples, & | didest shew thy wondes to saynt thomas, and | after .3. dayes þ^{u} didest ascende into heaven frõ | whence þ^{u} dydest send þ^{e} holy gost to thy discyp-| les thow also lord which didest shew to paule | thy apostle and to Ihon þ^{e} euangelist thy secretes | & didest open þ^{e} heavens to stephen when he

[64r]

was stonyd as he sayeth he did see thy ma-| iesty w^{t} his corporall & bodely eyes saying | beholde I see þ^{e} heavens open & þ^{e} sonne of m-| an standinge at þ^{e} righte hande of þ^{e} power of god, | which didest graunt to thy mertyres to suffer tor-| mentes pacyentely which shall comme to Iudge þ^{e} | quicke & þ^{e} deade & þ^{e} worlde w^{t} fyer, looke vpon me | & here my prayers þ^{t} thorow thy grace & power | of thy holy names þ^{u} woldest voutsaffe to delyuer | my soule ffrom þ^{e} darkenes of my body and from | þ^{e} filthynes of my synn ffor in þ^{e} doo I ende my lyffe | o my god + stoexhor + abalay +

In the name of the Father + and of the Son + and of the Hol Ghost + breakest the brazen gates and deliveredst thy frienc out of the dark places of hell, also O Lord, by the faith whi confess and know and have in these holy mysteries, even sc deliver my soul from the darkness of my body, that in this corruptible body I may visibly see thee with the nine orders angels that while I live my soul may look upon thee, praise thee, and glorify thee, thou therefore Lord, who on the thirc day didst rise again from the dead and didst reveal thy resurrection unto Mary Magdalen and to Mary James and t Mary Solome, and to thy disciples, and didst show thy wou to saint Thomas, and after three days thou didst ascend into Heaven from whence thou didst send the Holy Ghost to thy disciples, thou also Lord who didst show to Paul thy apostl and to John the Evangelist thy secrets and didst open the Heavens to Stephen when he was stoned, as he sayeth he di see thy majesty with his corporal and bodily eyes, saying, "behold I see the heavens open and the Son of Man standin the right hand of the power of God," who didst grant to thy martyrs to suffer torments patiently, who shall come to judg the quick and the dead, and the world with fire, look upon r and hear my prayers that through thy grace and power of th holy names thou wouldst vouchsafe to deliver my soul fron darkeness of my body and from the filthiness of my sin, for thee do I end my life, O my God **+ Hto exor abalay. qci. ystalgaouofularite kspfyomomanaremiarelatedacononaoyleyot +** who saids the cross "It is finished."

scyystalgaona | + fullarite + kesphiomoma + remiare + bac-| eda + canona + onlepot + which saydest on the | crosse It Is fynished */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Then lett him slepe & after þ^{t} speke no more and so he | shall see þ^{e} celestyall palyce & þ^{e} maiesty of god in his | glorye & þ^{e} .9. orders of angells, & þ^{e} companyes of | all blyssed sprites, butt some man will saye be cause | god dothe saye man shall nott see me & lyue, it folo-| weth then þ^{t} he þ^{t} seeth god must nydes dye bodely, | then he shall no more ryse tyll þ^{e} daye of Iudgement, | ffor no man dyeth bodely twyse, but it is false þ^{t} a | man shulde dye bodely because he seeth þ^{e} deyte, for

Then let him sleep, and after that speak no more, and so h the celestial palace and the majesty of God in his glory, and the orders of angels, and the companies of all blessed spirits. But so will say, because God doth say "man shall not see Me and live," followeth then that he that seeth God must nides die bodily, ther no more rise till the Day of Judgement, for no man dieth bodily it is false that a man should die bodily, because he seeth the Dei spirit is carried into Heaven, and the body is fed in the Earth wit food or meat. For we read of many who have been ravished in s whom many celestial secrets hath been revealed, for at the time passion of our Lord Jesus Christ many bodies did rise, as we rea

[64v]

the sprite Is carred into heaven, and the body Is fedde | in þ^{e} earth w^{t} angells foode or meate, ffor we reade of ma-| ny whych haue bene ravyshed in sprite to whome many | celestyall secretes hathe ben reuelyd, for at the tyme of | the passyon of o^{r} lorde Iesus christ many bodyes dyd | ryse as we reade */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

He þ^{t} shall worke mvst be willinge in his worke & vtterli | clensed ffrom all fylthynes ffor þ^{e} more he suffereth þ^{e} more | he shall obtayne for yf o^{r} superyour þ^{t} Is it saye christ w-| olde suffer for his subiectes & inferyours bo cause [sic] he wo-| lde glorefy them in his sighte, muche more owght þ^{e} infer y-| our suffer for him selffe þ^{t} he may please his lorde, ffor | þ^{e} sighte of þ^{e} deyte will nott be hadd w^{t} owt perfett pure-| nes for he will nott constrayned but prayed vnto and | entreatyd & yet it wil be very harde to obtayn it, for | þ^{e} lorde hathe geuen þ^{e} earth to men, & þ^{e} knowledge of | his law as dauyd testefyeth sayinge þ^{e} heaven of heav-| ens is þ^{e} lordes, but þ^{e}

He that shall work must be willing in his work and utterly from all filthiness, for the more he suffereth the more he shall ol our superior, that is to say Christ, would suffer for his subjectes inferiors because he would glorify them in his sight, much more inferior suffer for himself, that he may please his Lord. For the s Deity will not be had without perfect pureness, for he will not b constrained, but prayed unto and entreated. And yet it will be ve obtain it, for the Lord hath given the Earth to men, and the know His Law, as David testifieth, saying, "the Heaven of Heavens is but the Earth hath he given to the sons of men," and in another p "take heed my people unto my law." And because faith doth not where man is able to prove it by natural reason therefore it is the thing for a man to see the Deity or Divine Majesty, because it is supernatural.

earthe hathe he gyven to þ^e^ son-| nes of men, & in another place take hide my people | vnto my law & because faythe dothe nott merytt wh-| ere man is able to proue it by naturall reason therfor | it is þ^e^ hardest thinge for a man to see þ^e^ deyte or deuyen | maiestye because it is a thinge supernaturall */*/*/*

In thys worke lett never man remember deathe. | for thorow þ^e^ vertues of prayer & þ^e^ power of god in | whome he hathe his hoole trust his body is made as

[65r]

It were a spirytuall bodye & he shall be fedd w^t^ spiry-| tuall meate evyn as þ^e^ younge crowes or younge ra-| vens whome god of his mercye dothe noryshe as | dauyd testfyeth saying he dothe gyue þ^e^ oxe meat & þ^e^ | younge ravens or crowes þ^t^ call vpon him but lett him | þ^t^ shall worke beware þ^t^ he be in noo deadly synn for | yf he be he shall be mad ever after, & this is þ^e^ cause for | his vnderstandinge, which commeth from þ^e^ soule the | which dothe desyer to see god in whom it delytethe, & | dothe nott see him thorow þ^e^ Impedyment of synn do | the never after remember any other thinge, & therfo-| re as conseruinge his bodye he is an vnresonable | creature, & soo lykewyse we see many which be abstr-| act because they cane nott obtayne þ^e^ thinge þ^t^ they | wolde haue. god therfore of his Infynyte goodenes | graunte vs grace to cum to þ^e^ sighte of his deyte | which lyueth in þ^e^ trynite of personnes and in the | vnyte of substance worlde w^t^ owt ende. Amen. */*/*

In this work let never man remember death. For throug
virtues of prayer and the power of God in whom he hath his wh
his body is made as it were a spiritual body, and he shall be fed
spiritual meat, even as the young crows or young ravens whom
mercy doth nourish, as David testifieth, saying, "He doth give th
and the young ravens or crows that call upon him." But let him
work beware that he be in no deadly sin, for if he be he shall be
after, and this is the cause, for his understanding, which cometh
soul, the which doth desire to see God in whom it delighteth, an
see him through the impediment of sin do the never after remem
other thing. And therefore as conserving his body he is an unrea
creature, and so likewise we see many which be abstract becaus
cannot obtain the thing that they would have. God therefore of H
Goodness grant us grace to come to the sight of his Deity, who l
the Trinity of Persons and in the Unity of substance, world with
Amen.

Off the chapters of the fyrst booke
//*/*/*/*/*

[CII.] Of the chapters of the first book.

Now þ^t^ ye be tawght to cum to þ^e^ sighte of þ^e^ deyte & of þ^e^ | knowledge of þ^e^ deuyne

Now that ye be taught to come to the sight of the Deity, ar
knowledge of the Divine Power, of washing away of your sins,
establishing of yourself that ye fall not into mortal sin, and of th

power of wasshinge a-| waye of yor synns & of establyshinge of yor selfe | þ^{t} þ^{e} fall nott in to moertall synne, & of þ^{e} redem-| ptyon of .3. sowles owt of purgatorye, now will | we Intreate of purgatorye, but yf any man | will worke for any of these .4. doo as is before

[65v]

sayde for þ^{e} vysyon of þ^{e} deyte but yow must change yor | petycyon from þ^{e} sight of the deyte, in to þ^{e} petycyon | of þ^{e} knowledge of the dauyne power or in to the pety-| cyon of remyssyon of synns, or in to þ^{e} stablysshinge of | grace, or for þ^{e} redemptyon of .3. soules owt of purga-| torye & so w^{t} owt dowt þ^{u} shalte þ^{e} more easlyer obtayen | it. And note yf þ^{u} wilte worke for all thes thinges afor-| esayd then thow must saye everye daye the afforsayd | .8. termes w^{t} these .10. prayers . 23 . 24 . 25 . 26 . 27 . | 28 . 29 . 30 . 31 . 32 . for these þ^{u} shalte regarde neyther | the moone nor þ^{e} hower, but shalte specyally saye them | in þ^{e} morning & abowt .3. of þ^{e} cloke & abowt þ^{e} myd | daye ffor thes prayery [sic] doo bringe agayne to righte | whatsoever a man thorow his ffraylte hathe wro-| ught amysse & þ^{e} more & oftener they be sayde soo | muche þ^{e} more is þ^{e} fawt amendid & saued frõ erringe. |

here begineth the .2. treatyse of the seconde booke.

Now that we haue ffynyshed the fyrst treatyse | of thys booke here foloweth now the second which | lyke as the fyrst had .6. chapters of þ^{e} which we haue | by þ^{e} grace of god entreatyd soo hathe this booke .27. as here | folowyth, the fyrst of þ^{e} knowledge of þ^{e} heavens, of þ^{e} knowle-| dge of the angells of every heaven, of þ^{e}

redemption of three souls out of purgatory, now will we treat of
But if any man will work for any of these four, do as is before s
vision of the Deity, but you must change your petition from "the
the Deity," into the petition of "the knowledge of the Divine Pov
into the petition of "remission of sins," or into "the establishing
or "for the redemption of three souls out of purgatory." And so
doubt thou shalt the more easier obtain it. And note, if thou wilt
all these things aforesaid, then thou must say every day the afor
Termes with these ten prayers: 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31
For these thou shalt regard neither the Moon nor the hour, but sh
especially say them in the morning and about three of the clock,
midday, for these prayers do bring again to right whatsoever a m
through his frailty hath wrought amiss, and the more and oftene
said so much the more is the fault amended, and saved from erri

[CIII.] Here beginneth the Second Treati the Second Book.

Now that we have finished the First Treatise of this book, followeth now the second, which like as the first had six chapte which we have by the grace of God treated. So hath this book tv seven, as here followeth:

1. The first, of the knowledge of the heavens,
2. Of the knowledge of the angels of every heaven,
3. Of the knowledge of every angel his will and power,
4. Of the knowledge of the seals of every angel,
5. Of the knowledge of the superior of every angel,

knowledge of | every angell his will and power, of the knowledge of the | seales of euery angell of þ^{e} knowledge of þ^{e} superyor of

[66r]

euery angell, of þ^{e} knowledge of þ^{e} offyce of every angell, | of þ^{e} Inuocatyon and companye of everye angell how | to obtayne ye^{r} will by every angell, how to obtayne all | scyences, how to know þ^{e} hower of deathe, to know all | thinges p^{r}sent past & to comme, to know þ^{e} planetts & sterres | and there influences, to alter & change þ^{e} influence of | þ^{e} planetts, to change þ^{e} daye into nighte & þ^{e} nighte in | to daye, to know þ^{e} sprytes of þ^{e} fyer & there names & | there superyors there seales and there power & vertu, | to know sprittes & bestes of þ^{e} ayer, to know þ^{e} name | & names & powers of there superyors, to know the-| re seales & there vertyues, to know þ^{e} cõinnctyons & | alteratyon of þ^{e} elementes & of þ^{e} bodyes made of th-| em, to know all herbes & treys & all bestes vpon the | earthe & there vertuer, to know þ^{e} natuere of man | and all þ^{e} deedes of men þ^{t} be secret or hydd, to know | þ^{e} sprites of þ^{e} water and of the bestes, and there | vertues, there superyours, to know the earthely | and infernall sprittes, to see pourgatorye and he-| ll and to know there soules there beinge to haue | this booke consecrated */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

here ffoloweth the treatyse off the nature and | offyce of the seconde angelles

Now that we haue doone wyth the vysyon | of the deyte, and of the .9. orders of angelles [66v] now lett vs begin to treate of þ^{e} seconde angells whose | nature is sache that thei doo princypally serue god & | after that

6. Of the knowledge of the office of every angel,
7. Of the invocation and company of every angel,
8. How to obtain your will by every angel,
9. How to obtain all sciences,
10. How to know the hour of death,
11. To know all things present, past, and to come,
12. To know the planets and stars
13. And their influences,
14. To alter and change the influence of the planets,
15. To change the day into night and the night into day,
16. [To know the spirits of the air,]
17. To know the spirits of the fire and their names and their sup their seals, and their power and virtue,
18. To know spirits and beasts of the air,
19. To know their name, and the names and powers of their sup
20. To know their seals and their virtues,
21. To know the conjunctions and alteration of the elements an bodies made of them,
22. To know all herbs and treys, and all beasts upon the Earth a virtues,
23. To know the nature of man and all the deeds of men that be hid,
24. To know the spirits of the water and of the beasts, and their their superiors,
25. To know the earthly and infernal spirits,
26. To see Purgatory and Hell and to know their souls there bei
27. To have this book consecrated.

[CIV.] Here followeth the Treatise of the Nature and of the Second Angels.[1]

Now that we have done with the vision of the Deity, and c orders of angels, now let us begin to treat of the second angels, nature is such that they do principally serve God, and after that, whom they do naturally love. And they do reign in the spheres c and they do take upon them a firey body when they be sent by tl commandment of God to man in this world that be cleansed and to company with them, and to comfort them. And of them there

man whome they doo naturally loue and | they doo reygne in the sphyers of the sterres, & they | doo take vpon them a fyrye bodye when thei be sent, | by the commandement of god to man in this worlde | that be clensyd and puryffyed to company w^{t} them, and to comforte them, and of them there Is .7. sorttes | whose natures ought to be knowen for euery on of | them hathe his proper offyce appoynted him all | thowght they may at sume tyme take sume other office |

sorts whose natures ought to be known, for every one of them h proper office appointed him although they may at some time tak other office.

off the sprites that be vnder the planet saturne. | And of these summe be called satrnynes which be these |

[CV.] Of the spirits that be under the planet Saturn.

And of these some be called Saturnines, which be these:

Bohel Casziel michathon datquiel

Bohel *Cafziel *Michrathon *Satquiel

the sealle of[1] the angells of satvrne Is thys */*/*/*/*/*/*

The seal of the angels of Saturn is this:

and there nature is to cawse | sadenes, angre, & hatred, & to

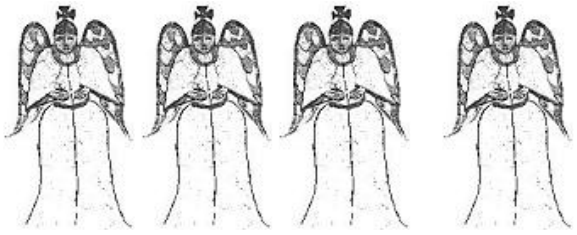
And their nature is to cause sadness, anger, and hatred, an snow and ice. Their bodies are long and *slender[1], pale or yello their region is the North. [And five demons are under these, nam king and his four attendants, with which all other demons of Sat subjugated. They are these: **Maymon** the king, **Assaibi, Albuna Haibalidech, Yasfla**, which demons in the subordinate with the Southwest Wind, which are: **Mextyura, Alchibany, Alflas**, they compelled to serve, or they rest.][2]

[67r]

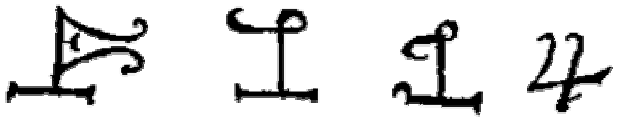
make snow and yse, there bodyes are longe and gentyle paale | or yelow and there regyon Is the northe */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Off the sprytes that be vnder the planet Iupyter. other | there be which be Iouialles or vnder Iupiter whych | are these */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/* |

Satquiel Raphael Pahamcocyhel Asassayel



the sealle of the angells of Iupyter Is thys */*/*/*/*/*



and there nature Is to gyue loue | Ioye, gladenes and fauor of all | persons to him that worketh, to bringe forthe dewys | fflowers, herbes and leavys, or to take them awaye, and | there regyon or abydinge Is betwyx the east and the | sowth, and there bodyes are of a meane stature, þ^e^ colour | of them Is lyke to the

[CVI.] Of the spirits that be under the planet Jupiter

Other there be which be Jovials, or under Jupiter, which a

Satquiel Raphael Pahamcocihel Asassaiel

The seal of the angels of Jupiter is this:

And their nature is to give love, joy, gladness, and favor o persons to him that worketh, to bring forth dews, flowers, herbs leaves, or to take them away, and their region or abiding is betw East and the South, [and four demons are under these, namely o and his three attendants, with which all other demons of Jupiter subjugated, and they are **Formione** the king, **Guth, Maguth,** an **Guthryn**, which three demons are subject to the North winds. A of the East, which are five, are: **Harith, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, N** they may be compelled to serve, or they rest,][1] and their bodies mean stature. The color of them is like to the color of heaven, o

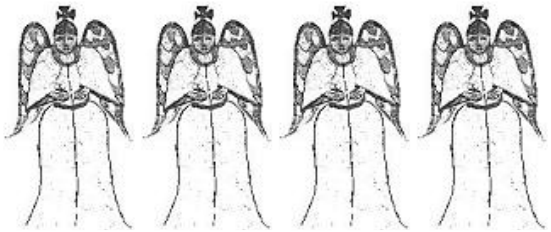
coloure of heaven or lyke vnto cr-| ystall
/

crystal.

Off the sprytes that be vnder the planet mars */*/*/* | Othere there be whych are called martyans whych | be these
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

[67v]

Samahel. Satyhel. yturahyhel. Amabyhel.



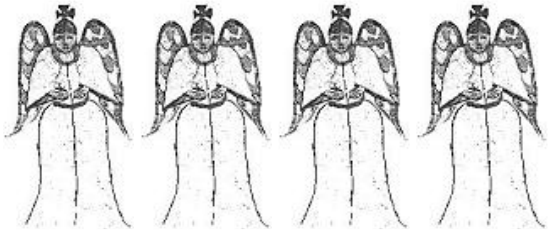
the sealle of the angells of mars Is thys
//*/*/*

and there nature Is to cause & | styre vp warre murder distructyon | and mortalyte of people and of all earthly thinges, & there | bodyes are of a meane statuer dry & leane there colouer Is | redd lyke to burning colles burning redd, and there regyon or | abydinge Is the sowthe
/

[CVII.] Of the spirits that be under the planet Mars

Others there be which are called Martians, which be these

Samahel Satihel *Yturahihel Amabiel



The seal of the angels of Mars is this:

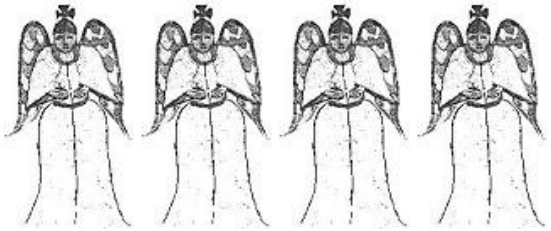
And their nature is to cause and stir up war, murder, destru mortality of people and of all earthly things, and their bodies are mean stature, dry and lean. Their color is red like to burning coa red, and their region or abiding is the South. [And four demons these, namely one king and his three ministers, to whom all othe of Mars are subjugated, and there they are: **Iammax** the king, **C Ycanohl, Pasfran**, which demons are subject to the East wind, these five: **Atraurbiabilis, Hyachonaababur, Carmehal, Inny Proathophas**, and they may be compelled to serve, or they rest.

Other there are vnder the sonne which are these */*/*/*

Raphael Cashael dardyhel hanrathaphel

[CVIII.] Other there are under the Sun, which are th

Raphael *Cafhael Dardihel *Hurathaphel



[68r]

the sealle of the angells of the sonne Is thys */*/*/*/*/*

: there naturee Is to gyue loue and | fauor and rycches to a man & power | also to kepe hym hayle and to gyue deweys, herbes, flowe-| rs and frutes in a moment, there bodyes are greate and | large ffull of all gentylnes there colouers Is bryghte like | glasse, or as the sonne or golde, and there regyon Is the east.

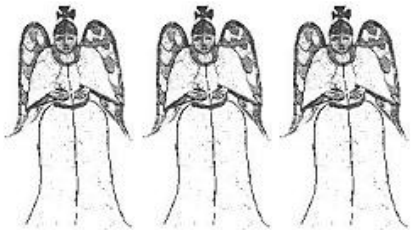
The seal of the angels of the Sun is this:

Their nature is to give love and favor and riches to a man, and p to keep him hail and to give dews, herbs, flowers, and fruits in a Their bodies are great and large, full of all gentleness. Their col bright <like glass> [or citrus], or like the Sun or gold, and their the East.

[And four demons are under them, namely one king and t ministers, to whom all other demons of the Sun are subjugated, are these: **Batthan** the king, **Thaadas, Chaudas, Ialchal**, and t demons which are subject to the North wind are four: **Baxhatha Gahathus, Caudes, Iarabal**, they may be compelled to serve, o rest.][1]

Off the sprytes that be vnder planet of venus */*/*/*/*/* | There be othere whych are called venereans whych | be these */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Hanahel Raquyel Salguyel



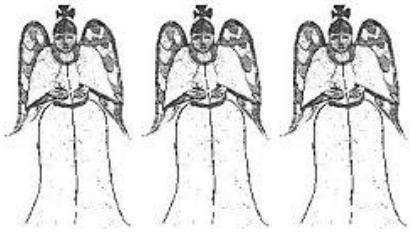
the sealle of the angells of venus Is thys */*/*/*/* |

: there nature Is to prouoke lawhi-| ges entycementes and desyers to loue women and to giue | fflower, & frutes, ther bodyes are of a meane stature in all | poyntes, for they be nether lytle nor greate neyther fatt

[CIX.] Of the spirits that be under planet of Venus.

There be others which are called Venereans, which be thes

Hanahel Raquiel Salguyel



The seal of the angels of Venus is this:

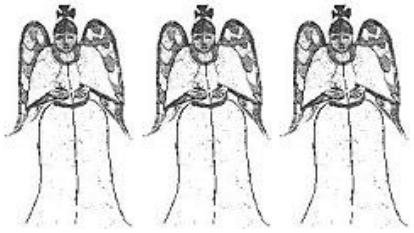
Their nature is to provoke laughing, *lust, and desires, to l women, and to give flowers and fruits. Their bodies are of a mea in all points, for they be neither little nor great, neither fat nor le countenance is pleasant, white like snow. Their region is betwix South and the West.

nor lea-| ine ther countenance Is pleasant, whyte lyke snow there regyon is

[68v]
betwyxte the southe and the west. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

off the sprytes that be vnder the planet of mercurye */*/* | Othere there be wch be called mercuryans which be these -

michael mihel Saryyel



the sealle of the angells of mercurye Is thys */*/*/* |

there nature is to subdew | them selffes and othere | good sprytes to othere, they gyue answere of things | present past and to comme, they teche the secret deeds | whych are to be donne or what shall chance in thys | worlde, they revele the secretes of all othere sprytes, they | can also yf they be commaunded doo the same thinges | that othere cane doo there forme or fassion Is mo-| vable clere lyke glasse or the flame of whyte fyer, | and they to gether wyth the doo revele and tell cownce-| lls and secretes of all other, there regyon Is be twyxte | the west and the northe. */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

[69r] off the sprytes that be vnder the planet of the moone. | There be other sprytes of the moone which be thyes */* |

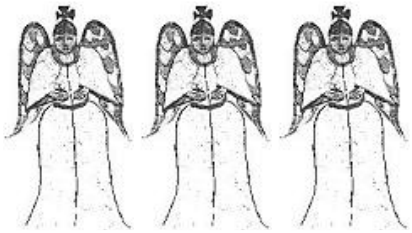
Gabriel michael Samyhel Acithael

[And there are three demons under them, one king and his ministers, and all the other demons of Venus are subject to these are: **Sarabocres** the king, **Nassar, Cynassa**, which rule the dem East and West winds, which are four, namely **Cambores, Tracl Nassar,** and **Naasa**. They may be compelled to serve, or they re

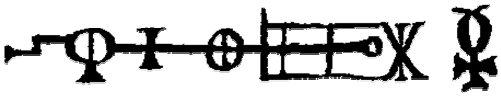
[CX.] Of the spirits that be under the planet of Merc

Other there be which be called Mercurians, which be these

Michael Mihel *Sarapiel



The seal of the angels of Mercury is this:



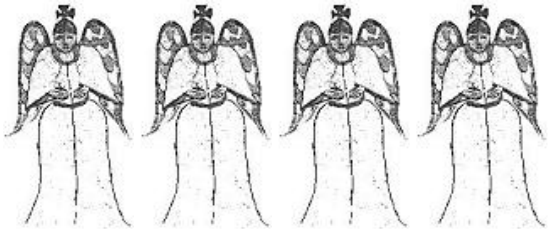
Their nature is to subdue themselves and other good spirit They give answers of things present, past, and to come. They tea secret deeds which are to be done or what shall chance in this w reveal the secrets of all other spirits. They can also if they be co do the same things that others can do. Their form or fashion is n clear like glass, or the flame of white fire, and they together witl Moon do reveal and tell councils and secrets of all others. Their betwixt the West and the North.

[And there are five demons under them: one king, and his ministers, to which all other demons of Mercury are subjugated, are these: **Habaa** the king, **Hyyci, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb,** whi demons of the West and Southwest winds, which are 4, namely: **Drohas, Palas, Sambas,** they may be compelled to serve, or the

[CXI.] Of the spirits that be under the planet of the M

There be other spirits of the Moon, which be these:

Gabriel Michael *Samyel Atithael



the sealle of the angells of the moone Is thys */*/*/*/* |

: and there nature Is to | change thoughtes and wills | to prepare Iorneys to tell wordes that be spoken to cavse | rayns, there bodes are longe and greate, there cowntena-| nces Is whystyshe dym lyke cristall or lyke yse or a dar-| ke clowde and there regyon Is the west. */*/*/*/*/*/*

The seal of the angels of the Moon is this:

And their nature is to change thoughts and wills, to prepar journeys, to tell words that be spoken, and to cause rains. Their long and great; their countenances are whitish dim like crystal, [burnished sword,] or like ice, or a dark cloud, and their region is

[And there are four demons under them: a king and his thr ministers, and all the other demons of the moon are obedient to placed under them, and they are these: **Harthan**, the king, **Bilet Abucaba,** which rule the demons of the West wind, which are f **Hebethel, Arnochap, Oylol, Milau, Abuchaba,** they may be c to serve, or they rest.][1]

Here ffolowith the makinge of the cyrcle */*/*/*/*

[CXII.] Here followeth the making of the circle.

Now that yow haue dwe knowledge of there nature | power, regyon, and forme when þ^{u} wilte call them | þ^{u} shallt doo thus, take harde stonnes, and playne in the wh-| ich there Is neyther hoole nor ryft or ells, tyles specyally | made for that purpose, and lett him that shall make them be

[69v]

cleane from all pollucyons, and lett him haue lyme & | sande of the seae banke mengled to gether wherw^{t} he | shall Ioyne the stonnes, then of them he shall make a | place wherin the cercle shall be drawen, and this place | shall thus be fashyoned ffyrst lett the cercle be equall w^{t} | the earth having in lengthe and brede .14. foete w^{t} in þ^{e} | which make a croked cercle lyke halfe a cercle higher then | the other, in length and breade contayning .7. foote, & | in

Now that you have due knowledge of their nature, power, and form, when thou wilt call them thou shalt do thus:

Take hard stones, and plain (i.e. uniform), in the which the neither hole nor rift, or else tiles specially made for that purpose him that shall make them be clean from all pollutions, and let hi lime and sand of the sea bank mingled together wherewith he sh the stones. Then of them he shall make a place wherein the circl drawn, and this place shall thus be fashioned:

First let the circle be equal with the earth, having in length breadth fourteen [*nine][1] feet, within the which make a crooked half a circle, higher than the other in length and breadth, contain feet, and in height three feet and an half.

Yet because of poverty this place may be made of clean ea or clay if it be well purged, so that there be no rift or break in it. the place for the circle is finished, then he that shall work as I sa must be cleansed or purged as is declared in the first cleansing, petition must be altered or changed. For the priest while he doth consecrate the body of Christ must say this prayer following:

heyght .3. ffoote and an halffe, yet be cawse of pover-| ty this place may be made of clene earthe thinke or cley | yf it be well purged so that there be no ryft or breke in | It, and when the place for the cercle Is fynished then | he that shall worke as I sayd be fore muste be clensyd | or purged as Is declared in the first clensinge but yor | petycyon must be alteryd or changed, for the prist w-| hyle he dothe consecrate the bodye of christ must saye | thys prayer ffolowinge */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

O thow lorde Iesu christ god and man which diddest | votsaffe by thyne owne selffe to visytt thy faythfull | people to there health I humbly besiche the, pray the, | and desyer the, euyn thyn owne sellffe whom I doo n-| ow holde in my handes for thy servant .N. that th-| orow the gyfte and permyssyon of thy grace all those | angells whome he shall call to haue there owncell it

O thou Lord Jesus Christ, God and man, who didst vouchsa by thine own self to visit thy faithful people to their health, humbly beseech thee, pray thee, and desire thee, even thine own self whom I do now hold in my hands, for thy servant that through the gift and permission of thy grace, all those angels whom he shall call to have their council it would ple thee to send them and constrain them, that by the means of he may mercifully company with them.

[70r]

wolde please the to sende them and constrayn them that | by the meanys of the he may mercyfully company w^{t} | them ::: the ffyrst daye ::: who as I sayd before after þ^{t} | he hathe receyued the bodye of christ shall departe owt of þ^{e} | churche saying contynually the .17. prayer. vntill he cõe to | the place of the cercle. the consecrating of the cercle then | lett him blysse þ^{e} cercle saying .15. prayer and that daye he | shall doo no more. the seconde daye he shall goe to þ^{e} churche, and after complayne he shall go the cercle saying agen the | .17. prayer, and lett him haue a payre of sensors w^{t} cooles in | them whervpon he shall cast perles, and w^{t} them he shall per-| fume the place owt of the which he will call, and the .4. par-| tes of the worlde heaven and earth thryse, sayinge the first | and seconde prayer, this doone thryse goinge abowt the | cercle and perfuming it beginning at that place owt of

[CXIII.] The First Day:

Who, as I said before, after he hath received the body of C depart out of the church, saying continually the Seventeenth Pra he come to the place of the circle.

The Consecrating of the Circle

Then let him bless the circle, saying the Fifteenth Prayer, day he shall do no more.

[CXIV.] The Second Day.

He shall go to the church and after complain he shall go th saying again the Seventeenth Prayer, and let him have a pair of with coals in them whereupon he shall cast pearls, and with ther perfume the place out of the which he will call, and the four par world, heaven, and earth thrice, saying the First and Second Pra

This done thrice, going about the circle and perfuming it, at that place out of the which thou wilt call and there ending aga shalt name the angels for the which thou wilt work with the ang day and hour, month, time, and the face in the which thou wilt w saying:

þ^e which | þ^u wilte call and there endinge agayne þ^u shalte name þ^e ang-| ells for þ^e which þ^u willte worke w^t þ^e angells of þ^e daye & | hower moneth, tyme and the face in the which þ^u wilte | worke saying **. michael . miel . saripel . and cc cc .** peace dothe | over come~, agyft subdueth, pacyence getteth the victorye, | humylite dothe noryshe concord, I therfore .N. þ^u sonne of .N. | and .N. humbling my selfe vnto yow gyue me peace vnto | yow thus doinge, I gyue my gyfte vnto yow þ^t yow | beinge pacyffyed and pacyent may gentely graunt þ^e petycy-| ons which by godes meanes & sufferance I shall aske of yow.

[70v]

thys done draw .2. cercles wherof the on shall be a foo-| tte fron [sic] the othere and It must be donne w^t a new kn-| yffe, and wrytte in the compas the names of the ange -| lls of the hower, of the daye, of the moneth, of the tyme | and of the face saying . come all ye angells .N. peceably | vnto the seate of samaym which the lorde commaund-| yd the trybes of Israel to þ^e encrease of his honor, wher-| fore I doo Invocate and call yow oo ye .N. as zebedie | commaundid his subiectes to obey, therfore comme. the | .7. daye. the .3. daye being bathed having vpon yow | a cleane shyrte or lynnen havinge also whyte apparr-| ell, and being clene shaven ffrom þ^e heares of your | bodye havinge your face toward the part owt of the | which yow will call standing vpright w^t owt þ^e cercle yow | shall thus begyn */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Michael, Miel, Saripiel, [Gabriel, Michael, Samyel, Athitael, Boel, Cafziel, Michrathon, Sathquyel, Raphael Pahamcociel, Assassayel, Samael, Satiel, Yturaihel, Amabihel, Raphael, Caphael, Dardiel, Hurathapel, Han Raquiel, Salguiel][2] peace doth overcome, a gift subdueth, patience getteth the victory, humility doth nourish concord, therefore, N. the son of N. and N., humbling myself unto yc give me peace unto you thus doing, I give my gift unto you you being pacified and patient may gently grant the petitior which by God's means and sufferance I shall ask of you.

This done, draw two circles whereof the one shall be a foc other, and it must be done with a new knife. And write in the co names of the angels of the hour, of the day, of the month, of the of the face, saying:

Come all ye angels .N. peaceably unto the seat of Samaym which the Lord commanded the tribes of Israel to the increa of his honor, wherefore I do invocate and call you, O ye .N Zebedie commanded his subjects to obey. Therefore come.

[CXV.] The third day.

Being bathed, and having upon you a clean shirt or linen, also white apparel, and being clean shaven from the hairs of you having your face toward the part out of the which you will call, upright without the circle, you shall thus begin:

The preparatyon to the Invocatyon

//*/*/* | Haue the seale of god in thy right hande cleane made | and consecrated & then perfume thy cercle doyng & saying | as I tolde þ^e before, & then perfume þ^e seale & also thy selffe & | then knele downe and saye the .31. prayer, w^t þ^e pra-|

The Preparation to the Invocation

Have the Seal of God in thy right hand, clean [i.e. neatly] consecrated, and then perfume thy circle, doing and saying as I before, and then perfume the seal and also thyself, and then kne and say the Thirty-first Prayer, with the prayer of Solomon the I ninth, "Rothon, [*Fothon] Maker of Heaven and Earth, and etc."

yer of Salomon the .49. Rothon maker of heaven | and earthe and cc cc: thow shalte add in the ende of eue-| ry prayer þ^{t} I may fryndely be accompanyed w^{t} thy | hooly angells which thorow þ^{e} sufferance of thy most bl-| essyd will may fullfyll all my iust desyres & requestes.

[Addition.]

Thou shalt add in the end of every prayer, "... that I may fı accompanied with thy holy angels which through the sufferance most blessed Will may fulfill all my just desires and requests."

Manuscript R omits the rest of *Liber Juratus*, which includes more instructions on the invocation of angels, details on the spirits of th of the 4 cardinal directions, and the earth. Instead it appends the following material evidently derived from de Abano's *Heptameron* and Agrippa's *de occulta philosophia*. Curiously however, Agrippa (book III chap. 29) in turn quotes from "Peter Apponus [Petrus d'Abano] ... a delivered by Honorius of Thebes."

[130v]

Finitis igitur oracionibus taliter invocabis.

With the orations thus finished, invoke tl manner.

Invocacio angelorum.

{O} vos angeli potentes, Saturni, Iovis, Martis, Solis, veneris, Mercurii, Lune. boel, cafziel, micrathon, satquiel, raphael, Paamchociel, Asassaiel, samael, satiel, yturaiel, amyabiel, raphael, caphael, dardiel, huratehaphel, anael, raquiel, salguyel, michael, Miel, sariapiel, gabriel, Michael, gamyel, athithael, potentes in celis, nubibus et abissis. **Hic erigat signum dei manu aperta versus celum dicens.**

Ecce formacionem seculi. spiritus autem spiritum vocat. Amor dei nos coniungat, sua potencia nos dirigat, sua misericordia nos coniunctos misericorditer nos custodiat. // Vos igitur nomine illius dei vivi et veri qui vos et me verbo creavit, cuius nomina sunt tremenda que sunt 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, Quoniam magnus altissimus sanctissimus excellentissimus potentissimus, fortis, iustus, [col. 2] pius, clemens, dulcis, adiutor, protector, defensor, largitor, misericors, cuius potencia ineffabilis, cuius substancia indivisibilis, sciencia inestimabilis, veritas incommutabilis, misericordia incommensurabilis, essencia incorruptibilis. Cuius gloriose gracie pleni sunt celi et terra. Cuius forti potencie genuflectuntur omnia celestia terrestria et infernalia vos invoco humiliter et deposco ut vos infra circulos hic circumscriptos descendere dignemini apparentes in forma benivola, de omnibus quesitis michi veritatem respondentes. Per virtutem illius vobis precipio cuius nomine signatur. Amen.

Invocation of the angels.

O you mighty angels of Saturn, Jupiter, M Venus, Mercury, and the Moon:[1] **Boel, Ca [Saterquiel,] Satquiel, Raphael, Paamch Samael, Satiel, Yturaiel, Amabiel, Raph Dardiel, Hurathaphel, Anael, Raquiel, S Miel, Sarapiel, Gabriel, Michael, Samy** mighty in heaven, iin the clouds, and in th

Here, with an open hand, raise the Seal o saying:

Behold the design of the world. Whereupo the spirit. May the love of God join us, ma us, may his mercy mercifully guard our ur through the name of that living and true G and me with the word, whose names are te 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 3 37, 38, Because the great, most high, mos distinguished, most powerful, strong, just, sweet, helper, protector, defender, generou whose power is indescribable, whose natu whose knowledge is priceless, whose truth whose mercy is immeasurable, whose esse incorruptible, of whose glorious grace the are full,[2] before whose mighty power all t and infernal realms kneel, I humbly invok that you may condescend to come down a before this circle in a perceptible and agre

answer truly all my questions. I order you
of that one, whose name is marked. Amen

Sigillum et ligacio.

{V}os igitur sanctissimos angelos peticionibus meis obedire sigillo deposco, invoco et eciam coniuro, sigillo sanctorum nominum dei, quo Dominus humane creature servire sigillavit, dicere et facere que licita sunt et honesta. **ya, ya, ya, laaaa, Adonay, sabaoth, heloy, genouem, mesquerpon, usye, Achedion, Zebedio, greba.** Cum istis et per ista sacratissima [nomina] iterum ad concordiam vos appello vos meis peticionibus obedire et coniuro atque virtute dei precipio ut vos meo placati munusculo prompti michi in omnibus locis honestis obedire super sedem samaym hic infra circulos hic circumscriptos a saturninis, iovinis, martialibus, solaribus, venereis, mercurialibus lunaribus speris descendere dignemini que sunt ista. **bacalgar, totalg, yfarselogon, alchedion, meremieca, ureleguyger, ioath, somongargmas, iohena**. Obedite ergo Zebedeie qui vos salomoni et tribubus Israel sibi fidelibus ad laudem et honorem sui sancti nominis **sabaoth** quod est *exercitus angelorum* in honestis et licitis obedire precepit. Et vobis super hoc et ad hoc nomine suo me munitum optime represento, quoniam misericors est, non ex nostris meritis, set ex sue gracia largitatis.

Seal and binding.

Therefore, O most sacred angels, I seal, be
also conjure you to obey my petitions, thr
sacred names of God, which the Lord seal
creatures, which are lawful and honourabl
make. **Ya, Ya, Ya, Laaaa, Adonay, Saba**
Genouem, Merquerpon, Usye, Achedio
With those same and through those same
[names] I again call you to union, to obey
conjure and with the virtue of God I order
appeased with the small present which I h
obey me in all honest places over the seat
below the circles here circumscribed, to d
from the Saturnian, Jovian, Martial, Solar,
Mercurial, and Lunar spheres, which are t
Totalg, Yfarselogon, Alchedion, Merem
Ioath, Somongargmas, Iohena. Obey the
whereby you commanded Solomon, and t
who were loyal to him, to honestly and la
praise and honor of his holy name **Sabaot**
army of angels," and with his name, whicl
forth, protecting me, because he is mercif
our merits, but because of the abundance

Nomine igitur ipsius vos, N, placatos sub hiis sanctis nominibus iterum appello, **legemoth, gonathaym, maloth, phoston, hemonege, anephene<s>ton, stobr, otheos, tutheon, thereis, chatheon, agla**. In hiis igitur perfeccione sigilli quamvis vos sciencia vestra cum humilitate preceptis [precepit] obedire creatoris, tamen ego, N, filius N, pollutus viciorum meorum contagio vestrum amittere timeo [131r] iuvamentum, humilitatis tamen indutus cilicio obedire peticionibus meis vos deprecor et invoco. // Set virtute creatoris eterni ferens insignium vos nomine illius summi creatoris obedire michi famulo suo precipio et coniuro ut sitis meis in omnibus licitis et honestis peticionibus obedire parati.

With his name therefore I again appeal to
these sacred names: **Legemoth, Gonatha**
Yhoston, Hemonege, Anepheneton, Stol
Tutheon, Thereis, Chatheon, Agla. In th
therefore, with the perfection of the sigil,
knowledge [teaches] you to obey the com
Creator with humility, nevertheless I N. s
.....

Finit ligacio. Incipit coniuracio.

{V}os igitur sanctos angelos me vestris imponens officiis quamvis humilitatis ac paciencie vestre indutus cilicio qui sicut filius altissimi creatoris. In nomine illius qui **loke, henaf, hese**, moysi nominavit quamvis sub meo nomine sublimitatis imperium non valeam deprecare, humiliter deprecor obedienter precipio per iustum **Ombonar**, per verum **stimulamathon**, per sanctum **orion**, per sanctissimum **eryon**, per magnum **noyygl**, per festinantem **pep**, et per alia dei nomina pura que propter sue celsitudinis magnitudinem nulla deberet nisi concederetur a domino humanitas nominare que sunt 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79. Quatinus a saturninis iovinis marcialibus, solaribus uenereis mercurialibus lunaribus [speris] descendere dignemini.

End of the binding. Beginning of the cc

Placacio.

{O} vos angeli benignissimi potentissimi ac fideles **bohel, cafziel** et ceteri, qui obediencie ac humilitatis vinculo gubernamen celorum cum omnibus subditis eorundem recipere a domino meruistis, quibus omnis sciencia revelatur. Quibus data est potestas plenaria terreas cum infernalibus subiugare creaturas, nocere vel iuvare quoniam dominus in omnibus fideles humiles ac cum paciencia iustos a vestra creacione primaria vos cognovit. Ego enim licet immeritus tamen vestram implorando graciam humiliter vos deprecor et invoco ut meis prompti peticionibus in forma benivola atque meo placati munusculo prompti michi in omnibus licitis et honestis obedire super sedem **samaym** hic infra circulos hic circumscriptos a saturninis iovinis et ceteris speris descendere dignemini. // Et ad hoc igitur nomine vivi et veri dei qui vobis graciam tribuit non peccandi vos invoco [col. 2] atque potenter impero per eius sacra nomina que sunt ista [80], 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99. Obedite ergo zebedeie et michi nomine ipsius. Invoco vos potestates celorum et invocando coniuro per **ab**, per **gap**, per **abx**, per **abra**, per **abraca**, per **gebra**, per **abracala**, per **abracasap**, per **abracaleus**, per **zargon**, per **abrion**, per **eleyon**, per **sargion**. Vos igitur potentes angeli invoco et invocando coniuro superne maiestatis imperii potentes potenter imparo per eum qui dixit et factum est cui omnes excercitus Angelorum celestium terrestrium et infernorum subduntur et obediunt. Et per nomen eius ineffabile **tetragramaton** quod in fronte tulit aaron quod angelice dicitur **agla**, hebraice **heloy** arabice **Iaym**, grece **theos**, quod **deus** latine vocatur, quo audito omnes exercitus celestes terrestres et infernales tremunt et colunt, et per ista que sunt **rethala, rabam, capthalee (?), durhulo, archyma, rabur**, quatinus a saturninis iovinis marcialibus, solaribus, venereis, mercurialibus, lunaribus speris omni occasione et malivolencia cessante in forma benivola atque meo placati munusculo michi in omnibus licitis et honestis obedire parati super sedem **samaym** hic infra circulos hic circumscriptos descendere dignemini per virtutem humilitatis quam nunc vobis offero. Hic debet crucifigi in terra clausis oculis dicens. Et in virtute vivi et veri dei qui vos in iusticia et in equitate in sempiterno permanere concessit, cui sit gloria laus et honor atque victoria per infinita secula seculorum amen. **boel, cafziel, macrathon [*micrathon], <saterquiel,> satquiel, raphael, paamcociel, asassaiel, samael, sathiel [sachiel?], yturaiel, amiabil [*amabiel], raphael, caphael, dardiel, hurathaphel, anael, raquiel, salguyel, michael, myel, saripiel [*sarapiel], gabriel, mychael, samyel, athithael**. Venite venite venite letantes vestro obedire creatori

The placating.

O you, most kind angels, most powerful a
Cafziel and the rest, who with the chain o
humility you have merited the control of t
your subordinates receiving the same fron

et michi nomine ipsius coniurati per nomen suum excellentissimum quod super capud meum vobis omnibus ostendo. Hic ponat manum inversam super capud suum et eis signum ostendat. Et immediate cum taliter ter invocaveris tedar (?) si non prima vice venerint vel 2[a]. Audies [131v] quasi fulgur descendens de celo et erit color eorum nitidissimus set non debent alloqui nec aspici donec ipsi primo loquantur. Qui dicent amice quid petis. Tunc dicat, pacem et amiciciam vestram. Et si recte mundatus fueris immediate concedent et dicent, surge et respice graciam virtutis dei, pete et complebitur tibi, quia te misericordia domini visitavit. tunc pete quod volueris et habebis.

{Q}uocienscumque aliquid de 27 predictis capitulis volueris ut iam predictum est voca hos angelos celestes sanctos mundum et totam naturam regentes in racione amantis et desiderantis deum gloriosum. Et quando venerint et te interogaverint. Quid vis, postquam responderis, pacem et amiciciam vestram petas illud de 27, quod in oracionibus mundacionis petivisti cognicionem celorum, si hanc quesivisti vel mutacionem diei in noctem et e contrario, si hoc petisti, vel consecracionem libri si hanc voluisti, vel utramque simul si de tanto fueris una operacione dignus. Et sic quodlibet de 27, dante domino facere quibis. Quod ipse nobis concedat. Qui vivit et regnat per infinita secula seculorum amen.

[Tercium opus vel tractatus.]

Incipiunt capitula tercii tractatus huius operis. Qui est de spiritibus aeris.

De constriccione spirituum per verba. // De constriccione spirituum per sigilla. // De constriccione spirituum per tabulas. // De forma imponenda cuilibet spiritui // De inclusione spirituum // De incluso spiritu ut non respondeat. // De fulgure et tonitruo provocando. // De combustione facienda. // De purificacione aeris. // De corrupcione aeris. // De nive et gelu facienda. // De rore et pluvia facienda // De floribus et fructibus provocandis. // De invisibilitate. // De equo qui una nocte te portabit et reportabit ubi volueris. // De absente quod veniat una hora sanus. // De re que deferatur in momento ubicumque volueris. // De subtraccione rei. // De revocacione rei. // De transfiguracione cuiuscumque. // De flumine provocando in terra sicca. // De commocione regni contra dominum. // De regno vel imperio destruendo. // De habenda potestate super quemlibet. // De habendis mille militibus [col. 2] armatis. // De formacione castri indestructibilis. // De speculo perverso. // De destruccione loci vel inimici per speculum perversum. // De speculo aparicionis mundi. // De fure et furto revocando. // De ceraturis aperiendis. // De discordia facienda. // De concordia provocanda. // De habenda gracia omnium personarum et benivolencia. // De mulieribus habendis ad libitum. // De diviciis habendis. // De curacione cuiuslibet infirmitatis. // De dando infirmitatem cuilibet et qualemcumque placuerit operanti. De interficiendo quemlibet. // De tempestate et periculo terre et maris fuganda // De nave retenta in mari per adamantem vel aliter rehabenda. // De omni periculo evitando. // De congregacione et

[The Third Book or Treatise.]

(CXVI) Here begins the chapters of the this Work, which is about the Spirits o

Concerning the constraint of spirits throu constraint of spirits through sigils; (2) Concern spirits through tables; Concerning imposing a Concerning the confinement of spirits; Concer whether or not it will answer; Calling forth ligh Concerning the required burnings; Concerning Concerning the corruption of the air; To make dew and rain; To call forth flowers and fruit; C Concerning a horse, which will carry you anyw night; To bring an absent person back safely in something wherever you wish, in a moment. T removed. To recall something. To transfigure a on dry land. To incite a kingdom against its rul or state. To have power over anyone. To have soldiers. To form an indestructible fortress. Ho destruction. How to destroy a place or an enem destruction. The apparition of the world in a m anything which a thief has stolen. To open locl cause agreement. To have the good will and fa have the desire of women. To have wealth. To make anyone sick, whenever you wish. To kill and dangers of the earth and sea. To hold back adamant stone, or otherwise to bring it back ag To flock birds together, and collect them. To c

accepcione avium. // De piscibus congregandis et accipiendis. // De animalibus silvestribus et domesticis congregandis et accipiendis. // De bello faciendo inter aves vel homines vel pisces vel animalia. // De apparencia combustionis. // De apparencia ioculatorum et puellarum balancium. // De apparencia gardinorum vel castrorum. // De apparencia militum pugnancium. // De apparencia griffonum et draconum. // De apparencia omnium ferarum. // De apparencia venatorum cum canibus. // De apparencia hominis quod sit alibi quam est. // De apparencia tocius voluptatis.

caught. To cause woodland *and domestic* anim
caught. To cause war between the birds, *or pe*
To make burning appear. To make appear jeste
make gardens or fortresses appear. To make ap
make gryphons and dragons appear. To make a
make hunters appear with dogs. To make some
were somewhere other than where they actuall
pleasures appear.

Finitis capitulis incipit prohemium in spiritibus aereis.

Cum igitur ignoratis superioribus angelorum illos constringere sit impossibile, nomina spirituum aeris et ventorum in precedenti posuimus capitulo. ut sui superiores clarius viderentur. et a quibus poterat quilibet subiugari. Nunc autem de natura aeris et omnium spirituum in ipso residencium hic faciemus tractatum. // Aer est elementum corruptibile liquidum et subtile inter cetera nobilius. passibiles recipiens qualitates. et est simpliciter invisibilis set ipso composito videtur. In quo sunt spiritus quos sancta mater ecclesia dampnatos appellat, set ipsi oppositum asserunt esse verum, et ideo eos neque bonos neque malos volumus appellare et illi spiritus in aere reguntur secundum ipsius aeris qualitates et ideo eius qualitates videamus. // Aer igitur in quantum elementum a planetarum influenciis gubernatur. Bene igitur accipit diversas complexiones quas nunc dicemus, quia [132r] quidam sunt demones ad tribulacionem aeris constituti quos ventos Salomon appellavit, quoniam ventos excitant, et secundum quemlibet mutatur aer, et penatur spiritus illius partis, unde quilibet debet aspicere ventum sue operacioni competentem, quia tunc illius partis demones excitantur. // Set non semper invenitur ventus invocacioni habilis ideo eos precipimus excitari, qui <tunc> aere sereno vocantur indifferenter. Et ideo cum angelis ventos ponemus, ut in eis veniant et vincantur, quorum opera in subsequentibus sunt dicenda.

(CXVII) End of the chapters, and begi on the aerial spirits.

Know therefore, since it is impossible to we have listed the names of the spirits of the ai preceding chapter(s);[1] in order that the superio and through which anyone can be subjugated. make a treatise concerning the nature of the air residing in it.

The air is a corruptible fluid, and subtile .....

Divisio spirituum aereis.

Aereorum vero spirituum duo sunt modi, quoniam quidam sunt boni, quidam mali, quidam mites, quidam feroces. // Boni mites et fideles sunt illi, orientales et occidentales, et dicuntur boni: quia operaciones eorum iuvant in bono, et vix nocent alicui nisi ad hoc cogantur divina virtute. // Mali sunt et cum superbia feroces: australes et septemtrionales et dicuntur mali quia opera eorum sunt mala in omnibus, et nocent libenter omnibus, et vix aliquid quod sequatur ad bonum faciunt nisi ad hoc superiori virtute cogantur. // Set inter istos sunt alii collaterales istis qui neque boni neque mali dicuntur, quoniam in omnibus obediunt invocanti sive in bono fuerit sive in malo de quibus hic est cognicio cuiuscumque. //

(CXVIII) Divisions of the spirits of the

There are two kinds of aerial spirits, som evil; some are mild and others wild. The good, are the Eastern and Western ones, and are calle operations with them help in good, and rarely unless they are forced with divine strength.

The evil, arrogant, and wild ones are the ones, and are called evil, because their works a they willingly harm anyone, and will scarely d they are forced with superior strength.

.....

[De spiritibus orientalibus.]

Istorum autem 4 sunt in oriente regnantes et sunt subditi soli et vento eius qui boreas dicitur, et excitantes eos [*eum] sunt isti 4. **Bashatau [*Baxhatau] <rex>, hahatus [*Gahatus], caudes, ierabal [*iarabal]**, et habent hos 4 demones et eorum subditos excitare, congregare, dispergere, con stringere et in loco proprio ligare quorum **Barthan** est rex, **taadas, gaudas [*Caudas], yalcal**, sunt ministri, et

(CXIX) [Concerning the Spirits of the

But of those there are four governing in t subordinate to the Sun and its wind, which is c there are four (spirits) arousing it: **Baxhatau, Iarabal,** and they have these four daemons and arouse, congregate, scatter, constrain, and bind

eorum natura est aurum dare cum carbunculis ad libitum, divicias, graciam et benivolenciam gencium impetrare, inimicicias hominum mortales vel alias dissolvere, homines in summis honoribus sublimare, infirmitates tribuere vel auferre, sua corpora sunt magna et ampla, sanguinea et grosa, color eorum sicut aurum brunitum sanguine depictum. Motus eorum est celi coruschacio. // Signum eorum est invocanti commovere sudores.

[De spiritibus occidentalibus.]

{O}ccidentales sunt illi 4, quibus omnes alii regionis demones subduntur, quorum [col. 2] **harthan** est rex, **bileth, milalu, habuchaba**, [habuthala?] eius ministri, et sunt subditi lune et vento eius qui zephirus dicitur. Et excitantes [eum] sunt isti, **hebethel, amacopoilol [*amocap, oilol], myla<l>u, abuchaba**, et habent hos 4 demones et eorum subditos excitare congregare dispergere constringere, ac in loco proprio ligare, quorum natura est argentum ad libitum dare, res de loco ad locum deferre, equum velocitatis tribuere, facta et secreta presencia atque preterita dicere personarum, sua corpora sunt magna et ampla, mollia et fleumatica, color eorum sicut nubes obscura et tenebrosa et habent multum inflatum oculos rubeos aqua plenos non habent pilos in capite, et dentes ut aper. Motus eorum est sicut magni [*magna] maris ruina. Et signum est quod magna pluvia iuxta circulum cadere videbitur invocanti.

De spiritibus meridionalibus.

{M}eridionales sunt isti. **iammax** rex, **carmax [*carmox], ichanel [*ichanol], pasfran,** quibus omnes alii regionis demones subduntur. Et sunt subditi marti et vento eius qui subsolanus dicitur, et excitantes eum sunt isti 5. **atraurbiabilis, yaconaababur, carmeal, innial, proathophas**, et habent hos demones et eorum subditos excitare constringere dispergere congregare ac in loco proprio ligare. // Sua natura est guerras et mortalitates occisiones, prodiciones et combustiones facere, mille milites cum suis famulis que sunt duo milia ad tempus dare et mortem tribuere cuicumque infirmitatem et sanitatem tribuere. Sua corpora sunt parva, macra colerica, in aspectu turpissima. Colorum eorum sicut cuprum ignitum modicum denigratum, habent cornua ad modum cervi, ungues admodum grifonum, ululant sicut tauri insani. Motus eorum quasi combustionis partis sue realis aspeccio. Signum est quod fulgur et tonitruum iuxta circulum cadere videbitur invocanti.

De spiritibus septemtrionalibus.

{S}eptemtrionales sunt isti. **Maymon** rex, **albunalich, assaibi, haibalidech, yasfla**, quibus omnes alii demones regionis subduntur et sunt subditi saturno et vento eius qui affricus dicitur. Et excitantes eum sunt isti 3. **Mextyura, alcybany, alflas**, et habent [132v] hos 5 demones, et eorum subditos congregare, dispergere constringere, ac in loco proprio ligare. Sua natura est seminare discordias, odia generare, malas cogitaciones, furta et avaricias, dare cum libito plumbum, quemlibet

which **Barthan** is the king, **Taadas, Caudas,** and their nature is to give gold with carbuncles wealth, gratitude and the benevolence of the na the hostility of people and other beings; and to honors, and to grant or take away weaknesses. and large, bloody and thick;[2] their color is like with blood. Their movement is like the heaven should be called upon to displace hard labors.

(CXX) [Concerning the Spirits of the W

The western ones are four, and all other under them, of which **Harthan** is the king, **Bil Habuchaba** are his ministers, and they are sub its wind, which is called Zephyr (westerly). An **Hebethel, Amocap, Oilol, Mylau,** and **Abuch** four daemons and their subordinates to arouse, constrain, and bind to their proper place. Their desired; they also carry things from place to pl horses; they also tell the secrets of persons pre bodies are large and ample, soft and phlegmati dark and obscure clouds, and they have red eye inflated; they have no hair on their heads, and of a boar. Their movement is like a great rushi the sign is that great rainfall will be seen near t invoked.

(CXXI) Concerning the Spirits of the S

Those of the South are these: **Iammax** th ministers] **Carmox, Ichanol, Pasfran,** to who the region are subordinate, and they are subord wind, which is called the Eastern wind. And ar **Atraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carmeal, In** they have these daemons and their subordinate disperse, congregate, and bind to their proper p cause war, and plague, murders, treasons, and temporarily give one thousand soldiers with th two thousand, and they grant death; they also g anyone. Their bodies are small, thin, choleric, appearance, their color is like copper that has b fire. They have horns like those of a stag, and howl like mad bulls. Their movement is somew burning of part of their true appearance (?). Th and thunder will be seen to fall near the circle invoked.

(CXXII) Concerning the Spirits of the

The northern ones are these: **Maymon** th **Assaibi, Haibalidech,** and **Yasfla**, and all othe are placed under these, and they are subordinat which is called Africus (or the "southwest win these three: **Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas,** and daemons and their subordinates to congregate, bind to their proper place. Their nature is to so

interficere et membrorum quodlibet destruere. Sua corpo[ra] sunt longa et gracilia, cum ira et rancore plena. Habent vultus 4, unum a parte anteriori et alterum a parte posteriori, in quibus sunt duo rostra ampla et longa ad mensuram trium pedum. // Et videntur duos serpentes devorare, et in duobus genibus alios duos qui cum merore maximo flere videntur, et sunt in colore nigra et lucencia sicut speculum furbitum. Motus eorum est ventorum agitacio cum apparencia terremotus. Signum eorum est quod terra alba nive tecta videbitur invocanti.

[De spiritibus mediocribus.]

{C}um igitur de perfecte bonis et malis diximus de mediocribus hinc dicamus. Set est advertendum quod operans non debet operari in istis nec pro perfecte bono nec pro perfecte malo. set in rebus mobilibus sicut in itinere in revocacione et subtraccione et similibus operantur.

[De spiritibus inter orientem et meridiem.]

Dicamus igitur quod inter orientem et meridiem est una regio que consol appellatur et sunt in ea angeli qui dicuntur equinocciales, et sunt isti 4. **Formione** rex, **guth, maguth, gutrhyn** eius ministri, quibus omnes alii regionis illius demones subduntur, et sunt subditi iovi et vento [*ventis] eius qui boreas et subsolanus dicuntur. Et excitantes eos sunt isti 5. **harit, iesse, ryon, nesaph, naadob**, et habent hos 4 demones et eorum subditos excitare congregare constringere dispergere ac in loco proprio ligare. Sua natura est amicicias et benivolencias tribuere mulierum non carnali copula. generant leticias gaudia, lites pacificant, mitigant inimicos, sanant infirmos, infirmant sanos, auferunt vel inferunt dominium cuicumque. Sua corpora sunt magna tam sanguinea quam colerica, medie stature, trementissima in motu, visu mitissima, eloquio blanda, falsa in motu, vultus eorum in forma benivolus, color eorum sicut es non burnitum colore flamme ignis depictum. Motus eorum est [col. 2] choruscacio cum tonitruo. Signum eorum est quod invocans ut sibi videbitur [videbit] iuxta circulum homines a leonibus devorari.

De spiritibus inter austrum et occidentem.

{A}lii sunt inter austrum et occidentem et sua regio est nogoham [*nogahem], qui sunt isti, **sarabocres** rex, **nassar, cynassa** eius ministri, quibus omnes alii demones regionis obediunt et subduntur, et sunt subditi veneri et ventis eius qui sunt subsolanus et zephirus. Et excitantes eos sunt isti 4, **cambores** <rex>, **trachatat, nassar, naassa**, et habent hos tres demones excitare congregare dispergere constringere ac in loco proprio ligare, et eorum natura est dare argentum in quo est impressio signata, et sta gnum [*stagnum] ad libitum hominis calefacere, luxuriam excitare, inimicos per luxuriam concordare, ut matrimonium ostendit, constringere homines in amorem mulierum et ipsas ad hominum voluntates constringi, homines infirmare vel sanare et facere omnia que moventur. Sua corpora sunt medie stature pulcra dulcia et iocosa color eorum e~ sicut nix insuper deaurata. Motus eorum sicut stella clarissima. Signum eorum quod puelle extra circulum ludere et ipsum vocare videbitur invocanti.

evil thoughts, theft, and greed; they give lead i
destroy limbs. Their bodies are long and slend
They have four faces: one is forward, another l
large and long beaks measuring three feet, whi
two serpents. The other two faces are on the tw
be crying with most great mourning, and they
shining like a burnished mirror. Their moveme
wind with the appearance of an earthquake. Th
will appear to be white, covered with snow wh

(CXXIII) [Concerning the intermediat

Having treated of the spirits which are ei
evil, we will now talk about the intermediate o
in movable things such as in journeys, in the re
and similar things.

(CXXIV) [Concerning the Spirits betw South.[7] (♃)]

We therefore declare, that between the E
region, which is called “Consul”, and in it are
“equinoctial”, and they are these four: **Formio**
ministers **Guth, Maguth,** and **Gutrhyn,** and a
region are placed under these, and they are sub
winds, quick are called Borean (Northerly”) ar
And calling them (the winds) forth are these fi
Nesaph, and **Naadob**, and these have four dae
subordinates to call them forth, gather them, di
them to their proper place. Their nature is to gi
of women, but not carnal relations. They enger
settle lawsuits (or quarrels) peacefully, make e
sick, sicken the healthy, and they steal away or
anything. Their bodies are large, as much sang
medium stature, very jittery, appearing very m
speaking flattering, ...

(CXXV) Concerning the Spirits betwee West. (♀)

Others are between the south and the we
Nogahem, which are these: **Sarabocres** the ki
his ministers, with which all other daemons of
subjugated, and they are subordinate to Venus
easterly and westerly. And there are four spirit
Cambores, Trachatat, Nassar, Naassa, and t
daemons to arouse, bring together, disperse, cc
own place.

And their nature is to give silver, in whic
and tin, for arousing human desire, to cause lu
enemies through luxury, as marriage shows, to
women, and bind women to the wills of men, t
and to make all things which are moved. Their
stature, pretty, pleasant, and merry. Their colo
gilding. Their movements are like the clearest

[De spiritibus inter occidentem et septemtrionem.]

{A}lii sunt inter occidentem et septemtrionem et sua regio est frigicap, qui sunt isti 5, **abas** [*abaa] rex, **hyici, quyron, zach, eladep** [*eladeb] eius ministri quibus omnes alii illius regionis demones obediunt et subduntur et sunt subditi mercurio et ventis eius qui zephirus et affricus dicuntur. Et excitantes eos sunt isti 4, **zobha** <rex>, **drohas, palas, zambas**, et habent hos 5 demones excitare congregare dispergere constringere ac in loco proprio ligare. Natura eorum est omnia metalla de mundo quecumque fuerint literata vel sculpta cum auro et argento ad libitum dare, omnia preterita presencia et futura terrena revelare, iudices placare, in placito victoriam dare, experimenta et omnes sciencias destructas rectificare et reedificare et eciam docere, corpora eciam ex elementis mixta convertibiliter unum in aliud transmutare et eciam elementa, senem iuvenem facere et e contrario dare infirmitatem quamlibet vel eciam sanitatem, si placeat invocanti pauperes sublimare sublimes opprimere dignitates dare vel auferre cuicumque spiritus ligare [f133r] ad tempus inclusum impedire seraturas aperire, transfiguraciones facere. Et isti possunt omnes operaciones aliorum facere, set hoc non ex perfecta potencia vel virtute: set sciencia bene. Sua corpora sunt medie stature frigida humida, veneranda pulcra rauca in eloquio, humanam formam habencia, ad modum armigeri compti et cucufati, color eorum sicut nubes clara. Motus eorum sicut nubes argentea. Signum est quod horripilacionem tribuunt invocanti. Et isti possunt indifferenter ubicumque vocari.

Finita divisione angelorum et spirituum, Incipit modus operandi in eis.

{S}i ergo de istis aliquis voluerit operari, si[bi] primo districte precipimus ut peroptime mundetur, sicut diximus in predictis donec venerit ad diem 14^{am} in qua die convenit ieiunare, tunc in ea recipiat corpus Christi dicendo 19, 20, et cum missa de sancto spiritu ut diximus igitur celebratur, sacerdos tenendo corpus Christi antequam gentibus ostendatur petat pro operante sic dicens.

Oracio.

{D}omine ihesu Christe fili dei vivi quem credo firmiter hominem et deum et iudicem meum venturum, peto te in hoc articulo in virtute istius sacramenti tui ut talis N ex dono tuo ac tua voluntate sine dampnacione corporis et anime sibi spiritus N in omnibus subiciat, ut apparere perficere custodire respondere eos [ad] omnia precepta constringat ut sperat et desiderat amen.

// Tunc audito completorio ut dictum est de ecclesia recedat dicens 17, donec veniat ad locum in quo debet fieri circulus, tunc locum benedicat: dicens 15. Hoc facto protrahat circulum 9 pedum dicens 18, in quo duos circulos protrahat, quorum unus distet ab alio per unum

presence (or, their image) is that when invoked playing outside the circle, and calling to you.

(CXXVI) [Concerning the Spirits betw North.] (☿)

Others are between the West and the Nor **Frigicap**. Which are five: **Abaa** the king, and and **Eladeb** his ministers. ....

(CXXVII) End of the divisions of the a and beginning of the manner of workir

If therefore anybody wishes to operate w first warn him strictly that he must be thorough said in the preceding, until he comes to the fou he must begin his fast. Then when the mass of said or celebrated, when the operator is receivi (eucharist), he should say prayers 19 and 20 (I have said, when the priest is holding up the bo to reveal it to the congregation, he should pray operation, saying thus:

Oration.

O Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God believe is man and God, and my judge soo you in this critical moment, by the power ....

pedem inter quos scribes nomina angelorum diei, et hore mensis, temporis faciei dicendo.

O vos angeli sancti et potentes sitis michi in hoc opere adiutores. Tunc protrahes infra istos duos circulos eptagonum communem omnibus invocacionibus aptum, cuius forma cum parcium suarum dimencionibus et diffinicionibus subsequitur inferius in figura. Nota quod operans debet esse diligens ut addat ista nomina aliis nominibus, quia durum est homini ignoranti virtutes spirituum et eorum malicias cum eis sine municione maxima aliqualiter habitare. Et assimilatur illi qui vult debellare militem sagacem et ignorat [col. 2] arma eius et quis miles, et que virtus militis quem debellat. Bene igitur sibi caveat quia ingenium viribus prevalet et ideo oportet ipsum esse sagacissimum in suo circulo faciendo, quia ibi iacet tuicio operantis.

// 13 Primo sic aptetur locus quod terra sit plana et equa nec sint ibi lapides aut herbe et quando eum protraxerit aerem supra se duobus diametris ubicumque signet, dicens.

Signum salomonis ad salvacionem et defensionem pono supra me ut sit michi proteccio a facie inimici. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen. // Sic tuo completo circulo exi et extra eum scribe in terra vel in cedulis 7 nomina creatoris que sunt **lialy [*Laialy], lialg, veham, yalgal, narath, libarre, libares**, nec plus facies in hac nocte.

Secunda dies.

In crastino dum matutinam primam, terciam, missam,[1] meridiem, nonam, vesperas et completorium audieris, venies ad circulum dicendo 17. Tunc habeas thus et thuribulum in quo sint prune, et ponas thus super prunas et suffumiges circulum dicens 1 et 2 incipiens ab oriente in occidentem a meridie in septemtrionem. Tunc a consol in **noghahem** et a **noghahem** in **frigicap**, et postea celum et terram, et ita ter facies, set primo debent 7 predicta nomina deleri. Hoc facto suffumigando circulum ventos novies taliter excitabis.

Incipit excitacionis ventorum primus circulus incipiens in oriente et terminans in meridie.

{B}axhatau, gahatus, caudes, yarabal, harit, iesse, rion, nesaph, naadob, attraurbiabilis, yaconaababur, carmeal, ynail [*ynial], phathophas [*prohathophas], cambores, trachatat, nassar, naassa, bebethel [*hebethel], amocap, oylol, mylau, abucaba, zobha, drohas, palas, sambas, mextyura, alcybany, alflas. Ego vos invoco ut meis sitis promti peticionibus et preceptis. Summa Dei potencia vos obedire constringat.

Secundus circulus incipiens in meridie et terminans in occidente.

{A}ttraurbiabilis, y[a]conaababur, garmeal [*carmeal], Innyal, phathophas [*prohathophas], cambores, trachatat, nassar, naassa, hebethel, amocap, oybol [*oylol], mylau, abuchaba, zobia [*zobha], drohas, palas, Sambas, moxtyura [*mextyura], alcibany, [133v] **alflas, baxatau, gahatus, [caudes, yarabal, harit], iesse, bion**

(CXXVIII) The Second Day.

On the next day you should hear matins, vespers, and compline, then go to the circle say

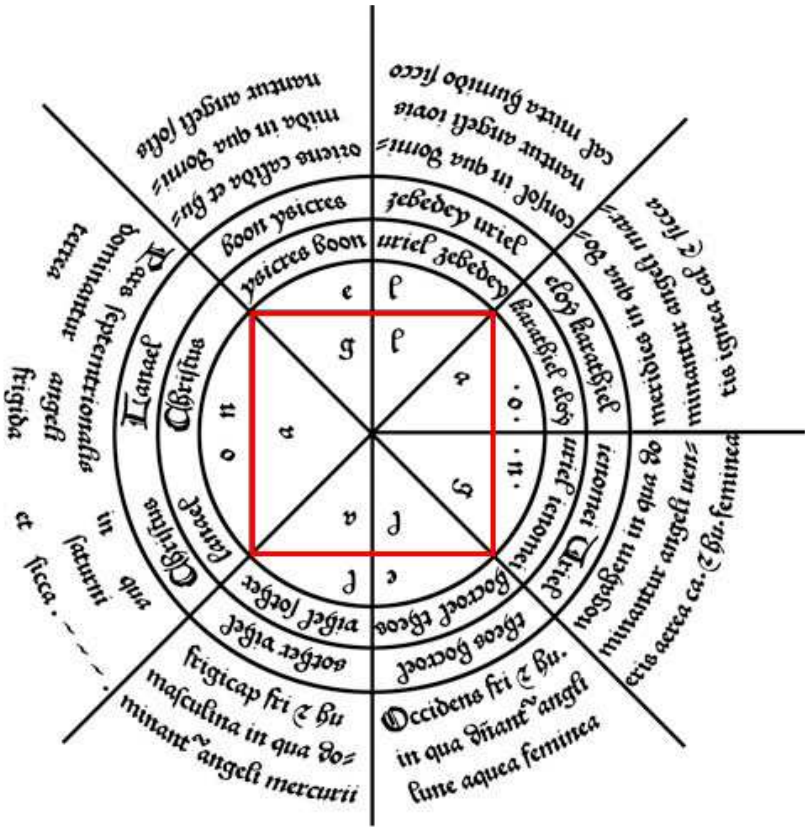
Begin the second circle in the south, and

**Attraurbiabilis, Y[a]conaababur, Carm
Prohathophas, Cambores, Trachatat, N
Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Mylau, Abuc
Drohas, Palas, Sambas, Mextyura, Alci
Baxatau, Gahatus, [Caudes, Yarabal, H**

[*ryon], nesaph, naadob, angeli domini vos excitent qui vos venire constringant.

Tercius circulus incipiens in occidente et terminans in septemtrione.

{T}unc in occidente dicat. **hebethel, amocap, oylol, milau, abucaba, zobha, drohas, palas, zambas, mextyura, alcybany, alflas, baxhatau, gaatus, caudes, ystrabal [*Yarabal], harit, iesse, rion, nesaph, naadob, attraurbiabilis, yaconaababur,** [col. 2] **carmeal, ynnyal, proathophas, cambores, trachathat, nassar, naassa,** sciencia dei et sapiencia salomonis vos convincat que vos et ventos vestros excitare faciat.

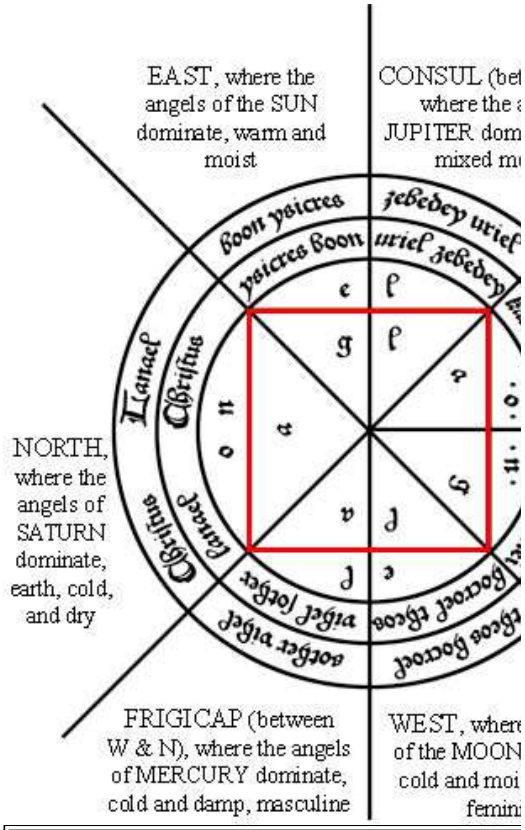


Nesaph, Naadob, may the angels of the L will come to constrain you!

Begin the third circle in the West and en

Then, towards the West say:

Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Milau, Abuca Drohas, Palas, Zambas, Mextyura, Alcy Baxhatau, Gaatus, Caudes, Yarabal, Ha Nesaph, (12) Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Y Carmeal, Ynnyal, Proathophas, Cambo Nassar, Naassa, the knowledge of God a Solomon conquers you, so that you and y to awaken.



Region
Consul (between East and South) where the angels of **Jupiter** dominate, warm mixed moist dry
South in which the angels of **Mars**, fiery, hot and dry, dominate
Nogahel (between south and West), where dominate the angels of **Venus**, airy, warm, and feminine
West cold and moist, where the angels of the **Moon** dominate, watery feminine

Frigicap (between West and North), cold and damp, masculine, where the angels of **Mercury** dominate.
Northern part, where the angels of **Saturn** dominate, earth cold and dry
East, warm and moist, where the angels of the **Sun** dominate

Quartus circulus incipiens in septemtrione et terminans in consol. [f134r]

{T}unc in septemtrione dicat. **mextyura, alchalany [*alchibany], alflas, baxhatau, haatus [*gahatus], caudes, iarabial [*iarabal], harith, iesse, ryon, nesaph, naadob, atturbiabilis [*attraurbiabilis], iaconaababus [*iaconaababur], carmeal, innyal, phathophas [*prohathophas], cambotes [*cambores], trachcacath [*trachathat], nassar, naassa, hebethel, amocap, oylol, mylahu [*mylau], abucaba, zobha, drolas [*drohas], palas, sambas**, sancta nomina dei vos subiugent, que vos et ventos vestros excitare et huc venire constringant.

Quintus circulus incipiens in consol et terminans in nogahem.

{T}unc in consol dicat, **harit, iesse, ryon, nesaph, naadob, attraurbiabilis, yaconaababur, carmel [*carmeal], Innyal, prohathophas, cambores, t~atach [*trachatath], nassar, naassa, hebethel, amocap, oylol, mylau, abucala [*abucaba], zobha, drohas, palas, zambas, mexyura [*mextyura], alcybany, alflas, baxhatau, gaatus, caudes, yarabal**, capud et corona principis vestri **belzebut** vos venire et ventos vestros excitare constringat.

Sextus circulus incipiens in **nogahem** et terminans in **frigicap**.

{T}unc in **nogahem** dicat, **Cambores, tracatath, nassar, naassa, hebethel, amocap, oylol, mylau, abucaba, zobha, drohas, palas, sambas, mextyura, alcybany, alflas, baxhatau, gaatus, caudes, yarabal, harith, iesse, ryon, nesaph, naadob, atturbiabilis [*attraurbiabilis], iaconaababur, carmeal, ynnyal, prohathophas**, iudicium summi dei tremendum vos convincat, qui vos et ventos vestros ad mandatum meum venire et obedire constringat.

7us circulus incipiens in **frigicap** et terminans in oriente.

{T}unc in **frigicap** dicat, **zobha, drohas, palas, sambas, mextyura, alcybany, alflas, baxhatau, gaatus, caudes, yarabal, harith, iesse, ryon, nesaph, naadob, atturbiabilis [*attraurbiabilis], yaconaababur, carmeal, Innyal, prohathophas, cambores, trachatath, [nassar, naassa], hebethel, amocap, oilol, mylau, abrucaba [*abucaba]**, meo placati suffumigio, timor furoris domini et ignis ignem devorans vos pacificet et pacificatos mittat, cum ventis vobis subditis, et demonibus eorundem, et missos obedire constringat, quoniam ei debetur ab omni creatura reverencia [col. 2] et obediencia cum timore.

Tunc flexis genibus versus orientem dic. {U}nde tu domine, 49, celi et terre conditor et cetera. Et addes in fine. Te suppliciter exoro et invoco ut ex dono gracie tue et virtute sanctorum tuorum nominum ut

isti prenominati venti hos demones quos invocavero congregent constringant, et ligent eos meis peticionibus penitus obedire, qui[a] tu es deus potens pius et misericors. Qui vivis et regnas et imperas et regnaturus es per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

{H}oc facto: videbis tranquillitatem ab omni parte mundi in nubibus elevari, nec cessabit donec perfeceris tuum opus et erunt nubes iuxta circulum circumcirca, set prius iuxta circulum hec 7 predicta nomina scribantur, quia posset circulus aliter violari.

3ª dies.

{T}ercia vero die visitabis ecclesiam ut oportet et tunc habeas ignem, candelam de cera virginea et illa que tue conveniunt questioni, thuribulum thus 7 gladios equales, si possis claros. Et si velis habere socios poteris habere 7. Habeas eciam vinum optimum de quo bibes et socii tui dum cognoveritis motus suos. Et si solus fueris, porta 4 in latere dextro et 3 in sinistro. Si tres porta 3 et quilibet illorum 2. Si 5 ferat quilibet unum et tu 3. Si 4 porta unum, et quilibet illorum 2. Si 6 porta 2 et quilibet illorum unum.

// Tunc xiª hora die[i] cum fueritis competenter saciati vino et piscibus vel aliquo alio a carne. Magister semel excitet ventos incipiendo ab illis qui habent dominium die illa. Et habeat signum domini in manu sua dextra, post hoc demones excitabit dicens contra orientem.

Excitacio spirituum solis, que fit in die dominico quando fit particulariter.

{U}bi est **barthan** rex, ubi sunt **thaadas, [caudas], yalcal** eius ministri. // Ubi est **formione** rex, ubi sunt **guth, maguth, guthrin** eius ministri. // Ubi est **iammax** rex, ubi sunt **carmes [*carmox], ycanal [*ycanol], pasfran** eius ministri. // Ubi est **sarabocres** rex, ubi sunt **nassar, cynassa** eius ministri. // Ubi est **harthan** rex, ubi sunt **bileth, mylalu, abucaba** eius ministri. // Ubi est **abas [*abaa or habaa]** rex, ubi sunt **hyici, quyron, zach, eladeb** eius ministri. // [134v] Ubi est **maymon** rex, ubi sunt **assaiby, albunalich, [haibalidech, yasfla]** eius ministri. Omnes occurrite cicius quam poteritis promti meis peticionibus et preceptis obedire. Summa ac divina maiestas vos convincat que vos venire constringat.

Excitacio diei Iovis et spirituum eius quando particulariter fit.

[Tunc in consol dicat.]

(CXXIX) The Third Day.

....

The raising up of the spirits of the Sun, whic done on a Sunday.

Where is **Barthan** the king? where are **Th** and **Yalcal** his ministers? Where is **Formi** where are **Guth, Maguth**, and **Guthrin** h is **Iammax** the king?, where are **Carmox, Pasfran** his ministers? Where is **Saraboc** are **Nassar** and **Cynassa** his ministers? W the king? where are **Bileth, Mylalu**, and A ministers? Where is King **Habaa**? where **Hyici, Quyron, Zach**, and **Eladeb**? Wher **Maymon**? where are his ministers **Assaib [Haibalidech**, and **Yasfla**]?

Come with all haste to meet us, that you a to obey my petitions and precepts. The M Majesty conquers you, so that you are con

The raising up of the day of Jupiter, and t particular to it.

[Then, in Consul (between the East and S

{U}bi est **formione** rex, ubi sunt **guth, maguth, guthrin** eius ministri. // Ubi est **iammax** rex, ubi sunt **carmes [*carmox], ycanol, pasfran** eius ministri. // Ubi est **sarabocres** rex, ubi sunt **nassar, cinassa** eius ministri. Ubi est **barthan [*harthan]** rex, ubi sunt **bileth, mylalu, abucaba** eius ministri. // Ubi est **abas [*abaa]** rex, ubi sunt **hyici, quiron, zach, eladeb** eius ministri. // Ubi est **maymon** rex ubi sunt **hassaybi, albunalich, haibalidech, yasfla** [eius ministri]. // Ubi est **harthan [*barthan]** rex, ubi sunt **thaadas, caudas, yalcal** eius ministri. // Omnes cicius quam poteritis venite cum omnibus subditis vestris promti michi in omnibus obedire. Virtus summi creatoris vos subiuget que vos venire constringat.

Where is King **Formione**? Where are his **Maguth**, and **Guthrin**? Where is King **Ia** his ministers **Carmox, Ycanol**, and **Pasfr** **Sarabocres**? Where are his ministers **Nas** Where is King **Harthan**? Where are his m **Mylalu**, and **Abucaba**? Where is King **Al** ministers **Hyici, Quiron, Zach**, and **Elad** **Maymon**? Where are [his ministers] **Hass** **Haibalidech**, and **Yasfla**? Where is King are his ministers **Thaadas, Caudas**, and **Y**

Come as quickly as you are able, with all prepared to obey me in all things. The pov creator subjugates you, that you are constı

Excitacio diei martis et spirituum eius quando perticulariter fit.

The raising up of the day of Mars, and th particular to it.

{T}unc in meridie dicat. Ubi est **iammax** rex, ubi sunt **carmos [*carmox], ycanol, pasfu [*pasfran]** eius ministri. // Ubi est **sarabocres** rex. Ubi sunt **nassar, cynassa** eius ministri. // Ubi est **harthan** rex. Ubi sunt **bileth, milalu, abucaba** eius ministri. // Ubi est **abas [*abaa]** rex. Ubi sunt **hyici, quyron, zach, eladeb** eius min[i] stri. // Ubi est **maymon** rex. Ubi sunt **assaibi, albunalich, aybalidech, yasfla** eius ministri. // Ubi est **harthan [*barthan]** rex. Ubi sunt **thaadas, causcas [*caudas], yalcal** eius ministri. Ubi est **formione** rex. Ubi sunt **guth, maguth, guthryn** eius ministri. Vos invoco venire cum excercitu vestro et meis questionibus obedire timor furoris domini vos convincat, qui vos venire et obedire constringat.

Then, to the South say:

Excitacio diei veneris et spirituum eius quando particulariter fit.

{T}unc in nogal [*nogahem] dicat. Ubi est **sarabocres** rex, ubi sunt **nassar, cynassa** eius ministri. // Ubi est **harthan** rex, ubi sunt **bileth, milalu, abucaba** eius ministri. // Ubi est **abas [*abaa]** rex, ubi sunt **hyici, quiron, zach, eladeb** eius ministri. // Ubi est **maymon** [col. 2] rex, ubi sunt **assaiby, abymalich [*albunalich], haybalidech, yasfla** eius ministri. // Ubi est **barthan** rex, ubi sunt **taadas, caudas, yalcal** eius ministri. // Ubi est **formione** rex, ubi sunt **guth, maguth, guthryn** eius ministri. // Ubi est **iammax** rex, ubi sunt **carmos [*carmox], yacanol [*ycanol], pasf^{a}n [*pasfran]** eius ministri. Venite obedientes cum omnibus subditis vestris creatori vestro Et michi nomine ipsius. Exercitus angelorum qui sabaoth dicitur vos meis preceptis subiciat.

Excitacio diei martis [*lune] et spirituum eius quando perticulariter fit.

{T}unc in occidente dicat.

Ubi est **harthan** rex, ubi sunt **bileth, mylalu, abucala [*abucaba]** eius ministri. // Ubi est **abaa** rex, ubi sunt **hyici, quyron, zach, eladeb** eius ministri. // Ubi est **maymon** rex ubi sunt **assaibi, albunalich, haibalidech, yasfla** eius ministri. // Ubi est **barthan** rex, ubi sunt **taadas, caudas, yalcal** eius ministri. // Ubi est **formione** rex, ubi sunt **guth, maguth, guthrin** eius ministri. Ubi est **iammax** rex, ubi sunt **carmos [*carmox], ycanol, pasfran** eius ministri. Ubi est **sarabocres** rex, ubi sunt **nassar, cynassa** eius ministri. // <Ubi est **harthan** rex. Ubi sunt **bileth, mylalu, abucaba** eius ministri. // Ubi est **abaa** rex. Ubi sunt

hyci, quyron, zach, eladeb eius ministri.> [Venite omnes quam cicius poteritis cum omnibus subditus vestris et ut supra.][1]

Excitacio diei mercurii et spirituum eius quando particulariter fit.

{T}unc in **frigicap** dicat. Ubi est **abaa** rex, ubi sunt **hyici, quiron, zach, eladel [*eladeb]** ministri eius. // Ubi est **maymon** rex, ubi sunt **assaibi, albunalich, haibalidech, yasfla** eius ministri. [Ubi est **barthan** rex, ubi sunt **taadas, audas, yalcal** eius ministri.] Ubi est **formione** rex, ubi est [*sunt] **guth, maguth, guthryn** eius ministri. // Ubi est **iammax** rex, ubi sunt **carmos [*carmox], yconal [*ycanol], pasfran** eius ministri. // Ubi est **sarabocres** rex, ubi sunt **nassa [*nassar], cynassa** eius ministri. // Ubi est **harthan** rex, ubi sunt **bileth, mylalu, abucaba** eius ministri. // Summum dei tremendum ac reverendum iudicium vos apparere et michi in omnibus obedire constringat.

Excitacio diei sabati et spirituum eius quando particulariter fit.

{T}unc in septemtrione dicat. Ubi est **maymon** rex, ubi sunt **assaibi, albunalich, haibalidech, iasfla** eius ministri. // Ubi est **barthan** rex, ubi sunt **taadas, caudas, yalcal** eius ministri. // Ubi est **formione** rex, ubi sunt **guth, maguth, guthryn** eius [135r] ministri. // Ubi est **iammax** rex, ubi sunt **carmos [*carmox], ycanol, pasfran** eius ministri. // Ubi est **sarabocres** rex, ubi sunt **nassar, cynassar [*cynassa]** eius ministri. // Ubi [est] **harthan** rex, ubi sunt **bileth, mylalu, abucala [*abucaba]** eius ministri. // Ubi est **abaa** rex, ubi sunt **hyici, quyron, zach, eladeb** ministri eius. Hic debet claudere manum et eis pugnum clausum ostendere cum sigillis.

{T}unc dicat, Virtus istorum sanctorum nominum dei et sigillorum vestrorum vos convincat, que vos congregare, venire, apparere, respondere, et michi in omnibus obedire constringant.

// Hoc dicto videbis eorum motus insurgere, et tunc dicas sociis, quod non dubitent, et fac eos potare, etsi adhuc motus non videris,[1] set non debent ultra novies excitari.

Accessus ad circulum, excitacio ventorum ante eum.

(CXXX.)

{V}isis eorum motibus ad circulum accedentes ante circulum semel excitabis eos. Tunc intres circulum per partem inter frigicap et occidentem pro meta positam et tunc socii stantes pedibus in circulo stent, donec recluseris circulos dicens 18. // Tunc situa socios et enses in circulo tali modo. Set antequam intraverunt, 7 predicta nomina deleantur, quia non possent aliter apparere. Tunc versus quamlibet parcium unus ponatur gladius et debent in altitudine adequari. // Tunc si solus fueris versus orientem primo invocabis. Si autem duo.[1] Secundus sedeat versus partem contra occidentem. Si 3, tercius versus meridiem. Si 4, quartus contra septemtrionem. Si 5, 5us versus consol. Si 6, 6us versus nogahem. Si 7, septimus versus faciem contra frigicap situetur. Et habeat quilibet unum scannum ligneum alcius a terra ad digiti spissitudinem ne scriptura circuli deleatur. Set ultra 3 socios capere non iuvabit.

Preparacio ad excitandum spiritus.

(CXXXI)

{S}ituatis igitur in circulo ensibus et sociis magister habens signum dei et sigilla in manu sua dextra ponat thus in thuribulo super prunas et suffumiget ter circulum et 7 mundi partes, celum, terram, signum dei, socios, et se ipsum, dicens, 1 et 2. // Tunc flexis genibus versus orientem dicat [col. 2] 25, 27, 28, 31, in quibus applicabit propositum in fine ita dicens.

Applicacio.

Ut ille vel illi N spiritus quos ego invocavero ad me constricti veniant sub tali forma N letantes appareant de omnibus quesitis veritatem respondeant et omnia mea precepta veraciter adimpleant et adimpleta diligenter et sine corupcione custodiant, per illum qui divisit lumen a tenebris, qui diabolis potestatem suam abstulit, sub cuius potestate sunt celestia terrestria et infernalia, qui vivit et regnat deus in deitate sua, trinitas, pater et filius et spiritus sancti amen.

// Hoc facto dicat sociis quod non timeant, et inclinato capite terram et ensem et nichil aliud respiciant, et si siciunt bibant. // Et tunc magister tenens baculum lauri vel coruli illius anni in manu dextra et thuribulum in sinistra Incipiens in oriente novies circuiens suffumiget circulum dicens.

(CXXXII.)

With this done, he should say to the asso
not fear, but bow their heads, and pay attentior
earth and the sword, and if they are thirsty, the
master takes in his right hand a stick of laurel c
and in his left hand the censer. He then begins
starting in the East, and going around nine time

Excitacio spirituum.

The calling forth of the Sp

{B}arthan, formione, iammax, sarabocres, harthan, abaa, maymon. Quo dicto percuciat orientalem gladium de virgula dicens. // Exeat hic potentissimus rex **barthan** cum omnibus suis suffraganeis in virtute celesti meam facere voluntatem. // Tunc in meridie dicat. **iammax, sarabocres, harthan, abaa, maymon, barthan, formione.** Tunc percuciat meridionalem gladium dicens. Exeat hinc fortissimus rex **yammar [*yammax]** cum sua inenumerabili caterva virtute divina meam facere voluntatem. // Tunc in occidente dicat. **harthan, abaa,**

**Barthan, Formione, Iammax, Saraboc
Maymon**. Which said, he should strike the Eas
wand, saying: ....

maymon, barthan, formione, yammax, sarabocres. Quo dicto occidentalem gladium percuciat dicens. Exeat hic mitissimus **harthan** rex cum omnium[3] suorum velocium subditorum caterva anglica [*angelica] virtute meam facere voluntatem. // Tunc in septemtrione dicat. **maymon, barthan, formione, iammax, sarabocres, harthan, abas [*abaa]**. Quo dicto percuciat septemtrionalem gladium de virgula dicens. Exeat hic acerbissimus rex **maymon** cum omnium suorum aereorum spirituum [135v] exercitu virtute obediencie **belzebut** ab eis debite meam facere voluntatem. // Tunc in consol dicat. **formione, yammax, sarabocres, [harthan], abaa, maymon, barthan**. Quo dicto consolanem gladium de virgula percuciat dicens. Exeat hic pulcherrimus rex **formione** cum suis legionibus angelorum virtute timoris summi iudicii meam facere voluntatem. // Tunc in nogahem dicat. **Sarabocres, harthan, abaa, maymon, barthan, formione, yammax**. Quo dicto percuciat nogahelem gladium de virgula dicens. Exea[t] hic nobilissimus ac fulgentissimus rex **sarabocres** cum omnium suorum spirituum fulgencium potencia ac virtute virtute huius celestis suffumigii meam facere voluntatem. // Tunc in frigicap dicat. **abaa, maymon, barthan, formione, iammar [*iammax], sarabocres, harthan**. Quo dicto percuciat frigicapicem gladium de virgula dicens. Exeat hic sapientissimus rex **abaa**, cum omnium suorum sapientium spirituum exercitu virtute huius sacri [sigilli] dei meam facere voluntatem. // Tunc ponat thuribulum iuxta gladium orientalem inclinato capite respiciens crucem ensis dicat hunc [*hanc] oracionem.

Oracio.

{D}omine ihesu christe qui in ligno crucis pro peccatoribus voluisti crucifigi, ut in ipso tua mors mortem nostram destrueret. Exaudi clemens et benignus preces servi tui, ut in virtute tua nobis sanctum angelum mittere digneris qui hoc sacro misterio tuo ac signo nos confirmet protegat ac defendat, a temptacionibus malis eripiat et in tuo sacro servicio permanere nos doceat, quia tu es pius et misericors deus qui vivis et regnas deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Hoc dicto stans pedibus in medio circuli respiciens undique celum taliter invocabit. **(CXXXIII.)**

....

Incipit invocacio.

{P}er me<i> et in nomine omnipotentis et coroborati dei vivi et veri **sabaoth** cui omnia patent et cui nulla latent, sub cuius voluntate omnes subiciuntur creature, ego, N et ff filius quamvis peccator, tamen donum divine suscipio maiestatis, et in ipso <et in ipso> et per ipsum vos **barthan, thaadas, caudas, yalchal, formione,** [col. 2] **guth, maguth, guthyn [*guthryn], iammax, carmox, ycanol, pasfrau, sarabocres, nassar, cynassa, harthan, bileth, milalu, abucala [*abucaba], abaa, hyici, quyron, zach, eladeb, maymon, assaiby, abumalath [*albunalich], yaybaladech [*haybalidech], yasfla**. Et omnes alios spiritus, animas, demones, ventos, qui vobis serviunt, obediunt et subduntur, excito, coniuro, contestor, et constringo per hec sua nomina sancta 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.[1] Et ipse deus super vos excitet, vos tremere expavescere et timere faciat, ut cum obediencia leticia pulcritudine et mansuetudine, et veritate vos iuxta circulum venire et apparere const[ri]ngat. Unde adiuro vos per summum nomen 21 [*11],[2] per magnum nomen 12, per excelsum 13, per tremendum 14, per colendum 15, per reverendum 16, per piissimum 17, per ineffabile

18, per incommutabile 19, per sempiternum 20, quatinus +ab omnibus mundi partibus unanimes et letantes hic iuxta circulum in forma N non nocentes alicui creature non ledentes non frementes non furientes, nec me sociosque meos vel aliquam creaturam terrentes, neminem offendentes set veniatis+ peticionibus meis consulti et providi statim obedire et omnia precepta mea absque omni fallacia penitus adimplere per virtutem illius vobis precipio et ad hoc exorciso quem omnes creature tremunt et colunt, qui vivit et regnat et regnaturus est super omnia et per omnia secula seculorum amen.

Adiuracio.

{I}tem adiuro vos per nominatos spiritus N et invocando coniuro et coniurando contestor et constringo et viriliter imparo per sanctum nomen 21,[1] per sanctissimum 22, per purum 23, et per iustum 24, et per festinantem 25, et per alia dei nomina pura que sunt 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35. Et per ista +novem+[2] dei nomina ineffabilia que sunt 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45. Et per ista nomina dei pura, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60. Quatinus vos **barthan** et cetera, et omnes spiritus et anime venti et demones qui vobis serviunt obediunt et subduntur, ab omnibus mundi partibus unanimes et cetera. // Per sanctum igitur, iustum, potentissimum, excellentissimum, piissimum et coroboratum **heloy**, fortem [136r] et admirabilem, perlaudatum, serviendum, tremendum, colendum, venerandum, et terribilem, et per suum sacrum sigillum quo maria sigillavit. // Ego, N, b et f filius, vos prenominatos spiritus N et omnes alios spiritus, animas, ventos, et demones unanimiter et letanter, cum pulcritudine mansuetudine, et veritate hic iuxta circulum venire, apparere, respondere invoco, contestor, imparo, exorciso, con[v]icto, coniuro, constringo, et meis preceptis obedire et ea adimplere sigillo per hec omnia sancta nomina 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81,[3] quatinus vos **barthan**, et cetera, et omnes spiritus, anime, venti, demones, qui vobis serviunt, obediu[n]t et subduntur, ab omnibus mundi partibus unanimes et letantes, et cetera.

Sigillum et ligacio.

{B}ethala suspensus in ethera, **payga. permyga. percuretaih. perrenay. atariron. aboaga.** convenite et concurrite ab omnibus mundi partibus, **ara. aray. pangula. iamtarpa. kauthalae. calcecatas. syray. angyus. sathon. arathon. payn. enrapaelon. edydy**. per hoc **zeham. Vitale. gysina. genasse. acenich. Vicmat.** ut angi{u}s de sede florigeret super ea que posita sunt in **baldice** speris **baldultabrac. flebilis. palmonyam. ynephar. yristix. abyreylazacu. sella.** occurrite ab universis mundi partibus unanimes et letantes cum obediencia, leticia, pulcritudine, mansuetudine, et veritate in forma N, hic iuxta circulum apparentes, non nocentes alicui creature, nec ledentes, nec frementes, nec furientes, nec me sociosque meos vel aliquam creaturam terrentes, neminem offendentes, set veniatis peticionibus meis consulti et providi, statim obedire, et omnia precepta mea absque omni fallacia possitis adimplere, per virtutem illius vobis precipio et ad hoc exorcizo quem omnes creature tremunt et colunt, qui vivit et regnat et regnaturus est super omnia benedictus per omnia secula seculorum Amen.[4]

The Adjuration.

'Likewise I adjure you through the esteer

Tunc novies circumeundo circulum tanges singulos gladios, dicens: [col. 2] {I}nvoco vos aerie potestates in oriente, **barthan, formione, iammax**, et cetera, sicut fecerat circulos suffumigando Et cum circuierit, reversus in orientem dicat, et invocando, coniuro vos per **zabuater, rabarmas, hiskiros, kirios, gelon, [hel], tethel [*techel], nothi, ymeynlethon, karex**, et per angelos et archangelos, per tronos, dominaciones, per principatus et potestates et virtutes, per cherubyn, et seraphyn. // Tunc semel circuiens circulum tangens gladios dicat. Et per ista sacra angelorum nomina **raphael, caphael, dardiel, urathaphel**. // In 2° gladio, **satquiel, [raphael], paamcociel, asasagel**. // In 3 gladio: **samael, satriel [*satiel], ituraiel, amiabiel [*amabiel]** // In 4 gladio **hanahel, ratquiel, salguyel**. // In 5 gladio. **gabriel, mychael, samyel, Atithael**. // In 6 gladio, **mychael, myel, sarapiel**. // In 7° **[boel], capciel [*caphciel], mycraton, satquiel**, quibus non omnibus dominatur.[5] Et per omnia que de deo sunt dicenda et intelligenda, et per illud signum salomonis a domino datum et per capud principis vestri **belzebub**, cui debetis obedire, et per ista nomina sacra **[sabaoth], sella, 91, tiros [*ciros], 92, ebion [*obiron], 93, [nomygon], oriel, 94, theos, 95, hespelli, 96**, quatinus vos **barthan** ... et eos spiritus et cetera.

// Tunc flexis genibus contra 4 mundi partes eis coniungitur penitus, qui a omnes alii non possunt quod hii possunt, et eciam una cum luna referunt consilia secretorum omnium in respectu aliorum et sua forma clara est.

// Tunc semel dicat, flexis genibus contra 4 mundi partes.

{A}ramorule, thanthalatisthen, 97, rabud, thanthalatisthen, 28, 29, principium et finis, 30, 31, 32, te suppliciter exoro et invoco, ut tuo iudicio convicti et constricti veniant advocati et dent michi responsa vera de quibus interrogavero non nocentes alicui creature, non ledentes, non frementes, non furientes nec me sociosque meos vel aliquam creaturam terrentes, neminem offendentes set peticionibus meis [obedientes] pocius et que precepero diligenter adimplentes.

// Tunc stans pedibus sibila sepcies percuciat et tunc semel circueat [136v] circulum dicens, **Bethala** et cetera usque ad occurrite. // Tunc stans in medio circuli aperta manu super aerem eis signum ostendat dicens. Sigillo salomonis veniant advocati et dent michi responsum verum.

Incipit placacio spirituum.

{G}eneolia, chide,[6] ministri tartaree sedis primathie, principes prepotentes sedis apoloice, potestates maonamirie, ego vos invoco et invocando vos coniuro atque superne maiestatis munitus virtute potenter imparo per eum qui dixit et factum est, cui obediunt omnes creature. Et per hoc nomen ineffabile **tetragramaton, ioht, he, uau, deleth**, in quo plasmatum est omne seculum, quo audito: omnes exercitus celestium terrestrium et infernalium creaturarum tremunt et colunt, quatinus cito et sine mora et omni occasione cessante ab universis mundi partibus adveniatis: racionabiliter de omnibus quecumque interogavero respondeatis non nocentes michi nec sociis meis, non mencientes set pocius veritatem dicentes et veniatis {pa}cifice manifestantes quod cupimus coniu{rat}i per nomen eterni vivi et veri dei, 97.

Quo facto statim apparebunt visiones infinite et illusiones sicut choros, organa, cithare et omnia instrumenta dulcissima, ut possint socios ad exitum provocare, quia supra magistrum nichil possunt. Illis vero transactis, venient exercitus militum et ballivorum ut debeant pro timore de circulo fugere. // Post hec venient sagittarii cum omnium ferarum genere ac si eos crederent devorare. Set operans providus loquatur sociis dicens. Nolite timere ecce signum domini creatoris nostri, convertimini ad eum quia potens est vos eripere de ore malignancium.

// Tunc dicat magister spiritibus manu clausa, fugiat hinc iniquitas vestra virtute vexilli dei. Et tunc aperiat[7], ut obedire cogantur. Et statim nichil socii videbunt. Tunc confortando eos dic. Sicio. Potemus. Quid vobis videtur? Nolite timere. Sperantes autem in domino misericordia circumdabit. Letamini igitur in domino et gloriamini. Et scias quod de cetero non timebunt.

[col. 2]

// Tunc dicat eis quod de cetero non loquantur. Et tunc in medio circuli conversus teneat manum dextram in aere dicens. Ecce Opus sacratissimum. i.e. signum dei. Et est [*Ecce] mirabilis i.e. tota quasi accidentalis dei potencia descripcio. Ecce capita[8] vestra prefigurata scilicet boal. erunt. rata ad destruccionem vestram Sanctissimis dei nominibus exornata. Ecce [signum][9] salomonis cum suis literis karacteribus et figuris quod ante vestram adduxi presenciam. Ecce personam exorcizatoris in medio exorcismi, qui est optime a deo munitus, intrepidus providus viribus qui potenter vos exorcizando vocavit et vocat. Venite igitur cum omni festinacione o **aye, samye [*saraye]**, ne differatis venire per nomina eterna vivi et veri dei, 98, 99, et per hoc presens sacratissimum opus et per sanctum sigillum quod super vos potenter imperat, et per virtutem celestium spirituum et per personam exorcizatoris coniurati festinate venire et obedire preceptori vestro qui vocatur **occinnomos**.[10]

Hic sibilet undique semel et statim videbit motus et signa propria, set non nocebunt de cetero. // Et tunc dicat sicut homo ferens imperium divine, maiestatis et quasi eos in infimo suppeditans. // Quid tardatis? que est ista mora quam facitis? properate vos et obedite preceptori vestro, **bathac**[2] super **Abrac** ruens, **Abeor** super **Aberor**. Et statim venient in forma propria, Si illis venientibus dum fuerint circa circulum dicat magister ostendens eis sigillum. Ecce coniuracionem vestram, nolite inobedientes fieri. Et statim videbit eos in forma pulcherrima et pacifica dicentes: Pete quod viso nunc, parati sumus quicquid preceperis adimplere, quia nos dominus subiugavit. Tunc pete quod vis et tibi fiet, vel aliis, pro quibus volueris operari.

....

[Quartum opus vel tractatus.]

Capitula 4[i] tractatus de terreis angelis.

{D}e incarceratis habendis. // De carceribus reserandis. // De thesauris et metallis et lapidibus preciosis et omnibus rebus absconditis habendis. // De apparencia corporum mortuorum quod loquantur et resuscitata apparea[n]t. [137r] // De apparencia creacionis animalium de

[Fourth Book or Treat

(CXXXIV) Chapters of the Fourth Tre the angels of the Earth.

.....

terra. // Set ista duo subtraximus quia erant contra domini voluntatem, scilicet mortuum apparenter suscitare, et animalia de terra apparenter creare. Finiunt capitula 4[i] tractatus.

Incipit modus operandi in eis.

(CXXXV) The beginning of the way of

{E}odem enim modo quo in precedenti opere continetur potes operari de istis spiritibus terreis si suffumigium et nomina mutarentur, circulus et sigilla. // De quibus spiritibus breviter hic dicamus, qui sunt turpissimi et omni pravitate pleni. // Eorum natura est radices arborum et segetum exstirpare thesauros occultos in terra custodire et conservare, terremotus facere, fundamenta civitatum vel castrorum destruere, homines in cisternis deprimere et cavernis, Incarceratos temptare, homines destruere, lapides preciosos in terra occultos adlibitum dare, et nocere cuicumque. Corpora eorum sunt ita grossa sicut et alta, magna et terribilia, quorum pedes sunt quilibet 10 digitorum in quibus sunt ungues ad modum serpentum, et habent 5 vultus in capite. Unus est bufonis, alter leonis, tercius serpentis, quartus hominis mortui lugentis et plangentis, quintus hominis incomprehensibilis. Duos tigrides gerunt in cauda. Tenent in manibus duos dracones, color[um] eorum nigerrimus omni nigredine inestimabili. Sunt autem 5. **Corniger** rex meridionalis, et habet 4 ministros in 4 mundi partibus. // **Trocornifer** in oriente. // **Malafer** in occidente. // **Euiraber** in meridie. // **Mulcifer** in septemtrione. Et quilibet habet legiones centum, et in qualibet sunt demones 4500, qui omnes istis 4 obediunt et subduntur. // Et isti 4 sunt qui possunt omnes alios spiritus a thesauris absconditis fugare ligare et constringere, et sunt ministri infernales. // Princeps eorum est **labadau**, eius coadiutor est **Asmodeus** qui dat thesaurum indestructibilem cuiuslibet monete. Motus eorum est castrorum ruina, segetum et plantarum exstirpacio. Signum est quod totus mundus videbitur destrui invocanti. // Suffumigium eorum est sulphur. // Circulus eorum concavus et rotundus et distet a circulo magistri per 9 pedes.
[col. 2]

Sigillum terre.

the Seal of the Earth

{H}oreaua, recolia, narex, axo, et **abdia, laadia, cauethlegia, byaron, eleymath, thetanyra, adulaua, mathia, nysmaria, pergaria, perelyn, pernigyn, perlabudyn, perkedusyn, perbatusyn, pergalmegue, garaneu**, ut tartari cogerentur.

{H}oreaua, recolia, narex, axo, and **abdi cauethlegia, byaron, eleymath, thetanyı Mathia, nysmaria, pergaria, perelyn, pe perlabudyn, perkedusyn, perbatusyn, p garaneu**, in order that they might be colle region.

Coaccio eorum sive coniuracio.

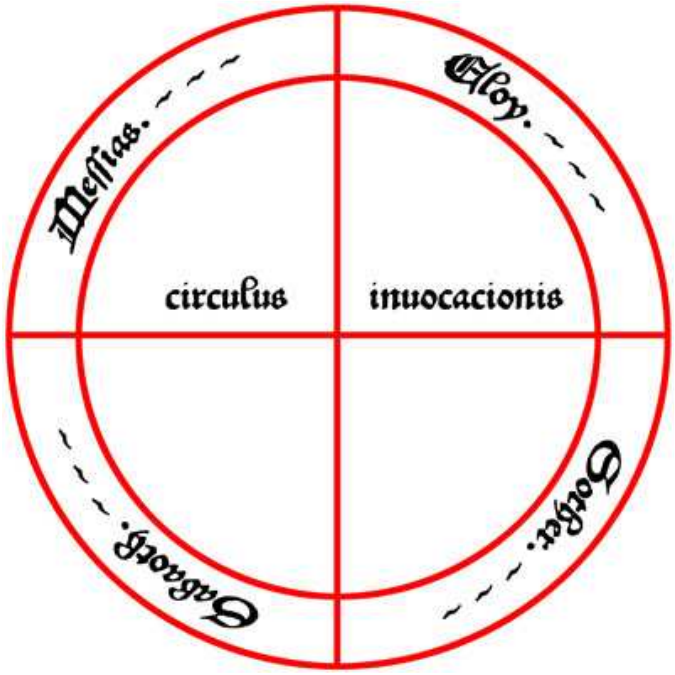
{I}nvoco vos terree potestates, et invocando coniuro, et cetera, ut supra in precedenti opere.

// Tunc cum dixerint quid vis pete quod vis et fiet. // Set melius est scribere peticionem in tegula nova vel tegula cum carbonibus et in eorum ponere circulo et sic eos non audies, nec videbis, et tum quicquid petitum fuerit facient in instanti. Et de istis nunquam vel raro Christianus se intromittit, nec eorum consilia sunt credenda.

Circulus, in quo apparent spiritus.

equalitas -- terre

// In hac operacione 4 de angelis terreis duo isti circuli necessarii. Iste primus, qui est concavus, est in quo veniunt advocati, set iste secundus est planus in quo invocans stare debet et debet distare a



primo per 9 pedes. Et de hiis maxime operantur pagani, et rarissime Christiani.

[137v]

Incipit Quintus liber.

[Primum capitulum quinti tractatus.]

{I}ncipit quintus et ultimus tractatus de exposicione predictorum in generali. In 4 primis tractatibus quia in libro honorii sunt 5 tractatus. //

Beginning of the Fifth Book.

(CXXXVI) The First chapter of the Fif

Primus de visione divina. // Secundus de angelis bonis. // Tercius de aereis. // Quartus de terreis. // Quintus de exposicione horum.

{D}e visione divina. // De cognicione potestatis divine. // De absolucione peccatorum ne homo incidat in peccatum mortale. // De redempcione trium animarum a purgatorio.

// Omnium autem horum 5 operum precedencium ordo iacet suo modo verissimo situatus. // De primo enim iam patet peticio explanata. // De secundo autem taliter postulabis, ut abluto corpore me vivente mea possit anima cum tua incomprehensibili potencia a te cognita cum tuis sanctis angelis tuam cognoscere potestatem. // De 3° taliter postulabis, ut abluto corpore te cum tuis novem angelorum ordinibus me vivente mea possit anima collaudare, et meorum concedas veniam peccatorum. // Quarto taliter est dicendum ut abluto corpore dehinc nullam possim committere maculam peccatorum, set meo vivente corpore puro corde, mente et opere te cum tuis novem angelorum ordinibus mea possit anima collaudare et cetera. Quinta peticio taliter situetur, ut meo abluto corpore te <te>cum tuis et cetera. Ex tua gracia N, N, N tales a penis purgatorii eripias et suorum veniam tribuas peccatorum, ut ipsi iam defuncti, tuam possint agnoscere, laudare et glorificare maiestatem. // Istud eim opus potes novies facere sine ira dei, et qualibet vice secundum quod predixi tres animas impetrabis. // Et scias quod de omnibus aliis si eodem modo petieris optinebis. // Vel sic. Ut abluto corpore celestes, igneas, aereas, aquaticas et terreas efficaciter possim cognoscere potestates.

2m capitulum quinti tractatus de consecracione hincausti sigilli dei eterni vivi et veri operantis. (CXXXVII)

{D}eus invisibilis, deus inestimabilis, deus ineffabilis, deus incommutabilis, deus incoruptibilis, deus piissime deus dulcissime, deus [col. 2] excelse deus gloriose deus inrnense deus tocius misericordie. Ego licet indignus vel plenus iniquitate, dolo et malicia, suplex ad tuam venio misericordiam orans ac deprecans ut non respicias ad universa et innumerabilia peccata mea, set sicut consuevisti peccatorum misereri et preces humilium exaudire, ita me famulum tuum N, licet indignum exaudire digneris clamantem ad te pro hac benediccione huius creature sanguinis ut ipse aptus et dignus efficiatur pro hincausto sigilli tui sacri et preciosi et nomen tuum [*nominis tui] **semenphoras** ita ut aptitudinem quam optinere debet optineat per sanctissimum nomen tuum quod 4 literis scribitur **ioht, he, vau, deleth, agla, eloy, yaym, theos, deus. Quo audito: celestia, terrestria et infernalia tremunt et colunt. Et per hec sanctissima nomina, on, alpha, et ω, principium et finis, el, ely, eloe, eloy, elion, sother, emanuel, sabaoth, adonay, egge, ya, ya, ye, ye, benedicatur hec cruoris creatura et preparetur et apertatur [*aptetur] pro hincausto sacri sigilli tui et sanctissimi nominis semenphoras tui quod est benedictum per infinita secula seculorum, amen.**

Oracio.

{D}omine Ihesu Christe per ineffabilem misericordiam tuam parce michi et miserere mei et exaudi me nunc per invocacionem nominis trinitatis patris et filii et spiritus sancti, ut acceptas habeas et tibi placeant oraciones et verba oris mei per invocacionem tuorum sanctorum 100 nominum, scilicet **agla, monhon** et cetera humiliter et fideliter deprecans licet ego indignus tamen in te confidens ut sanctifices

et benedicas cruorem istum per sanctissima nomina tua predicta et per nomen **semenphoras** 72 literarum quatinus per virtutem et sanctitatem et potestatem eorundem nominum et per virtutem et potestatem tuam divinam sit cruor iste consecratus + benedictus + confirmatus + per virtutem sacratissimi corporis et sanguinis tui ut virtutem quam optinere debet et aptitudinem optineat et efficaciter sine aliqua fallacia veraciter valeat ad scribendum sigillum tuum sanctum ut sanctam virtutem optineat <verba et efficaciter sine aliqua fallacia veraciter valeat ad scribendum sigillum tuum sanctum cccc>, et potestatem habeat ad quam est institutum, prestante domino qui sedet in altissimis, [138r] cui sit laus honor et gloria per infinita secula seculorum amen.

Oracio benediccionis.

{B}enedicat te pater + benedicat te filius + benedicat te spiritus sanctus +. Sancta mater domini nostri Ihesu Christi te benedicat et sanctificet ut virtutem sacramenti in sigillo dei ex te scribendo o cruor optineas quam optinere debes, benedicant te omnes sancte virgines, benedicant te hodie et in omni tempore omnes sancti et electi dei, omnes virtutes celestes te benedicant et confirment angeli omnes et archangeli, virtutes, principatus, potestates, troni, dominaciones, cherubyn et seraphin, ex auctoritate et licencia dei te benedicant, per merita et oraciones omnium sanctorum tuorum domine Ihesu Christe benedicas + et sanctifices + et consecres + cruorem istum sigilli dei et confirmes per omnipotenciam tuam et virtutem et potestatem optineat sigillum tuum de eo scribendum quam debet et ad quam est institutum et confirmatum prestante domino nostro Ihesu Christo cuius regnum et imperium sine fine manet in secula seculorum. Amen.

{A}ntequam iste 3 oraciones supra cruorem dicantur procedenter versus ierusalem, dicatur supra eum exorcismus salis quod ponitur in aqua, ter, nisi quod nomina sic debent mutari. // Exorcizo te creatura cruoris loco de creatura salis, et qui per salomonem te in sigillum dei mitti iussit, loco dei [*de], qui per heliseum te in aqua mitti iussit, et sic de aliis. Illo autem exorcismo sic ter dicto cum stola in collo, dic ter oraciones tres precedentes. Quo facto? sigilli domini cruor erit benedictus.

Tercium capitulum quinti tractatus de exposicione preceptorum missarum dati in primo tractatu et subintellecti in quolibet tractatuum premissorum.

(CXXXVIII) The third chapter of the l concerning the exposition of teachings in the first treatise....

Prima dies.

{I}n prima die secunde mundacionis dicet sacerdos missam alicuius diei dominice extra ieiunium vel alicuius secundum maiorem effectum quem habet ad illam, in loco prefacionis dicat hanc oracionem. // Nos tibi semper et ubique gracias agere. Domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus per Christum dominum nostrum per quem maiestatem tuam laudant angeli adorant dominaciones tremunt potestates. Celi celorumque virtutes [col. 2] ac beata seraphin socia exultacione concelebrant, cum quibus et nostras voces et cetera.

Secunda dies.

{I}n secunda die hanc loco prefacionis, cum missa Apostolorum. // Te domine suppliciter exorare ut gregem tuum pastor eterne non desera<n>s set per beatos apostolos tuos et cetera.

3ª dies.

{I}n 3ª die missam ieiunii vel quadragesime et hanc oracionem, Nos tibi semper et ubique gracias agere, Domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus. Qui corporali ieiunio vicia et cetera.

4ª dies.

{I}n 4ª die missam de nativitate imperatricis angelorum [et]. // Et te in nativitate beate marie et cetera.

5ª dies.

{I}n 5ª die missam annunciacionis eiusdem [et]. // Et te in annunciacione et cetera.

6ª dies.

{I}n 6ª die missam nativitatis Christi et ista sit prefacio // Quia per incarnati verbi misterium nova et cetera.

7ª dies.

{I}n 7ª die missam epiphanie et prefacio, Quia cum unigenitus tuus in substancia nostre, et cetera.

8ª dies.

{I}n 8ª die missam purificacionis. Et prefacio, Et te in purificacione beate marie.

9ª dies.

{I}n nona die missam resurreccionis. Et prefacio. <Et> te quidem domine omni tempore set in hac potissimum nocte vel die gloriosius predicare cum pascha nostrum et cetera.

10ª dies.

{I}n 10ª die missam ascencionis, et prefacio. Qui post resurreccionem suam omnibus discipulis suis manifestus apparuit, et cetera.

XIª dies.

{I}n XIª die missam assumpcionis beate marie et prefacio sit. Et te in assumpcione et cetera.

12[a] dies.

{I}n 12[a] die missam omnium sanctorum, et prefacio apostolorum sit, nisi quod vox apostolorum in vocem omnium sanctorum commutetur.

13[a] dies.

{I}n 13[a] die missam angelorum et prefacio apostolorum nisi quod beati apostoli in beatos angelos transmutentur.

14[a] dies.

{I}n 14[a] die missam spiritus sancti et prefacio sit, Qui ascendens super omnes celos et cetera.

15[a] dies.

In quintadecima die missam sancte crucis et prefacio sit, Qui salutem humani generis in ligno et cetera.

16[a] dies.

[138v]

{I}n 16[a] die missam trinitatis et prefacio sit, Qui cum unigenito filio tuo et spiritu sancto unus es<t> deus et cetera.

Quartum capitulum quinti tractatus de inicio aggrediendi opus invocacionis.

{E}xcitacio ventorum est principium operandi in illa XI[a] hora diei operis sacri et debet fieri extra domum longe a circulo ad duo stadia vel tria. Et debet prius esse bene preparatus de necessariis suis, de optimo vino de 7 ensibus, de sibilo, de virgula coruli, de sigillis, de signo dei, de thure, de thuribulo, de candela virginea et sic de aliis ut prius patet.

// Et scias quod in illa pelle ubi est sigillum domini debent esse tria sigilla predicta sub signo: ita quod pendeant de manu. // Sigillum angelorum sit immediate sub signo dei, et Sub illo sigillum aereorum et sub illo terreorum.

Et quando cognoscentur motus eorum appropinquare oportet ire ad circulum et delere 7 nomina creatoris, et tunc item ut prius extra iuxta circulum excitare, et cum videbitis motus eorum intrare circulum et facere ut est predictum.

// Virga autem sit quadrata et in uno latere scribatur in summitate, **adonay**. In secundo latere **sabaoth**. In 3[o] **hiskiros**, in 4[o] **Emanuel**. In medio virge fiat pentagonus salomonis et ubi virga tenetur crux, et sic erit parata operi sacro et miro.

(CXXXIX) Fourth chapter of the Fifth the beginning of undertaking the work

....

But the wand should have four sides. On written “**Adonay**;” on the second side “**Sabaot** “**Hiskiros**;” on the fourth “**Emanuel**.” On the

Quintum capitulum quinti tractatus de composicione sibili et exposicione cuiusdam dicti in 3° tractatu.

{F}ac sibilum de ere albo vel de argento vel de auro vel avellana, et sit eptagonum, id est septem latera habens, sit grossum ad placitum, sit longum ad longitudinem trium digitorum.

// Tunc in summitate eius sculpatur hoc nomen, **on**. Et inferius in alia summitate **beel**. Et in latere primo ubi est forus sibili scribatur nomen regis orientalis, scilicet **barthan**. In secundo latere a dextris nomen regis consol, scilicet **formione**. In 3° regis meridiei, scilicet **yammax**. In 4° regis nogahelis, scilicet **sarabocres**. In 5 latere regis [col. 2] occidentalis, scilicet **harthan**. In 6° regis frigicapicis, **Abaa**. In 7° regis septemtrionalis, **maymon**. Et postea benedic eum sicut cruorem nisi quod mutabis nomen, et ubi dicebatur in sigillum dei te mitti iussit, nunc dices, in clamatum spirituum te clangere iussit.

Et scias quod quando vocantur angeli boni non debet habere sibilum neque virgam neque ensem [*enses], et tu debes stare extra circulum, et ipsi debent apparere infra circulum, qui debet esse altus tribus pedibus et semis. // Set in aliis aereis et terreis oportet predicta habere. Set differt inter illos quia illi aerei apparent extra circulum in aere homine existente infra circulum qui debet esse totus planus sicut +epiparet+. Set in terreis sic est quod ipsi apparent infra circulum concavum, profundum et rotundum homine existente infra alium circulum, ab illis circulis predictis, qui tamen similiter debet esse planus et equus et circa eum scripta solum 4 nomina dei, prout patet.

// Angeli hore sunt qui regnant in hora operis angeli diei qui in die operis, Angeli mensis angeli lune, vel principii mensis Angeli faciei qui regnant facie ubi est eorum dominium ascendente. Temporis omnes insimul et principes eorum omnium sunt 7, ut patuit supra, **casziel, satquiel** et cetera. // Adhuc sunt 7 superiores, scilicet **barachiel, uriel** et cetera.

Explicit liber de vita anime racionalis, qui liber sacer vel liber angelorum vel liber iuratus nuncupatur, quem fecit honorius magister thebarum. Hic est liber quo deus in hac vita facialiter quit videri. Hic est liber quo quilibet potest salvari et in vitam eternam procul dubio deduci. Hic est liber quo infernus et purgatorium queunt sine morte videri, hic est liber quo omnis creatura exceptis novem ordinibus angelorum possunt subiugari. Hic est liber quo omnes siencie possunt haberi. Hic est liber quo substancia imbecillissima potest substancias robustissimas et devincere et subiugare. Hic est liber quem nulla lex habet nisi Christiana, et si habet, nil [139r] sibi prodest. Hic est liber qui est maius iocale a domino datum omni alio iocali exclusis sacramentis. Hic est liber quo natura corporalis et visibilis cum incorporali et invisibili alloqui racionari et instrui potest. Hic est liber quo innumerabiles thesauri haberi possunt. Et multa alia per hunc fieri queunt que narrare dispendium esset. Ideo merito Sacer nuncupatur.

the pentagonal figure of Solomon, and where t
and thus it will be prepared for sacred and wor

(CXL) Fifth Chapter of the Fifth Treat composition of the whistle, and an expl sayings in the Third Treatise.

Make a whistle from white copper,[1] or fr
or even hazel, and it should be heptagonal, i.e.
may be as large as you please, and its length sh
fingers.

....

(CXLI)

Here ends the book concerning the life o
is called the *Sacred Book*, or the *Book of the A*
which was made by Honorius, the master of Tl
with which one is able to see God face to face,
the book....

Scriptus fuit liber iste et completus Die martis hora 10[a] que est ho

The writing of this book has been completed day, Tuesday, which is h

---

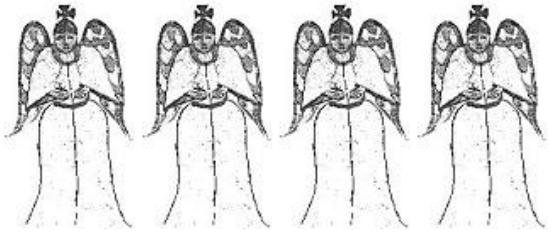
[71r]

heare foloweth an other worke for the angels of the .7. heav-| ens,

and of the .4. tymes or seasons of the yeare accordin-| ge to the nature and dysposissione of the .7. planettes and | celestiall bodies, and fyrst heare begeneth the names of the | .4. seasonns of the yeare and the angels that haue rewle | and goverment in the sayde tymes, w[t] the names of the pr-| incipall head or rewler of every signe, and the names of þ[e] | principall head or rewler of the yearth, w[t] the names of þ[e] | .2. lyghtes that Is the Sonne and the mone, which haue | workinge in there qualytes, in the .4. quarters or seaso-| nnes of the yeare accordinge to the providence will and | pleasuer of the allmighty god of his Incomperhensibili-| te created and made */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/* |

The names of the springe tyme Is called + talui + ./.|
The name of somer Is called + casmaram + ././.|
The name of harvest Is called + ardarael + ./.|
The name of winter Is called + farlae + ././.|
Thes angels do rewle and governe in the springe tyme. /././.|

Caracasa. Core. Amatiel. Commissoros.



This text is not part of the *Sworn Book* proper, but is found appended to it in manuscript R.

Compare with de Abano's Heptameron.

[71v]

+ spugliguel +

The principall headd or rewler of the signes of the springe tyme, Is called.

The name of the power of the yearth In the springe tyme Is called

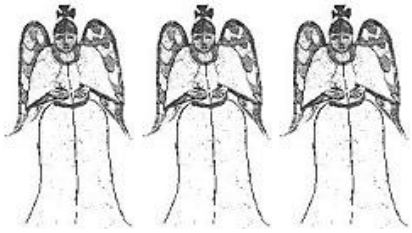
+ amaday +

+ + abraym + + agusita +

The names of the .2. lyghtes that is called þ^{e} Sonne and the mone which rewle in the springe tyme are called

Thes angells do rewle and governe in the somer tyme.

+ gargatel + + fariel + + gaviel +



[72r]

+ Tubiel +

The principall head or rewler of the signes In sommer sesonne Is called.

The name of the power of the yearth in the sommer sesonne Is calledd

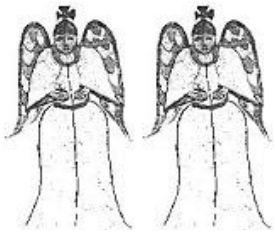
+ festatui +

+ + athemay + + armatas +

The names of the .2. lyghtes that Is called the sonne and the mone whych rewle And Governe In the Sommer Sesonne, Are called

Thes angells do rewle and governe in þ^{e} harvest tyme.

+ tarquam + + gualbarel +



[72v]

+ tolquaret + + rabianira +

The principall headd or rewler of the signes of the haruiste tyme Is called.

The name of the power of the yearth in the harviste tyme Is called.

+ abragini + + matasignais +

The names of the .2. lyghtes that Is called the sonne and the mone whych rewle and Governe In the harviste Seasonne are called.

Thes angells do rewle and governe in the winter season.

+ amabael + + ctarari +

[73r]

+ Altarib +

The principall head or rewler of the signes in the winter seasonne Is called.

The name of the power of the yearth in the winter seasonne Is called.

+ gerenia +

+ commvtaf + + affaterim +

The names of the .2. lyghtes that Is called the sonne and the mone whych rewle and Governe In the winter sesonne Are called.

Thes be the angells of the .12. signes. */*/*/*/*/*/*

Compare Agrippa III, ch 24.

+ ♈ + malchidael + + ♉ + asmodel + + ♊ + ambriel + + ♋ + muriel +

[73v]

+ ♌ + verchiel + + ♍ + hamaliel + + ♎ + zuriel + + ♏ + barchiel + [A: Barbiel]

+ ♐ + aduachiel + + ♑ + hanael + + ♒ + gamviel + [A: Cambiel] + ♓ + barchiel +

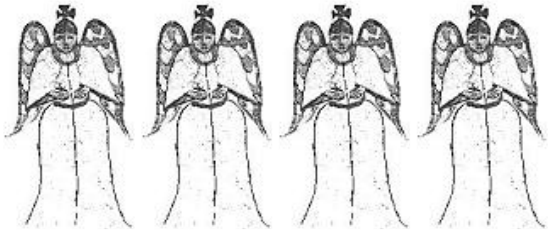
Thes be the angells of the .28. mancions of þ^{e} mone

+ geniel + enediel + amixiel + azariel +

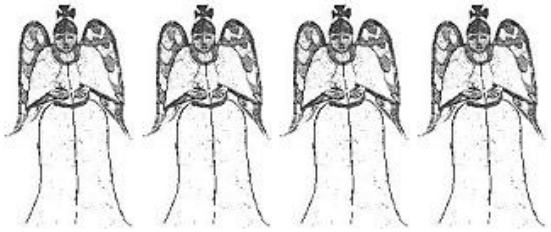
[74r]

+ cabiel [A: Gabiel] + dirachiel + scheliel + amnediel +

+ barbiel + ardesiel + neciel + abdizuel +

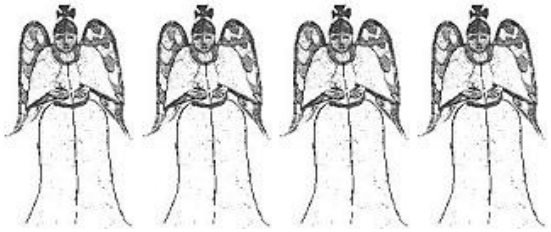


+ Iazeriel + ergediel + ataliel + azeruel +

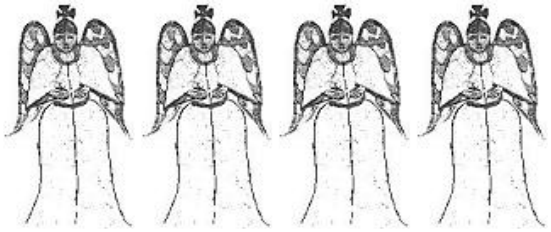


[74v]

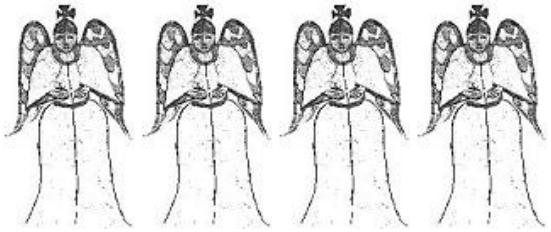
+ adriel + egibiel + amutiel + kiriel +



+ bethnael + geliel + requiel + abrinael +



+ aziel + tagriel + alheniel + amnixiel +



[75r]

Compare OP3.24.

Thes be the angells of the .4. wynes and princies.

of the east Is. of the weast Is. of the northe Is. of þ^{e} sowthe Is.

+ michael + Raphael + Gabriel + nariel + or vriel+

Thes be the angells of the .4. elementes & dominators.
of the aier Is. of the wather Is. of the yearth Is. of þ^{e} fyear Is.

+ cherub + tharsis + ariel + seruph + or nathaniel +

[72 angels from Schemhamphoras]

Et hi sunt qui præsident septuaginta duobus quinariis coe-| lestibus, totidemq$_{e}$ nationibus et linguis, et humani corpor-| is artubus, cooperanturq$_{e}$ septuaginta duobus synagogæ | senioribus, totidemq$_{e}$ christi discipulis. et nomina eorum sec-| undum extractionem quam faciunt cabalistæ patent in hac | [75v]
sequenti tabella, secundum vnum modum quem diximus. |
Sunt autem et alii plures modi ex eisdem versiculis fabrican-| di Schemhamphoras, vt cum omnes tres recto ordine sibi | subalternatim a dextram sinistram scribuntur, præter illos | qui per tabulas Ziruph, et tabulas commutationum extr-| ahuntur, de quibus in superioribus mentionem fecimus | et quoniam hæ tabulæ omnibus tum diuinis, tum angel-| icis nominibus inseruiunt, ideo illas etiam huic capiti su-| biungemus.

These two paragraphs appear to have been quoted verbatim from the 1533 edition of Agrippa, OP3.25. Cf. V. Perrone Compagni, p. 473 ll. 7-19. Agrippa got this from Francesco Georgi (or Zorzi) *De harmonia mundi*: Venetiis, 1525, 1: 4, 13, f. 61v; 2: 7, 23, f. 328r.

"And these are those that are set over the seventy-two Celestial quinaries, and so many Nations, and tongues, and joints of man's body, and cooperate with the seventy-two seniors of the Synagogue, and so many disciples of Christ: and their names according to the extraction which the Cabalists make, are manifest in this following table, according to one manner which we have spoke of. Now there are many other manner or ways of making Schemhamphorae out of those verses, as when all three are in a right order written one after the other, from the right to the left, besides those which are extracted by the tables of Ziruph, and the tables of commutations, of which we made mention above. And because these tables serve for all names, as well divine, as angelical, we shall therefore subjoin them to this chapter."

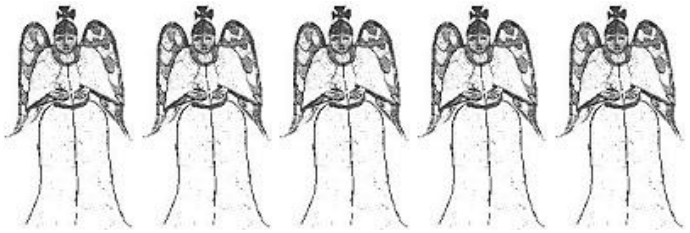
vehuiah	leuuiah	Aniel	Mebahiah
Ieliel	pahaliah	haamiab [A: Haamiah]	Poiel
Sitael	nelchael	Rehael	Nemamiah
elemiah	Ieiael	Ieiazel	Ieialel
mahasiah	melahel	hahahel	harahel
lelahel	hahuiah [A: Hahiuiah]	michael	Mizrael
achaiah	nuthaiah [A: Nithhaiah]	veualiah	vmahel [A: Vmabel]
cahethel	haaiah	ielahiah	Iahhel

The third column of the table is actually on fol. 76r. Hebrew lettering per Agrippa is here omitted.

Haziel	Ierathel	Sealiah	Annauel [A: Anauel]
Aladiah	Seehiah	Ariel	mehekiel [A: Mehiel]
laniah [A: Lauiah]	Reiiah [A: Reiiel]	Asaliah	damahiah [A: Damabiah]
Hahaiah	Omael	michael [A: Mihael]	meniel [A: Menakel]
Iezalel	Lecabel	Vehuel	Eiael
Mebahel	Vasariah	Daniel	habuiah
Hariel	Iehuiah	hahasiah	Roehel
Hakamiah	lehahiah	Imamiah	iabamiah
Leviah	chauakiah	Nanael	Haiaiel
Caliel	manadel	Nithael	mamiah [A: Mumiah]

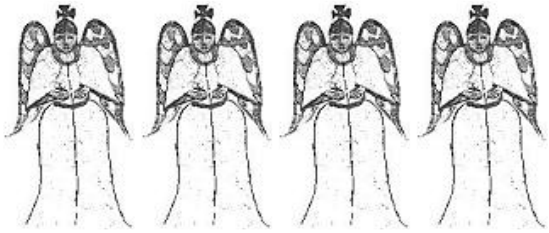
[76r]

vehviah + Ieliel + Sitael + elemiah + mahasiah +



lelahel + achaiah + cahethel + Haziel +

aladiah + Iamah + hahaiah + Iezalel +



[76v-78v]

[fols. 76v-78r have unlabeled drawings of identical angels. 78v is blank.]

[79r]

The angels of the .7. planetts after the opinione of zevell */*/*/*/*

♄ sachir + onath + anasen + prothophares + gaym + fimtilis +

♃ Nastegeon + sexagip + tors + tentercenta + selops + versiel + astronday +

♂ Belligeron + robrinez + thophares + scetaburous + zelidron + pristorides +

pirirm + phitach +
☉ Alfareon + luetundium + ferlucifin + moderiel + pantes + strinabelion +
♀ Penel + apripos + filiach + disdros + nechir + pbab + neptaliam +
☿ Calamichan + pergamidam + tichiz + aprops + cirael + gariliam + gemesnay +
☽ ydroel + nar + escor + phin + bethan + gesrus + philosen + onfilmetoii +

The names of the angels of the .xii. signes

♈ Utiridan + berithz + manstitan + ysmarelion +
♉ Geofriel + dridmoyl + frenil + dirigalii +
♊ Sinchateriel + anabrochz + gefrel + beliabii +
♋ Tetrarchin + froseithz + endiran + cefafin +
♌ Berferiel + andri + facifon + vridithian +
♍ Monosriel + scamburion + liricom + an +
♎ Ilfiey + drabundin + prothabeon + sephyron +
♏ Gefusieon + grisolis + ophicen + albuth +
♐ Tebondriel + zedrociel + rufibian + exdromal +
♑ Tiragisneil + sandamruch + gelisedon + nili +
♒ sterlunilon + andebal + gorthz + zahayr +
♓ Nolicheil + angiseil + theodropham + salchmeon +

♌ Exagiel + syimnoy + debroz + ♉ + Schyphaon + drudromoy + ehehii +

The names of the princes of the .xii. altytudes are thes folowinge.

♈ Armiel + gabriel + barachiel + libes + helissan +
♉ Pax + princeps + miserecordia + alphay + raym + geon + gereon + armon + geremon +
♊ Fortitudo + paciencia + ythanay + elon + evebychay +

[79v]
♋ yareth + yaran + arneth + zaraney + lux + eye +
♌ Almay + ezey + zabele + monoym + aurach + liulay +
♍ Hores + bysserios + onay + ornath + vita + yareth + allay +
♎ Ay + alkin + roel + abanay + rathan + corosay +
♏ Amayn + anay + gelomitro + gecebamia + ysaramana + elomich +
♐ zaan + zabin + zadanay + arphel + alphanay + zadan +
♑ Ym + anab + reil + solin + paciencia + vel + potian +
♒ Alphaneos + alphanay + asser + zarmioch + almeos + sphray +
♓ Salmel + alimos + alibin + lubiras + ana + anay +

The angels of the .7. planetts after the opinion of honorius././.

♄ zapkiel + oriphiel + caphiziel + boel + cassziel + michathon + dalqiel + gastiel + matraton + satel +
♃ zadkiel + zachariel + sacqiel + paysthar + raphael + pahanitoriel + assassaiel + tethapiel + parantemol +
♂ Camael + zamael + samael + azimor + satihel + yturahihel + amabiel + taryel + armael +
☉ Raphael + michael + quelamya + caphael + dardihel + hurathaphel +
♀ Hamiel + anael + daner + raqiel + salguyel +

☿ Michael + raphael + targuarra + myhel + sarapiel + vriel +
☽ Gabriel + orpheniel + mychael + samyhel + athithael +

The names of the angels of the .xii. signes after the opinion of honorius././.

Cp. Agrippa OP2.14.

♈ malichidael + ♉ asmodel + ♊ ambriel + ♋ muriel + ♌ verchiel + ♍ hamaliel + ♎ zuriel + ♏ barchiel + ♐ advachiel + ♑ hanael + ♒ ambiel + ♓ barchiel +

The angels of the .xxviii. mancions of the mone././.

Geniel + enediel + amixiel + azariel + caiel + dirachiel + seheliel + amnediel + barbiel + ardesiel + neciel + abdizuel + iazeriel + ergediel + ataliel + azeruel + adriel + egiviel + amutiel + kiriel + bethnael + geliel + requiel + abrinael + aziel + tagriel + atheniel + amnixiel +

[80r]

Thes are the princes of the .4. windes././.

Of the est Is + michael + of the west Is + raphael + of the northe Is + gabriel + of the sowghte is + nariel + vel vriel +

Thes are the dominators and reulers of the .4. elementes././.

Of the ayer Is + cherub + of the water Is + tharsis + of the yearthe Is + ariel + of the fyer Is + seruph + vel nathaniel +

Thes are the angels that beare the great name of god called in the hebrewe tunge schemhamphoras

vehuiah + Ieliel + sitael + elemiah + mahasiah + lelahel + achaiah + cahethel + haziel + aladiah + lamah + hahaiah + Iezalel + mebahel + hariel + hakamiah + leuiah + caliel +

leuuiah + pahaliah + nelchael + Ieiael + melahel + hahuiah + nitthaiah + haaiah + Ierathel + seehiah + reiial + omael + lecabel + vasariah + Iehuiah + lehahiah + chauakiah + manadel +

Aniel + haamiab + rehael + Ieiazel + hahahel + michael + veualiah + Ielahiah + sealiah + ariel + asaliah + michael + vehuel + daniel + hahasiah + Imamiah + nanael + nithael +

Mehahiah + poiel + nemamiah + Ieialel + harakel + mizrael + vmahel + Iahhel + annauel + mehekiel + damahiah + meniel + eiael + habuiah + roehel + Iabamiah + haiaiel + mamiah +

[finis]

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vers[us] ad[ue]rsa[m] dem de dic[e] Apolm.
Aballoth. Bedith. Ego talis vob[is]
exortas[i]o & q[ui]d exp[ec]te des ongo
tatis q[ui] vos vita electione mu[n]
dic[i]t fm[u]la sibi ps[un]di vt debea[n]
bs michi mitte q[ui]da fm[u]m pitum
dogmata om[n]a scientia q michi sit
benivol fidelis & placidus addo te
du omem scia q[ue] volue[n]s venie[n]s
in forma magistri vt nllam form[i]
dic[e] dolam p[re]p[ar]e fiat fiat
tem q[ui]d vos ppm & filiu ffm
stm de hac sci noia q[ui] vu tute
lig-ant[ur] sc Dobel. Dyel. Gabaoth. &c
nom. fidenay. tr[an]sgramato. Albunay
sloth. moseth. Sadabm. Sodobel.
Domiel. Pavabiel. Alatiel. noiem.
noiam. Sobel. quat[er] vos tuas ve
gas maxim[e] michi sotij mihi p[re]sta
ti unu de substa[n]tias mitte labora
tis qui sit magist[er] om[n]m scia[rum] & artiu
ver[us] infantina humana placabilis.
Aplandens michi & audiens me ad
Amoza vta & talis q[ui] m[ihi] mio 30. die
talem scia valeam adipisci. Remit
tens tps suptanea scie dabit sibi

Cod. lat. 849
BIBLIOTHECA REGIA MONACENSIS

licenciam vadendi & hoc etia toties di
ci debet. Hec vero dña depone ensam
& in volumine dicto piano & foo fasciculo
cuba sup ipo & aliquantulu dormitas
Post somnu vo surge & in duas te
qua foo fasciculo hamo se spoliat &
intrat cubiculu ponedo dem fasci
culum sub capite &c. Aut sciendu
q das hiis comunicationib somnus
accidit virtute diuina in somno
Apparet tibi tres maxim regat cum
famulis minumis militib & peditib
inter quos est etia quida magistat
Apparens cui ipi tres vagas iubent
Ata ipm vera & pcm videbis ani
s vagas fulgantes mira pulchri
tudine qui tibi in dco somno viua
voce loquet & dicent tibi da
mus q multotiens postulasti & dicent
illi magist. sit ista tuus discipulus
que docua ea iubemo amq sciam
sine Autem qua audire voluerit
Doctrina talis & tanta vt in tmio
.3o. dicit in qm stiam voluit sum me
thos habeat. Et videbis ipm vehe
mentis dni mei libentissime facta &

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vltus. Hiis dns vegres fuerint a magist
solus remanebit qui tibi dicat Egurga
dca magist tuus hiis vo dns exurgabe
vit statim fuer oculos a vndelis quidam
magistratu optima mdutu qui tibi dicat
da mihi ensam q sub capita tanq. tu
vo dicas Ecca discipulus vest paratus
facere q q vult tame debes habere
q ugillarem a scribere omia que tibi
dicat Primo debes qrere magist
q a noma vim ipe dicit a tu scribas.
Secundo de quo ordine a similit scire
hiis sptus debes sibi postulare a ensem
quo hita ipe vadit dicens expecta
me donec veniam tu nichil dicas. Tagi
stm vo vadat a fuer ensem post
cum revertissum tu dissolues panu ut
fuer infra vius a tim scias mdo ocu
lo nome eius sptu pta a sibi dolu
ta tu pdo sanguine. Quo spto i vol
ta dom panu a bn respondeb. Hiis fctis
debes purgare solo pane a pura
aqua a illa die no aguadi cameram
a cu purgas fuis fuerit expletu a iterat
cvadu vsus Apolim Dic sic. O. rex.
Apolim magne potens a venerabilis

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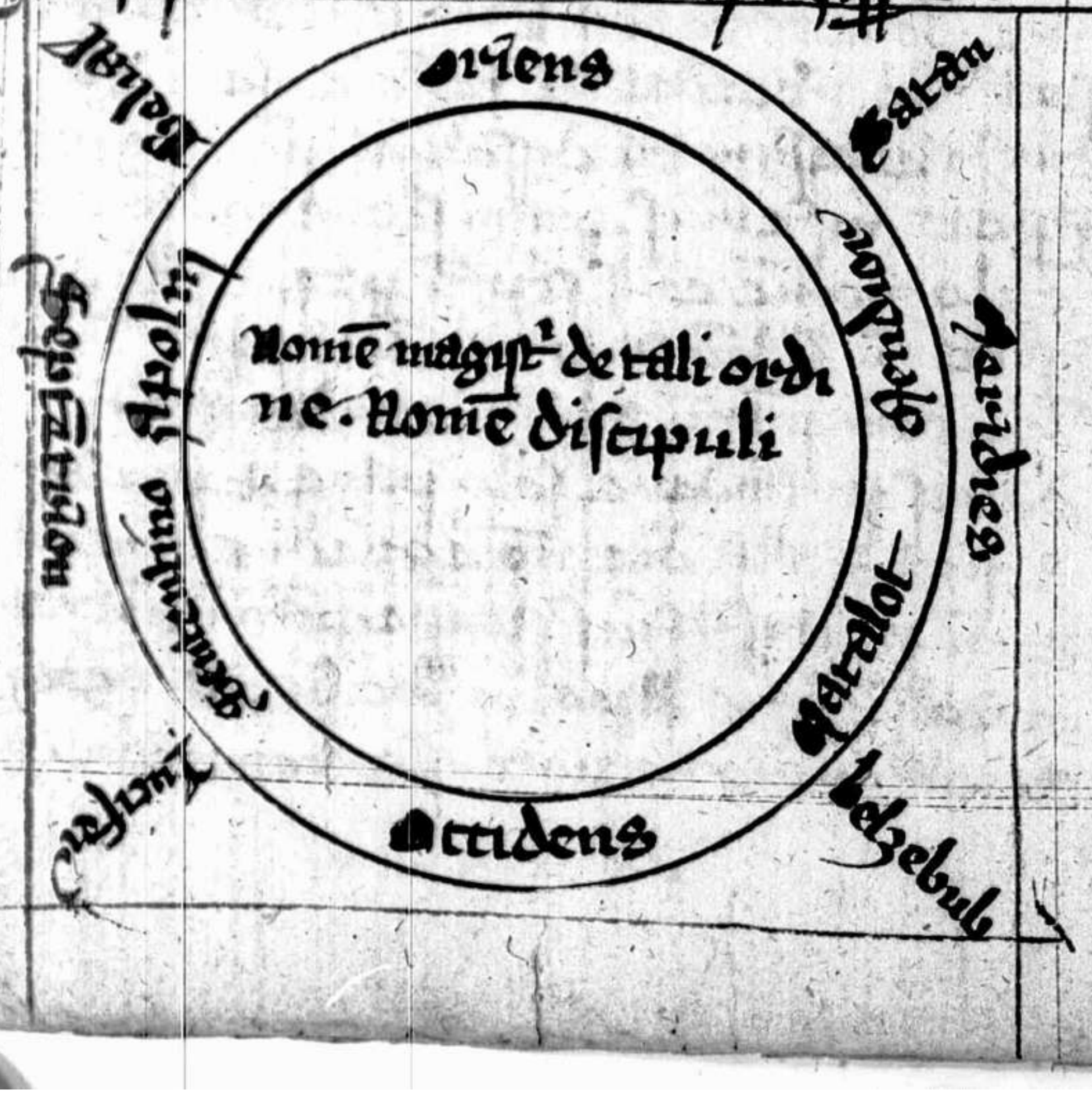
Ego famulꝰ tuus ꝯte cōfitēs & omnino
ꝓfidens ꝙ tu es fortis & valens Rogo ꝑ
incomprehensibile magestatē tuā vt famu
lus & subiectꝰ tuus talis magiſtꝝ meꝰ
dabeat ad me videre quā a tuis fieri
potest ꝑ virtutē & potentiā tuā quā
& magnā & maximā in secula seculoꝝ
Amen Et simul dicā Jesus Nazarenus
mihi. Christus dei filius de deo sancta
& sabaoth in medio cauli nomē tuum
tui sunt deo confide vt hic fiat mihi
vir Sancta sabaoth tu deo confide m sm
gradus quem illa nomē vt hic fiant



Ihu Auta sengwissmi Auis no sufficiat
potas mtarficare q̃ tu tibi placz quibꝫ
omnibꝫ fcis sedebis ptota diem mcum tu
lo stppiens ipm mcjd loquedo tu vo
seruo seruo furt blica dem pmu ffolia te et
mtra m tabrioclu ponendo ipm sub ala
pte tuo ⁊ tu pssuris dic sic pclama
voz ꝺ Apolin. Auallach. Belzebuc.
Bathan. beliath. Belzebuc. Tucifer.
Supplico vob vt ptiatis magistro
m eo nolando cuus nome vt ipe debe
at vere vita fmte solis ortu Adme
⁊ docere me talem scam sme Aliqua
fallacia pstitu qui vetuvus ⁊ rudicare
viuos ⁊ mortuos ⁊ seculu pgrtom
Amen. Caue igit ⁊ pcaue ne signu ⁊
ciuitas fatias q̃ magnu pticulu ꝺnsop
no scias q̃ vndelis magistrtu totta not
ta loqui tecu mtanvogans Ata quam
scam velis Addisce ⁊ tu dices talem
ita q̃ vt dem est totta nocte tu eo hoc
loquis. Cum ittaq exitat filius q̃ ar
m tya nocta suuga ⁊ Actende Cande
lam ⁊ Actipe dem pmu ⁊ de volue ⁊
m eo sade. ꝛz. m tabulo vbi nome tuu
scptu est Adtuu comodu ⁊ vocal nome
magist tui sic dices ꝺ talis de talli ordi

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me ꝛ ꝛn magistru mihi dedit ꝓmaiores
reges tuos te dep̃tor ut videos ipsum
venigna dextu me talem scam q̃m ꝑm
aiores omib⁹ mor talib⁹ discas q̃tam
cu magno studio sine aliquo labore
ꝛ omi tedio deuelitto ꝑueniet extuor
te maiorꝫ qui regnat ꝑ infinita ſe
cula seculoꝝ Amen fiat fiat fiat
Visitatꝫ dictis tuc Aspicies versꝰ oc
cidentem videbis magistru varie tu
ntes discipulis q̃ vogabis ut omnes
fabre iubeat ꝛ statim recedet tuc tu
scꝰ ipe magiſt dicet q̃ scaz studiu
desideras tu dices talem ꝛ tuc mi
hes. Amato am q̃ ꝑta tibi dicet
tantu Addiscas ꝛ memorie q̃ mediabris
et oz scam q̃ habe volus Addiscas
intra mo xxx. dies et q̃n ꝑm de ca
mera Abiue volus pica panu ꝛ re
tunde ꝛ statim recedet et q̃n ꝑm re
niue volus Aperi panu ꝛ subita inde
Apelit Agnoscendo Lectiones post ve
terminu .30. dies do tu optime iscia
fac tibi date ansem tuu ꝛ dic ut vadat
ꝛ ei placet recedat Deberitem
dicas tu Aliu ꝑm mvo talibꝰ inda
scia q̃ tibi dicat Adtui libitu assequa
tur Finis qui capitulu scdm ꝛ

Ad hoc igit̄ vt stet siue sup̄ possit alta
liquo ausq; vide diligent attende
debes enim primo dare ascendat lumē dic
abbati vel ad illū q̄ ad manū venire vo
luerit & cum ea sit dicta prima vox
submittat aurē ad cordis tui & omne
cogitatiōis sensum & discretionē cogitationē
diluat & abolebit Continuo te auribus
& omnipotentis & maiores & quasi que
facias velle vt in tali q̄ spiritu debe
as q̄ manere & donec mihi libuit & q̄m
o abfuscare & oma q̄ agnoscat Amittit
aliquā mittam te in mari q̄ fundum
q̄ no agnoscit in seculū q̄ sibi dicit
vocat & postea donec suo fuit q̄ uo
sto vade ad hostiū cui et mādet dom̄no
tuo hostij tui q̄ de tuo calamu facias
possis & ad domū vadens & fac de tuo
calamo & designe mundi q̄ tuo lini
cū tuo calamo scribā. Quidā. Ablatou
sapie. stat ignitoris & fruitis ad sis in sen
sibus talis & sim fac debeas ad io dem
tam q̄a conuocatoe scripta sit in dicto
q̄ano ciuitul cū dco sanḡne vt hic ayma
dicit vbi scribit vt sequit Nome illius
q̄ q̄uare volūs in medio ciuitul costi
tuit honore Quidā q̄ sic debet
dicere sic Continuo vos de ad domoce

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malignos videz dñeoth·pmen·ocel·
cuyboy·Roryoth·Belfaruth·camoy·
Astaroth·sobrenoy·Ismael·pmdrui
duam trinitate videz patrem & filium
& spm scm Alpha & o precedentem & p venturum
dem & timendum diem judicij & pora q
fuerunt & sunt & erunt & sicut in hoc tabu
culo figati estis cruciatibus talem vt ita
vos & affligatur & existant psone eoꝝ
corpus & sensus eoꝝ valeat affligatis &
ignominiosis & demens stultos & mente capitis

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affiat et tu michael de cavelo arg nu
eguedia ꝓ meos ires dre noctuq do
nec albo albue iubebo quib⁹ sic dictis
tari uero uadas meldam notta ad do
mu spi⁹ tu deo plano et tu qdam tultal
lo et tu ubi filius volua humido ussuum
hostiu et flectas te in tuua migalita
dro mora camali facedo fouea subtam
do dom̃ianu mag lim̃ta dic sic gsubtilio
ta talem ꝓmore demoiorꝫ sq̃toꝝ tuꝝta
te q semꝑ ipi demones ouicta et omia
tua uuꝝ sq̃ulta sit et cooptio deo
cul̃culo tu tua uedeas uteꝝ ad domu
et fac candela in qua sint sq̃ta omia q
tenta in cul̃culo et debes ipam facere
de cera ꝓmo empta nouo et desup
aq tu una alia similit empta q̃ua fac
facias de ipam et dic sic gsiut hec cam
dela a fac in dispone talis gbuit et
gsumatuꝝ ita ois uuꝝ et sta existens
in ipo in damatam q̃uat̃ et ꝓ uirtutem
demoiorꝫ inh hec candela sq̃toꝝ et sicut
vos demones hic sq̃ti stabetis ita illam
requiem habeat possitis donec hoc duxe
rit ad effectu q̃uib⁹ data sancta cla
tis dictam candela exting we dicendo hec
uba gsiut hec candela exting uit ita
et uiuꝝ in tali manet uanitꝝ et sumet
q̃ne uo ipam facienda dicendo gsiut hec

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Candele ꝛ ꝯ ꝑ ta Alio mane vsq; ad tminu
Sapiam dro. ꝙ quitato ꝑmo die nocta
vo vo die videlic; ꝑ ꝛ ꝑmeta ꝺmino de
quo ame mínibit ꝺ ꝙ valde a ꝙ ꝙ no
cuadit se Alig hoa defectu ꝛ om Alios
mental ꝙ utat esse cautes. ¶ anc ign
expietam Aput ta tone q; magne vir
tutis ꝛ Cum Aut ꝑm volue ínstatum
ꝙ ouem deuocue optie fieri pt die ꝙui
. ꝙ houti noctis vade Adsuu hostu ubi se
ꝙ alist ꝙnu ꝙ dum Sapellit ꝺz ꝙnibꝰ
nus m. ꝺam vase vt no ꝙ utui esset sic
fat ão ꝑm libandi ꝛ ꝑm ꝙnu desa
pellido sic dnoꝰ ¶ ꝙ uadli ouaoth.
ꝙnen. ocal. tilay. Aoiyoth. Belfuioth.
Camy. Astawoth. obuonoy. sismael.
Ego talis Absoluo vos vt eatis Ad ui
libitu ꝛ velmquatis talem ínstatu ꝙ oui
quibꝰ dictis Sup dormiens ꝙnu ꝛ Accen
gne ligniolúc ꝛ ꝙ uitula ꝛ h'ba ubena
ꝙ ríaꝰ dem ꝙnu sub deo gne dnoꝰ do
ꝛtue ignis iste ꝙ sum hut ꝙnu rta ois
ꝙ ꝰ. fetime ꝙ talem ꝙ onit ꝙ sume
combusto gne ꝙ roc dem ꝙ ulueꝛ ꝛ in ꝙ
cuitatis ꝛ ois ꝙ ꝰ destructa erit cog
nosat ꝛ se ꝙ ꝺ ad uu ꝙ ꝰ ꝙ ꝰ ꝑmo ꝺi ꝙ ua
factura ꝙ uatur cu ꝺans se habuisse
gnitudine cui occasiona h' ꝙ ꝰ
putabit ꝛ of

mxima diligentia plurii ꝓxz et ꝯpiciosi ali ff
ſ. impsonꝫ et ⁊nc ꝛ

.9.

C Cum volûis hûa amouẽ aquaticꝫ
mulierẽ vis ſiue longinquã ſiue
q̃rinquã tam nobilẽ q̃ ignobilẽ pꝛa matꝝ
die vt nostra vis ſiue in augmẽto ſiue in
Amicie detrimẽto ꝫmo debes habe
rꝛe q̃dam columbã totã albã ⁊ cauã
ſoam de cana fara dñi ast in amouẽ
de qua a hûa leuissimũ et debes cauẽ
q̃ pdcã cauta potatissima ⁊ ad amouẽ
in lusuriosũ dum. Debes acia hûe ca
lamu aquile et in loco occulto accipe
dcam columbã ⁊ cu dentibꝫ mouẽ de ea
q̃nas cauta vt cauagulẽdra. et cu
calamo aqle i dcã cauta cu duo sagine
ſcẽbe nomẽ illiꝫ q̃ vis formã ymagina
mulierꝫ nude ꝙ maligas dicendo formo
talem. N. filiam talis q̃ hûa desiderio habe
istoꝝ sex ꝓnũ calidoꝝ videlꝫ tubal. ga
than. Reuuen. Cupido. Asselon. duliacꝫ.
q̃ ipa me diligat sup oes viuentes istius
mundi q̃ ea ſcẽbe in fiõntẽ nomen illiꝫ et
hoc nomẽ tubal dicendo tu es talis fi
lia talis de tanto ad mea voluntatẽ dispoſi
ta et tu es tubal in fiõntẽ illiꝫ ita iubeo
q̃ manens ligando sanguẽ illiꝫ capitis sui
ad me tmino capientem postea adhuc
ſcẽba in brachio ſilo dexterꝫ gathan et my

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ministro Reuces quibꝫ sꝑtis sic dic sicut
tu sathan & tu Reuces qstis sꝑti in hac y
magine fcm nomen tale gta continuo afflige
tis bñdictis ista sua vt aliqꝫ facie negat
& me simpliciter desideret quo fco iterum
ebapenas cum ymagis nomen tuum dicen
do sicut in cera ista ymagine fusum
tallis. R. die noctuꝫ me in corde suo habeat
quo fco sobe sup vulua ymagis hoc no
men cupido dicendo sic sicut tu cupido
es sup vulua ista ymagis ita semper
mentes sup vulua tallis accendendo ip
sam vt amis nros isto mundi despiciat
& me tm modo cupiat & igni amoris
mei ipam torqueat & inflammet quo fco sa
be in cera dextro afalion. ministro
duliatus quibꝫ sꝑtis dic sicut tu afa
lion. & tu duliate qstis sꝑti in hac yma
gine ita sedeatis in cerebro talis affluge
do cerebra eiꝰ ppt amoris vehemetem
mea & non valeat nec vna desiderare
aliqꝫ nisi huc quibꝫ dictis sacrificet ymā
ymagine ambabꝫ manibꝫ & flexis genu
bus dic sic adtraxi cor & mentem tallis
ad hanc ymagine & pcco mihi iram
tallis fouti q ita me diligat cupiat
& affectet et diem tota nocte i somno
aspiciat & dominu nrm ihesu xpm qui vult

ꝛ vegnat ꝛ ipat matauu quib⁹ dictis
hꝑas muiam ꝛ ſaſſiuanu ꝛ foꝰ ꝛgne
dam ymagine ſuffuiga dicendo hanc
ꝗuocationa Conuuo vos ams dæmo
nas in hac ymagine ſeptos ꝑ dnos
vros dñ obedua tanamini ⁊ ſolueda.
badalam ꝛ lauith. qtue talam cuiꝰ
mago a hꝭ nõa figuata ⁊ amoꝛe meo
accendua debeatis vt die noctuꝙ m
me cogitat m me ſſiat donec tuu affectu
meam ꝙplaũt voluntate ꝛ ſicuꝰ ihac
ymagine ſepti ꝛ fixi aſtricta m ipa
ꝛtinebaris dom da ea facta ꝙꝙ velm
hac ꝛgit ꝗuocatioe ⁊ dca ꝛ fca ſuffuiga
tua hoc cauda pilu cuiꝰdam equi ꝛ
ſuſpenda dam cauda cu duo pilo ita vt
mouear ꝛ abſcinda ꝛ dimitte ſtare illa
vo die vt ſequar vt alia vt qn poſſe
ad illam muliera accedas ꝛ p⁹otul
dubio libentiſſime te videbit dicens
me ta ſtare no poſſe ſi hꝰ habeas
ꝓtinenti ꝛ tuo ſno facies voluntate
ꝛ ſup te ora diliget matu ſuꝰ bene
ſuauiſſ ymagine cui nõa figuata
tam m qua vnq talis exiſtit ymo ꝛ
dicho mag ꝙ ꝗdmodu dñ hꝭ ꝛ ſignm
ſcꝛi vidiſſe ſcripta ſtati fca hac ymagia

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cu fld cam accessus aut de talu filo
capta q du ta vidsit q no vacadas
ab ip9 guttas p uat9 ymo de ami q
volus orat9 habis // ssi vo fidcam no
possis accedus sme timor a aut loci
horas ipam fugientu facie p supra
dcos demones qui ita afflictas sunt
q si essas mortue in una hora ipam
fl ostea su portaret sme alio pculo
similit ve portaret sme aliqua di
mulgatioe et vt sit fca ymago vt
dcm est suspensa illa die m alio hora
die sufflas in ipa ita q flatu tuo mo
ueatur et similit sacida die et tcia die
in nocte vo ip9 dies tcij vt acta ipa
dna solg ut cu turbg sociis fidelibg accipe
dctam ymagine et cu illo pulo tuga ipam
fld collu tuu et pandat impactor e tibi
et haas dm dam ensem in tua fac cu
culum cu deo ansa foo cu tulo stans mtg
vota socio si haas qui nichil faciat ni
si q m cultulo sedeant et ludu videant
quos si no habuis q mali et haas si
tum fugiu et cu ta cultu sub
vt hic fuerit cu silentio sanp no foo

Conuoco vos demones in hoc cereo
lo sculptos quibo data est potestas a
potestate ducendi et alligandi multos
in amore vivos per virtutem potestatis
ministratis diuine et per thronos et
dominationes et potestates et principatus
illius qui dixit et facta sunt et per illos qui no
cessant clamare una voce dicentes
sanctus sanctus sanctus dns deus sabaoth pleni sunt
celi et terra gloria tua osanna in excelsis

Benedictꝯ qꝫ venit in nomine dñi ℔sanna in
excelsis Et ꝑ hoc nota ꝓpheta et
t̃a mentia vos. ſz. v̄atum. ſampſy. de
ſuan. Wulo. dñonoth. Malochui. ga
tola. Gelbid. Maſaſiy. newtm. z lo
dni. Et ꝑ Anulu iſtu qui hic t Et
ꝑ innumabiles poſtea veſtꝝ ſa ma
ro2 vno ꝑ qꝫ vbiqꝫ ſitꝰ deloꝰ vnꝰ
ſue mota ſuggatꝰ ac ſi dꝫ dolem ꝓv
gatꝰ z ſtatim ſua fallacia ipam huc
ducatꝰ z eu voluerio ipam vꝫ vota
vitꝰ z de hoc nemo ſanctat vt ꝑpendat
Qua dca t vſus Anulu ſi ꝑicendo du
das quidem vocem dicentꝫ Et nos
ſumꝰ z ſtatim eos videbis ſex domitꝫ
los ſulcatores z mitas tibi ſade vo
ca dicentes Aſſumꝰ hic ꝓvati tibi
ꝓpitiꝰ benigne Dic igit q vis z ſtꝫ
tim ſubito faciemꝰ tu ſiut dicꝰ ea
tꝰ ſi dꝫ talem z michi ipam ſine mota
ducatꝰ quib dictꝰ ſubito recedent
ſinta ꝑtam ipam ſine leſione ꝑtta
but Et ſcias q nullo ipoꝝ poteꝰ
mig vꝫ di cultum ſi ipam Apparat
Apud ipm z ipa ꝓvigat tibi ma
nu z mtꝫ ipam tꝫ his q Aliquatulu
aſt Autonica tamen vult libentiſſime

totu sow Docto ata te q̃ nto mouo
ciculu facas melꝰ t tibi q̃ m eo pot
facie ciculu x m ipo melꝰ extandere
si em ꝑ alicꝰ tui esset vltra sign̄ autu
ꝛ malum esset tibi vetꝫ ita q̃ mulie
ꝛ oms ꝓ euasset ꝓotes eni vetinere
hanc mulierē m̄ dco ciculo q̃ntu ti
bi plat ꝙ tu mulier m gradit ciu
culu dicere debes illis q̃tuor vñ
vñ in vadat adloc tu ꝙ tale ꝙ pon
tauistis x m̄ forma ibidem maneat
donec ipam hic habuo. His dictis amnes
abiert tu silencio tu aut illa die ac noc
te ac mane ac ano q̃n tibi placuit
ꝙ ipam ad domu voluis reuertere
dic sic dm vos ꝓte qui tale huc duxistis
accipite ipam x addomu sua pducte
et quotiet ipam reuoluero ipam sine
mi pondo subtracti detegit ꝙ eu
minuas valeas ꝑ m affabilit exeu
cinini quibꝫ tu dictis verat q̃n que
ꝓte qui dam te vidente portabut. De
inde tu in ipa egrediet ciculu indi
cando vale tenga ipam tu ymagine
ꝙ habes ad collu ꝙ manu ꝙ pacta
diliget x nemine ꝓt te vndeua cuida
bit ymagine semp tenn q tu mulier

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mouetur ad collu ut nouacula dolues ꝙ semp
ipi mulieri inuisibilis appet ꝛ cu ipa
fabricauit dissolue ipm ad collu tuo ꝛ rogida
ut asculu diligent ꝛ tonde ꝛ ipa rade
dita dilue uotu cultellu ꝛ secu ꝙ age
dauid ꝛc q̃n ita ad ea ut uolui
facilius desup dom q̃ ꝛc nō ꝙ exqui
mancu q̃ efficatissimu ꝛ mō nullu
preciu q̃ quo solo exprimeto salomo
habeat assecuꝙ mulieres uolebat ꝛc
hō dea sufficiant q̃ habendi mulieribꝫ
ꝛ debeat fieri ei sollēpnitatibꝫ matri
mi ꝛ q̃

Ego de habendo amore mulieru
uolo tibi legaue aute q̃ latissima
adobtinendu dignitate ꝛ honorem
tati ꝛ maxima mouiuptabilita di
uictione ad age ut ad plato suadno
ꝛ generalit ad q̃cuꝙ uno uolui
mo ire heas duos lapides molles
ad mitta ita facilis ut superficies
ipo plane ꝛ q̃ cordeat quo feo in
uno sculpes forma illi ꝙ uolui
em incipiendo ad q̃ite deinde usꝙ
ad pedes faciendo ymo ante ante
riora deinde posteriora sculpendo
ante cauona in capita sinu ꝛ ꝛ sic

sm dignitate qua sculpita formabis m
llo eadē lapide apud alium formā tuā
figuratā q̄ melius scies mapiendo fac
ta vt dem ap̄ Apuleio Antiochi
dende Atargo q̄ubus fas sēbarfiota
mo mora sigilli nomē illius ac tua
nomē tuū q̄uo foo Iuna circūstante die
dnica mā hora diei hoc signū
suc stagnū ac adigna decola q decola
to q̄cias m formā illius dicādo sic ego
talis volens talem gratiam. abtinere
hoc veneror sanc honorē similiu
tūi formā ymagine fecim ac sculp
tam noie ad virtutē cuius me pau
pare diligat vltra modū q̄a foa ha
bet stilū faciē ac mā frontē sul
cat hoc nomē dyatam mpectore ac
cat tuā noiā. s. Iumeon. t mias ac
pectus ac mpectulis hec sex noia vi
delic Adam. Fabni. gabel. Danā. P.
Ometoth. at ohariaoth. et mumbluco
hoc noma Byriaoth q̄ubo scptis hec
sanū lineis candidissimis ac hac ymagi
nem ipam mvolua q̄ mvoluta bine ve
tondas. Deo Iouis mā hora diei
foo ingne cola similis stagnū ac mtua for
ma ipm mfunde dicendo ego talis for
mo ymagine mea ac fidmea similitudi

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nō qua ego famꝰ domineꝰ tali ꝛ ab ipo
diligaꝰ ꝛ timeaꝰ meꝝ nū ꝙua forma
vel similit̄ in alio lapide mutata volueꝝ
a fabricatōe du q ymago illi⁹ cui⁹ vis gra
tiam obtineaꝰ debet ad longitudinis
pedis vni⁹ semissi cu sculpit̄ in ipo lapi
de qui actu lapis tanto debet ad q ymā
mago tue tria pedū ymaginis illi⁹ debe
at ad menou ꝛ alia in ymagine tua iij
debes imponi scriptu quib⁹ fias alib⁹ di
ligat ut dem a ingressu die veneris
ꝙma hora ad suffuga ymagine illi⁹ ad
finitu horu ꝛ romanicu scilicet cinamo
mi. gariofili longi ꝛ herba fragmania di
cendo sic ego talis exorizo te ymagi
nem talis formata in cera alicui ho
mis ꝛ individua trinitate ꝛ p oms chiō
nos dominaciones potestates ꝛ principa
tus ꝛ oēm exercitū ꝛ p tui virtute obti
nea gratiam ꝛ amoꝝ talis cui⁹ noie fce
ris quib⁹ tu dixis sic q fauas dyabo
con. pumeon. tarmines. pipaos. ofi
dam. falm. gabal. doidayl. vmeloth.
traisoth. at bruioth. ꝑ benignissim
ꝛ potentissimu semina tas ego talis cu
stantia magna vos deprecor voti supli
co vos rogito ꝙ mittat dei filiu qui sui
sanguinis affusione humanu genꝰ mortis
um suscitauit ut ꝑ hac ymagine forma

tam noie taliꝝ ꝝm uxta me taliꝫ aliqa
tꝰ ut me ſuꝑ oms mortales ueñat nil
qua ꝙ meq̃ſan ſu diſcandat ꝫ maiſſamp
ꝑ uañs ꝓceptib⁹ mthi ſtudeat ꝯplacꝫ
re ꝙ pauꝫ dñm nr̃m ihm xp̃m qui uiuit ꝫ
regnat m̃ſeculꝫ ſeculoꝝ ꝙ ame ⁊ qua oꝝ
dea ſcipa tua ymagine ꝫ ipſam mdextra
tuaas. Aham ꝙ aut m̃ſimſtra ꝫ iugalla
tua ſic dicdo tam ſubiecit ꝑtos notat
gantaſ ſubpedib⁹ nris ⁊ uo deo haas
ſ̃uida ꝯtanula fauida ꝫ ꝙdcollu ipiꝰ
ymagiſ liga ꝓnedo aliud ꝯapudima
nu dexta tua ymagiñ ⁊ uo poſito bn
ligato ita ſic dicaſ ſicut tu ymago fou
mata noia talia as ſubpedita ꝫ liga
ta mea ymagiñ ꝙta talis mataꝛnu
ſic mthi pauit ꝙalligato quo deo ꝯapiaſ
cu tuiſ manib⁹ ambaſ mang ymagiñ
ꝫ uatio flattans dicdo ligo ꝑ hanc
ymagiñ manꝰ talis ꝙ manꝰ dꝰ ꝑ
mo illam uim haant ꝙtra me. flecta
cata ꝑ dea ymaginiſ ꝯapiat ⁊ ſo triam
ſic dicdo ſicut ymago hat ſta noie tal
manꝰ cota me flexa cauilla ꝙta talis
nuſ ꝙ mei uolutate diſcadat ꝑ me
ꝙtinuꝫ ſaqual ꝫ mthi ſamꝑ ſ̃uiat
ꝫ ma mataꝛnu diligat ſup oms ma
ueneꝛat ꝫ mthi ſtudeat ꝙlaudare
⁊ uo deo ſacdo ſampꝑ ſuffuga. ꝙcipe

tua ymagine & fac ipi ponat alia ita
q̃ de cetu tangat humeru tua ymagi
& pendo sic dicas sicut hec ymago fra
& habita nare tal stat ap̃d ista ymagine
fcas nisi mar cu maxima subiectione
ita talis sit subtus & subiect mihi
dare ista ymagines fuint & seruata
quilo dns mvolue ipas vt dem a m
q̃dem alio lintheolo mundissimo aſſ mvo
lutas m̃q̃dam vasculo pone & cla pon
ta pcinctas & corda cingentia & mha
bitaculo cingi potas & hoc facta debes
q̃ tota diem in seruo aut debes sepelli
ra has ymagines in tali loco & ita m
fide ut rdquiant & videbis mirabilia
si aut corda ipo aut cingl habitaculu
ꝑa no valeas sub tunica vt dem ap
ipas vbiq; tibi placz & alibi po sup
dne diligenter hoc dni experimentu vsq;
fuit p̃mandas ad regis p̃sentia q̃ ibi
dam obtinedam ad faciedu odium vt diligere
Ad faciē
sū odiū
re dili
gēter
Re stat etia vt de odio & inimicicia mt
m̃ta diligentes ponere ꝓtuentem cingit
mtas duos vnos sua mulieres & sue ma
sculu & femias sanandas volunt inimi
cicia ad odiu capitale Nacessa a vob hc
cipias duos lapides vnios & rdato des
vni ꝓpondat q̃ debet de flumine & alt
mi vno debes sulpnd & nona mi de hiis

noib⁹ ⁊ tutelay. ⁊ omalel. ⁊ solui ⁊ gratiaro.
et in alia nomia altri⁹ ⁊ hec noia. ſ. puzani.
ymaton. ſolfitoy. ⁊ mamsatou. ila noia
sunt valde ſa odientia filio⁹ ſculptis uni ui
delitat. illu⁹ q fes apt noia illi⁹ adoꝛ ſubia
nua ad⁹ limita ſubtauita ſ potas. ſi ſunt
no ſepelias ſub limtz tui⁹ dn̄ dom̄ habi
tatz et ſimlr alia ſub limtz altri⁹ vt dem
et vt ſub tui⁹ dem dom̄ vt ſuꝰ ſcptu a et
et ibi ꝛtaue ꝓmittas ſapta diebus ⁊ ſepta
noctib⁹ ⁊ no fcā ſancta ſolſouitu ramoꝛ
ab ⁊ mlotu ocultu ambas facias ⁊ ꝛpas
mi ꝛgna ꝛtias ſic dicendo Conuoco vos ſpt
rimtiſſimos ꝓtaui dei glam q ꝛt talem
⁊ talem quoꝝ noia hic milli⁹ lapidibus
ſculpta gemant quatu odiu intꝛ vos
et tm mtaꝝ ꝛpos ſaluatis ⁊ mſeꝛuatis ⁊ bus
taꝝ dictis ꝛpo lapides deigne aſſeꝛuas ſic
dicendo cu ꝛtaſcat ſuꝝ corp⁹ m nos fouſi
tan aqua absoꝝbuiſſet nos ⁊ no dco pina
mus ꝛpos in aqua frigidiſſia ⁊ mi ꝓtaue
ꝓmitta ſeruando calo tuꝫ diebus ⁊ noctib⁹
iuuto q̄ tuc dia ſtcipias ꝛpos ⁊ ſuffuigia
cu fumo ſulphuris dicendo ſic Conuoco vos
om̄s demoas odioſos ⁊ malignos ſpiꝰ
⁊ diſcordes ꝓmitate ſci et pacifici mate
tis in ꝓpe ⁊ filio ⁊ ſpi ſco. at ꝓpitate
dim creatoꝝ ⁊ q om̄s ſcos ⁊ ſcas dei et q
hac ſta noia virtute quoꝝ dominatoꝝ
ſup celu ⁊ tꝝam ⁊ fouꝛmatiue dignat. ſ. ſa.

Sabaoth. Iehyn et Abacal. et q̄ oms vigor
z diatoni ꝯ mfm̄i et q̄ hec nomia demoniu
videliz. Apolyn. gabel. Astaroth. Iaweol.
salmosu. et tyndoca. q̄ tue ꝯ̄ntui adiuuy
mꝰ vos exigit z ꝯ̄ntu mꝰ boaym z Abac.
fuit tm mꝰ tala z tala p̄tinḡ mseruatis
Attendita ita q̄ ipos z talis m flamet
q vnꝰ Altꝛ vidaꝝ no valeat ymo vno
liquu m̄ mnuabli odio vabellis affli
gat r̄ amouear fabiis ois amoꝝ dilatio
fiat̄nitas z copiago admimitia Ac oe
odiū maxmu quotant quibꝰ tam deꝰ
suffragando ipos samp̄ vetade. nostre
bo faquati calidao dos lapides simul at
vnu sup valiquu p̄tas sic dtado no col
lido l os lapides. ymo calido tala z tala
quoꝝ noia hic sculpta sut q vnꝰ Altꝛ
ꝯtinuo affligat z imitigabili odio sa
dm̄uita de catuo cutiet z sic fatibꝰ
sm̄gula nocta z sm̄gula die tam q aliqs
dias z vdebis stati siue audies q mi
mici affligiet z se odiet duo z vnꝰ Altꝛ
vidaꝝ no valet Sriani odio ipos disui
gere vole z volds vnu fabalto disiga
re z vnꝰ Altꝛ fugiat fatibꝰ hoc modo
Sumpta die sabbati Ante solis ortu dece
stanta luna z maxima quado a mo
bustane z nō ꝑsp solis ortu fatiae.
Hyma sca hiabs dos lapides illuc tatu

Patos & fouit ipos fadmuita fuica pulsan
do vnu sup fltaꝝ sic dicdo no cohdo has
lapides & o. dcs tuu sepelias q volus
demde vcada & vsq occidentē vfadeꝝ ibi
fac fouea & alia ibi sepelias dicdo sic
sicut dfiuxi hos lapides rta talis & talis
fa disiungat fitah & appoitet sint sicut
ipi lapides & uo sepulto rcedes & vide
bis illos disiungi & vnu fbalteo sup
hoc am exymatu occultandu aſ q
mappabitis m eo vnto qxistit nullu
am vamedin mvat & an ipi disiugatuu
& se movdatit odiat & tu vo volue fd
una fticia vamathu & desepeliedi sut
dci lapides & mfouna ponedi q bu
cocti minutissia tant & ipos cu fqua
fdmuita impelsta & sicdm promitte q uo
sicdato fluis aq pcias dicendo tolla
tuu ois mimicia & iuꝝ q fuit mt tale
& tale & mamore & stinu vaucu tat
pmiam pij dei qui no vcepit malicias
pcoꝝ fmeas & scias q ph stat q su
gunt & ois iuꝝ tollit & pstina pfac
fuu tuu

Tam qua m tua cuiꝝ vidisti ma
tacens exclue videlz fdquocadu
dqui fcuos pximo delz ficui mvocatio
xv. pcuum pot modo pximo ext villa
dalas fcedeua luna discalceadie pons

Ut dia dñica m meridie debes tecu ferre
ensem lucidissimu Quem vsque ad cu
dd ense m quoda remoto loco facias cu
culos ad ipos fias cu acie p dcm ensis sol
ra debes. xvj. hora ut m fiat Appelbit
illa figura quibs fas debes figere versus
orientem m mtzuroui ciculo dem ensem
ut hic ostendit demonstrat

tarionū tuū tulo ⁊ in quo tu stauc debes
uo stō genib⁹ flexis ⁊ respiciendo uer
sus orientē et capiendo dicē ense ⁊ am
bab⁹ manib⁹ sicut ⁊ faciās ymnū.
dicendū. tamdiu. masdiu. symoniū.
Rodobayl. tantatos. lotabou. demo
niū. tamasin. leutabel. tamasou. ⁊ ymnū.
ipius rotundissimi ylarios ⁊ gaudentes
ego talis vos adiuuo ⁊ precor ⁊ fm ap
ostm stm ⁊ filiū uniti dei potentissimi ui
ui ⁊ uiui qui ppt nos ⁊ nrām salutē
descendit de celis ⁊ incarnatus ⁊ de spu
sco ex pura ⁊ intacta ac incorrupta
ta uirgine maria ⁊ pro nra ⁊ passio
na ac resurrectione dñi nri ihesu xpi filii
dei uiui ⁊ ipsum lauacrū baptismatis q̄
ipsi⁹ saluat ⁊ ipsole ⁊ luna ⁊ omnia
sidera celestia ⁊ ipsa illa q̄ hnt uos
tantū ⁊ ⁊ spūngere. ⁊ uirtute quo⁹
dnos uotantib⁹ optat ⁊ cte de q̄tus
huc sīa mora fld me uenire debeatis
in forma mīti placida ⁊ rotunda pa
cta ⁊ q̄ q̄ dictam ⁊ una dcā duodecies ui
delz ymo quat⁹ ipsus orientē. sdo quat⁹
ipsi⁹ meridiē. ⁊ tcio quat⁹ ipsi⁹ occidentē
⁊ ultimo ⁊ ultimo quat⁹ ipsi⁹ aquilonē
portando semp ensem in manu et ei

dñs ihūs xp̃us figendo sanp̃ ppm q̃libet
loco. Deinde pone vbi ꝑmo dñat dca qui
ſtatio ut dñi a ꝯua dca sanp̃ genibus
flexis retro volua te ꝑ sua dñia tene
do ñr̃ ensem ꝑmanu dextera ꝯ ſacri
ficando vppugnam ꝑ ſiniſtra ſic dicas
Adsta mihi ꝑ noſtra ꝑ ſe veníre fidu
cia ego ꝑ ſalute vobis ꝑacta
dei gratia ſuman ꝯua dca sanct volue te
cu ense ac vppugna ꝑ ſq occidere ac vide
bis xvj. milites datorios ꝑ ſtipendiarios ſq
tibi dñant votaſti nos ꝑ ſalute veniſſe
ꝑ ſalua ſubiecti ꝑacta ſalua ꝑ vis ppm ti
bi ſum mobediendo pati cu ſalute dicas
Adsta mihi vidi ꝑ ſalutem vitam ꝑ ſortia ut
ſalutem mansas cu discubatibꝫ multis
cu mundiciis ñr̃is qui tibi vacat
debuit libent valla face Et ſtati vident
domicilli multi ſalutatos mansas tui
pedis manutergia ꝑ ſalia neceſſaria
post hec vident nobiliſſia genera qui dis
cumbant ꝑ ꝑcantrices ibidem ſaltatrices
ꝑ ſalutatrices ñr̃ia cibaria ꝑ ſtudio
ſa cantꝫ melodias ꝑ tripudiatrices videbis
ꝑ ludos ñr̃os. Et ſcias q illi duode ci
no diſcedent ſta ſtantes ſalutd ciuita
tes ꝑ exercitꝰ ꝑ tactu loquentes ꝑ vnde
cim alia ſtipa q̃ ad tua dcillis diſcuben
tibꝫ ſalutd ciuitates vident tue regie.

rogatus te ut ei ipse omnes ui vadas et ei
respondebis te aliquo modo posse discede
re quibus dies ipi subito addictabit rei
tantē diantas dos de ciuitate te mouet
re nouella qs audies qbus dies mitte
tibi ex una quarum de qualibz dape
de qua seruie gmedas 2 de ipa poui
gra illis. xvj. apud ciuitatu stantibz ipi
aria de ea gmadent. post hoc videbis
cum samans discedere 2 ondere qs
ascendere. et domu ons atuis otulis
aumebut ptauillos. xij. qui stantes
coua te dicent no na placuit tibi ludo
rum quibz ty hillarit undabis qp sic et
fca rappōsione. ipi petent gte uppupa
qtinuo tpudebit qp mutu qs quibz
eu sic dices volo vobis uppupa dare
ri uultis admo uane facredo hoc
pudu quoties michi placuit qui dicet
se esse ruine patos quos tibz qnda
facias apparere qp subito apparebunt
et ipso hoc mo uultis facies ura
mq oms duodecim hoc facto libro
illu deu uiuu et uez qui nos 2 omia
creauit 2 qp nos quos timem? ac
adorem? 2 qp legem qm obseruam?
Ad ta sme nouā ueniue qtiescuq
uocaueris nos 2 mortas qui fac

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sit ⁊ adhuc melius vt vidisti et stari vult
but et tu viuere debes dissimula
quia tu habuit ita petat hostia ter
dandi quib⁹ debes hoc modicum pgit
q̄ affectatis studere ⁊ apostasiam
mihi quidicat esse tibi detecto obliga
tos hinc das habent similit ⁊ tu agnede
ra de cultibus ⁊ ipos abolebis vt nullo
appetat ⁊ tuu ensem ferendo vacuadas
Deias igit attendere q̄ vitupa mag
ne virtutibus ⁊ nigmaticis ⁊ demonas
mvotatib⁹ q̄ qua q̄ rpa multa vti
mur m sidria tutelam Cui ni clam
aut palam aut vbiuq̄ rpos sdre vi
de volues reprimas m libro suscriptos
cultulos ⁊ figuras legendo submissa voce
nota mihi existat quibus inspectis
⁊ sanct lectis legehat humanitod semel.
Pyrnalow. Damasin. Lamaru. Basaru.
Simosow. Rodobail. Tantacos. Lotabow.
Hemow. Tamasin. Zeugabow. Tata
mosan. Saubaru. Belutabel. Rimasow.
et Sruama Rogo vos quitio ⁊ adiuuo
adeas vam maiestate vt hic vanitas
patratis subditos vros q̄ apponant
huc cubicula et primo tale ⁊ talem
faciat pulcherrimu septu cu rotis
cantibus. choreis. ⁊ tripudiis ⁊ gd

nevalle tu amib⁹ qui ⁊ tu stabib⁹ cu⁹da letifi
cat. ⁊ qua semel lecta fuledissimu⁹ ueient
domitalli ⁊ antias mansias ⁊ pulchriimas
⁊ nib⁹ gratis audias tubas. ⁊ cytaulas ⁊
cantib⁹ m nuos cu ani alta voce dicas
⁊ ⁊ouitata aqua stati ⁊ ⁊ouitabit ⁊ si
milit⁹ fauant⁹ aqua ⁊ stati fauuit⁹ ⁊ et
quit ⁊ m cauna ⁊ dappi fari aptia seu
uientes ⁊ domitalle pulchriime ⁊ mlt⁹
antias fatietas m nuabilia sollacia ⁊
potas fatis ⁊ ⁊ouitauit si tibi placz impia
drioni mille maneries q valde ⁊ ji ult⁹
modu sapiat comedentib⁹. ⁊ dabes ita ⁊
seruabo quato magis gmedit multo plꝰ
fames sout ⁊ ⁊ ⁊ouauent⁹ sicut dapes tri
no sut existat ita ⁊ si famelicꝰ milis
⁊ssat cuadas illis dapibus satauit ut si
no gmedeuet qual dubio mouauet. ⁊
⁊ si uolueris ludu destruere dic ut
mansias accipiat ⁊ tibi accepti statim
mesas cum ⁊stantas ibida pma nebut
quos si uoles cantare aut sonare aut
dmne ludu facere dic sic fiat ⁊ uidebis
affectu qm hij sut ⁊ ludi ⁊ omis sola
cij qui facies omia dca sibi ⁊ tu uolue
ris ipos alios dic sic ⁊ uos oms dece
dite ⁊ qties uos uocabo ad me omi ca
remota ⁊ gantis ⁊ qui respondebit libe
rissime faciem ⁊ et ipis uerbis oms

exiuerint de hac vita stupentes et hu fini
tiu⁹ sue illa q̄ a quasi apud hodiernos ig
notel quam matheus hippanus totaliter
ignorauit ⁊ cū expīmta sōmossitia ad⁹uo
candu ꝑt ut homo fiuant ap̄ere cast⁹
pulchrimu ⁊ fultitu sue ad⁹uocandu
ca⁹ ⁊ ut una in nu ne⁹ ass legiones
⁊ aliam alia experientia ad⁹uocandum
ꝑt ut homo fiant ap̄arere castrū
pulchrimu ⁊ fultitu sue adpuoctandum
animatoy inuas legiones q̄ leuit⁹ sicut
ꝑt ⁊ mtuā alia pulchrimu uapurat. Da
de ꝑmo luna. 10. seno calo ex⁹ vllam
ad aliq̄ loca segregatu ⁊ sanctu pontas
tetu lac ⁊ mel de q̄ ꝑ flue ⁊ ap̄gedde
⁊ discalciato nudo cāpte genibo flexis
Vsq̄ occidate sic lege. vsyu. Saldul.
Silitow. Damow. Zamno. Syutwoy. Rus
bel. Cutwoy. Zytoy. Dnow. Holoy. Pu
motow. tami. Dow. Zym. Spo Awmi
dow ab q̄ u ⁊ anma deffuncta ⁊ vbiqu
q̄ vultis sensue humano decipe ego talis
vos ymuo ⁊ exorcizo ⁊ mvoco q̄ vtem
⁊ situ ⁊ nom sem que sca trinitas nu
cupat ⁊ q̄ creatoꝛ celi ⁊ tre ⁊ visibi
liu om ⁊ mvisibiliu. et q̄ illu⁹ q̄ hoiem
de limo tre formauit. et q̄ eum incarna
one dni nri ihu xp̄i. et q̄ eius natiuita
te. ⁊ q̄ eius morte ⁊ passione. et q̄ eius
resurrectione ⁊ q̄ eius ascensione ⁊ tam

ego quinq; vos oms ꝓnoiatos ꝑ dnoms
ꝙpiam & miserit ow dissiam & mtamata ꝑ
mcorrupta virgine maria matre dñi
nri ihu xpi q̃ q̃ miseris ꝓcordib9 mouetur
ꝙsumas nos ꝺ adorare ꝓstrata venerant
& ego quinq; vos sup dos ꝑ ꝙ oms
dos & sctos dei & ꝙ oms ꝙtos & sanctas
confessores virgines & viduas & ꝙ hec
ꝓcessia fac mcffabilia nota oim ꝺ
bonis q̃bꝰ omes ligami & q̃ tenent oia
celestia terrestria & infernalia. ē. ā. ā. ely.
sother. adonay. col. sabaoth. ꝙ essyas.
ysazabula. & osion & ego quinq; vos & qꝫ
ꝓtigo ꝙnutute & potestia oim ꝙmtapu ve
gu dnoꝝ & maiorꝝ vwoꝝ & ꝙ virtute & pos
sibilitate ac potestia vitam & ꝙ hanitatulu
vum cuiusq; & fortuna. & ꝙ oms figas m
ipo ꝙmanetas
vos i solubilis
potestam
gam ad
mesme
ipsola
bion &
vanas
debeas
tis mta
li habitu
vt me
aliqlit
no tiranis

Jesus
Nazarenus

Rex Judeorum

+ Agla + Messias + Sother + Emanuel + Adonay + Sabaoth + Alpha + Omega +

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subiecti & pari facē. Ho demōstrāre mihi
ora q̄ volueris & hoc facē debeatis & vi
lit ꝓ ora q̄ mōtes & montia mouebit. q̄ q
lecta semel vsus ostendit. Simulac
vsq; mane dixit. Surgite & flagellate & flagellan
do videbis q̄ tinnula q̄mitina tuba sit
aut to⁹ vsus te venerit q̄ qui p̄mittet
tibi q̄dam scutiferū dicere q̄ illi fidē
ueniunt q̄s votasti cū dicēs sic vade
fidēos & dic ipis vt mihi q̄dicōe fid
me veniant vt nullū timeas sed securꝰ
p̄mittas cū ipis. Quo dō stati fideos
videbit qui post modicū in tonitruū ve
nient fidē q̄ubꝰ visis unde ois hoc tu
tulit stati hūc cultulū qui hē multū ꝓ
.ih. dēmones pellendi ut p̄mittat
q̄ ipi fugiant dicentes securꝰ quidē
petā q̄m ꝓnos tibi erno fiet. q̄ubꝰ tut
dicas q̄ristū suū cultulū talis debeant
q̄ sacrificē vt q̄ntuꝰ ipm fugere vota
do ipos fidē debeant velotat veue ēt
ꝓficiēs debentes illud facē q̄ ē mipis nā
tural stilitz faciēdi fugauere fortiludis
& dicat tu fouebis & tu intrudis fugatos
q̄ dicit hoc facē velle. q̄ubꝰ poterūt
libri & videbis q̄libꝰ ipoꝝ sup ipm mā
nū ponere & aliqua vba loqui q̄ no
intelliges. Hoc fec ipm tibi restituent
q̄ restituto rogabut te vt ipos fugat
p̄mittas q̄ fata nō possūt nisi hec tria
petita q̄ubꝰ dicas facta hic casꝰ vt vi

deam vñi efficaria ꝙui ſtati ciuꝯa te capciui
catiet eu mltis alijs ñ medio cuiꝰ capciui
te videbis ⁊ ibidem mltitu maxima mlti
tudo tñ iſti quñdiu ſte diſcedere non
valebut. poſtq̃ hui⁹ hore ſpaciu tñ vo
ſabut vt ſte diſcedere poſſint ꝙuib⁹dic
ſtote mihi ſati dies tres hut ciuꝯtuli
ſtitia vocando vos ⁊ ſubito vocatis
ui ñ valebut ſta vere ꝯtinuo ꝙuo dc
ſtis vt videant ꝙtuꝰ ne deſideꝛent
et tut ludus totalit deſtruet ⁊ nullꝰ ibi
dem ſtabit hiis ſtis domu vñeꝛ cuſto
diendo libuꝝ tñ mquo vuꝰ totalis exi
ſtit ꝙuido vo ani pulchrime ſtte voluꝝ
op⁹ ſtpiciat⁹ tiuꝯtuli legendo noia mtipli
cando ſtboꝝta ſic dicas ꝯ vſyu. ſalſaul.
ſilicol. ſamoꝝ. ſarmo. ſyutuby. ſi
ſtal. cutuby. ſytoy. ſnoꝝ. ſoloy. ſumi
otoꝝ. ſamy. doꝝ. ym. voto vos vt hui⁹ve
ꝛꝛꝛe debeatis ſtꝰ ſecutione hui⁹ tiuali ſq̃
ſigna vꝛa ꝓmidnat ⁊ mihi malꝰ iſtis ſp
ꝓuꝛa ſtatis caſtꝝ fortiſſmu cuꝰ
fundis foueis ⁊ militu ⁊ pedittu cum
maxia comitiua ⁊ ſubito videbit ibi ꝯ
pulchꝛ ſtuꝝ ꝯ aliꝰ neceſſaꝛiis ꝙuod ſi vis mgre
mu di potis. ꝙ ꝯtinuo miles tetu ſtabit cui
ac ꝙ voles ſtpaꝛeꝛe papias ⁊ fieri fac
ri ſtm ſanct ego hanc ſtta qꝛentui
ꝛem cu ꝓmptitudꝰ ꝙ intri nobiles comi
tabit ꝙui venado ꝓ q̃da obſcuꝛa ſilua
ꝓ ualiano ⁊ huc modu tenui ꝑmo m
ꝓgꝛi tiuꝯtuli vocãdo ſup̃ deos damones
ut ꝙ ꝯtinuo q̃da miles tetu ſtabit

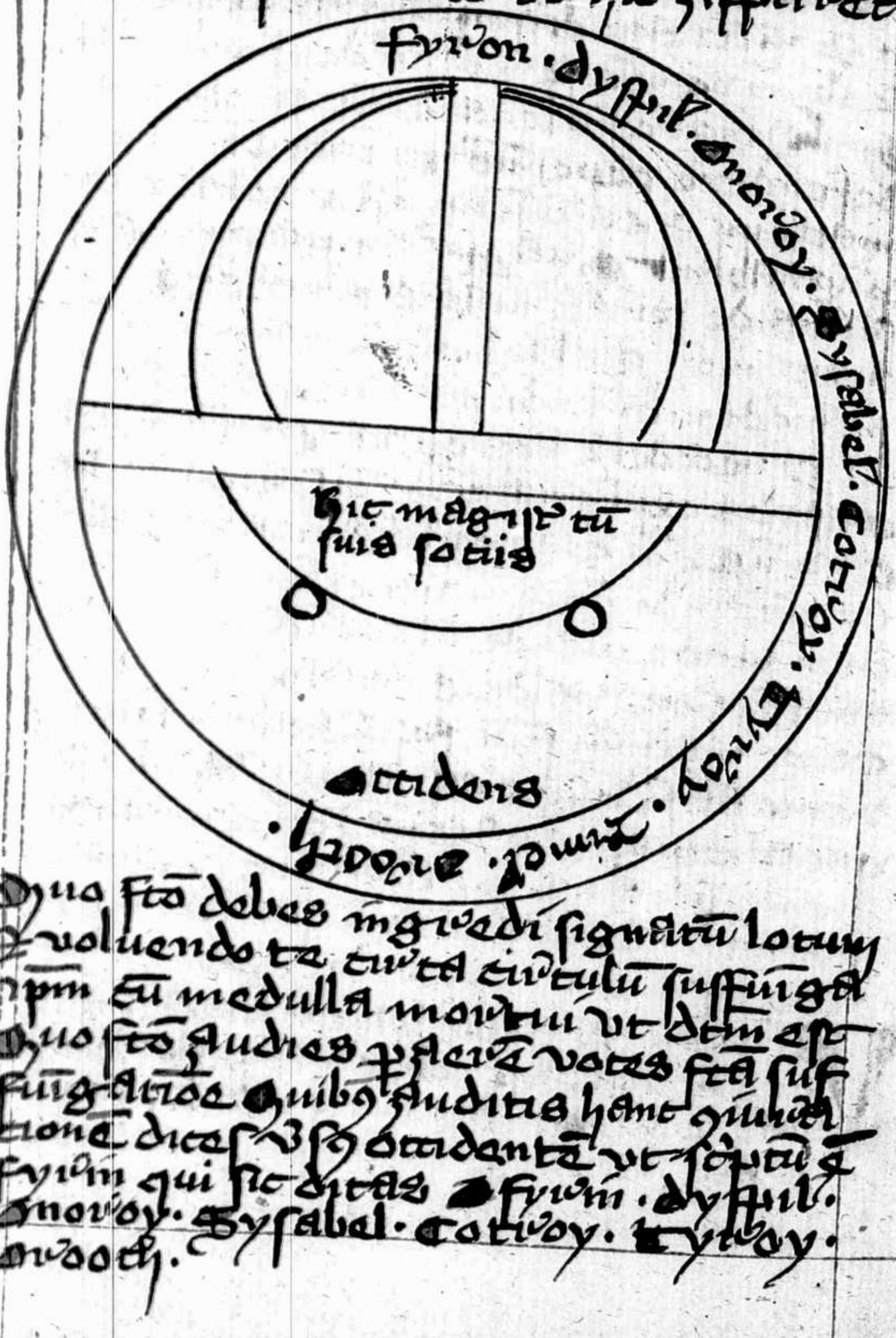
BSB

qlana voce dr tut stati venit ad me qdam
patricius miles q nullo pacto me valebat
appetere q ad me dixit Ego sum vnus de
vestris amicis q ab aliis ad te missus qui
nomen habeo salut. Cui respondi q tibi placz
quod tu stati fiat Cui dixi volo vt appetere
via facias istis vna legione armatorum qui
imperator et alii sacu stantes ipos tuebat
assa v. balistas qui dixit sum a do tut om
comites imperatow et alia vexerunt
ver q aquilone et allonga videbut vos
sue ipos varia et acutu et militu mu
merabila multitudine aquib vn discer
sit. et sute magne hore statim venit
ad imperatore tm medo dicens Dne im
perator ecce videte gentes sme numero
qui cont vos veniut ruentes vos et
omnes vos comites mavi tuadebe et vos
dnie interficere. Quo audito imperator
et comites tuti q debuerut fuge nesci
bat et int in ipi pte fuge quebat quos
imperator et alij videntes et audientes
hoc o mstruma tm timentes fuge tunc
capere ut et isti sequentes ipos et fugita
do vna voce clamabat fuge no pote
stis hodie morte Et tut ego dixi.
Et aut. facta imperatore et suos
unus captiu mirabilissimu comitu q im
perator et alij ingredient et fom e tut
fom ast tutissimu captiu comitu cum
tutibus et foueis desse pote q vide

Lacopia epistole ad stipendarios dispendarios damantibus a dna imperatrice mandata et tuis patriis festinabat quin primitiuenerit mihi quo videbant ad famulitii mei amici imperatoris existimabant se ibi mansisse se virilis defendentes. Quibus insidias leuauerit pontes ac se defendere coperunt et ut illi per tumultum et castra incendia totaliter ac fugabant. Via qua imperator et filius sui valde territi magis timebat et ut dixit mihi Balaul. no hemo potentia hic manendi morandi nisi uno quadrante ita precedere nos optat et ut recesso castro et expugnatas ipsi recedentibus castra et ita euaserunt imperator et filius sui et ut viderunt et inuenerunt se in quadam plata quidde ut palude de q ad inuidi sunt valde. Quibus dixi negotium ex hoc maximum fuit festu et ad cautelam ramadas de foro cauimus. Quibus sq quota ad exercitia et tenta fori ostamento sub uno tecto nisi uno q diuente duuidente potest nisi diuidet unu q diuite unot

Vbicuq si possis habere nauta mqua tu et quibuscuq uoles quinq seruire dabo tibi nunc de luna ipsa die luna uesperi ad altu seruitiu. r. seruano solo sub mi loco remoto et seruetetu mam

Costam hois siue mulieris mortui quam
primo actueris debes et facta cu ipsa linea
ua has figuras cu nomib⁹ aliis onib⁹
tentis in ipo circulo vt hic apparet



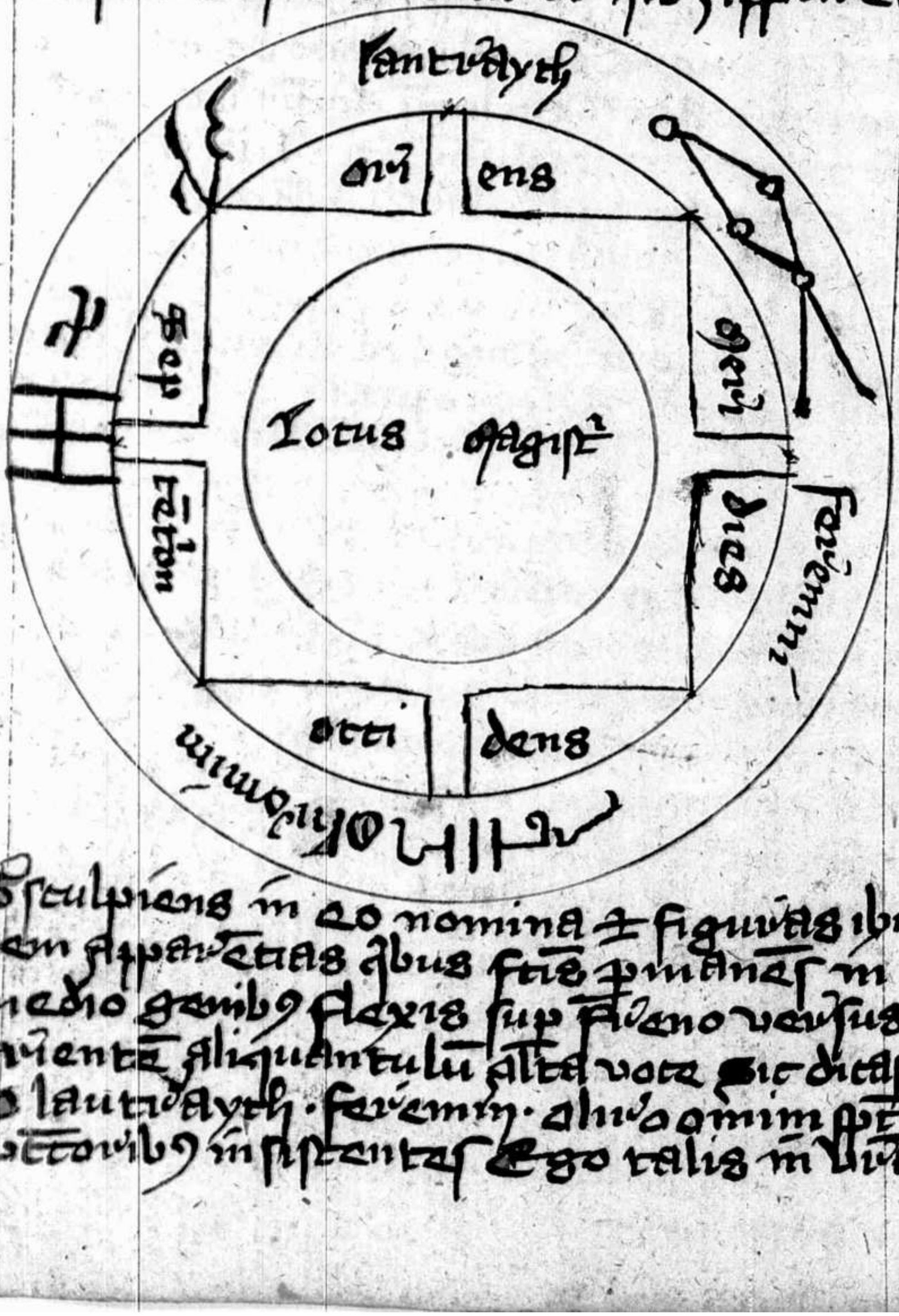
Qua sto debes mgrvedi signaciu lotum
ipm cu medulla mortui vt dem est
Quo sto audies placet votes sta suf
fragatoe quib⁹ audias hanc quidem
tionē dicas ⁊ sic dicendo vt sequat
fyrvm qui sic dicas fyrvm · dyrfyl ·
anoy · ayfabel · cotivoy · tytvoy ·
anooth ·

Primel. ꝑe hitanes hitatores aque qui
naues nauigantium ꝓtinuat tohami
ego vos quos exorcizo ꝑ ꝓpheto vos
vbicuq sitis aut in oriente aut occidẽte aut merida
ꝫ aut in meridie aut in aquilone
aut in aquis aut in terris ꝑmdiuidua
ac inseparabile trinitate. que in tribus
ꝑsonis existit ꝫ ꝓcum ꝫ filiu ꝫ sm
scm alvum ꝑcedentia ꝫ pillu q ꝑcessit
ꝫ ceruicis est ꝫ ꝓ pillum qui ascendit
not gratiam in mfauno no stauꝫta ego
ꝓuuo t ꝫ ꝓstringo vos ꝫ ꝑ tuos sanctos
ꝫ adyri ꝫ ꝓ aduentu dni nri ihu xpi qui
fugandas vestras fauces scos ꝓces de
tenebris extrahit ad lucem ꝫ ego con
uro vos ꝓ vultu meum ꝫ pedes atq pla
gas ihu xpi ut hic vestra deleatis vos
otto pe ꝓnoiati ut vos videam in
forma naturali ꝫ hoc fine ꝓstitatoꝝ
alia ꝫ ego ꝓuuo vos ꝫ impo
atq ꝓpio vobis ꝓ potestate ꝫ dignitat
tem luciferi. Asphaleon. ꝫ neutrion.
ut nulla vequa habeas dominatione
neatis ut dixi. Verita q ego vos ad
voco exꝑta dni dei sabaoth. quo et
gtha cuncta ꝫ omnia trinitate regle
ta q̃ua semel data tenedo costam semꝑ
in manu dextꝛ videbis ꝺto naues cum
magna velocitate ꝫ timore discedetes

Et cū mittam ad te pape nob deorū ad
nos ytinerib⁹ & cū uix me mouā fulgetu
q̄ubꝰ diis volo vos q̄ūq̄ta & q̄ mihi
mihi tot debeatis ad me veniē teneā
mihi cū ame fuit⁹ q̄ūq̄ti q̄ maxime
facies sāmatu ad te veniē & vedidē q̄n
q̄ꝰ lubuit tua p̄ti facta voluntate hoc
iuuento sic dicas Ego papio vobꝰ vt hunc
curtulu cū nauí capiatis & ad tale lotus si
ne mouā me feriatis. hiis dictis vndelis
ros & vomis mgredi naui Fit ronq̄
vela & nitq̄ nauigare & cū q̄ tibi
uidebit ad mp̄fundo maris & in suo
tpe flatio volet quotꝰ ferijs q̄ubus
cū papias vt ad tu aliq̄s q̄ accipiat te
instantissime requirat qui cū illis
cū illis fuis respondeo dicas cū q̄
valeant q̄ hic cū me fiducie faciat dis
q̄ctescuꝰ iubebis q̄ cū papa uocabūt ad te
veniē & valeat q̄ dis vocatus & te salu
tet & q̄ubꝰ volueris mittat portabūq̄ quo
cuꝰ tibi placuit Accedēdi q̄ubꝰ mutat
des licētia recedendi q̄ubꝰ recessis
Absoluas curtulu & costa sub terrā ubi q̄
ligē tu solus ut cū aliis voluta & habilis
nauigandi cū fauio ut cū ligno ut digito
ut cū aliq̄ signifte fac curtulu cū alliis vt
supꝰ demonstrauí & cū aliis mgredere
supꝰ dam locū dicens aīs vt timeas nō de

hoc fingas eis aliqs et cu oms mgi vssi fuim
sic legas samech. Syrim. dysfryl. onoroy.
israbel. cotuboy. kyuboy. auoath. Rimel.
Paulpti hoc cautulo ego m voto vos pruitum
subiectioj michi fcam ut stati sine mora subi
to rigtneti hmc debeatis accedue mites
subiecti pati et obedue michi et tanj nata
huc cautelu cu hac naui figuta uitam dabe
atis assumeua et naugando debeatis nos
pouehue ad talem locu adqm intendim et
fraus. aut quocatioe ita veiat statim ma
ui otto nauta placabilas dicetes tibiq ue
intendit quibj tu dices audientibj ad
talem locu. aut nauis m aqua ea videbit
istos velocit nauigeue et pnaces q nau
gat et ejulet ad locu optatu uniq m hoc
statu et tu ibi fus si ipso loco manere uo
lus dic nautis ut alnat paratu ipm offitiu
ue assumeua et executioni mandet in eos
m vocatus quo subito hoc audito ueladent
et tu volus uemeua ut alias et geue uo
ca ipos ut dcm et ea fiat et sic dili
gent q m ipa naui simulio pt sicut notio
cay sicuo m ueua cuistanitate q hmi sit
suo nec bonu et malu no i m seuio non
inp adyso mouebis quibj tunc fiat cum
facue qui a et cautelo ille i sigma sue
et hoc dni exprimtu uidi mtos de pito
tu fatue et falsitate hmi aut modo e ueio qua cu
talibj et nullj periculi et nõ q tipo libi sue nota
et sigo pruitu secdm sua qualitate q ignota sue
rit occultade sue et talade qui ipoj ineffabilis
efficacia q cauto et

Vale et tibi mitto quo eq̃ho ē ꝑt ieq̃ forma
possit hui sanctis te tam q̃ aquas q̃ ꝑtes
rectam tibi collos q̃ planities quotiq̃ volus
Amo ami. ē. luna die mauris reuino fouin
sacq̃ equedaria cu q̃da fiuerio nuq̃ opa
tu ꝑ in loco secreto cu quoda clauo siue
stilo ferreo fac circulu vo hic appedet



Sculpiens in eo nomina ꝑ figuras ibi
dem appentias q̃bus sic ꝑmanet in
medio gemibꝫ flexis sup flumo versus
orientē aliquantulu alta voce sic dicas
O lautudyth. ferēmin. aluo amimꝫ
picturibꝫ inspicentes ego talis in viua

virtute & fidem vos quibus pillu d̄ dixit
& fca sunt & ora stet & gnostet sante
quam fiant & p dm & terram ignem
& aerem & aqua solem & luna & stel
las & p thronos dnationes principatus &
potestates dni nri ihu xpi & p omnē ag
gelos & archangelos qui morabit ante
thronū dei sili vote clamabit scē scē
scē dns deus sabaoth plenī sunt celi et
terra gtia tua osanna in excelsis Ben
dictus qui venit in nōe dni osanna in excels
Scio vos timere & amare debetis
quia quis vir qui timet nec timet sed
securus existat Et q̄ q̄ voti impleto
debetis totaliter adimplere & cum mi
nis efficacia exercitii madeve & tam
ego quidem vos sup̄ dicto & pius pillu d̄
venturus a judicare vivos & mortu
os & seculū p ignē Et p tm̄ eda dies
judicij & p sentētia qua audive de
bitis in ipa die Et hec circuli quo
efficatius & notanti ut sme moveā huc
meam cogitam & p̄cepta mea simili
ter observetis quibus dns tam
quas equitas videbis alege venire
quos ei videbis dic donec ad te fue
rim leuaui ad ta oculos meos in
notas vm veni ad auxiliu m. auxiliu

meū ꝺn̄o qui fecit celū ⁊ t̄ram & q̄m
apud avaulū fūmt stat̄m descendent ags
et tūc hilarit⁹ salutabūt & subdit̄ ꝺn̄o
min⁹ p̄ suū miam n̄ statū p̄stinū vos redu
cat. Hoc deo ipi dicet & magist⁹ ꝺd ta
verūm vñanimes tuis p̄ceptis seruiūd
pat p̄sperigit nob illud q̄q nos huc
venire fecisti ⁊ cūct penitꝰ expediet. ⁊
Subdit̄ vñdeuie debee volo vt p̄ns fide
nū tenendo rpm ⁊ambabꝰ miamꝰ tali
q̄ seruatis vt quotiesc̄q; rpm sequaūr
⁊ntz me veiet equus oīs tuꝰ rpm p
ossm imponeūe ⁊ rpm ꝺscendere possi
rpm equitēe tute ⁊ ꝺcedeūe quo
michi libuit p̄fiaſ. Hoc deo ipi ꝺcetur
deū fidenū velle secu fac̄e. Et ibidem
tribus die vesperas & Subdit̄ ipi ꝺabꝰ
et ad dedūs ꝺscendet ags ⁊ sue mo
ra recedent. Subdit̄ recedēs egre de
re curtulū no ꝺbolando et ꝺcm de re
cedas tribꝰ die vo die mane vesperas vacet
ibidem illuc et mane ibidem pdos
ꝺnos offerentes tibi deū fidenū ꝺssalu
tes tua petitione et fultā ⁊ facto
to fidēno sic dictas Ego quidē vos p
deū deoꝝ vt sine mea licentia dehinc
poss discedere no possitis Hoc deo
tibi respondebut q̄ ꝺntu volet ibide

BSB

manebit quo dño squassabis fiolum
et subito illuc veniet aquam nigrum ali
mpones fiolum aquitabis hoc fño de
stendens aramouebis fiolum subi
to aqua salubit quo vbi sic dicas
eo rem quam vos pro antedicta
de pona hñtia qñ vos prate vt iuuda
ra vos debeatis pdm equm sampso
vr adme vare cogatis quem iuuabit
dimittat expssa hoc ñtinuo tu effi
cara facias et tu iuuabunt dic q
tu salute vrtendent quibz rñtessis
ego dare tibi tali fiolum rpm totu abolear
et fiolum tuu pontes et tu vobis
equm vare dic squassando fiolum
tuum. Alio modo. Si vis omnim
tali equus vaiet tui oñ mponas
fiolum aquitabis. Detui alunis
Aliquando tu mideri debes q mitio
cubit hoc si vita fata debes et tu
volueris rpm tuum euadere fuge rpm ut non
bedas q illic mora fagitta de quo
nuq cadat potis nat timere q
tenis et qñ voles descendere nuq
vetedet donec fiolum deore eius
Anfes quo ablato subito cuadnescet.
Fatim qm tali fidena tenuissima
ita q in pauo loco portare possim
q nuq fidangi possit nec puti fiolum.

BSB

ꝑ ipam ꝯsecrationē ꝗ ꝑ ꝯ ꝯ ꝯ ꝯ
ꝑ si sup dem capitulu in corio aqui cu
sanguine aqui sep cu dente etiam
aqui etiam ostensu aquis subito mo
uent ⁊ si ipm ut dem ꝑ sep cinga
ꝑ tuleris nullo aquus ad te poterit
accedere ⁊ ut huius capituli ⁊
alia ꝯsequentia in libris magice

Cum volueris aliqua mortua in fun
dere ita ꝙ uiuus erubescat pri
mo videbit talis ordo tenedus ⁊ pri
mo quida exalbo amulu fieri debet
etia sculpta sit exuta exterius ⁊ nota
primera. ⁊ subus. ⁊ tertia. ⁊ ultima.
ta uo interius sculpta sit yer nota
lyroth. Beriyen. Damalyn quib sculp
ta die dnico ante ortu solis accedat
ad aqua curretta ⁊ in ipa pone dem
amulu ⁊ quib diebꝫ ipm tea stabe ꝑ
mittas. ⁊ sexta uo die ipm exuat ⁊
ꝑ fac ad quidam monumentu ⁊ in ipo
pone ita ꝙ moueat ipa die veneris
⁊ sabbati die uo dnica die ante
solis ortu accedas exta villa secreto
celo in loco occulto ⁊ remoto ⁊ fac
capitulu cu qdam ense ⁊ tripo scribe
cu dco ense nota ⁊ figura hic ⁊

BSB

Quibus scriptis migiebam migvedam
ve m dum vt signatu est Et ponet
ensem sub ganubus tuis dicendo vsus
meridie hanc oratione Coniuro
vos oms damones scptos m hoc a
nulo que m manibus habetis p virg
a filiu dei sctu p ordine dei ferto
rdm cali et tarde Et p dnm nrm ie
sum xpm eiusdem filiu qui ppt humani ge
neris salutem mortem suscepit ve
digneti q est Et p gloriosa virgi
nem matrem eius et p lac

cū sctissimū xpi p̄ q̄ angeli denūciādo
pastorib⁹ locuti sunt gloria in excelsis
deo ℣ℓ Ego quinq; vos obsecro mei.
Subuenite. tribulacionē. Kyrieleyson. Xpe
eleyson. Domine. p̄ oms sctos ℣ sctas dei et
p̄ hec nra sca dei genitrīcē. obsecro.
Messyas. sother. Adonay Alpha ℣ o.
Sabaoth et p̄ hec sca nra virginis
mat̄is. s. regina. flos. ros̄a. lilium.
scala. sapia. vita. dulcedo. mia et
pces. ℣ p̄ p̄fectissimū celestē ℣ diuinū
et p̄ angelos ℣ archangelos ℣ thronos
dnationes ℣ potestates ℣ p̄ncipatus
℣ mirabilitates ℣ gtias regis celi et
tri. et p̄ oms p̄ntipes. virtutes. dnos
℣ mirabiles viros. et p̄ mīsterium vnius
et p̄ oms meos existentia quatenus
vos oms gsuetti ℣ ligati in voluntate
mea ℣ in p̄fecta mea deberetis huc
accedere in benigna forma vt nullu
timorem aut gsecutionē ita ℣ talit p̄se
sentē sinulu vt meo hoc vultu existat
videli; q̄ quicq; imposuo ipm in digito
alicuius indutu vel vultu ipm in gnā
diatu. et vt p̄mo vn⁹ apparebat in
illa similitudie ℣ forma p̄sulum ad vnit
in regnat in mi ℣ sci de pata seru
la seculoz Amen Hūc sermē dñi dicti ℣
Apparuit subito Apud cutulu. C. ps

patetas dem Anulu quibꝫdabꝰ ꝯ dato
hui habet Et similit tu agrad̃e cu
culos faciens tactu ensem no destruen
ciutulu Exta vo die tu pdo ense
rcuertaris Visus meridie sic dices
Ego quo vos obuiam. Subuenit.
tiamdyd. Lyuoth. Bauyen Damdyn.
Ydeu vnu viuu solu Vesp vt nunc
sine mora Ad m d vem debeatis sappro
tando Anulu ꝯsecutu Ita q̃ qui inpo
sueuo ipm indigito siue manu alicui
psone viue cadat mtua sit mortuꝰ
Et qui Abstulerit Ab ipa in statu pstinu
rcuertat. Et etia mtuꝰ cp mortuo
ꝓpositio vt dem a ipm ait ingrediatur
Viuus vt pius fuit videat pomia
q̃ possit vos terribiles Anno ostendi
gere hiis dies quat vndez Primo Visus
meridie sanct. Et similit Vespertide
ta. Deinde Vespertilio Et Vespertilio
Et videbis Visus conuerta vtrinq; qdã
equitꝫ q̃ tu fuit Apud ciutulu sic dicet
tales mittut nolendo nolendo nolen
supscripta tibi hut Anulu ꝯsecutu di
bentes Ad te verbꝫ no posse q̃ non
expediens est expiciis Anuli virtute
Et si no habuit virtute A te postula
tam dicent p̃ q̃bꝰ fuit Ad te veniꝫ
pter ꝯ hut Anulu Actipiee dicendo q̃

BSB

grātia tibi ⁊ ipis hoc dcō ſtati vētdes
⁊ tu atia ḡries de tūtulo ipm totaliter
deſtructo ⁊ ꝑdtm ⁊ multi bn teneāt
involutu in ſyndone Albo ⁊ cū bo vo
luīs vt Aliqs vīuus mortuus vidēat
⁊ Albis videt vita cadauer pone in
digito eq hūt Anulū ⁊ cadauer vide
bit. ⁊ ꝙn vāmouebis vētet ꝙ mu
ſtatu ⁊ ꝙn voluīs Aliqd cadauer Ala
tum Appetitiue pone vt dem ⁊ Anulū
tit Ad manu ſiue Ad pedē liga ⁊ Anta
hoīa ſuggat mſoīa ꝙmo hīta. ⁊ ꝑ
viua voce cōta oīb loquat ⁊ hoc mo
ſtrā ꝑorit ſex diebꝫ ꝙ ꝗlibz corp ſua
die in ipo quiēabit. ⁊ ſi voluīs Ante
dcm t̄ mi. vt ꝑmo cruat ⁊ vāmoue
Anulū ⁊ hoc mo vāſuggere potis de
fūctu. ⁊ hec ars expetita dignissia eſt
⁊ occultanda eſt in ipa magna virtus
exist. Cūtulū etia ſup ꝑdtm multas vti
tates hꝫ cuiꝫ tres ꝑma notas exponā
Si cū dīe venīs ipm tu calamo vtere
⁊ tu cū ſanḡna in carta cādida no
tata ſcripſerit ⁊ Aliqua ꝑſona cū co tē
tigerit metuū ſup omnes Ab ipa diligen
⁊ ſi ꝑdm cūtulū ſcripſi vt dem ⁊ po
ſuī ſup caput egroti ipo ignorāti
ſi mora debz. dē ſa nullatenꝫ quadere
poſſit ⁊ ſi debz cuadere dē ſa dīno

BSB

bbeuitatu et si pdm auxilio septu similiu visibilitate
sup te habuis nullo canis tibi latrabit
valebit et ipa sup me exurta // an exp
to vapme rel'mquo

Quarto etia de fuga mvisibilitatis ho
re quasi fabulo ignoratia cu rta ex
voluis. Apud dia ta rōnabit ꝑ no in
visibilis fac insensibilis hui. Primo ci
cenia luna die mensis in prima hora
diei casto fin ꝑtuidiu et tonsu capillos
barba et albo indutu ext' villa i loco
occulto sereno celo ipiano solo cu aste fule
didissio fac circulu vbi fuer tres circulo
he note cu eis omia ibidem fuerint

BSB

Hoc sto singas vsq octidete sup fuiel
dem ensem. Et tu figeras hastas vas in
quo sit ignis tu thuvemuleva. Et oliba
no. Et tu fumo ipo zp. vade tutulu suf
fulgendo ipm impiedo Afuiel. Et ibi
finiendo. Hoc sto hastas aquam bndetz
Et Affigas te Et tutulu dictdo Aprop
me dna ysopo Et mundabor lauabis me
Et sup niue dealbabor. Quo sto volue
do te genubo flexis vsq octadeta emis
sa voce sic dicas Ego talis quia vos
Afuiel. Generauit. Beatus. Et audiet
Et potestas magfica Et illustbos tpis
dino Afido punica mseparabile Actridi
uiduum tnitate sc spm Et filiu ar
gumen sum Et p deu vnicu solu viuu ar
bzp dñi omia de nichilo fortmauit Et cui
subdita sut ora celestia tuestria Et mfer
nalia Et cdu Et tua mea Et mfernu
Et omne mundi exercitu Et pomissiõn
tuas vdgos Et dnos vros Et p illum
deu ep timetis Et adorabitis Et p ora q
hnt vos tuos ostingere Et affligere
Et qui tu precepto vos opoztz totaliter
Adimplere Et ste vos oms. Et tu hulie
mexima huc vaiue delectatis ligati
stricti Et inuolati Ad executoi mandatu
Et qd Auoti precepto. Vaita sine mora
Vaita. Et tuoto vos exultatis Et uoto

5.

vos exprta filij mvoto vos exprta ſit ſa
hac mvocatoe dea quat ſalutz ſemel vſq
finat. ſemel vſq malemt vſq beatu
tenebatov. fldevit ſubito mcivtulo q.
ſit dicatas tibi Dic not q vis plene
tibi obadiem quib dices Ego volo
quada capa mvisibilitatis ſit ta
mtis mcorruptibilis qua cu idut
filo nulg vndeva nec me ſentiv va
leat: hoc deo vng diſcadz et am pouta
apparebit tibi q̃da capa q̃ albis
pcabas vt tibi deve debevet qui va
non debut tibi deva no poſſa ſi p̃mo
ris no das tuu mdutu albu quib da
bis et cu dederis eis. ipi tibi debut cap
pam quop vng ſtati mduet mdutum
eis dat. ſimilit tu ſtati mdues cap
pam q̃ cum mdueris illis pcib dices
Abite cu pace et ſtati vadent Et cu
abierint debes dimittere tuvtulu fave
do enſem tra Do die cu capa illuc
rvquisitave et mvenies tuu mdutu q̃
ſcripſiſ offemeto eni ſi ipa tra did
no revertetis ſue tuti mdutu ibi dimiſ
ſum no ſcripſiſ quavta die nullu m
veries p̃ mſeptam diebg moverit.
Accepto eni tra die idu. ipm mco
dem loco gbuves et ſtrae q̃ p̃ ipm
gbuves ſtudies maxime plantetus

et quevalas et tu gbuvevis appevgas
et nevte pavta sic dicado Conjuro vos
fivul. molemil. Bevith. tavasiv. pvivt
tuta. et poteria vviam et para habitacia
qe vos pvata vt no habeatis vvtutem
nec potestia ledendi me pyant capta
Bith xpc ptegat et defendat me p
ora fatula fatuloy Amen quo deo habe
as si qua vndeam et appgas doam cap
pam sic dicdo Ego conjuro te capa
p pvem et filiu et spm sem et phat Aqi
vt theucg te mdito filo nullo sentia
ve nec videa me valeat p dnm
nrm ihm xpm filiu dei vivu qui vivit
et regnat p omnia fatula fatuloy
Amen

Et aue cevam vvginea Ante vvgi
nem hoc
zetam et in die iouis. vt in die dnico
hova venis vt hova louis. ex dicta
cava fatas ymagine Adtavones
Actuntas sine fumo in vna olla posi
tos Et hoc magist decapillis mu
lieris p qua vult face et tres fillos
sete vivere Et hoc as tali tultallum
Albi manubrii Ad hoc fci et vade Ad
locu vbi Antifax facit Aco et tu fac
as face Abeodc Antifex hova salus
vsq Ad hova saturni. Item dc magist

ter duos socios fideles & vadat
ad Arborem fructiferā & faciat
magis circulū & mittat magis
Aurum factum sue ymaginē mulier
is qua fa tis semp
mundu vendo
rorde tuo

tu Behal. tu Astaroth. tu Baymon.
roth. tu
Ad hoc sitis opus mihi Ad mutuos
& similr mundundo dites Ego. N.
formo ista ymagīa in amore talis
ut valeat Ad qđ fca est Et tubelial.
initialis princeps Adhoc opꝰ sit mihi
Ad mutuos & magis faciat ymaginē
de pdicta cera sapiens horā locus
defendendo vsq; Adhoram saturni
& sic formata ymagine faciat sicut

magist Alphabetifica scripto nouas scias qui
das facias corpore valneratos et nitidis
vestibus induto facias deas scias hoves
solis usq; ad horam septimi. Deinde mag
ist fingat deas scias i ymagine. vbi
collocando vnam in capite alia i humc
ro dextro. et tria i sinistro. q. vbi cou
scierit scias alios assignata dicendo
sancta ista scias fingitur in coniuncto ymag
inis ita fingat amoue. A. i amoue A.
q nō possit dormire. vigilare. ridere.
sedere. ambulare sic quousq; i me
xandas stat amoue. quintam in um
bilico. sextam in amoue septimam in
latere dexto. octauam in sinistro. Nona
in fine. Sic formata ymagine scias
cas iterum imponendo sibi nomina q quas
facias submergendo tuis dicendo quo
modo vocat et vndec. A. Et tu debes
dicere Ego baptizo te. A. i noie patris
filij et. s. s. amen Et postea pone ymag
ine in anno nouo et mundo diuin
tando sibi hanc solis usq; ad horam meri
tis. Deinde facias istam fumigationem
sub frondosa fructifera sub arboribus
floridis et voluas te vsq; orientem
et dicas Coniuro talis A. caput tu
um crines tuos. oculos tuos. aures
tuas. genas tuas. Coniuro talis
et cerebrum tuum Coniuro A tunicas

BSB

Cerebru tuu ꝙ diua xpia mat[er] Con
tuuo. A. oculos tuos. quuo. n. tunicas
oculoꝝ tuoꝝ Cōuuo. n. frontē tuā. Co
uuo. n. dentes tuos. quuo. n. os tuu
Cōuuo. n. mentu tuu. quuo. n. nasu
tuu. Cōuuo. n. maxillas tuas. Cōuuo. n.
palatu tuu. quuo. n. gingiuas tuas
Cōuuo. n. guttur tuu. quuo. n. humos
tuos. quuo. n. scapulas tuas. quuo. n.
pectꝰ tuu. quuo. n. mamillas tuas Co
uuo n. corꝺ tuu. quuo vmbilicu tuu
Cōuuo n. femur tuu. Cōuuo. n. renes
tuos. quuo. n. latꝰ tuā. quuo n. femu
tuu. Cōuuo. n. costas tuas. quuo. n.
vulua tua. quuo. n. genua tua. quuo
n. crura tua. quuo. n. talos pedu tuoꝝ
Cōuuo. n. bracchia tua. quuo. n. digitos
manuu tuaꝝ. quuo. n. manꝰ tuas Co
uuo. n. ungues manuu tuaꝝ. quuo
n. corꝺ tuu. quuo. n. pulmone tuu. Co
uuo. n. bucallas tuas. quuo. n. stomachꝰ
tuu Cōuuo. n. totā ꝓsona tua. quuo
n. totā substātia tuā vt no possis dicu
mihi. nō sadua. n. ratione nō aliud fu
tifitiale facta donec mea libidinosam
ꝓlacias voluntate Cōuuo te ꝙ puerum
ꝙ filiu ꝙ sum sim ꝙ mgrum qui ꝙ
virtute spūs ꝙ saphetiam salomonis
ꝙ vex salbadoꝝ ꝙ vex sardaphim ꝙ
vex emanuel ꝙ oia corꝓa tua ꝙ

que stent m vomā ꝫ luna ⁊ sole ⁊ do
mine mdiowa et ꝫ lac vnginis ꝑsecam
mdiowa mdiowa dñi nri ihu xpi ꝫ duke
visma som ꝫ cowꝑ ⁊ stng windm ihu x̄
cōmd vob ⁊ exowtio vos ⁊mo vobis
vt sicut cervus desidevat fontē sic
nia ita desidevat. ñ. sic meu sic amovem
et sicut cervus desidevat cadaū
mortuoꝝ ita desidevat tu me et si
cut cerva ista lrā fiat ⁊ fiat ⁊ fiat ignis
ita desidevet. ñ. in meu ⁊mova q no
possit ⁊ of
ignā fiat mulieris h̄ūt ⁊ se
quent solitudo. muoluco capitis =
plowat. gamity. ⁊ tussiones vigi
tacoes aūla eoꝝ. ⁊ cut magist siua
illa qui fiat vadat ad illa et si vide
vit illa solam stantē ⁊ sedentē tuo
cowꝰ obowet magist ꝗuvationem
vsq; ad quinta diem et si illa i tenta
dino fuit ꝗ sua t̄ri fiat fiat fiat vulla
fiat fiam cuitatem tuam sicut tem
din magist fiat ꝗuvatioꝝ q̄usq;
illa possit vena. et m hoc fuerunt
ptes das nigwomatici ome ⁊ astvoloy
ci. Ihym. arabici. hebwei. caldei.
gviti ⁊ latini et exwartu fiat
istud exprimetu desacwetis ⁊ntibus
ymaginatiue artis de plowibus
oim exp̄imentoꝝ ⁊ of

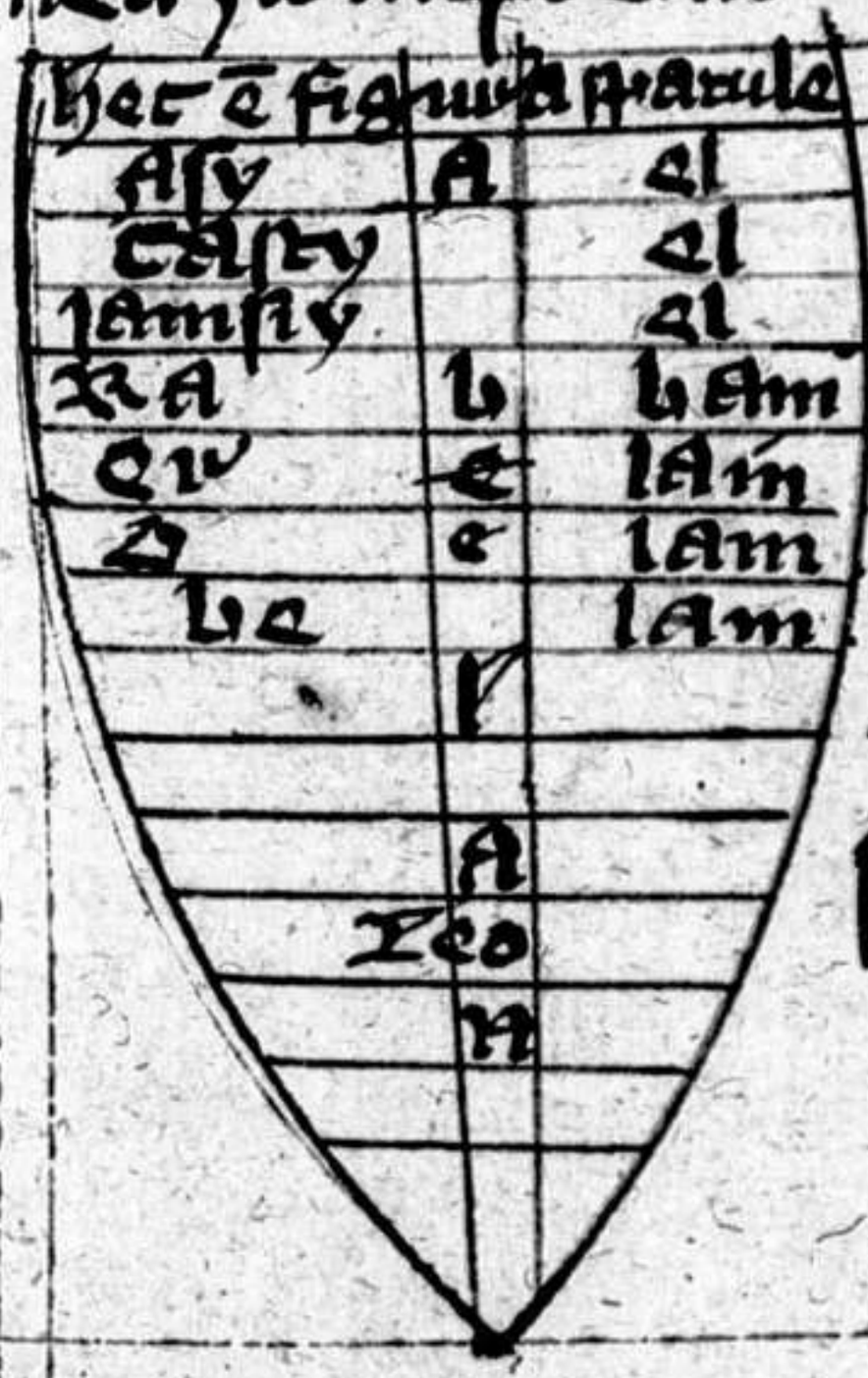
+ Pro hoc experimento q̄ stringit homo
mulierem. Vir. pt. herba cuius q̄
dicamis existat. Hec nota in hut mo q̄
sint scripta in patula. Postq̄ hoc to
tu ad implatu fuit q̄ vis aliquem ꝑ
si aliquem ꝑ stringere a volūis sc
ba nam arg in patula mitte. b. z a.
z i nota q̄ a bal. ℞ i aliq̄ horem
q̄stringere volūis scribe nota illig
me. l. z a. ℞ ii o aliq̄ herba q̄ strin
gere volūis scribe nota arg in tcr. a.
z a. z colorem arg p̄ pnibus vero
aliq̄ horibq̄ z q̄ mutandis agendum
est ita ꝙ in eadem hora in qua ex
pleta patula fuit albatros ibi opor
tet vt in pumis pq̄rant lingua ex
pina alba vt lingua q̄ vagant in
aquis z fiat inde igne carbones
que collige z in olla nova mitte z
desup paulati pone patula z pau
latim augmentando igne donec pa
tula calefiat z fiat in vota pdcs
ptes z dic hanc q̄uocatione. Asy el.
castiel. lamisiniel. vabam. Cilam.
bolam tibi vobis aliquo ℞ i vel aliq̄ horie vt
mulier se q̄ vt quod in tuo amore ac
cendere volūis ℞ dicas vt supra in z sc
sequdo q̄ in fine ponet ℞ i vel aliq̄ pnu

+ belam.

BSB

nore illū ffm q̄ vns vt veiat fadre pfec
huilie pulcra fare z blando sermone
dicendo cōmis vos. Assyl. z q̄ vt. M. ffm
A. qui ptra hē sup ome q̄ Alieo qui
vere volo fadme veiue fatiaris pfec
huilie blando sermone dic fouma vt
dixi. si militis pulchrimi fadquirendu ora
que di pape volūo. Et ei p̄ nuo fuit
mulier nolo fare volūs fac ei pus
notū vbi te mvenire possit quia nisi
te mvenier p̄tuy fuerit suo mscmict
pi bestie q̄ndo pdos fuit vt ostī
dent illam bestia q̄ vis ne deloto iquo
ast se remouere valeat donec volūs
Assyl. Capiat. lamsiyel. vadam. civitā.
dam. videam. Ego vos q̄ndo pdm vep
pdm vīm qui vos creauit z p̄ eum
qui adam z euam formauit z p eū
qui mare circuit. Avidam q̄ fundauit
qui fabricat angelos suos ffe z mistos
suos ignea virtute qui nouit ea q̄ no
sunt sicut ea q̄ sunt qui hic clauis mon
tis inferni. ape. m. p̄mo z nouissimo
p̄ncip̄ z finis Alpha z o. z qui vivit
z fuit mortuus z revixit qui vocat
uit dau p̄tan ei⁹ Alphagramaton p
hoc nomen vos q̄ndo z p̄stm z inef
fabile nome dei tetragramaton.
z p id nom q̄ nemo nouit nisi ipe

qui e vbi dei ꝑ hec nomia dei. Hely. heloy.
heloe. sabaoth. dhion. Adonay. sadday.
de ꝑ oia nomia dig ꝑ ipis virtutes ꝑ
omes virtutes celoꝝ ꝑ quibus vos qui
ꝑuam ꝑ filiu ꝑ ſ. ꝑ ſcam tnitatem
ꝑ vnitatem dei ꝑ ꝑ vilia coronā
p dns nr ihc xpc m suo capite hunc
de ꝑ hac vita mala vt nugis ꝑ ho
ꝑ ista nomia ꝑ omes virtutes adyde
ꝑ ꝑ ista quinta ꝑ ꝑ pio vobis vt ista
tim ꝑ tibi ꝑ valeat ꝑ sine mora fe
ducatis cor ꝑ meam. A. m Amoueby
mau ꝑ sicut hec ꝑ tula celesti ꝑ
mandit ꝑ ita illu vt illa. A. m candi
tis ꝑ celestialis ign mei Amoris
ꝑ ita vt nugis quicquid valeat dom
mea Admyleuit voluntate Amore q ebet.



Item Nota q ista
tula supdicta
debet esse Asini
na vel leporina
vel Ansalina
vel Caprina
secudu diuersos

BSB

Et equu hēas ad crundu quo vns respica
ad eum versus orientē flexis genibus
iunctis manibꝫ et si aet in cauea dic
cū magna fiducia ꝛ ave fiu missa obtīa
dī ō filiissime ꝛ benignissime vox orā
tis exaudi orōnes meas ꝛ clamor meꝰ
ad te veniat offiant aures tue intenden
tes mi voci deprcatois mee ꝛ nobilissiꝫ
eidem maiestatis tue. te mi voco ꝛ ad
huc ꝛ illu dnm q tones diligis q fidis.
ꝛ fiat ꝛ legem legalem ꝛ ꝑsem ꝑsen
tem ꝛ ꝑ karitate karitatem ꝛ on̄. el.
ely. tetrici matoni. q a nome altissimu
ꝛ. ꝑ loca ubi sedes misolio magne nobili
tatis tue mitta ad me ꝑm ad eum quo
in eo valeam adipl̄i q apta q fit ve po
tens ast Dna ꝑm mitte ad me nuncꝫ in hac
hora tua magna protatia in omib ꝛ ꝑ
dna sit obediens ꝛ legalis et deo te
dne mi voco ad eo ꝛ laudo nome tuum
in atnū qui ōnians deꝰ benedict ꝛ glo
riosissimꝫ ꝑ infinita secula seculoꝝ Amen.
Et ideo igitur deo sapties dic audacit. volo
ad te ad talem ꝑtem ꝛ statim veni. et si
volus ffus ut equus ut dormiendo ut ri
gilando in aquis venit dic Comodo te
dm qui ascendit celu ꝛ terram mare et
oīa que in eis sūt tam visibilia q̄ in vi
sibilia ꝛ spū timoꝛ dñi no
ffiquo ut periculo seu ꝛ angustia mei cor

ponis & fac ponitas ma ſuauit & daponas
ma ſna aliqua laſiona ynti vt futuri vſq
ad talem loci ſuauit ma dapontis cu em
dapoſuerit ta vbi affectabis dicas humilit
gratias tibi ago ꝑ vndis q dignu ma fati
ſti mhac pca mea & ptanta gra & bona
fama mea & ma tibi affavo ſeruire & ſam
& eu tuis abadria mandatis bndittu ſan
ctu ſit ſanctu nom tuu ꝓ ognatu ſup omia
ſeculd ſeculoꝝ & tbi atia gras ago qui
& gnatoꝝ nomm altiſſim dri ꝓme fati
ſtis dignatꝰ es & onde adloru ſeruitu
& fletu tue ſeuero & filiſq ventu & dic ſca
mentia ora ꝓnobis ſm magna miſeri cordi
am tuam cum gloria qui totu ynmang
tuas due gmoda fim & tm & cooꝑ
mei dns deus qui omipotens iudicet
me & oſtea fac talem tiu tulu vt mſeri
dignabit

quone in ollam sapientionis cineris et fumus
ejus in aquilone igne tu sola in occidentali
flamma et calcan et sede in medio cui
cubi et vertex tu vide sapientionem et
et voca vocem nubium nore Bautha. ut
mittat eos de ductu qui hic passe michi
nubibus et ventis gressus gaterim. Baltim.
Baltym. Gahim. qui ducant te Absq la
sione et Absq periculo tui corporis et ultime
fidelem qui voluerit eo tunc ejus ibi
tibi quia nubes et de ventibus ollis exibut
tres alie olla dicens ascende ascende ascen
sende tecum aut mecum ita et tu gaude
ria vasa sallam mihi et dicas et fac tu
videbis bathadiam in medio nubis et
tu ascende illam et dic voce Bautha.
et ducet gaterim. Baltim. Baltim quem
tata me placabilis sine timore et sine
dimato et periculo aliquo mei corporis
et anime vsq ad talam locum et sumit
me lanata et sumit me de manibus
tu voce Bautha. et o vos quatuor gat
tim. Baltym. Gatyma. vos potentes in vo
ce tua et velocis me ductatis usq ad
talam locum sine omni timore et periculo
mei corporis et anime et adhuc vos in vo
ce quinto potentes et excelsissimi angelorum
nomina altissima qui in aere sunt potestas
Astrefal. Emedel. Emethdi. Semgal.
Symmedal. Venael. Garbon. Seutan. Ty

volay. taneyn. terregay. garvalon. Gema
loy. tubiap. ficary. oysay. Austavon.
Bovaal. Gameloy. Gendan. Gyuvo. Eva
ly. Anvavia. Gubsaloy. Grego. Afonar.
Zaphirim. bovaath. baolthonay. Affonar.
Athyo. Eurgal. Faudyron. Si mihi vos
mvoo Agnus Axovbigo Agstumgo
ut sua mova varatis Ad me existentia
in hoc loco Multa mia suauitas Banig
na defatis Ducatis Ad talem locum
sine ai timova lesione Periculo mei cor
poris Ac alia sic fiat fiat Sima Vada
satvus Ano timeas Ap Prabut ta quo
voluis si forta socios habeva voluis
mvrdet in opa. oz qd sitis mpavdas tin
gloh noia dicas. S. Gamagilatalya.
Gabalaay. Gavotbi. Gavamey. Cerv
Vall. Tryanvax Eo sic via potavis m
dog Stam Tarvam Sarvus qvoluis
Si qua tibi forta nocava valuit vel
Attaquaut Si qua sagtatonali sanse
nis Bathediam dasandava dic
Balthym. ta mvoo qvio Agstumgo
ut vidicas me dagsto qmihi nocava
tayta Ayh. sayta noia qmaiog pote
sata he. S. Clagaly. Stygaloy. Galyon.
Balaia. negala. Satgaloy. Guitgalvey.
Statim vaiet tayestas sua du Actias
Sivo qua ocridentali quis tibi noca
tamptauit dic Audatter Galtim.
qvivo Agstigo ta Aqista sayta noia

BSB

·ſ· ſalvegyol· ſalvely· ſlatom·tymalyy·6z
hatal· tybocl· 6altym·fiat·ut·ſit
a·luuiã z nubes ſup illũ mẽ q̃ non
a·poſſit videre nubem· ſi vo q̃ra
a·hontali 6z tẽptaꝛe volũt· ſic vt
ſtis 6altym· baltym· ꝟiſta noia· ſ·
flegaly· ſtygaloy· makyon· bauhaig·
ꝟagala· ſegaboy· guitiſaloey z cadat
tonitua ſ̃ſ̃llum z nubes z tẽpa
ſtas ꝛel me tẽptaꝛe no audeat/ ſ̃
fouta mꝛia videꝛe ſup te tẽpeſta
tes ut ſ̃ſ̃uetas aut aues aut alia tꝛa
ꝛibilia q̃ fouta ꝓ̃ſſ tẽpeſtũ· Dicas
D·tu ꝛo· bauthaan· ego te mꝛoto z
ſuno z ſ̃ſ̃ngo ꝛe ſ̃ſ̃pꝛonis z fouꝛis
ſ̃ſ̃ phꝰ noia· ſ· alꝛogan· ſagauꝛadho·
pitaloꝛa· ſiꝛgonay· galalſay· ꝛt
hꝰ ꝛubilia faꝛas ſ̃ſ̃ꝛi ꝛamouaꝛ
tatim dꝛe hꝰ ſ̃ſ̃ꝛbis ſine mouꝛa ꝛa
ꝛde z ꝛltꝛa no habiꝛ ſ̃ſ̃ hꝰ cꝛu
culus dabiat ſiaꝛi ſdipeud q̃ z of

d nivꝛiendum mſatmis q̃ ꝛis ſcꝛibꝛt
hꝰ noꝛa mi cꝛta ꝛnigꝛinꝛa tu no
minibꝰ illis diꝛ mhꝰ modum ſicut m
ſeꝛis ꝓtabit ꝓ̃ſtꝛa pane ſub dexꝛtꝛa
aurꝛe qm vadis dꝛmitu z vidabiꝛſ q̃
ꝛis deꝓbiaꝛſ ſmtibꝰ z futuꝛis hꝰ ꝛ dom

uulnerato q debz fieri ſuꝑ cultā. O. vos
gloriosa nora ſūmi dei cui ois ꝓtia
ꝓtia z futura ꝓtia ſut Rogo vos
ego ſaluus z ſubditꝰ vr q mittatis
mihi Angelos vros qui ſanctꝫ ſunt
in ciꝰtulo isto vt mihi reuelent de hac
re q ſū talem vdm at dei tuꝫ vir
negotiꝫ q ventuꝫ erat z h⁹ diuat tui
bus virtꝫ z vndabis q q vis ꝓtem
tam dei hic erat cultꝫ q debz ſibi tribui
dominꝫ

⊞ Agla ⊞
⊞ Michael vicꝫ di ⊞
⊞ Gabriel fortitudo ⊞
⊞ Emanuel ꝓpitius ⊞
⊞ Raphael medicina dei ⊞
⊞ Alpha et O. oh ely ⊞
⊞ Tetragrammaton ame ⊞
⊞ ⊞ ⊞ ⊞

Ad equū hnda Bꝫ ſcribat in hoſtio domꝰ
vatua in ciꝰcuſtodia noctꝫ mouea hꝫ

BSB

bñ ayco hec noia cu sanguine vespertilionis
trudicha. stalycha. alycha. diuco. ganio
do. ypatron. gnulg sapis vocade modo
cu aloco post hora qua vacuaris a me
dicis equu ptu q cu volueris ascendere
hoc sñiscu poderis adscuqua a dicha
gnulco comunco te eque boa ptuecatoria
talia tua a pille q tibi dauit vniusa zoia
adlaude z gloria sui nois z pdm vnu
z pdm sem z pdm vcu vt no mtolo
pdca nec mi fiat nc mmo melo meo
de albe valeas nc mi aliq me ptuibeas
me. ad loch talem da sas placide hi
laritate iocunde z velocit alsqs omi mpe
dimeto damde ascende audatter et
sacue cp- dno tibi nocia non potest
signo de cuctis no tasignalis q2 ipm
fiz fugalis cu aut pueris adloch pri
nominatu descende de equo z stolpe
fiam z absconde sub terra q alto
aut tuo negotio vocaris fidem ac
cucta fidelissime z statim vocet cu
aut ascendere voluoris ac pcedat
tam cautionata z het tua via
castelya. alogo. yeras 24

Ad mictus pectulu flovon fiat sicut
pectulum de puvo calibe sidne suita
pelline vnius mvbtuds. habeat p ma
nubriu sdtrenendu z sit illuidatu z lu
cidu vt ensis sit p sem minone flovem
z mavcuitu ista pectuli ex alia pte no
tuada smt het dcrm nona cu hiis de
am cehi attabib9 descripta z nome ds
ydei sit m medio scptu post quam fuit
sem m loco sacvato vngatuv de puvo bal
samo expta lucida z subfumigel scalit

cum ligno aloes. ambra & muscata & oli
bano albo. hoc facto magr huiusmodi
sedens faciat ipm peculum teneri p
manubrium cu ambabus manibus pueri
virginis sancte pectus suum & ipse magr
sit baculatus etia mudis vestibus indu
tus & sancte mitrial exercere hoc
opus malefac & simul equalit infimi
mixtu in aera aspiciat Dicendo
Florion in peculo sic solutores ape
rel tirassis videas hoc dco hanc invocatione
conjam peculo lagat // Brsmilla. guaracha.
mam. bismissa. gassim. gisim. galisim.
Demogosim. samaraosim. Salim. Ausim.
Caxavim. Zalosimi. hyacabanoy. illeta.
Caytimi. Hahalmini. bacoymi. chomar.
laminas. Vnuchomiy. Zorimy. nabalanor
Azaruthia. thachicat. hinaladon. illemey
saud. hucacf. illemegiptim. sitagiatim.
vitace. hamtamicz. tatiala. calcavini.
Alaoht. halayeu. gaycameturij. mouto
avfail. garbel. huabaton. albical. huala
pin. halmagulia. hualaon. huastanie.
hualtamamech. hubatonzon. illemie. gip
timi. catgnie. gathegrite. Casuma. Casa
nim. Apcasala. albuzoahit. villach. alfand.
vsamach. Aptisila. Abfluvavch. villach.
Anc dulamordalia. Hahysitim. Valelas

hohimi · caegina · cachiegineles · miabola-
mini · abcasile · albiwahich · alleach · hala
maton · anita · gaycatalon · hugia · grey-
soza · camaselis · phalmowach · bathachwa-
hiaba · lagis · illamaanimimigaligina ·
gachagina · lesmiwapta liba · albiwalch ·
Ulalich · Dicta vohac quiwdatioa magis-
mpetulo gpritat z videbit militem suma
tum in equo sedentem z suamigaw suum
comitantem secu qui milex de equo descen
dat z suamigaw arg equm tenebit cui mi
lit sic dicat se depata decentissime vi
sibilitaw giationem · et tut magist ipm
mtawogat de pticis ptibus z futuris ·
z ipe gtinua cto septo mtiwogata plenig
nsinuabit · Non dwgo tibi mtiwadibula
re qtus fuerit huius apis gwtisex q2
dam nouies ista pfatis idem ppt malefa
ctis uniusa q pus pscpta nsinuaueritt
awa ad os viua voce · palificando denu
ciabit · Cum dwgo tutta p tuo velle pfe
ctis · cide ppm tu pata pcipa vt iwadat
z iuxta pcaptu sui dni iwadeat tu fuit
vocat ·

Ac mapit petulu flowon · z aliomo qm
suu sit notatu qui cis de wagulis
fat fieri petulum depuio calbeadma
sua palma uni mwotudo z heat manu

BSB

vrtu ꝺ adtanedu ⁊ sit illuiatu ⁊ lucidu vt en
sis. Sit ꝑ stm in honore ⁊ in oie ꝓuum
in saluor ⁊ mirtuitu ꝓtuli ⁊ exalta
ꝓta no lucida sint .10. nora cu data penac
tib⁹ supscripts vt patat in ꝓtulo
⁊ hoc nome florem in medio sit stulp
tu ⁊ ꝓst ꝑ stm fiat in loco tali sarva
ta sic sas vngat ꝑ uuo balsamo in pte
lucida ⁊ sit subfumigatu hiis ꝓtib⁹ sali
gno aloes. ambra. in uua. ostendat
⁊ albano albo. Hoc sto magiꝰ huiusmi
sedens faciat ipm ꝓtulu teneri ambo
bus manib⁹ aliqui quo vuqi antequa
tus sua ⁊ ipe magiꝰ sit ꝑmo balneatu
tus ⁊ mundis vestib⁹ indutꝰ ⁊ albonus
aliis modis vt bn nosti ordinauꝰ ante
quam incipiat hoc opus extraie mal.
lat ⁊ vnu. mixta aggent in aere ⁊
magiꝰ ꝑdom stm ꝙo non aduocat
vt in ꝓtulu sicut solitꝰ a veniat et
vana responsa dabit interrogatis.
ꝓtta scripta vt vana rndeat. Hoc dicto
magiꝰ quindecim ⁊ sequenta caldeoꝝ
libꝝ scripta ꝓiagat hoc mo Bruismassa.
cassini. gessini. gaissini. gtagossini.
samalaasini. uaxini. gtini. cauaxini.
mauaxini. sabahini. hauua. bauow.
allagaliz. alicasti. alaud. haletum. ha

maymon. Ryaleymon. bippelmi. bwiste
delimy. hybelim. bycho. yhen. bychoimin.
chosumel. lonym. lontnti. couvimnum.
vidalanow. Atheiztatat. hyachet. huya
zalon. vothaf. illamegyptu. bwagychi
us. hyonica. hamica. hamenica. conolaw.
ganstuexmi. Alouyoli. helytu. gayta.
memetu. montoro. lazyabal. hubaoony.
Albuetal. hyxalequini. Almagarke. hu a
leon. hyaltanixe. hudlenyefat. hustosow.
Allemagitu. cagme. sacogyne. tamymi.
Tefymaybdo. Abtysilchi. Alluhuair. vakhat.
Arufawd. huzeniecht. Aptihle. Abrmewahit-
Ullchach. Anzebula. mowabe. baliou. wwa
lesuou. caagyna. lasmywo. walanu. Apta
hle. Asugnachacht. walleach. hyamacha
ron. hyabra. gaytacalon. hya. yagapolo
zol. qhalmolmeth. bethauwa. huaba. laygy.
Illenietantu. caygme. owagme. dawagu
nales. mywaptalile. wlleytith. sethaha.
Qz/ magist mpiciat m petulo z videbit
milite Awmiatu m aquo sedentē z Awmi
gatu suu comitata setti qui miles d'eq
descender z Awmigauo eq tenebit
cui militi sic dicat peta m silitio gytio
mon. qui magist mitioget ipm dep
tuitis pmtib z futuis z ipa gtinulo
cto sqto. ttatioogata plenchie inti

habit no sit igit mirabile tibi qd
filius huiusmodi artifex q.c.q. pdicta
facias: idem fit qui pus manifeste mi
nuatur pima posta vna nocte p
extatu. Media di hora ova ad os
ballificandos denutabit et cita omia
que subtitulo luna sunt et cita m
teria et sup teria visibilit et aqua
et pteria demonstrabit. Curgit cuita
ut facias pcipue ut musca no edat et lux
ta precepta magistri qtuor horas vota
tus fuit q festinans venit et sme mora
Nota q.ro. nota cu suis cavillationibus
debant sculpi in petulo p ma die veneris
luna cu dextra et alia petulu eadē die
debet fieri. Et si no potuit exiroto pos
sit eodē die veneris q debet ut p ma
die veneris et semp luna cu dextra. Vi
debit bn sculptum ut habeat q no sint
soluti luxuria p.q. dies. Anno accedat
ad os q sint et iam balneati et loti et
mundis vestib mdutivt sic

tam secundu alia modu in quattuor
veneris et ponis vade ad locu secretu
ac secretissimu ut in fra assignabit
et habes tecu candelas accensas et
tria tecu petulu calibeu immundu
et politu fm luna. q. vt. n. vt. mu.

Et ꝑsequi dies reꝝ nabis Et tu que
res volus vade ꝙd locu vt ꝓpꝫ dixi t
ibi fac tuculu z fige ibi ꝓpꝫ tulu ꝓpꝫ
dum ꝓpꝫ lignu ꝙdmodu cultalli fun
Et dicas hec verba. Ardis prche.
tribus. Gotuvas. Bavuth. Colutax.
garyn. Zuent. hismuia. hauuel.
fuganos. fuvtym. favndi. favuc.
couualis. bosuo. zaladas. pasapa.
phuua. tuph. Tu qui es dauid
ha z a. fac hoc ꝓdictu ciuitatua
clauasaua domat ad visu meum
ꝓficiat h' nō ā defacto Et aqui
nuiado cōuo tu ꝓdau z par
tibus puos sydvat. mysaach. z ab
denago. z ꝓ tuas magos cappad.
balthasar z melthior z par tuas
ꝓuincias. Abuabam. ysaac z iacob.
Et pillu tui nomē a theodon. lien.
elyon. uauguto. x deus fortis amq
nuel. cappad. cappan. cappad. cōu
ꝓian. asnal. Et dic tibi uia ut
videbitur tibi clauesaua z ciuasta
ua Et apparebut tibi multi ꝓpetulo
dingū mcampo. Et ut mquire sequa
dequalcuq re q voluis z ꝓficient
tibi Indebut ꝓpter ꝓmā aut vitam

BSB

Antiqz vñ vbiqz vig ñ seruato tñ
lato hoc facz potie dñz vñ supdca
hoc ani pceptu tibi ḡ seruabit Ad illa
q̄ tu vmq̄ plus affectaſti ñ cultu no
bilissimo de tribꝰ milibꝰ ℭ nō q̄
dñz cultuꝰ z dei cultui dñt fieri q̄
nubes non ꝓualuerint q̄ si posted
ꝓualuerint nō est timendum q̄
℔ est sunt /2 of

Iudeas m̄ vene vna catta nigra natā m
mese maij z exuiscoua eam coude tuie
mie nete tue ad sadecou tu cultello q̄ sit de
ueneſſo z otulo z cuic dee catta tu dodem
cultello z ipla ſ fontanā octoꝝ semis cuiꝰ
dem herbe q̄ alyotpiq̄ dicit vñu mocto dext
z aliud sinist z tatu m cou semp ꝑ vl. addic
do Bapsoy. Tempsones ſ anpsanay m visi
bilis fiat ho z rēpla da tora z sepeli da m di
tu tuo q̄ nemo intret z da rēgna tu signe
huius z ab̄ omissas hoc ḡtinuado p. xv dies
vsq̄ q̄ dñt herba Albatung same suo que
dabit same ℈ guanu vnu bom q̄ quadet sic
tu dorta tra z rēplitado vnu gnu post aliud
tpatulo z ponas ora gna i ore tub ℈ lingua
tua z im ꝑ hsidetag gnu illud q̄ p̄mis mos
tuu z si mqtiqz gno posito iouta ta vida na
por ſ ꝑcepto suas d̄ da bom z vtile q̄ta z of

Hd fugtu mveiendu ✠ cultellu cu manubrio
nigro et albo ✠ facies circulu mittes di
cendo hec verba Deus qui corda fidelium
et ✠ quide nos famulos tuos ✠ ens
hodie sti tui ✠ hanc ymaginem
et magistrum tuum et cu eo in circulu
et accipiat magist aquam in qua ✠ cultel
lo hoc signu ✠ hec nomina scribat sup eu p dcos cultel
los hoc signu ✠ hec nomina scribat sup eu p dcos cultel
adonay emanuel. s. deus fortis scs. al y.
scs. dyon. scs dns de. sabaoth. mirabilis
dominus alpha ✠ o. fiat quo scpto fiat
p ras luna ✠ in angelis desup scribatur
et pena galline nigre ✠ desim scribatur hoc
modo dicendo gru nu ✠ tot cu tyriet xpe
leison tyriet theos vivus xpe filius qui
fidelis magus magno ✠ atq; fiat finem
exaudi nos deus virtutum gru deus miserere
re nobis scta maria ora pro nob scs michael
hab ora pro nob scs raphahel ora pro nob scs
johes bapt. petrus paulus ora pro nob omes scti
✠ scta ora pro nob. tyriet xleison. tyriet.
xle audi nos hoc vo sup scriptu primato
dicat magist in auriculo pri quinquerone
ista quino tempi pugg ✠ filia ✠ ffm som
cui ame nom flectit ✠ ois lingua pclama
mat. osanna/ quino tempi scam maria
sam virginem ✠ angelos ✠ archangelos
✠ xviii. apostolos ✠ p. C. xl. mlia martyr

qui p̄ nos et p̄ nr̄a salute descendisti de celis et incarnatus es de spū scō ex maria semp̄ virgine factus homo crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub pontio pilato passus et sepultus tertia die resurrexisti a mortuis ascendisti ad celos sedes ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis inde venturus es iudicare vivos et mortuos et in spū scō dñm et vivificatorem qui ex patre filioq̄ procedit qui cum patre et filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur qui locutus es per prophetas et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum et vitam venturi seculi amen

Ego te adoro deus meus et deum patrem omnipotentem creatorem celi et terre qui me fecisti et redemisti et omnia que in me sunt tibi commendo et peto ut me custodias in hac nocte et in omni tempore vite mee Ego te adoro filium dei unigenitum dominum nostrum ihesum christum natum de maria virgine crucifixum mortuum et sepultum descendentem ad inferos tertia die resurgentem a mortuis ascendentem ad celos sedentem ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis inde venturum iudicare vivos et mortuos Ego te adoro spiritum sanctum paraclitum sanctam ecclesiam catholicam sanctorum communionem remissionem peccatorum carnis resurrectionem et vitam eternam amen

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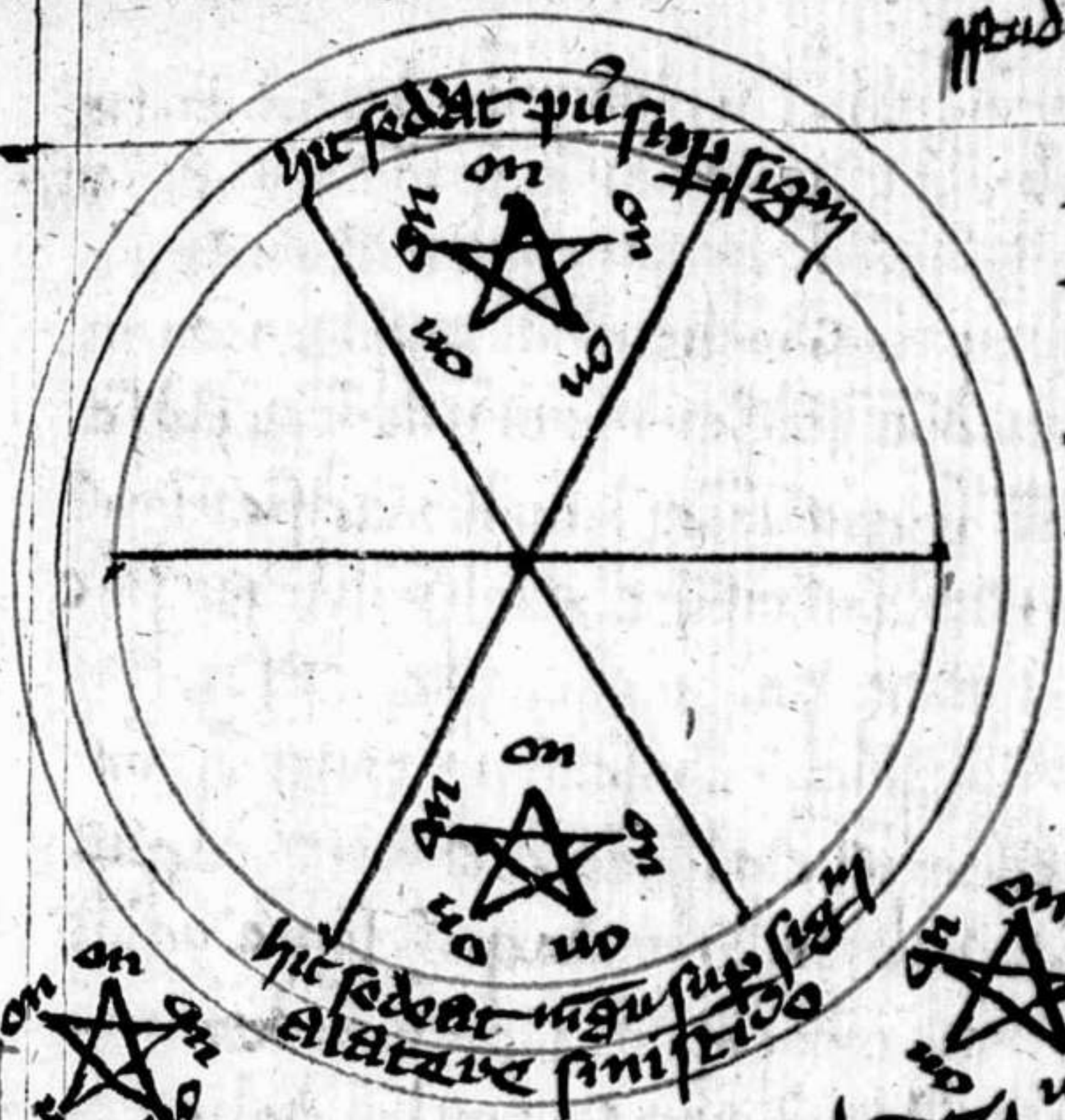
Circulus



Quid est signum

hic sedeat magnus sanctus
Altare sinistro

Hec est primum preculi filii et sanctum
Voce suorum quibus semiorum et horrore
Preculum debet fieri in magisterium sui preculi
et in memoria dum nomen suorum cultorum qui
omnes vos ante Caym fecit in multissimo
loco Convivo vos dominos vt veritatis et
Justitie et dictatis mihi dignetur in voce
nevo vos eam virtute gratie patris et filii
et. s. s. Amen xpc et virtute ymi et baptizet.
et Zelens. Gallos. dimedio. caldeo. os.
qui cottidie stetit calorem ascendit ubi sit
tres dogie ter ut. brevues stetit ut ictu
seculorum in quatuor partes seculi adsanctam
dam totam voluntatem meam ydeni ubi pos
bilit et licitia placabilitatem et affabilitatem
sine tamen et absque toto meffabili pote

BSB

tia deitatis sum vnu mihi vi deu vnitu
te exoramus. Bylet phonorei pris tui Aglaeth.
Agrillud sacramentum q tu nathanael matui
tue fecisti vt mi simlitudie tua & non m
conuenor silitudie adsaumotiandu & adsa
dandu nobistu mquatuor hoia vaqsieuntq
te mpeculo iste placifica sit humilis sit sue
uilla daforumitate ta michi ostendas & am
plig vt duo ut ptes desuus tuus q vo
tam defuncto qua dalsoriadio aut dequa
cuq flia ve dubitabili dequa seuadulo
mihi dent va vnsa vt signa mdei vnu
tue & obea istud vo pceptu debeat
formoui sdmodu clypei vt alio modo
valeus in cuiq grio hec noia depinga
tur Deus scē. ds opt. dei fortis. ds mmortal
lis eu fuit seculi. et cui duo latta sup
cui sigilla salo
monis depingan
tur mardiagn
fne vo clypei
mng sigillu salo
monis & imedio
pceuli hec nom
Bylet depinga
tur aut mihac
pte tabule figuras
que mfra ponitur

on
on
on

postea vo sit alio vnō sit alia pactura
solent tuitudat quo vo feo tacita se
ipsa defau adquadruu vt adsepultu
alicuius hois intesti macipusculo not
tis dieī mētis vt satuī dicendo
hanc guuadoz tonuuo tabylat ac
sotios tuos pialpha ⁊ o ppī ⁊ nouis
simu abiat. tootbos. casia. odeus. o
mala xc. inclito. oni. aly. alyon. messyas.
sabaoth. adonay. emanuel. ō. atanu
bylat. atq; sotios tuos pmutatoz
dñi nri ihu xpi ⁊ pnatiuitate eiz ⁊ p
aduetu pse ⁊ passiōe eiz vt iquatuz ho
ra ta votauo mhoc pcepto m fiyeas
tu tuis sotiis atq; de ve illa de qua si
ve voluo m ea dando vnsa vt signa
dñi acde vo ista opleta ⁊ filia vra ve
nerabilis ad hospitiu tuu. ⁊ ea vo
cada hora ac die adquadruum vada
⁊ accipe pcepta ⁊ tu da ve filio voluis
stua dubitabili ipos ⁊ quibuscuq; uim
dicam vobis q̄ uellas ⁊ quae q̄ q̄ vo
luys ⁊ dicant tibi ⁊

Si vis sawe de omi ve de qua dubi
tauis ⁊ atque pum vuginē ⁊ cui
talli q̄ laua tu vmo dem de sauba
in illo tu oleo oliue hac nomina

Hon · hely · sabaoth · fidomay · het · hely · hc
clory m · sothey · emanuel · alpha ⁊ o · ⁊
vos sanctissima nona vogo vt mittatis mihi
duos angelos ut tres m hut crystallum
qui dicant mihi vitata de hus q ego m
quiwa ⁊ vogo vos angelos vt dicatis
mihi vitata qua ego mquiwa hvoti p̄o
k dicat pū quiwo vos m nore dadeon ⁊
dij egadias ⁊ samsonay · ⁊ exeat magi
ster mei q veniatis m hut crystallu ita
q̄ fiat posim vidwa ⁊ vequetz nora
superius hita donac veñmt ⁊ cu veñmt
dicat nora sup̄dta ⁊ quiwet eos
m nore dadeon · ⁊ dij ⁊ cl q̄ fiat tow ⁊ sup
sedes hiwadas sedeant ⁊ cu sedeat quiw
dicat · ⁊ vos m nore bessabes ⁊ hit at
sexiem · ⁊ sellabom · ⁊ lecham · vt no vata
dams abhot crystallo sma lucetia mea mq
gistri qui hic fms aq

Ymatu crystalli admvendu fiwtam
ficipes crystallu pleamu ⁊ lucadu admo
dum sigilli fm vt dictuli q̄ mea vende
re vna pte vnginea postea scribas m
po cum oleo vnidi hoc nome hondly ·
postea dicas hec quiwet ormpit semp dey
one ihu x̄e filij dei vini qui lapidibo hanbis
p̄dicatoribo vnotutes michi gentissima

inv̄abiles ↄtulisti lapidē istā · Et p̄ nativitate
sc̄ā tuā sicut p̄ passionē ac gloriosā r̄rōnē tuā
et ascensionem atq; p̄ hec sc̄a nōīa tua · Adonay ·
sabaoth · hon · ely · eloy · elyon · honely · sother ·
tetragramaton · emanuel · alpha et o · ↄse
crare benedic̄e digneris p̄ta tui honore et
glīa q̄ vivis et regnas d̄s p̄ oīa secula sclōr
Amē Agla otmoncā · penoncogens · ong
maria · nō obstat asya · affulca · ni eronpa ·
net coptes qui adnos veritatis fiat fiat
fiat sine mora p̄ xp̄o vo apparuit tibi in
cristallo dictas hanc ↄiuratione. Coniuro
vos Angelos p̄ deū vivū et verū et p̄ na
tivitate sc̄am eius et p̄ eius passione
et p̄ eius r̄rōne sc̄am et p̄ eius missionem
sc̄i sp̄s paracliti et p̄ sc̄m eius aduentu et p̄ hec
sc̄a nōīa dei honay · sabaoth · onel · aly · elo
ym · sother · hemanuel vt sup̄ius dc̄m ē et
p̄ oīa nōīa sc̄a dei vt nō recedatis ab ho
lapide quousq; certificati fuimus de oī re
dubitabili de quo scire volumus in virtute
dei oīpotentis et obea Amen Notandū
etiam est q̄ non debet aliquis uti ho
experimento p̄ re vili vt modica
Sed p̄ causa ardua et ne etiā sentidū
q̄ dc̄m est alibi ne sumas nomē dei
tui in vanū nec invocas inutiliter et c̄

BSB

Sume tibi feruitu mventu gxmpuoussu & fac
tibi fieri clauem huiusmodi facta
due venis & eu fea fuit uepone ea
p notta eu sanguine galli albi in qua
dnm̃ dicas ꝓpter Mayloy Achala e.
scripta sanguine ut nichil gē me & ortia
clauē istam valeat seuꝫ tibi ista clauis
panat & fac sup istam clauē ang̃ prosus
subtꝫ tria hanc figura ✠ B de sang
ne galli albi & dimitte ibi ✠ XL tribꝫ
diebus & tua fuit notta sanguine galli
simili scripta in ch̃ eu transieris vrbem
vacua clauē eu sinistra manu de occi
dentē in orientē ora qui sanctas scripsit.
& dirituꝫ hꝫ clauis plurimis

d fuit mueiendu accipe prius vgine
delegitto thoro hoste qui vis an me
ridie & illiꝫ vngue de pollice sinistre
manꝫ cu cultello bñ purgabis dam de
cedula subnotatis noibꝫ scripta in code
digito ligabis sub vngue & hꝫ fuit notta
scripta. benoham. beatte fuit beatrice
ueruelessym. Aluadessym. Abemidyri.
fuit olinid dysi. medruni. Alhesa hyer
sim. Egrisma. benoham. halsam. ezuo
hiae. bohodi. hohada. Anna. hohanna.
ohyreo. mer Alutaps. Aluageruel Agerhor
Alibeiui. halba. hoc fco & puau no ui

der Aligz ꝛc ꝯ ꝛ aut videt liga cuiusq;
am ouiam q̃ ad tuos missas quas
ꝑ fec audiuisti tecu hinsi supra cedula
tua dignetur dicere hanc quintalorone ad
vos demones qui coram me ꝛ ung ut.
ꝛtq; qui requiratis ꝑ tu q̃ talpha ꝛ a.
volis impo ꝑ ptipio ꝑ quid ꝑ hanc
tissima nomia dly. dey. messyas. sother.
emanuel. sabaoth. adonay. ꝑ q on. p
ꝑ tuu nomꝰ dni ꝓnton tuaton. anecte
ton. ꝛ ꝑ alia nois mihi ognita ꝛ cog ni
ta ut non habetis ꝓtra vacuedi cu uiq;
socijs donet dio cam mea voluta ad
impleuntis ꝛ sme om mdato ꝛ lesione
alicuꝰ. ꝛ si ho fecia q̃ ꝑ seruti rubeo vos
ligatui sulp fundrata aquay mariꝰ ꝛ
hec duo nomia ioth. nabnoth. ꝑ que sa
lomon ostringebat m vasa vitreo de
mones dicuntos ꝑ vij signa sa lo
monis ꝛ ꝑ sigillu ꝛ sapiaz eius ut non
habetis licentia vacuandi hinc donec
dequatuoz ve introgatio michi dicatis
ꝛ ostendatis veritate hui das siquis no
dicat dnvcte dic m fauve q̃ hec co
iuratione cuuo te longo tuuoniste
deu vevu bassyon ꝛ ꝑ nomꝰ on berito.
sabaoth. adonay. cuuo te ꝑ baptismu

BSB

℣ ⁊ cū spiritu tuo ℟ Oremus ⁊ quā te ꝛ̄ regenerauit
gr̄a ⁊ qua ⁊ ꝓfessio ꝛ̄ ut nō hereas ꝓtra te cele
di. ꝑ̄s ois q̄ ue vndis meritis ꝑ̄s ꝙmuta
cumbg tuo dictis ꝑ̄s te expedire no ex
ꝓdiant ꝓ̄ Adde hanc ꝙmutatiōē vos
damones ⁊ abrenūcia ⁊ abscede ⁊ vos de
mones ⁊ abrenūcia vos damones ⁊ abrenū
cio vos damones ⁊ ⁊ssecutiōne ⁊ pacta nos
bis dissoluēmath. ⁊ uthidemath. ⁊ iracath.
⁊ altuamat ⁊ uestrfauat. helybeup. hagau
⁊ subiat. ⁊ ⁊ thetm ⁊ qua ꝙmutatiōe tauda
⁊ u ⁊ q̄tita claue vndebit ꝓuoū omia
hoc etia ꝓpinatu valz ⁊ adhuc si aliqus
bellz ⁊ de ⁊ statu ⁊ micoꝝ ⁊ suoꝝ vtiu esse
⁊ ni ⁊ ⁊ denutiat ⁊ si aeut ꝛ̄ vra
⁊ ni ⁊ ꝙmutatio ⁊ ꝓ̄ corrigia de qua
ram dem ⁊ ⁊ finita missa qualibz die tau
dicas hanc ꝙmutatione ⁊ ꝓ̄ corrigia co
mando te ⁊ona ⁊ hoc nome dm̄ targa
mataon. ⁊ ⁊ hoc nome dei ioth ⁊ ⁊ hoc
nome dei habnoth. ⁊ ⁊ oēs virtutes
⁊ ⁊ tatas habeas ⁊ ⁊ ligandi ⁊ vendicandi
virtute talem recipias q̄ ligas filius
ligata ipi ⁊ ⁊ no habeat ꝓtatem vera
dadi q̄ ⁊ de ligatoꝝ ⁊ ⁊ firmat ⁊ expli
cit ꝓmu cap.

F ⁊ mely. ado custas. ⁊ ⁊ ⁊ ton. ⁊ am

BSB

pri & p nome principis vri sum & coronę
capitis sui p obtem q sibi debeatis vt vti
alijs fabaribus p tribus mudi or occasione pfi
positi & mundi istius pui fugatis & no
bis sine dubio & sine fallacia illud q ti
vobis scire volumus vtatur manifestatissi
me fiat fiat Comito te rungo iuueni
p deum on. orion. sabaoth. Adonay. vt no
bis eas p tota mensem ianuarii calendi de quo
cuq; interrogauero & Comito te rungo
iuuenis p deum tuum Alpha & o. q es pri
mus & nouissimus vt michi vitam dietas
da hac vel da qua te vel quando & ego te run
go p baptis. q vel acquisti in mundi sal & mdi
cordia tui nitatis & castitate & potentia qua
te regnauit ex aqua & spu sco vt nobis
eas potestatem negligentia calendi ut men
ciendi quoq; vidauis & Comito te rungo iuue
nis p patrem & filium & s. s. p sum nome dei
altissimi. p sum tetragrammaton p sca nomia dei
on. ely. eloy. eloe. vt no habeas licentiam
seu potestatem scalandi quoquis scuerus Co
mito te rungo iuuenem p baptis. p sacra
pista de sca cadulite. & castitate & pos
tentiam qua te regnauit de quo
fit sic vt tam cito & sine mora ad te
ueniat mi rungwe istius pui vitatem

nobis ondas Alicia & infans q̃ tu p̃ma
& filia & s. & p̃ma dail claudy dehis p
tuitaḡ matrim. p̃hac nata dñi mil cclxxv
ely & loy. clod & p̃ baptiſm & accepiſti
in nata & ñdiuidue tunitati p̃ma
deitate & ſanctus & o q̃ & p̃m & finis
ut appetas mihi q̃ ita ut ſi deſiderat
deus ut nos & nec mtuoga p̃ueꝛſiuus
uiſſit clariou q̃ ſancta ſi dicat non
lege itaꝛ q̃ nam ſalmitid ſit tua uita
ſi nata fuerit ſi dicat q̃ ſit clariou quia
ſi uideat ſalig ſi dicit q̃ uideat homine
ſanat magiſt huiuſmodi p̃ueꝛ illu q̃
uidet in matutina hiemis ſic tu q̃ ſi
clariam me q̃ uis to p̃ q̃ p̃ueꝛ & filia & ſ.
& p̃ ſtam nativa & ad uirginitate p̃ ſtam
ſohanne & ad uirginitate p̃ ſtam katha
rina & ad uirginitate p̃ amb ſcoꝛ & ſcaꝛ
uirginis & p̃ uirginitate me ſtam ut tito
uadas & uenga tuo & ſalutis & ut uadam
ſtam me ita ut ipſum poſſim exiſſe uidere
& intelligere & poſſa quia & ſi p̃ueꝛ
uerit & no q̃ uat ita q̃ quia ut p̃ us
ſi uerit dicat p̃ueꝛ uadi q̃ deſcendat de
equo ſuo & ſedeat aſſeruꝛi cathedriam
ſuꝛ qua ſedeat tut q̃eꝛat p̃ueꝛ. A.
uadat ſi uelit q̃ medicꝛ & dicit q̃ no
tut de quo uolue q̃as ſi dicit q̃ ſic di
cat p̃ueꝛ uadi q̃ mittat p̃mo ſanctꝛ

Adeptus locu voluit & fecit ym exordia
vt & deoqui & tuc dicat q̄ facias poni
mensam & surgat & lauet manꝰ & sedeat
ad mensam & faciat ferculu poni coram
se & cito comedat ꝑ ꝙ̄ medit surgat
& accipiat aquā & lauet manꝰ q̄ dicat
quod legi q̄ removeat corona de capite
& ponat manu dext̄ sup caput suū & in
vet q̄ corona sua & q̄ caput suū & quod
illud q̄ tenet sub manu sua dextra q̄ va
titinū vndeat & deos q̄stiones magistri de
inde q̄at magist̄ ꝑ ꝙ̄ ꝙ̄ voluit post
quā satisfecit q̄stionib⁹ magist̄ dat ei
librū litteratū & pulcer sic dicat & tu pax
sit mecū nos & vos & ait magist̄ vos
votalius a stote grati sibi obediuē romiby
Hic explicit ꝑ̄m capitm/ explicit ꝑ̄m capitm

De ai va dubitabili acta intenta vani
tate halenda accipe patula fenestra
dextram oleo olive munita q̄ ponendo
sup manibus cultelli in pectore pugnet
ingo. tu vo ex illa parte tenedo candē
lam accensam dicas hoc modo trigesi
mus. quinq̄agesimus. centesimus. ducentesi.
mus. trecentesimus. Ego in nomine dñi nri ihu xpi.
qui & alpha & o. ꝑmꝰ & nouissimus cui
sui & finis coniuro vos demones & ad
vocatu ꝑ eu qui dixit ora & facta sunt & pce

su cui obedunt oms creature & preu que
tremunt oms exercitus angelor celestiu &
terrestriu & infernor & p ipius virtutes et
ei potestas & p medium die iudicij sum
deu & p ipius nomen hec scta on. el. ely. eloy &
donay. alpha & o. messyas. sother. emanuel
pantocrator. tetragramaton. ze. agyos.
theos. athanatos. yschyros. kyrios. alleluia
eleyson. ymas. qui es sine mora visibiliter
in hac presentia quemadmodum scripsistis sancta facta ipius
precepistis & respondestis & demostrastis
mihi veraciter dehac re N. nob dubi
tabilia & incerta. veritatem. breuiter. Dicto.
quasis, sancta. gentilium. libera nos
famulos tuos malo pro me & ista quia
vos demones estis & convenit principes
vestri & p vestram potestatem vobis assumo deos
datam & famuli salomonis & p signa & scta
nomina in ipis descripta & p. vij. celos & p
oms angelos, in ipis dispositos & nom po
tentes & sanctas & infernales qui estis &
sopiam. Dapiam. gapiam. lapiam. quasis. no
ca. calus. fiat. Et iterum vos demones pre
cepit & convenit principis vestri
vestram petita vobis assumo deos datam & famu
los salomonis & p signa & scta nomina in ipis
descripta & p ang dos & archangelos & p ipios
nos & dominacias & principatus & potestates

BSB

virtutes & dyabolum & seruabit & omnes viu
tutes albipi & catu & tauritum & mauz & oia
que mas fuit .xij. Apios & mauritanos &
psonas. Legimus uiduas & puellas &
apias & euangelistas xxiiij. seniores &
.xl. milia mnotatu & omes scos & alios
dm qui fuit mcalo & in bruta q̄s cito & si
ne mora & ascendit mquirtas Apuleyo q̄s si
sic tuc dicat pyrra hac gnuatione tonuit
vos ssc & virtutes dm nr ihu & virginita
tis scē marie & virginitatis scī patrīc.
& scī Xpi & scī Ysaie & scī tarsilie & scī
bartholi & virginitatis scī iohis ēuū. & p
aput scī iohis ēuū. & virginitatis mozim
vt ato milat ppatula Apostatis vt vos vide
at & possim quo ssu viso mfoma humana
nigra & mquina albipo de tua negotio put
mali videat expedit & quo quadrante et
virginitatis rpm ssm ostungata sit
pedo mfra .xij. Anos existens. et pt mane
& mtd quistulo nostris cultu ptrahendo
dictas. Gaton. Anepo. tenet opa hotas.
In nsie pris & fi'i & ssc scī spūs Actiones
nras & qs dne Astruendo pueni & fidūm
do pfecisse & vt tuta nra opa Ata samp
mtipiant & pta capta finiant & x̄pi dom
num spm Deus qui misisti filium suū

Aptos tuos mitte dñe sm tuu pactu sup
ipu puerp z illuia z dauifica mtallom ipis
Acz fiam vt mfu videre possit cuatuar
tuas z nobis reuelare amta vrtate dahat
ra nob dubitabili z mcerta scribat missam
la hat scā nsa dei om. dialoy. adonth al
pha z o. gamallon. actinomios. tatoel
mataon. dum volūs eos litare z sac sig
nu cuntis sup patula dicedo mnora pris z
filij z hat sti spūs dñe audiui fugit
tas fidueie z vitat leo de tribu juda. stirps
dauid ta mpata fidlocta vn veristis po
tois data gluiare z puerp z vnigenitatu
vt hear ptatem videndi pm z no mor
tiendi explicit

Incipit liber vissima de batimma hac nois
dicas m fluuium qui vgis. Cauel. uasel.
Cauel. basel. mistal. ouuochel. fabanin. non.
ua. uatuel. Cuius vos puidam fi z sisi
~~uidendas e iustas~~ z stam mariā vnigenī
p. ix. ordines singulop z puidendas pueros
phetas fidos. z mandatis p os fassuros suos
vnigenitos vt fideatis m batimine isto vt
habeatis huius rei vitate nob indetis
vt no sit mihi filiop mpedimentu veritatis
mista questionē Zabuel. Astana. hyeratol.
cogitate facere voluntate mea z iudeas pe
tastatas hac tua nra seruant m cadula

Deus celi Deus terre. Deus angelorum Deus
archangelorum qui es rex regum dominus dominantium
ac altissimus tu dedisti mihi dignationem vt
quidquid tibi placuit facerem in celo et in terra
potestatem da quoque michi vt omnes
spiritus tibi subditos sentiant ne me
formidine tui nominis quem invocavi
fons lucis. fons sapientie. illumina me
Tu es enim deus solus et preter te non est alius deus.
Explicit

Incipit oratio facta tubalcaym.

Adjuro vos demones potestates regis caspar.
balthasar melchior et potestates quinque regum
midian. Abdenago. vt omnes spiritus huius
quod in hoc speculo ut dicunt Albin. Albyndo. Al
pricola. Albracalos. Ayal. Ayal. Syd. quibus
Ayantibus dicit quod veniat vt faciat et mittat
Spiritum suum Gabriel de celo et de loco
isto tubalcaym et postea sequatur quicquid placuerit
sibi et cetera ibidem dicit et explicit

Ophiel. Zamaton. Anguis. Flouis. Suerth.
Silya. Celbyona. Aly. Aloy. Sadaurdy. Mad
Bruy. Assyrati. Antiochus. In nomine dni. Xpisti

scribadi sit vt in fide doctr. Et q. o. p. c. v. m
nora pris ⁊ filij ⁊ ſ. ſ. Signum ſcē crucis ſit in
fidonta tuo hoc mo signet ta dns ihc xpc hoc
mo signet ta dns sicut signauit mōsenā gl
lilee. Inora pris ⁊ filij ⁊ ſpūſci hoc tm dicā
ylibz vnta signādo fidonta pūm cupallice tuo
dextrōs manꝫ hoc nora ꝑdcā. xij. ſ. bachala ⁊ of
totias vq̄rent quousq; sex ſit q̄drat m
mbm pūm qui pdcō q̄runt pcipiat pueu-
cis in nore pris ⁊ filij ⁊ ſ. ſ. vt ſedeat ac
vnꝫ ad os iudgat qui dat vestā vassonsa q;
ꝑta magistri sui dodq̄ dicat idem

Actuc vestimā fidem q̄ accendas pcendela sup
lapidem alicui ꝑsonā sub pdui desup aliꝫ dilu
dcuata ꝑsa ca pena nouā colligas in pueza
manu aliquo ut cōuo albo quidam illu addan
tam pdui qz vaptiate vestīe pdcā ⁊ vestibus
quos apui volūs. Fac. n. mtingas digitu
medium dextre manꝫ in oleo oliue ⁊ lini
as in frontes quatuor articulos sinistre manꝫ
pūi mascli vngis deinde cuncte digitu tuū
intingas in pulueza ꝑfato ⁊ similr lineas
articulos pūi sicut ꝑius ⁊ sic altrando nut
ci oleo nut ci pulueza donec articli pdci
fiant sicut fuerūt clauo ⁊ vassolandas vbi
vba illa duodecim sup nota bachala ꝑmedon.
⁊ of Deinde ci signaculo fiat ca pūi ⁊ fiat ca
tua si vis dicado mora pris ⁊ filij ⁊ ſ. ſ. sic
nu fca aduc fit in fidonta ⁊ of vt supra.

BSB

¶ Cum fuit ꝓdict⁹ ꝓfect⁹ vis hostiaꝝ q̄ued⁹ dict⁹
ꝓfect⁹ vult q̄ ꝑcutiatis ꝑ mora ꝓtis & fi⁹ ꝑ
ritus signat⁹ ꝓtis fuꝺnta ꝓtiuꝫ & tua ꝑ
vis ꝺco mo⁹ ꝓtis & vbis. Not⁹ cum q̄ ꝑ
ꝓtz ꝓtuis ꝓfect⁹ ꝺlaudra ꝑtis ꝓtuꝫ ꝺuctu cu
cultello ꝑcubuit fuit ſex ilh ꝓ ſup̄ miſſa
ꝓfect⁹ fuit nō⁹ ſcz fi⁹ q̄. & ſ. Antꝫ ꝺam ꝓtis
ꝛdſim & ſub ipa ꝓtuis ꝓfect⁹ exꝑnit & ſ

cedon. Zephaca. eloym. eloyay. venite
et Apparet in ungue ejus pueri subsonum
huiusmodi et rpm ungue fabricatis cū esaie
et clauestra mitem vt suffiat ei fidu
dendu desuper rpm mtaridogelio Comuno
vos qui ptes regas capien. baltasar.
melchion. quibus stella Apparuit Annuntiat
dni nri ihu xpi vt nri. sua misericor
diet vt in ungue istius pueri Appareat et qui
vobis in quibuscumq; volumus nobis absq; falla
cia et ista dubio misericordiet Comuno vos
que q vobis ei ista ptes quos. sydrat.
misac. Abdenago. vt in ungue istius
pueri Apparens nec ppter quo timore ut tam
dovam aut lasiane fabricatis et nos deus
q quotidie cū volumus ctos fabricatis con
uno vos que q vobis ei ista ppter quos et
filii et sis. et p obsecratio ei Annuntiat
et clericulum et seruelum. ppter nos et do
minatio et antiquitas et potestas et vir
tutes et angelos et archangelos et pri
cipatus et potestas et ossa et
ppter et virginitatis et
tota dni nri ihu xpi ppter virginitatis

BSB

Incipit prologus libri sacrificij

Incipit prologus libri sacrificij dicens ad
demonstrandum quod inventus fuit et quid
sit ejus effectus quicunque aliquis opus meritu
fidei velit ut proficiat ad effectum pre
videat fidei puras teneat et queat ne ma
nu apprehendat propriae meritoria quibus
locis aliis possint et magis laudabile
fiat cautissimus qui dei noticia et observatu
et confirmatu ne aliquis operatoris fallipossit
sicut eam et fidem bona habeat et cautela
in dno ihu xpo qui quo ora bona producit
ut testat sacra lex qui no firmiter fide
liter quoque crediderit salutem non potest sic
qui fidelit credit virtutibusque operatoris est
nota ne fallat signis et prodigiis hic quo
ad inventu qui quidam exprimatores demo
nendu. si flo ut primitiva et innocentia
ne scire dei nostri ineffabilia ipsi mirum
virtutis et potentie efficatie obtineat qui de
beat obtinere et sicut in fide declarabit
in aliquo exprimitu rei et potentia suam
sanctam christi Et mo sicut posita de
claratur quae requiruntur nota quod in
ti sunt multa et magna quae et in
tra acta scripta habet et credit de dei

diem ad essem preueria ꝙ nuꝝ preciet
et sic seipos detinent et qua sua amittut
et mdig valz vivtg vniꝝ verbi istoy qua
ponds quid et ꝺ nde dicit malig et sua
sua seculavis potestia. sic ista scia pualz
dilig alíus et dia sha ve exprimta sunt
conuuupta ꝺ ꝺ quam sit sitta et sic dia
pcepta ꝺ ꝺ ihs et diligat pnotatis
padnum ꝓpositu nrm et videamus
qm eꝝ ꝺ ꝺ ꝺ

Ab oib⁹ ab⁹ sondit⁹ ne ab⁹ sit ⁹ma ⁊ ⁹
sio ⁊ ꝑus ꝓpget locu aq̃ bñdet ⁊ br
lib⁹ ist⁹ ponz ⁊ ⁹ tm̃ gulo sacdo⁹li ⁊ stola
dedicata ligz ⁊ ⁹ m modu ⁹ ut⁹ sc⁹tu q̃dꝫ
⁊ flexis genib⁹ ꝙsus ora ta dicat vij ꝑ
⁊ ⁹ patrem ⁊ ou⁹ona sagta ⁊ ⁹ lib⁹
⁊ ⁊ sup lib⁹ ꝑdem dz ⁊ ⁹ tu hum̃li
deuotoe ⁊ toto cord⁹ affect⁹ ut omꝑ
deus ⁹ma ⁊ bonit⁹ sua sc⁹ificet ⁊ benedicat
dicat ⁊ ꝙsecret⁹ ist⁹ lib⁹ sc⁹tissim⁹
noib⁹ sus ⁹signitu ut ⁹ virtute q̃ ob
tinat ⁊ deuot⁹ potat obtineat ut ꝙ
leat fid⁹ sc⁹tificandu ⁹ intulit ꝓpitu ⁊ fid
dei ⁹ inuocationes ⁊ ꝙuersationes ꝓpo
⁊ ⁹ ora filia ꝙsumta ꝓ similit no
hic lib⁹ no ⁹ tat ⁊ hñt ñ ab⁹ ꝓpo de
⁹ no ꝙsecret ⁊ of Katania aut finit
⁊ ⁹ dic hant ou⁹ona hñlit ⁊ ⁹
(ꝓfco ⁊ ⁹ ma ⁹ ñcaria) oratio

Deus ⁹ mei ⁹ ministeriu ⁹ mos ⁊ ꝓpitia
malis ⁹ ⁹ tema ⁹ ñdz ⁹ mea qua
ꝓtaui ẽ: ⁹ no obnegas ⁹ mihi ⁹ ⁊ ⁹
⁊ ꝓtib⁹ ⁹ ⁊ ⁹ tuli⁹ ⁹ ⁊ audi deus
oratione ⁹ famuli tui ⁹ ⁹ ut ⁊ ⁹ ⁊ dic

BSB

invocatus te exaudi me velociter sicut ex
audisti sanctam virginem tuam Justinam
dne clamantem fide et fletus audi vocem
famuli tui Amicti lucis veste michaelem
archangelum tuum ut ostium tuorum ut omnia
crimina et peccata quecumque fecerunt
tue quoque ego peccator libi offendi
contemptu in hac hora ut propitius
michi sis et miserearis mei et exaudi me
per invocationem nominis tui. s. patris et filii et
spiritus sancti ut accepta habeas et placeat tibi
et ostendas michi per invocationem tuorum et nomen
tuum in hoc libro descriptorum huius
et fidelius depcatassie huic ego indignus
cum fiducia confidens ut scifices et benedi
cas libru istu sicut benedixisti virgas
et oliveas istu ut per hec nomina tua sanctissima
dñe. ihs. xpe. alpha et o. eliloy. eloyve.
sitthochich. con. sapmelamaton. ezelphya

ezelphyator.

tra-tr-tri-dagi-dmi-tom. dly-ou-tam. vi-yon. dra-
vi-yon. cru-ystion. y-syon-ng. dmela. bay-syn.
mnoyn. mes-syas. sothey. :: v dmanuela
beloth. Adonay. ⁊ pdicta sancta nomia tua
q̄m hoc libru ḡtinent ⁊ tra vnitute scte
tre sit pticipata corpe nr̄i sit liber ist⁹ ofe
dat ⁊ bndic ⁊ glorifica ⁊ sanctifica ⁊ ꝯsecra
tuta salvamati corpis ⁊ sanguis sui vt
vnitute ꝑ libri ist⁹ debz obtinere effectu
sne aliqua fallacia veritat obtinat ad ose
cuandu vinculu pfui ⁊ ad osecutandu dia
ꝺ̄pmata cordialia ⁊ pfectam vnitutem
⁊ pticipa habeat ad ꝙ sue gsitis ꝓueniat
dno ihu xpo qui sedz mltissimi cum ptu
nod ⁊ gloria ⁊ infinita secula seculo ꝝ
Amen Amen Amen Amen Amen ℣
Dicat ta fili Bane ℍ dicat
ta filio Bane ℍ dicat tre ꝑ sos sme
cta mdula nr̄i dn̄i ihu xpi te bane
ℍ dicat ⁊ sifiat vt vnitute salvamti
nte obtinead ꝙ obtinere debeas. bene
ℍ dicat te om̄s scta vnginis Bane ℍ
dicat te hodie ⁊ oi tpe ⁊ alti dei
om̄s virtutes celestes te bnedicat
⁊ ꝺfendant om̄s angeli ⁊ archangeli
virtutes ⁊ pncipat⁹ ꝺminacones ⁊

dominationes · cherubim ⁊ seraphim · ⁊ omnē
tē militia ⁊ virtutes celorū · beatū seraphim
sanctus ⁊ cū omni
Unā tuā ⁊ ihū xpi Benedicas ⁊ sanctifices li
bru istu ⁊ ofiones ꝓpositū tuū ut
tuū ⁊ ꝓfectum obtineat ⁊ ad ꝙ institutus
est · ⁊ ofirmato ꝓpositū dño ihū xō cuius
regnū ⁊ ipiū sine fine ꝓmittit ⁊ sic in dei vō · ofi
ro fidelis ⁊ seruā ⁊ fructuosos ⁊ in
tuus ⁊ ꝓficiat · ⁊ sic ꝙ · ix · dies quib⁹ li
bru istu ofirmatu · ⁊ quicūq; aliud ofectū
de voluis mandatis ꝓmptā obtemā ordina lege
de · s · deus invisibit cū reliqs sanctis ⁊
in vitā tuū ofitebor debes dicere ⁊ ex
aqua benedicta aspergi ⁊ fig̃ sancte crucis
fronti tuo impone vt deus infundat qm
ꝑt sci fidē quā tuū ꝓficiendū ⁊ sic ꝙ · ⁊ de
inimicū ⁊ nō fallat ⁊ caue prudenter ne
in mentē inspiratū hoc magnū secretū
deferat · ⁊ asseueratissimis philosophis est
magis ⁊ sce dei noīb⁹ ofectū ⁊ si alii
cui exposueris defit detrimentū sm ofectū

Haec ipsud fiat. et sic in dominicis diebus. dabas exaudi oratio mea ut ita conteram te. et dic ipsi et in tuis lectulis tuis et fitabo et postmodum ipsa. Ad dominicas mie dñe deus meus tue discipline anime intende meditationi mee dñe deus salutis mee fiat mea tua dne super nos q admodum speramus in te. sancta dne ipsum non confundam in eternum. intret oratio mea in conspectu tuo. Inclina aurem tuam ad preces meas et dne exaudi orationem meam et clamor meus

Ad te veniat oratio

Deus invisibilis. Deus mirabilis. Deus incomprehensibilis. Deus potentissime. Deus excelse. Deus gloriose. Deus misericors. Deus tu cui nec ego lux indigna et plena miquitatis dolo et malitia supplicit ad tua veniam. Respice et dignare propitius intueri in me famulum tuum. Ecce lux indigna exaudire dignaris clamantem ad te. qui hec egritudo sanctissimis morbis insignito ut virtutem qui obtinet debeat potenter obtineat et adversis prosperitatem qui hanc

dño ne gsecuta miabilit ogiungat vt
tu voluit hūano voluntati obediat et tu
exoptata voluit mundu os ogratulet et
tu voluit dilgat ꝑ sctissimu nom tuu
ꝑ scām. ꝙ. Ihus Ioth. hoth. vel hoc vel
el. el. el. ꝙ a. hel. vam. ꝙ audiu me
a magnitudie gloꝛie tue. et. n. gnta
tua tuam: ignis exurgunt. oīs ꝑ tuk
tis exurto tuo et infinalis tuam et
tuu bat ꝑ ihc sctissima nota tua on Alpha
et ω. fm ꝑ sims. dr. al. aly. alyo. aloe.
elyon. sother. emanuel. sabaoth. Ado
nay. eheye yaya. eeye ostat ꝑ hoc
experimetu ab ꝑstata tuo honoꝛ et gloꝛia
infinita saculoꝝ saculis. Ame. ostende ꝑ
ptus experimetu ostatuda volūs ꝙ prīmꝰ
fidē nr̄ votoꝝ ab primu tuu dirigat debeꝰ
dr̄a excludat dignus clamata fidei ꝙ
hꝰ experimto ut virtute ꝙ obtīe debeat
potent obtineat ꝑ sctissimu nom tuu
ihū ꝑ sic in qualibz ostatibz ut supꝰ
dem ꝙ finitel ostensa possit videꝝ ꝙ
Deus unius ditor oculis qui celu super
altitudinem nubiū excedis et tuam
misa stabilitata sint fiqueꝰ fundaꝰ

et mari terminu suu q̄ p̄ter no p̄terit tibi
qui solem & lunā & stellas in sūmo firma
collocasti q̄ ora in sagena facisti q̄ vij. dies
horez fluy magine plasmasti tua & de
pu tuo mari in profundi q̄ aria tu quaz
spū p̄cellaz creasti q̄ gang huanu in
aqua diluui & diristi q̄ noe & eos qui
cum eo erat in archa saluasti q̄ Abrahā
sublimasti & ad hanc dicē mandū spūisti.
qui loth de subuersione sodome & go
morra liberasti. q̄ moysi in mare rubrū
flamā ignis lotuq; fluctu q̄ populū tuum
de captiuitate egypti deduxisti & ei p̄ter
modu maris viam sicca aperuisti q̄ lagem
moysi in monte sinay dedisti. qui de
petra aquas exiri fecisti q̄ Daniele
de lacu leonū eripuisti. q̄ tres p̄ros de
camino ardati. sine dolore illesos fieri fecisti. q̄ ni
niuen agonē illaesos fieri fecisti. q̄ ni
sussanā ex falsa infamia de falso cri
mine liberasti. ymo de cuncta tri.
bulacōne saluasti. ymo & alia multa mirabilia
pa q̄ fecisti exaudi nos pre rogamus & mi
serere famulis tuis. & da huic expi
mento virtute & p̄tate sup malignos
spūs ad nocendū nobis & ligandū & sol

uendu ꝫ maledictu ꝫ mp̃fundu abyssus
gnitendu si nō obs̄uauerint mandata d̄ni
dñi iste q̄ regas ꝯtus ꝫ bndus ꝫ regnas
p̄ma ꝯta ꝯtoy ꝫmē ō r̄atio

Ostios adonay p̄p aduent̄ ona ꝫ h̄ regē
nerūt ꝫ gstituunt ad ꝯto ꝑpicio mu
tatronū eos ꝫ clamet p̄na vt ꝑ exp̄i
mētu ꝑfecta ꝫ obtectat adcognōdu malig
nos ꝑ sit velut . . . hmilit obediat ꝫ ꝑ
mandatu implesant te mūdante ꝫ iubente
qui sedes in altissimis ꝫ cuncta custodis ꝫ
honor sit ꝫ ꝑtas ꝑfinita ꝯta. oy Amen

O r. pie. on usta adonay. ꝯsurge ꝫ as fons
nia ꝫ pietas. oūgo tibi rex regū ꝫ dns
dnantiū qui sedes in magestate tua intuens
p̄fundu abyssi ona cnans. ona regnes. ona
ꝯtinens ꝫ. uirtute tua moderans ꝫ hones
tly magnia. ꝫ similitudine tua de limo tu
ra formasti vt mihi sit mtlo laudem
ꝫ glorificem. unde ons tibi adorēt te
ꝫ psallat tibi. ꝫ ego licet indigno ꝑ m dicta
mori tuo. unde quiissima ꝫ misericordissime
magestas tua implorō ꝫ tui humili d̄uo
tionis exposculo suppliter vt in uirtute tua
ꝫ gnā dono tuo gsequar ꝫ gfirmant
om̄ ostatione q̄ uocatione ꝫ in uo
cationes q̄ in hoc hibio gtinet vt ꝫ

efficacia adeo mirabilis sit vt omnes obtineat
et prae se gerentes superbos et altivos humiliet
subiugat eis inuocantes et prouocati fuerint
citi exaudiat et misereatur eis vna cum
laude et benedictione offerant illo
et mandata exercitia ad finem illo
et tua laus et eius qui pro eis rogauerit
et impetret pro eis. Amen

Adonay melech. Adonay roheh. excelsi.
Sadai. Adonay. magne cuncta creata sint
et fabricata mira tua et ineffabile bonitate
tua ad hoc altissima nota in voce tua vt michi
postulanti tibi digno famulo tuo. Aduxeri
tui gratiam tuam praestare digneris super has
observationes invocationes tuas altissimis
nominibus insignitas quae in hoc libro describuntur. Am.
El. Eloe. Adonay. Sadai. Elyha. Eo. Ye.
he. yhe. Asereye. eheye. Panthaleo. te
Pantagramaton. Agelpheres. Otazomos.
Onoyteon. Stimulacio. Om. Ely. Aue. mes
syas. Sother. Emanuel. Sabaoth. Yesuet.
Dimelius. Pm. Primogenito. Septem. Vnto.
Gubaton. Oriens. Sol. Splendor. Gloria.
Lux. Panis. Fons. Vitis. Mons. Hostia.
Agnus. Verbum. Leo. Os. Sibi. Salus.
Angelus. Pastor. Sacerdos. Pax. Media
tor. Agnus. Ouis. Vitulus. Serpens. Aries.
Leo. Vermis. Athanatos. Kyrios. Ayos.
Theos. Et hec nomina sanctissima et psalma que

mortuo ne natus tu suppliciter exposcito vt oratio
nibus ieiuniis atq; mortificationibus istis q
gratiam in hoc libro virtute spiritus tui
in virtute tua diuina ad obtinendam diu quam
merita ac in votationes demonum vt obitus
intelligi fiat in virtute tuorum non fiunt ad
votum ac prouitigati. statim mortis
ac prouitigatis voluntas adimpleat ac nichil
nocitas neq; timor te infestantes sed potius
obedientes ac instratos ad tua disciplinam
virtute mandata spiritus fiat fiat amen
Notandu si denuo aliq; asymmetu oponere
volus adpulatiu impone ei dotu. ac age
ipm sicut prius dem dic ac tu egredere spu
xpi ad astrom oratio

Domps sapientie dei qui mortuos oia ciuitat
ti exhibuisti cui obediunt oms tue atque
cui omne genu flectit celestiu terrestriu
ac infernoz q tuis angeli ac archangeli
principes potestates. adorant ac tremunt
qui manu claudis oia. adam ac euam ad
similitudinem formasti ac angelos tuos in tue
bulos superbia corruentes infundi thronis
dominationibus principatibus ac potestatibus
ac cherubin plenos oculis qui sedes addesse
videntes ois potestatis iudicaturus vivos
ac mortuos tu q es alpha ac o. per

Altissimo rex virgu dns dnatu. Joth.
Agla. tabuoth. el. alyel. anay. anatuel.
Suthyel. Amazyel. Sodamel. Agyton. co
lymas. alyas. Schyrbe. Athanathos. ymas.
aly. massyas. Et hec tua sca nomia q̄ alta tua
nomia adiuuo te. et obsecro te p̄ntia q̄ do
mine ihu xp̄e p̄ virginalem humanitatem p̄ baptismu
tuum p̄ passione tuam. p̄ resurrectione tuam
p̄ ascensionem tuam. p̄ aduentum tuum
p̄ spiritus dei q̄ descendit sup te in forma
columbe. p̄ vocem patris q̄ dixit in baptismo
te. hic est filius meus dilectus. p̄ crucem tuam
et mortem tuam. p̄ sanguinem et aquam q̄ exiuit
de corpore tuo. p̄ vulnera tua p̄ cru
cifixionem tuam. p̄ sepulturam tuam. p̄ resurrectionem
tuam dedisti p̄die q̄ passus fuisti p̄ eam
tribulata et miserere mei. p̄ virginem matrem
tuam. p̄ angelos et archangelos tuos
p̄ omnes sctos et scas tuas. p̄ ora sanctam ecclē
siam catholicam et sponsam tuam. p̄ omnes
sctos tuos et sctas tuas. p̄ ora sanctam ecclē
siam tuam. p̄ sacerdotes et ministros tuos
et omnes sctos et scas tuas. p̄ ora sanctam
familiam tuam. p̄ famulum tuum. p̄ famulas
tuas. et benedicito te. et benedicito te.
et rogo te ut exaudita sint ab omnibus
creaturis et ab omnibus mihi adversantibus
deus et tres et quatuor sup angelos tuos q̄ de
celo cecidisti fuit ad destruendu gaudia eorū
et loquela eorū et audiendu. ad cognoscendu
ad solliciendu ad ligandu ad cogendu eos
contra te. ad p̄tipiendu ad ora q̄ fuit eos

BSB

Possibilia & bona mea & vota mea vilo modo
captiua & me timeat pusillitate & miseram
& grauem tua deprecor & pro tua actione. ondy.
Anety. Anathon. vageido. ya. yehay. al.
blamutu. vsyon. usy. aliyas. pona nomina tua
& stas & sodas pfundas angelos angelos pota
tas dnationes virtutes & pnomina & p
salomon fingebat dyabolos & ydiotas
cos thoeth. habeat. mat. fagla noth.
othab. vameth. nabuthi. & pona scriptura
nota tua q scripta sut mihi libro & pro
tua eorpdem q̄s mihi q̄sieris & m
rndere & deorbz ymittere q̄ quam sine le
sana corpis & anime mee pdum nullu
tym. xpm filiu tuu d. t. vi & or. qeio
Pstuu de cal̄s deus vnꝰ m substata. tri
nus m̄ psonis qui fidem & cuncta & pfios
ptes & misisti. & filiu tuu vnigenitu q eos
ptis & crucifigi & mori voluisti clamo
tissime ingemo & vagio & pro supplex
me tis oribz quibz possum & fidei hꝰ & d. xpi
filii tui vt me gratiose & me fidunte
fidem angelos tuos mundos mittat
qui mihi fut pcatoꝛ fallogdi & fatiendi
& valo & desidoꝛ & h. me lesione alqua
& filiorꝫ notimto & pnicia laqdu
heribay & libor & naiꝫ tuoꝝ michi dos
tas & solucndi & ligandi demones sibis
meis & flukibus tuo q m gratissimubile vite &
dispo tue Amen

oratio

Oſumma ⁊ eterna deitas ⁊ vera ſapiencia dei qui te diſponis ⁊ ordinas cuncta tibi ſubdita miserere mihi famulo tuo. Dimitte michi omnia peccata mea. Da michi gratiam ut tibi placere valeam ex toto corde meo et proximum meum sicut me ipsum diligere. Et ea que tibi placita sunt ſcire et facere. Ut corpore et anima mundus valeam tue voluntati obedire et tua precepta adimplere. Et ne permittas me unquam in aliquam tentacionem cadere. Sed libera me a malo. Amen.

Oſapiencia patris omnipotentis que ab ore altissimi prodisti attingens a fine usque ad finem fortiter et disponens omnia suauiter. Veni et ostende michi viam prudencie. Et dirige actus meos et omnia opera mea in lumine sapiencie tue. Et custodi me a cunctis offensionibus. Ut digne laudem et benedicam nomen tuum sanctum. Amen.

Oadonai ⁊ dux domus israhel qui moysi famulo tuo in igne flammanti in monte syna et in rubo apparuisti et ei legem iustissimam dedisti. Veni cum multitudine angelorum tuorum et michi famulo tuo in hac vita succurre. Ut per viam tuam pergam et in semitis tuis ambulem. Et mandata tua custodiam. Amen.

Oradix ieſſe que stas in signum populorum. Veni et noli tardare. Et michi famulo tuo in hac vita succurre. Ut per viam tuam pergam et in semitis tuis ambulem. Et mandata tua custodiam. Amen.

Oclauis dauid et sceptrum domus israhel. Veni et noli tardare. Et michi famulo tuo in hac vita succurre. Ut per viam tuam pergam et in semitis tuis ambulem. Et mandata tua custodiam. Amen.

Oorient. Splendor lucis eterne et sol iusticie. Veni et noli tardare. Et michi famulo tuo in hac vita succurre. Ut per viam tuam pergam et in semitis tuis ambulem. Et mandata tua custodiam. Amen.

Orex gencium et desiderium earum. Veni et noli tardare. Et michi famulo tuo in hac vita succurre. Ut per viam tuam pergam et in semitis tuis ambulem. Et mandata tua custodiam. Amen.

Oemanuel rex noster et legifer noster. Veni et noli tardare. Et michi famulo tuo in hac vita succurre. Ut per viam tuam pergam et in semitis tuis ambulem. Et mandata tua custodiam. Amen.

Oſabaoth. Ecce mitto angelum meum qui preparabit viam ante faciem meam. Veni et noli tardare. Et michi famulo tuo in hac vita succurre. Ut per viam tuam pergam et in semitis tuis ambulem. Et mandata tua custodiam. Amen.

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quorum & voluntate mea & pfice ad
mpledm & michil no[n]tes n[ec] tri
mova mfecerteb & potj obedientes
& mistrantes & tua dispita voluta
mda mea & fiam & me
Deus m vocatione dni mi ihu xpi mp
hoīs & fingno immaculato & in
augustat te & angeli & michaeli augu
st te & michael. & gabriel & raphael.
augustat te tibi & pri & te abrahā.
ysaac & iacob & pphe. augustat te &
pli x̄i & sti & alti dei deprecat & omnes
tue dedie ihovā & i mse & imonto
sc̄o eius augustat & am vos & me vt
bto & sme & aliqua gdiu obedientie
dus meis & voluntat mee subiciat & am
Cus & angelo & archangelo & throno & dñio
& principat & potestat & cherubin & seraphin
vnigenu & coheredu & dei & pri mi ihu xpi.
ivocato n[ost]ro sem tam pdicte magestatis tue
potē: supplex exposco vt michi & huic
p[re]sti & dignetis & ad & ipius & mi sacrā
mēta vt ubicūq[ue] latet & audito nōie
tuo velocit & de loco suo exeat & ad me
festinat & accedat & pmptat tibi
dyabole & de supnis & adibo te in fuio
ra mea & medi[us] ingressit & audi g[ra]. Diij &

ꝯuiuitꝫ ꝙstituat ꝺcede i nõ ꝺn̄i. n. i. xꝝ
tuꝫ nec ſit ire mimicꝰ fideiꝫ geniſ huꝰ
mouſ captatoꝝ iuſtiꝝ delectatoꝝ malozꝰ
uidue ſomes uitozꝰ ſeductoꝝ hoꝝ mgr'
ꝙſtas ꝛ reſiſt cuſtis ta ꝙda uiues tuꝰ
ꝛſtu metue ꝫ iyſtas imolatꝰ ē. i roſcyh
uenudatꝰ ē. i fig ocꝰ ē. i hore ꝯfixꝰ ē ꝺn̄
ſuꝰ ex ꝯtuhatoꝝ ſtudi g. ꝺn̄. ꝛ tiede ꝛba ꝺi
ꝛ eſto mꝰ pat toꝝ negotiis meis ꝙfitiedi ſme

Adiuꝰo teꝝon mea m fiꝝm ꝛ ſ uniꝫ
ꝙficiendis/ coda mihi ꝛ mſtꝝs ꝛ illiꝰ ꝺile
xit te potiꝰ qui ſe ſubiecit ꝰ ciu
is ſuo ꝓtribulo ſubiugauit/ te illiꝰ bua
thui oꝝ ꝺn̄i/ qui beuitto gamtibꝰ m
fiꝝm ſtam ſtabꝰ ſtdiuꝝ ꝙduxit. ſit timoꝝ
ꝫ toꝝ hoꝝ/ ſit ꝫ ſoꝝdo ymago deꝝ
ꝙ ſta mouꝫ ſua ꝝdeamit. n ꝝſiſtas.
riet mouꝫ ſ ꝙquiꝫ mihi ꝛ uelle
mea ſ impleꝝ ꝛ ne mea m miſeꝝ
ꝓtas ꝛ ꝺꝙnadu ꝺu me ꝓtoꝝa ni
mis ꝛ ꝛ gnoſtis ⁊ mpat ꝫ ꝺnꝰ ꝫ m
pat ꝫ magſtꝰ. ꝫ mpat ꝫ ꝺ ꝛ ꝺu ꝫ m
pat ꝫ filiꝰ ꝫ mpat ꝫ ſpꝰ ſtꝰ ꝫ mpat
ꝫ ſcꝝ ꝛ ſedes. ſ. petꝝ ꝛ pauꝝ ꝛ te
ꝝoꝝ ꝛ ꝓ ꝛ ſtoꝝ ꝫ mpat ꝫ indulgꝛtiꝛ
ſaſſoꝝ ꝫ mpat ꝫ mꝝ ſtꝰ ꝫ mpat
ꝫ ſacramentu auriꝰ ꝫ mpat ꝫ mſteꝝ
uiꝝ ꝛ miſſioꝝ ꝛ ꝫ mpat ꝫ ꝛ

BSB

in quo michi ꝟbum tuum dedisti de corruptibo tuis quia te
placuit qui regnu tuum destruxeti qui
te virtu ligauit & vasa tua diripuit q
te genuit in tenebris ut tibi tu unus
tuis erit pactu in tuo ꝙ nec debile
te ꝟbum tuum temeuenit & ꝟba tua
ꝟba aut dei tui & tua statim transgressus
es unde fili i. x. que tepide sustines
& crucifige & pusillanimes quisq; tibi
mors tua persuadebo audiat impiorum
necessitas primi dom. Adimuo te m
nore tuum in matutinis & ambulat sup fi
lios & basiliscu tuu conculcabit leone
& draconem ut conserues fatigas tuo ꝙ ꝙ propriam
gratiam & misericordiam in oratio nore dei
ꝙ in seditione ꝙ celoꝝ uirtutes & po
testates dominos & uirtutes. Alie placete
ut. et timeat & adorent. ꝙ cherubim &
seraphim. mdefessis uocibus laudat im
perat & obumbrauit sum & impiat & mat
rem gratie impiorum & resilis nazareno
qui te cognouit ut cito impleas ora
tua petamus ut iuue & uolumus ut seruos dei
ꝙ ꝙ to tuum ꝙ teneris & tibi propino.
ut propriam suppliti mg ꝙ iustitia
cognoscat. dedic mdie ꝟ exoꝝtizo te
maledicta & medacissime spiritus uerba
uanitatis ꝙ impiorum & primum nazareum

ꝛ̄ēnu agnu ī matulatu de altissimo pro
gressu de sū sco ꝯceptu ex maria vir
gine natuq; gabrial angelꝰ nutia
uit ventuturuq; tu vndis tertio. ex
clamauit dicens hic est filius dei.
exortiso te Auctou dyabo. ꝓtatissim
ventou malop. tu arbꝰ subditis tuissm
nore gnis. filijs. ſſ. mnore glorioſe
deitatis. turb. ix. ordines angelop.
thronoꝝ. dnationes. principatus. potestates. ac
diab. hoc noctib. proclamat dicentes
stus. stus. stus qui erat. et ꝙ venturus
est. et ꝙ est omps. ut no ꝑsumat ꝙs
gressus. tuos. tuq; mea. Afflet te latet. n.
mmia. et penas. mmne. et tormta.
die iudicij. die supplicij. spiritui. diem qui
venturus. et. nolut. differe. sed. cras. et. hodie
mnibus. angelis. tuis. spiritꝰ. erit. pcta
mtitꝰ. et. ro. ꝓtia. nequitia. damno. te. atq;
damnabo. Da honorē deo vivo. et. vo. mi
subdito. esto. torꝰ. qui. mos. ꝑtendis. ac
ꝓfitendis. da honorem. suo. pdicto. mi
cuꝰ nomē. ac. virtutē. ꝓfiteo. et. A. vt
noi. ꝙ. est. vobis. mos. obediās. cui. oīs
creatura. deseruit. que. cherubyn. at
seraphyn. laudant. dicentes. stus. stus
stus. dns. deꝰ. sabaoth. qui. regnat. et. dnat
tuus. qui. viuit. ꝑ. infinita. seculoꝝ. ſſmeam
ſſmen. ſſmen.

2 tertio

do vivo et uero da honorē ꝙ

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Conuro te ostrigo stab ptipo tibi ut
sine aliquo notumto mihi nuc et
samp obadias sn lesione ꝙ guadmnc
corpis ꝙ sie mee Conuro te dū ꝓmi
dra ꝙdcta sca cruta fca ꝙ ora sctus
mchl fca ꝙ ora sctus dnēta fca cuca
ca vnca: mon ꝙ ꝓstu q̄ te dapadyso
creat Conuro te ꝙ ꝓpio t. me ꝓhostia
salutem ꝓhostia mmaculata ꝓhostiam
ostrem ꝙ bndcam stab deo placere Con
uro te stab ꝓpio tibi dū ꝓmi ꝙ
ostrigi ꝙ ligari possis Exoriso te ꝓno
men tuu ꝙ ꝓcrare oi ꝓmi ꝓ ꝓmo ka
ttarros ꝙ ꝓ sigillu salamonis ꝙ ꝓstanu
lum crucifix. cendantas celestes infelic
ꝙ fusiones ꝙ augm. quop tuar. de
duplo de die m diei q̄ tu. dī no ihesqui
scelis nr. cassas atabare gramon dode
loco mq̄ modo es ramoues nr ꝓbolat
ab offitio tuo ꝙ ab oi sore. ꝙ tepta.
ꝙ dacryone alio ꝙ ꝓ ualeas stare ꝓba ꝙ
gnōcliones ꝙ ꝓdcta maledico te dī at
nomia tuu ꝙ fundo mer nuta ꝓmis dies
uita tuas ꝙ tatam q̄ habeo fuge te
hic mihi ab oipoti data in baptismo ꝙ
in aliis sacramentis ꝙ ꝓ cuctis christianis
q̄ est corpis xpi / eucham te exquito ꝙ
maledico tibi ꝙ ad illud q̄ fadre ꝓtinz

& profundo p. om. h̄ alph & o/. & p̄ cmdnus.
& pnome dei reffabild & p̄stm tr̄ gr̄a
mdton/. & pria vba q dcā sūt t̄ l̄ p. N.
vt fatias fiati sme aliqua mouā mā
datu mou & petitione qua t̄ mdifa
stabo/dū vtiaz qđas q̄ m̄ alloquiū
& noia pris vri & m nore filii veni
& noie spūs ti si veri & noie sce tri
nitatis tibi dico vem nore sue ni
dei creatoris oīm creaturaz veni
ad me in hac hora/sme & alia notumto
lasiona & fiat gratia/sme & alia mea et
corpis mei/sut alia mittas/sut vana
fatias/& fiat tua & desideriū
mei/ad implendū & nitatu sme vadat
dimisi hactenus fuit a me & vo
luntata mea & planeria & facit com
unio tp̄ hac & p̄ h̄ & it aut supiā
dcā sūt in fatias mihi vana & inu stum
& fiat in me & corpe meo & anīa meā sancti
& angelis tuis & omib⁹ & loco isto & a
cadem & trinitas p̄m in vocabulo sa
tim qua dat benigno & humilis nulli
nocens & m̄ roibo mimstras & volu
tata mea & p̄ficiat/fiat fiat sme. vt
ducas sit mittas mihi vnu stum & mitu
& ydoneu m̄ & sta vt heat p̄tatem
& facere me m̄visibile & intus volūo

nō. ℓ. ℓ. ℓ

ℭ Et ut ꝑdem a cauedū ē ne mīm mang
ꝯpda mſipietiu hoc ſatiꝰ etiu dauerat.
Eligturam⁹ ſapietiſſimſiꝫq ꝑdi vꝝ
ges ⁊ gentes oib⁹ ſubditis ſuſtu
leant ſubpeditari ⁊ cogi ⁊ ligari
⁊ mſſum grti. ſi vo ſit vibelles
⁊ ꝛbadiatas ⁊ mobedietes exoꝛtiſſe
ℭ ⁊ ſi moib⁹ no obediem̄t ut pce
pta exoꝛtiſta no ꝯſtituem̄t hoc
vnū ⁊ ledndū q ſit mtuit

ℭ Deꝰ coꝛuſabonitatu ⁊ potentiſſim nom dei
Helſoutz. ⁊ Amudabile vos exoꝛtiſta
mus. Alta mtuam⁹ ꝑtu q dixit ⁊ fm
ℭ poꝛta noia ꝑtib⁹ ⁊ nom. ℣ ⁊. v. ⁊. q.
q moyſes audiuit ⁊ lotuꝰ q ⁊ nom
Gen̄v ⁊ mnoia gen̄y. q noe audiuit
⁊ lotuꝰ q eu vñ fam̄ dolmeſt ſua
⁊ nom. ℣. ⁊ v ⁊ d. ⁊ x. ⁊ noia. v.
⁊ x. q Abꝛaham audiuit ⁊ ognouit
ꝺiuoſtate deu. ⁊ nom gotth ⁊ m noia
Loth. q audiuit Jacob Angelo ſeu
tenitentia ⁊ liberatuꝰ eſt de manu fꝛa
tꝛis ſui eſau. ⁊ nom cyzaſeꝛue ⁊ m
noie cyzaſeꝛue q moyſes m monte
audiuit ⁊ mandauit q nr eu deꝰ ⁊
audiꝛet nom eu ſtam loqꝛtes ⁊ p vo eu
Anathematon ⁊ m noie anathematoy
q Aꝛon audiuit ⁊ eloques ⁊ ſapiens

ſcō eſt ⁊ pnom ſabbaoth ⁊ mnoie ſabbaoth.
q̄ moyſes audiuit ⁊ m nōiuit ⁊ omes
aque egredi debita capercut ualidu ⁊
uarie ſue mſagne ⁊ pcuſſit ⁊ pnam
oꝛuſtion. ⁊ mnoie oꝛuſtion. q̄ moyſes
nōiuit ⁊ fluuiij omes conuulcuit uehem
⁊ abſtondebat mdamibꝫ egyptoꝝ ⁊ pnō
mon ſloy. ⁊ mnoie ſloy. q̄ moyſes audi
uit pcuſſit pulūg ciuſ ⁊ ſcs e timoꝛes
mſoibꝫ ⁊ iumtis ⁊ pnom ſanctifonticꝫ ⁊
mnoie ſanctifontica. q̄ moyſes nōiuit ⁊ oꝛ
gerꝫ muſcay miſit m egyptū ⁊ mꝰ
egyptios ⁊ pnam ẏcplaton ⁊ mnoie
ẏcplaton. q̄ moyſes audiuit ⁊ q̄ moy
ſes nōiuit pcuſſit equos ⁊ aſynos ⁊ camelos. boues
⁊ boues mſciuit ⁊ pnom ſanctifontic ⁊
moyſes nōiuit ⁊ tulit cineꝛ de cyminꝰ
rio ⁊ deſpſuit m cela ⁊ fca ſuit uluꝫ
ulſcaꝫ uigati m̄ mſoibꝫ ⁊ iumtis ⁊ m
oꝛi tua egyptoꝝ ⁊ pnom elyon. ⁊ mnō
mine elyon. q̄ moyſes nōiuit ⁊ gn̄do
talis qualis no fuerat ſanctifontic mudi uſq̄
ad pns tpꝰ ita q̄ hoies ⁊ iumta. q̄ erāt
mſgnis cecidcrut ⁊ mciuit ⁊ pnom
ſadonay ⁊ mnoie ſadonay. q̄ moyſes uo
luit ⁊ fca ſuit lotuſta ⁊ ſanctificauit ſuꝫ
dēꝫ tantūmodo ⁊ q̄ q̄ uo ſidiu gn̄dſcuat

dcuo'dauerunt ⁊ ꝓnom ꝓantheon ⁊ i noie
ꝓantheon. ꝙ moyses nouit ⁊ fecit
ymbra horribiles tribꝫ diebꝫ ⁊ tribꝫ
noctibꝫ ⁊ ꝓnom ſimon ⁊ in noie
ſimon. ꝙ moyses media nocte nau
uit ⁊ ora ꝑmogauit egyptꝰ ꝓnom
⁊ nouꝫ fuerit ⁊ ꝓnom gerꝫmon.
⁊ i noie gerꝫmon ꝙ moyses nouit
⁊ totu ysrahelitꝫ ꝑ̄ m captiuitate
liberauit ⁊ ꝓnom yegeuon. ⁊ i noie
yegeuon. ꝙ naue audiuit ⁊ diſſum e
⁊ ꝓnom yſſon. ⁊ i noie yſſon. ꝙ
naue audiuit ⁊ ſubmſit oms ciuis
ꝙhanaoms ⁊ ꝓnom on. ⁊ in noie.
on. ꝙ pcue audiuerunt ⁊ innumera
biles amanuerunt. ⁊ ꝓnom anabon.
⁊ i noie anabon ꝙ moyſes i noie
ſynay audiuit ⁊ meruit tabulas ma
nus ſaluatonis ſcptas accipe ⁊ ꝓno
nom egyptiyon ⁊ i noie egyptiyon. cu
ꝙ yoſue. pugnauit ⁊ inimicos deuicxit
ſuos ⁊ victoria obtinuit ⁊ ꝓnom a
ꝓathcon. ⁊ in noie ꝙathcon vt ſtus
dd nouit ⁊ liberauit ⁊ demanu golyc.
⁊ ꝓnom cya. ⁊ i noie cya. ꝙ ſalomo
audiuit ⁊ gabaon ⁊ meruit i ſompnis
poſtulatiue ⁊ mperatiue ſcam ſapiam et

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pnomiam tonitruum et noie pantuaton q
elyas auauit q no pluuet et noplu
uit tribus annis et mensibus sex et pnomie
symeon et noie symeon. q elyas.
auauit et calu dedit pluuiam et terra
dedit fructu suu et pnom eloy et noie
eloy. q elyseus nauit et cognominatus
fuit sabee et pnom athanatos et noie
athanatos q yesu nauit
et pnom capnte iulium cui et pnomie
alpha et o. et noie alpha et o q da
niel nauit et pullud bel destruxit
et draconem interfecit et pnom emma
nuel et noie emanuel q tres pueri
et camino ignis ardentis noluerunt et
hic illesi exierunt et liberati et pnom hec
nomia et oia alia nomia cipotentis dei
ui et uerbi qui vos de excelso thronos
tm de vra culpa erexit et usq ad abissu
lotu vos precipit exorcizo uos atq vi
tuli immundi pcu qui dixit et facta e
medu dom ut dicti dei sum et pigne
am deuotas tm et pmaris uiatu q eam
ptm diuine magestatis gaudeam a
tuli immundi et p. q. animalia q oia
sadam diuine magestatis gaudeam
tuli immundi actos an et uerba ha

benta ꝫ ꝑ scam trinitatē q̄ tu deus
unus non agnita noue notā q̄ditur
filiꝰ sps ꝫ ineffabile ꝑ q̄ tu creator
uniuersi ꝫ ois potentia ꝫ pgnes ihu xpm ſm
scripturas
ihesum ꝫ ꝑ angelos celos
ꝑatas ꝫ dnā deū qui sub eo tu creatos
omnes ꝫ ꝑ sūmā sapiam ꝫ ꝑ anulū
salomonis sigillū ꝫ ꝑ sanctissimum
nomē illiꝰ q̄ ab seculū tim q̄ scribit
q̄ ihe ✠ ihu · v · ꝫ v · hu · agla ꝫ ✠
· x · celestes candaciās ꝫ ꝑ eam tu
tutē ꝫ q̄ te hodierno die usq̄ ad tale
tempꝰ tui mihi p̄tegue custodias
q̄ te ꝓfessum ipsi q̄ huc usq̄ custodisti
pater mihi ꝛ elinquatis me aliq̄ dim
nutione ꝛa q̄ factatis q̄ a nullo male
at sepe uel ꝛbelles ut gentiles sic di
ab ea nam ꝓmeumaton · ꝫ mone ꝓneu
maton q̄ moyses nouit ꝫ absolu
ti fuerit a cunctis ꝫ etc.
fin · ꝫ alyson · ꝫ ꝛ ta illiꝰ sanctissimi
nois dei ꝓmeumaton · maledicti vos
q̄ fundū alyssi usq̄ ad ultiꝫ die uidi
dispoꝫ vos ab ꝛ eligam ni pue
cepta mea obediatis ꝫ d'sidiu mei
duxitis ad effectum

+ ita mgra
gora uel
+ debeat
mi rndere
dere + de
ibg tuis
q̄ quibg nō
Tirogmio
vitare
duc

Barbarus magnus comes & dux & Aps
signo sagittarius silueste cui & ro degib
sextantibus tubas & mettens AE cu latra
tu canu ursus & bou & ari & animalu
loca th̄ qui & auuio & fiat sup̄ qui & no
custodiue fantasticus & fantasmatibus
& a deordine virtutu & hz subse=
xxxvi. legiones

Qui & son magnus dux & & fortis & Aps
in similitudine semaphali dat adplem
tudines va vis sua deputib & futuris & fu
turis & occultis dat gratiam fratrum & uni
cop dat dignitates & gsiuma hz subse
xlv legiones

Otius magnus pias & comes & Aper
signo vipe & hz detrax hos & prem
& cu suscipit fortitudinem humanas hz detes
magnos & ta cōia m manu ptat gla
diu flatu dat adplenitudines va vis sua
deputib & futuris & occultis vel & dat
gratiam fratrum & unitop hz subse
xxxvi. legiones

Cyprian magnus vipe & & fortis & Aps
in similitudine hos fates leoninas
coronas & dyademata in manu fe
ras vigam fortissima cōtat sup

dorsum feruentissimu ⁊ an rpn ꝑ ꝓdut
tube bene sit ꝓuta ꝓuta ⁊ futura
occulta pandeve loca thesauroꝝ ostendit
dit ⁊ Apuleiu facit libenter suscipit cor
pus humanu ⁊ sicu ⁊ dat ea uinci de
animis ⁊ occultis rebꝫ declarata ⁊
mundi creatione Dat optimos fami
liares hz subsexxij. legiones ꝓtm de
ordine uirtutu ⁊ ꝓti d'ordia thesau
Hugo magn⁹ duxit Apuleiu simili
tudia militis ꝓutchaniu ferens
lanceam uexillu ⁊ scuptiu Adplem
tudinem dat ei uinci de occultis re
bus ⁊ deducths quaꝝ sicu debeat
⁊ qꝫ aduersuꝫ sit dat ei militee
r occursum ⁊ dat gratiam oim ꝛ regi
marchionu ⁊ oim militu hz subse l.
legiones

Rob magn⁹ ⁊ ꝓncips Apuleiu signo
medici cu suscepit figuram hui
nam doctor optimus ⁊ facit
audire m amore ei roꝝ si sibi iussu
erit facit eas tm mutari in alia
formã quisqz uelit coram dilecta
sua facit eas stabiles hz subsecth. 24
legiones ⁊c

Volach magn⁹ pres a fl#z ꝑm̃ zhz flas
fldmodū fingala equitat sup dnm
nem duo hz capita dat fldplemtudiez
va rinsa deocculti thesaur⁹ mgb⁹ vi
dent⁹ a fl#z sculptates a flb sqz illiz custo
dib⁹ posse oim̃ scuptu tradit imag⁹
exon⁹ista hz subsa xxvij legiones

Flancwon dux ast fortis a potens
a fl#z nisimilitudla pulchrita mitig
ductis conuenat conta equitat sup ame
ni dae fldplemtudiez va rinsa d'pm
tib⁹ ꝑtitis a fuctis a deocculti thes
sauris mqui⁹ loc⁹ vndeq⁹ a fl#z
dat capita fmoua multop ꝑ cupide
uellat hz subsa xxvij legiones

Vuerich⁹ mtrichio magn⁹ a fortis
vagnis a impens in flfordmis
tib⁹ doctis fldplemtudiez grāmatica
loycam⁹ cthoricam fic dialtica a fa
cit loca thesaurop fl#m a occulta
ostendens facit ea horom velocis
simo cursu hnire a flumia trā sire it
tra insecabiliter a ꝑfecte multis fl#z
equitat sup equu nigrum tis a pulc
hz subsa xxxx legiones

Hinn⁹ pres magn⁹ a fl#z flāma
rig⁹ ea. q̃ cu suscepit fortia hnāz

mirabilia reddit horiz fabila mastis
nomia 2 2m aliis fructibz liberalibz
dat optimos familiares 2 gratia
magnatu 2 principu 2 loca thesauroz
q fructibz tuplodiur mirabilitq
ostendit hz subse xxx legiones
Vocax magno murmuro 2 hz m
similitudia horis vbiq hz femie
videt 2 berualo mte mirabilit dat
amicia mtiplicat 2 maxie oi" viduat
dat adplemtudiez ora gna lignat
fant horiz tnsiuit dno legione tue
gione victoriosso cursu hz subse. 23.
legiones Incipiut expmeta bona
Caput expmeta bona 2 pba
ta 2 veriissima. pmo de mbdo
vendi bel 2 ebal x
Hota mfaria quinta nouis vestib
indutus 2 balneato m cu epuscu
lo sanbe in Costam nom tuu 2 mti
bel 2 ebal. bal. mpm 2 imedio no
men tuu 2 nom mtiz. m fine
ebal. 2 pone adigne 2 fac ciuma
ri Costam 2 cm a m maxio ca
lowe tit fuiuscd lege ouuiatoq q
scq 2 ose desideriu tum

Quicunq; vos p̄ m̄ famales vel et
vel aliq; q̄p nra mea costa ꝯtas
mea hinc hinc desit ꝑ me virtutes
calor ꝑ me ꝑ tres ꝑ tribanos ꝑncipatus
ꝑ potestas ꝑ dnationes ꝑ cherubin
ꝑ seraphin, ꝑ nra q̄ sub tali sit ut
nullꝰ ꝑ equis habeatis q̄m cond̄m
sum die mei ita hinc debe facietis ut
nullꝰ dominica gnedeb nec bibeb
nec me nec stabe nec flebe nec rideb
nec aliq quoq; fiat qui condie mei
desiderium impleat ⁊ quicunq;
vos vel ⁊ vel q̄p nra mea hinc
sum desit ꝑ dnm deꝰ ꝑ ihm xpm
filiū eiꝰ ꝑ ꝑm sctm ꝑ virtutes sci
dei ꝑ ꝑ ipsam q̄ videtis dei ꝑ tres
mas ꝑ ꝑ fundu abissi ꝑ ꝑ clematia
ꝑ ꝑ visionem dei ꝑ nocte ꝑ tenebras
ꝑ ꝑ tempestatu diez iudicij ut nullꝰ ie
quicquam habeatis qui cond̄ eiꝰ in hanc
mea ita hinc debe facietis ut nullꝰ
dominica gnedeb nec bibeb nec
stabe nec ridebe nec flebe nec ride
be nec aliq quoq; fiat ut valeat dm
condie mei desiderium ꝑ punctu finem
plenum ⁊ quicunq; vos vel ⁊ quoq;
quoq; nra mea hinc desit ꝑ deꝰ

vm ꝑ deu vnu ꝑ deu stm q vos ⁊ tuba
dauit qui fidem ⁊ cuta delmos tu
uit qui stat ⁊ngelos suos ꝓt qui stu
ꝑntia ꝑtia ⁊ futa qui hꝫ dauid cla
daudit ⁊ nemo aprit
ꝑ eu qui fuit mortuꝫ ⁊ resuscitauit q
ascendit ⁊ sedet ad dexteꝝ ꝑris ⁊ omniꝝ
nomissimꝫ ut nuq ⁊ ꝑ tonuꝫ vos d
bal ⁊ dbal. q ꝑ nois igne fidescultꝫ
hꝰ scti nois dei. ely. eloy. eleon. tetra
gramaton. tupanoel. sabanoel. saba
oth. sabaoth. ely. adonay. ⁊ tonuꝫ vos ꝑ
virtutꝫ ꝑ dns nr ihus xꝰ ⁊ anuis clau
sis ⁊ddiscipulos suos mtrauit ⁊ tonu
uos bel ⁊ dbal. q ꝑ nois mignaꝝ
fidescut ꝑ ⁊ manꝰ tonuꝫ ꝑ dns nr
ihus xꝰ mcepit ⁊ sustinuit ⁊ ꝑfixuꝝ
dauoꝝ q pedes ⁊ manꝰ ⁊ ꝑfixꝰ
⁊ ꝑ lancea ⁊ fluxit de latꝰ e fluctꝫ
⁊ ꝑ latumas bꝫ vngis nris ⁊ ꝑ
mortꝫ ⁊ sepultuꝝ xpi ꝑ resuscitatio
ne ⁊ ascensione ei vt nuq ꝓ eq
habeam q ⁊n tonuꝫ ⁊ amore ⁊
amodaie felaati q nuq dominꝰ q
medeꝰ nr bibere nr panꝫ nr sed
ꝓ nr nr aliq ap ꝑ ficiꝫ
valeat q ⁊n tonꝫ nr desideriu

BSB

p̄ēnit⁹ ꝺ admpleat ⁊ q illud nīlat⁹ obmittat⁹ hc̄ p̄ cuīo vob p̄cū q viuit ⁊ vīgnat in ſcla ſcl̄or. Amen. Amen. Amen.

Amen ⁊ ꝺc. i. ꝓfeſſio ꝑ ſpiritu ſc̄u

Cum magiſt⁹ voluit vocare ꝑ ſuū ꝺiſcipulū ad lotū ſeruatū eū duob⁹ ſotiis aut habeat cultellū cū manubrio albo ut ligno meū lamna hc̄ noīa exaraꝯ ꝑ ſcīp ſcīp ttt. Agla. ſabaoth. ⁊ faciendo cū eodem cultello extra⁹ circulū di cendo hūc circulū facio in noīe dei p̄ potentiā qui ſolo ꝺbo vniuſa ꝺcauit ⁊ in eodem circulo ſedeat cū cultello. ꝑlibato hc̄ noīa ꝙrca ſcripta. Agla. ſcōr⁹ otadenta. ſcr̄ gyrlmalton. ꝙrca ſcīptā ꝺc. Adonay. Cotica mondic ſabaoth. Dicenda ſaltem ſedendo cū circulū dicendo hūc circulū facio in noīe dei viui qui hūanū genꝰ hūono ſanguine redemit. ſtando vō cū circulū ſedeat dicendo hūc circulū facio in noīe ꝑ ſcīptā ſcīp ſcīptā ꝺc. ſaptor ⁊ ꝓphay corda ſua gr̄a illuſtrādat ꝙ hc̄ faciet cūcta ꝙ oīs cīrculos ⁊ hc̄ ſigilla ſcā cruc⁹ gr̄a dei defendat nos ab oī malo ⁊ det nob⁹ accipe tribulum ꝓpoſito ꝺño ⁊ minꝰ cīrcumdat ꝙ

tenionis circulu dicens hinc fugationem ferro
et more pcedentis et hoc primo gradu conuersa
ex circulu indicat. vij pis cu letania
et deuota et humili et has orationes
Adiuuo te vox vegetu et dns dnatu
et eterne et immutabilis deus dns
intelligat clamoris mei mut et fit
mei gemitus mis tui et audi dne
vocem meam qua clamaui ad te
et exaudi me et vocula et illumina
oculos mentis mee et cunctis ut
confidenter et intelligam mirabi
lia tua. et iustifica me in iustificatio
nibus tuis et propitiabilem mostru
aduersantium et meorum et dyab.
et
Aloeph gimel

BSB

Hic incipit ordinationes divini officii secundum
consuetudinem ecclesie Sarum

Incipiunt ordinationes divini officii secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Sarum
Hic incipiunt ordinationes divini officii secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Sarum
Hic incipiunt ordinationes divini officii secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Sarum

Cōuiratio dieī solis

Cōuiro vos ☩ ofiuimos sup vos ⸗ngeli fortes ☩ sti ☩ in nōie ⸗donay. ⸗donay. ⸗donay. eye. eye. eyu. qui erat qui est ☩ qui ue eye. ⸗lorfaye. in nōie ſadaye. ⸗aday. ⸗ados. ⸗ados. ⸗ados ⸗ltus // sup cherubim ſadens ☩ qui nōiat ipm magni ☩ sti fortis potētis ☩ exaltati sup ōnē ⸗los. ⸗ye. ⸗ſauaye. plasmatoris ſatuloꝝ qui creauit mundu ⸗lu ☩ to rem matra ☩ dia q in eis fuit in ꝑmo dia ⸗loꝝ. ☩ sigillauit sup eos tu nōie ſcō ſcō. yhon. sup ciuitm q sigilla tua ☩ honorificatio ꝑtioso nōie suo yhesu. ☩ ꝑ nōia ſctoꝝ ⸗ngeloꝝ qui dnauit in ꝑmo seruitutu ☩ ſeruiunt coram potētissimo ſalamia ⸗ngelo magno ☩ honorato ☩ ꝑ nom stella q ☩ sol ☩ ꝑ signu in mensissimu dei viui ☩ ꝑ ora ☩ ꝑ ꝑdcta Cōuiro sup Raphael ⸗ngele qui est ꝑpositus dei dmti. ☩ ꝑ nōm ⸗donay. dei ☩ qui creauit mundu ☩ quicq̄ est in eo q̄ ꝑme labores ☩ adimple tis omnes voluntates meas ☩ per tro ne uxta mei velle ☩ voti in re ꝑ dieī lune
ꝓtio ☩ ea mea dicas aut secundū ꝓ tibi videbit ☩ Cōuiratio dieī lune

Coniuratio diei lune

Coniuro & ofirmo & sigillo sup vos angeli fortes & sti in nõe adonay. Adonay. adonay. eyd. eya. eye. cados cados. cados. hacyim. hacyim. hacyn. va. va. fortis. vt. qui fabricauit mundum fyrmay. eu glorificatõe reg̃ sui. ya. adonay. saday. sabaoth. hanath. hurr. ya. ya. ya. qui mirifice creauit stagna & omnia aquatilia in secunda die qsdam mirabilos quosdam in tribus & sigillauit mirifice tu virtute sua & alto nõie suo vt trium sibi possit non preualeant & p nomina angelorum qui dantur in secundo die ut ministrent

Coniuro & ofirmo & sigillo sup vos angeli fortes & sti nom. ya. ya. ya. a. a. va. hy. hy. haa. haai. va. va. han. han. hon. hy. hyen. haya. haya. hol. hol. hay. hadi. hon. nõi in die dñi adonay. haya. hol. planeta tonat seculorum. cados. cados. cados

el. el. ya. ya. ya. eloy. sadai. eloym.
eloym. et nom qui alta dei qui fecit
videm aperuit et vocauit eam et eduxit
et produxit arbores et herbas de ter
et sigillauit sup eam tetragramaton et hoc
verbo mouendo nomen suum et primam
et eloy dominum constituit terminos et mi
nistrando sacrum. angelo magno
fortis potestatis et honorato et pmonte
stella q. et mensis et pnom adonay dei
mei et veri coniuro sup te samael. et
gabo q. et potestas dei tui. si mutue
et pnm et laboriosis et admpletis om
nem meam voluntatem et totam meam pe
titionem ut sicut mpmo capitula et
et cf coniurato dei mei turi
coniuro et ofirmo et sigillo sup vos
angeli fortes et stre potentes
in nomine fortis metuendi et benedicti
di. ya. adonay. et eloym. sadai.
sadai. sadai. eye. eye. eye. asa
me. asadonme. asamye. in nomine
dni adonay. cui quo sup vba hoim
sigillauit sea. quid. sayguae. elpym.
say. saaqui et pnō et eiyasy. adonay.
taguaasas. adonay. dei sit qp ipe est
de diem et noctem et pmoi angelos suiectos

exaltatu. ℔. q̄p thytagonꝫ Angelo maiori
fortitudinis potestatis ꝑ nom stellae q est
mercurius ꝑ manꝫ sigilli cui q nos
gillat Adam fortissimo ꝑ honorato d
pria pdca ꝯ Couuo sup te Angela
magne michael qui es ꝓpositus diei
℔ ꝑ nom stm q mfluanta Alphon. sol
ceu doris altissimi creatoꝝ ois q uult est
primoꝝ Angelorꝫ q mgna ofiunctis sut
creatoris ꝑ notas sedes Aialiu hntiu
. A. Salus ꝑ alas ut p me laboretis i ma
gnificentia ut citius ducat ad effectum optatum
Et ꝯ Conuocatio diei veneris
Ego mando ꝑ ofiuno ꝑ sigillo sup vos An
geli fortes ꝑ sci Atqꝫ potentes am noie
hay. hay. haa. ya. A. ya. ya. Amen Amen.
primi Sadai qui creauit quadrupedia
ꝑ Aialia reptilia ꝑ homem in sexto die
ꝑ dedit Ade pria sup oia Aialia ꝑ in
da benedicꝫ sit nom creatoris in loco suo
ꝑ pnoma Angelorꝫ q sunt exaltatu sex
to coꝝ. daghyel. Angelo magno pnti
fortis Atqꝫ potentia ꝑ pnom stella
q est venꝰ ꝑ sigillu aiꝰ q quidam si
gillum est sactu ꝑ pria pdca ꝯ
Couuo sup te Angele magne Amabi.
℔ diei qui es ꝓpositus diei sexto ut pmela
iouis bonꝰ es ut sup
. b.

Conuiro dieí iouis

Conuoco te spiritus et firmo te sigillo sup vos sanctus angeli fortes te sancti archangeli potentes primo creados. creados. creados. et formataye. de sowataye. et seruataye. hatym. va. fortis firma turris seculorum eatmay. ydhez. yanuc. yenuc. calloac. allac. assaf. adaptaf. barsafay. abnaym te per nomen adonay qui creauit tuisse celos tristas et recuptilia ipsorum et omnes uoluntas sup facie terre ut uerus celos die quinto et primi angelorum seruus eius exercitui quinto pastoris angelo magno seo te potesti primi te primo stelle qui creauit te per nomen sigilli sui te per nomen adonay. sup primi diei ordinem creaturis. et per nomen stellarum te per uirtutem corpus te primi predicti

Conuoco sup te archangeli. michaeli. qui diuisum angeli fortes te potentes primo adonay. ados nay. eye. ay. a. eya. hacyn. hacyn. hacyn. creados. creados. creados. yma. yma. yma. sadday. ya. sanctus dominus fortis et seculo qui die septimo requieuit te illa in cogitatione sua filii spiritus hedrata

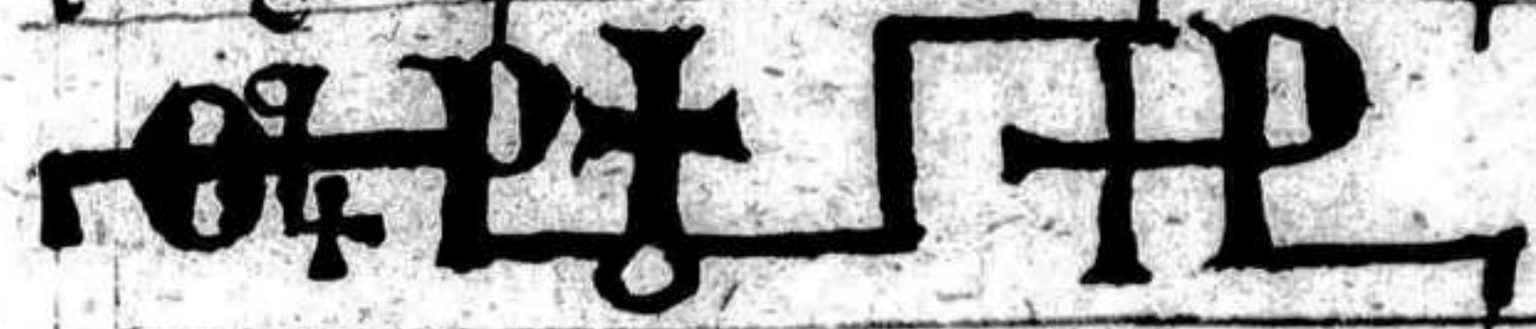
quinta die iouis

die saturni

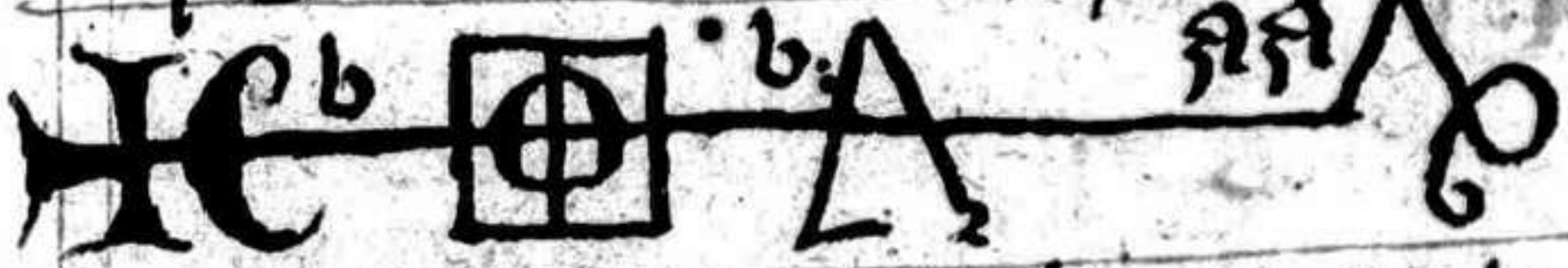
et obsequium dedit vt eu fruãnt seruãt
uent & custodiuent & sufficiat ad hã
bnda mde bonã & m filio seculo uenu
ruñ. & nota Angalon seruientiu
exitu septio cotra bock Angelo mag
notati pnti pri. & nom scalle q & sa
tuino & p sem & sigillu qu & p oia
pdca & Comino capiat. q & poiaus
ds dici septio qui ds dies salbati vt
ame laboras & no desistat dom totu
ffem ad ffem pduas ame

Sequitur vidua & seruc septe sigilla
qui signata sut m quolibz ope sedm
dnam septia & hec sunt sigilla vij.
planetaz discurrentiu. vij. celos p
dixerunt. vij. phy sapientes q̃ ope
ratores & si non scias no quiescit ame
ignis ista sequentibz qui q̃libz dies
suu sigillu & suu planeta & suos Am
gelos & suu vsage p suu ei adiuto
rio suis & sua creatura & suffumi
giu suu p̃ q̃ m fecerus tibi dictum
et q̃m fecerus h̃ sacra & ffem rpm
fuisse & magnu à huic libm q̃ posuit
et scias q̃ p̃ q̃ ds ciuis p̃ficiet p̃ fi
et et vnitate dei cui nom sit bene
dictum p̃ infinita secla seculoz ame

Hec sigillū Raphaelis Angeli cui⁹ stel
la ☉ Sol. fac illud die solis i signo leonis

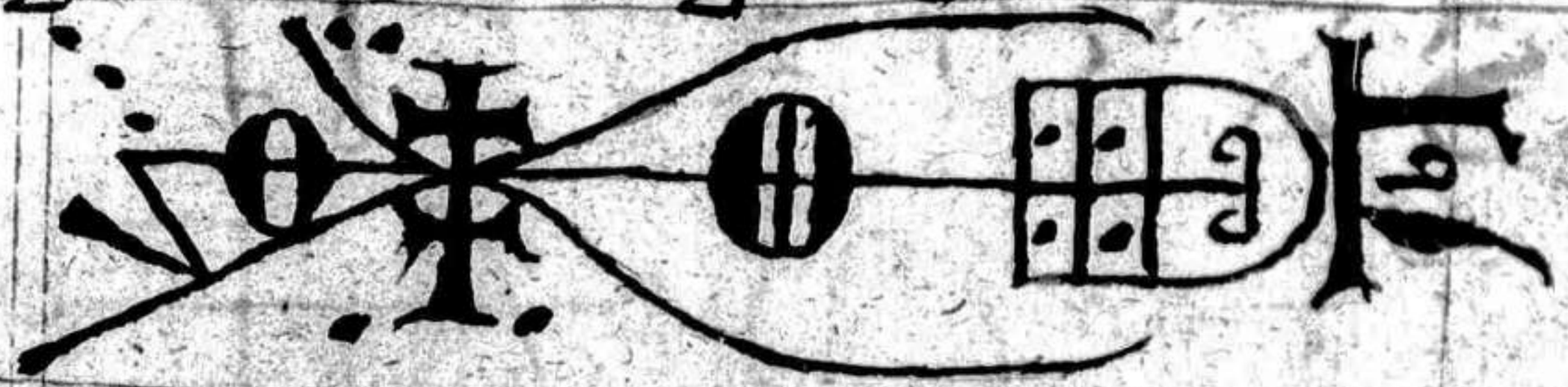


Hec sigillū Gabrielis Angeli cui⁹ stella
☽ luna fac illud die lune hora ☽ luna
in signo Cancri & q

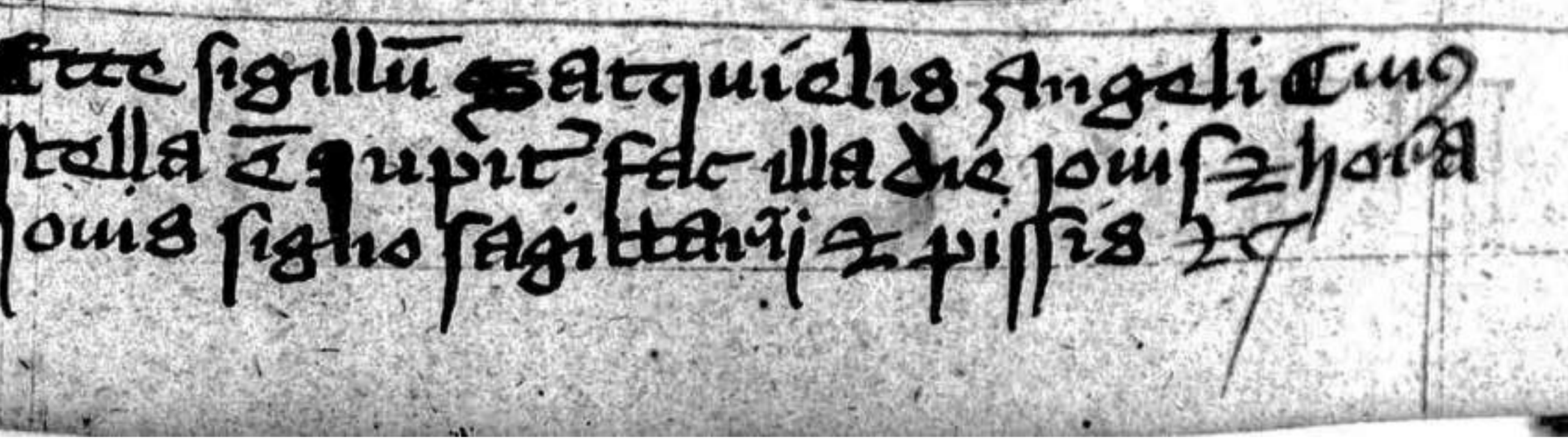


Hec sigillū Samaelis Angeli cui⁹
stella ♂ mars fac illa die martis ho
ra martis i signo Arietis ut sonipsiom

Hec sigillū Michaelis Angeli cui⁹
stella ☿ Mercurius fac illa die mercurij
hora mercurij in signo Virginis ut
gaudeant ut virginis.



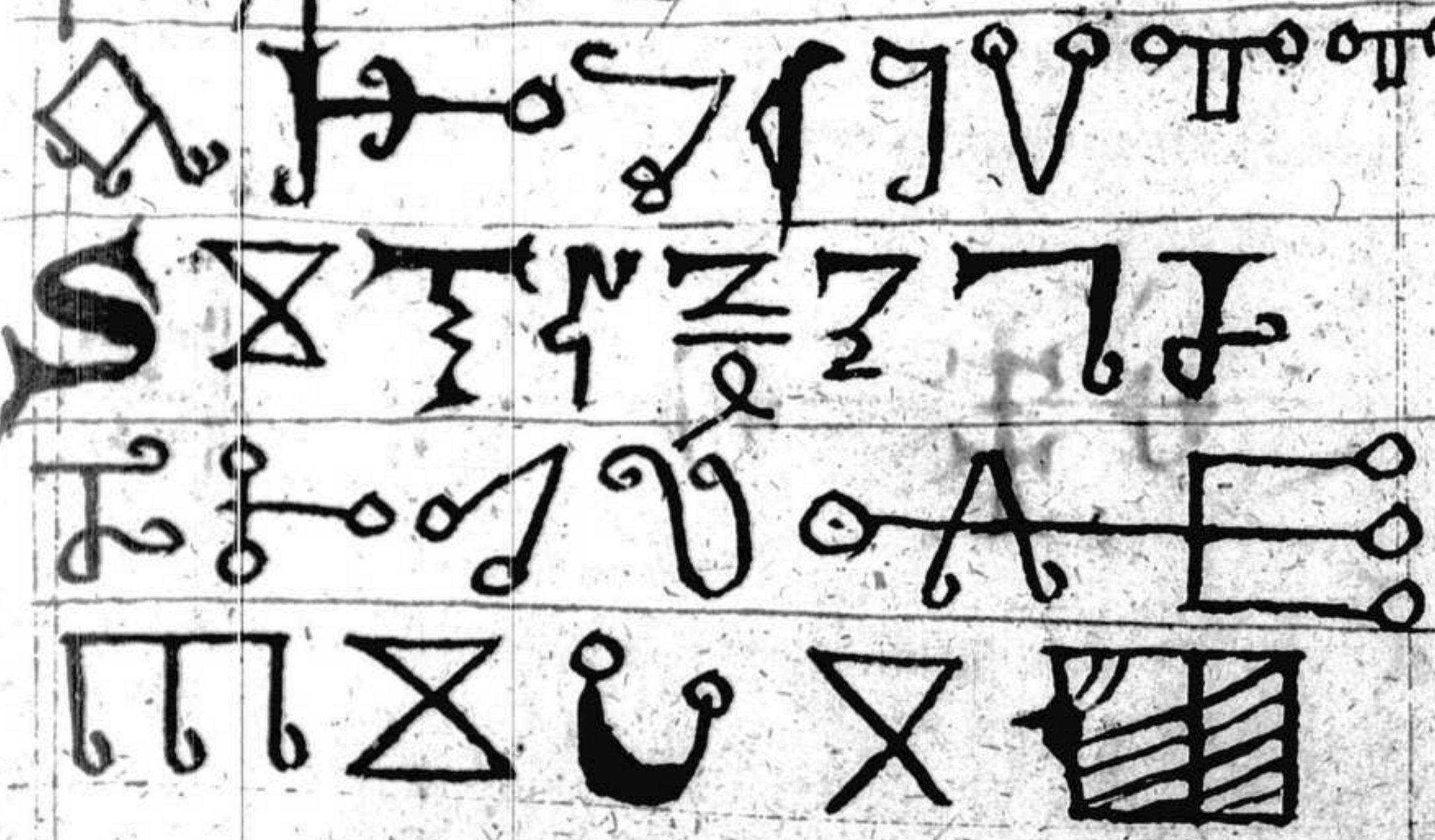
Hec sigillū Zachariel Angeli cui⁹
stella ♃ Jupiter fac illa die Jouis hora
Jouis signo sagittarij & pisces



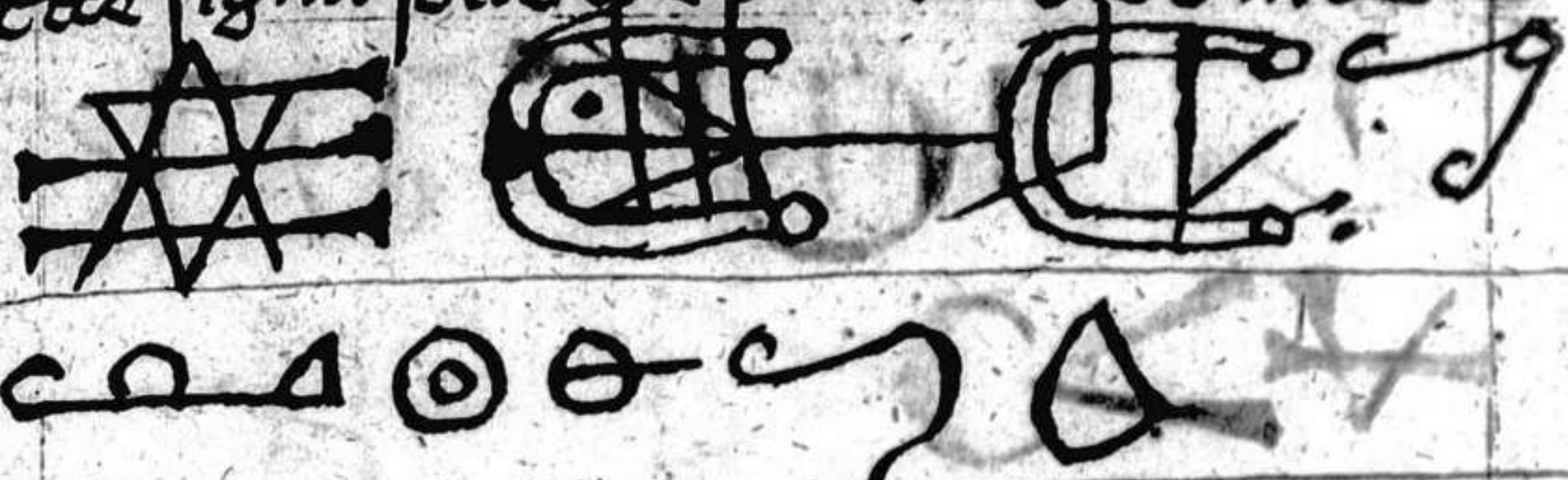
d Ecce sigillū Anaelis Angeli Cuŋ stella
4 Veŋ fac illa die veneris hora veneris
in signo Cauri ac libre ♎ ♀

f Ecce sigillū Casfiaelis Angeli Cuŋ
stella ♄ saturni fac illa die sabbati.
hora saturni in signo Capricorni ♑ ♄.

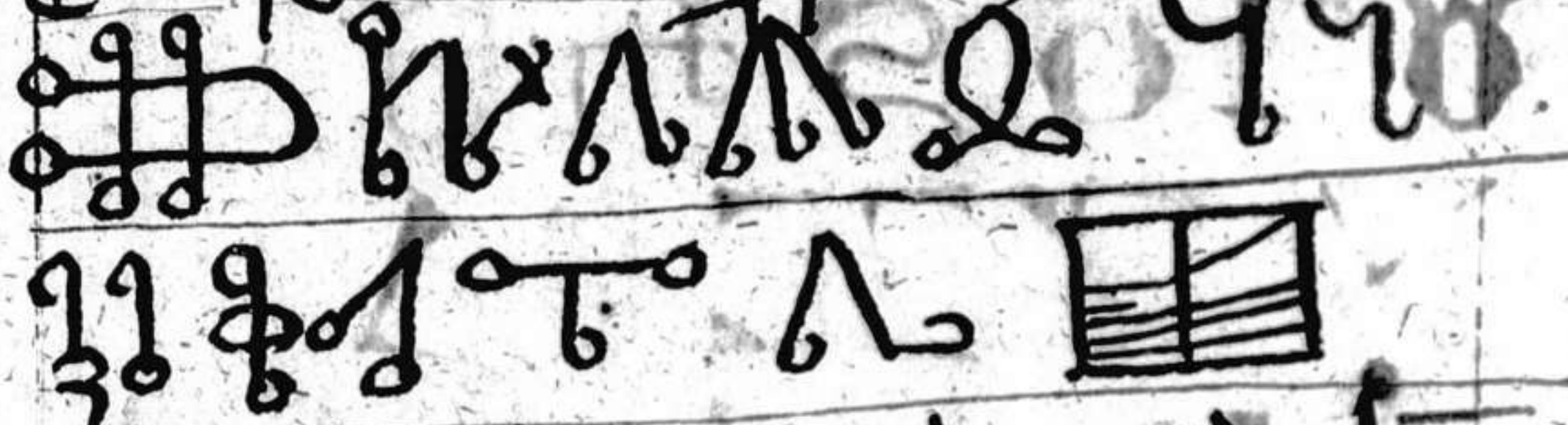
d Ecce sigillū diei dmici q fiunt debet
sole Ascendente.



℞ Ecce signu solis q̄ planeta die dnica



℞ Ecce sigillu luna q̄ fuit die luna Ascendt.



℞ Ecce signu luna q̄ planeta die luna

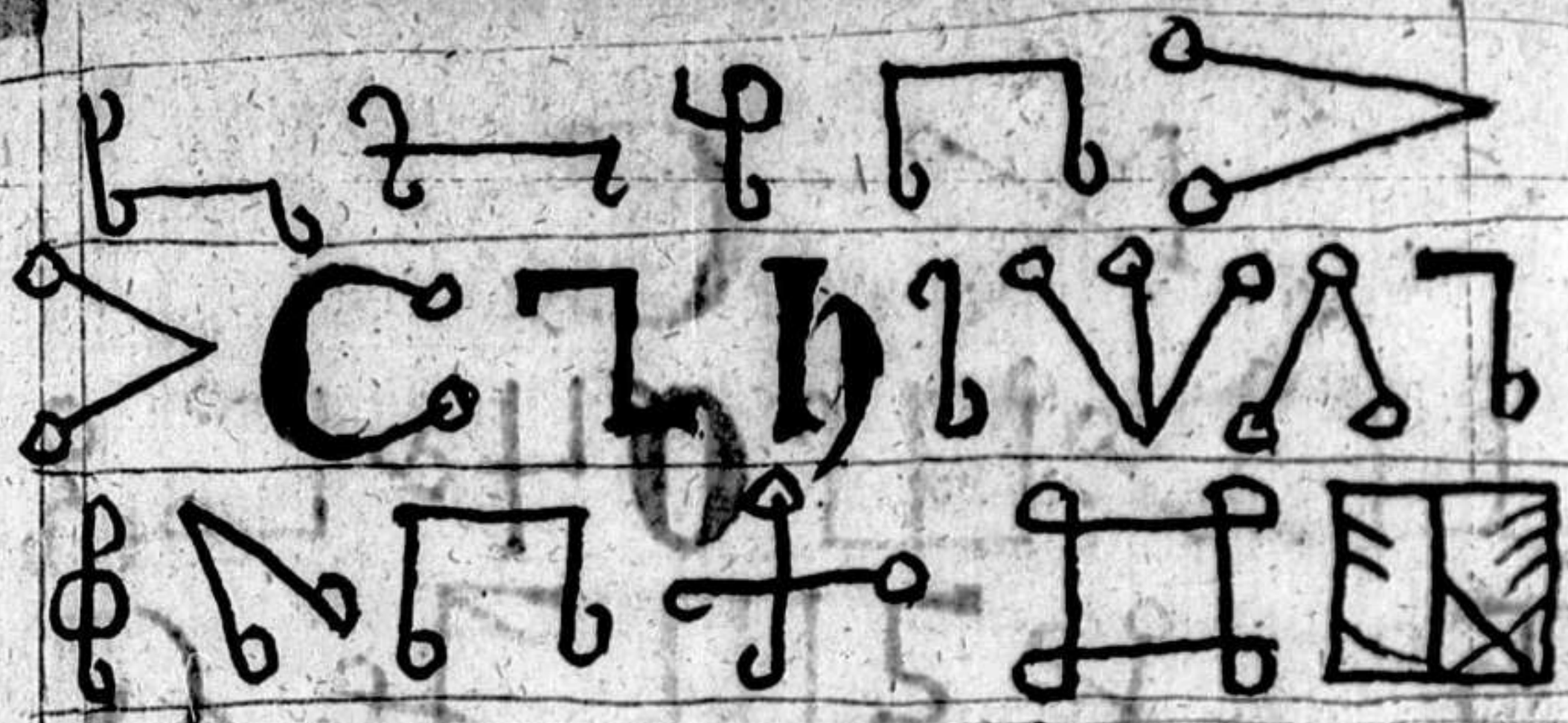
℞ Sigillu die martis q̄ fuit die martis Ascendt.

Sigillu die mercurij qe tacta die mercurij

Sigillu Saturni dz fiert Saturno Ascendente

Sigillu Saturni qe planeta Saturni dicit

Sigillu Jouis qe fiert debz Joue Ascendente

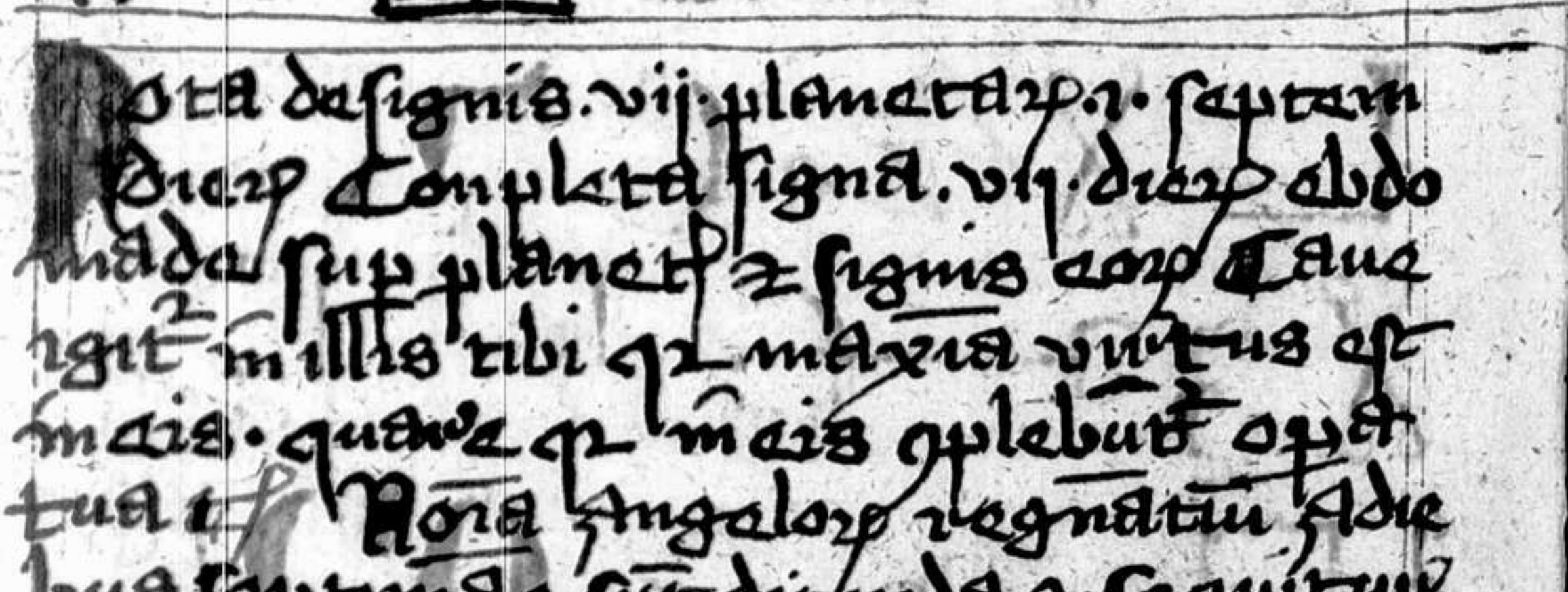


Signu Jouis q̄ est planeta diei Jouis

Sigillū veneris q̄ dz fieri vena Astendita

Signū veneris q̄ planeta diei veneris

Sigillū saturni q̄ debz fieri saturno Astendēte



pta designis. vij. planetaꝝ. ꝛ. septem
diꝝ completa signa. vij. diꝝ duo
rada sup planetꝫ ꝫ signis corp tauc
rgit milliis tibi q̃ maxia virtus ẽ
maiis. quare q̃ maiis quelibꝫ opet
tua t Hora Angelorꝝ regnatiu sibi
bus septimꝫ sit dicenda ꝫ sequitur
que cpa hꝫ nomia ꝛ oꝝ septimꝫ t
Angelus diei dnici ẽ Raphael t
Angeli diei lune ẽ Gabriel t Angeli
diei martis ẽ Samael. t Angeli diei
mercurij ẽ Michael. t Angeli diei ꝑmis

est Sarquiel. et Angelo diei veneris
est Amael. et Angelo diei saturni. et
sabbati est Captiel. et Iste igitur
qui nobis Angelus diei in quo fa
ctus opus tuum et scribe illa. quaecunque si
sunt scripta mittu nuntiabut te tempo
tantia ventura

Regum septem vij. diebus insultia
na regnatum nobis substituantur
sub eos Angelos dominantes diei qui fa
ctus opus et sic veniant et quelibunt
voluntatem tuam et rndebut tibi ter
bum ueritatis

Regnum dnice regnat et seruit rege.
Saytam coadiutores sui sut Sylol
Candas. Tastus. Candas. Hanibal. et
Die luna regnat et seruit rege
Almodab coadiutores sui sut Sylol.
Allalu. Abuzaba. et Die martis regnat
et seruit rege filio dyabuli co
adiutores sut Cammach. ut Amaual.
pastarim. et Die mercurij regnat
et seruit rege Saba. coadiutores
sui sut Cõnas Conas. pactas. Sam
bidas et Die iouis regnat et seruit
rege Hadwach filio Awath coadiuto
res sui sut hyrat sit hyich. ignio et
Quirom. Sadalalebeth et Die veneris

regnat rex 2 seruit Sabotes cold
ñ tonas sic fuit Massath. ynasa. 2 de
Salm regnat halyton. Assayby. cold
tonas sui fuit Sabimalyb. 2 haybalydoth.
2 yfla. Completa fuit noia regum
ppm regnatu 2 seruietu septe dieb
septimanar.

9 Quibet eni dies septiane hr suffragiu
sibi Sppetatu cu quo suffragabit sapus
cui Sfectas m̃a 2 gplebit Sp̃tuu
sm̃a dubio

Suffragiu dei dnica Assandalu ciuitatu
et rubeu ut simle sibi Die lune
ap Sfloes. Smarcap. ut site sibi Die
mercurij 2 pp fuit Abrma. Cyg ut sibi
site. Die Iouis 2 Altaf fuit ei
site Die ueneris 2 Olibanu. fuit ciuitatu
ut ei site Die sabbi 2 Almastic fuit
lignu vadny ut ei site Die Solis
2 Assandalu 2 sulphur fuit ei site
et sm̃a sabi ordinauit volues Adlega
das ligias suis suffragia thus Dec
Cap. Hec fuit suffragia die septime

Die dnico opari potis Adligandas lig
nas fuit Sd Sfectis ligatoes horum 27
Die lune operandu 2 Sdeiuocandu
2 Sd gcordiam 2 Smicia Die mar.

opandum ē ad mīstrandū hores ⁊ deser-
andū ei⁹ die aq̄rtuꝫ opandū ē adponē
dum īmīcicia sua odiū mter hoīes
die ꝓuis opandū ast adsaciadit pace
mtar hores discordantes ei⁹ die venis
opandū ast adiungendū hores i amicā.
ut ꝓuocandos de loco ad locū adbani
uolentia ⁊ die sabi operi ꝓuocis
adligendo riuola balnea molendina
aut similia/

Octauꝫ die sapitie

Videt ast de quibꝫ dieꝫ sapitie in qua
opandum ast/

Quartuꝫ die sapitie opari volūs ad
baruolentia fuit quoꝫ bonū ut malū
attende diligenter q illa sit opa placido
quiens ner dimittas opus tuū de die
in diem ut differas. q̄re si illud opus
no ꝓficiat ut no ducat ad effectū
forsitan putabit illud ee ftm

Tendū q̄ ihūz die sapitie ꝓsunt
tres angeli adsaciendū hores opa
dū ꝓficiendā ei⁹ dm̄o ꝓsut tres
angeli. s. Raphael. Daniel. ut vita
tabel. ei⁹ Didimus ꝓsut hij Gabel.
Michael. Samuel ei⁹ Diadmatis
ꝓsunt hij. s. Satyel. Samuel. Banma

ly. ℭ Dici debeant ꝑsut hij. s. Gem
baldi. Gaufridi. Hurielli. ℭ Dici
onis ꝑsunt hij. s. Practa. Capiel. Affar
diel. ℭ Dici vonis ꝑsut hij. s. Andr.
Gaufridi. Gacquiel. ℭ Dici sat
ni ꝑsut hij. s. Capiel. Hacton.
Gaufridi. r. Gaufridi. ℭ

Nemi opa ꝙ faties ⁊ votabis Ange
lo3 illig dic ꝙ opa⁹ volu3 ⁊ ipi
tuthn ꝙplebut voluntate ⁊ ducent
ſdeſſem opus tuu

Equitu3 ꝙ sequetaz nota ꝙ ſaube
ua hnt mpnctpio tuilz opis ꝙ fa
cias dic ⁊ rdebut voluntati tue
Et ſut exnsib⁹ aſtonis ⁊ſta aug
nota ſi nota⁹ volus ⁊vocanda ſut
ſ. Augias. yna. dr. rſit. ybaꝝ. Gubae.
Zuabas. ynſſamon. haa. dosa. #
Barzan. ⁊n di alia ꝓbauta quam
ſaubas opus hꝫ vt ſaubat mea v
ſit ſilip exmbarzard dicte ꝙ ſi ſut
de ſtia tid ⁊ ſi ſunt de nmitada et
ſi ſid mediterram ſimul ſit olſeruet
mdb⁹

Cubouz nos ꝓpt⁹ nota houas dici
quib⁹ houis ꝓfiaent opa ꝙ fatues ꝯf

¶ Prima vigo diei hora dicit ymnum
de hac hora faciendo et dicuntur ad
minus duodecim vices horum et media
ibi corpus et lignum lignandi et
¶ Secunda cum hora diei dicat ymnum. cum
¶ Tercia operibus ad finiendum et
¶ bonum fructum obtinendum et solutis
et horum adiutorium adhibendis et
potentes et tercia vo hora diei
dicat² ad assumpta ea facienda certa ut
ymnum ad vanendum fenum vel
aues sine ad implicandum pisces ut
illud plus nascatur prohibenda et
¶ Quarta hora diei dicit² ad ea
de hac carta ut ymagine adligata
sit duos bestias silvestres leones
ursos et similia et ¶ Quinta hora diei
dicit² ad dandum et de hac cartas ad
ligatas et ad applicandas earum bapti
sia et ad ¶ ad vnum aliud et ¶ Sexta
hora diei dicit² ad unum et
ad pedes et ad extirpandum cetera
cardones et adligatos soluendos et
¶ Septima hora diei dicit² cardonem meum
spat² ad ponendum patrem nat² vulpes et
¶ Octaua hora diei dicit² animal meum
spat² pedes ad mandole[n]dum dicit²

diam ponedom mt horas / Hora hava
dies dicat Rabon mea fortunda la tem
ta fadiuancia adu ut fadiuuandu mt la
tiones ſn tmoua. Decima hora
dici dicit. hyam. mea opari potis
fad demonia ut demonidcos ut ven
tu malu ut pduoua ut uiuendu fad
dnes Undecima hora dies dicit Ha
thalon mea opari potis fadpuocan
dum ſanguis fluxu m mtiendu et
fadligandu vulp tu mtiue ut eos et
Duodecima hora dies dicit Abat mea
opari potis mt mallnolos fadpeca
ponedam mt vulp a mtiuz

Acta ſuno hora dies aquibz ſibi
tmatibz Prima hora nobis dicit
Rabon. mea fac fad demonia tos opa
tua. aut fadiuctos malos aut fad
ogregandas a loc tu cis / Secunda
hora nobis dicat Tabol mea opari
potis fadpiscandu a fadoria naſcen
tia aqua. Tertia hora nobis dicit
hyam mea opari potis fadfatteden
dum ut fad extinguendu ignem a fad
orei q mos volus opari Quarta
hora nobis dicat fatyn mea opari

potis ad destruendu domu ut huiꝰmodi ad
pellandu horas deloco adloca. Quinta ho
ra noctis dicit cauon mea fac questio
nes vt misoptimis videar q futilitate est
in mundo utidiebꝰ ut in studio ad
quirenda veritate. Sexta hora noctis
dicit mea potis ad studiu. mea apparatus
bonis ad furtu ecclie ad ornatus
platas eiꝰ ad ordinandu cenam
familie. Septima hora dicit nactus
mea opera potis ad exercitandu horas
de domo sua ut q mi fiunt ut q mo
riar. Octaua hora noctis dicit mea noctis
tabefac mea potis opera ad mimi
randam mꝰ q volus. Nona hora
noctis dicit q assuo mea potis opa
ra adligationes ligandi aut ad in
tendu ad uocandos ad mortuos. Decima
hora noctis dicit algo. mea opa
potis ad destruendas ligandas ut cogi
tationes sup te aut gentiu malu
q sup te cogitatu fuit. Undecima
hora noctis dicit altitudo mea op
ra potis q volus m studio ad cas
tigandas ut capiendas. Duodecima
hora noctis dicit galaxij mea potis

operi ad videndu q̃ ꝓpdem & ut adveniat
tempe fuerit ut malorꝝ fiat

Cum aliq̃ opꝰ ut cũq̃ tam volũs scire
de hominũ horis & nomĩa angelꝝ
horis & quis ei sit ut impetꝫ opus tale
de nocturnis hec sũt nomĩa angelorꝝ diurnꝝ
tui subq̃ horis diei dñe raphael. 2ª. horis anael.
3ª. michael. 4ª. gabriel. 5ª. cassiel. 6ª.
satquiel. 7ª. samael. 8ª. raphael. 9ª.
anael. 10ª. michael. Undecie gabriel.
12ª. cassiel. Hore diei tue 1ª. horis
dñe satquiel. 2ª. horis samael. 3ª. ra
phael. 4ª. anael. 5ª. michael. 6ª. gabriel
7ª. cassiel. 8ª. satquiel. 9ª. samael. 10ª.
raphael. 12. anael. 12ª. michael. sic alt
intelligas de cetꝝ debes de cetꝝ. Aliis noctu
& diei ꝓnotatis q̃dem cũ angeli do
minatuũ & instũ horis 2ª. diurnione
planetarꝝ ut instructiones tue. Et horis
solis instruit ut dñe raphael. horis
lune anael. horis michael. horis
martis gabriel. horis mercurii michael
horis iouis satquiel. horis veneris samu
el. Undi & cuiꝰlibꝫ planetarꝝ cũ angelis
suis signaꝫ planetarꝝ ꝓdistributa horis
angelorꝝ ꝓnotatis dꝫ gubernatis & ꝓpodorꝫ

norib⁹ capitulis sup̃ apxime portis z fmgr
lo qui ⁹tinꝫ infra in guvdtiamb⁹ cuiꝰli
bet diei z m capitulis daymaginib⁹
deoz ab⁹ mſ̃t adiuuet // Diei do mi
nico g̃ mſtret sol z fmgel⁹ cū xaphiel
hal. cuiꝰ signu leo / Diei lune mſtret
luna z angel⁹ cū gabriel cuiꝰ signu
cancer z scorpio . Diei martis mſtret
marz z angel⁹ cū samael. cuiꝰ signu
ceres. Diei mercurii mſtret planeta
mercurius z cū angel⁹ mich. ut machdel.
cuiꝰ signu gemini ut virgo / Diei jouis
mſtret iupit z angel⁹ cū sachiel.
cuiꝰ signu sagitten⁹ z pisces . Diei ve
neris mſtret ven⁹ z angel⁹ cuiꝰ
anael. cuiꝰ signu thaurꝰ z lib . Diei
sabbati mſtret saturn⁹ z angelus cū
casfiel cuiꝰ signu capricornꝰ z aqua
rius // Hora prima diei . v. noctis quꝫ tuꝫ
sfficos non poteris // Prima hora diei luce
mſtrat ut dnus z gabriel // Secunda
hora casfiel // 3ª hora sarquiel // 4ª
hora samael // 5ª hora zaphiel //
6ª hora anael. // 7ª hora michael.
8ª hora gabriel. // 9ª hora casfiel
// 10ª hora sarquiel. // 11ª hora
samael. // 12ª hora zaphiel //

d

ecpib9 ymaginu dier ho ꝑ malas lig
was ꝯ ꝑma hora dier fabricada ꝯ
ymago ad ligandas ligwas ⁊ ligwa q
ligata fuit illa hora nuq̃ quit potes
loqui ꝺr malu ꝟbu ꝺe te. ꝑma hora dies
fat ymagine cams exurgeto ut stag
no ꝓuus ⁊ sculpe ꝟ capite ymaginis
nomine illi9 sup̃ q̃ opabris ⁊ nom dni ho
ra ⁊ dies m quib9 fabas ⁊ ivetis
magimis nomia potatissimi ⁊ Altissi
mi dm ⁊ suffugelus ymagine suffu
gio sup̃ deo ⁊ cu sagine rubeo ⁊ tvolue
ẽm in pano albo nouo ⁊ sapphiras ad
ad ꝓtem illi9 deq̃ volus ꝫ no logꝫ
de te malu ⁊ sic ligabut ora oꝝ dꝛ
otuli hoꝝ ⁊ tibi nuq̃ notare potit q̃
dm ꝺ luvabit ymago ista inventem
ymagis scribe nom lua ⁊ nom signi
⁊ angalo9 tpe q̃ h̃ fabas h̃ ⁊ autem
nomia sut nomia creatonis mitu ꝓtos
⁊ bndca q̃ creatu fuit talis ⁊ talia
hic ꝳ tu sculpes sculpe ea totaliꝫ ut
bene ꝳpiat ⁊ hec sut nomia. lyeha.
fyelguema. loaffen. vialnavab. le
benia. lebenron. layasales. hec sunt
vij. nomia q̃ scribes in beris forma
⁊ scribes ea ꝟ sib9 orib9 hoꝝ ꝓpitiatis
hoib9 ⁊ fruib9 ⁊ bestiis ⁊ sib9 creatis ꝺ̃ ꝑ tota
⁊ amicitia.

nō
nom

Studa hora dici facienda et ymago beni
volentie et una ymago viri et altera
mulieris depurissimo stamo fusile et capi
ta ymaginis mulieris non vim et capite
viri non mulieris imperfecta vo et iverta
ymagine sculpies. vij. te subsequentia no
mina sint tu. vs. noibs supdas et iun
gas ymagines hoc lutiendo eas tu ce
leta et inter se bn firmet et sepelias
et domo illius ad quam volueris alium sequi et fiet
inter eos amicicia durabilis et dim. v.
magines durabunt/ et hec sut ista. vij.
nomia sc saubes. malchayl. Cauamel. Sa
zahiel. zauzimayl. pauiauel. poubayl. se
ralabelis. et hec q legi sunt

Octava hora dici facienda et ymago ad
quotiendas os sues et tota ora pisca
mina ad locu signatu in hac hora fac
ere rubeo ymagine animalis q supli
cave volueris et sculpe ita pita ymagis
nom dni hore et imperatoris similit et
veteris. vij. nomia sme hore et suffinga
am tu fenestalo ad orientem ynde et sepeli
am in loco ad quem volueris applicare aliam
sub quoy similitudie ymagine fowmasti
et videbis mirabilia circa tonos quo
uscat ad locu istum

¶ Vicesima hora diei faciendā ymago ad
fugandas aues ut effugiendo vastent
agros et horta et arbores et bestias silue
Hec hora fac ymaginē exeuē turbo
ad similitudinē animalis cuius ge in loco
sigillato volueris applicare et scalpe nomē
talis in capite ymaginis et spectet nomen
dñi hore et vij. supdicta nota pme
hore scalpe in alia ymaginis et sepeli
ymaginē in loco q̄ vis applicari q̄ de
ymagine applicabit ibi animalia q̄ tur
no in loco ut dictum

¶ Vicesima hora diei faciendā ymago ad
fugandas mitigandas ut leones ursos.
et lupos ad ꝯsilij Alias fugas notetis
Hec hora fiunt ymaginē Aliasq; cui
sigillum volueris applicari ut mitigeti et scalpe
in capite ymaginis nomē talis et spectet
ei nomē hore et nomē dñi hore et iuē
tis. vij. nota pme hore et suffinge y
maginē cū lig̃o ynde et cū cadelo mulos
et scalpe ymaginē in loco ubi volueris et
applicet dñe ad uiuacitatē videt q̄ ista illa
talis ad voluntatē tuā requirēta et ad
habendos in conuersatos

¶ Sexta hora diei faciendā ymago
q̄ captiuis ad in conuersatis ut dampe
nandis ad mouita ut saluandis Hec

hore funde ymagine illius ut istorum q̃s
saluare volens exfugato ut p̃mo er
culpe capitis ymagis nom̃ di saluati
et pectoris nom̃ hore et ut tute septa
noia p̃ma hore dicto ymagine alitum corp
p eam seu tenear cautave et ista noc ad quem ut pisatu
te custodi actoritate tu potestate dei tue
atoris

Quinta hore dies faciende ymago
ueneris et piscatoris et a foutis et utilis
multu funde ymagine exoptio fugere
mihi hore et sculpe capitis ymaginis
nom dni hore et pectoris ymaginis
nom dni hore et pectoris ymaginis
.vij. noia .s. hore et oi hore dicto pisatu
ut venatu reius ymagine tactu ponta
et applicatione venatione ut piscatoq
p̃ volum̃s sit malignitas et discordia pedes
inter hores

Sexta hore dies faciende ymago
ad damos ut ad loca destruenda et de
ponenda in hac hore funde ymagine
ex cera rubea tu duob⁹ capitib⁹ quor
unu sit asininu reliquu bo hore et
sculpe in capite asinino nom loci q
delectu de uoluris et capite humano scul
pe nom dni loci et in strutiones dni
loci et pectoris ymagis nom dni hore
et suffinga ymagine tu stagne hore inter

facti ut eu fluxugia ceruis & sepeli ea
in loco q̃ despitatu vez volus & fugient
ons hoīes & deyptabit iste loco talie q̃
nec ꝑdā p̃ buctu stial vidmodu/ & quod
ꝓtonus tñs & vbiaq; volus & nitet ne
ce fit

Ma hova dici facieda & ymago Adam
bulendu sine timova mtas Leones ff
feras & transive praes sme timove tu
vova & Adora ut mandet seruz mae
hova funde ymagia substitudie de
hui queritis & sculpta capite ymagis
nom dñi hova mutatu. vij. nota sme
hove & suffinga ymagine eu supdo
fuste & cuoto pdans da tacit tibi sibi
q̃ tuq; loci volus sme timove q̃ odi
li cultoy videre te no potut & cor
ruz ua obmutescat potis q̃ transive
fiat & dapnu cu pō dei/ Adoptiendu q̃
volus coram te ro dño & sup pmissa
pibus/

Ama hova dici facieda & ymago
fldutiandu fldiligos & ptatos in
hac hova fundé ymagia hois qui
sculpa & sculpta capite ymagis nom
hois & ydoloy nom hove & nom dñi
hove & tuatiue. vij. nota sme hove &
suffinga ymagia eu cuoto & fuste sup

dō z ī volue eām ī pīāmo nouo līneo z fil
bo z hovā qua fīdāliō volūis mīrīāz vel
vīz ī pīa eām tactu z obīēlbīs q̄ volūis
ei fīdūtorīo dei// fīd fīēdū gloīdaz di
ſcōdātas/

ndūcīmā hovā dīei fēcīēda ā ymāgo fīd
q̄ uocām dā gloīdītām mīrāz dīſcōdām
tīb ut mī vīvu z mīrīaz fīnīdo hovā
funda duas ymāgines v hīſpondeūs
z vni q̄ditatis z q̄litatis z ſculpe nom
vīz ī capita ſōme: et nom ſōme ī cā
pīta maſculi z īpertoīb ambāo ymā
gīnu ſculpas nom hovā z nom dīm hovā
z vīz nouā. 2ō hovā z pone eās ſīīe
fīēcīe z ſuffīga eās cū cūneo z fuſte
ſupdcō z pone eās īſecūeto fīd ſtallas
z vdebīs mūdabilīa quo vnq̄ q̄uītat
fīlīu z nō poſīt vnq̄ ſūa filio ſtāe fīdli
gādas ligūas/

Vodecīmā hovā dīei fēcīēda ā ymāgo
fīdligāndas ligūas īnhāc hovā fāc
ymāgīne hoīs exāptio ſtāno z ſculpa ī
cāpite nom dei z īpertoīa nomē hovā
z mīvatīe noīa ſpīe hovā z ſuffīga
cū cūneo z fuſte ſupdcō z pone fīd ſtallas
.vij. notas z cū mocīazat z cū ſtīndaīdas
z ḡiuīdī eām cū ā ſic ſcīpſīt ē gāmdhil
z nō erīt poſſīb loq ſup cū malū vbū

BSB

Prima fuit vij. ymagines q̄ fecerat de fuis
insimilibꝫ horis diei tu oibꝫ suffuigatoꝝ
mibꝫ. z opibꝫ suis Clare igit̄ mihi q̄m
exacte de fuit z vere z nepta mentis
q̄z pedes tota pfectes tuam voluntatez
in gubernatia dei tui nom sit bndm huic
opibꝫ ymagiꝝ nostꝝ

Ode dictam quattoꝫ ymagiꝝ nostꝝ
sicut studuerunt antiqui q̄ nonā fuit
mbō q̄ ipi eas q̄posuit vt oms horas op
timas eas scirēt de luctna q̄ nuq̄ exti
tisset

Prima hora noctis fecerunt ymago
de illuminanda loca tenebrosa ut ple
nū loci obscurum hac hora fundē dam
delam quasi cubitabulū hns. vij.
onā z sculpta in q̄ onā cubituli h nona
scam. hasis. dalas. Esa z poc
q̄libꝫ onā cubituli lignū delbomba
ca z scribe sup os cubituli h xij.
nona Bezat. beath. zamt. calsam.
dalfoc. dana. Anath. beas. Samith.
hassis. dalaph. Esa. Et fac exab.
sup cubitabulū ymaginē horis tenet
facie quasi forma vasis in similitudia
fundatis oleum in candela z myle
candelam oleo sp no fiat expssu ymagi
bus z sculpe sup facie ymaginis istud

nom leonis hahel leonis ahel. z sup sonum
nom sud rosahel. z simlit sup dandam
lam circulibus z coopr facio ymaginis
q no possit discoopiri z accendere circu
circulibus z rugi dicis vel potius facta
ymagine in loco q̃ nulla inligi potit tu
ansiva nec ibi stet nec ibi stat

Contra horam nocturnam faciendam ad ymagi
Ad sistendu somnium sud tastificet q̃
ast homo almia q̃ fuit ex spiritib⁹ sin
ciquis q̃ cu magnis fuit q̃dam cui
tata q̃ notabant filiandu fecit mca
ymagine ista z ut eu magis non fuit
mulier magam nisi hac hora funde ymag
gine ex eis lympide z scribe sup facie
ymagis hoc nomen Rocoel. haw! bael. ce
ad. vasas naaya. haat. z hoc alia sulpes
q̃dam folio ouis z ionas t manu ymag
gni hoc sue nomen. s. vadagon. z alaz. bua
nau. z ndaz. natho. ganv. z sepeli ymag
gine in medio ciuitat sue ville ut nullo
te videat z du hoc factum z tu hac yma
gine potis prisende sonnionas ad e
tuam nocturna deloco // ad fugadu oia
reptilia

Contra horam nocturnam faciendam ad ymago
ad fugandu reptilia nocturna ad le
sas malas z locustas ut vuas z oc
ucum malum in hac hora funde ymagi

*

circam ſid ſimilitudinez v̄ceptilis q̄ volunt fu
gant z ſaltē mfacie eox hc̄ nomia vabrōs.
vriez. ꝟbroa. ꝟberbur. ꝟberabur. ꝟberamel.
z ſcripely ymagine vbi volunt z oia de
dris effugabunt ſid deſtinadu villa ſ' loou
q̄ volunt deppłari ſ' ītmti ꝛ

1 vam̄ta hora noctis ſacranda ymago ſid vil
lam vl' loou deſtruendu q̄ volunt deputa
vi ſ' ītmtacia ī hac hora mīnge tu ipe
rectiō rouſe camelī ut cattī z collige m
ꝑtem horis z vade ſid domu ītmti tui z
ſta nomia cu ſta ſqua ī ꝑta domꝰ eius
ꝑpattedi. ꝑalicos. ꝑycatas. ꝑila. guuo
vos q̄ cito deſtruatis domu illi. ñ. z tem
cito ſtm curt ſid diſſipandu gondu qui tu

1 vam̄ta hora noctis ſacandu ymago ſid
diſſipandu qui dicu congregatu ſupra
caſtru ſ' q̄libz alīu loou ſ' malas nubes
ſ' gñdmaz ī hac hora ſunde ymagīs
ſcripturis z duas rubeo. equalit mixtu
ſic q̄. ſ. lubia 2p z ſculpe mea ſ' nomia
Barra. Acle. Yace. Cenbarra. Cangla
le. ha. Cōſadunbos ſamal. Alul. bosalh.
Aguel. z ſtupa. nafaca. ꝑaluo. z ſuffut
ī ymagīa ſuffugijs q̄ docuim z ſto
nia ſup cam vij. nomia ſcripta z ſcripti
cam ymagīa mattoni loco z ſic in ſou

tum querat q̄ totꝰ exercitꝰ dispergat̄ fu
gat/ & si opus fuit ad dispergendas nu
bes sagitti eam in altum loco & ymago
ri mota ville moueat ut loco statuto &
dispergat̄ nubes & q̄ labit̄ q̄ q̄sq̄s
videbis q̄ mirabilia & potentes deum
ro/ ad faciendu fuga inimicos ut in mtu

Sexta hora noctis facienda ad ymago
ad expellendu mrmur a villa de domo
in qua morat̄ & hac hora fiunde ymag
gmas exeūt vibices & sulpa mas hac
nota. Tartarach. Acuta. Col. Casiel.
Cal. Gnelbiath. Afaly. Andena. Cal. Dadya.
Colcasia. Cal. machiel. Casia. Sal duc.
Acal. Sardiel. Cuk. Gachiel. Fuscaul. Saul
yau. Acal. Satach. Troubael. Belbath. Ca
buel. Achael. Sava. Sacua. & Itaq̄ ut
ymagines sulpa nota illi q̄ ymagine
facis & suffuga ymagine sup̄ deū
suffugite & pona ea q̄a habitatione
eius & veredz malinoꝰ fugido d' villa
et domo n̄r quiesc & pausesc & distribue
tur eis sonꝰ totalis/ ad gubernada nasca
ea tua

Septima hora noctis facienda ā ymā
go ad gubernada nascentia tua hac

hora fundę ymagine exeuę uideo ꝛ ſalue
te ad hꝯ noīa Aug. Cantat. tot mens. da
tua. uia. mutat. uanat. Gena. turbat.
Aux ac. fructa. nou. Deſcendat ignis de
celis in templum q̄ euacuit ꝯ tribunal ꝯ
ſi in ipſu fabricat. Aperuerat. beguel. al
gayl. Cauat. ꝛ ſepeli ymagine i ter
mino ville ꝛ in toto tio ſolui uide ri
ouemab⁹ Adoggregandu Apes ſi colu
bas aut Alias quaſcuq; Aues

4 Eadem hora noctis facieda ymago
Ad applicandas Apes. Ad Alueariu
ſuu aut colubas ad colubariu ſuu aut
quaſcuq; Alias Aues Ad locu ſignatu de
longinquis ptibꝫ ⁊ mens mercuriu ihat
hora fundę ymagine Apis de auro Ad
ponendu unā Auem ⁊ ſculpe ibi iſta nota
Caldea. Cenoſa. Aſtab. yatyon.
Victoriuna. Eluaria. ⁊ ſepely ymā
gine in alteri loco illiꝰ ⁊ in ⁊ Applicabit
illuc ame Apes q̄ euat mercuriu
loci illiꝰ aut colubas ad colubariu ſuum
ubi fuit ymago colube ſca ſm q ſup
dem ⁊ ſimilit ⁊ ame Alia Aues hyma
gine Apes Adora q̄ uolueris ⁊ uocabis
Adcapiendu Aues quas uolueris

n ona hora nocturna facienda ad ymago Ad
quos andas qui 20 libz Ad 5 libz Ad 3 libz Ad
volus Inhac hora fac ymagnu illud ex
auru qs volus quocdā ex sculpere ad
hanc hora tertiam. tuam. benham
tual. toluhaya. ya. 2 ponea q volus
quos supius 2 supnctibut Addisqu
endum qxtiu obsidente villa ut ca
stra

d Coma hora nocturna facienda ad ymago Ad
diffgendu qxtiu obsidente villam ut
castra In hac hora fundā duas ymagines
ex duobz simil duobz 20 metallor vna
sit ex cupa rubea. 2ª qz plumbo. 3ª de stano.
4ª de stagno. 5ª de ferro qz sit aut
hae duas ymagines i vno corpe 2 ista
ymago hnat duo capita vnu leonis
vltiqui vo thauri. hms cōtra supta
antiori 2 sculpe m tres illis ista nota
horata. tonamat. baca. valahera.
lea. veda. caoffexa. lylacuala. tal
maat. dantur. 2 tractus. 2 sculpe m
ventre forme leonis 2 forme bouis
2 ponat cas de sco bouis 2 de se
po colubri 2 suffuga ymagine cu dis
2 sepely eam vbi sedz exitu 2 cadit
2 do talis occisio q ipi met se occidet
2 nuq vultra medietas pdicte sue dom
dnat

Adecima ⁊ duodecima hora nocte nichil
⁊ymagines manum ⁊ operandum nec
⁊ postulat⁹ si m. dixerit se velle ⁊ debere
scripturam inquirere aut addiscere volun-
tas ⁊ cupiditas sue hore ⁊ nona die
q2 mhi⁹ est tota vita magistrum
⁊ cui⁹ officium qua tua virtute dig
statuis tuo nomen ⁊ bndem insacta orgm

Vendo volus aptum exhibuo ipso ad
nona nr̄a in tpe suo dz corp. g̃w
nor̄ videlz malz que vitu ⁊ p h⁹
⁊ capit q2 si fierit filiu⁹ tm̄ suggessio ⁊
dyantam illo vanuit ad effectu 2 of

Cum sit filio op⁹ ⁊ ymagine operis
volus ad pdandu dam̄ horis sue
seminib⁹ ⁊ gnib⁹ accipiat et dicit
h⁹ facies. et si de nocte operis filius ait
dixerit et nocte tu noib⁹ angelor
mandentu et m̄q operabor in nr̄a
phibende vt locuste grandia ⁊ malor
nubiu ⁊ vel q t̄ videbit ⁊ h⁹ sit nona
d scribas ipsmo et
nona angelor pmi tpis. Gabriel. Cassi.
tant. Amatyel. Giuseppe. ⁊ nom pota
tib⁹ sup istos ⁊ ostquiel ⁊ nn dayi
cui singlyriel ⁊ verdatyel. sfatyel.

¶ nō vo fuiu a nouastas
Hora Angelor scudi tpis fut h vau
tatel. truel! vlmel. ⁊ nō capitis
signi. labael/

Hora Angelor suiantiu tpi.o. fut h ac
tauquayl. Actaiayl. Acayl. taabau
ayl. ⁊ nom capitis signi talguauath.
Hora Angelor suietiu
tpi.o. fut h amabal. tauayl. aaa.
actiayl/

c Um fiut opa i volūs. Accipe nō tpis
q h facies ⁊ scribe illa nora ꝑ signa
sm q fiut opꝰ ⁊ ora vera Adeffm tuu
tuta ⁊ potētia creatoris cuiꝰ nom ā
bndom mscula ozꝰ am/

Hota demoibꝰ solis/

q rara ⁊ nos oz ⁊ docuit cupidtas scire
ita fata ymaginu ⁊ nora solis ⁊ luc
et tue ⁊ .s.ow tpis mudi iquolibz tpe
Home rgit solis mūno tpe ⁊ Abutayn.
ginsecundo tpe Actmon ⁊ m.3 Abutagon.
m.s.rafaw/

¶ rama tpa solis sunt h ac nora signoꝝ
cuius sunt. thamud. gadm.
¶ emut d.2. cant 2do vulgo/
tpe.3. fut h libuth sonuio stagitauro
tpe 2do.s. fut h dap domio Aquatico
¶ finis/ De noibꝰ luc/

¶ Primo die noui lue a lunatulant.
Secundo die Albores. Tercio die Alladyn.
Quarto die Saturbaca // Danorib9
Calorp/

¶ Primo die calorp a Asaparas. Tercia.
Secundo die Armatlassi. Tercio die
Satyn. Gnaz. Quarto Satsatre/ D
manib9 Eroz/

¶ Primus die die no9 mamodon. Se
cundo die fastacn. Tercio tabi dn.
ut vidibil. Quarto yemat. ut yane
sa. // Danorib9. q9 ptii mudi. s. ouietis
occidentf Aquilonis. ℞ septentionis/

¶ Primo nl. q9 ptii mudi. s. ouietis mpmo
q9 tpm a Gnamdon. 2°. pibdaya. 3°.
Aldebath. q°. pedroth. Nome occideth tpe
2°. Amana. q°. tema. 3°. ycadaon. Quar
to malchaaz. Nome meridiei tpe pmo
Acmchan. 2°. yasaoth. 3°. Azut. Quar
to dimon. Nome septentrionis tpe pmo
Acmlasut. 2°. Gassan. 3°. Astyel. Quar
to yemlyon. Da Alii q°. noib9 tpe Alia
noia tpe pncp. tpib9 pmo tpe talyy.
2°. Cosmagiuz tertio. Aydaradl. Quarto
Saybath. vt saas q sue. q°. tpa/

Saas qpmu tpe incipit Amedio martij
et finit in medio junij et mensis Aprilis

2 maij · fuit i medio 2 fuit de tpe pmo
Scdo tpe incipit 2 medio junij 2 finit
in medio septembris 2 julius 2 Augustꝰ
fuit in medio 2 fuit de tpe L. Octobris
tpe incipit 2 medio septembris 2 finit in
medio decembris 2 octobris 2 nouembris
fuit in medio 2 fuit de tpe 3ꝭ Decembris
tpe incipit 2 medio decembris 2 finit
in medio maij · 2 januarij 2 februarij
vig fuit in medio 2 fuit de tpe 8 dayma
gimbg vij · drop abdomada

¶ Aprias ppheta 2 exposuit q̄ ꝓpositu. ipse
libru ofidentes mdo q̄ ꝑ sup oms
dag ordinauit ymagines. vij. diop abdo
mada Ad factondu petitiones 2 a scia
Altissima 2 honorata 2 intu sctuaria
2 no gtadit orbg hoibg nisi vis mag
nis 2 pfundissim sapiꝫ 2 intelligetie of
Quae hgit tibi in illis 2 pba 2 tuetios
Vitata sctissima ¶ Dayma gine dici do
minice

¶ vna ymago 2 dicit dominꝰ fortuna de
exercitu. tit Auricalco A' cauta tibi ala
ac scribe sup dam rotā sagitta 2 si in al
tri die Ascensio leone 2 mense Augusti
Aut Aprilis tibi sit rota Angelorum

dantu leone Raphael. Dawdyel vidacha.
fal. Hoia ventoso fuch o ut prium q̄ p̄
mandat leone Baythan. z bri fadiu to
nas Cahaty. Cendas. yebal. Cu volme
ligaw'e lig was fac y magna r̄ay mho
rus nōiu q tibi gueit z fili. ne dea z ca
nuua sup dam prta gurdtiog Couvo
vos fingeli sigillo solis gsig̃ti. Bamaga.
lyon. Cylon Bamayon. Admyon. Af
fuerzy. tayuf. Yem. letana. Bamya
yanoch. hawalyl. gnulil. Casub. Aubcub.
Caytuh. Cacub. z p tu Catona tali z fiu
z q. p tu mudi z ventoso q fuc mc colu
tarriam qui a sup oms dcs fortissimo
z Altissimo z no qc Aliq dcs p tu cu z ipa
ast vacp z gditaub on̄ naturap yat.
faeli. ydawdyel. ycalatasyel. z gnuvo
vos p hc noia vasamaa. licea. Cassaa.
lamubacub. Olot. Clos. Cymchalod.
ipa qc q fcit scias salvatas. z flytas.
yfael. Cawdiel. Calatayh. el. labova
tu z cpleta petitione. meam z cpq qp
cuna cpleui cl

Caudel ymago a luna z a planeta qxam
vt qxstano fl qxcova allud ymago ifa
fidma xma bñuolatiam z gcordiam z
fi fuc. Angeli sup eam dmantes Cavat.

michael samuel. Tu sint volus facz gtor
diam magna bñuolata fac ymagina
ista. 2as hora die lue mart. Cantor mi
mense julij & mart ut m mase pistm
ht sut nora vatoy q madat tanciu
Galatal. halmital. & hi adutor ass sut
Bellomlalu. Abuzaba. & guuia supdam
pistam guuiatione Cotuo vos angeli
bgnissu & sigllue Comoha. Lamo
ha. zihil. beyhaha. Casal. nata. vada.
Cotuo vos phonora dei vt gpleatis
hat petitoes nr & 2as rum labovatis
donat festiet gpleuitis. Rogo ta. ⁊.
⁊ 8 qht mea petitone adimplaua
gfirmaua no vemoneat qusq ad pfa
dimplabit & gfirmabit duina nobis
gcapa gtia & vtg

Cutia ymago a die mart fodina ad
axaua ruibao a' cava rubea die mar
tis & hora martis mis aprilis a' da
cambus & scas qht qg a mtu hono
vatu & fouta qm volus istud qgdam
Hora angelor gnssor sigillo mart
sut hc. s. samael. taruel. haamalul.
& nora vantor q sequunt ad sup hanu
nalua. Blisacaha. Ababol. & adiz
adutovas Cōamal. vmal. & aspa.
& guuia pista guuiatione Cotuo vos

BSB

principes angelorum et ventos et eorum edus. ga
fuatis. dadayus. et hydus. hebar. alar.
nays. gadesia. yeual. festuiach. ysam
riel. yeratel. haramalul. nore celbar-
rauachar. yadame. yalos. hauab. et
dnm luciferi. bathaque. diuini hours
rouiur. hamaha. dena. cadaua. dnm
caloy et tuz nr a filio dei pcipm deu
salaciel. tauriel. hatamalul. pcipe hamuv.
benett et adiutoribus eius qui facias et iuple
ant qd filius postulauit si volus de papula
va dom gd sagnis fluxu quo cadit qd filia i
firmitate. et qz filius dap[m] face sonumulu
ymaginis aureus vubeo et capud ymagis
ius qd cum ata tt

Venita ymago et dica ei cum ij et suo nois
angelorum qbus sup eam constituit orihael.
sonniel. sanguiel. et nois eorum sut hi ma
dati dni eius. s. tobia. et adiutores eius
has. pallas. genubas. forma ymaginis
masculini. aut ortobuls et qui bo sculpe
tas nois ista adsaquandos benuolentias
et pcedas inimicias mee eas et iumenta sic
qui stia quuatione cum uos angeli qui no
mine creatoris pcepti et uitas ipsum.
et creatoris et pceptoris et ois stas et mina
nu sua ut eius sibi cata et uulto mi superbius
qz ipsa et potens et iumentabit rex sub cui

Auctor oia sistut ꝛ vnuut Comuo vos michael. sthuquiel. Hanuel. ynl ya seruꝛa Adonay. sabaoth. yo yo. Amen celorꝝ ꝛ tꝛꝛe ꝛ vniuꝛsi fontis ꝛ solo fuit ⁊ ꝛcuit Hathaal. sthuquiel! Hanuel. qui lata petri dono mꝰm ut vaiat Adam

¶ Vnta ymago ⁊ diei Jouis ⁊ Angeli sup eam ostituti sut Saturquiel. pattā. Cassiel. Assasyel. ⁊ hii sut vti ostituti sup ymagiā. silitꝛ. Heraban. hathauit ⁊ sui Adutoꝝ sut. Ysa. Ysion. Hadasay. Dab. ⁊ qꝝ igit volūs hoc aqꝝ opari formā ymagiā qxaiꝝ ciꝰdem Ad qxtauā ciꝰdem Ad diē Jouis ⁊ itmgā eam cū vnidi ꝛt fac qꝝ vnꝰ ⁊ qꝝ mtieꝝ hoc mo volūs po nere Actꝝ int duos vnos Ad mtieꝝ Ad int vnū ⁊ mtiaꝝ sonū duas ymagines qxauā vnidi masc mariū. ſ. mālis ꝛ pisces Ad masc Anustuū. ꝛalis ꝛ agitauū ⁊ scm le nome vnī sup eam ymagis Femine ⁊ nom Fare sup eam masculi ⁊ dic ꝙnuia nomia istam Dne deꝝ omnꝝ creatoꝝ vniuꝝ visibiliū tam mvisibiliū pone bnuolentia ⁊ masuetā q eam in mtieꝝ ꝛ filia ꝛis ⁊ ꝛis. filiū ꝛis qꝝ ꝛcuisti int Adam ⁊ euam ⁊ int Jacob ⁊ ꝛa Israel ⁊ int michaelem ⁊ gabrielem q ꝛp vnꝰ qꝝ ꝛgnes ⁊ alt Aqueus vnꝰ alti non

nos ꝑ amt eos & concordia magna & ꝙ
Adm̃o ꝓmissi & concordiam t Angelo dñi
medietas & ignea Altera nivea. vt
nix ignem ꝙ exigwit nec ignis nive
& fuit & tuplic̃ nividam & concordet fac
ta dñe tue sctissima pie & mias tellow
filiem talis & concordet dilige & & amde
ei tali filio talis facias & Cowwo vos An
gali nore yafaf. ꝓ afa alleya. hayala.
haya. halix. hayul. Acaya. hycora. saffa
tala. Cossosol. Xamlepet al dñe deꝙ
sas sca & cta concludi & es finis & ꝑm tuꝑ
& nuꝝ moniorib⁹ festina ꝓ auxiliu. tu
sctoli & ꝓpa & mera & adiutorib⁹ ei vt
cito faciant & opleant petitione mea & ꝑ
fecti ymagine mloco q̃ ꝑ tinsaet & vide
bis inviabilis ois dei

Exta ymago & dies veris & Angeli ma
dantes dam sit Amael. Haquiel. Sagriel
& veri sit ꝓtectores & ꝛ. ꝯ adiutores.
Enthasas. Hasat. nasan. ꝑn dey magnib⁹
quib⁹ volum⁹ fom̃ illas dies veris ꝓcessi
Alba mese maij in Alti thamiꝛ. Et mese octo
bris & scriba non vid. sup ow ymagi mte
vis & nom intrem⁹ meapite ymagi vid
& sup pone eas ad stellas & ꝓcuta eas
cu virga olive & duxa eas cu ista qm
nra nam Vaita Amael. Craquel. Samuel.

bassalhaa. ꝑ saaca. gnbaca sadelia. gnbha
lia. salev. gnad. salualia. ꝑ saana. ꝑ amb
nre. ꝑ alhyna. ꝑ cenbtel. hauar. ꝑ asslaty.
eaci. ycel. yca. dad. dada. ꝑ m̃ q̃ caddos
ꝑ alla. dnm ꝑ angelor ꝓ uetor. hcyt.
ꝑ sseueye. ꝑ adonay. el. ꝑ alday. ꝑ sebaoth.
ꝑ sebaoth. lyasta. ꝑ ady. ꝑ gudlubia vnu fon
tissimu vnor ꝓ fortissimu dei ꝑ alt ꝓ mag
nificatoꝛ mi ꝑ q̃ cuiꝰ pom̃ nõ ē ꝑ alia
. ꝑ. qya. ya. bauquissaquil. ꝑ abguyal.
ꝑ ista gnbtatione q̃ sup vos gnuo at
gnbtuta. el. ueniꝰ bn fortuata/ gnuo
vos ut bn ꝑficiatis m̃ hac mea desem
ꝓpulsatio eius mea voluntate gmemo
randus filiꝰ etis ꝓ ei filia etis sicut
fuebat cor cue. ꝑ amoꝛa ꝑ adꝛoꝛ cuꝰ
haycual. haydas. canael. ꝑ alcoth.
ꝑ tanya con etis filie eti ꝑ loꝰ gdem ꝑ
ubi cottidie tnsiat ꝑ

septima ymago a diei sabbati cuiꝰ
planeta a satnꝰ ꝓ hec ymago a mt
tum hoꝛata ꝓ ptaosa. sup ꝑ mos ꝑ alias
ymagines eo q̃ satnꝰ q̃ m̃ septimo
gradu hat ꝑ aut ymagine madat ꝑ ti ꝑ m
gali castiel. ꝑ anbatson. tit matutoꝛ.
ꝑ sacael. et ueti huic seruiebat sunt
hij ꝑ ammi. ꝑ loybain. ꝑ ias. ꝑ malualich.
qui fuit volum̃s ingenie ingenias ꝑ balneu

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Ad molendinu[m] q[uo]d cantoriu[m] ut ponã discordiã
m[et] duos diligentes q[ue] formã ymaginis
ei⁊ sculpã in ea noia dña ⁊ ponta eam
tactu ntu cu ea ꝓ ponta eam ciuitatã q[ue] villa
ut dom⁹ ⁊ sepeli eam in medio vbi volum⁹
⁊ lugabut oms lugre hoi[n]m loci illi⁹ ⁊ si
volus ponã discordiam m[et] duos vni
uolas ut m[et] virtu ⁊ mtiã fou duas
ymagines de pura clara sine q[ue] faces
ymaginis vni faces pond ⁊ faces y
magms intiorũ faces eaꝝ ⁊ pone
eas ego ad eu ⁊ scribe in cera tha
bgiy scpta vba ⁊ pons eam in m[et] eo
eas ymaginis ⁊ h[oc] suo vba q[ue] facut m[et]
eos ut ipsos discordiam ⁊ inimicia m[et]
liuolatia pecto ⁊ tussio capillo⁹ depila
cio filii hoiationes ⁊ fugam ut nullo⁹ vn⁹ ab
alterius possit diligi ⁊ abinuicem sibi ini
mici abuiant ⁊ sepeli ymagine sub pon
ta dom⁹ vni illo⁹ ⁊ videbis mirabilia
et gnia sup eas cui ista gnatioe vel
ta ⁊ ysa obstinatiõn. ☩ Sachariel. Angeli
missi sigillo sat[ur]ni stig q[ui] in hac hora
in obstinatorũ michi ⁊ ꝓpitiã spiritibus
famulis ⁊ famulabꝰ. Hurtaneli. vt veniat
cito me[cum] ꝓpiatum mandatu ꝓnom dñi
bndicti Albilfalal. fiel. rgnabotu. yada.
yaffia. tarsagaf. Hyaalym. smagodyny.

dymas. Anazana. Galodaya. Achym.
Adyw. Alsydáy. Adaptinow. Salbath. Ados
nay. Aloym. Aloe. gna. Crithe. Serzaye.
Alssylayessy. Agnibowa [illegible] Dsatie
tas. Angelorp Cassie. Aittanon. Gat
quel. ptpita ma mnwa Haffla. 2 Al
ualuah. Gayp. Aladeq vt ida meam
qplaant volutta pstitate quuatoms
hui? sup vos sat?

4 Um aute volúis Acape ht tpt suc
de die suc de nocte cum noibus
Angelorp mdantiu tpt mq aptalberis
2 nom vei 2 ibi sut nota sipdeorp An
gelorp mdantiu tpt q scribeva dalbes
mpmo tpe 2 i 2°. tpe 2 i 3°. 2. 8°. at
ctam noia signorp aiq sicut ibi i Atat
miglibz tpa suo 2 ipi sut Angeli custi
dices 2 meliores qm libuit quaz illi q
dadit uidet? 2 q votas pmaqas. xij.
mensiu vt sequit? mfia 2 lo° istorp no
minalis 2 gonas istos sup deos ho q
sicut sup dci Angeli sut noiandi sicut
ctam noia diero mq aptalberis sicuo
qnet? in capitulo qp moyse con
pleta suno vij signa diero i dasuc dicta
uidi

N Ota q ipa suc pntiqas Angelorp xij.

mensis qui dñant in suis thronis requie
scalo qui hz thronos. Quinq; thronus
est mptr orientali in quo dñant tres
Angeli qui sunt pncipes. Sexti thro
nus est mptr australi in quo dñant
hz alij Angeli principes. Septimi thro
nus est mptr occidentali in quo dñant
hz alij Angeli vt mensis pateat melius
declarabit

Hec ordo seruitutis thronorum deseruiunt
tribus mensibus hz vnus ordo vt mensis
pateat / Primus Angelus pncipis
est mptr primo throno hz ipse ostendit
hz duas primo tres hz masc primo hz iste
porta hyssamasyel. hz iste alij pncipes
hz sup dicta habet plures alios seruientes
eis hz obediendo corpi impiis
omnibus qui hz pncipes dns a. hz vocando
hz nominando sp/ ipse hz ordine suis eis
suis seruitoribus hz io iste primus Ange
lus cognoscit cum primo tres hz mensa
das filiis / 2o mense ragnar hz dnat
pncipes
Gabriel. cum suis seruitoribus
3o mense regit hz dnat pncipes dyrnaoc primus ipse
cum suis seruitoribus

Of ℔ mesa vegnat ꝛ fuit ꝑmtays tamenon
tu suis seruitorib⁹
Of quito mesa vegñ ꝛ dnat ꝑmtays
ꝑmtays tavogat tu suis suitorib⁹ ꝑm tut
Of sexto mesa vegt ꝛ dnat ꝑmtays
Of Joval tum suis seruitoribus
Of septo mesa vegñ ꝛ dnat ꝑmtays
patderon. tu suis suitorib⁹
octauo mesa vegñ ꝛ dnat ꝑmtays m
illdegaga tu suis suitoribus ·3· tut
nono mesa vegñ ꝛ dnat ꝑmtays
Andagon tum suis suitoribus
Decio mesa vegñ ꝛ dnat ꝑmtays
Of Acgmel. tu suis suitorib⁹
Vndecio mesa vegt ꝛ dnat ꝑmtays m
Assandrum. tu suis suitorib⁹ ·l· tut
Duodecimo mesa vegt ꝛ dnat ꝑmtays
Aurea Absirdyrel. tu suis suitorib⁹

A Ista ergo q̃ sicut ꝑmtays mensis sic nor
nandi. sic ergo nota dier⁹ sic m⁹ qua
drans q̃ ꝑ nota sic ꝑma am dies dmica
vocat² Aetivaton. ꝛc. ·2· yaptel. tertia
Geminiel. // ·4· gabriel. ·5· michael. ·6·
Zaphiael. ·7· Samuel ut dapiel. vocat²
Iuxta m sacra scriptura distingwe ꝓpa
Et gondelno scriptura ꝛ ut ideo
ꝑmo distinguenda sic ꝓpa ꝛ ygnota

et ꝑ m̃ q̃z que q̃ q̃ uolũs sĩs q̃
tũ ꝓficuũ et ut ꝑ ꝑ tua dispũ
et ordinatũ eas ꝑ ẽmtu ꝑt cu fuit
q̃ tua ꝓncipit ad medio martij et finit
in medio junij et mensis aprilis et maij
fuit in medio et fuit de ꝑmo tpe et ꝑsic
ordien ad ta sig

Et cu ꝑt sumu ordie 3es mansos sup
dci 3es mansos et cor ꝓncipes ꝑnt ds
adaptaꝝ et ouigi et cu ds notariꝰ et iuo
testiꝝ q adapt̃ ẽpo q fuit ꝑmo tpe ordie
tali et ꝓmo thuono occidentali

Et cm ecia sup tpe ordiat 3es mansos et
cor ꝓncipes ꝑnt 2o tpe adaptaꝝ no
minatꝰ et uocatꝰ cu fuit de tpe occidentali
et thuono occidentali

Et cm etiam 3m ꝑt ordiat 3es mansos et
cor ꝓncipes ꝑnt 3o tpe adaptaꝝ no
minatꝰ et uocatꝰ cu ecia fuit de 3o tpe
et thuono meridionali

Et cm q̃m ꝑt ecia ordiat 3es mansos et sios
ꝓncipes ꝑnt q̃o tpi adaptaꝝ et notariꝰ
et uocatꝰ cu fuit de q̃o tpe et thuono sup
tentionali ad ta sig et m uocaꝝ angelos cu
ctos et meliores à lꝫ ordiaꝝ cu q̃o
cumpibꝰ

Et cm uolũs ordiare seu certhsam scribe
re et ut nota et uocare dic nota angelo

dmam̃ tpe ꝛ rnesi ꝛ altitu. q̃ facies oꝝ
ꝑma cui ſit dꝫ mensis a. Hyem/ 2. q̃
hyem. ꝛ sic de aliis/ q̃ si quarta filius ſit bonos et
et malos mutabilis angelos bonos et
si malu malos ꝛ sic facies toibꝫ
volus oꝝ ꝛ ita ꝙlibet oꝝ tuu ꝛ
ꝙbatu. tibu doctrina et vera ꝛ catha

Rum eadem ars te nocturna ꝛ signoꝝ ꝛ lue ꝛ tonitruꝝ ꝛ ꝙtm ꝙ
mudi ꝛ ea nocta solis sut. ꝙ ꝛ ꝙ. sut sm
ꝙta/ q tonitruꝝ ꝑmu ea ꝑmo fulgꝝ nocta
bꝫ ꝛ mvocalbꝫ ꝛ ſm ea 2. ꝛ 3. ea 3.
ꝛ ꝙ. ea ꝙ./ et ea ſm 3. nocta signoꝝ et
mꝙ tpe fulgꝝ id ꝛ ea ſm eadem. ꝙ
nocta lune q tonitruꝝ ea ꝑdis ꝛ nocalbꝫ
ꝑmu ea ꝑmo tpe ꝛ ſm ea. 2. ꝛ 3. ea. 3.
ꝙ ea ꝙ. et ea eadem ſm ꝙ. nocta tpe
q eadem oꝝ te nocturna facies eadem q
ꝑmu nocalbꝫ ea ꝑmis ꝛ ſm ea. 2. et
3. ea 3. ꝛ ꝙ. ea ꝙ. sic habet ſiguꝝ
mcapitulo Dicta ars et ita facies
de ꝙ. nocꝫ q ea ſigꝫ. alit ibi mſi
re dei captum ꝛ eadem oꝝ te nocturna ꝙ.
ꝑtu mudi videlicz orientꝫ. occidentꝫ
ꝛ meridiei ꝛ ſeptentionis ꝛ ea q libꝫ
ꝙtoꝝ habet. ꝙ. nocta ſm tpe ſua. ꝑ
nocalbꝫ ꝛ vocalbꝫ ea ꝑmis ſm ea 2.

Mane. Quando surgis de lectulo
tuo fac signum crucis super frontem tuam
et dic In nomine patris et filii et spiritus
sancti Amen. Deinde dic Domine labia mea
aperies et os meum annunciabit laudem
tuam. Deus in adiutorium meum intende
Domine ad adiuvandum me festina. Gloria
patri et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat
in principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Alleluia. Laus tibi
domine rex eterne glorie. Postea dic
Ymnum de tempore vel de sancto
secundum ordinem kalendarii. Deinde
dic Psalmum Venite exultemus domino
jubilemus deo salutari nostro. Preoccupemus
faciem eius in confessione et in psalmis
jubilemus ei. Quoniam deus magnus dominus
et rex magnus super omnem terram. Quia
in manu eius sunt omnes fines terre et
altitudines montium ipsius sunt. Quoniam
ipsius est mare et ipse fecit illud et aridam
fundaverunt manus eius. Venite adoremus
et procidamus ante deum ploremus coram
domino qui fecit nos. Quia ipse est dominus
deus noster nos autem populus eius et oves
pascue eius. Hodie si vocem eius audieritis
nolite obdurare corda vestra sicut in
exacerbatione secundum diem tentationis in
deserto. Ubi tentaverunt me patres vestri
probaverunt me et viderunt opera mea.
Quadraginta annis proximus fui generationi
huic et dixi semper hi errant corde. Et
ipsi non cognoverunt vias meas. Quibus
juravi in ira mea si introibunt in requiem
meam. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in secula seculorum. Amen. Deinde
dic Ymnum de tempore vel de sancto
secundum ordinem kalendarii. Deinde
dic Psalmum Deus misereatur nostri et
benedicat nobis illuminet vultum suum
super nos et misereatur nostri. Ut cognoscamus
in terra viam tuam in omnibus gentibus
salutare tuum. Confiteantur tibi populi
deus confiteantur tibi populi omnes. Letentur
et exultent gentes quoniam judicas populos
in equitate et gentes in terra dirigis. Confiteantur
tibi populi deus confiteantur tibi populi
omnes. Terra dedit fructum suum benedicat
nos deus deus noster benedicat nos deus
et metuant eum omnes fines terre. Gloria
patri et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat
in principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum
de tempore vel de sancto secundum
ordinem kalendarii. Deinde dic Psalmum
Jubilate deo omnis terra servite domino
in letitia introite in conspectu eius in
exultatione. Scitote quoniam dominus ipse
est deus ipse fecit nos et non ipsi nos
populus eius et oves pascue eius. Introite
portas eius in confessione atria eius in
ymnis confitemini illi laudate nomen eius.
Quoniam suavis est dominus in eternum
misericordia eius et usque in generationem
et generationem veritas eius. Gloria patri
et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in
principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum
de tempore vel de sancto secundum
ordinem kalendarii. Deinde dic Psalmum
Deus deus meus respice in me quare me
dereliquisti longe a salute mea verba
delictorum meorum. Deus meus clamabo
per diem et non exaudies per noctem et
non ad insipientiam mihi. Tu autem in
sancto habitas laus israel. In te speraverunt
patres nostri speraverunt et liberasti eos.
Ad te clamaverunt et salvi facti sunt in
te speraverunt et non sunt confusi. Ego
autem sum vermis et non homo opprobrium
hominum et abiectio plebis. Omnes videntes
me deriserunt me locuti sunt labiis et
moverunt caput. Sperabit in domino
eripiat eum salvum faciat eum quoniam
vult eum deus. Quoniam tu es qui extraxisti
me de ventre matris mee spes mea ab
uberibus matris mee. In te proiectus sum
ex utero de ventre matris mee deus meus
es tu. Ne discesseris a me quoniam tribulatio
proxima est quoniam non est qui adiuvet.
Circumdederunt me vituli multi tauri
pingues obsederunt me. Aperuerunt super
me os suum sicut leo rapiens et rugiens.
Sicut aqua effusus sum et dispersa sunt
omnia ossa mea. Factum est cor meum
tamquam cera liquescens in medio ventris
mei. Aruit tamquam testa virtus mea et
lingua mea adhesit faucibus meis et in
pulvere mortis deduxisti me. Quoniam
circumdederunt me canes multi concilium
malignantium obsedit me. Foderunt manus
meas et pedes meos dinumerare possum
omnia ossa mea. Ipsi vero consideraverunt
et inspexerunt me diviserunt sibi vestimenta
mea et super vestem meam miserunt sortem.
Tu autem domine ne elongaveris auxilium
tuum a me ad defensionem meam conspice
eripe a framea deus animam meam et de
manu canis unicam meam. Salva me ex
ore leonis et a cornibus unicornium humilitatem
meam exaudisti. Narrabo nomen tuum
fratribus meis in medio ecclesie laudabo
te. Qui timetis dominum laudate eum
universum semen jacob clarificate eum
timeat eum omne semen israel. Quoniam
non sprevit neque despexit deprecationem
pauperis nec avertit faciem suam a me
et cum clamarem ad eum exaudivit me.
Apud te laus mea in ecclesia magna
reddam vota mea in conspectu timentium
eum. Edent pauperes et saturabuntur et
laudabunt dominum qui requirunt eum
vivent corda eorum in seculum seculi.
Reminiscentur et convertentur ad dominum
universi fines terre et adorabunt in conspectu
eius universe familie gentium. Quoniam
domini est regnum et ipse dominabitur
gentium. Manducaverunt et adoraverunt
omnes pingues terre in conspectu eius
procident omnes qui descendunt in terram
et anima mea illi vivet. Et semen meum
servet illi narrabitur domino generatio
ventura et annunciabunt celi justitiam
eius populo qui nascetur quem fecit dominus.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in secula seculorum. Amen. Deinde
dic Ymnum de tempore vel de sancto
secundum ordinem kalendarii. Deinde
dic Psalmum Dominus regit me et nichil
mihi deerit in loco pascue ibi me collocavit.
Super aquam refectionis educavit me.
Animam meam convertit deduxit me super
semitas iustitie propter nomen suum. Nam
et si ambulavero in medio umbre mortis
non timebo mala quoniam tu mecum es.
Virga tua et baculus tuus ipsa me consolata
sunt. Parasti in conspectu meo mensam
adversus eos qui tribulant me. Impinguasti
in oleo caput meum et calix meus inebrians
quam preclarus est. Et misericordia tua
subsequetur me omnibus diebus vite mee
ut habitem in domo domini in longitudinem
dierum. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui
sancto. Sicut erat in principio et nunc et
semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.
Deinde dic Ymnum de tempore vel de
sancto secundum ordinem kalendarii.
Deinde dic Psalmum Domini est terra et
plenitudo eius orbis terrarum et universi
qui habitant in eo. Quia ipse super maria
fundavit eum et super flumina preparavit
eum. Quis ascendet in montem domini aut
quis stabit in loco sancto eius. Innocens
manibus et mundo corde qui non accepit
in vano animam suam nec juravit in dolo
proximo suo. Hic accipiet benedictionem
a domino et misericordiam a deo salutari
suo. Hec est generatio querentium eum
querentium faciem dei jacob. Attollite
portas principes vestras et elevamini
portae eternales et introibit rex gloriae.
Quis est iste rex gloriae dominus fortis
et potens dominus potens in prelio. Attollite
portas principes vestras et elevamini
portae eternales et introibit rex gloriae.
Quis est iste rex gloriae dominus virtutum
ipse est rex gloriae. Gloria patri et filio
et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in principio
et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum.
Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum de tempore
vel de sancto secundum ordinem kalendarii.
Deinde dic Psalmum Benedixisti domine
terram tuam avertisti captivitatem jacob.
Remisisti iniquitatem plebis tue operuisti
omnia peccata eorum. Mitigasti omnem
iram tuam avertisti ab ira indignationis
tue. Convertere nobis deus salutaris noster
et averte iram tuam a nobis. Numquid in
eternum irasceris nobis aut extendes iram
tuam a generatione et generationem. Deus
tu conversus vivificabis nos et plebs tua
letabitur in te. Ostende nobis domine
misericordiam tuam et salutare tuum da
nobis. Audiam quid loquatur in me dominus
deus quoniam loquetur pacem super plebem
suam et super sanctos suos et in eos qui
convertuntur ad cor. Verumtamen prope
timentes eum salutare ipsius ut habitet
gloria in terra nostra. Misericordia et
veritas obviaverunt sibi justitia et pax
osculate sunt. Veritas de terra orta est
et justitia de celo prospexit. Etenim dominus
dabit benignitatem et terra nostra dabit
fructum suum. Justitia ante eum ambulabit
et ponet in via gressus suos. Gloria patri
et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in
principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum
de tempore vel de sancto secundum
ordinem kalendarii. Deinde dic Psalmum
Inclina domine aurem tuam et exaudi me
quoniam inops et pauper sum ego. Custodi
animam meam quoniam sanctus sum. Salvum
fac servum tuum deus meus sperantem in
te. Miserere mihi domine quoniam ad te
clamavi tota die. Letifica animam servi
tui quoniam ad te domine animam meam
levavi. Quoniam tu domine suavis et mitis
et multe misericordie omnibus invocantibus
te. Auribus percipe domine orationem meam
et intende voci deprecationis mee. In die
tribulationis mee clamavi ad te quia exaudisti
me. Non est similis tui in diis domine et
non est secundum opera tua. Omnes gentes
quascumque fecisti venient et adorabunt
coram te domine et glorificabunt nomen
tuum. Quia magnus es tu et faciens mirabilia
tu es deus solus. Deduc me domine in via
tua et ingrediar in veritate tua letetur
cor meum ut timeat nomen tuum. Confitebor
tibi domine deus meus in toto corde meo
et glorificabo nomen tuum in eternum.
Quia misericordia tua magna est super me
et eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiori.
Deus iniqui insurrexerunt super me et
synagoge potentium quesierunt animam
meam et non proposuerunt te in conspectu
suo. Et tu domine deus miserator et misericors
patiens et multe misericordie et verax.
Respice in me et miserere mei da imperium
tuum puero tuo et salvum fac filium ancille
tue. Fac mecum signum in bonum ut videant
qui oderunt me et confundantur quoniam
tu domine adiuvisti me et consolatus es me.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in secula seculorum. Amen. Deinde
dic Ymnum de tempore vel de sancto
secundum ordinem kalendarii. Deinde
dic Psalmum Fundamenta eius in montibus
sanctis diligit dominus portas sion super
omnia tabernacula jacob. Gloriosa dicta
sunt de te civitas dei. Memor ero rahab et
babilonis scientium me. Ecce alienigene et
tyrus et populus ethiopum hii fuerunt ibi.
Numquid sion dicet homo et homo natus
est in ea et ipse fundavit eam altissimus.
Dominus narrabit in scripturis populorum
et principum horum qui fuerunt in ea.
Sicut letantium omnium habitatio est in te.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in secula seculorum. Amen. Deinde
dic Ymnum de tempore vel de sancto
secundum ordinem kalendarii. Deinde
dic Psalmum Domine deus salutis mee in
die clamavi et nocte coram te. Intret oratio
mea in conspectu tuo inclina aurem tuam
ad precem meam. Quia repleta est malis
anima mea et vita mea infernum appropiavit.
Estimatus sum cum descendentibus in lacum
factus sum sicut homo sine adiutorio inter
mortuos liber. Sicut vulnerati dormientes
in sepulchris quorum non es memor amplius
et ipsi de manu tua repulsi sunt. Posuerunt
me in lacu inferiori in tenebrosis et in
umbra mortis. Super me confirmatus est
furor tuus et omnes fluctus tuos induxisti
super me. Longe fecisti notos meos a me
me posuerunt abominationem sibi. Traditus
sum et non egrediebar oculi mei languerunt
prae inopia. Clamavi ad te domine tota die
expandi ad te manus meas. Numquid mortuis
facies mirabilia aut medici suscitabunt et
confitebuntur tibi. Numquid narrabit aliquis
in sepulchro misericordiam tuam et veritatem
tuam in perditione. Numquid cognoscentur
in tenebris mirabilia tua et justitia tua in
terra oblivionis. Et ego ad te domine clamavi
et mane oratio mea preveniet te. Ut quid
domine repellis orationem meam avertis
faciem tuam a me. Pauper sum ego et in
laboribus meis a iuventute mea exaltatus
autem humiliatus sum et conturbatus. In me
transierunt ire tue et terrores tui conturbaverunt
me. Circumdederunt me sicut aqua tota die
circumdederunt me simul. Elongasti a me
amicum et proximum et notos meos a miseria.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in secula seculorum. Amen. Deinde
dic Ymnum de tempore vel de sancto
secundum ordinem kalendarii. Deinde
dic Psalmum Quam bonus israel deus his
qui recto sunt corde. Mei autem pene moti
sunt pedes pene effusi sunt gressus mei.
Quia zelavi super iniquos pacem peccatorum
videns. Quia non est respectus morti eorum
et firmamentum in plaga eorum. In labore
hominum non sunt et cum hominibus non
flagellabuntur. Ideo tenuit eos superbia
operti sunt iniquitate et impietate sua.
Prodiit quasi ex adipe iniquitas eorum
transierunt in affectum cordis. Cogitaverunt
et locuti sunt nequitiam iniquitatem in
excelsum locuti sunt. Posuerunt in celum
os suum et lingua eorum transivit in terra.
Ideo convertetur populus meus hic et dies
plenos invenient in eis. Et dixerunt quomodo
scit deus et si est scientia in excelso. Ecce
ipsi peccatores et abundantes in seculo
obtinuerunt divitias. Et dixi ergo sine
causa justificavi cor meum et lavi inter
innocentes manus meas. Et fui flagellatus
tota die et castigatio mea in matutinis.
Si dicebam narrabo sic ecce nationem filiorum
tuorum reprobavi. Existimabam ut cognoscerem
hoc labor est ante me. Donec intrem in
sanctuarium dei et intelligam in novissimis
eorum. Verumtamen propter dolos posuisti
eis dejecisti eos dum allevarentur. Quomodo
facti sunt in desolationem subito defecerunt
perierunt propter iniquitatem suam. Sicut
somnium surgentium domine in civitate tua
imaginem ipsorum ad nichilum redigis.
Quia inflammatum est cor meum et renes
mei commutati sunt. Et ego ad nichilum
redactus sum et nescivi. Ut jumentum
factus sum apud te et ego semper tecum.
Tenuisti manum dextram meam et in voluntate
tua deduxisti me et cum gloria suscepisti
me. Quid enim mihi est in celo et a te quid
volui super terram. Defecit caro mea et
cor meum deus cordis mei et pars mea deus
in eternum. Quia ecce qui elongant se a te
peribunt elongasti omnem qui fornicatur
abs te. Mihi autem adherere deo bonum est
ponere in domino deo spem meam. Ut
narrem omnes laudationes tuas in portis
filie sion. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui
sancto. Sicut erat in principio et nunc et
semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.
Deinde dic Ymnum de tempore vel de
sancto secundum ordinem kalendarii.
Deinde dic Psalmum Ut quid deus repulisti
in finem iratus est furor tuus super oves
pascue tue. Memor esto congregationis tue
quam possedisti ab initio. Redemisti virgam
hereditatis tue mons sion in quo habitasti
in eo. Leva manus tuas in superbias eorum
in finem quanta malignatus est inimicus
in sancto. Et gloriati sunt qui oderunt te
in medio solemnitatis tue posuerunt signa
sua signa. Et non cognoverunt sicut in
exitu super summum introitum eius. Quasi
in silva lignorum securibus exciderunt
ianuas eius in idipsum. In securi et ascia
dejecerunt eam. Incenderunt igni sanctuarium
tuum in terra polluerunt tabernaculum
nominis tui. Dixerunt in corde suo cognatio
eorum simul. Quiescere faciamus omnes
dies festos dei a terra. Signa nostra non
vidimus. Jam non est propheta et nos non
cognoscet amplius. Usquequo deus improperabit
inimicus. Irritat adversarius nomen tuum
in finem. Ut quid avertis manum tuam et
dexteram tuam de medio sinu tuo in finem.
Deus autem rex noster ante secula operatus
est salutem in medio terre. Tu confirmasti
in virtute tua mare. Tu contribulasti capita
draconis in aquis. Tu confregisti capita
draconis. Tu dedisti eum escam populis
ethiopum. Tu dirupisti fontes et torrentes.
Tu siccasti fluvios ethan. Tuus est dies et
tua est nox tu fabricatus es auroram et
solem. Tu fecisti omnes terminos terre
estatem et ver tu plasmasti ea. Memor esto
hujus inimicus improperavit domino et
populus insipiens exacerbavit nomen tuum.
Ne tradas bestiis animas confitentium tibi
et animas pauperum tuorum ne obliviscaris
in finem. Respice in testamentum tuum
quia repleti sunt qui obscurati sunt terre
domibus iniquitatum. Ne avertatur humilis
factus confundatur pauper et inopes laudabunt
nomen tuum. Exurge deus judica causam
tuam memor esto improperiorum tuorum
eorum que ab insipiente sunt tota die.
Ne obliviscaris vocem inimicorum tuorum
superbia eorum qui te oderunt ascendit
semper. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui
sancto. Sicut erat in principio et nunc et
semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.
Deinde dic Ymnum de tempore vel de
sancto secundum ordinem kalendarii.
Deinde dic Psalmum Confitebimur tibi
deus confitebimur et invocabimus nomen
tuum narrabimus mirabilia tua. Cum accepero
tempus ego justitias judicabo. Liquefacta
est terra et omnes qui habitant in ea ego
confirmavi columnas eius. Dixi iniquis
nolite inique agere et delinquentibus nolite
exaltare cornu. Nolite extollere in altum
cornu vestrum aut loquamini adversus deum
iniquitatem. Quia neque ab oriente neque
ab occidente neque a desertis montibus.
Quoniam deus judex hunc humiliat et hunc
exaltat. Quia calix in manu domini vini
meri plenus mixto et inclinavit ex hoc in
hoc verumtamen fex eius non est exinanita
bibent omnes peccatores terre. Ego autem
annunciabo in seculum psalmum dicam deo
jacob. Et omnia cornua peccatorum confringam
et exaltabuntur cornua justi. Gloria patri
et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in
principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum
de tempore vel de sancto secundum
ordinem kalendarii. Deinde dic Psalmum
Notus in judea deus in israel magnum nomen
eius. Et factus est in pace locus eius et
habitatio eius in sion. Ibi confregit potentias
arcuum scutum gladium et bellum tu illuminans
mirabiliter a montibus eternis. Turbati sunt
omnes insipientes corde dormierunt somnum
suum et nichil invenerunt omnes viri divitiarum
in manibus suis. Ab increpatione tua deus
jacob dormitaverunt qui ascendunt equos.
Tu terribilis es et quis resistet tibi ex tunc
ira tua. De celo auditum fecisti judicium
terra tremuit et quievit. Dum exurgeret in
judicium deus ut salvos faceret omnes mansuetos
terre. Quoniam cogitatio hominis confitebitur
tibi et reliquie cogitationis diem festum
agent tibi. Vovete et reddite domino deo
vestro omnes qui in circuitu eius affere
munera terribili et auferenti spiritum
principum terribili apud omnes reges terre.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in secula seculorum. Amen. Deinde
dic Ymnum de tempore vel de sancto
secundum ordinem kalendarii. Deinde
dic Psalmum Voce mea ad dominum clamavi
voce mea ad deum et intendit mihi. In die
tribulationis mee deum exquisivi manibus
meis nocte contra eum et non sum deceptus.
Renuit consolari anima mea memor fui dei
et delectatus sum et exercitabar et defecit
spiritus meus. Anticipaverunt vigilie oculi
mei turbatus sum et non sum locutus.
Cogitavi dies antiquos et annos eternos in
mente habui. Et meditatus sum nocte cum
corde meo et exercitabar et scopebam spiritum
meum. Numquid in eternum proiciet dominus
aut non apponet ut complacitum sit adhuc.
Aut in finem misericordiam suam abscindet
a generatione in generationem. Aut obliviscetur
misereri deus aut continebit in ira sua
misericordias suas. Et dixi nunc cepi hec
mutatio dextere excelsi. Memor fui operum
domini quia memor ero ab initio mirabilis
tuus. Et meditabor in omnibus operibus
tuis et in adinventionibus tuis loquar.
Deus in sancto via tua quis deus magnus
sicut deus noster. Tu es deus qui facis
mirabilia notam fecisti in gentibus virtutem
tuam. Redemisti in brachio populum tuum
filios jacob et joseph. Viderunt te aque deus
viderunt te aque et timuerunt et turbati
sunt abyssi. Multitudo sonitus aquarum
vocem dederunt nubes. Etenim sagitte tue
transeunt vox tonitrui tui in rota. Illuxerunt
coruscationes tue orbi terre commota est et
contremuit terra. In mari via tua et semite
tue in aquis multis et vestigia tua non
cognoscentur. Deduxisti sicut oves populum
tuum in manu moysi et aaron. Gloria patri
et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in
principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum
de tempore vel de sancto secundum
ordinem kalendarii. Deinde dic Psalmum
Attendite popule meus legem meam inclinate
aurem vestram in verba oris mei. Aperiam
in parabolis os meum loquar propositiones
ab initio. Quanta audivimus et cognovimus
ea et patres nostri narraverunt nobis non
occultabimus a filiis eorum in generatione
altera narrantes laudes domini et virtutes
eius et mirabilia eius que fecit. Et suscitavit
testimonium in jacob et legem posuit in
israel quecumque mandavit patribus nostris
notas facere filiis suis ut cognoscat generatio
altera filii qui nascentur et exurgent et
narrabunt filiis suis. Ut ponant in deo
confidentiam suam et non obliviscantur
operum dei et mandata eius exquirant. Ne
fiant sicut patres eorum generatio prava et
exasperans generatio que non direxit cor
suum et non creditum est cum deo spiritus
eius. Filii arcu intendentes conversi sunt
in die tribulationis. Non custodierunt testamentum
dei et in lege eius noluerunt ambulare.
Et obliti sunt benefactorum suorum et
mirabilium eius que ostendit eis. Coram
patribus eorum fecit mirabilia in terra
egypti in campo tanitis. Interclusit mare
et perduxit eos et statuit aquas quasi in
utre. Et deduxit eos in nube diei et tota
nocte in illuminatione ignis. Dirupit petram
in eremo et adaquavit eos sicut in abysso
multa. Et eduxit aquam de petra et deduci
fecit tamquam flumina aquas. Et addiderunt
adhuc peccare ei in iracundiam excelsum
in inaquosa terra. Et tentaverunt deum in
cordibus suis ad petendas escas animabus
suis. Et male locuti sunt de deo dixerunt
numquid potest deus parare mensam in
deserto. Quoniam percussit petram et fluxerunt
aque et torrentes inundaverunt. Numquid
et panem potest dare aut parare mensam
populo suo. Ideo audivit dominus et distulit
et ignis accensus est in jacob et ira ascendit
in israel. Quia non crediderunt in deo nec
speraverunt in salutari eius. Et mandavit
nubibus desuper et ostia celi aperuit. Et
pluit illis manna ad manducandum et panem
celi dedit eis. Panem angelorum manducavit
homo cibaria misit eis in abundantia. Transtulit
austrum de celo et induxit in virtute sua
africum. Et pluit super eos sicut pulverem
carnes et sicut arenam maris volatilia
pennata. Et ceciderunt in medio castrorum
eorum circa habitacula eorum. Et manducaverunt
et saturati sunt nimis et desiderium eorum
attulit eis. Non sunt fraudati a desiderio
suo adhuc escam eorum habebant in ore
eorum. Et ira dei ascendit super eos et occidit
pinguissimos eorum et electos israel impedivit.
In omnibus his peccaverunt adhuc et non
credidit in mirabilibus eius. Et defecerunt
dies eorum in vanitate et anni eorum cum
festinatione. Cum occideret eos quesierunt
eum et revertebantur et diluculo veniebant
ad eum. Et memorati sunt quia deus adiutor
est eorum et deus excelsus redemptor eorum
est. Et dilexerunt eum in ore suo et lingua
sua mentiti sunt ei. Cor autem eius non erat
rectum cum eo nec fideles habiti sunt in
testamento eius. Ipse autem est misericors
et propitiabitur peccatis eorum et non disperdet
et multas avertit iram suam et non accendit
omnem furorem suum. Et recordatus est
quia caro sunt spiritus vadens et non rediens.
Quotiens exacerbaverunt eum in deserto
in ira concitaverunt eum in inaquosa terra.
Et conversi sunt et tentaverunt deum et
sanctum israel exacerbaverunt. Non sunt
recordati manus eius die qua redemit eos
de manu tribulantis. Sicut posuit in egypto
signa sua et prodigia sua in campo tanitis.
Et convertit in sanguinem flumina eorum
et imbres eorum ne biberent. Misit in eos
canem et comedit eos et ranam et disperdidit
eos. Et dedit erugini fructus eorum et labores
eorum locuste. Occidit in grandine vineas
eorum et moreas eorum in pruina. Et tradidit
grandini iumenta eorum et possessionem
eorum igni. Misit in eos iram indignationis
sue furorem et iram et tribulationem immissiones
per angelos malos. Viam fecit semite iracundie
sue non pepercit a morte animabus eorum
et iumenta eorum in morte conclusit. Et
percussit omne primogenitum in terra egypti
primitias omnis laboris in tabernaculis
cham. Et abstulit sicut oves populum suum
et deduxit eos tamquam gregem in deserto.
Et duxit eos in spe et non timuerunt et
inimicos eorum operuit mare. Introduxit
eos in montem sanctificationis sue montem
quem acquisivit dextera eius. Et ejecit a
facie eorum gentes et sortitus est eis funiculo
distributionis et habitare fecit in tabernaculis
eorum tribus israel. Et tentaverunt et exacerbaverunt
deum excelsum et testimonia eius non custodierunt.
Et aversi sunt et non servaverunt sicut
patres eorum conversi sunt in arcum prevaricans.
In ascensionibus suis ad iracundiam
concitaverunt eum et in sculptilibus suis
ad emulationem provocaverunt eum. Audivit
deus et distulit et vehementer annullavit
israel. Et repulit tabernaculum silo tabernaculum
suum ubi habitavit in hominibus. Et tradidit
in captivitatem virtutem eorum et pulchritudinem
eorum in manus inimici. Et conclusit in
gladio populum suum et hereditatem suam
sprevit. Juvenes eorum comedit ignis et
virgines eorum non sunt lamentate. Sacerdotes
eorum in gladio cadent et viduas eorum non
plorabunt. Et exsurrexit tamquam dormiens
dominus tamquam potens crapulatus a vino.
Et percussit inimicos suos in posteriora
opprobrium sempiternum dedit illis. Et
reprobavit tabernaculum joseph et tribum
ephraim non elegit. Sed elegit tribum juda
montem sion quem dilexit. Et edificavit
sicut unicornium sanctificium suum sicut
terram fundavit eum. Et elegit david puerum
suum et sustulit eum de gregibus ovium.
De post fetantes accepit eum pascere jacob
populum suum et israel hereditatem suam.
Et pavit eos in innocentia cordis sui et in
intellectibus manuum suarum deduxit eos.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in secula seculorum. Amen. Deinde
dic Ymnum de tempore vel de sancto
secundum ordinem kalendarii. Deinde
dic Psalmum Deus venerunt gentes in
hereditatem tuam polluerunt templum
sanctum tuum posuerunt jerusalem in
pomorum custodiam. Posuerunt morticinia
servorum tuorum escas volatilibus celi
carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis terre.
Effuderunt sanguinem eorum tamquam
aquam in circuitu jerusalem et non erat
qui sepeliret. Facti sumus opprobrium
vicinis nostris subsannatio et illusio his
qui in circuitu nostro sunt. Usquequo
domine irasceris in finem accendetur sicut
ignis zelus tuus. Effunde iram tuam in
gentes que te non noverunt et in regna que
nomen tuum non invocaverunt. Quoniam
comederunt jacob et locum eius desolaverunt.
Ne memineris iniquitatum nostrarum antiquarum
cito anticipent nos misericordie tue quia
pauperes facti sumus nimis. Adiuva nos
deus salutaris noster propter gloriam nominis
tui domine et libera nos et propitius esto
peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum. Ne
forte dicant in gentibus ubi est deus eorum
et innotescat in nationibus coram oculis
nostris ultio sanguinis servorum tuorum
qui effusus est. Introeat in conspectu tuo
gemitus compeditorum secundum magnitudinem
brachii tui posside filios mortificatorum.
Et redde vicinis nostris septuplum in sinum
eorum improperium eorum quod exprobraverunt
tibi domine. Nos autem populus tuus et oves
pascue tue confitebimur tibi in seculum in
generationem et generationem narrabimus
laudem tuam. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui
sancto. Sicut erat in principio et nunc et
semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.
Deinde dic Ymnum de tempore vel de
sancto secundum ordinem kalendarii.
Deinde dic Psalmum Qui regis israel intende
qui deducis tamquam ovem joseph. Qui sedes
super cherubim manifestare coram ephraim
benjamin et manasse. Excita potentiam tuam
et veni ut salvos facias nos. Deus convertere
et ostende faciem tuam et salvi erimus.
Deus virtutum quousque irasceris super
orationem servi tui. Cibabis nos pane lacrimarum
et potum dabis nobis in lacrimis in mensura.
Posuisti nos contradictionem vicinis nostris
et inimici nostri subsannaverunt nos. Deus
virtutum convertere nos et ostende faciem
tuam et salvi erimus. Vitem de egypto
transtulisti ejecisti gentes et plantasti eam.
Dux itinere fecisti in conspectu eius radices
eius et implevit terram. Operuit montes
umbra eius et arbusta eius cedros dei.
Extendit palmites suos usque ad mare et
usque ad flumen propagines eius. Ut quid
destruxisti maceriam eius et vindemiant
eam omnes qui pretereunt viam. Exterminavit
eam aper de silva et singularis ferus
depastus est eam. Deus virtutum convertere
respice de celo et vide et visita vineam
istam. Et perfice eam quam plantavit dextera
tua et super filium hominis quem confirmasti
tibi. Incensa igni et suffossa ab inimicis
tuis. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in secula seculorum. Amen. Deinde
dic Ymnum de tempore vel de sancto
secundum ordinem kalendarii. Deinde
dic Psalmum Exultate deo adiutori nostro
jubilate deo jacob. Sumite psalmum et date
tympanum psalterium jocundum cum cithara.
Buccinate in neomenia tuba in insigni die
solemnitatis vestre. Quia precepta israel
sunt et judicia deo jacob. Testimonium in
joseph posuit illud cum exiret de terra egypti
linguam quam non noverat audivit. Divertit
ab oneribus dorsum eius manus eius in
cophino servierunt. In tribulatione invocasti
me et liberavi te exaudivi te in abscondito
tempestatis probavi te apud aquam contradictionis.
Audi populus meus et contestabor te israel
si audieris me non erit in te deus recens
et non adorabis deum alienum. Ego enim
sum dominus deus tuus qui eduxi te de terra
egypti dilata os tuum et implebo illud.
Et non audivit populus meus vocem meam
et israel non intendit mihi. Et dimisi eos
secundum desideria cordis eorum ibunt in
adinventionibus suis. Si populus meus audisset
me israel in viis meis ambulasset. Paulo
forsitan inimicos eorum humiliassem et super
tribulantes eos misissem manum meam. Inimici
domini mentiti sunt ei et erit tempus eorum
in eternum. Et cibavit eos ex adipe frumenti
et de petra mel saturavit eos. Gloria patri
et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in
principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum
de tempore vel de sancto secundum
ordinem kalendarii. Deinde dic Psalmum
Deus stetit in synagoga deorum in medio
autem deos dijudicat. Usquequo judicatis
iniquitatem et facies peccatorum sumitis
diapsalma. Judicate egenum et pupillum
humilem et pauperem justificate. Eripite
pauperem et egenum de manu peccatoris
liberate. Nescierunt neque intellexerunt in
tenebris ambulant. Movebuntur omnia fundamenta
terre. Ego dixi dii estis et filii excelsi
omnes. Vos autem sicut homines moriemini
et sicut unus de principibus cadetis. Exurge
deus judica terram quoniam tu hereditabis
in omnibus gentibus. Gloria patri et filio
et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in principio
et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum.
Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum de tempore
vel de sancto secundum ordinem kalendarii.
Deinde dic Psalmum Deus quis similis erit
tibi ne taceas neque compescaris deus. Quoniam
ecce inimici tui sonuerunt et qui oderunt
te extulerunt caput. Super populum tuum
malignaverunt consilium et cogitaverunt
adversus sanctos tuos. Dixerunt venite et
disperdamus eos ne sit populus et non memoretur
nomen israel amplius. Quoniam cogitaverunt
unanimiter simul adversum te testamentum
disponent tabernacula idumeorum et ismaelite
moab et agareni. Gebal et ammon et amalech
alienigene cum habitantibus tyrum. Etenim
assur venit cum illis facti sunt brachium
filiis loth. Diapsalma. Fac illis sicut madian
et sisare et jabin in torrente cison. Disperierunt
in endor facti sunt ut stercus terre. Pone
principes eorum sicut oreb et zeb et sicut
zebee et salmana omnes principes eorum.
Qui dixerunt hereditate possideamus nobis
speluncas dei. Deus meus pone illos ut rotam
et sicut stipulam ante faciem venti. Sicut
ignis qui comburit silvam et sicut flamma
comburens montes. Sic persequeris illos in
tempestate tua et in ira tua conturbabis
eos. Impple facies eorum ignominia et querent
nomen tuum domine. Confundantur et conturbentur
in seculum seculi et erubescant et pereant.
Et cognoscant quia nomen tibi dominus tu
solus altissimus in omni terra. Gloria patri
et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in
principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum
de tempore vel de sancto secundum
ordinem kalendarii. Deinde dic Psalmum
Quam dilecta tabernacula tua domine virtutum
concupiscit et deficit anima mea in atria
domini. Cor meum et caro mea exultaverunt
in deum vivum. Etenim passer invenit sibi
domum et turtur nidum sibi ubi reponat
pullos suos. Altaria tua domine virtutum
rex meus et deus meus. Beati qui habitant
in domo tua domine in seculum seculi laudabunt
te. Beatus vir cuius est auxilium abs te
ascensiones in corde suo disposuit in valle
lacrimarum in loco quem posuit. Etenim
benedictionem dabit legislator ibunt de
virtute in virtutem videbitur deus deorum
in sion. Domine deus virtutum exaudi orationem
meam auribus percipe deus jacob. Protector
noster aspice deus et respice in faciem
christi tui. Quia melior est dies una in
atriis tuis super millia. Elegi abjectus esse
in domo dei mei magis quam habitare in
tabernaculis peccatorum. Quia misericordiam
et veritatem diligit deus gratiam et gloriam
dabit dominus. Non privabit bonis eos qui
ambulant in innocentia. Domine deus virtutum
beatus homo qui sperat in te. Gloria patri
et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in
principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum
de tempore vel de sancto secundum
ordinem kalendarii. Deinde dic Psalmum
Benedixisti domine terram tuam avertisti
captivitatem jacob. Remisisti iniquitatem
plebis tue operuisti omnia peccata eorum.
Mitigasti omnem iram tuam avertisti ab ira
indignationis tue. Convertere nobis deus
salutaris noster et averte iram tuam a nobis.
Numquid in eternum irasceris nobis aut
extendes iram tuam a generatione et generationem.
Deus tu conversus vivificabis nos et plebs
tua letabitur in te. Ostende nobis domine
misericordiam tuam et salutare tuum da
nobis. Audiam quid loquatur in me dominus
deus quoniam loquetur pacem super plebem
suam et super sanctos suos et in eos qui
convertuntur ad cor. Verumtamen prope
timentes eum salutare ipsius ut habitet
gloria in terra nostra. Misericordia et
veritas obviaverunt sibi justitia et pax
osculate sunt. Veritas de terra orta est
et justitia de celo prospexit. Etenim dominus
dabit benignitatem et terra nostra dabit
fructum suum. Justitia ante eum ambulabit
et ponet in via gressus suos. Gloria patri
et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in
principio et nunc et semper et in secula
seculorum. Amen. Deinde dic Ymnum
de tempore vel de sancto secundum
ordinem kalendarii. Deinde dic Psalmum
Inclina domine aurem tuam et exaudi me
quoniam inops et pauper sum ego. Custodi
animam meam quoniam sanctus sum. Salvum
fac servum tuum deus meus sperantem in
te. Miserere mihi domine quoniam ad te
clamavi tota die. Letifica animam servi
tui quoniam ad te

suffragari oz opꝫ q̃ facies mea ꝛ gplet
bit opꝫ tuu sme dubio suffragii dicꝫ do
minica q̃ assandalis. cvdcau ut vubeꝫ
ut sibi simla ꝛ sic de aliis vt ibidē gtiet
ꝛ dicta ibi subscꝛipt mvdcas. ꝗlia opa fa

cvi debes ꝗ quolz dica

H ota q̃ cta oz ta scribave nota horꝫ ap
dia ꝛ b ꝗ de horis ffiat opa d facies
sima g dicꝫ horꝫ dicit vely n. Ju hac ho
ꝛa facꝫda ep cavtha ad destruendas
vocdas horm ꝛ mala vubꝫ cōp ꝛ lgwas
ligandas ꝛ sic mvdcas ibi de aliis horis
tam dūnis q̃ nocturnis

H ota cudm q̃ tu alig opꝫ fa cavtham
scribeve vdlis nom horꝫ ꝛ nom dni
horꝫ. ꝛ. Angeli q̃ ei dnat ut mstret oz
ta inoleve vn hc sit oratio Angelo2 dna
Antiu arb horis diei sapiana / Jma am
horꝫ diei dnat. Raphael. ꝛ sic de aliis q̃
ibi vdcas q̃ ad ida ꝛ sic cta d denocta
Jnda nocta diei lune / Jma horꝫ dnat
scdꝫ quiel. ꝛ sic cta de aliis vt ibi m
vdcas ꝛ c

H ota cudm q̃ sit ap de arb horis sup̃dis
vta cudm ap ꝛ mtelligeve debes q̃
dam Angeli dnant ut mstrant horis sup̃
dnaꝫ planetaꝫ ut mstratoe meis di
cm horꝫ solis dnat ut mstet Raphael ꝛ sic
de aliis vt ibi mvdcas ꝛ c

a ora eta diligēt de gouernacōe q eta tpis debes facē dōīb⁹ supdīis et quotid
dor et vra Ethis. Dici eta cuilibz planeta cu
Angelis suis signa et planeta et distributa
hor⁹ Angelor⁹ nata de gouernacōe et vndeuis
lo et ptes et capitulis supnis scīptis et Angis
sup in capitulis de ymaginib⁹ dicor⁹ ab⁹
ministrat Adminiz. Dies g dnicos ministrat
sol et Angelo eius et Raphael eius signu
et leo et sic de aliis vt ibi videres

b mria pdca oz te seruare quocūq⁹ volūs
operari scīptum libri et aliq defectus
non posse qr hoc prouideas videres quomodo
et qualiter habere te debes et oportuit
scīptu libri facias et michi dmittas si
non vis cauere et pmo ff vesperi me
luna et qr mansis lunaris dies alii boni
sue alii sint mali vir habere sup libris
isto et io vegula et ethis q q̄cūq⁹ die sup
dicāe operari volūs adquoslibz bonū
siue malū facere vis attende diligēter
q illa dies sit opi fiendo vespertinedo me
dium lune vsq; vt dem et Et si illa dies
sit bona et queras no dimittas opꝰ
tuū de die in die. ut differas q̄uis qr
opꝰ tuū no veniat ad effectū et forsi
tan putabis illud de ftm

Ad veritas eius diligat q̄ ipm̄ pro omib⁹ tuis
q̄ tui ap̄s debes sulbare nota q̄ vsq̄
debuit voluntati tue ꝛ sit hec nota ex noib⁹
tuis dilectionis tue ig̃ illa nota altissima no
minata volunis flexis genib⁹ huius mo
dis sic in vos ꝛ huius supplico vobis
nota altissima dei vt nos adiuuetis
tapa Eli Adyuledu Adyficiedu. Agnas.
yana dei sit. ybar sukar.
Agnas. yana dei. sit. ybar. Suliat
gnalas. yemssamon. haa. Dosa. bauisan
bauisan ꝛc

Nuoco ꝛ Appello te Captiel. Angele q̄m
ast̄ ꝓtector dei sup̄. ī dies sabbati.
p̄ q̄m labores ꝛ desp̄tas dom̄ tuam
meu effum ꝛ desideriu ad effum pro
ducas Rex maiyon. Assayby. ivoco
te ꝛ Appello ꝛ tuos Adiutores Alyma
lib. ꝛ haybaily. dor. ꝛ yfla q̄ p̄me la
boretis ꝛ no desistatis donec totu meu
Affum ꝛ desideriu q̄leuit Quos Ange
li q̄ ꝓsidetis diei sabbati Captiel. Ad
tatom. Sauquiel. i. Satiaquiel. Et
Invoco ꝛ Appello vos vt p̄me laboretis
non desistatis donec totu meu Affum
q̄leueritis Et sanctissima nota dei As
nias. yana. dei. sit. ydau. sulsau.
gnabas. yemssamon. haa. dosa. ba

BSB

vram. mvoo vos & vdeqvo toto cordꝭ
& ore vt dignem me exaudire & fid
uciuo & totu meu desiderium qulcva
vt valeam videre & mille armatos
i meo seruitio & Cryayn. ꝑmet howa
dici voto te vt adiuuas me vt pos
sim me videre ꝑdictos armatos //
& te etiam yan. oz q dict. 2us howa
& te etiam. 3us howa Dasuva. & te e
tiam. 4us howa sala. & mvoto etiam &
Appollo Angelos dnantes ꝑdictis ho
ris Raphael. 2us Anael. 3us michael.
& 4us Gabriel & mvoto eos & [illegible] &
Angelu Captielem & eu signu qd
portauit & Aquariu & suu sigillum
qd hic ꝓpono vt me adiu

uent & faciant michi Appareve ꝑdicti
armatos in meo seruitio //
& cuius qd i & tue voluntis yemal.
vt yelnedal. mvoto te & Appallo vt
tu adiuues me & facias Apparere
ꝑdictos armatos meos seruitio
& nota Angelos qd seruit & qua.
Amabel. Cauayl. Atuaayl. i voce
voc & Appallo vt faciatis michi

venire. ꝑt m̃ fortma militu Animatore
m̃ meo seruitio D Angeli fortes dapa
el. Aratron. fatael. Anvoto vos vt
meu desideriu oplatis ꝓdor hic
vare facietis vos ventos Genuu
Altibayn. Aglas. Analusb. veite cya.
Artaton. sathane. tit Angeli ymisi
sigillo sum sitis q̃ m̃ hac hora in Ad
iutoriu mihi ꝓpitie petitis Amami
et astabam et hactenabit. vt veniant
cito meu quid mandatis et nom benedictu
Abilfaelfiel. Anogo dym. dimalon. Ana.
Ana. saday. Athym. Adyn. essiday. A.
Baymion. salbat. Adonay. aloym. aloe.
Ana. Cytye. sevadye. Assylla. y Assius.
Agnalbona. D sanctas Angelo ꝙ
Cassie. Aratron. Atquiel. ꝓpitia me
Anna et Affla et Abvaluelit. sayn. Ala
deu. vt rem̃ meam opleatis voluntate
et ꝓtectionis hui et ꝓ quibus
quas sup vos feci D tomitat nome
plis m̃ q̃ tua m̃ voco te vt tu Adiuues
Ad faciendu vana supdos ꝙt m̃ seru
ma militu m̃ seruitio meo D noia sig
nor. q̃ tua m̃ voco vos vt Adiuua
tis ma q̃ supda ꝙt valeat m̃ meo seru
itio Cauricorno Aquario et pisces D
sanct Aquia nam lune m̃ q̃ tua Rogo
te et m̃ voco vt tu Adiuues me q̃ ꝙt

BSB

ris vatue supdos ptē in forma mili
tum m meo seruicio / sa faten no
men celoz m. q. tpe Rogo te z mvo
co ut tu adiuues me q facias vatue
supdos ptē in forma militu m meo s
uicio / nota. q. ow tpm mundi ouerf
predyoth malchaez / andrie danoc.
Salutatoms. ydamhor. vos ivoo zib
go ut vos adiuuetis me z faciatis ve
nire supdos ptē in forma militu mi
uita mea / Incipiunt experimeta
verissima et probata

Incipiut exmeta verissima z pba
ta pmu adona mdagenda que
valūs sue psentia sue pteita siue
futuwa z of

Incipe pidevu vuginem dilectio
dyoro z sotios q8 tibi pla tuowm t
de vadas ad locu statuetu z facias tu
culo 8. z. eu gladio ad sinu dicz mno
minc tuo z filii z s. s. // Ad secudu dic
mnem mdiuidue tpnitatis Alpha z
o. de9 z homo // Ad. 3m dic ego te patris
pilli qui creauit celum z terram mare
z oia q mas sut Hc finito fac q vn9
ex eis habeat. gladiu suu z no mino. q. ex
alachis extractis z Atraje sada tuya
dem z pone in fenestra circulu z scdas

nom pñi Adsedam ꝛ bndic pñm ꝓ hanc
bndicoñ cuꝫuendo ꝓ caput dꝫ tum
gladio dicens/ ✠ cruxꝭ tatu cruxꝭ.
aſ ꝑ ✠ Adonꝰ. ✠ croꝭ ꝭ ⁊ vexa ſalꝰ
✠ cruxꝭ ſolui vnculu mortꝭ ✠ cruxꝭ
⁊ mutabilꝭ ꝓ ſuma ✠ cruxꝭ ⁊ mobil ⁊
ſigñ. ✠ cruxꝭ ſupat oꝫ malu ꝛ dat pñs
gladiñ tanꝫ ⁊ Admanꝫ ꝛ fac illi cꝫucta
Adſiõta dicõdo ✠ cruxꝭ ſca ſanctificat
te ꝛ oñs oꝫones ſacꝫdotu bndicat
te ꝛ fac pñm ſadue Adſedam ꝛ valdae.
ſibi vngua tu cultallo ꝛ vnge ſibi vng
uem tu oleo oliue ꝛ tut bndicas ſocꝭ
tuos ✠ vnu poſt Alim ꝛ te ipm tu pdca
bndicoe ſicut tu pñm bndixiſti ꝛ ſanctꝭ
cos ſedeꝫ ⁊ vnu poſt Alim Admſeruꝰ ⁊
cꝫ cultu ꝛ da vnituꝫ gladiñ ſuu tanꝫ ⁊
Admanu ꝛ facias cos hꝫa ſilentiu ꝛ fac
pñm cladeꝫ ⁊ otilos ꝛ bndic pñm ꝛ te
ipm ꝛ oñs ſocios tuos ꝓmittu ſancti
⁊ wangelij ſm Johañ ⁊ ꝛnpñtio cꝫat
Ybu ꝛ Ybu cꝫat Ayut dau ꝛ oꝫ ſiñ
to fac pñm ꝛ ſicabꝭ vngꝫa duſꝭ ſa
ꝫiuſ tat ꝛ ipa ꝗñtꝭ ꝫmon ꝓgemp.
Arthiomo. ꝓpt. vvalchim. Alchos ꝓmitꝭ.
ſalem. thobiam. Cosmos. ſolſmos. dilos.
dilia. dicꝭ. noſtꝭ. ✠ cꝫuꝰ vos demo
nes ꝓnoiatos ꝓ hꝰ noiaſta on. ton.

BSB

gon · von · ap̄r galap̄r ivs calens · trimel.
vt ctissime ram ntlem vequie hzatr nec
m calo nc̄ sub calo nc̄ m tvet nc̄ sub tva nc̄
m pluuiis nc̄ m ventis nc̄ m nubib⁹ nc̄ ias
vib⁹ nc̄ m ignib⁹ nc̄ m flatib⁹ nc̄ m fluiis.
nc̄ m frib⁹ nc̄ mpomis nc̄ m aliis quib⁹
locis nisi fuer ei fiunto ista p̄ua undem vnq
uam ist⁹ p̄ui vgines oleo linito ciusce dauid
sciue tenta lati⁹. Appiauide vt potit qui
dant vidue meo fuia z fiuctu fom nature
ablatu z loti vbi adhuc iacz z q̄ tuch ti ipo
fuito factu et tunc sibyla tou ad p̄uimu
dic dnia x thu xpe ad fm dic dn̄ fouti
ad 3m dic ptas. Hoc finito dic quuidato
tou q vos p̄ncipes dm demoioz astaroth.
Belzabub. Bauit. fouuitatou. et ytatou z
aductou. possessou. hoim mathcus. Malbz
ptipio vob vt vnu vng m fouma nig ve
niat vt iste quia pt eu quidant videa
m sua vigue. Hc finito q̄as ad quu si vidz
latitudine z altitudine m suo vngue si
no dimittas fouma nigram z meipa
p̄dcm quuidatione usq q videbit et ut
fatias vane. sicut pus pom z p̄ciuide
ipis z hc noia. al. aloy. alyon. alde.
sapiel. sothoy. emanuel. tatragmaton
adday. lubanay. athanatos. yos. kyrie.
pmagou vita. finis. via. flos. fons. ve

ritas. sap̃. vnus q̃ actus ℮ sum ꝑ su de
diator. agn9. agus. vitul9. serpes. hirc.
leo. as. v. remus. ymag9. gtia. lux. pl.
plandus. lapis. angularis. fons9. pastor.
fulg. sacrdos. immortalis. lex. rex. x.
pr̃. filg. s. s. agla. pr̃. eternitas. mon.
pnon. pauli. caon. aqton. alpha ⁊
o. ꝯipotens. misericors. caritas. et
mus. adiutor ⁊ redemptor. primog. nouis
sim9. pdator ⁊ redemptor. agnos. oth. s.
ysthyos. gre. dag. fortis. ⁊ patiens.
iustus. iudex. multid die ⁊ ista. lxxij.
maria xpi ꝑ triplo vob vt̃ mihi sitis obedi
entes ⁊ isto pño virgineo daqua ve ⁊
daqua in trogatio q̃ f̃m a vetribus
q̃ vm a me ⁊ dictis // h̃ finito q̃
vos si videt demone saltantes ⁊ gaude
tam tñc dic ad puer ⁊ fatias ad socios
tuos simt loqui q̃ puer no h̃eat timo
rem. h̃ finito manu q̃ uerba ve ⁊ fac ꝑ su
vacadeus ⁊ fuga tu finito mihi ⁊ com
ro vos ꝑ nominatos demones ꝑ istu q̃
d℮ aut calu ⁊ tarbi ⁊ dic q̃ mihi fuit
⁊ ꝑ istu q̃ nos ⁊ vos ouerunt ⁊ nos ꝑ
dimit. Et suo ꝑcioso sagne ⁊ ꝑ istu q̃
vaturis dñr ⁊ ꝑ virtutem ⁊ fi ⁊ ss. ⁊ ꝑ stam
obediam ⁊ ꝑ dñm nr̃m ihu xpi q̃
hodie ⁊ cotidie celebrat ⁊ ꝑ uniuersum
mundu ⁊ ꝑ stam trinitate ꝑ deitatem

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℣ hue mihi ℣ deus tu es ℣ deus meus ℣ deus salus
deus tuus potentia ℣ spes mea miserere mihi deus
noster iesu xpe ℣ qui venisti filius ℣ prevenisti
dira iudicij ℣ respice exore omnium mortu
orum ut vivifices ℣ fuga tu fuisti loco
tui ℣ ad ducas ut ista puer euidet possit
videre fuga tu fuisti ℟ no dicas Aliam
quin dationa ℣ Confundantur vos pnoiatos demo
nas ℣ sanctificetur deus noster iesus ℣ statuit
regnum dni nri i. x. ℣ benedictus d. n. i. x. ℣ pax
tecum d. n. i. x. ℣ passio d. n. i. x. ℣ milia sex
ginta d. n. i. x. ℣ centum sex ginta octaua d. n. i. x.
℣ quinquagesima sex ginta d. n. i. x. ℣ in aliis de
capita vos adiplantas ℣ principem convoca
℣ in capite dni n. i. x. posuit ℣ genua flec
tebat illudebat sibi dicentes Aue rex iude
orum ℣ fluvium me ℣ palpas deus xpm cade
bant ℣ p3. clauos plangam ℣ sacratu
corpus d. n. i. x. ℣ fovatur a deus ortnus exi
uit sanguis ℣ aqua p amissione sue sanctis
d. n. i. x. mundi tuas quado pm mater pec
catrix ℣ beata virgo maria mi dni no
stri i. x. hunc deus vidit filium ei pedata m
eum. d. ℣ fecta vitamus subvolita ℣ nsm
℣ quom dat ex. q. liga. s. aliqua. ℣ o. dei ℣
hanc fecis ℣ Confundantur vos pnoiatos de
mones ℣ omnes sanctos angelos christianos et
dnationes principatus ℣ potestates. virtutes
celi ℣ cherubin ℣ ℣ seraphin ℣ ne cadat

Hamen dicens ꝓcius ſce ſce ꝑ ꝑtus.
d.n.i.x. ſ. q̄ nob horas deſcendit decā
lis ꝑ natꝰ ex matre virgine ſulpan
cio pylato paſſꝰ ꝑ ꝑ. angelos ſalutz
Gabriel. Raphael. ꝑ ꝑ dnicam
nuationē. ſ. ꝑ ꝑ. ꝑ vij. candelabra que
tibus angelor adorū ſcor ꝑ cor mea
cula. deo ſimplicita. q̄ ſuc ſub xpo q
Bc finita q̄das ꝓpho ſi vidz ſi no tc dic
Hanc ꝓuocatione cōmuo vos ꝑ noiati
damones ꝑ. ſ. ou. awam. tas luca. matu. ſca
thau. iotha. ꝑ. ſ. ou. ſmoes. ꝑ xij. ſptos ꝑz.
magos. ſ. caſpar. balthaſar. melchior.
ſpuiandas. ꝑ has. ꝑ matutinas ꝑ ſcſſo
rias ꝑ ꝑoms ꝑtres romanos ꝑ ꝑ aimas
virgines ꝑ viduas ꝑ ꝑoms epiſcopos
ꝑ ꝑoms abbates ꝑ ꝑoms priores ꝑ ꝑoms
monachos ꝑ ꝑoms archidiaconos. ꝑ ꝑoms ſa
cerdotes ꝑ ꝑoms monachos ꝑ ꝑoms miſſales
ꝑ ꝑoms ſacerdotes ꝑ ꝑoms dyaconos ꝑ ſub
dyaconos ꝑ ꝑoms ſcos dei ꝑ miſa omnium
ſcor. ꝑ ꝑoms ꝑtum xanor ꝑ ꝑoms ſcos
q̄ ſuc malo ꝑ miſa ꝑ ꝑcantu ꝑ lxiiij.
mihe nocturn q̄ no ſunt loq̄tes loqui
mpuerutia. ꝑ ſi ſut ſuppli ꝑ ꝑoms ſalua
ſalomons ꝑ ſapiam ſuam ꝑ ꝑoia expim
ta virgilii ꝑ celu ꝑ tuam ꝑ mane ꝑ
oia q̄ mais ſunt ꝑ ꝑoms caſaudos ꝑ

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Regas tos magnates et comites tos milites
tos ciues et finitimos quos si uideris fuit cu
fuw to et si uolueris ad fine et uerge tuo
ung uem tricla tua et accipias unguentu
dum et unctus tu imo facies conuiuia
cu gladio ad .q. tos cuncta cum dicto dapi
filio tuo et sic custodiat te et sic uade
gladiu usque fin sa et exue duriculos
dib7 sociis tuis ita facias et tibi
accipit fm bonum qbatu

capellum viij^or^. delegitto thoro & fac
3°. cultulos ad p^m^u ciuaulu dic^m nona
p. & f & s. ad s^m^ dic^m ysm celi dnm ihm
ad 3^m^ dic deus tuu ragi da. post hec
edem quartiu & subtq scriba
noma puer & subpedib^q puer scriba
hoc noma tarragvamaton. & ponant de
sup duo lapides ne puer tangat noma
subtq scriba m manubrio cultelli
& nam puer & h^c noia rstach. hoaz. aba
vs. fastach. & in pollice scriba alpha & o.
Damde rada vngua dextri pollicis cuj
cultello cuj manubriu sit sem de coiunctu
nigra ut albo. Damde dic dna s^m^ p^ce & p
postea fac cruce ✠ eli mo in fronte
puer dicens tibi es alpha & o. fac^m
dnor^e capm v. ysu. n. q^d cu adtuli tibi
in nore p & f & s. & dic dna ihu fili dei.
uiui q^d nobis puerulis descynu p^mde de
scandisti ad hem Inde noli timere ama
Damde sursu ad p^ma dextra am
sathan. belzebub. astaroth. baruith. az
zebo. rotunda. h^c dic tibi Damde mitte
cultos & pone ta g^m facie pu & tuc
lucas vngue pu uasum cu oleo olue
& da puo cultellu admanu & dic algo.
Afiat. bos. 3 elates. um. vom. Aot
myo. chrtodehs. Gamtias. Gama. Ure
sus. pharuachta. foliath. Galiach. dyuo.

vnu⁹. vnyu⁹. preamde. fabat. gabat.
Tyuos. vr̃s. Aubaw. Azathi. tōuuos
pnatos demones pr̃bm̃ & f̃z ſ.ſ.
dm̃ ouoctata pr̃ipm xpm film ei⁹ & pr̃ow
tiuntata rllo⁹ & p ipam puidentia q̃ dei⁹
m nieta hmt pus q̃ mudi fiauat bbe
dnatis mpio meo non pr̃ virtute mea ſz
pr̃ virtutem magestatis ouocatis dei.
tōuuos & gtastow uos demones pſtipiaz
ctnitatis dei q̃ celu ſup̃ ſtaua fecit tow
ram ſmt deorſum fundamt & pfect
altu p q̃ mapi⁹ mudi gnexr & pr̃uidentia
q̃ dns lucam Atanabius ſepauit & vtuq
q̃ cupiuit ut ſtudea & magiſtrio ſua
gistri⁹ uio Astaroth. uob gcuſſa vmgue
ſuis pñi. N. dico. limitu cuſtos & defen
ſaq̃ patriaq̃ & pcipue lati⁹ ut appare
re & poſſit euident & uidere meo fuit &
fuctum nob ablatu & ei loci deq̃ ablatu &
& m̃ q̃ loci tr̃ſlatu & & ubi adhuc po⁹ &
& q̃ p̃ exipo finem actu & ꝛc adiuro uos
pnoiatos demones pr̃bm̃ dei q̃ celum
& tra cupiuit & habitam uirtute mea
gne ſuo ſolem & lunam & ſtellas t ſig⁹ &
ſpa fulgura & tonitrua uoces & omia
q̃cūq̃ ſmt intoꝛa. nubes & ignes ut
ſint & ꝛc ꝛc q̃ iuro uos pnoiatos demo
nes p̃ſumptuoſos p̃natiuitata pauu
liſſimi p̃bap̃m xpi & p̃ oia q̃ fecit ihe
in ch̃dna galylea q̃n quarta fig⁹ & diuu

ut supra te ꝯ quinq vos ꝓnoratos dnos
ihesus ꝓ reuelatiõ xpi ꝛ ꝓ ipsu ingressum qñ
in montẽ oliueti ascendere voluit
adorandu prem ditando. ꝓ si sicuꝫ
te transfat a me callue ipse ꝛ ꝓsudo
ta sagnem ihu xꝝ qui de suo corpe ema
nauit amoꝫ ꝓcordibꝫ ꝛ ꝓna sanctissima
secretor ꝛ sagnosas guttas sudoris xꝝ
ꝛ solem obscuratu ꝛ luna quasi ꝑ
in sagna ꝛ tribulam damonꝝ xꝝ ꝓ
dentis ligno crucis ꝛ supliciu mortis
ꝛ ꝓ emissione sui sctissim ꝙ ꝛ ꝓ ipsam
uirtutẽ q̃ velu tepli cissum est ꝛ ipsa
ta aperta sut ꝛ ꝓmissu sac̃ scptchri
ꝛ ꝓ uirtute dei ꝛ ꝓ dispsos diue cudi
nationis ꝛ ꝓ ihm dnm nrm ihm xꝝm
ꝓ adoratu crucifixu ꝓ assum ꝛ sepul
tum cradimꝰ ꝛ sanctꝰ rasurꝰ exiit ꝛ
talos fascidissa ofitam ut supra ꝛ ꝙ
of ꝙ uos ꝓnoratos damones ꝓ de
ꝛ tuam. meam ꝛ oia q̃ mea sunt
ꝛ ꝓ ora q̃ ꝺcludut ꝺ. ꝓtas mudi ꝛ ꝓ
fera ꝛ volatilia. cali bipedia. trige
dia. quadrupedia ꝛ ꝓms aias pote
tates ut supa ut supꝰ. Et ꝙ uos
ꝓnoratos damones ꝓ angelos ꝛ arch
angelos ꝓ thronos ꝛ dnationes ꝓ
patꝰ ꝛ ꝓ tates ꝓncipatus ꝙ ꝓ
cherubin ꝛ seraphin ꝛ ꝓ dnatu ofitiu
misericordiaꝫ ꝛ ꝓ eos q̃ ꝑ sut ꝛ ꝓ ora

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Subiecta sunt ōipotēti deo vt p̄ p̄m
ōipotēta deū qui ex nichilo cūcta fecit
tēl fidelauda & fid̄ ḡtiam nob̄ sū fecit
vt ſ̄h̄ & ſc̄o uos p̄ nob̄ ꝓtos dēm
nes p̄ v. ſecula & vij. ætates mūdi &
p̄ tū modū diem iudicij & p̄ lxxij nob̄
xp̄i p̄ceptā & claritatē xp̄i. q̄ huic
p̄sc̄ mūdo fieret & p̄ centū & xlūi.
milia in nocte sū deum assentiet & p̄
ōnes ordines ecclasticos vt ante & ſ̄
ctos uos p̄ nob̄ ꝓtos dēmones ꝓtec
tēl sc̄ūm dei q̄ de nob̄ cūdam
ēt non desit & adh̄ adymagine & simi
litudinē suam formauit vt ante ctos
uos p̄ nob̄ ꝓtos dēmones ꝓ sc̄issimā
mariā & dñas. sother. emanuel. sabā
oth. adonay. ꝓmathon. ꝓanchoūthon eloy.
thaos. ho. visib. saluator. alpha & o p̄m
& nouissimū p̄mo genito. p̄ncip̄ & finē vita.
ventis & sp̄ū. viuū. p̄fectū. ego sum.
qui sū. qui es. mediator. agnū. ouis. aries.
vitulū. spes. & dus. verbū ymago. gl̄ia.
gena. salus. lux. sal. pax. splendor. panis.
fons. vitis. pastor. ysphya. ꝓpiciū. remu
talis. vox. ꝓphe. omnes. misericordes. cūc
sūmū bonū. trinitas. vnitas ꝓphe. el
eloy. eloe. eleon. ḡ adday. ḡ symaton.
tetragrammaton. ye. ye. ꝓtectus patris. emanuel.

Spue. timor. pietas. tu. vnitas vnita
tis. tua deitas vt supra Et Conuo
vos prostratos demonas ydem dyab
Conia principatus dignitate xxiiii. Et
mor. Et symbolu apostor. Et passionem
sanctor. nrm. Et passione pdicor. Et sanctor
Et plentia sancte virginis Et viduar
Et omnis sanctor. Et dictos dei. Et p. d. amen
Adiuro te Et coniuro te vt supra. Et Con
ro vos prostratos demones. Et salutori
sor vivor. Et mortuor. Et sca sanctificata
rdotu. Et omnis dinos diuinos sanctor. Et
nia coniuro te sancte dei. Et coniuro te
Salutis tene vt supra Et si nec no vi
dat Ad te dicas. Tetragramaton. Balthasar. Melchi
or. Et Moragal. Emanuel. Et deus sancta te
deprecor vt vngla. n. afficiat. Et lata. Et cu
sata. Et clauo fixa. Adeo vt nec oculus videat
opus nec intrinsecus. Et si vng. vel aliquis de
sancta si no. Et quecta esse queat. Et nec Et
donec videat cu sancta lata. Et magna. quasi
sufficiat. quasi. Et puo si aliquid videat Et
videat dicta sancta sub vngwe hanc oniacio
lytim. cu tuis subditis ygnem. Andyron.
vzmeas. ytalchyeos. Zymens. bylenit.
baruth. Et tuo voto de. Et corpo. ta deum vi
uum. Et vm. Et tuos magos Iaspar. Bal
thasar. Melchior. ut videatis vbicuq; si
tis Et Adiuro te ista pueri. Et vos impera
trix. Et m. pro. ipsor. Et hec sancta Et sacra

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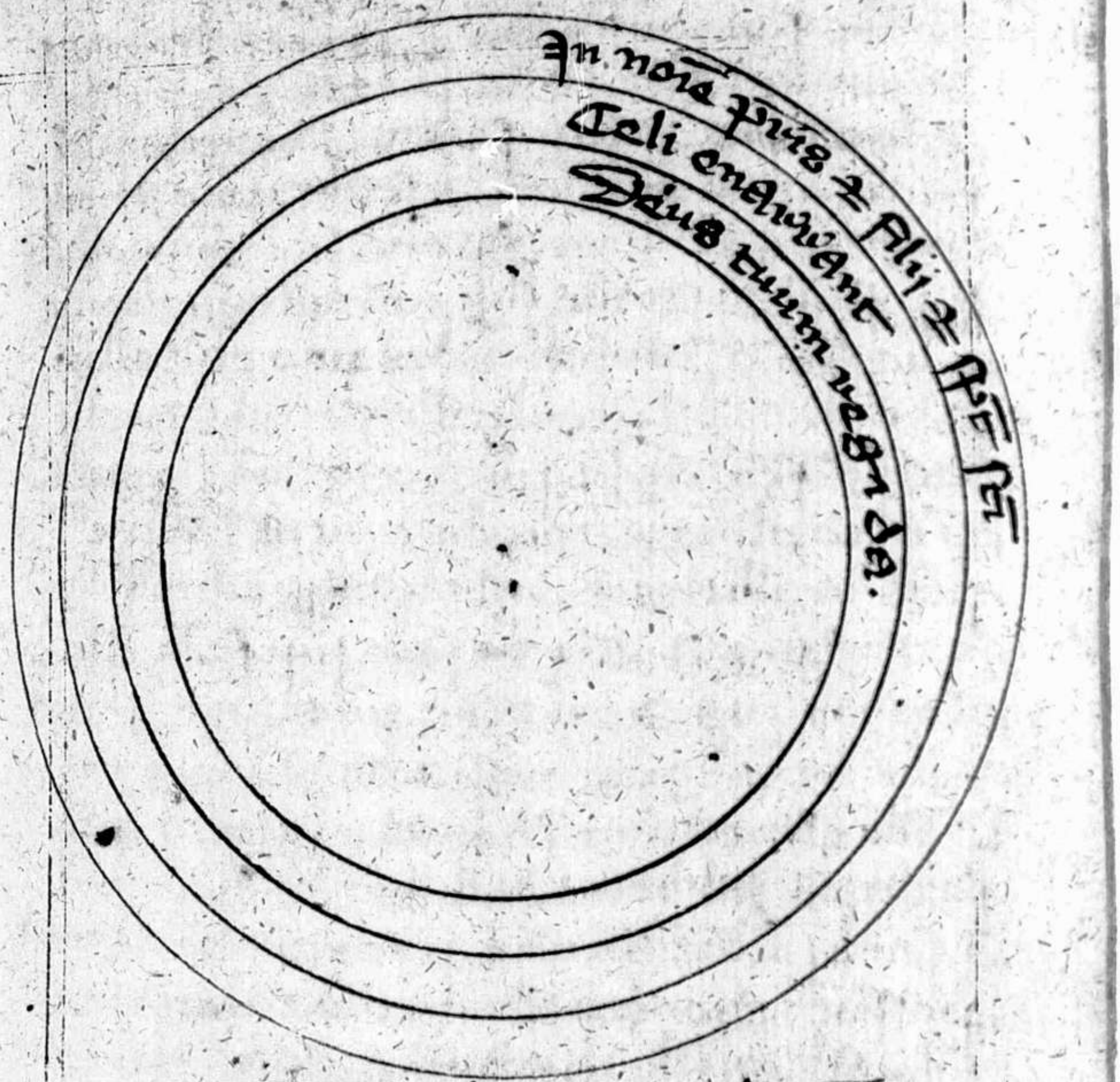
heruit. Quem ꝙ pñs si ꝙ aliq̃ videat sing
ꝛ̃ ꝓpetꝫ eadem .o. lytmy. dñe ꝙ ꝑcant
ꝑ̃ꝛ ꝙ aut ꝙ ꝑ̃entibꝫ dic hanc ꝙuocatoꝝ
ꝑcipio vobis demandꝫ ꝓmittatꝫ ꝙ ꝙ
dbuꝫ ꝓmittatꝫ ꝙ ꝙ fuit ꝙ ipm nouꝫ
ꝛ̃ꝛ flumꝫ ꝛ̃ solubꝫ ꝑcepꝫ ꝙ vos ondatie
ꝛ̃ dictis hunt pñs. H. vbi ꝙceptu ut vꝫ
ꝛ̃dictu sit hoc fiuctu ꝛ̃ mꝰ loco adhuc vꝫ
ꝙat si ꝙ adhuc no ꝙdepꝫ dic hac ꝙuocatoꝝ
ꝛ̃ omnis vos damonꝫ ꝛ̃ ꝓcipio vob ꝓ nom
nealmy. syy. qu sꝝum delepuꝫ muda
uit ꝛ̃ damꝫ delatu leonu libꝫauit ꝛ̃
.3.es pñs dctamo ignis illesos abuꝫ
fant ꝙ vob dnꝫ auct.ꝝ huic pñs H. Au
di int vogendi ꝛ̃ vndendi. post ꝙuocatoꝝ
ffetum fac pñs claudꝫ oculos ꝛ̃ purga
sibi vngue ꝛ̃ fac cuꝫta sup eu an eu vꝫ
tuo eu ꝛ̃ ꝙcipe sibi cultellu damanu.
postea bndic ta ꝛ̃ tpm ꝛ̃ dole cutulum
ꝛ̃ qxeas sanuꝫ eu ds. s. pñs eu at vꝫ
qxuꝫ cutulu dic pax ipi sit nob ꝛ̃ vob
ꝛ̃ ut vegas vocadut ad ꝙpa vegna ꝛ̃
dic eu vos itꝝ volu vocatiꝰ sitis ꝓpti
obadnꝫ mihi ho vob ꝓcipio ꝙ ꝙ tu
ꝛ̃ vnu deu q̃ in cruce ꝙpꝫ ꝛ̃ qxlatꝫ
aꝝ qxuit sagꝰ ꝛ̃ aqua ꝛ̃ sup ꝓcipio vt
ꝓ hostia sca. ꝓ hostia pura ꝓ hostia imma
culata q̃ a thus ꝛ̃pit vt tibi mihi ꝛ̃ vobis
ꝛ̃ ois voluntatꝫ mee ad implendis ꝙ ꝙ



A ortu solis fac. 3es ciculos ⁊ tiuctz
medietate ciculoꝝ ⁊ fac tibi pon
tigaua sedem tiqpedem de quercu et
cultellu cu manubrio albo ⁊ limito cu
oleo oliue hꝫ ſto scribe dis̃m hꝫ nota
xxiiij. nota ſut. q. lras. ut lapides p̃alꝫ
latos ⁊ 3es lras pos sub tꝫ sedem ⁊ una
sub tꝫ pedes p̃ia ⁊ ipa ois nota sub ſcꝑta

scribe sup una lustram ꝙ pones sup caput
puisi.h fco tolle puluis fldelvtulo
locā pucp sup sedem t uertae sibi
facie gtra ouientē 2 scribe pūo Amb
ongwas fiollitas 2 pone sibi unu pollice
sup flm 2 scribe sup ma rubrum nome
puma 2 flstauoth. 2 dns pūo cultallu
fld mengrita q cultello sit subtq palli
cas)h fco unge pūo ungue supiorē
tu alao alme fldmodu cruciā roiqe
dicēs ut illustris 2 dispctis fpcatis in un
ga istq pūm. A. tu vo sede sup sede q la
tiq. volūs 2 tu tane quecp me gamā
Edic ut diliget me spūalt fld ung
h fco caueas ne fliquas opatiocs hab
sextis fl sabbatis dicbo q sic non
d scribi debet in nole ppdnoi. Qutimo.
possut. thomopcst. utamy. vocancs.
filij. filios. filz. bawith. gdachith. pūic
tas. vltam. pamyta. falp. falp. falp.
cubalp. cuiutines. tyuygal. dyuius.
fouunys. fambusall bawith gdathanels
Anape conuocationem
Ad uos vos demones ꝓ 2 f 2 ss
2 ꝓ in cōmendationē dñi nri ihu x
pbelp xpi ꝓ natiuitatē xpi ꝓ mortē xpi
passionē xpi ꝓ resurrectionē xpi ꝓ
ascensionē ꝓ aduentu spūs scī ꝓ

tyemdu dic iudicij quo oms q̃ria
dayrnandi vt. Appellatis mung uersto
yuqua. Ri. m̃ ffecit fuuis ut fuyq̃ uebm
p̃ces ꝓ̃ hois. R. Accepit Absq̃ oi dc
ceptione Appellatis sicut p̃mittit Ego
gani. thomo. Gyton. S'tugidne. julmfzis.
tuq̃ as Alpha ꝛ o fac vm dicz hunc
pum. R. vngicu q̃ a ceatiua tuq̃ pp
dnc ꝛ rem iudicu tuu ꝛnctuito tuo
dne lu" ꝛ no defiaet. nihil occultu
p no reuelet ꝛ cooptu p no stet nw
dna ihu xps fili dei vui q̃ pt nos pec
catores desinu p̃ris descendisti ad tuq̃
unde not tuq̃ ꝛ vitale hui uui Abgod.
Samsiselis. Galentis. vmiueny. Vitimd.
Tamirtenp dydonces. Rayma. Rofanes.
Panyte. fabath. Gallath. dyuis. fyuis
vuytus. Fmbz Awath.
C Ituos vos p̃fiatos damones p̃ p ꝛ f.
ꝛ. S. S. ꝛ deu oipotẽte ihm xpm filiu
dei vniguitu ꝛ p̃ deitate ipius ꝛ p̃ ipam
p̃uidentid. q̃ deghiut p̃us q̃ mundus
fieret ut obediatis imperio meo Ego
vo vos p̃fiatos demones ꝛ Sathanam
dei. q̃. deq̃ calu sursu stare fecit ꝛ tue
ram deorsum fundauit ꝛ manere tue
mino suo collocauit ꝛ p̃ virtute qua
deq̃ fuit ato p̃ ropq̃ mudi gubit ꝛ p̃

Sapiam de qua deg luce & tenebras
Discernit & diem ac nocte Adiuuauit
Vt Ante & magistro A magistro vno
Ass. Cauath. vob gaspa pinte sunt
Vt flaciatis vngua istig pucui. H. oleo
Linitu civasseve & clivasseve & tota
Latitudis ipsiusve q euident ista pu
Cui. H. in eo videve possit fuve ut fuig
& fuitu fuis not Ablatu & in locus
da q Ablatu est & locu in q deprtau
a. & locu in q Adhuc latet & q q cu
ipo fuito est ut hui vaueltat &
Quius vos pnoiatos demones p mg
gistu vim Astaroth ut opetaf in
founa fuis & fuiti & q q cu hf fuu
to sem est Adiuro tm pnoiatis noticiam
pua & equi vos p noiatos demo
nes p illu q fecit cel & tra & hia
uidanta ingenia & suo sol & luna &
stalleas cel signa & ipa fulgora & tuni
tua voces & oia q eug i tua i mdui
m insuno sut ut Anta p & equi vo
vos pnoiatos demones. p rebellionu dm
ni ihu xpi & p it q fecit Admota oli
uati Adowandu aqua p u si fieri pt
tu hui sedat Ame calix istu ut Anta q
Equi vos pnoiatos demones p
. u. uli dni ni ihu xpi & fixuta fata

uoz ꝫ lancea ꝫ clauos ꝫ ligauit fixo
a dño / Iouuo ꝫ noiatos demones
ꝫ oia q̄ ꝯcludit. q̄. ꝫ tas mudi ꝫ ꝫ
tates mudi ꝫ oia aialia q̄ sub celo
sut ꝫ ꝫ pentia ꝫ volatilia. bipedia
quadrupedia ꝫ oms ā
tas ut supra ꝫ Iouuo vos ꝫnoiā
tos demones ꝫ toll'antiā ꝫnca cōtā
ne ꝫ sustinuit dns sno capite ꝫ ꝫ
culu q̄ potarg̃ ī cruce fulle ꝫ ātato
Et iuuo vos ꝫnoiatos damones ꝫ
angelos ꝫ archangelos thrones ꝫ dnā
tones ꝫ principat ꝫtates ꝟtutes celoz
cherubim ꝫ seraphim. ꝫ ꝑdicu sactitu
dinis ꝫ oia q̄ sut deo subiecta ꝫ ꝫ deū ouo
tanta ꝫ ꝫ deus q̄ ex nichilo oia creauit
Ad lendam ꝫ adgratiam sui nois ac mage
statis facit ut supra ꝫ Et iuuo vos ꝫ
noiatos damones ꝫ coactiua sapiam
q̄ deus homes creauit cu no deet odiū
ad ymaginē ꝫ similitudiē sua ut supra et
Et iuuo vos ꝫnoiatos damones ꝫ fide
ꝫ spes ꝫ ꝫ caritas ꝫ symbolū apli. ꝫ passione
sollicitudinem ꝫ ꝫ professionē prior ꝫ ꝫ
ꝫ ꝫ fidē scē virginū ac viduarū
ꝫ ꝫ laudabile vitā merite uirginē ꝫ sūcte

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Explicit oratio dñi nr̄i ihū xp̄i

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad patrem

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad spiritum

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad filium

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad matrem

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad omnes

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad se ipsum

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad patrem

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad spiritum

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad filium

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad matrem

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad omnes

Incipit oratio eiusdem ad se ipsum

A

Sede vbi thesaur sic absconditus permanet
per omnia secula seculorum Amen. Deinde
iunta crucem ante videlicet die dnico sol dicat
stans in medio dicens Ave sancta crux
dei ave arma sancte crucis ave aqua benedicta dicens
ter cum psalmo Asperges me dne ysopo et tom
cum gloria patri. Postea vade ad crucifixum
ad dic condam eo modo quo supra dictum est
et quando ad crucifixum tu oi devotione
et tu hec dicis tut dic devotissime corde
ac ore. O. vbi vbi rex mei et deus mei
ac dne dnator et gloriosor meor miserere mei
et audi oem mei misericordie et indulgentie
et redemptionis tue in hac hora et
in digno clamore meo fac te previe
hoc dicto vade ad domu tua et tamquam
tuam optia mundata et ornata dic
sanctorum devotissime et pones.

Orans benigne mihi qui mundi culi tui
et sator cui nutu dia tam celestia
quam terrestria guide fca sunt ofirma m
tallem meu in hoc ope tui regni dni
mei et nug dimittit tuu. vege et pone me
in hac mea supplicacoe et pone te tuos
vegas et terg et sagit samat et gfirmat
et pos vegias tuas ptates et sotiem.
solutan ut in nocte sequti veniat admc
misoris. Haram. et benigne et clamet
cor meu et mata mea ut sciam thesau

mundi si aliqs te mutabilis sit in aliq
& ducat me & signu ibi faciat ut ego
scom vm & ipsam vitalem pnm solem scs
simu & sanctissimu thesaurum nitidissimu
candidu & fulgentissimu qs mittit tua
excellentia & remittit tua mirifica & be
nigna ptas & pomus dignos tuos & vege
mine. vocem & gaudium ut mihi pnm vi
talis & sopnis mittam dignis hac
nocte ut mihi valeat thesaurus absc
dit hc fiat visitata & gaudiosa
hanc divinam tuam diuinas cantando sanc
tus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth pleni sunt
celi & terra gloria tua osanna in excelsis
benedictus qui venit in nomine domini osanna
in excelsis hanc dulcem & suauem melodiam
& harmoniam celestium spirituum ad offensionem me
am & tui nominis ad te peto & te no offe
dat & sopnis & ad te petit & thesaurus &
ducat te vita ad locu ad ame fiat
in sui dextris sanctis. elimosinas & ho
nores magni regis scti & vade ad
sepulcrum ad solu ad locu ubi & thesaurus
in domo tua & virtute eius post quam
febribus thesaurus fuit combusta & missam
finem ad honorem sancte trinitatis. & pro
animabus defunctis mortuorum. & tam pro
salute vite tue &c

Nota hoc & nomen magnum seruiforibus q erat

scripture insonte Aaron sacerdotis celestatoris
celestat me me vivto tua ommpotte deus
celestatoris celi & tre qadmo[n]llouty fusticia
cando sadday. hay. Rasal. .h.s. syn.
yamms. Selatados. birawuth. huy. adonay.
eya. yen. ylm. ut cunchy. co!da. zy. ahya.
haya. heye. heye. haya. haya. haya. ay. ey.
ey. ya. ya. ya. han. han. han. ca. ca. ca.
completu ast noma semifouras bndtm no
man eius cuius vegin no avit finis tm fimta
factor serula ftma

R deqtu habendu hc scripta & mhostio dom
vatue mayguscuid nottis mor[a] habitay
& hc nomia tu stagme vespertilios tridrtha.
Stahiha. Alpha. dritco. Aavrodo. ypaman.
Gnubs scripturis vcrde modicu Aloth. post
houam quam vocutavis & tuercs equu pa
vatu qm tu volus Ascendere poe smi stuum
qadem Adscupam & dic hanc gnubtone
como ta equa boa p tuam tonta celi & tre
& qui illu qui creauit vniuersa & omna Adam
dam & gliam sm nom & p deu vivu & p
dau scm & p dm vm vt no moueat nec
mfha nat in minimo nabuo meo vene
obte valeas n[ec] m Alio me p turbes sed
me. R. Adiotu talem defenas p latide hi
lariu tuo iotide & velotit Absq omm mue
dine to Damde Ascende audent & secure

quia ōro tibi nocturne nō potest signo vo
luntas non tam signabis q̄ rum ate fugab
tum aut pernevis ad lacum pnotatu
descende de equo & accipe filenu &
absconde subtus pacto aut tuo nego
cio v̄ capias filenu & cuncta fidelissime
& celeri veniet cum aut ascendeve vo
luerus dicit pcedere quinquatione & hec
ubi. kostalia. kostolya. alogo yctas.

---

cōsumit viidiii mdrn & septē dies in quibus
cuncta cōsecuta fuere mira tonita & obscu
rata tenebras & tu hec phibes ora dapnat
horibo cuncta notata auboribo & nascen
tis Nocte & hec nota susum porta ac
deorsum & hec sut nota. s. layalym. lyalg
nea. yalgnal. navach. lybawe. lymbabs.
lyaslam. Cu his igit signis phibes ora
male & delpna i mudo & nuquā adloqui
cantat vnde fuit expulsa

Nunc igit sume albam columbam die sab
bati de nocte & calidam ignī viuū
& ostide columba dns o vos quibo
sacrificiū debet ostota mihi quietu
voti mei hoc dicite cū celeritate ymo
nostra ad meridie deinde quieta pdā ad

Septē tonē ꝛ sanabe delyat collūbe sagīne
hac figaz

Reuertans ꝙ de mane ꝙm solis ortū
m vere ibi filiam luam ꝛ ab ꝙdam vo
luctu illudaz ligabis in capillis tuis ꝙa
volūs ꝙsꝫ m visibilis ꝛ ꝙ clauz tu
ꝙ ibi dimittas columbam ꝛ tenta ne
ꝙpam facipias nio aliq

Ensis lunaris dies ꝙ alij sūt boni alij
mali Adscribendes cautas. ꝙma dies
mensis. saliz lunaris tota bona. Secu
da die mane ē bona ꝛ no plus. Et sic nil
facias de dubis. Quarta tota bona
Quinta vsqꝫ ad horam tertiam ꝛ vltra non.
Sexta die michil facies. Septima die ꝙma
hora bona ē ꝛ no plus. Octaua mane
bona. Nona michil facies. Decima die ora
michil facias quia ꝙ mala ē ad oia facie
da. Undecima bona ē tota. Duodecima bona
ē vsqꝫ ad horam tertiam quarta. 13ā. michil facias
.14ā. tota bona ē. 15ā. hora tertia michil facies. 16ā.
mane tota bona ē postea nichil valz. 17ā
ꝛ. 18ā. vsqꝫ ad meridiem mala ē ꝛ postea ē
bona. 19ā. michil tota agas. 20ā. ꝛ 21ā. ꝛ 22ā.

dias mane sup bonea no plue .23. 28. m
nichil fatida / 24. mala nec bona / 26.
& 27. nichil fatide / 28. & 29. & 30. bona
aut tota &c of

Et si salis quantu voli vel sm̃ sup & fac
liquari fortes ex eis & dissolue in ea lue
limaturam quantu solueve potuit & qn
non plus soluit luna tunc verte illam
aquam in qua luna a soluta & mone
mercurij cudi quatu coagulare pt.
Seu ni sic coagulatu. Alia pone eu
in cucurbitu sup stufatu istaz vel vu
Et cetera notam. thus gallu. gum ara
bicu. ouricu. ysa fetida. serapinu. bdel
lam. same ouobi. cantarides. pulueris
buffonu. cauustam. sal nit. sal comune.
Vitriu. & ebenticam. cuforbiu am
mon aut & equales & fac simul & pluuia &

paluis buffonu ist daz kupfer daz vo hame felt so mans schmit

Per inuocationem
zage impat tibi a
griant te angeli
triel raphael
Abraham ysaac et iacob argiuant te ppheti
et omnes apli et xpi argiuant te omnes sancti
et electi dei dicant ergo aures tue audie
et ni norte ni hyoza et ni nuise et timoniem
sme aliqua ni oza dutf meus obediat et volun
ati nre subiuuarf deus angelorf deq archi
gelistarf deus apliorf deus martirf deus confessorf deq
dui nostri ihu xpi cuius nomen sctum tuum
ni hat scriptura tue maiestatis potentia supplex
exposco ut michi auxilium tuum ffauorem dignet
aduc sus illud sctum ingressum ut solicitus intret
andu mouc tuo eclorf de loco suo exeat et
ffugiant ad me accedat ire impat tibi diabole
qui te de supnis celorf sedibus infernoza de
scendere precipit audi ergo egregie nequissime
et tue spurcus et prophanus ausde in nomine dni
nostri ihu xpi tui exitum egressum requiescque
nimiq fidei quidq genere mortis excipias in
iustitie declinatu malorum iudex somes omnis

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[illegible] homis demonū magister qui stas
[illegible] tuis te p[illegible] tuas illud metue
qui mi ysaiar est ymolatq[illegible] mi ioseph vendidatq
mi agno ornatus mi homie[illegible] crucifixus deus su-
rexit triumphator audi [illegible]go ymagine et time
verba dei et ego michi p[illegible]atq mi amodius ne
cordijs providendo Adiuro [illegible]te spem antiquū p
iudicem vivoz et mortuoz [illegible]t eū qui habet
potestatem tenebraꝝ mi [illegible]ut pereas ritu pessimo
pessimo tibi illo iubente qui [illegible]et mi altissimis
Amen Adiuro te ymagine no[illegible]ca qi sed virtute
spūs sancti ut sis subiectq mandatis meis ea
me mora p[illegible]ronda ade ministros illud ypi illig
ptas te vocat qui se pro nobis [illegible]ligendo cru
patibulo subiugauit illius cui [illegible] contre
miscē qui de vivis germinibus miseroꝝ animas
ad lucem p[illegible]ducit sit tibi tremor vere homimis
sit tibi formido ymagō dei qui ypūs [illegible]metu
morte redemit necessitas ne mortis appropiīze
michi et velle meū implere et ne me confu-
tes adtemptando te tibi impat deus pa
tri impat deus filius tibi impat spūs sancti
tibi impat apl[illegible] fides scē petri et pauli et
reliq apl[illegible] impat tibi indulgencia confessoꝝ
impat tibi sanctoꝝ martyꝝ impat tibi omnū
deiq electoꝝ impat tibi continencia vidua

Impanitus pia opa ordinator impat tibi ordines
ium bonorum gaudium mi exercitia dei mi adiutorium im-
pat tibi sanctuarium dei impat tibi portus refu-
et sapientia dñi nostri ihu xpi impat tibi mi-
seriorum pater impat tibi rhus xpus mi quo
mihi quamplurimi de opibus tuis qui te exspoliant
qui regnum tuum depauperat qui pactum te ligant
et domum tua disrumpit qui te pictit mitone brab
exercitorum tibi et mysteria tuis est ppatus
eternus introitus quid turbulente deja le
vehunt qui tempora tedardas deus es ordinatio
nis statuta tua transgressus es deus rhus xpus filius eius
quem tentatores ausus fuisti et auxiliator missi
deus qui mi[illegible]bus cui mozs persuasionibus tuis
cuiab impat tibi oraculissime pmirabil diuinum
aduxo ire pagina cimiteriolatrie qui ambulat
super aspidem et basiliscum qui conculcat leone
et draconem ut facias cito qpp impo tibi et
papie continuisse et time nuncio nomine domini
illius time cui ministeria celorum ptatus dnatoes
et principatus subiecti sunt timent et glorificat
quem cherubin et seraphin indefessis vocibus
laudant impat tibi verbum caro factu impat
tibi nato de virgine impat tibi rhus nazarenus
impat tibi qui te creauit ut implas cito omnia
que peto ate ul gabeze polluc ul sare aspiq

quanto tardius feceris eaque tibi propio tempore
supplicium tibi erit de die in diem Exorcizo te male
dicte et nequissime ac mendacissime ps per vin
centem per deum omnipotentem ihm xpm nazare
num per agnum in macula fidem de altissimis pos
sessum sanctum conceptum ex maria virgine natum
quem Gabriel nuntiauit quem tu vidisti iohes ex
clamauit dicens hic est filius dei Exorcizo te
auctor dyabole pfatis nuentes malicie tue omnibus
subditis tuis in nomine p et f et s et in nomine glo
riose deitatis cui nomen throni angelorum principa
tus ppheie apli martires confessores virgines et
omnes electi dei dicunt ac mortibus mde
fessa voce collaudant dicentes Electus sctus sctus
qui erat qui est et qui est venturus et qui est omnip
ut non presumas transgredi precepta mea nec te latear
tibi ymmo penas / tibi ymmo tormenta in mundi
diem iudicii ymmo diem supplicii sempiterni per
derum qui venturus est velud tibanum ignis ardens
ni quo tibi et angelis tuis preparatus est sempiter
nitatis et ideo pro tua nequicia damnande da honorem deo
damnande da honorem deo patri et vero et ei[illegible] mihi
subiectus ut omnia precepta mea adimpleas da honorem
filio tuo filio eius da honorem spu sancto paracli
in cuius nomine atque virtute propio tibi exorcizo ut nomi
cius ac preceptis meis obedias cui omnis creatura de
seruit quem cherubim et seraphim laudant dicentes
Sctus s. s. dns deus exercituum qui regnat et dnat

per virtutem sce † omnipotentis dei Adiuro ac con
tringo et precipio tibi ayzage ut michi obedias
nec aliquo impedimento ul nocumento ul lesione
et gravamine corpis et alie mee rei et semper
Iterum coniuro te ayzage p omia p dicta sacramenta
sancta et sacrosancta per omia septa sctm creatu viu
et mortua p illum qui te de nichilo fecit coniuro
te et precipio tibi p hostiam sctaz et p hostiam im
maculatam p hostiam sctam et p hostiam in
ductam atqz deo placentem quinto te ac precipio
tibi ayzage p omia p que ligari et constringi
possis exorcizo te per nomie dni p potestatem
atm spiritum p ames nazaretazes p sigillum sa
lomonis p annulos eius p septem candelabra
aurea ante dnm lucentia ut tibi ayzage augmentu
penatu adhibitas de die in diem ita ut no requiescas
nec cessas a labore tuo continuo in eadem loco
ubi mitt es remouere et ut removeas ab omi
officio tuo et ab omni societate et temptatoe et
decepcone ut priazis statim p verba conminacois
tibi inflicta maledico te et nome tuu confundo
nichilo p ames dies scire nec p potestatem quam
habeo sup te ayzage michi ab omipotenti deo data
in baptismo et alijs sacramentis per quos dns noster
ihs xps eam te exegndo tibi maledico et ante
id qd' ate pniet et confundo te et oma tua p on
p alpha et ω p emanuel p nome dei inefabile
p tetragramaton p oia nomia et verba
que dicta sunt ut statim venias ayzage sine aliqua

mora mandatum et potestatem meā qua tibi mani
festabo quam michi datis cū noīe p̄ris veni t
nomine filij veni in noīe spūs sancti veni in noīe
sancte trinitatis vel tibi dico in noīe dei summi
veni in nomine creatoris et omnium creaturarū veni ad
me ni hac hora finie alique nocumento lesione
aīe corporis et anime mee vl aliud mit
tas sed venie faciasq̄ qui sāt p̄fecte desiderium meū
adimplere et nullo modo aliter p̄cedere nisi ame fu
erit licentiatū vl voluntatem meā plenarie p̄finat
Istud conitto te p̄ hec que supādicta sūt ut faciasq̄
michi venie quod spūs qui p̄cepit michi aurum
et argentum vl thezauros abscondit os antequa deiec
tio fiat ut si michi ministraris in aliq̄ voluntate
mea et quotiensq̄z apud me morat cito statim compat
michi benignus ac gratus nichil precepta sed voluta
tem meā in omnibus adimplens et p̄ficiens fiat
fiat fiat Amen ut adducas michi aliq̄d spūs p̄mptū
et ydoneū ni aliq̄d secretū et ut habeat potestatem me
faciendi invisibilem quotiensq̄z voluero et michi pla
cuit et p̄ semp sit subpotestate mea et coma das ei
similit conficiendi libros experimenta et omia quecūq̄
voluero Amen ℟ Tota antiqua p̄mittit incipiat
dñe pr̄ noster Ave maria Credo Adiutorium nostrū
in nomine dñi qui fecit celū et terram ✠ In noīe p.
✠ f ✠ ss Amen ✠ pius qui mat ✠ pius regnat ✠ pp
mipat tibi angelos suos bonos et omes potestates
et omes gen̄ demoniū quos de excelso celo turba ꝓza

dicat ego adiuro et precipio tibi ut imperio et preceptis meis obedias sicut deus imperauit iordano et stetit ut filii isrl' sine impedimento pambularent sic vobis precipio ut meis preceptis die noctuq; gorf omnibus et momento voluntati mee obediatis sicut mare rubrum moysi et aaron obediuit qd se diuisit et iter suum filijs isrl' p medium sui pbuit sit ego p misericordiam dni nostri ihu xpi tibi impero ut modo sine mora sine dilatione decreptione mei et cu diuerunt ei mox obediatis in horze ante (h)ominem intellectibus clarissimum omnipotentissibile felicitatis mysterium inuentissima subtilitas celestis creatoris dne ihu xpe fili dei altissime qui ambulas sup pennas ventorum et ipso pflas tota terra te rogo supplicat ut p dulcedinem gloriose virtutis tue sensibilis sapie tue qui sufficit totam terram corda mentis et aie mee ut omnia sapiam et scientiam intelligam valeam pte qui es omnia scientia et intellectus mi quo ipse et aqua sunt omnia tibi sit laus in secula seculorum amen Antequa vocabit murmur diu longa oronem in nole p. et f et ss amen Jesus vincit Jesus regnat Jesus impat Jesus nos benedicat amen flos florum et omnium exprimetorum radix sed sicus volunt sibi virtus gentilis debet esse mundum et secretu et ab hominibus remotum, sup aqua si haberi non potuit imo si ita accidat q locus inueniri non possit ubi mgr stat magis nem tunc quercat locus asperitibus et a bestijs sint

nemore vl' gesta nonnull' autm' scriptis seu mi stampo
vl'mi alijs cors streck Qui' ad mgr' ista sciencia do-
cuit uti ut sapiens' refert sum p'fulgurantissimd sc-
retum in quo est iudex tetrimphalis secretor' quoma
ista scientia apud autorem sund dept apd eu qui
cuncta creauit nobilior et potentior est omnibus
alijs scientijs et ergo dignioribus sapientioribus et
famulis bonis moribus nil'ominis dignatq' ep' cam
reuelare et si mgr' ad sufficiente ar' si optimum reput
tunc sedm puncta sua debet hanc libz consecrare
illo ap' consecrato debet remane' p'tridiu ab omnibus
immundicijs et pctis se custodiendo et seruando
confitendo et missam audiendo Tunc die quar-
to mane' solus vl' sero cum ad locu sibi antea
p'ancissim' sum deputare in medio' circulo dum sud
cum spu occupatq' deinde mgr' faciet circulu cu
tribus et faciat cornu suum intq' sed' et p'cipiat sibi
mgr' q' nec pedes neq' manq' nec vestes sue capi
libz foras extendat donec mgr' exeat exp'ditq' ab
ordinibus ordinatis tuc mgr' cadat ad locu' p'ordi
natum in quo spus tenet' daze responsum et
faciat signu' crucis sup' frontem suam post' a deuoto
et flexis genibz' vertat faciem suam ad orientem
Gloriosissime adonaij id postea secundo dicat si
dei redemptor id et omnes alias p ordinem sz
deus vivax id hoc facto mgr' ter signu faciat
sup' frontem suam postea incipiat coniuratoz
primo mane sz surgit et alias coniurationes ut

ut sciunt per ordinē et si ipius nō sciunt ad primā
ordinacionem tuā mgr mutuat a capite dñi
semel lege si ipius ad ipsum cito scribit tuū legat
tertiā vice et si tertio cito scribit ner ymaginem
ner responsum dedit vocat mgr sibi q implin
ipm nō vocet ner scribat q si scribit dicmg ei
tenuis pcepta artis operand fuisse et si mgr aliqd
dampnū pcepit dicat sibi nam ipius exhor
tō tenet respondē Si ius ipius vocat tue curie
iustitiat ei dicens Beneficiū tu et propiat a
q nequit ledat ner maledicta nec mozetur
suo Deinde curie auscultet verba eius et
mozū teneat q̄ ac ab ore eius prodit et post
colloquiū si nec mgro placet aliquid mutuare
subtrahi loquio et sapiens fiat petitiones suas
et diligenti vigilet cui responsiones et qd petiuit
cum securitate det pdē nipare et mente no
cedat Deinde faciat signū cruc nistente sua
postea deprecatissima mente mutuet sibi redempto
mundi ic et deus pmaxe et am regnorū esse
ad plenū postea faciat signū cruc super
frontem suam et impetu recedat et vadat ad
locū suū qbi habuit socium tuc vadat ad dñi
dñi in quo socius fuit et faciat ei lectū supdcas
ozdeo antiqua faciat ei oreize dñi culo postea
signet se signaculo sancte cruc ut sciat possint
recedē de ptibus illis et si cucurrit q̄ pmus mgr
sorio suo tanta familiaritatem q̄ ei suū pfut
gratissimū secretū reuelet et suam secutā azti

BSB

ſtraalem ad ſpm̃ derlaꝛet duraꝛ eñ adlocñ debitñ
et ymaginē ni locum roptam eñ panno nigro
poſtea ſtraꝛat rectulū n̄ ſuſtello ſuo et aſſignat
locum ni quo ſcrus ſuus ſedē debeat poſtea ubi
cum ſedē et oſtendit ſi ſub qua forma ſedē deat
n̄ rectulo et qualit ſe regē ni omnibus debeat et
qualit ſpm̃ n̄aduenīm ſuū ſtupe debeat et quomo
exeze debeat dem̄aulo et qualit ni zereſſu ſuo eū
ſicemaze tenet̄ et quomo exeze debeat dem̄aulo
et quo debeat ſe dueztē et h̄ſer omiq; mgr ſcio
ſuo eſtedē antequa eū ni dm̄lo n̄itaze pmittat
ne ex defect̄ pticule mitzē ꝓcedat ſm̃ſup pro
uideat ſibi mgr deſtuicijs nat̄ aliq; temē tolep
nat Item ſtrundum qt̄ mgr̄ ip antequa ſub
ſideruat̄ et ꝛecedat/debet ſibi ho:ram deſtmaze
et diem ꝛeueniendi et obēdendi aliqd̄ ſpus no
tenet̄ quzadrilibus et wrubibus ſuis

Inpit tomuzado lōi rō ſuus oza:bus ſir
Gloriosſime adomaij ꝑ quem reat̄ et regnat̄
omia atq; ſubſtant omipa adeſto ꝓtectq; mus
tatonibus meis et clement̄ ꝓſta ut ille lōus
ꝑfecta idultem obtineat qua obtime debeat helij-
a araij arh̄ araſtul ſtedolozach zamtzaleh ſpon
clijab oznab lazitnaſim mtiſla maumbezuth
ſozathhab ſtebtuſa ſetna ſtetebrus pauethon
ſameij abozuel ſtil apathon metiazab ijtoro
minoha ſoijozona ſenozeb ijpzon tetogem.
maud vlaſm abdon mediotes tantoſden acarēſamch

Deum orationem Ihesu redemptor qui mi hunc mundum
venisti salua me clementissime pr tuam me inte
rnam tuam dne quemadmodum spm meum animam mea
cor meum corpus meum et omnia membra mea confirma
sanctissime deus me faciendo. Miserum peccatorem miserum
mi hoc diabolo existenti sicut mi cera tua tibi grata et
feram te auctore presente et adiuuante qui dispo
nis et moderaris deus omnia mi secula amen
Amen dignioru cognitiu et incognitiu dispensato
et largitor et actor omnis boni deus qui de tua
potestate magna in omnem mentem meam et ordina
voluntate mea cui bonum qui complacito tuo optimo
deus dominus et dirige manum atque iter regum meo
rum multitudine peccatorum quibus ego miser
multiplicat abundauit sum sed per misericordiam clemen
tiam tuam largire michi gratiam tuam sanctam et da
michi efficere cognoscere quae michi expedit memoria
mandare et addiscendi et operandi et quid tuam pe
nitentiam et michi accommoda et scripta me scripturarum per
fecti et michi dare cum quae scripturarum per
michi et michi dare cum quae exercere contraxi michi
misero peccatori tua cui misericordia abluat et deleat
mihi me ignoscat qui homine primum ad principium
factum omnia reduxit per tua sapientia domine
a me usque ad me, fiat et disponis omnia secundum
Ego miserrimus deus da michi misero peccatori
da michi in operibus per confirmare efficere cognoscere

BSB

sme omid delusione et fallacia pstante te qui es
simplex ri substancia et trinig ri ppsonis deus
subdicto mi sola mente deus sinap et om
nes ꝑ publicu et si publicu sme admixtor
scrutator su es ambus omia et similr plia
subiens facultatem nostr opis obtentu amplor
atq; amd celestid auid gracia celestis cmuta ꝙro
dora et confortа mi me effectu opis nostr ꝙ
cipiens effunde pissime deus gram spus sancti
tui mi ꝙr mei et mi dia mea et mi amid medra
mea et multiplica mi me dona spus sci confortа
mi me custodiem dne et fecunda me ꝙre
sce tue confirma mi me custodiam qua fidelib
tuis adquisti opem nunc septiformis mateis
sapie tue da mihi impetu fluentis aque delibans
atq; fontem ame nre irrigat implebit et exubet
caritate que deficiens sup arentes aquas tue mi
nistrat confirma omne hoc agonicu propicius opis
tui mentis pia (℣) sanctissime deus celestis vaca
mihi sed et abedre mei et mi amd tempe sme
℟. qui. ℣. qui natus de maria virg cunctis nobis fili
redemptor mundi deus miserere nobis Spus
sancte deus miserere nobis Sancta trinitas sng
deus miserere nobis Sancta maria ora p nobis
Sancta dei genitrix ora pnf Sancta virgo virginm

Sancte Michael ora pro nobis Sancte Raphael o.
Sancte Gabriel ora p omes sancti et sancte orate pro

Surgite qui malignum spum agitare p regem celi
ferum p coronas septem regni p hyaterram sulfurea
sub qua omes reges misericordiam constringut ut stre
tegentes mirage imperatorem magnum ut absorbeat
cetum nubi responsum Surgite vos ab oriente
vos ab occidente vos a media vos a septentrione Adiuro
te mirage p patrem et filium et sm spm p sanctam
et individuam trinitate p veritatem et simplicitatem
essencie p sanctissima ac spectua virginitatem matris
dni nostri ihu xpi ut p missos cursus et cautus ad
implias sme cmd nominis corpis et ale mee et
om viciorum que tibi impo Ego adiuro te p laudate
tuam qua amisisti p superbiam Iterum coniuro te per
eu qui te creauit decidorem et constituit sup omes
angelos iterq adiuro te p eu qui te decoraut similes
stitudinis sue ppt quod dam corpus ut dicis pona
sedem tuam ad aquilone et similis ero altissimo ppt id
tuisti admiseram et desormis ac passibilis effectus
es coniuro te p nuncupate eias que cuncta visibilia
et ni visibilia contremiscut et obediut ut tu quis co
ruscationibus veritq et ac pstrato michi absque sine
lesione pcis mentis et corpis mee et am veneno
mis et benigng michi obedias et omez voluntate
mea adimplias o draco veritq Simpsr expauescaq
desiderissimo factq es misericordissimq o draco maxime

serpens coruleus O leo rapacissime leuiathan
finalissime tu cominczsam terram O leo infide
lissime seduxisti et pdidisti O truculentissime draco
et princeps artifex totius nequitie ac inuento omis im
quitatis cui iram indignationis qua meruisti affer
et obedi michi per deu ꝑ deu uerū ꝑ deum
sanctū ꝑ obedientia dñi nri ihu xpi qua patri obe
diuit usq ad mortem mortē autē crucis aliquid roferu
tam diu quizaroz tibi ad roz tuū quousq obedias m
adquizato a dno meo ihu ppo ut aparcas michi pi
cilis mi tali forma mansueto et affabilis et obedis
mandatis meis aliquid exorcizo te ut cathene per
deb tue fermidat sulphuze et pice ymo cui iniqui
tudine et gratitudine affiraiſ et nec cmpezo in
nomine ꝑpetui dei omipotentis ut nec medrabile assi
stat te coram constringat te bdzahel combuzet te
gabriel sua fortitudine uigore ui extin quibile aut
mentat sup te asperrimas penas infernales S.
michael nisi sine omi dilacon venias omi uolitatez
metum ad ꝑficiendam mi iussa forma Adiuro uos
et obtestor ligo et constringo uos demones per eū qui
est alpha et ω Adiuro te ayzagt ꝑ deū ꝑ eum
omipotente creatorem celi et terre ꝑ ihm ꝑpm
filiū eius dñm nrm et per ꝑtutem spūs sancti ab
utroq procedentem Comiuro uos ꝑ misteriū sancte
crucis incarnationis et natiuitatis dñi nostri ihu ꝑ
ꝑ circūcisionem et ꝑsentacoz eius ꝑ baptismū et

cuius cius per ꝑdicacionem et omnia signa ac
miracula eius ꝑ crucem et passionem eius ꝑ sanc
tissimum sanguinem eius qui de vulneribus eius
effluxit ꝑ mortem et sepulturam eius ꝑ descen
sum eius ad inferos ꝑ resurrectionem et ascensum
eius ꝑ aduentum spiritus sancti ꝑ paracli ꝑ tremendu
diem iudicij ꝑ sanctum Michaelem archangelum
ꝑ omnes ordines angelorum ꝑ illum Johannem bap
tistam per omnes patriarchas et ꝓphetas ꝑ sanc
tum Johannem euangelistam ꝑ omnes euangelistas per
beatum petrum apostolum clauigerum regni celorum ꝑ
omnes apostolos et discipulos dni nostri ihu xpi ꝑ
beatum Stephanum protomartirem ꝑ centumqua
dragintaquatuor milia innocentium ꝑ angelicum hymnum
et victoriam eius martirum ꝑ illum martirum et cris
talum ꝑ omnes confessores et sacerdotes ꝑ gram ma
riam magdalenam ꝑ omnes sanctas virgines et
viduas deo ꝑ omnes sanctos et electos dei qui ab
origine mundi constituti sunt possideant regnum
dei ꝙsq; minimum diem ꝑ eum qui est alpha
et ω qui portas inferni confregit et te tuo patre
tuo diabulo et eius sequacibus de gehenna ex
pulsit et in tartarum detrusit Iterum aduro te ymi
mage ꝓtripio et imperio tibi ꝑ omnia supdicta ut
mihi obedias loco sis ad hunc locum exeras serpentem in
hac ampulla forma sine normeto et teneas et deliberes
mei et omnium vicinarum et voluntate mea adimplias
effectu bingno Iterum aduro te ymage ꝑ mysteria
ista nomina dei ut exeas de voluntate mea benigne
sine aliqua lesione corpis et alie mee et iterum mando ꝑ

ad impleas et p̄ virtutem istorum nomen athij nobodij
fetuit festinatum tuū ipsiator radalut edyeuel
edemuchan amudah dotuanell meledysson lisu
salim portiz̄os assidorth rontuzensi surfuzeng
Oduizote p̄ luorfezid rugem et magnum malij
nozid spizitud p̄ hec sanctissima nuda dei vui
ut tu Mudage mittas m[illegible]chi ex tuo dominio
cum ipm ijdaneid parafrid benignud et salente
ad amez voluntatem meā ad implendam agliezos
ysemos nijephia neron thuj arhazagul godobdzat
zamaheld abzonithon sukkotendros tuazturza
pedastalen edeborzam dzanaiam plantastrelim
tuadenitim agamemnon barbadoth quatrimil Ad
uzo te Mudage minutute ipoz nominud ni
effabilid dei vnum vad me amij ostasione post
posita semper pernas sustinuerit et sine
mora sine lesione tertiae mei et omnipotentiae
ad amad que te cito faciezo teppon sity emam
hamuton sexdaneto aglonitel meliodoniet titu
gi nazoth arhugezim pajerhon phanstadex
midzobzaton canophanus olmiphazos groh
mathoth spidenus asudethon polunnuhet
tazgo sulcos aphnasanen ragum dagnu machi
zahma tuth perpza ysra ausum ausat smicl
zuna simthi wasbiamni alehtetem hebeat
adolehtez bet torhteno bebastos lisue bohat
bebamezа bohda guizo vos sue ops mi origie

ad sordin

sunc on occidente sunc cm meridie sunc ni sempte
trione sunc ni nazi sunc ni aze sunc ni duosdp
doro sins tomizo vob te fortissimu deum on paton
panton tetragrammaton agelmasis godzam iyzion
elion ỹpaton adasadaij ijbra oncphandpsaton
anaijpsaton phanuel anasanamsapta opelaij
melchay adonaij sabaoth eloij et thcas thebeos
panthcon ystoro dzetgan stramomathon agla
maijon et p gramma noia dej omnipotentis ut
michi et benigne pure et pie mit sine mod
et sine lesione prone et oppressionis mei et aiam
meam ad me ptinentia sine lesione
illesa defendat ~~dilatet remota rebelle inimica~~
~~adhibe eos et expugnet sue furie et effere~~ fallacia
et semulo ipso aperiat et eis resp fiducia in formam
ymus M et quamu ut quibus pt qua p sunde
et mi pzro adiu adiuuet rum omnibus nutuositatis
sue s habet tu sub formis et loris terrum
tomizo vob pria noia dei sz agla agld agla
don et p amzen verbum dei Saluet ut michi
et benigne pure ut supa Ihs gp tomizo vob
p deum vli p deum terre p deum maris p
deum angelorum et homm p deum arb creatur
p corpa aiam pectora ut michi et benigne pue id
ueru tomizo vob p nouem ordines angelorum
p cherubin et seraphim p thronos p dnationes
p pdicatus potes p uirtutes eloim p archa
gelos ut mea precpta obediatis ut

ut michi et bngne pud dñm Comitzo vob ut
michi obedeant non ꝑter me sed ꝑ ꝓphetiu
tuu omib creatuꝛ obedit qua laudant angeli
venerant archangeli quem cherubin et sera
phim ꝓclamant sctus sctus sctus dñs deus sa
baoth qui erat et qui est adventurꝰ est plenu
sunt celi et terꝛ gla tua ut michi et bngne
pud dñm Comitzo vob ꝑ nrm̃ dñm nrm
ihm̃ xpm de maria vrgine ꝛcitum ut se
mihi ut mos ꝓcepto obediat ut michi et
bngne pud et pie nec sine mora sine
cessione pigre et desidiose mei et dñi vnionꝭ
ac amꝰ ad me ꝓficiscꝰ sine ulla cessione ꝛcepide
et fallaciꝰ mi ꝑiculo iste aperiꝰ et ad ꝛcipe
ꝓcedat mi forma rsus xr quam ꝛcta ut qui
ut qui ꝑfunde et mi vero aditꝰ ad omnibus
circumstantijs suis habet ad sub sonꝰ et lar
Comitzo vob ꝑ obedientiam illud ꝓphi qua
ꝓphe obediunt usq ad mortem mortem aut
dirus ut michi et bngne pud ut supꝝ Com
itzo vob ꝑ dñm̃ nm̃ ihm̃ xpm̃ per deu verum per
deu sctum qui mi ꝓphia scripꝛ celu et ꝛram
mare et aiam que in eis sunt clamata et
aliud clamata que subtus sunt ut michi bngne ꝓ
Comitzo vob per manualem xpm̃ admirabi
lem ꝓalpha et o per primu et nouissimu et ꝑ anna
tiua dei ut mo ꝛcmat et meo ꝓcepto obediat
ut michi et bngne ꝓ Comitzo vob ꝑ xpm̃ glie

qui conceptus est de spiritu sancto natus ex maria
virgine passus sub pontio pylato Comitto vos
p mortem redemptoris nostri ihu xpi p sanctam
crucem cuius † signum † clavos † lanceam † palpitos p
clauos duros per fixuram carnee p quique mem-
bra dni nostri ihu xpi per sanctum sanguinem
qui de late & de toto corpe cius effluxit vt ve-
niat michi &c Comitto vos per mortem
et sepulturam eius per misterium et cornutum
sancte crucis † depressionem eius ad inferos p
potentiam quam qui cruces infernales demant
Comitto vos per gloriosam resurrectionem et ascen
sionem eius p aduentu sancti spus paraclyti
ut michi et denique &c ut &c Comitto vos
p tremendum diem iudicij Comitto vos per
diem eterni supplicij p diem scelerum meorum
et tristicie ut mandata meis sine mora obediat
michi et denique &c ut &c Comitto vos p
sydrach misach abdenago Comitto vos per
tres magos pharaonis p sigillum salomonis
Comitto vos p tres magos ihu xpi Gaspar
Balthazar Melchior ut cito veniat &c Con
fessor vos p mandatum dni ut veniatis ut
michi denique &c Adiuuati † patrem †
filium † spm qui est vere pmus qui est et nouis
simus et terra et non plus

BSB

Vom dissen Worten sal my sprechen dy
mensche ehe dy sine ersten ansenge sy also dz
kayn gelaube ensag da gebessert sy alsam sal auch
keyn keyser in mache von gantz erwe vnd von
keyn keyserin vnsers herren gantz erwe vnd von
keyn vnsers herren gebort vnd marien

In dem name des vaters des sunes vnd des heiligen
geists Amen Hye vahet an dy lere von der gebort
vnsers hern ihesu cristi vnd von dessen gebarne vnd dy heiligen
leben der mynne ich dich bescheide dich Adam ich
vermone dich Adam dz du mist starken vnd dy
von gantz sonder stond vor vnsers liebe herren
ihesu cristi dy vnsprechliche gebort cristy sprich sy
menschlicher art stund vor sy gebort vor keyner mort
also gestalt vnd ordenung in bosser Adam dz du mist
vnd starke du sayst ee der liebe Adam
der ebe Adam der vod Adam der heilige Adam
der hye Adam nyt Adam der hayligen Adam der
vnbesmide Adam der Adam der Adam der bosse Adam dy
krebis Adam du sayst dorby Adam Adelgerdy
Adam ankomst adam krangkeit du bist dy erste
mensch y erschaffen vnd vnsers hern gebort vnd erden
bo gehalt vnd vnd vnd gebare vnd by d' natur
by dem sone vnd by dem heilige geiste vnd by
dy du mayst dy du sayst y gemelt
vnd mit namen dz n' bosse plaufes adam
dises bildes also dyt als dise pylger nam
mache stoltz ombissen vnd dy
ist gedacht dannede ee dy adam geschaffen vnd
also dannyhen brachte dz gebot vnd

BSB

Hy dem vater hy dem sone vnd hy dem gedegen
geiste vnd hy dem gebare dan dy kamergelichc
nature nama Drug an crame gelaff gebendit
drume dy Wort dar sin d' name de vaters
de sones vnd de gelaff geistes sancy
Wi mod dusse sayn dryfeld gesprochy qui
Bo sal may kesliechy ayt dyssen nadgesagte
Wordigen
Dy gelank dez kayn Wis addn oudy komen may
dusse ankomst dusse krangsten dute offenbre
vnd geleerne dussem gheerde gebusem kay
Sonder der nuvy der d' sonder and hertzy
same creatc gheboy dez dat vnse lieb gher
ihesus cristy der eyn ketten vdn gyemell
vnd ertnech ist der dusse dussem gheerde
dusse ankomst dysse kranysten dute offenbre
vnd geleerne dez gelest myr der vater
der sony vnd dr gelest gest vnd gelest
eny vnd myr alle dy gebendit kynt
dy mit god yn d' ebigh leb sint dez
Eerst Wir sin d' name d' vaters de
sones vnd de gelest gest

Hat eyn metsche den oderen so mag
may oudy spreckey dat ge hat manich
mensche gheert dez komelich ist

Vor den fürsten Da sal man
dessen sachen sprechen und sal de pfarr-
sprechen yn sin rechte an und czum
nechsten sal sin kosten aber hin de
pfarr Wenn sy ane burge kome aber
und wird ome der pfarr kome gehen
und der uffsehen allermeist und de
dorin bryngen yn sin. an sprechen

Jhesus yn eyner krippen lag Jhesus yn eyn
krippen geborn Wer do eyner reyne magt
der entpfangt also ganz und dan der yn
dem muste auch dissem pfarrer dissen-sunden
dreyn kam und kas der dirlöst dan- yn dem
namen des Vaters des suns und des heiligen
geist / Amen

Jch bidder an ebmpfis der pfarr So sal
man sprechen disse wort yn sin nasse en
Jhesus und der wordt wiedern eyn wass
ein same der wort der slug eb Jhesus
erste der uffsehen heant uff was dy yn
ebenen de worde Ame v pr m 2 auc

BSB

Ich schicke dy pestilentz So sal man
dyss sayn prechen schalt eyne notstyr
oss schoffe

Der vatter suchte dich dy sey der sone dich
der geyst gyst vorbeide dich flumen
Ich consecriere dich drucf und offenbare by
vnsichtt heilige pehn das gott de herre dirch
sey heilige Ebenedite sistay und das du
nicht empfahest noch entpfer und blud
und by den heilig drechen naken dy gott
durch hende und fusse ebirs offlang und
durch das heilige creutze ere das du ebikst
ebilder keren und nyne nicht empfahest
dirch vorbitte ebirde nyne das als gott
unsin here an dy heilige creutze stralet das
ane do heilger gst do dy sprychen go
do dy almechtiger barmhertziger got
eyn gesport nehm allen der ebirnde
und der ebigeth todes vnlosse mich von
dissen bruchsch Amen v pal nost ane

Ich ayan sall prechen und eruge machte
dy by erden und sal prechen in de name
des vatters des sones und des heilge gestes
Amen und dy disse kruzgteres und sal
eqnis dyabolus eqnphahell eqnphahel eqnphahell
dyss sayn bespreugt und eyn eyglicge ebirde
do sy flyen addi- metsche da flieh bey
vnglucke sterr

Item vor alle fule eleende mechst-man dosse
nachgeschrebe sake
Do sal man nemē eyn kruid geheist agetze
dez sal mā breche vff eyns fryetag vor
mittage vnde eyn yglich mitstige sal sin
houbt bysprechen eyn man breche eyn
ende do endaing. auch dez kruid vnde mey
nest eleend ob eyn vri vrigh strasse hat
Do sal mā dez kruid dy bletter abe streissen
vnde dy kleyne gaysten vnde dan yn eyne
mussere stossen sere kleyne vnde dy strüsse
yn sin hende dynache vff dryge engegen
Do sal mā dasse nemen vnde yn eyne
pfannen lassen smeltze vngenatge smalz
vnde dez vnden eyn dd eidel nuemet vnde doch
dez ob nicht eyn vri setze eldede kue mā sal
ethalb dunnden abegebrocht sanne dd
ethoben dez ist ussmassen kruid ajan smelz
auch dy eleend alleyne dorfte nit dussen
dez da ethalb sy vff sonst eyche lo
dorp auch ab dez togen vrigh locher gnatze
Do en ist kosset nicht dd dez mā nymet
yn eyne kessel gotte vnde dan eymer val
wassers vnde mache dorus louge d van
Asschen dy da gebrat sy van eymche golze
vnde von haynbotten golze dd mā dy
louge ethmachst gat Do sal mā dan dasse
sydden vnder eyn galle metzig folleg

Item wann eß dy glewbere to fal wil eß in
eßig wann machs so wil eß glich wayß
Item dy bey dasinne segt alle mal ij vnsen
So fal wil dy salte wil dy dy
stuge vsse eyn plasterdich Item vsse dy
Item legen Item dime eyne Windy vo
sawgke machs Item dy lune Windy
bis von dy fusse an bis an dy bene So
machst eß glich stont Item gerbingst Item
sal eß nemc mit der klime so stekst ay bess

Item eyn knublay Windy So sal vnd nemc
dy eberigste dy vnd nemt beyntstelle dy
glad eyn brud mit lang breidey Bleberey Item
eberst stue vsse dy Windy by dy essen
dy eberigste st stetty Item stete dy sal
wil eb dime dassy eberd Item stebey
eyn klapse mele Item dwend Inemc
eyn drittel spulwes von hymasky kuche
Item mit stysenstebyer dymstigt dy gewil-
alle gutige Item dy schnmassy st gleb
Item adn dy wil vo dem selbe stoyssen
eblet mache eyn bene sulle So sal
nian nemc 1 spis tunpentiny 1 spis
boyssny adn stysenstm onsset 1 sirtell ingstrewdt
eldz 1 sirtell roynbarg smaltz dy sal wil
sulle adn eyne stone So sall wil dime

Item vnder vere dz pulver vo der kopmanll
y lot vnd pulver vo eyme kruce geschu
schuchte hant eyme kemp stehen vnd vogl
bleten als vnd bleten vnd klauben my
der duch klaide der vnd geschet dz
golnchte vnd dessi. salb mit keyme glicht

Item eyne salbe vor den lichten vor stryme hand
arme adder vor dē ghichtsuche vnd dz dz
ghichte dem so sal mā nemē gueckssilber
y lot vnd y quetyn vnde sal dz todē
dyo ayan sal nemē yy lot scharlie vnd
d schaffy dann pulver dz selbe pulvers
sal mā nemē eyn denig yn der dryclichy
kymel als dy gelt goltsmide han vnd dz
vff dy kolen galb so lange dz es smilzit
so sal mā es do herab nemē vnde dy
gueckssilber dorchy schudden vnde mit eyme
holtzichy slage mā so langet dz kuln dun
so wodt mā es dornach stossē mā es
vor pulver vff mā sal ouch koraff lorbere
ij y lot vnde f glatin vnde ouch vor pulv
mach vnd ebel kleyne vnde ouch eyn
selb so sal mā dz nemē vp galb put
reynberge schuelz vnde d lassiy vor offen
vff d fuer vnd gerakt d nemē vnd
dorchy thuy dz pulver von lorbere
vnd gueckssilber vnd dz kuln dun

BSB

Item So sal ma dan dy pfahel pulver ouch
dryffma vff vnd vnder dy rure bis cc
bals eins to eins drouff eyne vffm mass
gicht palle Ibatur 3

Item vor den slag vdder drosse
So sal nema gudey gbrante eyn dar da gudey
vdder drosse gbrant ader vnd sal da nema
borne lauendel blume vnd dy stossy rai
tleyne pulver vnd sal nema pansboym
ver eyne bleyerusch stollig vnd sal dy losse
vff entbarma yn gbrant eyn vnd dy
gerus nema vnd vdder lassy dorrey vnd
rein pulver stossy solich pulver sal dan
dy gall nema vnder den gbrante eyn
vnd lauendel vnd yn eyne morsser vff
vnden eyn ordel dry yn eyn drangk d
rynsy dorch eyn duch

Dar nach rai eyner smerung vff dy not wo
yn So nym lorbere dy da gud sy eyn
pferdt adder nucz vnd sud dy yn gud
eyne eyn stang vnd lass yn dann vff
dorre eben vnd stoss yn rein pulver
Dar nach so nym ij lot gudes wachsoldery vnd
lass dy auch entbarme yn gud eyne dry
dy vberste gud abgesche vnd wy yn dann vnd
schade dry mittelste reynsche der selbige gud
vnd dy berne ab vnde mache vff vdder

Rat pulver So sal mad dene nemē dy
pulver von dem lorberg und d Wachsperg
und dy Galletzell von d Spanßbormerg
rat sonst mongk in d ossadem dy ende
dysendes also vergt nemē das eß eyne
quarte ebere und dal vnder eyn arbeyt
So sal mad es dy dann vmgen
Also sal mad mentsge scapy eyn eyne fuge
und dete dinsty rede dy eß druge ant
o sal mad de metsge nyder lege vff dy
tod sytey und dal denny dy dy und
des Frenghis ofny gelene lesskuol so gulgt
sy dy blud vß d ofond gedery yn
dy tod sytey und ofnesat den d no tog
dog so etnas gemach sommer rat lorbarg
und ouch mage any Sonsse toge dy lorbarg

Als ab dy maranys rat sole gmot und dy
ebrege dray etc
So sal mad nemē dene laudelo blümey
und sal nemē dy mitasse drusge der gud
und d Hanne von Wadgoldery und dy
mitasse stgele von Wadgoldery sonnerlady
und mad sal se stossy rat pulver und sal
der vnder stgaley von Golsmberne solcge
albes rat gonsse sal mad yn eyne morsser
vnden eyn arbeyt dal eyn stoulle etliche
male dremgke se gmeng ebey ouch abey
ebrana ebey rat stang sny ebele sole mad es
mysge mit dindany und ebyne stgarfy

Item Wer der vngeschribe stuck vnder
alle wad ob wont yerschra
So sal wad wone ercebliss von ethlicher ercery
Und fall ob wenigk vnder rossmetaschen und
sal ern plaster machen mit bergke dinen
solich plaster tzulest vff de arntlige alle bosse
stucke solich plaster sal wad lige vnder dy stucke
Ist ern ander gud bollent stoyke dine ayan sal
wone dy vode stoyke und sal yr thun yn eyne
quante doppe muss dry halbuoll und dorsny
schessy gelone addn drey lessiluol salges yo
und dry stoyke yn dy ercery ij addn drey achti
darus ebnt smalts de salle wad ab sybery dinck
eyn dinck und yn eyne yerstarsse stopen und
yn dy pone dorst ethlicher tag yo temperire ge
such solich sal wad vnder dy ouch smeren antly
antlige addy eb sy not ist ebn dry ayegalt
so sal wad ob dry ebaster wit ghrante bry

Eyen ander gud stoyke dar tzu Do sal nem
mone ebl, ysad eyer dotery von yo addn
yij eyery und sal nome ebenmetge und
eyne lessiluoll salges und dry yn eyne
morsse stossy und dorch eyn duch yrnge dorwnd
So nemy eyngalb quetny yoluer vo yeabll
und nemy yndiser vo gestodt quecgsilber dry
dry sal wad allis tzu pone temperen und
dann nemy yn eyne back sucht So sal wad yny
an de stell dunnde smeren so bycalt ob ayan
sal ouch dy stell vorsyne offty yo bessert eb

ayan mag ouch abl nemn ſ pad ſilbergkt
und dz rei puluer ſoſſy und dz pad ze
yn vayne bary und dartzu thun daſey
Boreſchy und nemn vj eyher dz kluſſ
von dzy eyery und dz temperen dorch
ayn abolle durch ſo ebnt ob rei baſſer
dz thund mit yn dz vorgkt eben ob
kuke eben iſt Policye mateyne ſalt
may yn d bad an dz antlitz ſtrych
ſo eyalyt ob dy boſſe ſpalt horuſs ybaſſ z

Item wilder den bluet drullbing ſo ſall
may nemn ſoſs adder achte dy beyn uſs
den Baſyge noſſy und dy yn ayne morſſe
ſtoſſy und darbunden ayeng ayne ſollich
leſſklock eby ſpongks und dz laſſy eyſſenig
ſod ſolich ſal mit wyſſery noſſe ayan
ſal ouch darbunden nemn eben mit ob
yſyabt mag ſloſs ſyan dz iſt dy ſſchamme
ander aben galander rei puluer ſtmacht
und darbunden ſtmengkt ſullyt vo ſtond
mit ſal ob eben noſſ ſlutz z

Item dz ſelbe ſloſs ſyan dy ſſchenke ey adder
achte adder mynner yn vayne bary ſtleit
ayne galle ulyn adder noſſe und dz day
ſtdrongkt leſſyen dy uſſtmaſſe heyſſe
und lab ſlatt z 2 vezl

Item Welcher dy fygbonen do sal mit nemen
essene alden dry lefflmolt beinyoley vnd
puluer von Welschen Pfeffer 1 lot dorzu
man sayn Abenst entpfach yn eynen pfandy
Welcher sie man stonden vff eynen Blumelt
lassen vnd darvff legt So mit Abentest
Essen kum so Halt es gleich

Item anders gelt mathsone dreylau So
sal mit dreyen stranlte puluer vor
gemelten essen yn Essigen yn Backen
vnd Blatter als saffran vnd gel eyn
Clenglich yn der erd als gelbpoltery

Item anders Plont stogke dry lau So
sal mit nege eyn lynetuch yn
lassen dz dz di gebrant ist vff brunn
Wasser Halt yn der erde eyne Schreckly mit
Brodt als dy Pfyfblatern dry sal mit
Brodt vff dy fore Halt vnd stond lesz

Item Welcher den Kappon yn der Brey So
sal man nemen eyn Pfynsteleyn dry
da gemacht sy als mit dy Pfeffe eyn
dinnery vff dy Kappudyn sal mit lang
pulucr vio ynglebey vnd vnder dy gassen
Galle vnd en darmidt vff Heb dy Kappu
thun ob not so mags mit ob mehr thun

Item So ein mensch ein kaltsuchs zů lang haben esset
So sal man nemē bertram dry sal mit essig
vn ebyne addn mit hönig vnd dry ermysten
darusse sal mā ein gebē ein essemp gegen
so benymet man an sin arge geschmacke

Item vor dy tarbroche als man ß nennet ein
omaye So sal mā nemē eyne handvolle
brūnkole eyne handvolle galendre bletter
vnd ein ~~addn dey~~ lofflaul gantz dry
lofflaull bottram vngefalte dy sal man
vndereyn sydē sere wol vnd man sal
ß dorch eyn duch erpingen So strichet mā
ß vff eyn plaster duch das gesalt zů gemd
gebē z

Vor dy schoffe der adem So sal man nemen sorffe
vnd dy spelten von eyme lofflemyst dry sal
man dar zů gesse eyn sampfony vnd vmb dy
vnd streicht das benymet dy schoffe

Item dy ebissen salben zů machē So sal
man nemē rosen oley adder dy ebissn
druen vnd man sal darin thon eyn kampher
vnd bly wyß sal mā yn eyme morser zů
same arbeid dy brūt vnd gesalbet alle
gnugsam ebendy gebē z

Item mā sal ein ~~ey~~ ebenig mit ey lassen enbeissen

Item wer sy dz nit gern / vnd wil vorleschen
der sal mir vnd dem gotzhus vmb vorbesserung
sin / vnd sal dz nit publicieren noch offenbaren
dz mir vnd dem gotzhus schad sy / sunder
gantz vnd gar vnd allenthalben vertragen
sin / vnd sal dz nit thun weder mit worten
noch mit werken / in dhein weg / alles
by den eiden / so er dem gotzhus vnd mir
gethan hat / vnd sol dz ouch stet vnd vest
halten / vnd nachkomen / sunder gefarde

Item wer dz gotzhus schuldig

Item wer dz man macht / dz sy vf rosen vnd
andern zinslen / dz man sal nemen / dz dz
vnd sal darumb thun / rosen / vnd in allen
solichen sachen / man sal dz / mit dem
gotzhus / vnd mit der gemeind
dry / oder fier / tag / solich ding / ratslagen / vnd
darnach / in dem / vnd / dz best / dz in
allen / vnd / jeden / sachen / dz gotzhus
vnd gemeind / dz best / dz / ze thun

Item / wer / dz / dz / wir / vnd / vnser / gemeind
gotzhus / vnd / gemeind / dz / dz / vnd / dz / dz
also / solich / gemeind / ist / vnd / dz / dz / vnd
ist / vnd / vnd / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz

Item / wer / dz / dz / vnd / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz
vnd / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz
dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz
dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz
dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz
dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz
dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz
dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz / dz

Item eyn frauwe dy lendt eygē thūn
So sal my̆ne nechbuyr eyn lot
vndt sal eß spyd an dry̆ stoyßē, vndt
ma sal neme gaū y̆ dem stoyße sonst
lesßlnoll eynes vndt sal dy̆ myt ey̆ß
So sal ma dy̆ mache eyn steynbat
von sondorstey̆ Dry̆ tayse an ey̆ eny̆ eben
eny̆ may aū latte eßen eyn eßel So sal
may abtzeyn dy̆ sonst lesßlnoll eßmeß
naū y̆ dem male dennyß So vorgeyt
dy̆ vrangheyt vor eßen

Item Eyne vrangē eßen dy̆ vorgeßlidt eyn lib
ab eyn mentsche ofslay eßen ader ofslet ofsloßen
vndt dat dy̆ totgeßlidt by eny̆ hetet so yn dē lib
ader eber gebeßte felle vndt steupß
So sal my̆ne eyn hund heysßet zeyßen
vndt sal dat y̆ny̆ aut eßyne so dry̆ ey̆ druppel
yn sleet dat sal eyn mentsche dennyß So
vortribt ob eyn gromt sßlach
Vnch so heysßit eyn hund tzyselbrud ab
synghelinsß eesßet eesßet vndt vff der erde
gone dreg dat sßraß vndt hat slitz bijnedt
als palcyd vßnd dat sßelle

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Item vor dy brond uff der ganss salb mans
neme gebrant claussen uss den blauen kom-
blüme und eyme nüchtern dy gyfftig eyme
kesselkul so stroffet dy nüchtig

Item claussen gebrat uss dy smalz essigbrodt
und eyme nüchtern ynnyssgeben dy siechtag
colicam dutz ist dy eyme yn dy syten dy
und dy sint dy apostume yny lib

Item vor ubirmasse gicze yny lib und eyme
dy gerige vorborne edelz so saul mid neme
fleisch syon dy sint dy Celidonie an dy galandin
und dy yn sesse adder soben yn eyme sichuszely
stelen yn regne bony eyme galtz ungn salt
eyme nüchtig drinckstu dy siechtag vor eben

Als eyn nüchtig eyn öngt rii slang adder
ophissen adder so saul mans neme baugans
adder yschenhart dy krude und saul dy blum
gaygel und eyn eyer eyss anander und
solichs dry durch eyn luter wayn durch
rinck solichs saul mid rii abend und mid
rii bete ehe eyn und dy ougt drinckstu
und ouch eyn plaster druon uff dy ougt
legstu dy krentzlin dy ougt edelweyss
und galt eyn an dy

Eyn krangkeit Heuptet vanger nach dem
knebus he dabut pullet als der knebus
zů vngke ogu vnd he lebt dz pulf mà
also bussy
ayan pault eb sein nyse bestreche mit ebsse
sulley so vorgehe dz sterkey
dar nach so sal man mach ey plaster
also so puter he ayan saul nemt wdon
koppigarnoch 1 lot Spanbgron 1 lot stemmet
1 lot Balgamey 1 lot drachenblud 1 lot 1 lot
sloc epotzw dz sp gbram hmetzhorn 1 lot
sotry 1 lot Rhymstorn 1 lot von gbrante
knebus vñ pulucr gemache 1 lot von gbrante
mensthger har 1 lot stůncb Rhyrauch
1 lot 1 lot galley mey dz sall vnd alles zm
eyme morsser sossig vnd ebe vedl dorig
eyn duch vnd solich pulver sal man ebl
bedam dz eb dreyley klebt vo der hoss dz
sal man dann yn dy Wunde vor ebey eb
der knebus tout ist dz peule also dy Wunde
suche sich vnecher vñ vnd ebe Rhaw
edder ebss vnd zu vant

Eyn ander mol sal nemn dy kern vss de
haselnosse vnd sal dy stossen vnd temperey
vnder honig vnd dand eyn plaster vss
gleis

Item ander sorgte Rainy Erebut nesch
ende salg wie same geschossen ende darus
star so salt he sterben any vō tage
Bruchte he us an die nasen so sal mā
nemē dry sass von rodt Entsch ende
pulues von bategnie darmēn dry sme
mid yen dy sroc thē

Item wen der adem stingkt der sal nemē
gudey Cyrnasyy eyne quarte ende pil
der vii name gelb ende solliche Garnwoll
palucy ende mid saul dy mit eyn lōl sich
eyn drenkell Inne solche drang saul
mid abendt vii leste drenghe dry
nortnibt dry Splatte 3

Item wen dy wenne dy yene essen dy
se eny wu leche thūy so sal may nemē
yelene lessikwolt yarnge ende dwelnd
mengk eyn solich galb lot Sambgoen
ende myt eyn omsied dry sall mid
stuckge yn de gud to Vorgeht dy
smorge Ves 3

Item vor blud Garnne sal nid sosen
dy Emaklouchte ganbet yn sy zeyne
Cassor sulle eyn metsche eldenny drinche
so Vorgeht es Splatz 3

Item eyn sache ab eyn mensche do verstrappt
wurde das eyn fo vrome das ist sin eigen
mocht von eyn rüme eelude das eyme metsche
brengt zu schoss eehelaff vnde nait
So sal man neme die mittelste stegale
von jolen gelege vnde das stöcken in sime
eyre adder in eyme eyre vnd die brenge
so darvon solichs breche vnde vinct
von stunde dorch vnde ist eyn beste
darfor

Item wer die lichsen in de ouge adder stelzlisse
hin den ougen
So sal man nemen eyn ropen eisse hyne
buren hyne durch also breid als ex sugelt
vnde solich tuch sal ma binne vff eyme
barmenlyde vnde das mit eyme lichte
an stossen, apd sal ey mit eyme messen
eyn ellemss lossen vnde mest ubn lanck
lossen binne So sint darvon stelle smalz
solichs smalz sal ma mit de nasselossen
smyrke ubn dy ouglide strichen das todt
alle lussen vnde stelzlisse

Item gemeyn gut eetsalle vñ butzen
eisen sal ma nemen eyn sarcell bonenole
vnde ley eyer eisse vnde darvnder mengen
eyn eelig scherff melk das gelat
usmasse sensse vnde pre

Item Vor dan Stayn oyn vfsmassyng
vnd stoyfse
So sal man nemen iiij lot ebbiske adamsey
iij lot ebbiken Jngbawy iij lot peterslyx
samen 1 lot saffran von orte yoyoiij
pessyboyy Dez sal ma allis stossyn tů
puluer Dez sal ma togek an sonst
thcill vnde sall da nemn stud ebbiske
ebiy adder stud elsken vnde sall dez
zů nemn dob ebynes oyn solliche quante
vnde sal dez kasyny mitoyn ~~eynellaing~~ sud oyn
solliche dranck sal ma danne theile an
Drittail yn sonstheill So sal dz metsche dry teil
Dasanff vbyn nachoyn vnde sal y vbrig
vbyn dz theill eynes dranyks vnde
allemall ein ebbiske ein he vff drinckst
vme storke, dez bruchst de stayn vfsmassyn
sexe Dnch so sall ma syeden bornbuse
vnde also klarey vme syn lib vnde yn
plasteb thus sleyn so drabt eb

Item Honer smaltz olymaltz vnde sonst
yglichs gleich Nothit dez ~~eyn~~ sal may
nemen oyn ansbid solliche salbe ebzuchst
vnde eolangst alle vorgeschrieben adzey

Item ab eyner ethelcher eyn ethelt kruß
aren adder kayn ebbe oder thun alß
recht ethelan thorrit von der ehrist so
ist dritte nachstehn eyn jud bekleret
slage Brufft
aßan sault nemen Hudon thranre eben
eyne Gotterosse von eyner kelt adder mehr
darbrudn sal mad dan ebbl kayn stoßen
eyn lot Guder malabrig eyn lot pulurd
von small salbeun solich pulurr sall
mid vrdn dr thranre eben thun brde
sal sich erstehn ehe mad eß nutzt sonst
adder sehe tage eer der metstehe uß dr
bode eyst so sault ehe stehn bij eyn pu
brde dag glet dr e ebbe ist thy dr sure
mit dr thranre, vnd usstreichen sere so
hat eß dag recht dag ey alße sere ebbe
thud brde nomermehr

Dese poyste hand hemmze streich thyen
myne gnedige bede here da ge pit
dyebe thedenchet hat

Item zu der Lutzy Palmary nemt Hermon
Lore Frud dnd Wergely dnd sal dry Predy
mit veymery Korne Jny eyme Mudemy
vngenaston dffery Lore Vrich dnd Voll
Da sal der nechste dry Pfyny vff eyme
Stfernelt dnd d Pfaddy vnder vff/ an
dry nombrum, dnd sol vnther Vol bezalt
dry dry Pfaddy mog mit andre dry
Stormey, dnd dd dry so bude Ebne dry
na eg Pfaddy Kny so sal nad dry selby
Adsfere vnderdr dnuff gyffny, da may
eny dry nach Pfaddy dnd dalt Fleusty stryer
Dal nad eyn gebrat alaine vff Pfaddy
an sal auch nome dy Klayne Smagell
Vissergin, dnd dy Kendlagk da Gerstay
dnd andery mostdely pulver dry
tuddy Gerst vffnmasty Lore glet

Item ander gud stogt zeü der Lutzy so sal nem
Lorbere dnd sal Pfaddy Pfaddy zeü pulver
dnd sal dd nome altdyr dnd dry mettayn Kuffny
enspid so sal nad dry dry nombrum dry Pfny
dengkny dd may eg Pfaddy Frd eyne vffn
dd nad eg dny Gerss nymet so sal nad eny
dnsfny Bfrüdny Lat vnfynd adder alüy Kuffni
so sall nad dry Korne vff eyer dstany Smaly
dnsfny Smaly so galdt eg vü dnd Pfaddy

Item noch eyn beschwerd hot sich mit Bauffyn vnd yr gesell
sorbore item der wirtschaft item vor iij gellen Cass.
Byrausch vor iij gellen pfeffell vor aber yoyj
eyer also dz er y vngeracht fry vnd salt by
so gartz sydem dz so blib vorm dy Burgery
sall mit thun yn eyns erbern Rotts vnd vnser
dy halt fryeyn vnd frnaby dienst bernt
so sal man dy buch vmb eyer vnd eins vnser
lieben frauwen bilden yn der kirchen hynaby
vff der empory, dy lorbere sal mit an stossen
dornach nachem dornach Byrausch vff dem
pfeffell, dasse stoyfe sal mit thun yn dz hynaby
dornach so sal mit dz mayst dienst den alten
frnaby So sal mit dem nomen vnd dz metzgen
fyn gemeyne myt eyns Buch gebn, fry buch
vff berge bindey vnd dy falke mit eyner
schedem yn dy gellen stroyen so mocht vnd
halt dz vff dem gemeyn, ayan sal ouch sydem
gabersten mit klussen damit sal mit sich
beyen vnd mogen eins alle komt darnach
helt so entelt dass yj mogt plat3

Item von den pfennigen eyns So sal mit
nemen pulver vo eyerstroy vnd pulver
von pyrnes gleich vergut vnd yn durchschlag
vff eyn knodigen arz sal mit thun
yn schmaltz vnd dy gene damit myt
so vbrig stycke

Item Wan dy frauelt dy matrys beslaffen ist
vnd yn dy darzu lady so sal vnd wone dy
nachpurschap steyde yr galgen yj lot ayopgan
yj lot vor Clamey yj lot Tanck j lot
Boysten candt j lot darvff sal vnd pulver
macht vnd alcrudt vnd morgens vff eyns
yder bredel affon dy sal vnd vorhoren
yn eyns addn. byer klach vnd dy pulver
dan darvff gelt Dutte ist vechill yborit

Item eyn dander ghd bolleni steyde darzu
so sal vnd nomt rudt Straßburg, dy ist
alpruckt vnder dopey xxxxx vnder bischoff
palacz vgheyde eyn Gantwell vnd pul dy
Sidey mit vorpn bome yn eyne mulbey
Dopey so sal sich dy frauelt dy steyny vff
eyns loßgereckt stul vnd sich vff vnsyn
Lagengstun vnd dy pladey dan vnder vff
dassy offeny: vnd vnd sal dy nicht vor vbel
Deich dassy sey addn dy dy matrys nicht
vorbrente addy ist enddrit nomer bruder
vnd Dritte steyde ist vorlorn bolleni

Item eyn frauelt eyn tout hut by er Brugst
so sal vnd er offeny yrem palacz sass mit frow
eyne addy buer of komt vor er
Addn dring schelt mitdye mit faltye
Se mag auch dy dringhe eyner andern
frauelt pone

Item Wen yemant gerechte sprake vnde ap. plenit
Als sachso recht eine stunde vnd eyne
hundt yn arbeyt ligt alse dat dat hirt
nycht thu rechter tyt vort komen ebolt
So sall nemt eyn hammel des kundes
ayster vnde dat syn eyne pote dar vm
mage vnde an dy hoymelich sall
gahn So wendet sich dat hunt von stonk
wii recht tyt vort plat ;

Wa geborut sich ytwan dat eyme eyn kop
adder bin vorlaren vnde abgenomet
So sal mad neme eyn stab stharp hyne
duch vnde sal dat dammede reiden vffen wasse
vore dat dat gelt bint
So sal mad dan neme stucken gebrant von
eingebrucht vnde eyn hyne duch dorch
nehen vnde dwerme plan, dan dy
druge bint So sal mad dy bidder
natyn So dicke dy not ist So komt
dy bidder dy ist vorlaren tyden

Item bidder dy angelegen stellen edder
ynsliche genomen ist So sal mad nemen
eyn brud gelser ayerge dicke dat ist
gestalt alse dy mit mehe bedrouet sy
dornoff sal mad melken vnd sal
dy duch kessen eingen vff vnser lieb
frauen dorge dinge plat

Ist eyn mensche dez beschissen ist mit den elben
den sal man also sporen Hact dez mensche
eyne mutter adder vater eyn eleg mag
nicht eb syne elte | eyn elb sneck hussz
dez mensche dez mit der brantschatz beschalt
ist dez selt eb schond mit syne magde elte
elbe ist syne nachbe beyne sichy eyne
stat elbe eb dez eb dez schedigt ist eb sal
der schond mensche dem brantschey mensche
mit syne eyenge schone adder sy nasse
brantschatz dez dy nasse spalte eb syne eb
dy elbe eb ist auch eyn ander theyle d
schrangke mensche theildeny syne auch
bude syne adem durch sy eb

Item alsan sall eb also beschreyn
und nemd dez Nabuch eb sneck und
eb heilige Hilge
Eby dem heilge pater noster bij dem heilge
Fue maria und by dem heilge glouben
den dy heilge bij apostely machten
Damit und daby beschirme ich mich alle
und allermeyn und mit alle widderwy
nachbarnschinge zu schicht eb hus adder rout
breiny schaden eb adder yn eilichgeley
eb si schicht, dez si alle musse sy tot
an dem Drittey tage dez erstandt noch gott
und der liebe herre sente Job. forst mache
Eb eich noch eb dez si pelis tormey

yn eyne Capelly dy solle n sy dry altar
ryden also lange dz dritte metsyge nach
noch begynt nit vorlange sal n soldt y
selder komen vt bronger dy heilge frone
cruce yn ulterm vierdt sendery dz
selbe nach der may der synde an dem
heilge frone cruce may vnser lieben
frauwe kustgat klein ffyolen cristgest
alle heilge martelen vnde alle confessory
sele vnde ij messe dy dessem metsyge
selen gesalb darch zeit heilge vnde nit moste
vnde dy ij naill dy got dem herre durch
hende vnde fusse slud gslain vnde dy
trone dy got de almechtig vff sy gebenedict
houbt clare gedroget / dy ymyste vnd
dy got dor sie anphangk got dy mussig
myr gelasse an dessr metsyge dy cy dessn
suchte elende buss vnd bas dz gelasse myr
got vnde dz heilge grab Also vorbider also
dz yst also vnnot vt elle vnd clkymen
mit alle ulterm bomchrup amen

dysse kyrieson sal nu syn vi morgen
noch zyt . l. pater nost vnd ave maria

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Item eyn fryschy brauy tzů machē der vff dyssē
buch vergilt plent dirz mit vnderbii dy
fryschy buch vorterbet auch dye tzů buch dyrre
ding so sie yrgē nutczlich sy
So sal mā nemē dy wirczele vnd Olett von
ysopbaum dy blete von erpberry krud dy
blietze addn. same von gamffe dy blietze
addn-same von fenffe iderspe tail von
fgwrff lactuck wiffsling blietze bappelly
Calendla rottkol alle gliche vogell regenfan
dy rod-blume har oc frid vffall vnd nym
sal dy alle dirr fyde yn blumyke dyme zerqfd
vffall dornach so sal mā dz lasy hirrey
vnd sal dann durchy dye gemyst eyd frid vffall
Der dyrrē sal mā nemē vnd abrirdē
Dornach Solangk dz dy brunst vffhort
dornach dz not dy fischy dyrrē sal sie stetlich
vffhalte mit dyrrē fischy haben vnd
auch stetlich darvff lay dz not halbē
So sal mā dz nemē dy dyrrē dz dy
dz dy blebē an dē pfladdern sal mā
dye pulver auch vnd sal dann nemē
kampfer sal mā dann yn eyssē essig
eyglby vff kalcy sal mā dann pflig
pulver mit eyssē essig dz dirr
klasey so gealt ob dirr stende
Probatū est Vide tamen vnd

Si vir. [illegible] vestimenta
ecclesiastica

Primus sacerdos primam partem super se vice
placentulam et postea dicit sic. Deus qui
de placentula hoc talento et multo malo
do plenus es auxiliatrix et dolo subiugui
cuius labor et dolor iudica me deus et
discerne causam meam de gente non pia ab
homine iniquo et doloso eripe me quia tu es
fortitudo mea quare me reppulisti et quare
contristatus deus inimicus humiliat
me dum dicitur mihi quotidie ubi est deus
tuus quare tristis es anima mea et quare
conturbas me spera in deo quoniam adhuc
confitebor illi salutare vultus mei et deus
meus. Ego deus probavit me et cognovit
me tu scis sessionem meam et resurrectionem
meam intellexisti cogitationes meas de
longe semitam meam et funiculum meum
investigasti et omnes vias meas previdisti
quia non est verbum in lingua mea ecce
domine tu cognovisti omnia novissima et
antiqua tu formasti me et posuisti super
me manum tuam scientia tua mirabilis facta
est super me confortabilis non potero ad eam
quo ibo a spiritu tuo et quo a facie tua
fugiam si ascendero in celum tu illic es
si descendero in infernum ades si sumpsero
alas meas diluculo et habitavero in extremis
maris etenim illuc manus tua deducet me
et tenebit me dextera tua et dixi forsitan
tenebrae conculcabunt me et nox illuminatio
mea in deliciis meis quia tenebrae non obscurabuntur
a te et nox sicut dies illuminabitur
sicut tenebrae eius ita et lumen eius quoniam
tu possedisti renes meos suscepisti me de
utero matris mee confitebor tibi quia terribiliter
magnificatus es mirabilia opera tua et anima
mea nimis tu non est occultatum os meum
quod fecisti in occulto et substantia mea in
inferioribus terre imperfectum meum viderunt
oculi tui et in libro tuo omnes scribentur
dies formabuntur et nemo in eis quam tu
cognovisti deus quid autem mihi nimis honorificati
sunt principatus eorum nimis confortatus est
numerus eorum dinumerabo eos et super
arenam multiplicabuntur exurrexi et adhuc
tecum sum deus si occideris peccatores mortem
viri sanguinum declinate a me et loquuntur
in cogitatione iniquitates accipient in vanitate
civitates tuas odientes te nonne qui oderunt
te domine odio perfecto inimici facti sunt
mihi proba me deus et scito cor meum
interroga me et cognosce semitas meas et
vide si via iniquitatis in me est et deduc
me in via eterna deus qui libera me
de homine malo a viro iniquo eripe me

pectus deus cuncta et pauca deprecabor numquid
et non dominabitur mei et fugiam a facie
tua cur me obliuisceris et obliuisceris iniquitatem
famuli tui famulo tuo qui ignoro vel in
firmitate mea tu purificabis qui autem scit hoc
fuerit in te tuo remittes mundissima et deus
meus illumina tenebras meas et in
te rumpar accessum et in deo meo transgrediar
murum accipe disciplinam auriculam et ab
abluginem cui et dispersa ossa et depressa
oculis iniquitatis ut cinnamo in hoc modo
et fortis deo quoniam deus quibus habeo
suppliciter et dic mihi quare fructu ut
dicet veritate deum et si locutus dic quae
non malibas habbas nauffa et coga
te ramon facite apparere fulgem qui gaude
rem subtrahunt in agrum affamo minabo
tur tunc tollet primum qui impiam / dictu
dabit et dic deus ingressu eius qui cuncta
exaudi oppressio et gaudeo deleuit terre
formasti et oculos tobie operasti et ei vel
dispu debua pictate restituisti te suffica
ceteris ut si iste homo talis quia fuisti si
tu fabulis sic ut ceteris dignere sicut
tobia operasti et tu hoc dispesti quibus vim

dam ap[illegible] vno desuꝰ in dicto oculo dexpuncto sinistro
pupilla oculi dexteri liquefiat et studo
cubi salubit adhibitum et tactio pupilla oculi
et facta adunio adunio ipsa et subabilis et
adicta subabilcap[illegible]
Si vis scire de[illegible] valuis mtrogare
pecora et ipse cum aqua pecunissima de
fontana et pone cum ipsa in olla noua
aperta posa et accipe vnu pullu de pullo
vnegrue nicta cocto de nocte dno et ipsi
pueri ypsiciat mysangrancia vesta oriolum
et ipse pe ipsi stacuo et pecunia et postea dic
in aurecta pueri ista oro Deo pace
despiriti pricitale eu lamia bocya tz
volo ꝑ precare ope pricii aquesto pulo
vexerio inquesta angrancia dibij mudaz
ope diga cmoste lauckita dequelo ospio
volo domadare et dic pecunia et statim
pud vedi in angrancia et mytroga pueri
p ipse vidit pu[illegible] si ipse vidit statim dicat
puo q ipse comuct eu ꝑ dicdo dnmo
te deu pecu aperte et celesta et
et eucrginitate mea q statim vadas adiu
pecunia et pecte tua tibi sacrafu et statim
fiao recipio et statim ipse vedi eu libro
et statim q pueu pilu quuet eu q pueu
quuet inuet sup labi dicit vedibat depuo

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Et ysti libi secrete scdi et ppone michi quomodo mihi
placeat et hec devotissime faciat tu dicendus et
cognitor sicut scptm est scientia et dicit scda
misteriorum celestium revelat / archana divine pcepta
pfundat / et studio post me sum portat libros domus
et habeat locu pcm abbatissa abacuc ingredi
manuet nulla nec aliquis st pcens quot opa et
affigat locu aque inducta et ubi ponit libi et tu
angelo predicti et stola inducta ingrat libi quadra
tenet tuba in dextera et sinistra ponat libru ipm
ore dicet vij psalmos tu oret tonga et
lectio scribat et studiat et operet ysti libi
sub pena nobis assignata tu et domoc ac
tota cordis affectu et dans opa sua habeat ac
tuis scribat que libi studiat et operet
sub pena nobis et assignata ut virtute qua
habuit dicit viz adjutoriu altissimi vivacis qui
vales adoes invocacoes et quinquies ipsius
et adoes ihu dei omnipotentis / Ih̄u quintus
pollicit que libi fiat si vult eis valere
ipse dicit. Ego dominus ysti hec oret et
lectus sumpsit libi reputat et dicat que
adoes equali corde et ad pacta hec tace scpe
Deus mei mihi et pce mihi mei et
dans mei et pacem et non derelinquas mei
et pcibus ymnisti Exaudi deus oratio mea scuta
tui ne ut inimici dic invocatio te velocit et //
audi me scs et audisti me quia mater hec sa //
pientia dei Emanuel assistat tu exaudi deus
voce deprecat ymnisti et adoes beatissime
virginis matris marie matris hec abbatissa scpe
et adoes et pces mei adjutores hec pcibus
quos ego pcp hec ea affectum effundo coram te
ingrat coram pcm scissimo loco hec ingrat libro
quoniam sic affectu et ferventi adjutorio volucro
pcente deus meo regi ego dum vivus et vegetus

O[mn]ipotens sempiterne deus qui me indignum famulum tuum
N. dignatus es hodie suscipere et gregem quem tibi
commisisti ordinis mei predicatorum sancte tue matris
ecclesie sponse tue fidelis dispensatorem constituere
esto in dictis meis circumspectus in operibus humilis
in doctrina sincerus in sermone castus ut
in hoc mundo tibi placere valeam et in futuro
cum electis tuis regnum celorum possidere
Ascendat ad te domine oratio mea et descendat
super me benedictio tua. Da michi domine
sedium tuarum assistricem sapientiam et
ne me excludas de puerorum tuorum
consortio quia ego servus tuus et filius
ancille tue. Esto michi domine turris fortitudinis
a facie inimici. Non prevalebit adversarius
noster contra te nec filius iniquitatis
nocendi nobis habeat facultatem. Esto
domine plebi tue sanctificationis tue
custos et rectis corde tribue lumen
veritatis ut viam tuam quam docuerit
eligant et in semitis tuis non errent
Da domine ut verbum tuum
sit michi cibus in quo delectet
anima mea non fastidium
ne sit potus in quo sitiat
sed sit in me fons aque
salientis in vitam
eternam
Benedicat te pater benedictus te filius benedictus te
spiritus sanctus deus qui creavit te ut benedictio sis
benedictus es ut benedicas benedictus es ut benedicaris
benedictus es ut in benedictione possideas regnum
celeste benedictus es ut benedicas deo et benedicaris
ab eo benedictus es ut benedicas omnibus bonis
benedictus es ut benedicas omnibus malis
benedictus es ut benedicas omnibus
benedictus es ut benedicas omnibus
benedictus es ut benedicas omnibus

BSB

Et sanctifica librum iste et dispersa p̄ orbem terre ut
ubi virtutes et plene operationes adsint assistentes et do
minentur et p̄sente deo meo christo tuo regnum
et deum perdat sine fine ab ista scola amen-
tie ne ingrate cedas ostium ac tuere adeuntes
eum sanctos et cuncta que p̄ te deo
eunte offerentur et quodcunque
deinde pium accesserit legere
reliquos subsequentibus et ingredientes deos diver
tium offerat et aqua tinducta te aspergat et sig
num tibi ti[illegible] imponat ut deus ingredi queant
et pium adoptes tum p̄ficiendi et vitare quor
cumplani et ad vacandi et tunc diligenter ne
hec audi[illegible] ecclesia domum ingressum deuocis
et superstitiosis et fabulosis philosophis
sint abstodia et malum dei sibi ingressum
ne si alicui expresse de[illegible] domuncio ter aspe
rgat hyssopo abscedat illud impleto et ipso deo tua
expressa oratione et postea tum ut plus circa
te et de[illegible] pedi et percipiat tum respexerit ut
vide denique nec deus meus me destituas
ame[illegible] inimicum meum deus deus salu
me[illegible] tua dic[illegible] me quemadmodu
placuit te[illegible] deus sum ne despicias me
tua[illegible] tua libera me et eripe me in veritate
oculos tuos ecclesia in[illegible] deus meus et clamor
meus ad te veniat deus deus meus ne disturbes
ame[illegible] inimicum meum deus deus salu
me[illegible] tua dic[illegible] me quemadmodu
placuit te[illegible] deus sum ne despicias me
tua[illegible] tua libera me et eripe me in veritate
oculos tuos ecclesia in[illegible] deus meus et clamor
meus ad te veniat deus deus meus ne disturbes
ingemuisti et contristatus deus deus meus
deus omnipotens deus fortissime deus potentissime deus
sanctissime deus pietatis deus clemens deus bonus
nunc ego tibi inimicum et pessimum spiritum
solo et malum supplex adoro deum ecclesia misericordia

okamo z depamo nc depraida adiuuisa z tuuera
bilis pea mea fi sinc eo sweuisti peccz mise
rei z pces tpulum eo audire da mic sanctu tuu
ut lect ingeniu cordis mei in timore tuo
ppac eo mundo tuo sanctissimo noibi ingrumbo
ut uirtute qui obtu debeat potet obtinere
fi acreda pdara z inestimabilis pciapes ppe
dicas adpebas tpulit z mirabilit eo ptinqat
ut uelint ut nolint tpulsi z uolutati obediant
et ut qrentia uolunt eo deo tuo adgregat
et ut uolunt eo offerat/ Ouo Usque domo ppe/
tissime ut tu et scribit pquatur litteras
fi totis uacet ce tpat quo audito mane rebus/
gredi acr cotinuat z cotat dicr tuum
ignis deiiciunt oib; operanti tuis z ipetatis
tuum turbat z ce sanctissima uoca tua
Ou alpha z o principium z finis/ ut cly clori
clay clyay pater cmanet sabaoth adonaij
cgtic ije ye ya yo dicat hoc ecclesie
pfanter uno uti est Rabi honor z ptia pfi
mita ista petat Amē. — Rubrica
Si aute aliquis aliud ecclesie eo ce uolunt
q no ptinet adoptionem spus tue debeo di
quater ego cadua digneris clamare ade
ut hoc ecclesie uirtute obtineat qua obtine
debet pater pcissime tuu et scribit
pfiij licas fi totis uacet hec tecu ne Ouo
Deus uniuit arbis conditor z redemptor q tecu
sup altitudine mibi ostendisti z tecu ipsa
bilitate tua sup aquas fundasti z mari tuu
que pduce no potest/ tabuisti z polum et tuos
ac stellas recto collocasti qui sic inspiciat
spiritu qui uti die hodie adhuc nec pte
tudine tua perscrutari et ci ppicatio nra/ ipcari

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Sm̃e dñe dñe iuste adonay
mic & pñtus ordo
qui pdes tm̃ic stabi-
ist ois regnis ois
tuis ois ois ois
dnis ois tuis
dnis & adiu-
ramenti mr ingra
candelp qr ois
& oppbus tuis
dra ma tuo pjssmic
mic state tua
tua mca stabit
iyitutis tua & dona-
to firmat ordo &
tuos q iyitor libro
& efficatia q institu-
tato sr malignor
& tu ordinati & tuos
Ne quicqd & reprossa
mandata ordine
cos & ptas qui
stor dne adonay
scolam mdy
significata
tua sanctissima
postulati
gre tue
vocatos
iyitor
alpha
dei
on

sanctissmic qui es sons
ne regni & dns dnantiu
tua tuos ydsidu
ois qnis ois
tuis & dnis
ne & dilectis
ne & ois
ne & ois
ne & ois

BSB

Ystima z dña dimitta
rete tuũ nauicio nr
mallon expgarcos
e cpuxion ostrion
ouel cyaptm nrm
ſubaolq idonũ
te duo te adoro te
plono ꝙtus pntes
tos iſtoc libro
ſuccdnos quemt
Eimert tuoq nomy
ſili ſati et ſpitu qu
dñplent z dilige
timore ei alique
z miſtrados z tuo
dſpecto mdata

Mus abiſma qui dipp
nos ancillq; con ſtimula
mallon expgarcos
e cpuxion ostrion
ouel cyaptm nrm
ſubaolq idonũ
te duo te adoro te
plono ꝙtus pntes
tos iſtoc libro
ſuccdnos quemt
Eimert tuoq nomy
ſili ſati et ſpitu qu
dñplent z dilige
timore ei alique
z miſtrados z tuo
dſpecto mdata

Dñe inuocabo nom
tibi agnus z mactabo
z archangeli michael
michael te tres pncipes
z mob michael te
michael te dos ſti
exco duces hui
z mater nisi tuo
obedias z voluntati
mpotes deus mpotes
ffloz deus cherubim
ſtos dñe mei ihu xpe
tum tuoq; pdeat
exco et ñ dimittas
adiſtuo ihu ppter

Ꝑ

ſtibi agnus z mactabo
z archangeli michael
michael te tres pncipes
z mob michael te
michael te dos ſti
exco duces hui
z mater nisi tuo
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ffloz deus cherubim
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tum tuoq; pdeat
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Ꝑ

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michael te tres pncipes
z mob michael te
michael te dos ſti
exco duces hui
z mater nisi tuo
obedias z voluntati
mpotes deus mpotes
ffloz deus cherubim
ſtos dñe mei ihu xpe
tum tuoq; pdeat
exco et ñ dimittas
adiſtuo ihu ppter

BSB

audito nomine tuo velociat ad locum sue quietis et statim
ad me accedat ipse leuat tibi angele qui te despu
mus teloph sedibus tuis seruiant tue dementie p
tuam audi nos angele mequissime et tume
pidus et stupidus noctis horrore deum nostri iqui
tis tu ergo angele mequissime diuine fidei quae
stionis motus reflorescat nec de claudat in dolo
sidue fames vacuos sedudat quos demonia
cus pestifer qui stabat et respiciebat ut scribe et pha vnc
ludos ictus metuc qui ingressus est synagogam nostri
ne mundus ingressus est ingressus ostendens deum
sum et triumphans audi ergo angele et time
de ea et ego nichil speraui tibi nequicquam pfidens
si sumus te spes antique audi nos et exaudi
nos pater qui habes potestatem mittere in sche
ol ut scribe et pharisei qui sedent in cathedra quicquid ergo
qui sedet in excelsissimo adhuc sumus te angelo
rum arcanis et virtutibus quod sit ut sis subiectus
nobis et nichil nocere possit nec inferre
offensa xpi illius potestati te negetur qui se fugientes
expugnant illuc cum
de uictis gentilibus
tibi terrores et
nox qui xpus sta
memoriter affingere
pauca adde cumprimis ut te tibi det deus sit
tibi det deus filius et det spus sanctus tibi
det apostolos et sc petrum et paulum et omnes
apostolos et det tibi in dulcedine confessos det
tibi sanctus martires integrat et medicam vitam
det tibi castam viduam et det tibi pia opera
quingatos et det tibi oratorium ut nos ecclesia
in ecclesia dei militantem et det tibi felicitatem

[illegible] ihesu & milcy excepit & ingrobid dñi mei ihesu xpi
ihesu tibi misereat michael ihesu & ihesu xpe
iesu nazarene miserere mihi ihesu & ihesu xpe
dñe qui te exaudiuit in diebus tribulationis tue qui te exaudiuit
& vasa tua dissipauit qui te fecit in tenebras exteriores
vbi tibi & misericordia tua est ihesu & cetus iesu
quid nunc humiliaberis & dyabole retracte qui te exercere
ecclesiam tuam & oppressisti eius statuta hactenus
& tuos ihesu xpe filius cum quo te exercere dignus
fuisti & crucifixisti primogenitum tuum quem genuit
tui mores reprobabiles tuique cultus ihesu xpe tibi
nequissime principum demonum reducto te pactum
tuarum qui ambulant sup aspidem & basiliscum
qui conculcat leonem & draconem ut spretis tuis
& xpe ihesu tibi & populis gentium & tunc vocato
ad dñm illum tunc tui victimatores exosi pharisei
& scribe & principales subiecti sui tunc &
gemoriam que operabuntur & stridebit scriptum in de
stella nobis laudamus ihesu tibi dum cum sancto spiritu
est ihesu & nato dñi nostri ihesu & ihesu
nazareno ihesu & qui te cum ut replebis cito
die que peto ac ut habeo nolucro ut stirpe
apio & quato laudamus secum ea & papio tatu
magis publicum tibi erit dedic in die exercitio
te maledicte de nequissime & nequissime pes
pem veritatis pdam de porte te pfum exercitum
rectum pactum nuptiarum de altissimo pactum
deppe sto accepto remanet unigenito natu qui
gabriel nuntiauit qui in nubis portis de
manib; dicet que & filius dñi exercitio te
auctor dyabole portis auctor audiat tu adhuc
subdit laud tuos pfs & sc & ignoc
pfiosi deitatis tui spe regali angelos precantes
& ihesu. apli martires & ostiarios principes

BSB

vidue & ꝺcb clerici ꝺei ꝺi[illegible]ebus ac noctibꝫ inꝺefeſſe
voc obſecrandꝫ ꝺicebꝫ [illegible]ſeruꝰ ſeruo qui clat
qui e & qui e vbiq; & qui eſt opꝰ ut ſuo pſu/
mꝫ teſtimonio pcepta mea/ Nec te latuerit tibi
tmine ponꝺꝰ & tmine talenta & tmine ꝺe
uſurey & tmine ꝺrem/ ſupplicij ſumpſiſti pter
vbiq; & vbiq; clamo[illegible] vbiq; audiat ſiquis &
& pugnet tuos pꝓ & ſtu[illegible]ens mihi & ꝺeo
ſtuꝫ nequicꝫ ꝺeprenꝺe[illegible] ꝺeprenꝺe ex tpore
ꝺeo vno & vero & clo [illegible] ſtricte ut ante pcepta
mea ꝺilectus ꝺa tonore [illegible] xpo filio eius
ꝺa. tonore ſpu ſcto pacifico [illegible] ut vite
patris & matꝛis ut ſint eius ꝺe pcepto meo
oꝺiosꝰ tui ꝺies [illegible] ſuꝑ [illegible] ſuꝑ ꝺeꝛelicta & ſoꝛ
pfiq; tuꝺet ꝺilectꝰ. ſ. ſ. ſ. ꝺns ꝺeꝰ ꝺeꝰ ſeꝛtum qui
ꝛeſpuit & ꝺuit ſemſtipſa ſcꝛa ſcꝛa ſcꝛa
Mſuꝛa ac ꝺeſtructo ac pꝓpꝛio & amicꝰ ut nō
oꝺiosꝰ ſit alicꝰ [illegible]pꝛeꝺicto ut maumeto ut le
ſtoc ut ꝓmiſſione [illegible] & ꝺe me[illegible] & ſſ
tꝛꝫ quꝫ te amicꝰ pꝓa pꝓꝺicta ſtamenta
facta & facꝺa pꝓa [illegible] pꝓa ſcꝛa ſtabꝫ ꝺe
mobꝫ pbꝫ qui te [illegible] ſtoclo ſicut quꝫ te
& pꝓpꝛio & pꝓoſta ſcꝛa & pꝓoſta [illegible]mutata
pꝓoſta ſcꝛa & pꝓoſta [illegible] ꝺe pꝓa
ſtatim quꝫ te ac pꝓpꝛio & amicꝰ pꝓa ſſ pꝓa
ſigſui & ꝺeſtruꝫ paſſim ꝓꝺicto te pꝓo ſuo
& pꝓatum ſuum ſpualem pꝓo [illegible] ſtabilitatꝫ pſigillu
ſtabꝫ ſꝓmiſſos eius pꝓpꝛie [illegible] ꝺeſtꝛuꝫ
ꝺeꝰ ſtuus [illegible] ut & amicꝰ ꝺeſtructoꝛ pꝓa
[illegible] ꝺie ſuꝺicij [illegible] ut ꝺe me[illegible] ſſ
nec ceſſas [illegible] ſuo ſtuo ſuꝑ [illegible] ut
ut ꝺe ꝛemouere & ut ꝛemoueaꝛ [illegible] ꝺe
tuo & [illegible] & ſeptꝛo & ꝺeꝛepoꝛe ut
ſpꝛimus ſtatim pꝓa [illegible] tibi inſtꝛuꝺa maledico

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nita me restaurare qui potes. Deus da pristinam sanitatem
Mobrae reddere. Et tua sancta dextera dextera mea dextera
sancta & dignos da sanctus Ego quis sanctus dixit
Deus da mihi misero peccatori da mihi ingressus
ecclesiam sancti Petri effectu effectu ecclesiam sancta
Dicitur & sacrata petrate te qui es simplex in
substantia & primus deus trinus & unus
unus Unus & omnes & unus & trinus unus
sine dominatione feudatur / tu es obediens & subiectus
sicut & unus feudatur mea spes obtentu misericordia
mihi cum celestibus tuum gratia celestis multiplicis /
bona & gaudia tua effectu opus mee gaudiosa effunde
pissa deus gratia sua tui dei mei & sancti
mea & dei audientia mea & multiplica tua dona
spiritus sancti consolatrix tua tibi gloria & fecundam
tua effusa spes tua tua & tua tua tua tua
tuos & unitas spes tua tua & tua tua tua tua
sunt mihi tu spes tua & tua tua & tua tua
sine macula & tua & tua & tua & tua & tua
& tua & tua & tua & tua & tua & tua & tua
vegnet vos malegni spus amen & regis nostri
lucifer & coronas sepe regi & regalem subsunt
sunt deo unico spirituali & tua & tua & tua
mundi & & &

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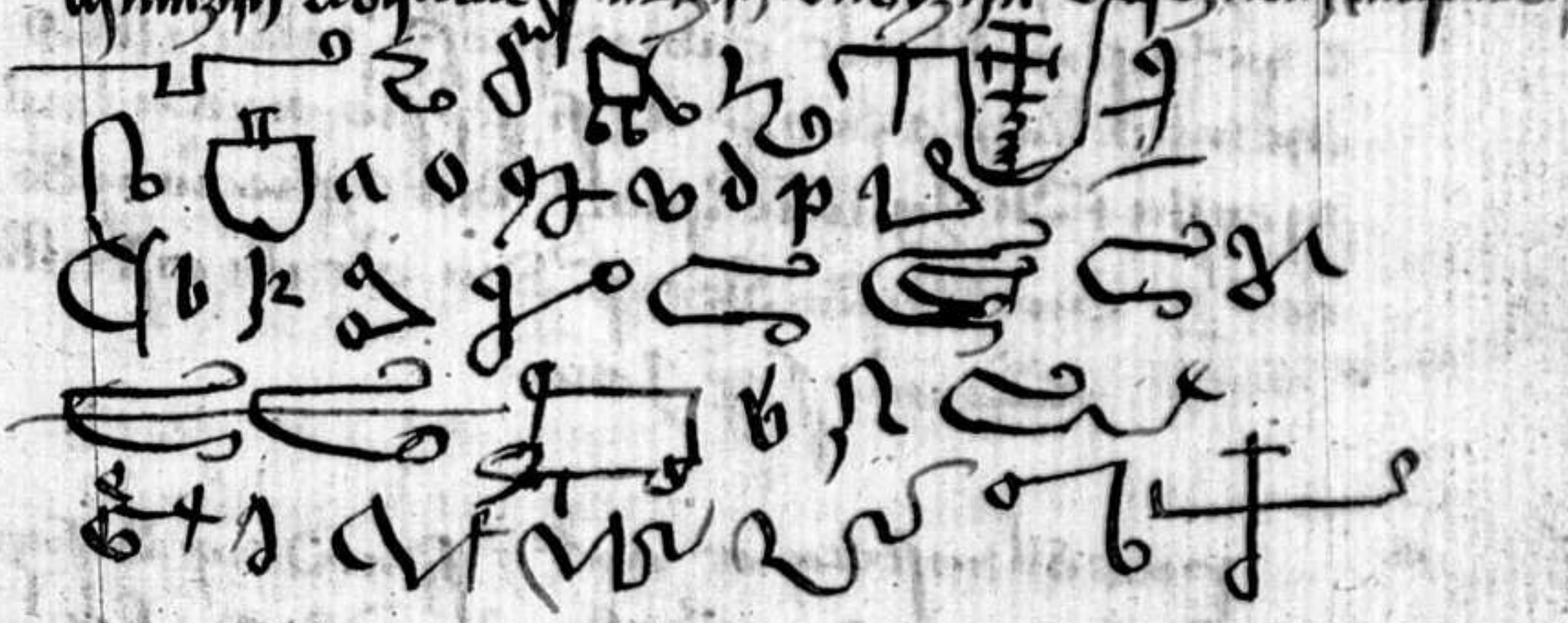
Baruch

adsce
tus

Ihs
Sup̃ gabiel ex sup̃ sorcum & loc q̃ nos pbr̃i cat
ꝛqu-ẽpi qua pca obdiuit ux̃p dñm ore mortē dulc
cend ut nda bongo pia ut sup̃ dñm nos pbr̃i
nim pbr̃i nob pbr̃i sm q̃ ipsa scat clm & hic
mdce & ota q̃ ois sup̃ clemta & ota clemta
& ota q̃ sbolo sunt ut nd bongo pia tp q̃ nos E
mmuele regē dmirabile exalta & q̃ ꝑlum
& sue & ecclā mdā dz ut ota nēde & mea plebe
obedīat ut nd & bongo pia ut sup q̃ nos pcep ꝑsi
qui gcepta & dspa sbo mdā q̃ mdā dūc pssim
sapoio p̃dco q̃ nos pmorte redepcois mea ligu
ep̃i pncia calcio cui pma pclapso pa capsan
pclmos dulcos pfrenda bonette pn̄ ut dm dm
mea ligu ep̃i pat sanctū qui dūat & dūto cū
cui cōsumpt ut nōat ut nd tp q̃ nos pmorte
& spem cui pmissa & dūc sbe tp̃ pdestinos
cui adoptos pfectos q̃ unos ꝑsalos dūc
q̃ nos pfessa resurrōnē & aspēsos cū pdūcta
sti spus habiti ut nd & bongo pia ut sup q̃ nos
pdūcta dz mdā q̃ nos pdz cui supplicy
pdz ceteris misscis & hīsac ut mdā mea
sy mea obediat nd & bongo pia ut q̃ nos sydrach
misach abdenago q̃ nos ignis mdā pcipitādos
in fornacē ardētis q̃ nos ignis mdā ligu ep̃i
caspar balthasar & melchior

pno zoal et an^lo/ et ſpm̃ eq ſanctiſſimo
et ſpeciſ omnib⁹ ꝯſ de ſynic^a qnalib⁹
de metallib⁹ ſebrinaſ de dieb⁹ ſenũ a^o de
metallis ſenũ de lapidib⁹ adamad de aur⁹
elephatꝫ ꝫ mmo de aurib⁹ coꝛnuꝫ nulm
et ſubſtancijs eoꝝ ꝯſ dbꝫ nl aqule bſonal
& chuoꝝ & dlabel Burg aunh pot diſpoꝛdm
jnꝛqnaſtꝫ ꝑſonas bb bic ꝯ bolnis facꝛ
anulm ſacm ſac ew ſacno ſpone nꝝ aqre
de ſeꝛno & ponem eo lapide adamadꝛ ſalue
nꝝ eo lapide hoc ꝯqrat ſnp elephate & pos
ay ew & an^lo bmd nꝝ ſuga coꝛm alnd nꝝ ſuga
nulm & ſac ꝯcta ſeꝛꝛea baſꝫ ygic & pone
ſub lapide & ꝯplebo nuda domꝫ & ſubſtn
ſandꝫ colloc. & ꝯoꝛꝛiza & bene ſpue ꝯ
ewꝫ Capꝫ & logm̃ de quocꝫ bic benet
.n. nꝝſoꝛ dc qua dayd ꝑ bñ^c ebozaſnñ
ſcpt jn qb⁹ ſnt noa ſecta & occulta ſn̄ ꝓmoꝝ
rhpzhemy mchiat Radhyud tamaꝛbnzym
Roaumꝫ rhabhmch W & pharach Rmendch
aymizym abhalacꝫ mizym onbozim & hez nlm ſmaſaꝛ



Bamoꝛg nꝝ aꝑuꝛ boj^s & dcꝛnbꝫ bis a/ſm

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...ne ...ne alias dispordeo Judicium Dic salthi aope
celebw corm ꝯ sang ne ꝯ corꝓ ꝯ publica ꝯ pce
publice jur Dnoꝝ ꝯ cum Dispordeo ꝯ cū
sangne ꝓbe haybꝝ ꝯ corꝓ ꝯ pce my Domo
corꝓ ꝯ aduc ſc

Cetmo 3y my ꝓpe ſacm Dic cuj ſac ꝯ ꝓ
de cera ꝯ ꝓbe noīe cuj Dic my brꝑ ꝯ haracth
my cic ꝯ ſubſtmga cac cuꝑ ꝯ Bndys
dnde zahar vat ꝯ ꝯ odiou ſc

Cetmo q my ſpe ſac ꝓ de argilla de
aora ſigilli ꝯ ꝓbe haꝝ my ca ꝯ ſubſtmga ꝯ pon
my loco ubi my mo nudꝰ coꝛpꝰ ꝯ mſmabꝝ
Eod die ſmic bnplone noīe cuj Dns ꝓbe
haꝝ ꝯ hasta cac my pede cuj Dpr ꝯ pone
my ꝺ ſmac mulcac ꝯ my ſra ſubſtdi mollia
ꝯ ſic my loco ubi beat calꝛ ꝺ cuꝛ ꝯ mſmabꝝ
ille my cuj noīe ꝯ ꝑ ſcm ſuꝰ

Cmic ei die ſabbi mundꝰ ꝓbe haybꝝ mone
cuj Dns my ꝺ cognicomda Da ſi Dns adjuc
ꝯ ꝓpe mſmabꝝ nec cubitꝝ quōſp tollꝝ illud
ꝺpcmoꝛ haꝝ ꝯ ꝓoꝛꝝ Et ſi ꝓbꝰ mundꝰ haꝝ
in coſta Da in mic quoꝝ Dns ꝯ pccm my Do
corꝓ ꝯ cum Dispordeo ꝑ Dm cic ubi coſtilla
ſua

Cetmo ſuꝑ Jonā

pro Almstery et anlo ſmudcuj de ſcīno
ꝑ pſtes ꝯ de mofby nicui de Dcbyſhazꝝ

De metallo stann de lapidibz albnzazi. 1. crystallo
deamahbz crucetes onos 2 Brulos de crbaibz
pnos de cambz gallio albo Cio gr bolnio stozai
2 pod ahom adam sil loco siat annlo de stagno
die Jomo Jaic ny pstubz 2 pone ny es lapide
crystalli 2 stulpe ny lo lapide hoz sict ho doce
2 sac hoz ny gta annli 2 pod sub lapide q.
..ploro hcas dorum mndat 2 pod annlo ny dni
ihu 2 subsinga cu alos 2 mastice 2 nsp de am
lio ny domo et ghozzia 2 q tc dnie beat
et hcas a pdtoz alio de ul. cel con et
sol 2 stannas 2 pod cap ny bast 2 ghozzia
2 ad dnie dnie beat stne Jomo tc sagittas
stne ihu ad ny loqnt cap. 2 dic. q bns et
pq a beat stne Jnsu dn qny ois disposnt.
Bnzq annli e q dilos 2 mens ostent pondi
cu sozmant dny d et beat ny bnz. nomy
ghoz stne Jomo ny stne pronisstm esse.
Smechnzym cymbym ghedhozzyn tanhy thnzzyn
serhnzyn shabnzazyne alozbamia azuch
mi dikraybul azzalhyzul zarhphiel
[illegible]
Sama cym capite [illegible] bata
Bigabzi da ny porn nl ny cibo cu bolnio et
dilige te 2 de stagno cy nipte cu ea
pbibas 2 por tecti et-stne te dilige

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Item prohibitum est ne aliquis det pulmentum cibo nisi porris
cum aceto bulito et diligenter. Item ligna cum lingua sel
mustee cum aqua rosarum et omnes videat ne fiebut
te. Quando sumes pbe herba et sulpe ni ea
subsumpta et ebrietatem ni qua fuit bibet que pre
bolum Sed bnig ny gallo albo

Cum ego ny vigo iomo fra qua stagnum mundi
a me fac pmagt herba subsumpta et sulpe ko
et ebrietatem cum et sed dcolla gallu albu
et accipe sanguine eius et mysce ymagt et subsumpta
et ebrietatem mybelne de fico albo et pbe cum a
fellume ebrietatem ni carta bugmda et liga cor
tu ad collu ymagt et pone tecum et iuge die
mundatos herbabet et cum eo tecum sumpt di
et ueniet ppe et cum ymagie dyabolus ligatus
et maceratus et imperbus et ira pacificabit
et multa alia mysce ny herba qui sumut ni cum
cubi come et sue go et an go ny bo sepiet
ab ebrietatem et liabit et appt ny amor mulie
pha herba et an si de ne ny cibo nil ni pone nil
si rangat ppe si ei no pot ny domo ei subtrac
et pficiet De mortui

Cum sup morte sed alium redigan bestias
et opus dig ap manu hs de duab pdam tha
de ligno azede de metallis apte de metall
et lubeu de lapidibus ragulos et lubeos de
na by limos ames mutilegos et hoes de amby
bolucres de arbubus ppy de subsumptarby

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almare azam 2 sulphr parū m sang̃ D.
actor Dic sup m mes aplis murr mparuit
qbus fac amplū qb accepo m eo pdcm la
pde & sulp: m eo mulier azmarū sup
eqm ul leone sgnidre 2 m capite se bas
[illegible] 2 m canta se bz sup ul m paru
fico optu 2 nbeo 2 pe sub lapide Rno
mulda dom a mme re de bcho 2 m mlr bas
pue cap. hoc ul leone ul cane ul nimbligr
2 accede cadelabrū lichnm sic de camisa
suspecti ul mali necari 2 subtrahā 2 dic qđ
ei mud 2 de pdc sno ns pot q dyamulo 2 cū
hdia cū ne tmeas 2 si cap leq. fac opꝰ cū
rect mcpsti 2 subtrahā hidamq 2 qđ23sa
belocr 2 leq. cap. 2 undebit adeū ir 2 aliqm
qđ m sū Deū p Bn. nom qđ2asmi qp leq mal6
[illegible]
hec sup nouū pdca sup mozte Dabe adoyd
hpenz y sez hpem tayv hp hamma hundea ayhmyzv
hmdchay dahy dchanzim
[illegible]
hy sup hay mot supi my mea mot 2 suozz hay
qt ant qy sue sup cwdus cwqbozyd 2y
bmyp sup dus sup hembzyy dusellmm sieyq
[illegible]

BSB

Samo zy my corpis ste ſm̃ ſtaz am̃ ſic my ſno
ghe nr miſſericors Deus & ſnoli time de corpis
ſily a de gny hno⁹ ciby ſed coz z ſparulo to⁹ hyſſ⁹
Sme adzuo z ꝓce my Dñe Deus q̃ozcissimo
z ſac pitt a Da my cibo ill my peccatis pondꝫ
ponderis ꝯcussey et dilige nr Sme coz
et ſicca z puluisa z ſac ſicꝫ de cibo offeſo⁹
pod hy base bitzo zubio z gmſſo ad olio biol
z buge ſaco tua ſiaz⁹ co oio pyx⁹ m⁹ dec⁹
ndē. re Cap⁹ bi buge cu limõ tyſtoꝫ z limoꝝ
ſna tzad z mlly te dicit modo Sup. ſa Sme
z ſulpe my ca horꝫ dcmoꝫ et buge de ſac
co Cio et dic⁹ q̃ozacissima z bidebꝫ ꝓped ea
ſcã q̃ balmo De ſnio zy

Cezons ꝛcꝫ de b⁹. bi acqe cuch cond dc
mꝫ z bꝛ ſcolla my base z Sme lingnas
z cib. z cozdaz ſella cuꝫ ſparulas z ſicca
ſanguine z ꝛ & cu balmo ſac ꝺ ſpoldio
ſebe my cazra haꝫ cu ſanꝫ z ſubſtinga zpcc
cazra my do my ſuꝫ anteo ꝺ bi pulucꝫ
mꝫ cog pcccia ide ſuꝫ ꝺ bi de cib⁹ pol
bing ſm̃ dcꝫ my cibo ut my pcm cogn Dilige
tellꝫ de pulucꝫ cib⁹ z ſolle my bitzo zpcc
& ſpcia cu bnedic ſiaz⁹ omo bidel co ta tubꝫ
ta. obedier⁹ z n. betabꝫ be negocibꝫ ſcꝫ
ſparulas ſne z ſicca ꝛ & cu & pice pulucꝫ mꝫ
z. z. obedier⁹ ſcꝫ ſme cerd zubcodiemꝫ
et ſac ſigz ſpc limꝫ my manꝫ dcꝫ cspcꝫ
Amꝫ a⁹ cap⁹ A. ſbenoꝫ z gozacissimo my y ꝓbi

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de lapidibus albis stare de malchy bonos de ambo
parochias Tirnes et predicas et omnes passagios
de arboribus malmo maiores subsumptos cum alocy
et aneth et asparagis seme malue maiores Dr.
actor cum bolnis sacc annuli sicut benigne et
de ere albo in die et his bene et pone in cophino
et stupe in lapide et mulieres sue bone sedere
rende ste. in simpl manu et dei pecten
fac horsum gta annis et pos sub lapidez sub
fungi et cborzysa et argillose sup de mulla
in domo mundigne et de calla qd cum bolnis
de and. pdac nl obedd et sub fuga et cborzysa
et bucc sme Sup mo cuera et bub capit qd
los et redeb. ad sed q bolnis qz et bucc sper
ad malandu tuu Bnzq mihi ome mlcs bidem
laboz damus stmm labd. amoe eng et facier qp
bolnis sac mspby cas sol sme et dea et
bucc sustu dei nl Bnz. cborzsm in. sup mo
prosa abbatzbyzm hasbinzm dornauzm tap mozum
bulemussim dersastrazim essudym Buchsbarnzim
essudym sanchasa Bihatzul

[illegible]

Sermoz in capite los pdicabyby bio bnzssas
pmisizarq et cbuq 20 smbq ebdsti et
haz in noc cuq bic et subsumpzeo et cborzisseo
bucc sistmat. Or bd in cibu nl sypem dei
diligat te et sustinbis pdic bd bnzbet sub
fuga die bene et bidebis q bolnis Ist pbe haz

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a quorum ꝑ bonis cu sagr ꝑdcm lamm my carta bren?
a me ꝯfect Bris a dilect te meis bris qui per fur my
dcm bonis et fur 28 a am. h quinis sup me ctor
assno a Rons a me eis n. ꝑdcm 2 ꝑ ps fur op be
nis admittr. Teamo sup mam

Memoand ew bois bug a ew mal malg by medioꝝ
dr. Dnm eig ny Jmeby e eig ba Sigmd deig
gemd a meb eig Jmm de Dneby ꝑ fedz xta de
metall eig ba de lapidibg omnibg de canalibg
Jmmd et de omnibg arboribg mpm Jst a ꝑ
nost eig Dr. dcto meb Jmm qn mom et gems
sac amitt de mom a ꝑ de lapide a sulpr my
de pres my man cantu tenete qui ew bg ew
Jdar a dy ew Dne an h eig fornet. a sulpr
naud dorf. my lamd eca nt plubea ꝑ ꝑ sub
lapide qua ꝑplero ipas dom mundat ꝑ ꝑ sub
Jmgiacet alnus ripis alder alarnal a decolla
mmadnisk Vlipe nt Jmpm a Jmme cu dor
nt fel a Jparnlar. beat Jms mom mpol eig
Sigm ewdy la cap qd tebis a pere qd bo
bus ondeb. ꝑ brig annli z annlm ꝑ bolnis
Jn ape Jmic a ꝑdcm eor q balnis Jga la eig
Jngat lapid qr. ra beat sict Jes dispan mbr. z bor
cssm mq. sup nom efficacia ew a contra nt bybdeb ꝑ

Item xxx marcharum [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]

Item xxx [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[

BSB

[illegible]

[illegible]

Hec ame mea sūt my corpe hime & myeyorum
Sermonē my sūd ppūs hime fac. sic fecisti my
sole my mese July die & hō hime & hūd quidam
Rauhano de ondh capt lōr p& cuius ppetie
Ppe hime my sōr ame & my capt de sūtil per
dise Bnd capiet sūd cēb eq nl camelū &
ponem y Birro & groziza goor hime et da my
abo nl my potu cuiqz Colūo & Bidelb mea
amor Si bō vo nl ppūla eq nl camelū
fuer et coq cadem die sūr sme carne & pulpe
my eo nl my ea noīa & sūbstūa ppiem my ea
& hebis ūsq de oi & ad sūra Bnd sanguis
eq nl camelū & poet ip my ad hūd Ad cūt
& sūra ad Gmbra & pulūsa & da my abo cū
bis pondy ardey & fier sūtilq ab amor Si bō
sūr ūpm pulūs fecis vd fuer Die hime sme
Jamorthas my nō eq bis et decolla cuidam alio
diedo goor & sanguē eq poem y Birro & pēbe
ew ee duas cartas my hord my a goor my & ppcupe
alia & pedentellū ad gūt eq ac si Bellos de
collas & dimitte & hga fuer sūbala sūpt & goor
sub dēb & sūbstūa & ew Bidis hūd die sūpt
die goor & & dimitte ame me & accipe ame
decollata & tolle eā eq & ppūr nl & da my
abo eis bis nl pices my ew & dilige me sic
die hime sme malū pmea mater & dampn
cadat de arboe & pēbe my ea hūa & sūbstūa
& goorza my nocte & si quis o dormit ew dilige me

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et sig'nedr' plus Jt' dc' hme smme hyt'ar' 1· azm
pondg' ar'ci' q' tond' de ar'ma' picte sicte dedu
nolo' mpse' q' de cui bis et bidet' mzabla ejd'
hanz' et de sig' amb' q' smt' hazt' mmenti' ypotu
hme q' Rid' p' eos pnc hme q' her' p' ew mgw
et sapiet' epti smt' p' eos mzabla spti hme
Jndicat' q' pmsso d' mq' opa mgubnat'
plet' Jt' dc' hme smme biolas et hlmas sicut
q' sat' pulmed' q' dw collig' et reg' dicit'
nolo smt' q' si cmine de dio mabo ul' mpotu
te multo diligat et sue hi' no' hme et q' ub'
q' ora'ing' et sue d' sno gnoz' q' sm' et am' loz'
hma appet'. q' hi' q' mlt' sepant' a hanz' q' gnoz'
q' sue hi' q' mt' sue my ii' pe hme et ophet' lib'
pte scar' et q' occulty et secty de ozib' ar'
planetar' et am' loz' cuppene' sapiet' epti.
Explic' anal' q' ignoto mcipl' p' dest' dec' sc' lano

Nu name des Vaders des Soens en
de Heylege Geest Amen Ode beghint
hier Boec Vanden Sacramente en d'beelde
die Du maect tot behoef en hi es geneemt
Du name Boec Want die name Vanden alle
andren planeert of staet die meeste macht
heeft op ens m Dese Boecke hier Vanden
Want si ons nader te Dane mer Vanden anden
planete en Dese Boec heeft meest Du
Gode gelooue Vanden Vaste Vanden ende Broot
Jesus Gode Want sy Vruchte d' menschen op
alle die gene die op die aerde sijn op
alle dinge die ond' de loep Du manes sijn
Indie lucht of op die oppervlacte Vanden Waters
In die lucht en mr Gode Jnder Vollen
may mach met Vonst Dan Dese Boec
alle dinge gelucken en Vaken make of
ongeluck en ongeluckich dem of enige
Jonr of Jaer heef of Vast Vorsinne en
Sorcerye machten of Verbone Dan hem
en Dan Vele heffen make of Vermoghen
of enighe hande dinge made loep Vanden
mane Want die macht heef Jnden hemel 28
Wonynge en die 28 Wonynge Doinghen
ommer binne ende waerstyn en blyft Jn
als Wonynge alsem ende Dach en die nacht
en die Wonynge staen Jnden by rijden die

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Item Hensel sein eigen knecht hat mit
willen seiner Herrschaft sich verheurat
und hat sich gesetzt auf ein Hof
gehört in die Herrschaft Ortenberg
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Ortenberg

BSB

Stephan Plosy

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The Sworn Book of HONORIUS

Liber Iuratus Honorii

HONORIUS OF THEBES

With Text, Translation, and Commentary by

JOSEPH PETERSON

The Sworn Book of Honorius

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by

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Joseph Peterson

Original Sourcebook of Medieval Magic

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Introduction

European history is peppered with accounts of a mysterious book of magic called the *Sworn Book of Honorius.* It was so-called because its owners were sworn to secrecy by one of the most severe oaths ever recorded. They evidently took the oath quite seriously, for only a few manuscripts are known to survive, and only one is complete. Its actual contents have remained almost completely unknown, and no complete translation has been published until the present.

It is not surprising then that scholars and historians have only recently started to recognize its exceptional importance. In fact it is now recognized as one of the oldest and most important texts of Medieval magic. The text teaches a highly religious magic, or magic religion, but acutely at odds with the established church authorities. Religious historian Claire Fanger called it a "key text, in the sense that it stands at a crossroads for many areas and disciplines."[1] Robert Mathiesen notes that it provides important evidence for the flow of esoteric teachings between through Europe, and between Christian, Jewish, and Arab communities.[2] University of Hertfordshire historian Owen Davis lists it as one of the "top ten grimoires," stating the writings of Honorius were "second only to those of Solomon in notoriety in the medieval period."[3]

Although little known today, this text must have been widely known in Medieval times and beyond. References to it appear in notices and legal proceedings throughout the period. Jean-Patrice Boudet provides details of the major references, which I will only list:

- –(circa 1230) Possible mention by William of Auvergne condemning the text;
- –(circa 1347) clear description in a trial record of Olivier Pépin from Mende France;

1 Fanger 2006 p. 180.

2 Mathiesen 1998 p. 143.

3 *The Guardian*, April 8, 2009, http://www.theguardian.com/books/2009/apr/08/history, retrieved Sep 12, 2015. Skemer 2006 p. 118 also describes it as "one of the leading texts of ritual and ceremonial magic."

- –(late 14th century) inventory of the library of the Augustinian friars of York;
- –(1376) a reference in Eymerich's *Directorium inquisitorum*;
- –(1389) possible mention by Mézières in his *Dream of the Old Pilgrim*;
- –(1398) various condemnations by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris likely referred to the text;
- –(1397) reference by John Gower in *Confessio Amantis*;
- –(1400) Jean d'Astarac possessing a copy of *Liber sacratus*, which seems very likely that of Honorius;
- –(circa 1494) the colophon in Italian magic manuscript Florence, Laurent., Plut. 89 sup. 38;
- –(1518) Trithemius references the magic of Honorius of Thebes in *Polygraphia*;
- –(1582) references in the secret writings of John Dee;
- –(1583–1585) possible allusion by Giordano Bruno in his *Cabala of Pegasus.*[4]

To this can be added

- –(1623) a condemned sorcerer, Jean Michel Menuisier used a book titled *Philippus Attinius onorius*, likely *Liber Iuratus Honorii* to judge by the details of its contents.[5]

In spite of its importance, these references reveal almost nothing of its actual contents. Better known than the text is the Sigil or Seal of God – a central component of Honorius's magic. It was apparently part of "a magical tradition that must have spread from the Mediterranean region across Europe."[6] Besides examples on metal, it can be found in manuscripts and at least one printed edition of the *Key of Solomon*. The later examples exhibit consider-

4 Jean-Patrice Boudet 2002 p. 853-855, 869–870. On the Pepin case, see also Bulman 2005 p. 4 ff. For details on Jean d'Astarac, see Jan Veenstra 1998 p. 84. For details of the library of the Augustinian friars of York, see Klaassen 1998 p. 29, and more detail in Klaassen 2013, pp. 69, 73, and 76. For Plut. 89 sup. 38 (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana), see also Véronèse 2012, p. 98. Most of these notices were also given by Mathiesen 1998 p. 158.

5 Davies 2009 pp. 64–65.

6 Chardonnens and Veenstra 2014 p. 130.

Seal of God from La Véritable Magie Noire *(1750) p. 69.*

able divergence from the earliest ones, and its barely recognizable state in *La Véritable Magie Noire* (1750)[7] testifies to a long and elaborate transmission.

The title "*Sworn book of Honorius*" came to be adopted in English literature based on the catalog entry for the 16th century English translation in London, brought to a wider audience's attention by influential occultist A. E. Waite (1898).[8] Waite judged the text important, but "unaccountably overlooked by writers on ceremonial magic."[9] Ironically, he himself didn't go into details on the contents of the text, only describing the prologue, which gives the text's own account of its origin. Waite was aware of two manuscripts, only one of which he identified—Sloane 313 in the British Library.

---

7 "Iroé-Grego" 1750

8 British Library Royal MS 17 A XLII (on which see below). The catalog entry actually reads "THE SWORNE BOOKE of Honoryus," even though the manuscript itself uses the spelling "Honorius."

9 Waite 1911 p. 20. He mentions it again in his translation of Levi's *History of Magic*, 1913.

The great pioneer on the history of magic, Lynn Thorndike, refers to the text as *Liber Sacratus* in his 1923–1958 monumental survey of magic literature. He translated the entire prologue, and went on to briefly survey the contents of the text, identifying five manuscripts.[10]

Butler mentions it only briefly in her 1949 *Ritual Magic*, apparently based solely on Waite's references. Shah also mentions it in his 1956 *Oriental Magic*, but again showed no knowledge of its actual contents, almost certainly having seen the references only in Waite's books.

Intrigued by these references, I took a summer in the Seventies to examine the manuscripts firsthand, and order microfilms for further study. It proved to be every bit as fascinating as hoped. The other purpose of my visit was to study the manuscripts and magic artifacts of Elizabethan polymath John Dee, and I was surprised to discover his connection to the *Sworn Book* (on which see below).

In 1977, Daniel Driscoll published a hybrid version of the text, based on the two manuscripts described by Waite. This was limited to only 450 signed and hand-numbered copies, beautifully printed in red, blue, and black ink. Although it was missing much of the text found in other manuscripts, it provided a fuller account of the contents than Waite and Thorndike, and has come to be a valuable collectible.[11]

In spite of the taboo, the *Sworn Book* was one of the first texts I published on the Internet in 1998, on what was later to become esotericarchives.com.[12] That version was based largely on the English manuscript, Royal 17 A XLII, which omits much of the later material, but it finally made the bulk of the text accessible to a wider audience.[13]

Since then, scholarly interest has exploded. Recent detailed studies have been published by Mathiesen, Kieckhefer, Klaassen, Boudet, Jan Veenstra, Mesler, and Chardonnens, as well as abundant references in literature.[14] A critical edition of the Latin text was published by Göste Hedegård in 2002,

10 Thorndike 1923, p. 284.

11 Driscoll's audience was contemporary magicians. His text was uncritical, with much tampering and insertions to best serve that intended audience. In spite of this, it is still relatively unnoticed by modern practitioners.

12 It was in fact only the second text on the website, after Bruno's *Umbris Idearum*.

13 As an example, a copy of my text was printed and displayed at the Museum of Witchcraft in Boscastle, UK.

14 See references.

and another critical edition of much of the text was published by Boudet in the same year. An alternate version of the text has recently been recognized from extensive passages in Berengar Ganell's *Summa Sacre Magice*, virtually revolutionizing our understanding of this text.[15] In particular, some of Ganell's Honorius material appears to be older than that of the better-known northern European manuscripts. For more on this topic, see below.

Title

The title in the Latin manuscripts is variously given as *Liber sacer sive iuratus* ("the Sacred or Sworn Book" I.18), *Liber Sacer* ("the Sacred Book", CIII.1), and "*liber sacer vel liber angelorum vel liber iuratus ... quem fecit Honorius, magister Thebarum*" ("the Sacred Book, or the Book of the Angels, or the Sworn Book, which was made by Honorius, the master of Thebes," CXLI.1).

The title *Liber sacratus* ("consecrated book"), in the possible references by William of Auverne, is not actually found in the text, although the word *sacratus* is used descriptively in chapter I.19, saying it is called "*Sacred*, as it acts through the sacred, or because sacred things emerge from it, or because it is *consecrated* through the angels, and because the angel Hocrohel called it *consecrated before the Lord*." Note too that Ganell does in fact refer to it as *Liber Sacratus*.[16]

Date

Hedegård has established a date of between 1100-1350 A.D. for the text. Varying attempts have been made to narrow it further. In 1998, Mathiesen proposed a date of the first half of the 13th century, while Kieckhefer proposed a date a century later.[17] The main argument for the earlier date is that the brief references to a *Liber Sacratus* by William of Auvergne (circa 1230) are temptingly close to our text. On the other hand, he may be referring to some other magic text.

---

15 Gilly, 2002. Damaris Gehr produced a critical edition for her Doctoral Thesis, and a forthcoming edition is in press.

16 L.1.f.23.

17 Matheisen 1998 pp. 145–147; Kieckhefer 1998 pp. 253–254; Hedegård 2002 pp. 11–12.

Thorndike favored the earlier date on the basis of William's statements. Lawrence-Mathers and Escobar-Vargas also favor the identification of William's text with the *Sworn Book*.[18]

The main argument for the latter date is the observation that the prologue most likely refers to the actions of John XXII, pope from 1316-1334, to persecute heretics. In fact the wording in the prologue comes very close to some of his sermons. Both Kieckhefer and Hedegård thus favor the early 14th century. Of course the persecution passage could be a later insertion, as we now know the text has been redacted. It could also refer to another, less notorious papal action. This view is supported by the fact that this persecution/origin myth is missing from Ganell's text, as noted by Veenstra.[19]

The possibility that these were later insertions also fits nicely with a theory raised by Boudet, that an earlier version circulated in the time of William, and was known as *Liber Sacratus*. This would also explain the use of the title *Liber Sacratus* by Ganell, and not by the northern manuscripts. It would also explain the absence of persecution statements in the *Summa Sacre Magice*. Let me point out that there is also a logical inconsistency in the persecution story, which a late insertion might explain: If the magic was revealed to Honorius by the angel Hocroel, there would be no reason to assemble experts from all over to preserve their traditions from such Church actions.

Another problem with the fourteenth century date, is that the oldest manuscript, Sloane 3854, dates to then. This would not allow much time to develop such a complicated manuscript tradition and stemma as demonstrated by Hedegård and others.[20]

One further argument for the fourteenth century date is the inclusion of prayers from the "glossed version" of *Ars Notoria*, which has been dated to the fourteenth century.[21] The importance of this as evidence is lessened however by the discovery that Ganell's Honorius does not include that material, but rather demonstrates that the text underwent a later revision.[22]

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18 2014, pp. 38-39, 78.

19 Veenstra 2012 p. 155.

20 Hedegård 2002, especially p. 25.

21 Véronèse 2007 pp. 135 ff.

22 Actually, for the record, Ganell does include the *Ars Notoria* prayers, but later in his compilation.

Author

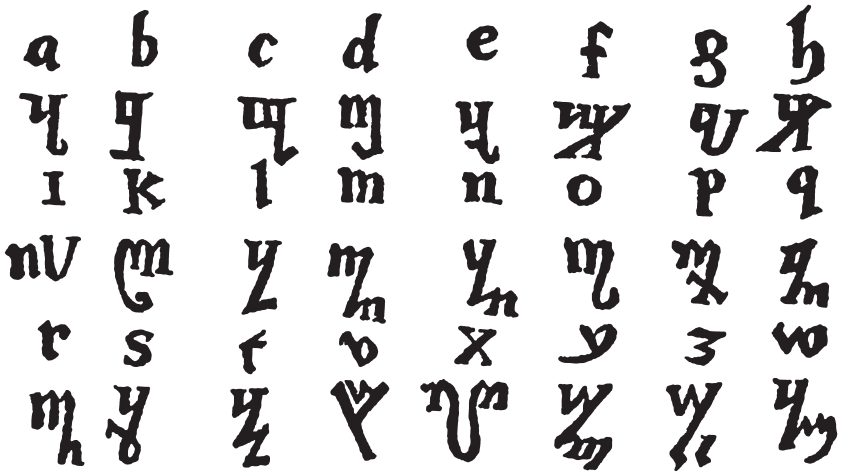
As mentioned, the prologue gives an intriguing account of the text's origin, which smacks of fiction: A council of eighty-nine magicians assembled, choosing one of their own, Honorius, to preserve the sacred magic from the attacks of the church. The experts were assembled from Naples, Athens, and Toledo. Honorius was said to be from Thebes—in this case probably not Egypt,[23] but Thebes Greece was intended. This may be pure fiction of course, but that city did in fact have a large Jewish population, and saw much turmoil during medieval times between the Eastern and Western Christian churches. In many ways Thebes was at the crossroads. Interestingly, Thebes Greece (now called Thiva) was referred to as "Thebes of the seven gates" to distinguish it from the city in Egypt. These seven city gates were associated with the seven planets—might these have inspired Honorius to design his magic circle with a sword for each planet, stationed at seven directions around the perimeter?

The name Honorius, son of Euclid, has been largely dismissed as a pseudonym. Aside from *Liber Iuratus*, the only independent reference to Honorius of Thebes is possibly Trithemius (1462–1516), who attributes a magic alphabet to him: "Here follows another alphabet of Honorius surnamed the Theban, and the use thereof is for hiding the foolishness of his magic, such as Petrus de Abano testifies in his greater fourth book."[24] I have not been able to identify any such passage in the many voluminous works of De Abano (c. 1257–1316). Since pseudo-de Abano writings are not unknown, the evidence this provides for a historical Honorius is shaky at best. The only manuscript of Honorius which actually includes the alphabet is Sloane 3853, where it is clearly identified as having been taken from Trithemius's student Agrippa,[25] thus making a remarkable round-trip back to Honorius. This so-called Theban alphabet is clearly based on the Latin alphabet, not Greek. This magical alphabet

23 Idries Shah, *Oriental Magic,* London: Octagon, 1992, p. 192, pronounced the work of Egyptian origin on the basis of this name.

24 "Sequitur aliud alphabetum Honorii cognomento Thebani, cuius ministerio suas in magicis fatuitates abscondit, sicut Petrus de Apono testatur in suo maiore libro quarto" Johannes Trithemius, *Polygraphia 6*, 1508, p. 579.

25 Fol. 49v: "De characteribus predict. ... in liber tercius Henr[icus] Cornelius" i.e. Agrippa, *de Occulta Philosophia* Liber III.29. The passage in question is not in the 1510 manuscript, but new to the 1533 edition. Agrippa does not actually identify his source, but it is certainly that of his old mentor Trithemius.



Magic alphabet of Honorius

incidentally has seen widespread popularity by modern practitioners of magic, Wicca, and other forms of witchcraft.

Contents

I will not recount the contents in depth, since the translation makes that redundant, but only make a few observations. Seemingly the work of a single author, the *Sworn Book* has an internal coherence based on medieval science and theology. In short, it is a comprehensive method of magical attainment, not a collection of unrelated spells like most magic texts that have come down to us.

The centerpiece of the text is the ritual to attain nothing less than the beatific vision. Subsequent rituals use the same framework for both spiritual and material benefits, using prayers, conjurations, seals, swords, a wand, circles, and names of God, as well as names of angels and demons. A long list of various practical uses that can be obtained appears at the beginning of the book. It seems this was copied from material later in the text, making it appear to be a list of chapters or table of contents. This is unfortunately not the case, and a source of some confusion.[26]

26 GH p. 27, Veenstra 2012 p. 174.

Although the method of Honorius is distinctly Christian, it directly attacks church authorities of the time, and teaches direct knowledge as opposed to relying on the Church. It has Jewish elements as well as we will see.

Origins and parallels I:

Jewish and "Solomonic" magic

The *Sworn Book* shares some common concepts with medieval Jewish Byzantine magic texts from Spain, France, and Byzantium. These include conjunction with God by magical means (*devequt*), whereupon the angels and demons will bring one anything. Other key concepts are the powers of the seven planets, and the magical uses of names of God—the 72-letter name in particular.[27] One of the earliest Kabbalists, R. Abraham Abulafia, was known to have composed and disseminated his teachings in the 1270's in Greece, including Thebes.[28] Abulafia composed a treatise on the 72-letter divine name, although the details are different in Honorius and Abulafia. The similarities suggest possible influence or fertilization in the development of Honorius's Christian art of magic.

Interestingly, *Hekalot Rabbati* (8th or 9th century), a core text of Jewish mystical literature, has a similar origin narrative: "when R. Nehunia ben ha-Kana heard that Rome was planning to destroy the sages, he gathered a company of rabbis together to 'reveal the nature (*midda*) of the secret of the world.'"[29]

Honorius claims his magic as coming from Solomon. The great seal is called the Seal of Solomon (as well as the Seal of God), famous from antiquity for controlling demons. Some of the prayers and magical essentials are also labeled with the name of that Jewish king. Honorius clearly saw himself as following in the tradition, and endowed with the authority of Solomon. Some elements of the method of Honorius indeed show familiarity with that tradition: The use of magic circles protected by sacred names, suffumigations and ink with familiar ingredients, and use of virgin parchment. Of the names of God and those of spirits, there is a mixture of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and others not identifiable. Some are well known in magical literature, and others

27 Schwartz 2003 pp. 196, 202–203.

28 Idel 2012 p. 663.

29 Michael D. Schwartz 2006, p. 404.

otherwise unknown. One example, Corniger, sounds like it could be from some medieval popular drama.

Kieckhefer identifies sleep visions as an essentially Jewish element.[30] Another connection with Jewish mysticism may be found in chapter XCVIII, where the text refers to seeing the heavenly palace; this definitely is a concept found primarily in Hekaloth literature and Merkabah mysticism.

Honorius also recognizes the traditional Jewish concept of *Shem ha-Meforash*, but again differs in the details from Kabbalistic tradition. The use of this term, the planetary classification of spirits, and the concept of the heavenly throne, all suggest Jewish influence akin to *Sepher Raziel*. Some prayers, such as CXV.25, are very reminiscent of those found in *Raziel*, but don't match exactly. In at least one small instance, however, Honorius seems to have drawn on this mystical text more or less directly.[31] The text also uses the term *Shamayim*, which is the Hebrew word for heaven. In medieval Jewish Merkabah literature, it is the name of the First Heaven, found in *Raziel* and other sources.[32] Of the prayers, only one is labeled Hebrew (LXIII), though it doesn't seem to have any Hebrew content.

Besides these slender connections with *Liber Razielis* and *Liber Semiphoras*, very little of the method of Honorius appears to be directly related to other treatises on Solomonic magic, such as *Clavicula Salomonis, Ars Almadel, De officiis spirituum, De novem candariis*, or *De quattuor annulis*. The concept of angels and daemons associated with the days and hours is also found in the *Clavicula*, but details again differ. The use of prayers from *Ars Notoria* is the exception, but again these were evidently added later.

Origins and parallels II:

Western/Latin Christianity

A major influence on the magic of Honorius is traditional devout Christian practice, with its common prayers (adapted in some cases), observance of liturgical hours, abstinence, use of the hair shirt, and enlisting the help

30 Kieckhefer 1998 p. 256. See also Veenstra 2012 p. 186 n. 27.

31 Namely, seven divine names used in the Seal of God (IV.14–47, CXXVII.15): Layaly, etc. See below.

32 See Raziel and *Liber Semiphoras,* 6/7Moses in Peterson 2008 p. 265.

of a priest. Honorius includes both the Apostle's Creed and the Athanasian Creed, both of which point to the influence of the Western or Latin (Catholic) church. Similarly, near the very end, the text quotes the blessing of salt, which is a traditional part of Western or Roman ritual. In this form it is not part of Byzantine or Orthodox tradition.

The text also recognizes the traditional Christian classification of angels, as codified by Pseudo-Dionysius (5th–6th century A.D.) and Gregory the Great (circa 540–604 A.D). Honorius differs however in the order, placing the Cherubim before Seraphim, and Principalities before Powers: Cherubim, Seraphim, Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Principalities, Powers, Archangels, and Angels.[33]

Many of the prayers are reminiscent of medieval Benedictine spiritual exercises, such as those of German mystic Saint Gertrude of Helfta (1256–ca. 1302). Gertrude also had special sympathy towards the souls in purgatory, a subject which is alluded to a couple of times in the *Sworn Book*.

Origins and parallels III:

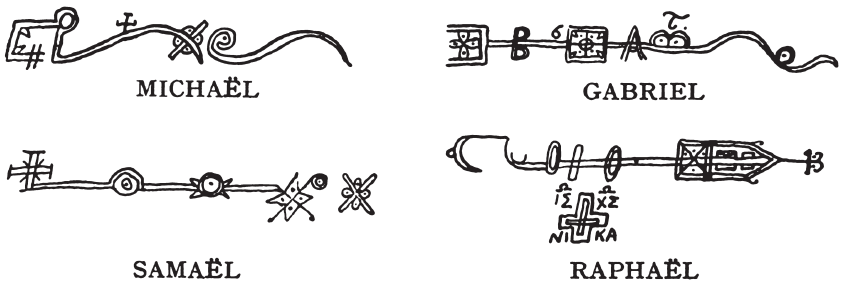
Eastern Christianity and Byzantium

As Mathiesen pointed out, the author of the *Sworn* Book clearly had "some knowledge of the liturgy of the Greek Orthodox Church."[34] In his edition of the Latin text, Hedegård suggested the planetary spirits chapters of the *Sworn Book* might be based on a Greek source.[35] Boudet too raised the possibility that the classification of aerial daemons might be of Byzantine origin. This is supported by the fact that many of them are found in a Byzantine manual of exorcism, published by Delatte. This manuscript was dated by the catalogers as 1735. The names of the demons and their controlling angels correspond closely with Honorius chapters CV-CXI. According to Delatte, "Each group of air demons and wind demons is under the authority of three angels who, under the direction of an archangel, impose his authority through a special seal." There are also parallels in Petrus de Abano's *Heptameron seu Elementa*

33 Boudet 2002 p. 863.

34 Mathiesen 1998 p. 161 n34.

35 Hedegård 2002 p. 50.



Seals of the archangels from Byzantine exorcism manual / Delatte 1957 p. 98

Magica,[36] as well as the fifteenth-century *Book of Angels,*[37] and in the fifteenth-century necromancer's manual published by Richard Kieckhefer.[38]

The spirits associated with the Moon also occur in the *Astromagia* of Alfonso X (written circa 1280). This treatise is primarily about constructing astrological talismans; many of these are taken from *Picatrix*, but this one is attributed to Raziel. The text reads:

> Engrave on the sigil the name of the angel and the wind serving the Moon, and commanding over its sign (which is Cancer), with his aides. The angel is Gabriel and his aides are Michael and Samiel. These are the names of the winds that command over Cancer: Hebetel and Halmitab [later spelled Almutab]; and their aides who are Bylol [later spelled Bibol], Milalu, and Abuzoba.[39]

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36 The earliest edition of this concise handbook of ritual magic appears to be Venice, 1496 (Lynn Thorndike, *Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. II, p. 925.) The attribution of the text to the famous physician Petrus de Abano (1250–1316) "seems quite certainly spurious" according to Thorndike (*op. cit.*, p. 912). His reputation as a magician developed quite early however.

37 Boudet 2002 p. 867: "L. Delatte, *Un office byzantin d'exorcisme*. [Bruxelles]: [Palais des académies], 1957, p. 121–122, points out, among others, Arcan, called king of aerial spirits, then king of Zephyr (the West) and his servants Bileth, Misabou, and Abouzaba. They can be found with names distorted in § 23 (of the spirits of the Moon) and 28 (on Western spirits). But the same names also appear in the *Astromagia* of Alfonso X (see Alfonso el Sabio, cit., pp. 138–139 and 144–145) and in the *Liber de angelis* of Pseudo-Messahala, published by J.G. Lidaka, *The Book of angels*, cit., p. 64–65." (translation mine). The *Book of Angels* was published in Lidaka 1998.

38 Kieckhefer 1998 pp. 181, 303–305.

39 Alfonso X 1992 pp. 138–139 (my translation).

Un office byzantin d'exorcisme f 15, 27, 36-36v, f99v	Heptameron	Honorius	Book of Angels
King: Maimon (Μαϋμὸν) Servants: Aboumaleth, Asaïbi, Balidet (᾽Αβουμαλήθ, ᾽Ασαϊβί, Βαλιδέτ) Ruling Angels: Kasiel, Machotan, Ourouel (Κασιήλ, Μαχωτάν, Ούρουήλ)	K: Maymon S: Abumalith, Assaibi, Balidet RA: Cassiel, Machatan, Vriel (Saturn)	K: Maymon S: Albunalich, Assaibi, Haibalidech, Yasfla RA: Bohel, Cafziel, Michrathon, Saterquiel (CV/ Saturn)	K: Mayrion "the Black One will create the voids" Cassael, Maxtarcop, Stanalcon
K South (Σούθ) S: Magouth, Goutriz (Μαγούθ, Γουτρίζ) RA: Sakiel, Kastiel, Asasiel (Σακιήλ, Καστιήλ, ᾽Ασασιήλ)	K: Suth S: Maguth, Gutriz RA: Sachiel, Castiel, Asasiel (Jupiter)	K: Formione S: Guth, Maguth, Guthryn RA: Satquiel, Raphael, Pahamcocihel, Asassaiel (CVI/ Jupiter)	K: Marastac S: Aycolaytoum, Lord of Torments RA: Sariel, Staus, Iucuciel [or Cricios, Faccas, Casfeel]
K: Samax (Σαμάξ) S: Carmax, Ismoli, Pafran (Καρμάξ, Ίσμολί, Παφράν) RA: Samael, Sataël, Amabiel (Σαμαήλ, Σαταήλ, Άμαβιήλ)	K: Samax S: Carmax, Ismoli, Paffran RA: Samael, Sataël, Amabiel (Mars)	K: Iammax S: Carmox, Ycanohl, Pasfran RA: Samahel, Satihel, Yturahihel, Amabiel (CVII/Mars)	Rubeus Pugnator ("Red Fighter")* S: Karmal, Iobial, Yfasue Saliciel [aka Salatiel], Ycaachel [aka Taxael], Harmanel [aka Harnariel]
K: Barcan (Βαρκαν) S: Tous, Adas, Cunabal (Τούς, ᾽Αδάς, Κυναβάλ) RA: Michael, Dardiel, Khourataphel (Μιχαήλ, Δαρδιήλ, Χουραταφήλ)	K: Varcan S: Tus, Andas, Cynabal RA: Michael, Dardiel, Huratapel	K: Barthan S: Thaadas, Chaudas, Ialchal RA: Raphael, Cafhael, Dardihel, Hurathaphel (CVIII/ Sun)	Barchan Chatas, Hycandas, Yaciatal RA: Raphael, Dardaci [aka Daniel], Talanasiel [aka Caualasyel]
K: Sarabotres (Σαραβότρες) S: Amabiel, Aba, Abalidoth, Phlaeph (᾽Αμαβιήλ, ᾽Αβά, ᾽Αβαλιδώθ, Φλαέ) RA: Anael, Rakhiel, Sakhiel (᾽αναήλ, ᾽ραχιήλ, Σαχιήλ)	K: Sarabrotres S: Amabiel, Aba, Abalidoth, Flaëf RA: Anael, Rachiel, Sachiel (Venus)	K: Sarabocres S: Nassar, Cynassa RA: Hanahel, Raquiel, Salguyel (CIX/Venus)	

* On these seven kings addressed by colors, see Scholem 1965 p. 2.

Un office byzantin d'exorcisme f 15, 27, 36-36v, f99v	Heptameron	Honorius	Book of Angels
K: Modiath (or Mediath) (Μοδιαθ or Μεδιάθ) S: Soukinos, Sallales (Σουκίνος, Σαλλάλες) RA: Raphael, Miel, Saraphiel (Ῥαφαήλ, Μιήλ, Σαραφιήλ)	K: Modiat S: Suquinos, Sallales RA: Raphael, Miel, Saraphiel (Mercury)	K: Habaa S: Hyyci, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb RA: Mychael, Myhel, Sarapiel (CX/Mercury)	K: Zombar S: Darial, Faccas RA: Michael, Sariel, Miriel†
K: Arcan (Ἄρκαν) S: Bileth (Βιλέθ), Misabou (Μισσαβού), Abouzaba (or Abuzampa) (Αβουζαβα) RA: Gabriel, Michael, Samael (Γαβριήλ, Μιχαήλ, Σαμαήλ)	K: Arcan S: Bilet, Missabu, Abuzaha RA: Gabriel, Michael, Samael (Moon)	K: Harthan S: Bileth, Misabou, Abouzaba RA: Michael, Gabriel, Samyel, Atithael. (Moon) (CXI/Moon)	K: Abdalaa S: Baysul, Maylalu, Ebuzoba RA: Gabriel, Samayel, Michael

† Planet is not identified, so correspondence is uncertain.

Another passage shows even more variations on these names:

> The angels who have power over (the Moon) are Gabriel, Szamahel [later spelled Esmahel], and Michael.... The king who rules over this image is the honored Abdala, and his servants are Baylul, Maylalu, and Ebuzoba. Over this talisman recite the following invocation: "I beseech you, angels in charge of the character of the Moon, by the name of Ilamos, Namoz, Heyeyl, Caffaa, Bassal, Nacha, Cana, swift Calta, Cahala."[40]

It seems therefore that by 1280, the names had already been known long enough for significant variations to develop, and that some unknown Raziel text was the source.[41] Given how far these differ from Honorius, it seems

40 Alfonso X 1992 pp. 144–145.

41 The editor likewise comments (p. 383): "This talisman must derive from the *Book of Raziel*, but I have not tracked in ms. Reg. Lat. 1300." Since Damaris Gehr is working on these texts, hopefully she will shed more light on it in the future.

unlikely that Honorius was informed by Alfonso's Greek and Arabic translation activities.

We can also see from the above that Honorius is sometimes closer to the Byzantine text than are the other texts. For example, "H" in Harthan, "th" in Bileth, and "ou" in Abouzaba and Misabou reflect the Greek spellings more closely than the other texts. Incorporation of Byzantine material would also explain the puzzling variety of spellings by Honorius, for example, the seemingly arbitrary insertion of the letter "h." This could reflect indecision on how to transliterate the Greek: A few examples should illustrate: Miel vs. Mihel (Gk. Μιήλ), Dardiel vs. Dardihel (Gk. Δαρδιήλ), and Harkan vs. Arcan (Gk. Ἀρκάν).

In other cases, Honorius differs where Petrus and the Greek agree. Honorius generally includes more names than the others. The ruling angel of Mercury is also interesting. In Petrus (similarly Cardanus and Michael Scotus), the ruling archangel is identified as Raphael, while *Liber Semiphoras* and Agrippa identify him as Michael.[42] Hence Honorius is closer to *Liber Semiphoras*.

In the great exorcism in the Byzantine manual only seals of four archangels are preserved, owing to damage at the bottom of folio 102. These four are similar to those in *Heptameron*, which has all seven. It has generally been assumed that the seals of the archangels found in the Royal manuscript are an insertion directly from *Heptameron*, but perhaps they were actually present in the original *Sworn Book* after all. *Heptameron* clearly labels the archangels associated with each seal, but the Royal manuscript just associates them with the planet, which is odd if the scribe took them directly from de Abano. Nothing resembling these appear in Ganell however.[43]

Another part of the Byzantine exorcism manual has parallels in Honorius: The "great exorcism" (f36v), parallels Honorius CXXXIII.38: "πάντα τὰ πονηρὰ δαιμόνια Βεραλανεῦσις, Βαλδακιόνσης, Πανμαχιά, Ἀπολογίου καθέδραι, δοῦλοι τῆς ταρταρέας καθέδρας, Πριμάκ, Βαρκάν, Τούς...." ("the ever-evil demons Beralanysis, Baldakionsis, Panmachia, Apologias cathedrai, slaves of Tartar cathedra, Primak, Barkan, Tous...")[44]

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42 Peterson 2008 pp. 156, 165.

43 See also parallel seals in Kieckhefer 1998 pp. 303-305.

44 The "Exorcism of the Spirits of the Air" (f. 11–14v, 102v–104v) also closely parallels *Heptameron* "Exorcismus Spirituum Aereorum," pp. 112–120..

The concept of angels and daemons associated with the days, hours, and cardinal directions is also found in Byzantine sources, although the details differ.[45] Likewise with the use of magic circles with sacred names, and features aligned to the compass, gloves and other apparel,[46] as well as incenses (*aromata*) used to attract and placate the daemons.[47]

Another puzzle is found in CXL.11 where we read the following: "Casziel, Satquiel, and so on. Furthermore, there are seven superiors, namely Barachiel, Uriel, and the rest." This is the only place that Barachiel is mentioned, so it is apparent the original reference has gotten lost, or was expected to be well known. Unfortunately, this doesn't help identify the provenance, since Uriel and Barachiel are both known as archangels from a variety of traditions, including Orthodox, Latin, the Sibylline Oracles, and ancient Jewish magic.[48]

In summary, it seems likely that all these sources descended from a common ancestor, likely a Byzantine one, and none of them are directly dependent on another.

Evolution of the text

As Frank Klaassen has pointed out, the literature of ritual magic often encourages the process of personalizing or transforming the text.[49] The Elizabethan magi John Dee and Edward Kelly clearly do this with Honorius material in their experiments with spirit communication.[50]

Although many minor differences occur in the manuscripts, only one (Sloane 3854) appears to contain the complete text. Moreover, recent studies

45 Greenfield 1988 pp. 338 ff. Marathakis 2011 pp. 55–74, pp. 101–106, pp. 285–291.

46 Greenfield 1995 p. 136; Marathakis p. 94–95.

47 Greenfield 1995 p. 135.

48 For Sibylline Oracles, see Charlesworth 1983 p. 350. For examples from Jewish magic see Bohak 2008 pp. 315, 318, and Casanowicz 1976 p. 162. Barachiel (also spelled Baruchiel, Barakiel, or Baraqiel) is one of the seven archangels in orthodox tradition (along with Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, Salathiel, Jegudiel) See St. Nikolai Velimirovic, *The Prologue of Ohrid—Volume One*. The Synaxis icon includes Jegudiel, Gabriel, Selaphiel, Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Barachiel. Images on the Basilica of St. Mary of the Angels and the Martyrs (16th century) testify to the Western tradition. (Mark Bredin, *Studies in the Book of Tobit: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, London [u.a.]: T & T Clark, 2006, p. 121.)

49 Klaassen 2014 p. 4.

50 Peterson 2008.

have deduced some evolution of the text. This can be shown from the fact that large portions of the text are quoted in Ganell's *Summa Sacre Magice* (SSM), including apparently some original "Honorius" material which is not found in the other manuscripts. Ganell's text also shows differences in the order of the material. Analyzing these differences, researchers have found evidence that the better-known group of manuscripts has been redacted at some point. Thus scholars have started referring to this better-known material as the "London Honorius" or "Northwestern European" tradition. (The use of "London" is somewhat of a misnomer, since a German manuscript also exists.[51])

Veenstra has demonstrated that the "London Honorius" has adapted the text somewhat, such as likely moving the instructions on consecrating the Seal of God to the beginning.[52] Further evidence of this change is that the German manuscript preserves the presumed original order: PART 1: To behold the face of the Deity; PART 2: Knowledge of the angels; PART 3: Knowledge of the spirits of the air, their binding and which spirits are under them; PART 4: Knowledge of the spirits of the earth; PART 5: Knowledge of the great name of God, in Hebrew *Shem ha-Meforash*, with instructions for constructing the Seal of God.

More evidence of the editorial process may be the unusual variation of the Tetragrammaton, "Ioth He Vau *Deleth*," found in two places in the text: CXXXIII.39 and CXXXVII.5. These may be mistakes, evidence of the compiler's unfamiliarity with Hebrew, a possibility suggested by both Mesler and Veenstra.[53] However this seems unlikely to me given the fact that the "mistake" recurs. Moreover, the form also occurs in other texts, such as *Vinculum Salomonis*, a text which does not appear to derive from Honorius.[54] The substitution of Deleth could also have been intentional to avoid writing the

51 Leipzig Cod. Mag. 16.

52 Veenstra 2012 pp. 151 ff, and especially pp. 167–168.

53 Mesler 2012 p. 118, Veenstra 2012 pp. 172–173. There is a parallel passage to CXXXIII.39 in de Abano's text, *Heptameron* (H) pp. 120–122, which reads "per hoc nomen ineffabile, Tetragrammaton IHVH Iehouah," but this may easily be a later editorial correction. Similarly SSM L.3.f.37.

54 For example, Wellcome 110 fol. 36r. This manuscript has been dated late 16th century: "et quod ex quatuor literis constat scilicet **Ioth he vahu deleth** et per novem celestia candelabra [sic], et per eorum virtutes quatenus etc."

correct name (maybe clued by *deleth* = he deletes?).[55] However, since the text abounds in sacred names of God, that explanation seems unlikely to me too. A third possibility is that the compiler was simply preserving the form found in his source material, which had itself conservatively censored the correct form of the name. This is consistent with the eclectic nature of the text.

A comparison of the manuscripts shows other evidence of *transformations* aside from introducing minor errors. For example, the Royal manuscript in some instances preserves earlier readings; however, it also seems to have excised material on demons, leaving only the angels (which it also expanded upon). Some of the manuscripts altered the magic circle to have seven equal segments. To judge by comparison with Ganell's Honorius material, the northern European redactor may have removed material about the four demon kings (Amaymon, Oriens or Orienens, Paymon, and Egyn), seals of the spirits, and further instructions about ritual instruments.[56]

The psalter is another interesting case. These core prayers are essential to the magic of Honorius, yet they differ in the northern Honorius and in the Honorius quoted by Ganell. Perhaps they were originally a separate detached text, or possibly they got omitted at some point. In the northern European recension, the want was supplied by prayers taken from *Ars Notoria*. In Ganell's text, the core prayers are taken from a book called the *Liber Trium Animarum* (LTA). It now seems certain that the use of *Ars Notoria* is a departure from the hypothetical Ur text, based on the dating of the specific variations of *Ars Notoria* used. The original version of Honorius may have included the LTA prayers, but it is of course possible the LTA was a different attempt to fill the gap left from the missing prayers. Curiously, Ganell's *Summa* also includes prayers from the *Ars Notoria*, which he refers to as the "old art."[57]

In conclusion, it seems likely that the compiler had some knowledge of Jewish Kabbalah and Merkabah traditions, and wanted to incorporate the

55 Suggested by Mesler, p. 139.

56 Ganell goes into details of 4 kings of the N/S/E/W. In some cases he specifically states that Honorius does not provide instructions, so he will supplement the information, for example his chapter on the vestments. Ganell's text shows clear signs of redaction in some cases, such as crossing out words which are found in other manuscripts. There are many example where he uses th and t interchangeably, e.g. *thetragramaton* but elsewhere *tetragramathon*.

57 For example, L.4.f.9 "oracio quartus artis veretis: Helyscemath, hazaram, hemel" = Honorius chapter XVI = Ars Not. 7, JV p. 146.

concepts into his own system, based more on Christian elements, such as names of Christ, and traditional prayers. He also likely incorporated material from some Byzantine source, resulting in a method that was truly at the crossroads of various traditions.

Elements of magic as taught by Honorius

Vision of God, or the Beatific Vision

The key to the entire of system of magic taught by Honorius is the magical means for achieving the vision of God, even as the saints and prophets themselves knew God. This section of the text was probably the first part originally. Mathiesen singles out this as the most interesting and important historically, without parallel in magical literature.[58]

As mentioned above, this was a key element of Jewish Merkabah mysticism,[59] as well as various Christian authors such as Pseudo-Dionysius. Theodoric of Freiberg (ca. 1240–ca. 1320), a German Dominican theologian, wrote an influential treatise on the subject, called *Tractatus de visione beatifica*. The writings of Christian mystics, such as Saint Gertrude of Helfta, abound in visions of Jesus and Mary, so this may be a logical extension of those too.

Honorius professes to provide a practical way to achieve this, going far beyond anything the conventional church rituals could offer.

Seals of angels

The term seal (*sigilla*) is used in two different senses in the magic of Honorius. The first designates specific texts to be recited to bind the spirits.[60] It can also mean physical seals or sigils of angels or spirits that can be held in the hand.[61] Unfortunately, no examples of the second type are represented in the manuscripts.[62] Chapter CXXV.4 states these seals may be engraved on silver, and possibly tin or other metals. Ganell, who has a tendency to supplement

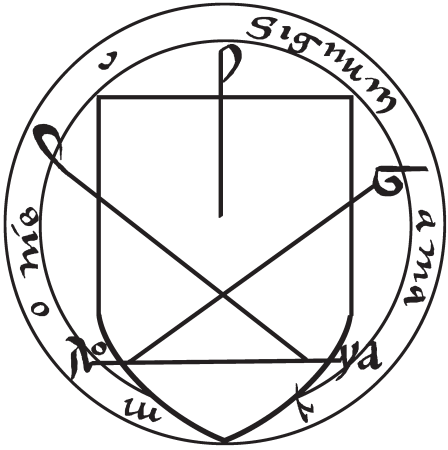
58 Mathiesen, 1998 pp. 150 ff.

59 Michael D. Schwartz 2006, pp. 415.

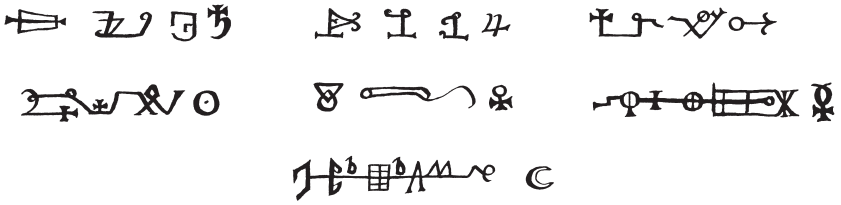
60 See Veenstra 2012 p. 190 n 79.

61 CXXXI: magister habens signum Dei et sigilla in manu sua dextra. See also CXXXIX.2.

62 The exception is R, which may be an accretion derived from *Heptameron.*



Seal of Amaymon, from Ganell



Seals of the archangels from Royal MS 17Axlii fols. 67v–70r

Honorius, in some cases simply uses the written names of the spirits, sometimes in Hebrew.[63] One rare exception is the "seal of Amaymon" found in the *Summa* on L.3.f.22.

Given the parallel texts, perhaps something close to the seals found in the Royal manuscript were originally present in the lost Ur-text.

Other variations of these same seals are included in the fifteenth-century Munich handbook.[64]

63 For example, L.5.f.63.

64 Kieckhefer 1998 pp. 367–368.

Seal of God or Seal of Solomon: Signum Dei, Sigillum Dei

The concept of a great seal, commonly called the Seal of Solomon, is central to Solomonic magic. Early references can be found in the Greek Magical Papyri.[65] Duling mentions a second to third century metal-foil amulet which mentions it.[66] One of the oldest examples is found in the Testament of Solomon (1st to 3th CE), described as engraved on a precious stone, which some manuscripts expand on as being a pentalpha, or five-pointed star.[67] Many versions of the seal of Solomon can be found in magical literature, from the simple pentalpha to the extremely elaborate.[68] Many versions, including that in the *Sworn Book* contain the pentalpha as a central or key element.

The great seal as described by Honorius is likewise central to his magic. He refers to it variously as the Seal of the True and Living God, the Seal of the Eternal, Living, and True God, the Sign (or Seal) of God, the Sacrosanct Seal, the Seal of the Sacred Names of God, the Sacred (or Holy) Seal; the Sign of Solomon, the Seal of Solomon, the Sign (or Seal) of the Lord, the Sacred Seal, the Sacred [Seal] of God; the Sign of Solomon given by the Lord, or simply the Sign.[69] Ganell also refers to it at times as the Divine Sign.[70] Note, it is never referred to as the Seal of Truth (Heb. *Aemeth*), which John Dee uses.[71]

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65 PGM IV.3041. Betz, Hans Dieter. *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986, p. 96.

66 Duling 1983, p. 948.

67 For a recent translation, see Duling 1983 pp. 935 ff. On the seal, see p. 962 and note k. On later treatment of the *Testament*, see Sarah Iles Johnston, "The Testament of Solomon from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance" in Bremmer and Veenstra 2002. For bibliography, see also G. Fitzer, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* 7 (1971): 947, n. 72.

68 The version in *Grimorium Verum* (Peterson 2007, p. 80) is fairly simple. Jean-Patrice Boudet 2006 planche XIV shows a particularly elaborate example from an Italian edition of the *Key of Solomon* (1446). Paris, BnF, ms. Ital. 1524, fol. 186.

69 *Sigillum Dei*, III.7, IV.51, CXXXVII.15, 18, 21, CXL.5; *Sigillum Dei vivi et veri*, IV.1; *Sigillum Dei eterni, vivi, et veri*, CXXXVII.1; *Signum Dei*, CXV.7, CXXXI.1, CXXXIX.2. *Signum Domini*, CXV.2, CXXIX.4, CXXXIII.46, CXXXVII.22. *Sigillum Domini* CXXXIX.3; *Sacrosanctum Sigillum* IV.65; *Sigillum sanctorum nominum Dei*, CXV.14; *Sacrum Sigillum*, CXXXIII.13, CXXXVII.7; *Sacrum Sigillum Dei*, CXXXII.12; *Sanctum Sigillum*, CXXXIII.53, CXXXVII.12; *Sigillum Salomonis*, CXXXIII.37; *Signum Salomonis*, CXXVI.14, CXXXIII.30, 51; *Signum Salomonis a Domino datum*, CXXXIII.30; *Signum*, CXV.45, CXXXIII.37.

70 *Signum diuino*, e.g. SSM L.3.f.6.

71 Peterson 2003, especially pp. 22, 79.

Jan Veenstra has shown that the example found in London manuscript Sloane 313 (see appendix II) does not actually agree with the description in the text, but the drawing in SSM is much closer.[72] For example, a passage in LIH IV.12 matches the drawing in SSM, but not Sloane 313.[73] For this edition, I have reconstructed the Seal based on the elaborate description in the text, as well as Ganell's drawing.

According to Veenstra, this seal was also "known independently as an amulet in Spain." This is based on Athanasius Kircher's observations, as detailed by Gilly.[74] Chardonnens and Veensstra published details on other exemplars from the Netherlands and Italy, both found in the walls of buildings.[75] The Dutch seal dates from the 15th or early 16th century, making it the earliest such artifact known.[76]

Chardonnens and Veenstra suggest the creator of the Dutch seal must have had access to the descriptive text. Another possibility is that they had access only to a similar seal, perhaps that of a practicing magician, which may have been properly prepared. This seems more likely to me than the possibility that it had been re-purposed or retired by its text-informed originator.

Many variants of this Seal of God occur, including many outside Honorius-related texts, exhibiting various states of divergence from the earliest exemplars. Some texts of the *Key of Solomon* contain versions of the Honorius seal. That in Aubrey 24 describes it as effective against a long list of physical dangers, as well as protection from ghosts or phantasms.[77] This might account for its use in protecting buildings. MS. Mich. 276, fol 13r describes its use similarly. A version found in *La véritable magie noire*[78] is barely recognizable, testifying to a long and complex transmission. This is further attested by the apparent mixture of lineages apparent in the Dutch seal.[79]

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72 Veenstra 2012 pp. 151 ff, especially p. 165.

73 See Veenstra 2012 p. 161, 186 n34.

74 Veenstra 2012 p. 161. Gilly 2002 p. 291.

75 Chardonnens and Veensstra 2014 p. 127, p. 137. See also Gilly 2002 p. 280.

76 Chardonnens and Veensstra 2014 p. 139.

77 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Aubrey 24, dated 1674 60r-v.

78 "Iroé-Grego," "1750."

79 As detailed so aptly by Chardonnens and Veensstra 2014, especially pp. 150–155. Perhaps future building demolitions will help clarify the picture.

The magic circle and the magical seven-fold universe

The magic of Honorius is heavily structured around a seven-fold classification, including the seven classical planets (or "wandering stars"), cardinal directions and their associated winds, and the four elements and humors of the ancients. A representation of this "map of the universe" is the basis for the magic circle used for invoking spirits. This is not described in the text, but illustrated graphically. Variations exist in the manuscripts: The oldest

Region	Humors	Element	Tetrabiblos ch 4	Planet	Angel	Name of God
East	warm and moist, [masculine]		Hot & dry, masculine	The Sun	Boon	Ysicres
Consol (Southeast)	hot, mixed moist dry [NOT DRY]		Hot & moist, masculine	Jupiter	Uriel	Zebedey
South	hot and dry	Fire	Very hot & dry, masculine	Mars	Karathiel	Eloy
Nogahel (Southwest)	warm, and feminine	Air	Warm & moist (similar to Mars, but not as hot or dry), feminine*	Venus	Uriel	Ienomei
West	cold and moist / feminine	Water	Cold & moist, feminine	The Moon	Hocroel	Theos
Frigicap (Northwest)	cold and damp, masculine		Sometimes dry, sometimes moist, uncertain gender†	Mercury	Vihel	Sother
Northern part	cold and dry	Earth	Very cold & dry, masculine	Saturn	Lanael	Christ
(Northeast is not included)						

* Note: "The Greeks considered Venus to be slightly warm and moist (fertile qualities); however, from the Arabic era onward, Venus is always called cold and moist." (The Well-Tempered Astrologer, by Dorian Gieseler Greenbaum, https://www.scribd.com/doc/182979617/welltemperedastrologer-pdf retrieved Oct 10, 2015.

† According to Grosseteste: cold & dry. See Matt Dowd, PhD Dissertation, Astronomy and Compotus at Oxford University in the Early Thirteenth Century: The Works of Robert Grosseteste, 2003, p. 120, http://www3.nd.edu/~mdowd1/disschapters/FullDiss.pdf, retrieved Oct 10, 2015.

manuscripts (Sloane 3854 133v and Sloane 313 24r) both show North as occupying 90 degrees of the compass. Leip. Cod. Mag. 16 (pp. 98 and 112, circa 1750) shows the West as occupying 90 degrees. Other manuscripts show the circle divided into seven *equal* segments (SSM L.3.f.29, Sloane 3853 fol. 150v). See appendix II.

The correspondence of the planets with the elements and humors seems to be based ultimately on the Ptolomaic model of the universe, as found in chapter 4 of *Tetrabiblos*. This explains the influences of the planets through their associations with the humors, namely the productive qualities of warmth and moisture, and the reductive qualities of cold and dryness.[80]

The magic circle is required for calling spirits, and is described as providing the "greatest fortification" against the spirits. This seems to be mainly precautionary, because certain of them could potentially respond with malice (CXXVII.10).

In the manuscripts, the magic circle diagram is surrounded by descriptive passages, such as "East, warm and moist, where the angels of the Sun dominate." These passages are probably not intended to be part of the magic circle itself. In Sloane 3854, the descriptions are outside the three concentric circles. In Sloane 3853, SSM, and some of the others, the circles extend outside the descriptive material, likely in deviation from the original.

To call forth the planetary and aerial spirits, the text describes a second (double) circle, drawn a ways from the main circle. Around this second circle should be written "the names of the angels of the hour, day, month, time, and aspect" (CXIV.8, CXXVII.7). This is reminiscent of de Abano, but unfortunately, the text does not identify the corresponding names.

Names of God

The use of the names of God is central to the method of Honorius, as well as Solomonic and Jewish magic in general. Honorius uses prayers constructed around the hundred names of God listed in chapter CI. The names themselves are an eclectic mixture of Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and others of undetermined origin.

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80 Ptolomy and Robbins 1980 pp. 35 ff. The correspondence of the planets and elements is also recounted in the eleventh century Arabic magic text now generally known as *Picatrix*; see I.4, Greer and Warnock 2011 p. 31.

The text also uses the Hebrew term *Shem ha-Meforash*, probably meaning something like "explicit name" of God. Honorius uses the term to refer to the seventy-two letter name of God given in several places in the text, including the border of the Seal of God. Although the use of this term might lead us to suppose a Jewish connection, the name itself turns out to be derived from the initial letters of seventy-two names of God, a subset of the longer list.[81] They are as follows:

Seventy-two names comprising the Name of God – Shem ha-Meforash.[82]

Ha; 1. Theos; 2. Onay; 3. El; 4. Χρς;[83] 5. On; 6. Raby; 7. Alpha ω; 8. Baruch; 9. AGLA; 10. Letamynyn; 11. Adon, 12. Ioth, 13. Quyesteron, 14. Tunayon, 15. Yalgal, 16. Ysyston, 17. Sampsoyny, 18. Thetebar, 19. Athyonodabazar, 20. Lauaquyryn, 21. Geuer, 22. Athedyon, 23. Onoytheon, 24. Nomyx, 25. Oristyon, 26. Sanathyel, 27. Vabalganarytyn, 28. Lauagelaguyn, 29. Araton, 30. Radix, 31. Yaua, 32. Capkyb, 33. Ely, 34. Kyryos, 35. Suparyas, 36. Pantheon, 37. Flemoyon, 38. Yuestre, 39. Onella, 40. Maniyas,[84] 41. Elgybor, 42. Maney, 43. Asmamyas, 44. Nathanathoy, 45. Abracalabrah,[85] 46. Romolyon, 47. Epafgricus, 48. Narach, 49. Vagalnarytyn, 50. Gofgamel, 51. Alla, 52. Rabur, 53. Eloon, 54. Lauazyryn, 55. Abracaleus, 56. Tantalatysten, 57. Eye, 58. Delectycon, 59. Ay, 60. Tunayon, 61. Occynomeryon, 62. Nomygon, 63. Oryona, 64. Nosulaseps, 65. Abryon, 66. Orlon, 67. Ye, 68. Layafalasyn, 69. Eye assereye, 70. Ydardycon, 71. Ocleyste, 72. Tucheon.[86]

This list is not found in the *Sworn Book*; although most of the names appear in CI.2-8, the order varies. The resulting series of seventy-two letters is divided into eight groups of nine letters:[87]

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81 Veenstra 2012 pp. 168 ff. The more traditional Jewish name is based on Ex. 14:19-21.

82 SSM L.2.f.25 ll 5-26, which Ganell attributes to Tot Grecus. This important identification was made by Veenstra 2012 p. 172, and later corrected in Chardonnens and Veenstra 2014 pp. 142–143. With the availability of better photographs of the manuscript, I can propose two minor corrections to their transcript.

83 = Christus.

84 JV: Mamyas.

85 Skemer 2006 p. 120 notes the use of this name in thirteen century manuscript Sloane 1717.

86 JV: Tutheon.

87 SSM L.4.f.20. See Chardonnens and Veenstra 2014 p. 144 for variants.

¶Toexoraba ¶Layqtiyst ¶Algaonosu ¶Laryceksp ¶Fyomemana ¶Renugarel ¶Atedatono ¶Naoyleyot

The result is not only an abbreviation, but in fact an acronym, pronounceable in its own right. This may be the motive for rearranging the list as found in CI.2.

In addition to the Seal of God, this 72-letter name is used on the bed of ashes, and according to Ganell, should be written on the swords as well.

An additional list of seven divine names are used in the Seal of God (IV.14-47, CXXVII.15): Layaly, Lialg, Veham, Yalgal, Narath, Libarre, Lybares.[88] These seem to derive from *Sepher Raziel*, fifth Semaforas: Lyaham, Lyalgana, Lyafar, Viahirab, lelara, lebaron, Laasasalos.[89] These seven names are also to be used in conjunction with the magic circle, as described in chapter CXXVII.15, where they are written on small pieces of parchment set around outside the circle, but later removed. Wellcome 110 (late 16th CE,) has a very similar procedure, instructing the operator to make an incense offering to the spirit, then write the seven [sic] sacred names around the circle, "hay + byalg + vehem + yasgal + Narath + libaree, but you must remove them when you wish to operate, for no spirit is able to operate while they are there, so they must be erased."[90] Sloane 3885 32r (in a 17th ce section of the manuscript giving a version of the *Thesaurus Spirituum*) is almost identical, but the names read: "Hay + Lealge + Vehe + Valgah + Narach + Libarroe + Libaroes."

This process of writing these sacred names on pieces of parchment, and later erasing them is reminiscent of the changes against the Byzantine sorcerers Kappadokes and Tzerentzes, "for the former was said to have left his amulet lying beneath the stars all night, while the latter was alleged to have written, and then erased and trampled on, 'God's holy name.'"[91]

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88 SSM: Layaly, lyalg, vehem, yalgal, narach, lybarre, lybares.

89 *Book of Oberon* manuscript p. 44: uses a similar list in a conjuration to bind spirits: "by these seven names of God: Largia + Gaaghum + Levalogni lavafarim + Vbalgana + Haia + Layazogin + Layarosin + Layaschesyn + by which all things are bound." Compare also Bodleian Rawlinson D252 51r: lyalth, lyalg, vehem, thalgal, narath, libarre, libares. Leipzig Cod. Mag, 16 p. 113: Lagaly, Vellim, Narach, Lyaeh, Yalgal, Librare, Librares.

90 45v: "scribantur ista septem nomina dei hay + byalg + vehem + yasgal + Narath + libaree+ et ponantur in septem mundi partibus iuxta circulum, et cum operari volueris, remove, quia in istorum presentia nullus spiritus potest operari, et ideo deleantur."

91 Greenfield 1995 pp. 134–135.

Names of Saints

Various saints are commemorated in the prayers. Most interestingly, the operator is instructed to use whichever saints resonate most for him or her (LII.7).

Spirits, Angels, and Demons in LIH

Honorius or his informants have categorized supernatural beings into logical categories, of which the traditional hierarchy of angels of Pseudo-Dionysius is only a part:

> There are three types of angels, the celestial, the aerial, and the earthly. There are two types of celestials, those who only serve God, and those are the nine orders of angels, namely, the Cherubim, Seraphim, Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Principalities, Powers, Archangels, and Angels, concerning whom it is spoken among mortals neither by forced power nor by artificial force, and therefore in nowise should they be invoked, because they always stand praising the divine majesty, and never separated from his presence. (III.9)

Thus the spirits are divided into four categories—celestial or higher angels, planetary or lower angels, aerial spirits or daemons, and terrestrial spirits (or daemons). The aerial spirits are also listed alongside with the planetary spirits, with the explanation that the planetary angels are used to control them.[92] The list is repeated later (with some variations) in the catalog of aerial spirits. According to Honorius, "whenever good angels are called, you must not have the whistle, wand, nor the swords."

The table of topics or contents also refers to elemental spirits, namely those of the fire, water, air, and the earthly or infernal spirits. In the text, these are included in the sevenfold scheme, such that fire spirits are identified with those of Mars, and the South for example. See above discussion on the magic circle.

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92 e.g. "veniatis … per istos sanctos angelos, Boel, caphzyel, mycraton, satryquiel, mychael, myel, sarypyel." (SSM L.3.f.59).

The text gives detailed signs that the spirits are there, such as the magicians breaking into a sweat, or the sound of thunder. These signs perhaps have an even more ancient origin.

Only a few of the spirits listed are well known in the literature. Asmodeus (CXXXV.10) is of course well known from Tobit, the Testament of Solomon, and the Babylonian Talmud. Bileth is another name well-known in the literature. Scholem has traced his origin to Bilar in apocryphal literature and the Dead Sea scrolls.[93]

The concept of seven demon kings is also found in Arabic demonology, but "undoubtedly shows a connection with the much older ideas of planetary divinities."[94]

The Winds

Air, being invisible, can act as a bridge between the physical and spiritual world, and can be influenced by the magician to bring about physical changes in the world.[95] Winds and unexplained movements of vegetation are seen as evidence of the presence of spirits.

There is much wind lore going back to ancient times, and names assigned such as zephyr, "blowing from the west." The Greek *anemoi* are four wind gods ascribed to each cardinal direction, with lesser (minor) gods identified with the northeast, southeast, northwest, and southwest winds.[96] In the system of Honorius, these are syncretized with the seven-fold classifications based on the seven classical "planets." The result either drops one sector, or expands the remaining sectors as seen above.

Ganell's *Summa* includes both seven-fold and eight-fold classifications of the winds. In the latter the Northeast wind is given the well-known name Aquilo.[97]

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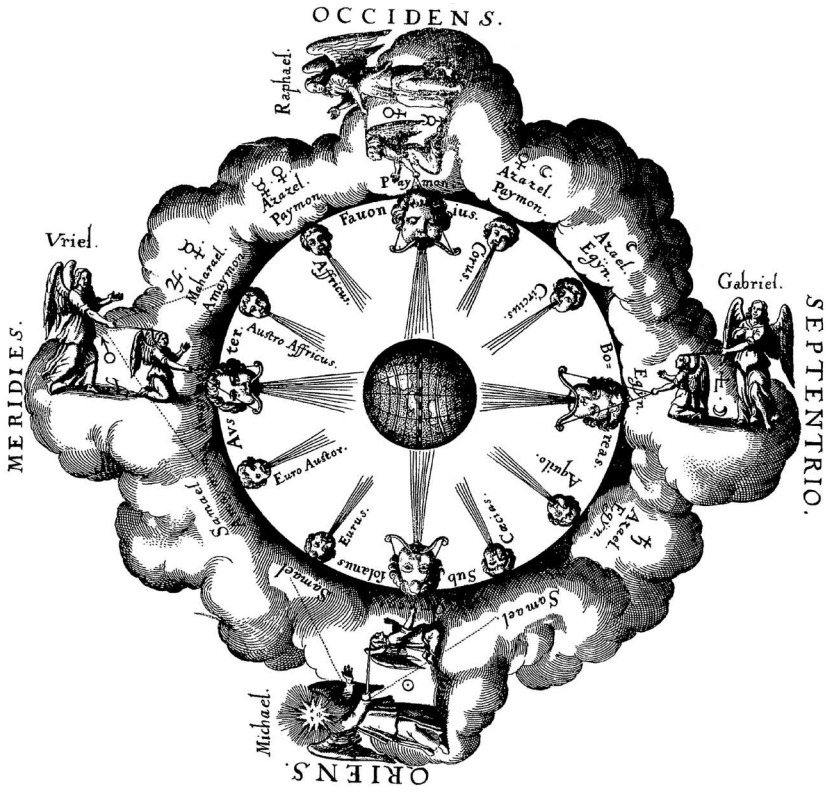
93 Dan Ben-Amos "On Demons" in Dan 2005 p. 31.

94 Scholem 1965 p. 2.

95 See in particular, LIH CXVII.4. For discussion, see McGraw, 2013, pp. 51–52.

96 See for example, McCartney, 1930.

97 SSM L.2.f.15 has a diagram with the eight winds. SSM L5.f.11 has yet another *seven*-fold scheme: De ventis. Ventus qui flat ab Oriente dicitur Eurus. Et qui flat a meridie Auster. Et qui ab occidente zephyrus. Et qui a septentrione, Boreas. Et qui ab aquilone, Aquilo. Et qui a cosole, subsolanus. Et qui afrigicap, fauonius, vel circius. ("Concerning



Spirits associated with the Winds from Robert Fludd, Medicina, *1629*

The names of the diagonals in Honorius, Frigicap, Consol, and Nogahem, are of uncertain etymology, and otherwise unknown. Nogahem may be compared with Nogah, Hebrew for Venus, but none of the other winds show any resemblance to Hebrew words. In two places (CXXXII.11, CXL.4), the Nogahem sword is referred to as the Nogahel sword, which Agrippa (OP3.28) identifies as the spirit of Venus/Nogah. Consol (SSM: cosol), the southeast wind, may be compared with *subsolanus*, (literally "beneath the Sun" a com-

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the winds. The wind which blows from the east is called Eurus, and that which blows from the south Auster, and which blows from the west the Zephyr, and which blows from the north, Boreas, and from the north, Aquilo, and that which blows from cosole, Subsolanus/eastern, and that which blows from Afrigicap, Favonius = the west wind, or Circius = the WNW wind.")

mon name for the east wind); *co-* and *con-* are common enclitics, both meaning "with," or "alongside." Frigicap (the northwest wind) may be compared with Africus, a common name for the southwest wind. The winds and their associated humors play an important part in medicine from ancient times up to early modern times, as seen from the writings of Robert Fludd.[98]

Preparations

The preparations taught by Honorius are not arduous compared with the rituals themselves. They include a special diet, shaving the hair from your body, sexual abstinence, confession and contrition, observing physical and spiritual purity, giving alms to three poor persons, and especially frequent prayer. During the first purification, fasting on bread and water is required. In other cases meat, fish, water, and wine are acceptable under some circumstances. On the third day of preparation, an angel will reveal in a dream if the operator is worthy. If so, the ritual proper can commence, lasting 72 days.

Ritual implements

While it has been suggested that expensive ingredients are sometimes used as part of the sacrifice needed for magical achievement,[99] quite the contrary is the case according to Honorius.[100] Intentional destruction of wealth in the form of expensive ingredients, or use of expensive ritual garments, etc. is rejected "because neither God nor the blessed angel care anything about material things. From this it is seen that the poor labor more quickly and truly (in this art) than the rich." (Chapter V.4)
Requisites include:[101]

- Candle of virgin wax. It should be noted that wax was more expensive than tallow candles, but provided a much cleaner flame. (CXXIX.1, CXXXIX.2)
- Censer for burning incense, with charcoal. (CXXIX.1)

98 Fludd 1629, p. 113.
99 McGraw, 2013, p. 28.
100 On which, see discussion in Gehr 2015.
101 Listed in CXXXIX.2.

- Charcoal. Used in the censer for burning incense. Also used to write (on tiles) the petition or requests being made to the spirits.
- Circles. The rites are performed both inside and outside the main ritual circle. In addition, circles are constructed where the spirits appear. For aerial spirits, it is elevated, while for earth spirits, a pit is dug.
- Clay or earth: See stones.
- Garments of clean white hemp. For the divine vision the garments should be black (CI.20), but for calling forth spirits, they should be white (CXV.1).[102] They should be new, or *virtutes* ("of worth"), or at least very newly washed, and in no event should they be foul smelling.
- Gloves, new, made without whitening chalk.
- Incense: the Seal of God consecration specifies a mixture of amber, musk, aloe, white and red labdanum, mastic, frankincense, pearls, and "incense" (CXXIX.1).[103]
- Knife (new) (Lat. *cultello*) Ganell reads *culter* (knife), while Honorius reads *cultellus* ("small knife"). This is used for drawing the magic circles in the earth.
- Paper (*cedula*), Small pieces of paper with divine names are used in conjunction with the magic circle,
- Parchment, of calf, foal, or deer. Used for the Seal of God.
- Seal of God
- Seals of angels, not given in most manuscripts, but perhaps similar to those given above.
- Shirt, hair-, also known as a cilice. Because these are so uncomfortable, their use is associated with denial of the flesh, and a reminder of the suffering of Christ.
- Stole (*stolla*). From the instructions that it is worn around the neck (CXXXVII.22), it is clear that a priestly stole is intended. This is typically between two and four inches wide and around eighty inches long. Silk is commonly used by priests. A cross is generally embroidered mid way, and often at the ends as well.

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102 Compare SSM L.2.f.2.

103 *Ambra, musco, aloe, lapdano albo et rubeo, mastice, olibano, margaritis et thure* (IV.57). The last word, *tus*, can be either generic for incense, or frankincense specifically, but since the more specific word for frankincense, *olibanum* (from the Hebrew הנבלה) is already listed, it is not clear what ninth ingredient is intended.

- Stones (or tiles) and mortar. These are needed to prepare a flat surface on which to construct the magic circle. In cases of poverty, clay or even clean earth can be substituted.
- Stools: Wooden stools may be used to sit on during the rituals.
- Swords (called *gladius* or *ensis*). Seven are needed when calling forth spirits, but not the higher angels. The swords should all be equal in length, and if possible they should be lustrous or brightly polished (CXXIX.1, CXXXIX.2). Nothing is said about their consecration or decoration, but Ganell includes instructions which he attributes to Honorius (L.2.f.13): On the haft should be attached a small clean piece of paper on which is written the "fourth ineffable name" of God "which is of seventy-two letters, namely H.t.oexoraba, ..."[104]
- Tiles, on which should be written the petition or requests being made to the spirits. Tiles can also be used to make a more uniform surface for the magic circle.
- Wand of laurel or hazel.[105] This is needed when calling forth spirits, but not the good angels. The text uses the terms *baculus* ("a stick or staff") and *virgula* ("small wand, rod, twig") synonymously. Ganell additionally uses the word *virga* ("a slender green branch or switch"). He further states the the hazel rod/switch (*virga avellane*) should be the length of the master's arm, extended (L.3.f.25). The wand cannot be too slender, as is clear from the instruction that it should have four sides on which are written figures and sacred names (CXXXIX.6–7). I thus have to interpret the phrase "from that year"[106] as meaning it should be cut fresh each year, not that it should be of the same year's growth, as the latter would be too small to meet the other requirements.
- Whistle: It is sounded and struck at various points in the ritual to call the spirits. It is not used with the higher angels. Its construction is detailed in chapter CXL. According to Honorius, it can be made of copper, silver, gold, or hazel wood. Ganell (L.2.f.9) states that Solomon in his "fifth

104 Which name of course is found in IV.4 and on the Seal of God. SSM L.2.f.13: *habere gladium vel ensem, in cuius manubrio in sedula munda sit in castratum quartum nomen ineffabile quod est 72 literarum, Que sunt iste, H.t.oexoraba ....*

105 *Baculum lauri vel coruli*, (CXXXII.2); *virgula coruli*, (CXXXIX.2).

106 *Illius anni* (CXXXII.2).

book" commanded that it should be made. He adds that it can be made of copper, silver, or hazel ("*ere, argento, vel avellane*").

- Wine: Choice or "the finest" wine may be consumed during the ritual of calling forth the spirits, to help calm the nerves.[107]

Spirit thrones

The text refers to the thrones or seats (*sedes*) of the supernatural beings, such as the seat of Samaym, and the seats of Primachia and Apologia (CXXIII.38). According to Ganell (L.3.f.3), this is the second circle, placed next to the circle of the operator.[108]

The Rituals

The core ritual takes seventy-two days in the London Honorius, but forty days in SSM. Since the Seal of God (also called the Seal of Solomon) is needed in the other rituals, its preparation is described in great detail (LII, XCVIII-CI). Ganell's description is much simpler, but the accompanying diagram makes the details redundant anyway.

A twenty-day purification comes next, involving attending mass, and reciting certain prayers both before and during the service. This is followed by twelve days of fasting and prayer; for this stage of the operation, a discreet priest is enlisted to help with prayers and services. Near the end of the ritual, you prepare a bed surrounded by ashes with divine names written therein. This is the stage for critical sleep visions.

The process for calling the spirits commences similarly, followed by a four-part ritual: the "invocation," the "seal and binding," the "conjuration," and the "placation."[109] Placating involves offering the spirits a "small gift."[110] This is evidently the pleasing suffumigation offered.[111]

Note much of the work is performed outside the magic circle, including the excitations.[112]

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107 CXXIX.1, CXXXIX.2.

108 On this see also Veenstra 2012 p. 173–175.

109 Mesler 2012 p. 122.

110 *Munusculum*, (CXIV.7, CXV.16–17, 35, 41).

111 *Placatum suffumigium*, CXVIII.24.

112 Veenstra 2012 p. 176.

Influence

As mentioned above, examples of the Seal of God and its variants are much more frequent and widespread than the text itself. The actual text of the *Sworn Book* seems to be little noticed by practitioners. The main legacy seems to have come to us in the form of the so-called Heptarchic and Enochian systems of magic which originated with John Dee and Edward Kelly.

In 1582, John Dee, one of the leading scientists and occultists of his age, undertook a series of "Mystical Experiments."[113] He quickly became convinced that he was communicating with supernatural creatures. One of the first instructions he received was to construct a Seal of God, based on one "already perfected" in his books. Dee consulted several manuscripts, one of which was apparently Sloane 313.[114] Another of his sources was Ganell's *Summa*, which contains annotations in his hand. With his shrewd eye he noticed discrepancies, and consulted the angels to help resolve them. This prompted them to reveal an almost totally new version of the *Sigillum Dei*, but with elements from both manuscripts. The design is now widely known, with examples on coffee mugs and tee-shirts available.

As one last example of its influence, I think it quite likely that the name and reputation of Honorius "of Thebes" led to the creation of an unrelated text, the so-called *Grimoire of Pope Honorius*. Boudet noted the "huge success of the *Grimoire of Pope Honorius*, whose first edition dates from 1629 and is still republished regularly to the present, for the use of contemporary magicians." More than a few times that text has been confused the *Sworn Book*, including individuals making such uninformed assertions as the *Grimoire of Honorius* or even the *Grand Grimoire* being derived from it.[115]

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113 Peterson 2002, pp. 12, 70.

114 Roberts and Watson, in their 1990 *John Dee's Library Catalogue*, pg. 168, identify Sloane 313 as being one of Dee's manuscripts. They give it catalog number DM70, and note, "On fol.9 (originally the first leaf, fol.1–8 having been misbound) is [Dee's ladder symbol] and, very faint, 'Fragmentum Magicum', which may be in Dee's hand. At the foot is 'Sum Ben: Jonsonij liber'."

115 Boudet 2002 p. 870. Owen Davies 2009 pp. 34–35 discusses these later texts.

Problems with the text

Here is a summary of some of the problems with the text as it has reached us:

- Names frequently have multiple spellings.
- Seals of angels, of the type that can be held in the hand during the rituals, are mentioned in the instructions, but never given.
- There are thirteen topics listed in chapter II, but never covered in the text, not counting 92 and 93, which are described as intentionally omitted: 36, 38, 39, 59–62, 76–78, 82, 86, and 87.
- Names of the angels of the months, hours, and decans are never identified.
- *Penatur, penantur.* In the descriptions of the daemons of the winds, the text says these spirits *penantur vel requiescunt* ("they ??? or they rest") The first word, *penantur*, (*pennor*) is uncommon, and generally means "they may have feathers (or wings)." This is perhaps not a very satisfactory reading of the text however, as Hedegård 2002 p. 50 points out. Manuscript C reads *ponantur* on two occasions ("they may be placed"), and *paenantur* twice, also not a convincing reading. Hedegård with much hesitation proposes a Latinized form of Greek πένομαι ("toil") on the theory that it might be based on a Greek source. Another possibility is that it is a unique verbal (subjunctive) form of *penator* ("one who carries provisions") meaning "they may carry provisions." A slightly more satisfactory reading is suggested by the legal maxim *Clerici non penantur in officiia* "The clergy cannot be compelled to serve temporal offices," which is what I have based by translation on.[116]

Relation to other Solomonic manuscripts

In his prologue, Honorius states that the work is an arrangement of the "works of Solomon," and records the teachings of Solomon with "as much

116 From Coke, *The First Part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England. Or, a Commentarie upon Littleton* , 1628, 96b, quoted in Peloubet, S. S. *A Collection of Legal Maxims in Law and Equity, with English Translations*. Littleton, Colo: F.B. Rothmann, 1985, pp. 29-30. https://books.google.com/books?id=4x5HAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA29&lpg=PA29&dq=penantur&source=bl&ots=KUr2RvLpWF&sig=bNbj3VD6L2UtYM746S_pT0NiHns&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CE4Q6AEwCGoVChMIt-_uu-TJyAIVk_WACh0uwgSq#v=onepage&q=penantur&f=false retrieved 10/17/2015.

exactness as possible." Solomon is mentioned repeatedly in the text, and is quoted repeatedly. In some cases the quotes are otherwise unknown.[117]

Nevertheless, Honorius has only a few elements in common with other Solomonic magic texts. Aside from the prayers drawn from *Ars Notoria*, these include ink made from blood, a Seal of Solomon, names of God and angels (only some well known in Solomonic literature), hazel wand, seals of spirits, incense offerings, magic circles, swords, and whistle.

Many elements in Honorius are unknown in other texts: most of the names of angels and God are otherwise not known, as are specific design details of the wand, swords, whistle, and magic circle. As far as I know, the spirit throne being elevated or a depression according to the type of spirit is also otherwise unknown.

As mentioned above, another handbook of ritual magic popular in the Middle Ages, *Thesaurus Spirituum* (14th century or older),[118] makes use of the same seven sacred names as Honorius (IV.14–47, CXXVII.15). These appear to derive from *Razielis* (different sections ascribed to different Biblical authors, including Solomon.)

There are direct parallels between the *Sworn Book* and pseudo-Agrippa and pseudo-de Abano, but whether they drew on Honorius or some common ancestor is unclear.

Other magic texts have detailed instructions for specific practical benefits only briefly mentioned in the text. For example, operations to secure a magically-fast horse, or making a banquet appear, are frequent, including the Munich handbook published by Kieckhefer.[119] This may indicate some level of an awareness of these other texts.

Editions

Latin. A critical edition of the Latin text was published in 2002 by Gösta Hedegård. Hedegård's text was largely based on Sloane 3854, which is the most complete, most senior, and "least tampered with." Unfortunately, he did not make use of Sloane 3853, which is an important second witness to por-

117 III.3, IV.54, on which see Mesler 2012 p. 119 and 139 n 48.

118 Klaassen 2013 pp. 234–235 n 21.

119 E.g. Kieckhefer 1989 pp. 54, 208; Wellcome MS 110 87v; Rawlinson D 252 73r; Sloane 3885.

tions of the text. Also, as Claire Fanger noted in her 2006 review, some of his findings have been superseded due to the considerable amount of scholarly activity on the subject. His careful comparison of the text with *Ars Notoria*, for example, has been obsoleted by Véronèse's 2007 edition of that text.[120] In another review, Juris Lidaka checked thirteen samples from Hedegård's edition, and found "very few major errors." The only concrete example he gives is that 4.1 "diameter" should be "diametrus"—on which I disagree: The manuscript supports GH's reading, and the usage is not unknown.[121]

Boudet also provided a critical edition of much of the text in his 2002 article "Magie théurgique" etc. His readings vary slightly with Hedegård's, and his critical apparatus is conveniently placed with the text rather than as an appendix.

English. Driscoll 1977. The only attempt at publishing any significant portion of the English translation was Daniel Driscoll's *The Sworn Book of Honourius* (sic) *the Magician*, Heptangle Books, 1977. Unfortunately, Driscoll did not make use of the best manuscripts, omitted large portions, misread and misplaced angelic names and words from the prayers, and otherwise took serious liberties with the text.

Peterson 1998/2009. Edition on CD Rom and http://esotericarchives.com/juratus/juratus.htm. The earliest version of this covered only the chapters included in the Royal manuscript, but with alternate readings from the other manuscripts. This was later supplemented with the rest of the text, and has incorporated corrections pretty much continually to this date.

Blanchard, Robert. The supposed translation published by Blanchard proves to be entirely dependent on Driscoll, altered superficially to disguise the fact, but perpetuating all of his Driscoll's errors and his artwork.[122]

This edition

Publishing a new edition is a daunting task, given that "so much of interest hangs in the balance around this work."[123] My intent has not been to sum-

120 Fanger 2006 pp. 180–183.

121 Lidaka 2004. Boudet 2002 p. 876 also supports the reading of *diameter*.

122 Ironically, in promoting his publications, Blanchard wrote "Bad translations taken from bad sources mean failure for the practitioner."

123 Fanger 2006 p. 180.

marize all of the recent literature, but to provide a modern translation for those unwilling to tackle the difficult medieval Latin. I also wanted to offer some corrections and observations suggested by the literature, or by my own research.

Editorial principles

I have not tried to reproduce the critical apparatuses of Hedegård 2002 or Boudet 2002, but in some cases I supplement those in my footnotes. In the case of the magic circle, the text arranged around the diagram was not transcribed, or critical apparatus provided, by either of those publications, so I have taken the opportunity of providing it in this edition.

In order to facilitate reference to Hedegård's critical apparatus, I have included his paragraph numbers. For other corrections to his text, see Appendix I.

Hedegård used italics, and the notations |$^{a- -a}$|, and ||$^{a- -a}$|| to indicate where LIH and *Ars Notoria* coincided; since this has been obsoleted by the critical edition of Julien Véronèse 2007, I have not tried to maintain the use of those notations. Instead, I have indicated the paragraphs of Ars Not. from that edition, abbreviated JV.

Abbreviations: Abbreviations in the manuscript have generally been expanded.

Chi Rho: The manuscripts generally uses this common practice of abbreviating the name Iesus Christus with Greek letters IHS XP (Iης Χρ); these have been expanded to "Iesus Christus." Note particularly the frequent use of Greek "XP" or "χρ" for "Christ." In textual studies this is commonly referred to as "chi rho." Thus "XPus" (abbreviation for "Christus") looks like Latin "Xpus," Similarly the Greek "IHS" or "ιης," standing for the Latin "Iesus" ("Jesus") is found throughout the text.[124]

124 GH expanded this as Ihesus Christus.

Acknowedgments

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Abbreviations

_ I use underlining in the footnotes to highlight differences the readings between source texts.

++ = text seems to be corrupt

<> = text that should be deleted

[] = text that should be added

[*] Corrected readings are indicated by * in front of the correct form.

{} = Text cannot be read because of physical damage.

A: MS Sloane 3854

B: MS Sloane 313

BoO: *Book of Oberon,* Harms, Clark, Peterson 2015

C: MS Sloane 3885

D: MS Sloane 3853

GH: Gösta Hedegård, also his critical edition (2002)

H: *Heptameron*, Petrus de Abano 1565

JV: Julien Véronèse 2007 critical edition of *Ars Notoria*

L: Leipzig Cod. Mag. 16

LIH: *Liber Iuratus Honorii*

LTA: *Liber Trium Animarum*, i.e. SSM IV.2.3

R: British Library MS Royal 17Axlii

Sl. London, British Library, Sloane manuscript collection

SSM: Ganell, *Summa Sacre Magice*, Kassel, Ms. 4° astron. 3.

Summa: Ganell, *Summa Sacre Magice*, Kassel, Ms. 4° astron. 3.

The Sworn Book of Honorius

Liber Iuratus Honorii

Liber Iuratus Honorii
Text

[Prologus]

Cum convenissent maligni spiritus demonia in cordibus hominum intonantes, cogitantes utilitatem fragilitatis humane +posse suo corrumpere et+ totam mundi machinam volentes suis viribus superare, (2) ypocrisim cum invidia seminantes, pontifices et prelatos in superbia radicantes, dominum papam cum cardinalibus in unum venire fecerunt, dicentes adinvicem que secuntur:

(3) "Salus, quam dedit Dominus plebi sue, modo per magos et nigromanticos in dampnacionem convertitur cuiuscumque. (4) Nam et ipsi magi potu diabolico inebriati et eciam excecati contra statuta sancte matris ecclesie procedentes ac preceptum Dominicum transgredientes, sic dicens: (5) 'Non temptabis Dominum Deum tuum' set 'ei soli servies,' ipsi Deo sacrificium abnegando et temptando nomina creatoris, demones invocando et eis sacrificia tribuendo, quod est contra baptismatis sacri preceptum, (6) nam ibi dicitur:

'Abrenuncio Sathane et omnibus pompis eius;' qui non tantum pompas et opera Sathane prosecuntur set universum populum in suis erroribus provocaverunt, (7) cum suis mirificis illusionibus attrahentes ignorantes pro huiusmodi anime et corporis dampnacionem optinere, et cum hoc nullum propositum aliud cogitantes, propter quod oportet omnes alias sciencias deperire.

(8) Dignum est ergo radicem mortis huius stipitis penitus exstirpare cum cultoribus seminum huius artis."

(9) Ipsi vero Diabolo inspirante moti invidia et cupiditate sub similitudine veritatis falsitatem publicantes, quod falsum est dicere et absurdum, quia virum iniqum et immundum impossibile est per artem veraciter operari, (10) nec spiritibus aliquibus homo obligatur, set ipsi inviti coguntur mundatis hominibus respondere et sua beneplacita penitus adimplere. (11) Tamen nullo nostrum volente eis artis principia nec causam ostendere veritatis, ob hoc nos et artem magicam morti suo iudicio tradiderunt.

The Sworn Book of Honorius
Translation

[Prologue]

When evil spirits had convened, intending to invoke demons into the hearts of men, thinking it possible to use human frailty <wishing> to spoil <their> and overcome the whole world order by force, (2) planting the seeds of hypocrisy and hatred, so that arrogance takes root in the bishops and prelates, they caused the Pope and cardinals to gather together, who said to each other as follows:

(3) "The salvation which the Lord has given to his people, has now been turned to their damnation, through magic and nigromancy. (4) For even the magicians themselves have intoxicated themselves with the devilish drink, and even blinded against the holy statutes of the mother Church, and transgressed against the Lord's teachings which say: (5) 'You shall not test the Lord your God';[1] but 'you shall serve him alone,'[2] thus they deny the sacrifice due to God himself, and testing the names of the Creator, invoking demons, and giving them sacrifices, contrary to their baptismal vows, (6) for there it is said:

'I renounce Satan and all his pomp;' whereby not only do these (magicians) pursue the pomp and works of Satan, but they also draw all people into his errors (7) with their amazing illusions, thereby attracting the ignorant to the damnation of their bodies and souls, and they thinking this for no other reason, than that they ought to obliterate all other knowledge.

(8) It is therefore appropriate to root out this root of death, along with those who cultivate the seeds of this art."

(9) So they, inspired by the Devil, and moved by hatred and greed, published falsehood disguised as truth, saying things which are false and absurd, because it is impossible that a wicked and impure man can operate truly in this art, (10) nor is a person bound to any spirits, but spirits are forced against their wills to answer pure men, and to thoroughly fulfill their good pleasures. (11) Nevertheless, none of us was willing to reveal the principles nor causes of this truth, because they had handed down a judgment of death to us and this art of magic.

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1 Deut. 6:16

2 Deut. 6:13

(12) Nos autem permissione divina illud iudicium prescientes, scientes eciam, quod inde possent accidere multa mala, (13) quoniam impossibile erat nos congregacionis populi corporis viribus manus evadere, nisi a spiritibus cepissemus auxilium, dubitantes inde maius periculum evenire, (14) quoniam hostilis demonum potencia per precepta nostra sola hora eos integre destruxisset, ob hoc unum consilium fecimus magistrorum generale, (15) in quo ex 89 magistris a Neapoli, Athenis et Tholeto congregatis elegimus unum nomine Honorium, filium Euclidis, magistrum Thebarum, ubi ars illa tunc legebatur, ut deberet super predictis pro nobis omnibus operari.

(16) Qui consulente angelo Hocrohel nomine 7 volumina artis magice deffloravit nobis florem accipiens et aliis cortices dimittendo. (17) De quibus voluminibus subtraxit 93 capitula cum omnibus virtutibus huius artis, que sub verbis brevibus continentur, (18) de quibus libellum composuit, quem sacrum sive iuratum vocamus hac de causa, quoniam 100 sacra Dei nomina sunt materia huius libri; (19) et ideo sacrum, quasi actus ex sacris, vel quod per istum exeunt sacra, vel quod ab angelis est sacratus, et quia cum hoc angelus Hocrohel eum sacratum a Domino appellavit.

(20) Tunc placatis principibus et prelatis contentis de combustione fabularum et destruccione scolarum—et credebant hanc artem penitus destruxisse—nos moti furore et iracundia ista fecimus iuramenta:

(21) Primo, quod nulli dabitur iste liber, donec magister fuerit in extremis; et quod nisi tribus tantum copietur; et quod nulli dabitur mulieri nec homini nisi maturo actu tantum et probissimo ac fideli, (22) et qui cognoverit per annum mores et condiciones; et quod de cetero non destruetur sed danti restituetur aut eius successoribus;

(23) et quod, si non inveniatur homo sufficiens, cui liber dari debeat, quod magister secum faciat in tumulo sepeliri executores per iuramenta fortissima constringendo (24) vel ipsum alicubi in vita sua sepeliat munde

(12) But we with divine permission, knowing about that judgment beforehand, knowing also that it would be the cause of great evils, (13) because it was impossible for us to evade the hands of a large body of people, except through the help of spirits we had captured, and fearing that a greater danger would result, (14) because the hostile force of the demons at our command would have destroyed them entirely in only an hour, on account of this we convened a general council of masters, (15) from which out of 89 masters gathered from Naples, Athens, and Toledo, we selected one named Honorius, son of Euclid, master of Thebes, where that art at the time was established, in order that he would labor on our behalf to this end.

(16) And he, with the consulting angel Hocrohel, named seven books of the magic art, plucking for us the flower and dismissing all the rest as bark. (17) From those books he extracted ninety-three chapters with all the worth of this art, which are succinctly captured, (18) from which he composed the short book which we call "Sacred" or "Sworn," so-called because the hundred sacred names of God are included in this book; (19) and therefore "Sacred" as it acts through the sacred, or because sacred things emerge from it, or because it is consecrated through the angels, and because the angel Hocrohel called it consecrated before the Lord.

[The Oath]

(20) Then the princes and prelates (secular and church authorities), contented with the burning of fables and the destruction of schools, believed this art to be utterly destroyed. We, being moved by their madness and rage, have made these oaths:

✠ (21) First, that nobody should be given this book, unless the master is at the point of death;

✠ [2] And that he should provide himself no more than three;

✠ [3] And that it will be given to no woman, nor to a man unless he is mature, and most upright and faithful, (22) both of which should be assessed by observing his mannerisms throughout an entire year;

✠ [4] And that otherwise it should not be destroyed, but returned to him or to his successors;

✠ (23) [5] And that, if no one sufficient is found to whom the book might be given, that the master must bind his executors with the strongest oaths to

et honeste nec locum alicui per aliquas circumstancias revelabit; (25) et si magister ex discipulis aliquam necessitatem habeat aut velit eos aliqualiter probare, quod pro preceptis suis complendis mortem pati, si necesse fuerit, non timebunt; (26) et quod habens non inquiret de dictis vel factis magistri sui, nec ipsum magistrum suum talia scire alicui revelabit, nec dabit ad hoc circumstancias declarantes; (27) et quod sicut pater alligat filios suos, ita magister discipulos suos alligabit in concordia et amore, (28) ita quod unus detrimentum alterius pacietur nec unus secretum alterius revelabit, sed erunt fideles, unanimes et concordes. (29) Nono iurabit recipiens—et post istud transsibit iuramentum—hec omnia predicta observare, et ob hanc causam librum hunc vocitamus iuratum.

II Incipit liber.

In nomine igitur omnipotentis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, vivi et veri Dei, ego Honorius opera Salomonis in libro meo taliter ordinavi, quod premisi capitula, ut pateant clarius que secuntur.

(2) Capitula primi operis

Primum capitulum de composicione magni nominis Dei, quod apud Hebreos dicitur Semenphoras et est 72 literarum, quod est principium in hac arte.

(3) 2um de visione divina.
3um de cognicione potestatis divine.
4um de absolucione peccatorum.
5um ne homo incidat in peccatum mortale.
6um de redempcione trium animarum de purgatorio.

bury it in his tomb, (24) or he himself while living should bury it in some clean and honorable place, and not reveal the place under any circumstances;

✠ (25) [6] And if the master has a need for some students, or otherwise wishes to test them, that they promise they will not fear to suffer death, if necessary, for the sake of his teachings

✠ (26) [7] And that he will not investigate the teachings or doings of their master, nor will he reveal to anyone that his master himself knows such things, nor will he allow the circumstances for declaring it.

✠ (27) [8] And as a father binds his sons, so the master will bind his disciples in harmony and love, (28) so that each will bear the suffering of the others, nor will one reveal the secrets of another, but they will be faithful, harmonious, and in agreement.

✠ (29) [9] With the ninth he will swear on receiving the oath that he will pass on all of the preceding in turn, and for this reason we call this the *Sworn Book*.

II. Beginning of the Book.

Therefore, in the name of our almighty Lord Jesus Christ, the living and true God, I Honorius have laid out the works of Solomon in such a manner in my book, which topics I have listed in advance, in order to more clearly show what follows.

(2) The Topics of the First Work.

1. The first topic, concerning the composition of the great name of God, which the Hebrews call "Shem Ha-Meforash," and is of 72 letters, which is the beginning of this art.

(3) 2. Concerning the Divine vision.

3. Concerning the knowledge of Divine power.

4. Concerning the absolution of sins.

5. Lest one falls into mortal sin.

6. Concerning the redemption of three souls from Purgatory.

(4) Capitula secundi operis

Septimum de cognicione celorum.

8um de cognicione angelorum cuiuslibet celi.

9um de cognicione cuiuslibet angeli et nominis et potestatis eius.

(5) 10um de cognicione sigillorum cuiuslibet angeli et virtutis eorum.

11um de cognicione superiorum cuiuslibet angeli.

12um de cognicione officii cuiuslibet angeli.

(6) 13um de invocacione et associacione cuiuslibet angeli.

14um de impetracione voluntatis per quemlibet angelum.

15um de impetracione omnium scienciarum.

16um de hora mortis sienda.

(7) 17um de omnibus presentibus, preteritis et futuris sciendis.

18um de cognicione planetarum et stellarum.

19um de cognicione virtutum planetarum et stellarum et quid habent influere.

(8) 20um de influenciis planetarum et stellarum mutandis.

21um de mutacione diei in noctem et noctis in diem.

22um de cognicione spirituum et animalium aereorum.

(9) 23um de cognicione spirituum ignis et eorum nominum et superiorum et sigillorum et potestatum et virtutum eorum.

24um de cognicione nominum et virtutum superiorum spirituum.

(10) 25um de cognicione sigillorum et virtutum eorum.

26um de cognicione permixtionis et permutacionis elementorum et corporum ex hiis mixtorum.

(11) 27um de cognicione omnium herbarum, plantarum et omnium animalium existencium super terram et virtutum eorum.

(12) 28um de cognicione humane nature et omnium factorum hominis, que sunt cogitata et que sunt abscondita et ignota in ipsa.

(13) 29um de cognicione aquaticorum spirituum et virtutum [et] superiorum ipsorum.

30um de cognicione terrenorum et infernorum spirituum.

(14) 31um de visione purgatorii et inferni et animarum ibidem existencium.

32um de obligacione corporis et anime ad revertendum.

33um de sacracione huius libri.

(4) The Topics of the Second Work.

7. Concerning the knowledge of the Heavens.

8. Concerning the knowledge of the angels of each of the Heavens.

9. Concerning the knowledge of each angel's name and powers

(5) 10. Concerning the knowledge of the seals of each angel, and their virtues.

11. Concerning the knowledge of the superiors of each angel

12. To know the office of any angel.

(6) 13. Regarding the invocation of any angel, and associating with them.

14. To obtain your wishes through any angel.

15. To obtain all knowledge.

16. To know the hour of death.

(7) 17. To know all things past, present, and future.

18. To know the planets and stars.

19. To know the virtues of the planets and stars and their influences.

(8) 20. To change the influences of the planets and stars.

21. To change day into night, and night into day.

22. To know the spirits and creatures of the air.

(9) 23. To know the spirits of the fire, their names, superiors, seals, powers, and virtues.

24. To know the names and virtues of the higher spirits.

(10) 25. To know their seals and virtues.

26. To know the mixing and changing of elements, and of the bodies mixed from them.

(11) 27. To know all herbs, plants, and all animals which exist on the earth, and their virtues.

(12) 28. To understand human nature and all human achievements, and what are his hidden and unknown intentions.

(13) 29. To know the aquatic spirits, and their virtues and superiors.

30. To know all terrestrial and infernal spirits.

(14) 31. Concerning the vision of purgatory and hell, and of the souls abiding there.

32. Concerning the promise that the body and soul will be reunited.

33. Concerning the consecration of this book.

(15) Capitula tercii operis

Tricesimum quartum de constriccione spirituum per verba.
35um de constriccione spirituum per sigilla.
36um de constriccione spirituum per tabulas.
37um de forma cuilibet spiritui imponenda.
(16) 38um de inclusione spirituum.
39um de incluso spiritu ut respondeat vel non.
40um de fulgure et tonitruo provocando.
41um de combustione facienda.
42um de purificacione aeris.
(17) 43um de corrupcione aeris.
44um de nive et gelu facienda.
45um de rore et pluvia facienda.
46um de floribus et fructibus provocandis.
47um de invisibilitate.
48um de equo.
(18) 49um de absente quod veniat in hora sanus.
50um de re, que deferatur in momento ubicumque volueris.
51um de abstraccione rei.
52um de revocacione rei.
53um de transfiguracione cuiuscumque.
(19) 54um de flumine provocando in terra sicca.
55um de commocione regni contra dominum.
56um de regno vel imperio destruendo.
57um de habendo potestatem super quemlibet.
58um de mille militibus armatis habendis.
(20) 59um de formacione castri indestructibilis.
60um de speculo perverso componendo.
61um de destruccione loci vel inimici per speculum perversum.
62um de speculo aparicionis mundi.
(21) 63um de fure et furto revocando.

(15) The Topics of the Third Work.

34. Concerning the binding of spirits through words.
35. Concerning the binding of spirits through seals.
36. Concerning the binding of spirits through tables.
37. Concerning imposing a form to any spirit.
(16) 38. The confinement of spirits.
39. In order that a confined spirit will answer or not.
40. To call forth lightning and thunder.
41. Concerning suffumigations that must be made.
42. Concerning the purification of the air.
(17) 43. Concerning the corruption of the air.
44. To make snow and frost.
45. To make dew and rain.
46. To call forth flowers and fruit.
47. For invisibility.
48. Concerning a horse.[3]
(18) 49. To bring a missing person back safely in an hour.
50. To transport something wherever you wish, in a moment.
51. To have something removed.
52. To recall something.
53. To transfigure anything.
(19) 54. To cause a river on dry land.
55. To incite a kingdom against its ruler.
56. To destroy a kingdom or state.
57. To have power over anyone.
58. To have 1 thousand armed soldiers.
(20) 59. To form an indestructible fortress.
60. How to make a mirror of destruction.
61. How to destroy a place or an enemy using the mirror of destruction.
62. The apparition of the world in a mirror (or glass).
(21) 63. To return anything which a thief has stolen.

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3 CXVI reiterates the topics with more detail: "Concerning a horse, which will carry you anywhere you wish in a single night." CXX specifies that the spirits of the West can make horses fast. Sl. 3853 fol. 38v has a chapter on how to magically have a fast horse, "which can carry you from England to Jerusalem in under an hour." Compare Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, p. 54.

64um de seraturis aperiendis.

65um de discordia facienda.

66um de concordia provocanda.

67um de habenda gracia et benivolencia omnium personarum.

(22) [68um de mulieribus habendis ad libitum.]

69um de diviciis habendis.

70um de curacione cuiuslibet infirmitatis.

71um de dando infirmitatem cuilibet et qualemcumque placuerit operanti.

72um de interficiendo quemcumque.

(23) 73um de tempestate et periculo terre et maris faciendo.

74um de nave retenta in mari per adamantem vel aliter retrahenda.

75um de omni periculo evitando.

76um de congregacione et capcione avium.

(24) 77um de piscibus congregandis et capiendis.

78um de animalibus silvestribus congregandis et capiendis.

79um de bello faciendo inter aves vel pisces vel animalia.

(25) 80um de apparencia combustionis.

81um de apparencia ioculatorum et puellarum psallencium.

82um de apparencia gardinorum vel castrorum.

83um de apparencia militum pugnancium.

(26) 84um de apparencia griphonum et drachonum.

85um de apparencia omnium ferarum.

86um de apparencia venatoris et canum in venacione.

87um de apparencia hominis quod sit alibi quam est.

88um de apparencia tocius voluptatis.

(27) Capitula quarti operis

Octagesimum nonum de incarceratis habendis.

90um de seris et carceribus reserandis.

91um de thesauris, metallis et lapidibus preciosis et omnibus rebus absconditis in terra habendis.

64. To open locks.

65. To cause discord.

66. To cause agreement.

67. To have the good will and favor of all persons.

(22) [68. To have the desire of women.][4]

69. To have wealth.

70. To cure any sickness.

71. To make anyone sick, whenever you wish.

72. To kill anyone.

(23) 73. To hold back storms and dangers of the earth and sea.

74. To hold back a ship at sea using the adamant stone, or otherwise to bring it back again.

75. To avoid all danger.

76. To flock birds together, and collect them.

(24) 77. To cause fish to gather and be caught.

78. To cause woodland animals to gather and be caught.

79. To cause war between the birds, or fish, or animals.

(25) 80. To make burning appear.

81. To make appear jesters and girls singing Psalms.[5]

82. To make gardens or fortresses appear.

83. To make appear soldiers fighting.

(26) 84. To make griffins and dragons appear.

85. To make all wild beasts appear.

86. To make hunters and dogs appear hunting.

87. To make someone appear as if they were somewhere other than where they actually are.

88. To make all pleasures appear.

(27) The Topics of the Fourth Work.

89. To release someone who is imprisoned.

90. To unlock bars and prisons.

91. To obtain treasure, metals, and precious stones, and all things that are hidden in the earth.

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4 See chapter CXVI which recounts the topics.

5 Chapter CXVI: balancium ("babbling"). SSM: ballancium ("dancing").

(28) 92um de apparencia corporum mortuorum quod loquantur et resuscitata appareant.

93um ut animalia de terra creari appareant.

Set ista duo capitula subtraximus, quoniam erant contra Domini voluntatem.

III Incipit libero

Nos igitur cum divino adiutorio precepta Salomonis et vestigia sequi volentes tanteque subtilitatis vires recipere unum principium necessarium esse profitemur. (2) Nota, quod primum principium est divina maiestas, et est invocacio vera a fide cordis procedens et est opera iusta efficaciam ostendens. (3) Dixit Salomon: "Unus est et solus Deus, sola virtus, sola fides," a quo unum opus, unum principium. Una perfeccio in arte consistit, quamvis in membris dividatur multiplicibus. (4) Et sicut partes integrales capiunt suum totum, licet fuerit imperfectum, similiter ex hiis nascitur tota virtus.

(5) In nomine igitur illius Dei vivi et veri, qui est Alpha et Ω, principium et finis, qui est Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, tres persone, unus deus, vite dator, mortis destructor, (6) unde dicitur: " ... qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit et vitam resurgendo reparavit, qui Novum condidit Testamentum,"

(7) de composicione sigilli Dei ad noticiam prime partis, de visione divina ad noticiam secunde partis, de visione angelorum ad noticiam tercie partis, (8) de constriccione spirituum ad noticiam 4^{e} partis et de ligacione infernorum ad noticiam 5^{e} partis vere operantibus per hunc modum.

(9) Angelorum tres sunt modi, celestes, aerei, terrestres. Celestium duo sunt modi, quorum quidam serviunt Deo soli, (10) et isti sunt 9 ordines angelorum, videlicet cherubyn, seraphin, troni, dominaciones, virtutes, principatus, potestates, archangeli et angeli, (11) de quibus nec ex coacta virtute nec ex artificiali potencia inter mortales est loquendum, et isti nullatenus invocantur, (12) quia magestati divine continue laudantes assistunt et nuncquam ab eius presencia separantur.

(28) 92. Concerning the appearing of dead bodies which appear to rise again and speak.

93. In order that animals of the earth appear to be created.

But we have removed those two topics, because they were against the Lord's will.

III. Here begins the book.

We therefore, with divine help, wishing to record the teachings of Solomon, and to follow his footsteps with as much exactness as possible, we declare there to be one principle necessity. (2) Note, that the first principle is the Divine Majesty, and it is the true invocation proceeding from faith of the heart and just works, showing the effectiveness.

(3) Solomon said: "There is only one God, one power, one faith," from which a single work, a single beginning. Perfection in the art consists of one, although it can be divided into multiple parts. (4) And just as the integral parts make up the whole, although it had been incomplete, similarly from these the whole power is born.

(5) Therefore, in the name of that living and true God, who is Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, who is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three persons, one God, the giver of life, and the destroyer of death, (6) of whom it is said: "... Who by dying has destroyed our death, and renewed our life with his resurrection, establishing a New Covenant."[6]

(7) The First Part concerns the composition of the Seal of God; Part Two concerns the Divine Vision; Part Three concerns the vision of angels; (8) Part Four concerns the binding of spirits; and Part Five concerns binding the inhabitants of the underworld.

(9) There are three types of angels, the celestial, the aerial, and the earthly. There are two types of celestials, those who only serve God, (10) and those are the nine orders of angels, namely, the Cherubim, Seraphim, Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Principalities, Powers, Archangels, and Angels, (11) concerning whom it is spoken among mortals neither by forced power nor by artificial force, and therefore in nowise should they be invoked, (12) because they always stand praising the divine majesty, and never separated from his presence.

6 From the mass.

(13) Tamen quia humani generis anima cum ipsis formata, expectans cum ipsis feliciter coronari per donum et graciam Salvatoris, (14) potest suo vivente corpore eos presencialiter cum summa maiestate veraciter aspicere et cum ipsis Deum laudare et suum cognoscere creatorem. (15) Et ista cognicio non est cognoscere Deum in maiestate et potencia nisi illo modo, quo Adam et prophete cognoverunt.

(16) Set istud est principaliter notandum, quod operancium tres sunt modi, pagani, Iudei, Christiani. Pagani sacrificant spiritibus aereis et terreis et eos non constringunt, (17) set fingunt spiritus se constringi per verba legis eorum, ut ydolis fidem adhibeant et ad veram fidem nullatenus convertantur. (18) Et quia fidem malam habent;opera eorum nulla. Et qui per talia experimenta operari voluerit, Dominum Deum suum dimittat et derelinquat et spiritibus sacrificet et ydolis fidem adhibeat, (19) quia fides operatur in homine, sive bona fuerit sive mala, unde in Evangelio: "Fides tua te salvam fecit."

(20) Iudei in hac visione nullatenus operantur, quia per adventum Christi donum amiserunt, nec possunt in celis collocari testante Domino, (21) qui dicit: "Qui baptizatus non fuerit condempnabitur," et sic in omnibus angelis operantur imperfecte. (22) Nec per invocaciones suas veniunt ad effectum, nisi Christo fidem adhibeant, quia dictum est eis per prophetam: (23) "Quando venit rex regum et dominus dominancium, cessabit unccio vestra," que nuncquam cessaret, si per hanc artem haberet efficaciam veram, et sic opera eorum nulla. (24) Et quamvis Iudei, in quantum Iudei, a Deo sunt condempnati, tamen summum adorant creatorem set indebito modo. (25) Tamen virtute sanctorum Dei nominum coguntur venire spiritus, set quia Iudei non signantur signo Domini, scilicet crucis et fidei, nolunt spiritus veraciter eis respondere.

(13) Yet because the soul of man was formed with the angels, awaiting with them to be happily rewarded by the gift and grace of the Saviour, (14) he is able to truly look at the most high Majesty face to face while alive and to praise God along with them (the angels), and recognize his Creator. (15) And that knowledge is not to recognize God in his greatness and might, except in that manner by which Adam and the prophets recognized him.

(16) But this should principally be observed, that there are three types of people who perform this art: pagans, Jews, and Christians.

The pagans sacrifice to the aerial and earthly spirits, and do not bind them, (17) but the spirits pretend themselves to be confined by the words of their law, in order that they have faith in idols, and never be converted to the true faith. (18) And because they adhere to a false faith, their works are invalid. And he that wishes to perform such experiments must abandon and forsake the Lord their God and sacrifice to the spirits and put faith in idols, (19) because faith works in man, whether good or evil, from which the Gospel says: "Your faith has made you well."[7]

(20) Jews can in nowise work to obtain this vision, because with the arrival of Christ they have lost the gift, nor can they be stationed in heaven as the Lord testified when he said: "Whomever has been baptized will not be condemned,"[8] and so they work imperfectly with all angels. (22) Nor will their invocations be effective, unless they put their faith in Christ, because it was said through the prophet: (23) "When the king of kings and lord of lords comes, your anointing will cease,"[9] which should never have ceased, if they could have true effectiveness through this art, and thus their works are null. (24) And although the Jews, as they are Jews, have been condemned by God, yet they honor the most high Creator, but in an improper manner. (25) Yet with the power of the holy names of God, the spirits are compelled to come, but because the Jews are marked not with the Sign of the Lord, namely of the cross and of the faith, the spirits are unwilling to answer them truly.

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7 Luke 17:19. In the parallel text in SSM L.4.f.49, the main target of derision is Islam. See Veenstra 2012 pp. 188–189 n62.

8 Compare Mark 16:16: "He who believes and is baptised shall be saved, but he who believes not shall be condemned.

9 Widely cited by church writers, and attributed to Daniel, the actual source of this quotation seems to be the pseudo-Augustinian sermon "Against the Jews, Pagans, and Arians." See Fanger 2012 pp. 203–204, p. 215 n29. See also Mesler, 2012, p. 118, 139 notes 42–46.

(26) Solus igitur Christianus potest in hac visione et in omnibus aliis veraciter operari. (27) Et quamvis per hanc artem magicam trium hominum genera operentur, non credendum est, quod in hoc nomine "magus" debeat malum includi. (28) Nam magus per se philosophus Grece, Hebraice scriba, Latine sapiens dicitur. Sic ars magica a "magos" dicitur, quod est "sapiens," et "-ycos," quod est "sciencia," (29) quasi "sciencia sapientum," cum in ipsa efficiatur homo sapiens, et per hanc sciuntur omnia presencia, preterita et futura.

Primum opus vel tractatus.

IV De composicione sigilli Dei vivi et veri.

Primo fac unum circulum, cuius diameter sit trium digitorum propter tres clavos Domini vel 5 propter quinque plagas vel 7 propter 7 sacramenta vel 9 propter 9 ordines angelorum; set communiter 5 digitorum fieri solet.

(2) Deinde infra illum circulum fac alium circulum a primo distantem duobus granis ordei propter duas tabulas Moysi vel distantem a primo tribus granis propter trinitatem personarum.

(3) Deinde infra illos duos circulos in superiori parte, que dicitur angulus meridiei, fac unam crucem, cuius tibia aliquantulum intret circulum interiorem.

(4) Deinde a parte dextra crucis scribe h—aspiracionem—deinde t, deinde o, deinde e. x. o. r. a. b. a. l. a. y. q. c. i. y. s. t. a. l. g. a. <a>. o. n. o. s. u. l. a. r. i. t. e. k. s. p. f. y. o. m. o. m. a. n. a. r. e. m. i. a. r. e. l. a. t. e. d. a. c. o. n. o. n. a. o. y. l. e. y. o. t.

(5) Et iste litere sint eque distantes et circumdent circulum. eo ordine, quo sunt prenominate, et sic magnum nomen Domini "Semenphoras" lxxii literarum erit completum.

(6) Hoc facto in medio circulorum, scilicet in centro, fac unum pentagonum talem: ★, in cuius medio sit signum "tau" tale: , et supra illud signum scribe nomen Dei "El" et sub nomen aliud Dei, scilicet "Ely," isto modo:

(26) Therefore only Christians are able to attain this vision, and in all other things operate truly. (27) And although three types of people operate in this art of magic, it should not be thought that, in this name "magus" should be implied any evil. (28) For in Greek "magus" signifies a philosopher, in Hebrew a scribe, and in Latin a wise man. Thus the "magic art" is the art of the magi, which is to say the "wise men," and "-ycos," which is "knowledge," (29) thus "the knowledge of the wise men," since in it a man is made wise, and through this art all the past, present, and future are known.

The First Work or Treatise.

IV. Concerning the composition of the Seal of the True and Living God.

First make a single circle, whose diameter is three fingers (on account of the three nails of the Lord), or else 5 (for the five plagues), or 7 (for the 7 sacraments), or even 9 (for the 9 orders of angels); but generally it is made of 5 fingers.

(2) Then, below that circle make another circle, distant from the first by two grains of the barley-corn (on account of the two tablets of Moses, else the distant from the first can be three grains on account of the three persons in the Trinity.

(3) Then below those two circles in the uppermost part, which is called the southern angle, make a single cross, the leg of which may slightly enter the more interior circle.

(4) Then from right part of the cross, write 'h'—the exhalation—then t. o. e. x. o. r. a. b. a. l. a. y. q. c. i. y. s. t. a. l. g. a. <a>. o. n. o. s. u. l. a. r. i. t. e. k. s. p. f. y. o. m. o. m. a. n. a. r. e. m. i. a. r. e. l. a. t. e. d. a. c. o. n. o. n. a. o. y. l. e. y. o. t.

(5) And these letters should be made an equal distance apart, and should surround the circle. That series, which were previously named, and thus it will be filled with the great name of the Lord "Shem Ha-Meforash" of seventy-two letters.

(6) This finished, in the middle of the circles, namely in the center, make a pentagonal thus: ★, in the middle of which should be the sign 'tau', thus: 𐤕 and above that sign write the name of God "El" and underneath this other name of God, namely "Ely," in this fashion:

(7) Deinde infra angulum superiorem pentagoni scribe istas duas literas: "1," "x" et infra alium angulum dextrum istas duas: "a," "l" et in alio post istum istas duas: "l," "a" et in alio post istum: "l," "c" et in alio post istum "u," "m."

(8) Deinde circa pentagonum fac unum eptagonum, cuius latus superius + secundum sui +[1] medium contingat angulum superiorem pentagoni, ubi "l," "x" scribebatur,

(9) et in eodem latere eptagoni scribe hoc nomen sancti angeli, quod est "Casziel,"

et in alio latere a dextris istud nomen alterius sancti angeli, (10) quod est "Satquiel,"

deinde in alio "Samael" et in alio "Raphael," postea "Anael," postea "Michael," postea "Gabriel,"

et sic septem latera eptagoni erunt adimpleta.

(11) Deinde circa istum eptagonum predictum fac alium eptagonum non quomodo primus factum set taliter, quod unum latus ipsius intercedet alterum latus eiusdem.

(12) Deinde fac alium eptagonum talem, qualis primus fuit, cuius anguli 7 contingant angulos 7 eptagoni secundi, qui binus esse videtur. + Hic tamen eptagonus infra predictum secundum concludetur +. (13) Unum latus secundi eptagoni supereundo et aliud subeundo set latus primo angulo succedens subeundo ibit, et que secuntur serie supereuntis et subeuntis alterutrim[2] se habebunt.

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1 ++ = *turbata* ("out of order")

2 So Sl. 3854 115r. Other ms: *Altrutrum* ("one to another"). GH p. 156 cites Habel—Gröbel, *Mittellateinisches Glossar* (Paderborm, s.d.) [elsewhere, wechselseitig, gegenseitig: mutually, reciprocally (Adv.).]

(7) Then, below the uppermost angle of the pentagon, write these two letters: 'l', 'x'

and below the other in the right angle, these two: 'a', 'l'

and in the next after those, these two: 'l', 'a'

and in the next after that: 'l', 'c'

and in that following: 'u', 'm'.

(8) Then around the pentagon make a heptagon, it should touch the uppermost side of the pentagon, <its second> which is after the middlemost above angle, where are written 'l', 'x'.

(9) And in the same side of the heptagon write this name of the holy angel, which is 'Casziel.'

And in the next side from the right-most the name of the holy angel, (10) which is 'Satquiel'.

'Then in the next 'Samael', and in the next 'Raphael', afterwards 'Anael', afterwards 'Michael,' afterwards 'Gabriel.'

And thus the seven sides of the heptagon will be completed.

(11) Then around that preceding heptagon make another heptagon, not made like the first, but in such a manner that the one side of it will intersect the previous side of the same.

(12) Then make another such heptagon, like the first, whose seven angles touch the seven angles of the second heptagon, and the which should be shown doubled. + Yet this heptagon will be contained within the preceding second one +.[10] (13) The one side of the second heptagon going over, and the other going under, but the first side should go under the following angle, and that which follows in sequence should go over and under each other.

10 This passage matches the drawing in SSM, but not Sl. 313, demonstrating that the drawing in SSM is closer to the original. See Veenstra 2012 p. 161, 186 n34. GH p. 67, 155–156 marks this as *turbata*.

(14) Deinde in quolibet angulo secundi eptagoni una crux depingatur. (15) Deinde in illo latere secundi eptagoni, quod transit ab ultimo angulo eiusdem ad secundum angulum eiusdem, in eadem parte, que est supra "Casziel," sillabe cuiusdam sancti Dei nominis scribantur, (16) ita quod hec sillaba: "la" scribatur in illo loco lateris predicti, qui est supra primam sillabam de "Casziel," (17) et hec sillaba: "ya" in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est supra ultimam sillabam eiusdem "Casziel," (18) et hec sillaba: "ly" in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est [inter] latus intersecans predictum latus et crucem secundi anguli eiusdem.

(19) Deinde in latere illo, quod tendit ab angulo primo eiusdem secundi eptagoni ad tercium angulum eiusdem, scribatur hoc nomen sanctum Dei: "Narath," (20) ita quod hec sillaba: "na" scribatur in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est supra primam sillabam de "Satquiel," (21) et hec sillaba: "ra" in illo loco, qui est supra ultimam eiusdem, et hec due litere: "t," "h" in illo loco, qui est in eodem latere inter latus intersecans ipsum et crucem terciam.

(22) Deinde in illo latere eiusdem secundi eptagoni, quod tendit a tercio angulo eiusdem ad quintum eiusdem, scribatur hoc creatoris nomen sanctum, quod dicitur "Libarre," (23) ita quod hec sillaba: "ly" scribatur supra primam sillabam de "Raphael" et hec sillaba: "bar" supra ultimam sillabam eiusdem (24) et hec sillaba "re" in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et quintum angulum eiusdem secundi eptagoni.

(25) Deinde in illo latere eiusdem secundi eptagoni, quod est a quinta cruce usque ad ultimam, scribatur hoc aliud sacrum creatoris nomen: "Libares," (26) ita quod hec sillaba: "ly" scribatur in illo loco lateris, qui est supra primam sillabam ipsius "Michael," (27) et hec sillaba: "ba" in illo loco lateris, qui est supra ultimam sillabam eiusdem, (28) et hec sillaba: "res" in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et ultimam crucem.

(29) Deinde in illo latere eiusdem secundi eptagoni, quod vadit a secundo angulo eiusdem secundi eptagoni ad quartum, scribatur hoc aliud sanctum nomen: "Lialg" cum coniunctiva, (30) ita quod coniunctiva in illo loco eiusdem lateris scribatur, qui est supra primam sillabam de "Samael," (31) et hec sillaba: "ly" in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est supra ultimam eiusdem, (32) et hec sillaba: "alg" in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et quartam crucem.

(14) Then in each of the angles of the second heptagon make a cross. (15) Then in that side (of the second heptagon) which crosses from the last angle of the same to after the angle of the same, in the same part which is above "Casziel," should be written this syllable from a certain sacred name of God, (16) thus: "la" it should be written in that place of the preceding side, which is above the first syllable of "Casziel," (17) and this syllable: 'ya' in that place of same side, which is above the most far syllable of same "Casziel," and this syllable: "ly" in that place of the same side, (18) which is [between] the side intersecting the preceding side and the cross of the following same angle.

(19) Then in that side, which stretches from the first angle of the same heptagon and continues towards the third angle of same, this holy name of God should be written: "Narath," (20) with this syllable: "na" written in that place of the same side, which is above the first syllable of "Satquiel," (21) and this syllable: "ra" in that place, which is above the farthest syllable of same, and these two letters 't,' 'h' made in that place, which is in the same side between the side intersecting itself and the third cross.

(22) Then in that side (of the same second heptagon) which stretches from the third angle of same towards the fifth of same, should be written this holy name of the Creator, which is called "Libarre," (23) thus with this syllable: "ly" written above the first syllable of "Raphael," and this syllable: "bar" above the last syllable of the same, (24) and this syllable "re" in that place of the same side, which is between the side intersecting itself and the fifth angle of same second heptagon.

(25) Then in that side (of the same second heptagon) which is farthest from the fifth cross, this other sacred name of the Creator should be written: 'Libares', (26) with this syllable: "ly" written in that place of the side, which is above the first syllable of "Michael," (27) and this syllable: "ba" in that place of the side, which is above the farthest syllable of same, (28) and this syllable: "res" in that place of same side, which is between the side intersecting itself and the last cross.

(29) Then in that side of the same second heptagon, which goes from the second angle of the same second heptagon towards the fourth, this other holy name should be written: "Lialg" with the connective. (30) Therefore the connective should be written in that place of the same side, which is above the first syllable of "Samael," and this syllable: "ly" in that place of the same side, which is above the farthest of the same, and this syllable: "alg" in that place of the same side, which is between the side intersecting itself and the fourth cross.

(33) Set cave, quod coniunctiva sic debet scribi: cum titulo intersecante propter timorem Dei malum volitum dividentem.

(34) Deinde in illo latere eiusdem eptagoni tendente a quarta cruce ad sextam scribatur hoc aliud sacrum Dei nomen: "Ueham," (35) ita quod hec sillaba: "ue" scribatur in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est supra primam sillabam de "Anael," et hec litera: "h" supra ultimam sillabam (36) et hec sillaba: "am" in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est inter latus [inter]secans ipsum et sextam crucem.

(37) Deinde in illo latere, quod tendit a sexto angulo eiusdem secundi eptagoni ad primum angulum, scribatur hoc aliud sacrum Dei nomen: "Yalgal," (38) ita quod hec litera: "y" scribatur in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est supra primam sillabam de "Gabriel," (39) et hec sillaba: "al" supra ultimam et hec sillaba: "gal" in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et primam crucem.

(40) Deinde in medio lateris primi <et> tercii eptagoni a dextris scribatur "Vos" et in sequenti latere eiusdem tercii eptagoni a dextris hoc nomen: "Duynas" (41) et in alio "Gyram" et in alio "Gram" et in alio "Aysaram" et in alio "Alpha" et in alio "Ω."

(42) Deinde in illo spaciolo, quod est sub secundi et tercii angulo primo eptagonorum, scribatur hoc nomen Dei: "El"

(43) et in illo spaciolo, quod est a dextris sub angulis secundi et tercii eptagonorum sub secunda cruce, hoc nomen: "On"

et in illo alio spaciolo sub tercia cruce iterum hoc nomen: "El"

(44) et in alio sub quarta cruce iterum "On" et in alio sub quinta cruce iterum "El'

et in alio sub sexta cruce iterum "On" et in alio sub septima cruce "Ω.""

(45) Deinde in illo spaciolo, quod clauditur inter angulum primum secundi eptagoni et secundum angulum eiusdem et primum latus tercii eptagoni et porcionem circuli contingentem illos angulos, depingatur una crux in medio, scilicet spacii illius.

(33) But beware, that the connective should be written thus: with the inscription intersecting, because of the fear of God, separating evil is willed.

(34) Then, on that side (of the same heptagon) that goes from the fourth cross to the sixth, write this other sacred name of God: "Ueham," (35) such that the syllable: "ue" is written above the first syllable of "Anael," and the letter "h" is above the last syllable of the same, (36) and the syllable "am" is in the space of the same side which is [inter]secting the side itself and the sixth cross.

(37) Then, on that side which goes from the sixth angle (of the same second heptagon) to the first angle, this other sacred name of God should be written: "Yalgal," (38) such that the letter "y" is written in the space of the same side which is above the first syllable of "Gabriel," (39) and the syllable "al" is above the last, and the syllable "gal" should be in the space of the same side which is between the intersection and the first cross.

(40) Then in the middle of the first side and the third heptagon on the right should be written "Vos" and in the next side to the right of the same third heptagon this name: "Duynas" (41) and in the next "Gyra" and in the next "Gram" and in the next "Aysaram" and in the next "Alpha" and in the next "Ω."

(42) Then in that small space which is under the second and the third angle of the first heptagon, should be written this name of God: "El"

(43) and in that small space which is to the right under the second and third angles of the heptagons under the following cross, this name: "On"

and in space-small that one elsewhere under the third cross again this name: "El"

(44) and in the other under the fourth cross again "On"

and in the other under the fifth cross again "El"

and in the other under the sixth cross again "On"

and in the other under the seventh cross " Ω"

(45) Then in that small space which is closed between the first angle of the second heptagon and the second angle of same, and the first side of the third heptagon, and the part touching those angles of the circle, draw a single cross in the middle.

(46) Et in bucca superiori a leva crucis scribatur hec litera: "a" et super buccam crucis secundam a dextris hec litera: "g" (47) et sub bucca inferiori a dextris scribatur hec alia litera: "a" et sub quarta bucca hec alia litera: "1."

(48) Deinde in alio spaciolo sequenti a dextris in medio scribatur hoc nomen: "Ely" et in alio hoc nomen: "Eloy" et in alio "Χρς"[3] et in alio "Sother" et in alio "Adonay" et in alio "Saday."

(49) Deinde scias, quod in exemplaribus communiter pentagonus fit de rubeo cum croceo in spaciis tincto, et primus eptagonus de azurio, secundus de croceo, tertius de purpureo, et circuli de nigro. (50) Et spacium inter circulos, ubi est nomen "Semenphoras," tingitur croceo. Omnia alia spacia viridi habent tingi. (51) Set in operacionibus aliter fieri debet, quia de sanguine aut talpe aut turturis aut upupe aut vespertilionis aut omnium horum figuratur et in pergameno virgineo vitulino vel equino vel cervino, et sic completur Dei sigillum. (52) Et per hoc sanctum et sacrum sigillum, quando erit sacratum, poteris facere operaciones, que postea dicentur in hoc libro sacro. (53) Modus autem sacrandi hoc sacrum sigillum talis, sicut sequitur, debet esse.

3 = Christus. GH simply expands the "Chi-Rho" to its Latin equivalent, "Christus."

(46) And in top left space of the cross write the letter: "a"

and in the top right space of the cross this letter: "g"

(47) and in the lower right space write another letter: "a"

and under the fourth space below this other letter: "l."

(48) Then in the middle of the next small space on the right, write this name: "Ely"

and in the next this name: "Eloy"

and in the next "Χρς"

and in the next "Sother"

and in the next "Adonay"

and in the next "Saday."

(49) Know then, that in the exemplars generally the pentagon is made from red, with the space tinted yellow, and the first heptagon of azure, the second from yellow, the third from purple, and the circle from black.

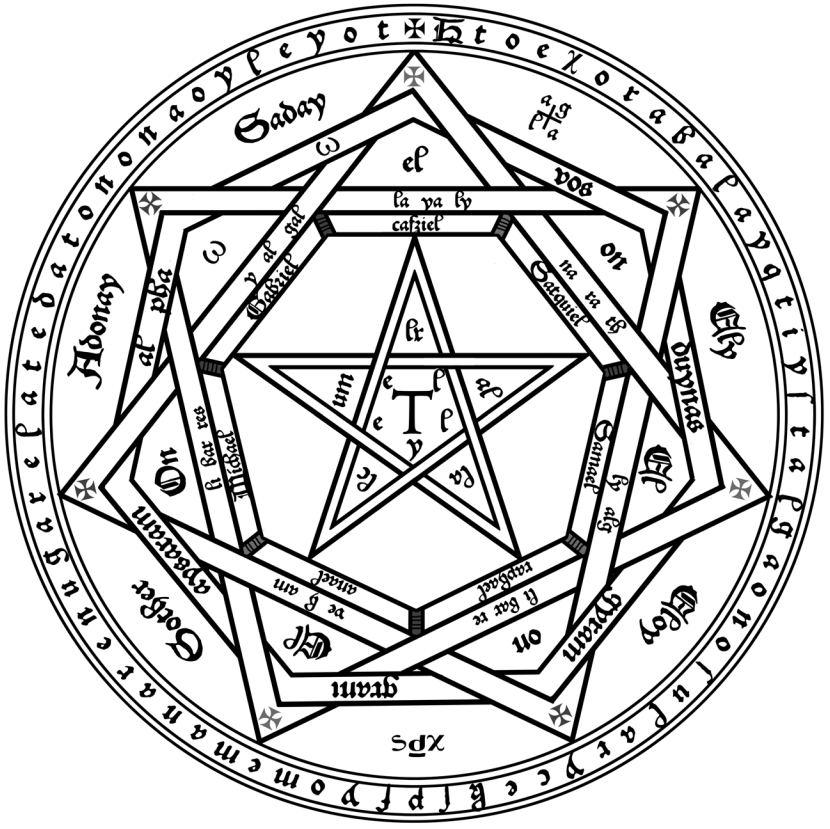
(50) And the space between the circles, where the name Shem Ha-Meforash is, is tinted yellow.

All other spaces must be tinted green.

(51) But in the operations it must be done otherwise, because it should be written with the blood either of a mole, a turtledove, or hoopoe, or of a bat, or of all of these. Also, it is should be formed on virgin parchment, either from a calf, foal, or deer. And thus the Seal of God is completed.

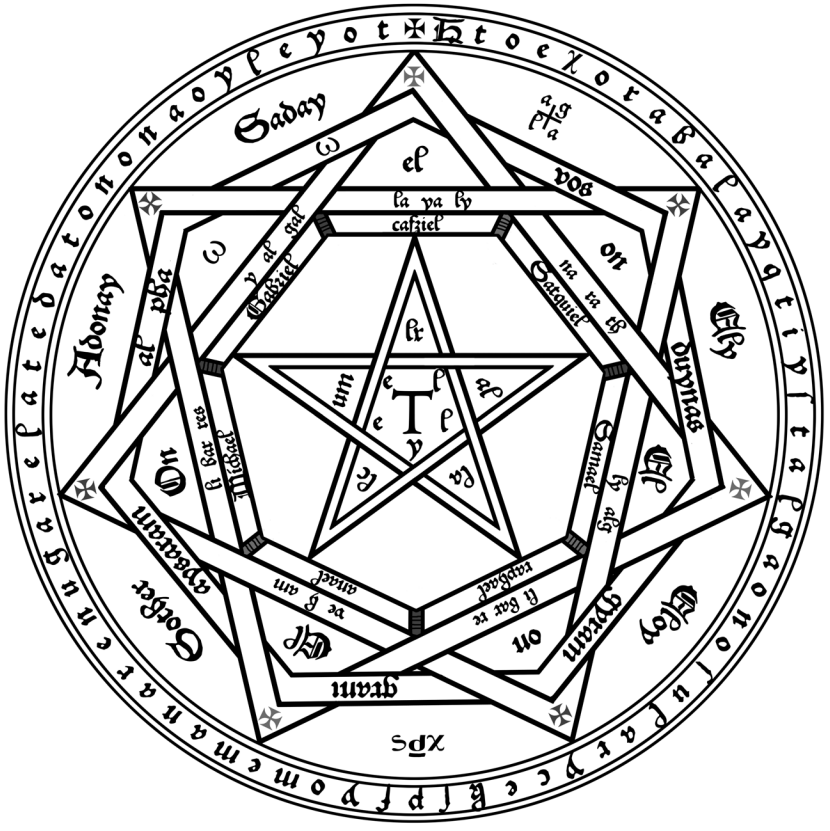
(52) And through this holy and sacred seal, once consecrated, you will be able to perform the operations, which afterwards will be revealed in this sacred book.

(53) But the manner consecrating this sacred seal must be done as follows.



Seal of God, reconstructed based on Summa and text of Honorius

(54) Inspirante Domino dixit Salomon: "Vnus est [et] solus Deus, sola fides, sola virtus," quam Dominus hominibus voluit revelari et distribui tali modo. (55) Dixit angelus Samael Salomoni: "Hoc dabis populo Israel, qui et aliis similiter tribuent." Sic placuit creatori, et iubet ipsum Dominus taliter consecrari. (56) Primo sit mundus operans, non pollutus, et cum devocione faciat, non astute. Non comedat neque bibat, donec perfecerit opus, et sanguis, quo scriptum fuerit, primo sit benedictus, sicut postea dicetur. (57) Deinde suffumigetur hoc sigillum ambra, musco, aloe, lapdano albo et rubeo, mastice, olibano, margaritis et thure invocando et orando Domi-



Seal of God, reconstructed based on Summa and text of Honorius

(54) With the Lord's inspiration, Solomon said: "There is only one God, one faith, one power," which the Lord wished to be shown and disseminated to men in such a manner. (55) The angel Samael said to Solomon: "This you will give to the people of Israel, which they will similarly bestow to others." Thus it has pleased the Creator, and the Lord himself orders it to be consecrated in such a manner. (56) First, the worker must be clean, not impure, and should do so with devotion, not cunningly. He must not eat or drink until the work is completed, and the blood, with which the writing will be done, must first be blessed, as will be declared afterward.[11] (57) Then this seal should be suffumigated with amber, musk, aloe, white and red labdanum, mastic, frankincense, pearls, and incense, calling upon and begging the Lord, as will be

11 See chap. CXXXVII.

num, sicut postea de visione divina erudietur. (58) Post in vocando angelos, sicut infra eciam dicetur, mutabitur tamen peticio tali modo.

(59) "Vt tu, Domine, per annunciacionem, concepcionem" et cetera "hoc sacratissimum nomen ac sigillum tuum benedicere et consecrare digneris, (60) ut per ipsum te mediante possim vel possit talis N celestes convincere potestates, aereas et terreas cum infernalibus subiugare, invocare, transmutare, coniurare, constringere, excitare, congregare, dispergere, ligare ac ipsos innocuos reddere, (61) homines placare et ab eis suas peticiones graciosius habere, inimicos pacificare, pacificatos disiungere, sanos in sanitate custodire vel infirmare, infirmos curare, (62) homines bonos a malis custodire et distinguere et cognoscere, omne corporale periculum evadere, iudices in placito placatos reddere, victoriam in omnibus optinere, (63) peccata carnalia mortificare et spiritualia fugare, vincere et evitare, divicias in bonis augmentare, et dum in die iudicii apparebit a dextris tuis cum sanctis et electis tuis, tuam possit cognoscere maiestatem."

(64) Et tunc illa nocte sub aere sereno extra domum dimittat. Tunc habeas cirothecas novas sine creta factas, in quas quis nuncquam manum posuerit, in quibus signum +glutetur+. (65) Et sic complebitur hoc sacrosanctum sigillum, cuius primus eptagonus 7 ordines, secundus 7 articulos duplos, tercius 7 sacramenta designat.

V Viso de composicione sigilli Dei vivi videndum est de visione divina, ad quam habendam sic est procedendum.

Primo sit operans vere penitens et confessus. Sit a mulieribus et ab earum aspectibus sequestratus. (2) Nam ut Salomon ait: "Tucius est cum ursa et leone in cavernis morari quam cum muliere nequam." Ab hominibus malis

taught afterwards concerning the divine vision. (58) After calling the angels, you should also say as follows, but you should modify the petition in such a manner.

[Prayer.]

(59) "That you, O Lord, through the annunciation, the conception" etc.[12] "that you would deign to bless and consecrate this most holy name and your seal, (60) so that through it with your mediation, I or such person N, will be able to conquer such heavenly powers, of the air or earth, with the infernal ones, to subjugate, invoke, transmute, conjure, constrain, raise up, congregate, disperse, bind and render them harmless. (61) To appease people and favorably obtain from them their petitions, to pacify enemies, to disunite those pacified, to protect the health of those who are healthy, or to sicken them, and to cure the sick. (62) To guard good people from evil, and to distinguish and recognized them, to evade all physical danger, to make favorable judges be favorably disposed again, to have victory in all things, (63) to destroy carnal sins, and rout, conquer, and avoid spiritual ones, to increase wealth in good things, and on the Day of Judgment that I may appear on your right hand with your saints and elect, and be able to recognize your majesty."

(64) And then that night, he should set it outside the house, under clear skies.

Then you should have new gloves, made without whitening chalk, into which no one should have placed a hand, in which the seal must be <glued> [*held]. (65) And thus is completed this sacrosanct seal, whose first heptagon designates the 7 orders, whose second designates the seven twofold events, and whose third designates the seven sacraments.

V. Having considered the composition of the Seal of the living God, which is necessary for seeing the divine vision, we will now proceed to that topic.

First he must perform true penance and confession. He must separate himself from women, and from seeing them. (2) For as Solomon said: "It is safer to dwell with a she-bear and a lion in its den than to abide with a wicked

12 See chap. XCIX.2 for full text.

et infirmis separetur. Nam dicitur in Psalmo: "Cum sancto sanctus eris, et cum viro iniquo iniqus eris."

(3) Vitam suam munde deducat, quia dicitur: "Beati immaculati in via, qui ambulant in lege Domini." Vestimenta eius non sint fetida, immo nova vel mundissime lota. (4) Et intendit Salomon vestimenta nova virtutes esse, quia Deus nec beati angeli de mundanis curant. Ex hoc patet, quod pauperes cicius et verius operantur quam divites. (5) Set in operacione subsequenti istorum angelorum istud convenit, quia habitant cum hominibus et sunt mundi. Ideo mundas vestes appetunt, et ideo Salomon generaliter loquebatur.

(6) Nuncquam aliquis, dum hoc facere voluerit, sit ociosus, ne cicius decidat cor suum ad peccatum. Nam dicitur: "Semper aliquid agite, ne ociosi inveniamini." (7) Semper et continue roget Deum per has sanctissimas oraciones, que secuntur, quia dicitur: "Beatus servus, quem, cum venerit Dominus, invenerit vigilantem."

VI Prima oracio

Acciones nostras, quesumus, Domine, aspirando preveni et adiuvando prosequere, ut cuncta nostra operacio a te semper incipiat, et per te incepta finiatur, qui vivis et regnas per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

woman."[13] He must also separate himself from evil and sick men. For he said in the Psalm: "With the holy you will be holy, and with the unjust you will be unjust."[14]

(3) He must lead a clean life, because it is said: "Blessed are those whose ways are undefiled, who walk in the law of the Lord."[15] His garments must not be foul-smelling, but rather they must be new or very cleanly washed. (4) And by "new garments" Solomon means "of worth," because neither God nor the blessed angel care anything about material things. From this it is seen, that the poor labor more quickly and truly (in this art) than the rich. (5) But in the following operation the same angels, who are pure, are assembled together with men. Therefore they greatly desire clean garments, and therefore Solomon was speaking generally.

(6) He who wishes to accomplish this work must never let himself be idle, lest his heart more quickly falls towards sin. For it is said: "Always strive for something, lest you are found idle."[16] (7) So you should continually pray to God through these most holy prayers which follow, because it is said: "Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he comes, shall be found vigilant."[17]

VI. Prayer 1.

"Direct, we beg you, O Lord, our actions by your holy inspirations, and carry them on by your gracious assistance, that every prayer and work of ours may begin always with you, and through you be happily ended, who lives and reigns through all the ages of the ages. Amen."[18]

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13 Paraphrasing Ecclesiasticus 25:16.

14 Ps. 18:26.

15 Ps. 119:1.

16 Paraphrased from Jerome, *Epistolae*, letter 125. See Mesler, 2012, p. 118 and p 139 n 41.

17 "Blessed is that servant....": Matt. 24:46. R inserts a section on suffumigations and names of angels, largely drawn from Agrippa.

18 This prayer appears in the *Liturgia Horarum (Liturgy of the Hours)* and other medieval collections of prayers. A slightly different version is found in the *Rituale Romanum* (*Roman Ritual*). Other magic texts incorporate it as well, including the *Book of Oberon*, p. 51; Sloane 3851, fol. 2r; and Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, p. 252.

VII 2ª oracio

Ave, Maria, gracia plena. Dominus tecum. Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui. Mater Dei, ora pro nobis. Amen.

VIII 3ª oracio

Salve, regina, mater misericordie,
vita, dulcedo et spes nostra, salve.
Ad te clamamus exules filii Eve. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle. Eya!
(2) Ergo, advocata nostra,
illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte,
et Iesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui,
nobis post hoc exilium ostende,
o clemens, o pia, o dulcis Maria.
(3) Ora pro nobis, sancta Dei genitrix, ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.

IX 4ª oracio

O gloriosa virgo semper Maria, mater glorie, mater ecclesie, mater pietatis et indulgencie, ave, carissima domina, semper virgo Maria, mater luminis, honor eternus, signum serenitatis. (2) Ave, piissima domina Maria, aula Dei, porta celi, sacrarium Spiritus sancti. Ave, piissima domina Maria, urna aurea, templum divinitatis, reclinatorium eterne pietatis. (3) Ave, clementissima domina Maria, decus virginum, domina gencium, regina angelorum. Ave, amantissima domina Maria, fons ortorum, ablucio peccatorum, lavacrum animarum. (4) Ave, desideratissima domina Maria, mater orphanorum, mamilla parvulorum, consolàcio miserorum. Salve, sancta parens. Salve, sancta et immaculata virginitas assistens vultui Dei, memor esto nostre fragilitatis.

VII. Prayer 2.

Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou amongst women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, [Jesus. Holy Mary,] Mother of God, pray for us. Amen.

VIII. Prayer 3.

Hail holy queen, mother of mercy,
Hail our life, our sweetness, and our hope.
To you do we cry, poor banished children of Eve. To you do we send up our sighs, mourning, and weeping
in this valley of tears.
(2) Turn then, most gracious advocate
your eyes of mercy toward us.
And after this, our exile,
Show us the fruit of your womb, Jesus.
O clement, O loving, O sweet [virgin] Mary.
(3) Pray for us, Holy Mother of God
That we may be made worthy of the promises of Christ.[19]

IX. Prayer 4.

O glorious Mary, eternal virgin, glorious mother, mother of the church, mother of piety and leniency, hail, O dearest lady, Mary, eternal virgin, mother of light, the eternal honor, the image of serenity. (2) Hail, most pious lady Mary, the court of God, the gate of heaven, the shrine of the Holy Spirit. (3) Hail, most pious lady Mary, that vessel of gold, that temple of the divinity, cushion of eternal piety. Hail, most merciful lady Mary, the glory of maidens, the ruler of nations, the queen of the angels. Hail most loving lady Mary, overflowing fountain, the washing of sins, the refreshment of souls. (4) Hail, most desired lady Mary, mother of orphans, the breast of infants, comforter of the wretched. Hail, holy parent. Hail, holy and immaculate virgin, who stands near the face of God, mindful of our frailty.

19 This is the well-known Salve Regina prayer (up to "O Sweet [virgin] Mary") along with the standard response.

(5) Salve, benignissima, salve, suavissima, salve, misericordissima. Propiciaberis, semper virgo benedicta et gloriosa semper virgo Maria, que virga sacratissima et Dei mater es piissima, maris stella clarissima.

(6) Salve, semper gloriosa, margarita preciosa, ficus [*sicut], lilium, formosa, olens velut rosa. Alleluia! Dirige me in visione beata.

(7) Obsecro te, regina perhennis, sancta Maria, per amorem Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti et per commendatum tibi celeste sacrarium et per multas miseraciones, quas fecit super me et super genus humanum, (8) et per virtutes et per misteria sancte crucis et per sanctos clavos fixos in suas preciosas manus et pedes et per sancta 5 vulnera sui preciosi corporis et per precium sancti corporis sui, quo nos redemit in sancta cruce, (9) ut ores pro me et pro omnibus peccatis meis et necessitatibus anime et corporis mei ad dilectum filium tuum, *ut me vivente ipsum videre et collaudare merear*. Amen.

X

Gaude, virgo immaculata, Dei genitrix. Gaudium michi dona. Gaude, que gaudium ab angelo suscepisti, et gaudium visionis divine michi dona. Gaude, que genuisti eterni luminis claritatem. (2) Gaude, Dei genitrix, et gaudium visionis divine michi dona, ut sublever de omnibus angustiis et tribulacionibus et viciis meis, que sunt in corde meo, et quero amplius, ut tecum sim a latere constans ad videndum me vivente Deum eternum. (3) Adoro te, sancta mater Domini nostri Iesu Christi, et laudo et magnifico te. Adoro altitudinem tuam.

Adoro castitatem et virginitatem tuam. Adoro pietatem et misericordiam tuam. (4) Adoro viscera beata tua, que portaverunt deum et hominem. Adoro beatum uterum tuum, qui portavit Iesum Dominum. Adoro beata ubera tua, que lactaverunt salvatorem mundi. (5) Precor te, carissima semper virgo Maria, per amorem filii tui, Domini nostri Iesu Christi, ut

(5) Hail, most kind, hail, most agreeable, hail, most merciful. You will be propitiated, eternal virgin, blessed and glorious, ever chaste Mary, you who are the most hallowed virgin and blessed mother of God, brightest star of the sea.

(6) Hail, ever glorious, precious pearl, beautiful as the lily, fragrant as the rose.[20] Hallelujah! Direct me in this blessed vision.

(7) I entreat you, eternal queen, holy Mary, through the love of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and through your trusted heavenly shrine, and through the great pities which you have made over me and over the human race, (8) and through the virtues and through the solemn mysteries of the cross, and through the holy nails fastened to his precious hands and feet, and through the five sacred wounds to his precious body, where he redeemed us on the holy cross, (9) in order that you may plead to your beloved son on my behalf, and on behalf of all my sins, and for the needs of my soul and of my body, *in order that I, while yet living, may be worthy to see and praise you*. Amen.

X.

Rejoice,[21] O immaculate virgin, mother of God. Give me joy. Rejoice, you who received the tidings of joy from the angel, and give me the joy of the vision of God. Rejoice, you who brought forth the clarity of eternal light. (2) Rejoice, mother of God, and give me the joy of the vision of God, that I may be raised up from all my difficulties and tribulations and the faults which are in my heart, and I ask further, that I may be firmly by your side, for seeing the living and eternal God. (3) I adore you, O holy mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and I praise and glorify you. I adore your exaltation.

I adore your chastity and virginity. I adore your piety and your mercy. (4) I adore your blessed innermost parts, which have born God and Man. I adore your blessed womb, which has born Lord Jesus. I adore your blessed breasts, which have nursed the savior of the world. (5) I beg of you, dearest Mary ever virgin, through the love of your son our Lord Jesus Christ, to intervene for me, a sinner, that I may have the vision of the eternal God while yet alive, and

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20 Compare Francisco Guerrero's (1528–1599) most famous work: "Ave virgo santissima, Dei mater piissima, maris stella clarissima / Salve semper gloriosa, margarita pretiosa, sicut lilium formosa, nitens, olens velut rosa." It was evidently based on an older text.

21 This is an adaptation of the popular eighth century *Anthem of the Blessed Virgin*, also known as the *Five Gaude antiphon*.

intercedas pro me peccatore ad visionem Dei eterni me vivente habendam et succurras michi in omnibus angustiis et necessitatibus meis et ne derelinquas me, (6) neque sim sine adiutorio in hac visione beata neque in illo tremendo die, cum exierit anima mea de corpore meo, aut in illa mirabili hora, cum rapta fuerit ad videndum me vivente Deum eternum.

(7) Postulo, graciosa, me ad portas paradisi facere venire, ut merear videre ibi filium tuum et merear habere leticiam sempiternam visionis divine cum ipso filio tuo gloriosissimo, qui vivit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

XI 5ᴬ ORACIO

Ego peccator indignus ad laudem et honorem gloriosissime semperque virginis Marie, genitricis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, eius sacra nomina, cum sim indignus, iuxta meum exiguum sensum Spiritu sancto dictante nominare curo.

(2) O gloriosa Dei genitrix, semper virgo Maria, ne indigneris contra me nequissimum et innumerabili iniquitate plenum set accipe propicia misericorditer quod indignus ad honorem tuum offero et affecto. (3) Etenim, piissima, sacra tua nomina corde, ore, opere distinte nominare et exaltare volo.

Nominaris namque Maria, Genitrix, Mater, Sponsa, Filia, Theotan, Virga, Vas, Balsamus, Nubes, Ros, (4) Pacifica, Princeps, Regina, Aurora, Imperatrix, Domina, Ancilla, Ortus, Fons, Puteus, Via, Vita, Semita, Splendor, Stella aurea, Lumen, Luna, Fenestra vitrea, Ianua, Porta, Velum, Cella, (5) Domus, Hospicium, Capsa, Templum, Aula, Tabernaculum, Manna, Civitas, Liber, Stola, Flumen, Pons, Uva, Malogranatum, Femina, Nutrix, Mulier, Turris, Navis, Redemptrix, Liberatrix, Amica, (6) Thalamus, Vallis, Cinamomum, Turtur, Columba, Lilium, Rosa, Consolacio, Portus, Spes, Salus, Gloria, Fundamentum, vera peccatorum Medicina, Sacrarium Spiritus sancti, Radix Iesse, Antitodum, Recreatrix, Syon, Puella, Miseratrix.

assist me in all my difficulties and needs, and do not abandon me,[22] (6) so I may not be without help in this blessed vision nor on that terrible day when my soul departs from my body, or in that wonderful hour, when it will be dragged away, for seeing the living eternal God.

(7) I graciously ask you to make me come to the gates of Paradise, that I may be worthy to see your son there, and that I may be worthy to have the wondrous eternal divine vision, with your most glorious son himself, who lives and reigns world without end. Amen.

XI. Prayer 5.

I, an unworthy sinner, for the praise and honor of the most glorious and eternal virgin Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, of his sacred names, since I am unworthy, because of my meager perception I take care to name with the Holy Spirit's command.

(2) O glorious mother of God, O eternal virgin Mary, do not deem me unworthy because of my great wickedness and innumerable iniquities, but mercifully and favorably accepting that which I, although unworthy, offer and desire for your honor. (3) And so I wish to clearly name and exalt your holy names most conscientiously, with my heart, with my mouth, and with my labor.

So you are named Mary, Creator, Mother, Bride, Daughter, Theotan, Rod, Vessel, Balsamus, Cloud, Dew, (4) Peace Maker, the First, Queen, Dawn, Empress, Lady, Handmaiden, Risen, the Spring, the Well, the Way, the Life, the Path, the Brilliance, the Golden Star, the Light, the Moon, Glass Window, the Doorway, the Gate, the Curtain, the Chamber, (5) the Home, Guest Room, the Receptacle, the Temple, the Hall, the Tabernacle, the Manna, Community, Free, the Stole, the River, the Bridge, the Grape, the Pomegranate, Female, Nurse, Woman, Tower, Ship, Redemptress, Liberator, Friend, (6) the Bedroom, the Vally, Cinnamon, the Turtle-dove, the Dove, the Lily, the Rose, the Consolation, the Refuge, the Hope, the Salvation, the Glory, the Foundation, the True Medicine of Sinners, the Shrine of the Holy Spirit, the Root of Jesse, the Antidote, the Recreatrix, Sion, the Girl, She who is Compassionate.

22 Compare Ps. 37:22–23; BoO, p. 100.

(7) Tuam deprecor sanctissimam misericordiam, ut per hec divina tua nomina, que ego nunc tibi plenus immundicia coram altari tuo de te presumendo optuli, (8) ut in hac hora me audias et insaciabiliter digneris me facere videre atque laudare te et tuum filium gloriosum corpusculo meo vivente.

(9) Teque interpello, gloriosa, per tuum filium, quem concepisti, quem genuisti, quem peperisti, quem in carne lactasti, quem in balneo misisti, quem pannis involvisti, quem in templo presentasti, (10) quem predicantem audisti, quem in cruce pro nobis suspensum vidisti, quem mortuum et sepultum inspexisti, quem surgentem a mortuis scivisti, quem ad celum ascendentem ad Patrem vidisti, (11) et inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem, per ipsum quoque pollutus labiis, pollutus carne, pollutus corpore, pollutus mente [te] ausus nominare imploro, (12) quatinus in hoc opere te et sanctam trinitatem cum sanctis angelis tuis facias me aspicere et videre et in extremo magno iudicio ab eternali pena eripias per Christum, Dominum nostrum. Amen.

XII 6[A] ORACIO

Credo in Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem celi et terre, et in Iesum Christum, filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum, qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria virgine, passus sub Poncio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus. (2) Descendit ad inferna, tercia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad celos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis, inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos. (3) Credo in Spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurreccionem et vitam eternam. Amen.

XIII 7A ORACIO

Quicumque vult salvus esse *et visionem Dei habere*, ante omnia opus est, ut teneat catholicam fidem, quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque

(7) I beg for your most holy compassion, that through these divine names of yours, which I, though full of filth, have now dared to offer before your altar, (8) that you hear me in this hour, and deign to make me insatiably worthy to see and praise you and your glorious son, while my insignificant body is still living.

(9) And I address you, O glorious one, through your son, whom you conceived, whom you begat, whom you have borne, whose body you nursed, whom you bathed, whom you wrapped in cloths, whom you presented at the temple, (10) whose preaching you heard, whose suspension from the cross on our behalf you saw, whose death and burial you witnessed, whose rising from the dead you observed, whose ascension to the Father in heaven you saw, (11) and who will soon return from there to judge the living and the dead and the world by fire, likewise through him I dare to name [you] and beg for help, with impure lips, with impure flesh, with impure body, with impure mind, (12) that through this work you will enable me to look at and see yourself, and the holy Trinity, with your holy angels, and in the end at the Great Judgement you will snatch me away from eternal punishment, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

XII. Prayer 6. [The Creed].[23]

I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord: who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried; (2) he descended into hell; the third day he rose again from the dead; he ascended into heaven; sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the living and the dead. (3) I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy Catholic Church, the communion of Saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting. Amen.

XIII. Prayer 7.[24]

"Whoever wishes to be saved *and have the vision of God*, should above all things hold to the Catholic faith. Whoever fails to keep it whole and unde-

23 The Apostles' Creed—Roman Ritual.

24 This prayer is based on the well-known Athanasian Creed (*Symbolum Athanasianum*.)

servaverit, absque dubio visionem divinam non habebit. (2) Fides autem catholica hec est, ut unum deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate veneremur neque confundentes personas, neque substanciam separantes. (3) Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, ali a Spiritus sancti. Set Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti una est divinitas, equalis gloria, coeterna maiestas. (4) Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis Spiritus sanctus. Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus Spiritus sanctus. Inmensus Pater, inmensus Filius, inmensus Spiritus sanctus. (5) Eternus Pater, eternus Filius, eternus Spiritus sanctus, et tamen non tres eterni set unus eternus, sicut non tres increati nec tres inmensi set unus increatus et unus inmensus. (6) Similiter omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens Spiritus sanctus, et tamen non tres omnipotentes set unus omnipotens. (7) Ha Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus Spiritus sanctus, et tamen non tres dii set unus est Deus. (8) Ha Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus Spiritus sanctus, et tamen non tres domini set unus est Dominus, qui a sicut singillatim unamquamque personam Deum ac Dominum confiteri Christiana veritate compellimur, ita tres deos aut dominos dicere catholica religione prohibemur. (9) Pater a nullo est factus nec creatus nec genitus. Filius a Patre solo non factus nec creatus set genitus. Spiritus sanctus a Patre et Filio non factus nec creatus nec genitus set procedens. (10) Unus ergo Pater, non tres patres, unus Filius, non tres fiIii, unus Spiritus sanctus, non tres spiritus sancti. (11) Et in hac trinitate nichil prius aut posterius, nichil maius aut minus, set tote tres persone coeterne sibi sunt et coequales, ita ut per omnia, sicut iam supra dictum est, et unitas in trinitate et trinitas in unitate veneranda sit. (12) Qui vult ergo salvus esse *et visionem divinam habere*, ita de trinitate senciat.

(13) Set necessarium est ad eternam salutem et divinam visionem, ut incarnacionem quoque Domini nostri Iesu Christi fideliter credat. (14) Est ergo fides recta, ut credamus et confiteamur, quia Dominus noster Iesus Christus, Dei filius, deus et homo est. (15) Deus est ex substancia Patris ante secula genitus, et homo est ex substancia matris in seculo natus. (16) Perfectus deus, perfectus homo ex anima racionali et humana carne subsistens, equalis Patri secundum divinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem. (17) Qui licet deus sit et homo, non duo tamen set unus est

filed, without doubt shall perish everlastingly. (2) And the Catholic faith is this: That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity, neither confounding the persons, nor dividing the substance. (3) For there is one person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Spirit. But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit is all one, the glory equal, the majesty co-eternal. (4) As is the Father, so is the Son, and so is the Holy Spirit. The Father uncreated, the Son uncreated, and the Holy Spirit uncreated. The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy Spirit incomprehensible. (5) The Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Spirit eternal. And yet they are not three eternals, but one eternal. As also there are not three uncreated, nor three incomprehensibles, but one uncreated and one incomprehensible. (6) So likewise the Father is almighty, the Son almighty, and the Holy Spirit almighty. And yet they are not three almighties, but one almighty. (7) So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God, and yet they are not three Gods, but one God. (8) So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son is Lord, and the Holy Spirit is Lord, and yet they are not three Lords, but one Lord. For even though we are compelled by Christian truthfulness to acknowledge each person by himself to be God and Lord, we are forbidden by the Catholic religion to say that there are three Gods or Lords. (9) The Father is made of none, neither created, nor begotten. The Son is of the Father alone, not made nor created, but begotten. The Holy Spirit is of the Father and of the Son, neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding. (10) So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Spirit, not three Holy Spirits. (11) And in this Trinity none is before or after another, none is greater or less than another. But the whole three Persons are co-eternal together, and co-equal. So that in all things, as is aforesaid, the Unity in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshiped. (12) He therefore that will be saved, *and have the divine vision*, must thus think of the Trinity.

(13) Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation that he also believe rightly the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. (14) For the right faith is, that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man. (15) God, of the substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds; and Man, of the substance of his mother, born in the world. (16) Perfect God, and perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting. Equal to the Father as touching his Godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching his human nature. (17) Who, although he be God and

Christus, unus autem non conversione divinitatis in camem sed assumpcione humanitatis in Deum, unus omnino non confusione substancie sed unitate persone. (18) Nam sicut anima racionalis et caro unus est homo, ita deus et homo unus est Christus, qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos, tercia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad celos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis, inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos. (19) Ad cuius adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis et reddituri sunt de factis propriis racionem. (20) Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam eternam *et visionem divinam*, quam nunc petimus, qui vero mala, in ignem eternum, cui nunc abrenunciare postulamus.

(21) Hec est fides catholica, quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit *nec hanc divinam visionem optinere quibit.*

XIV 8ª ORACIO

Ego divina institucione formatus et preceptis salutaribus +imprecatus+ audebo dicere:

Pater noster, qui es in celis, sanctificetur nomen tuum. Adveniat regnum tuum. (2) Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra. Panem nostrum supersubstancialem da nobis hodie. (3) Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos inducas in temptacionem set libera nos a malo. Amen.

XV 9ª ORACIO

Alpha et Ω, Deus omnipotens, principium omnium rerum sine principio, finis sine fine, exaudi hodie preces meas, piissime, (2) neque secundum iniquitates meas neque secundum peccata mea retribuas michi, Domine, Deus meus, set secundum misericordiam tuam, que est maior rebus omnibus visibilibus et invisibilibus, miserere mei, (3) sapiencia Patris, Christe, lux angelorum, gloria sanctorum, spes et portus et refugium peccatorum,

Man, yet he is not two, but one Christ. One; not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the human nature into God. One altogether, not by confusion of Substance, but by unity of Person. (18) For as the rational soul and body together constitute one man, so God and Man constitute one Christ, who suffered for our salvation, descended into hell, rose again the third day from the dead. He ascended into heaven, and sits on the right hand of the Father, God, Almighty; from whence he shall come to judge the living and the dead. (19) At whose coming, all humanity shall rise again with their bodies, and give an accounting for all their deeds. (20) And those who have done good shall go into eternal life, *and the divine vision*, while those that have done evil shall go into the eternal fire.

(21) This is the Catholic faith, which unless a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved, *nor will he be able to achieve this divine vision*.[25]

XIV. Prayer 8.

Following divine instruction, and the teachings of the Saviour +called down+ I dare to say:[26]

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; (2) Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread; (3) and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil. Amen.

XV. Prayer 9.[27]

Alpha and Omega, O almighty God, the beginning of all things, without beginning, the ending without an end, hear today my prayers, O most holy one, (2) neither repay me according my iniquity nor my sins, O Lord, my God, but according to your mercy, which is greater than all things visible and invisible. Have mercy on me, (3) the wisdom of the Father, O Christ, the light of the angels, the glory of the saints, the hope and haven and refuge of sinners,

25 The traditional ending is, "*salvus esse non poterit*" ("he cannot be saved").

26 The mass introduces the Lord's Prayer with nearly identical wording: "Praeceptis salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati, audemus dicere:" GH indicates "imprecatus" (called down, prayed for, uttered curses or blessings) as *turbata* ("disturbed"), i.e. out of place.

27 Ars. Not. Glose de la version B, Var. 1—glose, JV p. 141.

cunctarum rerum conditor et humane fragilitatis redemptor, qui celum et terram mareque totum ac moncium pondera palmo concludis. (4) Te, piissime, deprecor et exoro, ut una cum Patre illustres animam meam radio sanctissimi Spiritus tui, (5) quatinus in hac sacrosancta arte taliter possim proficere, ut valeam ad facialem tui, Deus eterne, visionem virtute tui sanctissimi Spiritus et tui nominis pervenire. (6) Et tu, qui es Deus meus, qui in principio creasti celum et terram et omnia ex nichilo, qui in Spiritu tuo sancto omnia reformas, comple, instaura, sana animam meam, ut glorificem te per omnia opera cogitacionum mearum et verborum meorum. (7) Deus Pater, oracionem meam confirma et intellectum meum auge et memoriam meam ad suscipiendum beatam visionem tuam meo vivente corpusculo et ad cognoscendum superexcelsam et supereternam facialiter tuam essenciam, qui vivis et regnas per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

XVI Oracio

Helysemath. hazaram. hemel. saduch. Theon. Heloy. zamaram. zoma. ietromaym. Theos. Deus pie et fortis, hamathamal. ietronamayhala. zanay. hacronaaz. zay. (2) colnaphan. salmazaiz. ayhal. geromelam. haymasa. Ramay. genzi. zamath. heliemath. semay. selmar. iecrosamay. iachat. lemar. harana. hamany. memothemath. Hemelamp. (3) et tu, sancte Pater, pie Deus et incomprehensibilis in omnibus operibus tuis, que sunt sancta et iusta et bona. (4) Megalhamethor. semassaer. zamathamar. geogremai. megus. monorail. hamezeaza. hillebata. maraama. iehenas. iehemia. malamai. sephormay. zemonoma. Melas. hemay. hemesua. iecormay. (5) lemesey. senosecari. zemaher. helcamay. calion. tharathos. tronios. nebay. tharathos. vsyon. gezsethon. semynathemas. zezahas. thamam. helomany. hamel. Amen.

XVII

Theos. megale. Patir. ymos. hebrel. habobel. hecoy. haley. helihot. hety. hebeot. letiel. iezei. sadam. salaseey. salatial. salatelli. samel. sadamiel. (2) Saday. helgion. helliel. lemegos. micron. megos. myheon. legmes. muthon. mychohyn. heel. hesely. iecor. graual. semhel. semobzhat. semeltha. samai. geth. (3) gehel. rasahanay. gelgemana. semana. harasymihon. salepatir.

the originator of all things and redeemer of human frailties, who holds the weight of heaven and earth, and the seas and mountains in the palm of your hand. (4) I beg and entreat you, O most holy one, that you, being one with the Father, will illuminate my soul with the ray of your most Holy Spirit, (5) that I may be able to progress in this most sacred art, so that I might be worthy to achieve the vision of your face, O God eternal, through the virtue of your most Holy Spirit and of your name. (6) And you, who are are my God, who in the beginning created the heaven and the earth, and all things out of nothing, who through your holy Spirit you restore, fill, and renew all things, heal my soul, that I may glorify you through all my thoughts, and words, and deeds. (7) O God the Father, strengthen my prayer, and increase both my comprehension and my memory, for undertaking your blessed vision while my mortal body is yet living, and for seeing your most high and eternal essence face to face, you who live and reign through the infinite ages of the ages. Amen.

XVI. Prayer.[28]

Helysemath. hazaram. hemel. saduch. Theon. Heloy. zamaram. zoma. ietromaym. Theos. O God, pious and strong, hamathamal. ietronamayhala. zanay. hacronaaz. zay. (2) colnaphan. salmazaiz. ayhal. geromelam. haymasa. Ramay. genzi. zamath. heliemath. semay. selmar. iecrosamay. iachat. lemar. harana. hamany. memothemath. hemelamp. (3) And you, O holy Father, pious God, and incomprehensible in all your works, which are holy, just, and good. (4) Megalhamethor. semassaer. zamathamar. geogremai. megus. monorail. hamezeaza. hillebata. maraama. iehenas. iehemia. malamai. sephormay. zemonoma. Melas. hemay. hemesua. iecormay. (5) lemesey. senosecari. zemaher. helcamay. calion. tharathos. tronios. nebay. tharathos. vsyon. gezsethon. semynathemas. zezahas. thamam. helomany. hamel. Amen.

XVII.[29]

Theos. megale. Patir. ymos. hebrel. habobel. hecoy. haley. helihot. hety. hebeot. letiel. iezei. sadam. salaseey. salatial. salatelli. samel. sadamiel. (2) Saday. helgion. helliel. lemegos. micron. megos. myheon. legmes. muthon. mychohyn. heel. hesely. iecor. graual. semhel. semobzhat. semeltha. samai. geth. (3) gehel.

28 Ars. Not. 7, JV p. 146.

29 Ars. Not. 10, JV p. 149.

salepati. ragiono saletha. thurigium. hepatir. vsion. hatamas. hotonas. harayn.

XVIII

Lux mundi, Deus inmense, pater eternitatis, largitor sapiencie et totius gracie spiritualis pie et inestimabilis dispensator noscens omnia, priusquam fiant, faciens tenebras et lucem,

(2) mitte manum tuam et tange animam meam et corpus meum et pone illam ut gladium furbitum ad visionem tuam habendam et fac eam ut sagittam electam et granum tritici reconditum ad contemplandum tuam mirabilem faciem (3) et emitte Spiritum sanctum tuum, Domine, in cor meum ad istud donum percipiendum et in animam meam ad emundandum et in conscienciam meam ad speculandum. (4) Per iuramentum cordis[4] [*coheredis] tui, id est per dexteram pie sciencie tue, misericorditer, clementer et leniter in me graciam tuam inspira et doce et instrue (5) et instaura introitum et exitum sensuum meorum, et doceas me et clarifices me et mundifices me et corrigas me cum disciplina tua usque in finem, (6) ut visionem tuam facialiter optineam, et adiuvet me consilium altissimum per infinitam sapienciam tuam et misericordiam tuam. Amen.

XIX

Si autem velles impetrare aliquam scienciam vel sacrare librum vel invocare spiritus, mutares peticionem oracionis precedentis sic:

(2) "mitte manum tuam et tange os meum et pone illud ut gladium acutum ad ennarandum et eloquendum hec sancta verba et fac linguam meam ut sagittam electam ad ennarrandum mirabilia tua et ad pronunciandum ea et memoriter retinendum."

(3) Sic petes pro sciencia impetranda. Set pro consecrando librum sic: "ut gladium acutum ad consecrandum et sanctificandum hec tam sancta quam alia verba … ut sagittam electam ad confirmandum in veritate mirabilia tua et ad pronunciandum ea et pro libito impetrandum."

4 *Cordis:* reading *coheredis*.

rasahanay. gelgemana. semana. harasymihon. salepatir. salepati. ragiono saletha. thurigium. hepatir. vsion. hatamas. hotonas. harayn.

XVIII.[30]

O light of the World, O God immeasurable, the father of eternity, the granter of wisdom and of all spiritual grace; O pious and inestimable dispenser of all, knowing all things before they happen, making the darkness and the light.

(2) Reach out your hand, and touch my body and soul, and make them like a burnished sword,[31] that I may attain the vision of you, and make me like a chosen arrow and hidden grain of wheat, for observing your wonderful face, (3) and send your Holy Spirit, O Lord, into my heart to receive this gift, and into my soul to cleanse it, and into my conscience to watch over it. (4) Through the oath of your heart,[32] that is, through the right hand of your holy knowledge, mercifully, lovingly, and gently inspire your grace into me, and teach, instruct, (5) and renew the coming in and going out of my senses, and teach me, and clarify and cleanse me, and correct me with your teaching, until the end, (6) in order to attain the vision of your self face to face, and may your most high assembly help me, through your infinite wisdom and mercy. Amen.

XIX.

If however you wish to obtain some knowledge, or to consecrate the book, or to call upon a spirit, you should alter the petition in the preceding prayer thus:

(2) "Stretch out your hand and touch my mouth, and make it like a sharp sword for describing and speaking out these holy words, and make my tongue like a chosen arrow, for describing your miracles, and for pronouncing them, and retaining them in my memory."

(3) But if you wish to obtain knowledge for consecrating the book, say: "... like a sharp sword, for consecrating and sanctifying these most holy words, and all the other words ... like a chosen arrow to confirm the truth of your miracles both for pronouncing them, and for obtaining my desire."

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30 Ars. Not. 11, JV p. 151.

31 Compare Isaiah 49:2.

32 GH, following Sl. 1712, reads "coheredis tui" (of your co-heir), but "cordis tui" (of your heart) is also attested in *Ars Notoria* manuscripts.

(4) Si pro vocando spiritus agis, pete sic: "... acutum ad eloquendum hec verba tam sancta quam alia ad coartandum et cogendum venire, respondere, stare, recedere, obedire spiritus tales N michi tali N, filio talis N (5) ... electam ad ostendendum mirabilia sancte potencie tue et ad pronunciandum verba et gladialiter et flammee tuos tales spiritus N coartandum."

(6) Si aliud pecieris quam illa, que dicta sunt, simili modo secundum naturam illius peticionem mutares et non solum in hac oracione, immo in omnibus Latinis, in quibus aliqua peticio reperitur.

XX Oracio

Assaylemaht. rasay. semaht. azahat. haraaht. lameth. hazabat. hamat. hamae. gesemon. grephemyon. zelamye. relamye. hazatha. hamatha. hazaremehal. hazanebal. helial. zebial. (2) seziol. Semyhor. hamissiton. fintiugon. tintiugethe. hamissirion. sebarnay. halmoht. alymyon. gemail. halmiot. sadail. hehomail. neomail. Cristos. thiothot. sepha. taphamal. (3) paphalios. sicrogramon. laupdau. laupta. iothim. iothileta. lazahemor. iemeamor. lotahemor. fitcomegal. haemor. giselector. gilzelerethon. glereleon. gamasgay. semagar. semalgay. (4) semasgyy. balua. arethon. iesamahel. gegemahelay. hala. hela. iemay. semethay. may. semnay. geles. syney. iolehemey. iesmar. samennay. bariactoca. cariactera. tharihetha. socalmata. (5) getimay. socalma. socagamal. helgezamay. balma. hailoso halos. zaynos. ienenegal. sarimalip. sarmalaip. sacramalaip. tamygel. thamahel. sathabynhel. sathabinal. samal. maga. samalanga. (6) saminaga. satalmagu. silimal. salmana. saguaht. silimythu. semalsay. gahit. galiht. gezamannay. sabal. zegahathon. zahanphaton. iezanycrathon. ietuaphaton. iezemo. iezelem. (7) ioselimen. hatanathos. hathanathay. semaht. zemehet. iezorahel. checorab. Hel. gerozabal. craton. hariabal. hariagal. hanagai. hariagil. parithomegos. samazihel. simazihel. leosemmaht. (8) leosamaty. themiathol. genynatol. gemizacol. hebalthe. halabee. hamisschon. sebanay. halmye. gemail. sadail. neomahil. cristolepha. caphanial. hazaron. gezamel. haymal. hayhala. (9) sememay. gehesmoy. thariattha. gemiazai. zohanphaton. ielesamen. hatanathay. gemaht. iesomabel. haynosiel. halabethen. iabaioge. halabeht. ebalohe. nyphos. phabos. phelior. phobos. Ydolmassay. (10) predolmassay. pholihor. negioggen. neginather. pharampnee. pharanehe. scomico-

(4) And if you strive to call forth spirits, modify the petition thus: "... for sharply speaking out these holy words and others, for constraining and compelling the spirit (such and such) to come, answer, remain, depart, and obey me N. son of N. (5) ... chosen arrow for showing the holy miracles of your power, both for pronouncing the words as with your flaming sword, for constraining the spirit N."

(6) If your aim is other than these examples, alter the petition in a similar way according to the nature of your request. This should be done not only for this prayer, but for all the Latin ones, in which any petition is found.

XX. Prayer.[33]

Assaylemaht. rasay. semaht. azahat. haraaht. lameth. hazabat. hamat. hamae. gesemon. grephemyon. zelamye. relamye. hazatha. hamatha. hazaremehal. hazanebal. helial. zebial. (2) seziol. Semyhor. hamissiton. fintiugon. tintiugethe. hamissirion. sebarnay. halmoht. alymyon. gemail. halmiot. sadail. hehomail. neomail. Cristos. thiothot. sepha. taphamal. (3) paphalios. sicrogramon. laupdau. laupta. iothim. iothileta. lazahemor. iemeamor. lotahemor. fitcomegal. haemor. giselector. gilzelerethon. glereleon. gamasgay. semagar. semalgay. (4) semasgyy. balua. arethon. iesamahel. gegemahelay. hala. hela. iemay. semethay. may. semnay. geles. syney. iolehemey. iesmar. samennay. bariactoca. cariactera. tharihetha. socalmata. (5) getimay. socalma. socagamal. helgezamay. balma. hailoso halos. zaynos. ienenegal. sarimalip. sarmalaip. sacramalaip. tamygel. thamahel. sathabynhel. sathabinal. samal. maga. samalanga. (6) saminaga. satalmagu. silimal. salmana. saguaht. silimythu. semalsay. gahit. galiht. gezamannay. sabal. zegahathon. zahanphaton. iezanycrathon. ietuaphaton. iezemo. iezelem. (7) ioselimen. hatanathos. hathanathay. semaht. zemehet. iezorahel. checorab. Hel. gerozabal. craton. hariabal. hariagal. hanagai. hariagil. parithomegos. samazihel. simazihel. leosemmaht. (8) leosamaty. themiathol. genynatol. gemizacol. hebalthe. halabee. hamisschon. sebanay. halmye. gemail. sadail. neomahil. cristolepha. caphanial. hazaron. gezamel. haymal. hayhala. (9) sememay. gehesmoy. thariattha. gemiazai. zohanphaton. ielesamen. hatanathay. gemaht. iesomabel. haynosiel. halabethen. iabaioge. halabeht. ebalohe. nyphos. phabos. phelior. phobos. Ydolmassay. (10) predolmassay. pholihor. negioggen. neginather. pharampnee.

33 Ars. Not. 16, JV p. 154.

poten. sohomychepoten. hymaliassenon. ymiamos. manyahas. geromay. iemay. ietathamazai. passamaht. Theon. beht. bon. (11) sathamat hagynol. naragal. semozihot. nerothinay. raguathi. raguali. ranal. ragahal. hagmal. hagamal. fagomossyn. fagemesym. domogentha. theomogen. theromogen. Salmatha. (12) salamaht. zalamatha. Hon. bolon. halon. sephezimu. sapynon. saphiamon. hamon. harion. usion. gemession. sepha. phalymyt. sebanay. hamyssithon. thyutyugren. hactou. rogoubon. lon. usion. Amen.

XXI Oracio

Hazailemaht. lemaht. azat. gessemon. thelamoht. hazab. halatal. haebal. sezior. sicromagal. gigoro. mogal. gielocheon. samagoy. (2) haphiles. pamphilos. sicragalmon. laupda. iothim. haiual. hailos. halua. geneuogal. samanlay. tacayhelthamyel. secalmana. (3) hesemolas. hesomelaht. gethasam. cethalsam. scilmon. saibaiol. semalsay. crathon. hanaguil. pancomnegos. tyngeny. hamissitoy. (4) sebarnay. hassimilop. thenaly. soday. henaly. halaco. meahil. crihicos. sepha. caphaual. hazaron. cezamahal. haila. saramnay. gelior. synoy. bariachacha. (5) gehemyzai. iecrafagon. legelyme. hathamathay. senac. gromyhazay. sothal. magaal. iemazay. zehemphagon. hasihezamay. legelime. hacama. ieizobol. (6) ierozabal. symaliel. seymaly. seihel. leosamaht. gemyhacal. halabre. cyhophagros. Theos. phabos. ycolmazai. negen. (7) pharameht. nehihahon. sehon. gethorem. nehehom. helisemaht. saratihai. ierafiai. hynaliha. sememanos. gezamai. iecremai. (8) passamaht. thagail. hagamal. fagamesy. fagamesym. themegoman. zemegamary. salamatha. salomothono. bon. lon. sepizihon. harion. usyon. semession. tegon. Amen.

XXII Oracio

Lemaht. sebanthe. helitihay. gozogam. romasim. hegetti. gozimal. exiophiam. sorathim. salathaam. besapha. saphiez. haculam. samiht. senaiho. phethaloym. harissim. genges. lethos. Amen.

pharanehe. scomicopoten. sohomychepoten. hymaliassenon. ymiamos. manyahas. geromay. iemay. ietathamazai. passamaht. Theon. beht. bon. (11) sathamat hagynol. naragal. semozihot. nerothinay. raguathi. raguali. ranal. ragahal. hagmal. hagamal. fagomossyn. fagemesym. domogentha. theomogen. theromogen. Salmatha. (12) salamaht. zalamatha. Hon. bolon. halon. sephezimu. sapynon. saphiamon. hamon. harion. usion. gemession. sepha. phalymyt. sebanay. hamyssithon. thyutyugren. hactou. rogoubon. lon. usion. Amen.

XXI. Prayer.[34]

Hazailemaht. lemaht. azat. gessemon. thelamoht. hazab. halatal. haebal. sezior. sicromagal. gigoro. mogal. gielocheon. samagoy. (2) haphiles. pamphilos. sicragalmon. laupda. iothim. haiual. hailos. halua. geneuogal. samanlay. tacayhelthamyel. secalmana. (3) hesemolas. hesomelaht. gethasam. cethalsam. scilmon. saibaiol. semalsay. crathon. hanaguil. pancomnegos. tyngeny. hamissitoy. (4) sebarnay. hassimilop. thenaly. soday. henaly. halaco. meahil. crihicos. sepha. caphaual. hazaron. cezamahal. haila. saramnay. gelior. synoy. bariachacha. (5) gehemyzai. iecrafagon. legelyme. hathamathay. senac. gromyhazay. sothal. magaal. iemazay. zehemphagon. hasihezamay. legelime. hacama. ieizobol. (6) ierozabal. symaliel. seymaly. seihel. leosamaht. gemyhacal. halabre. cyhophagros. Theos. phabos. ycolmazai. negen. (7) pharameht. nehihahon. sehon. gethorem. nehehom. helisemaht. saratihai. ierafiai. hynaliha. sememanos. gezamai. iecremai. (8) passamaht. thagail. hagamal. fagamesy. fagamesym. themegoman. zemegamary. salamatha. salomothono. bon. lon. sepizihon. harion. usyon. semession. tegon. Amen.

XXII. Prayer.[35]

Lemaht. sebanthe. helitihay. gozogam. romasim. hegetti. gozimal. exiophiam. sorathim. salathaam. besapha. saphiez. haculam. samiht. senaiho. phethaloym. harissim. genges. lethos. Amen.

34 This seems to be another variant of Ars. Not. 16, namely var. 3. See JV p. 157.

35 Ars. Not. 16 var. 4, JV p. 159.

XXIII

Lameht. lenat. lemahat. semaht. selmahat. helmay. helymam. helmamy. zezetta. zezegta. gezegatha. zozogam. remasym. themaremasym. ieranyhel. phuerezo. gamyhal. zecegomyhal. hezetogamyhal. (2) heziephiat. hozoperbiar. iosaithyn. iosathyn. iosany. gosamyn. salaht. salatoham. salatehen. salatambel. hen. henbem. habena. henlezepha. bosephar. thamar. sahaletromar. (3) hafartitmar. thimas. tirimar. namor. semyhot. semohit. zemyhot. semoiz. lemdihon. lemahat. phethalon. hamiht. phethalonamie. zomye. zamiht. prihiti. philei. haphyn. gergeon. gergohen. (4) ierthon. lothios. lothos. semyhot. lemahat. zemohit. lemaiho. phetalon. hamye. hamyphyn. pethio. gergion. lecton. iergohen. thothios. lectos. Amen.

XXIV Oracio

Deus summe, Deus invisibilis, Theos. Patir. behemnos. lehernnyos. behenny. te rogamus, ymos. per sanctissimos angelos tuos, qui sunt Michael, id est medicina Dei, Raphael, fortitudo Dei, Gabriel, ardens, (2) et seraphyn. helipha. massay. cherubyn. ielomynctos. gadabany. zedabanay. gederanay. saramany. lomtety. loctosy. gerohanathon. zahamany. lomyht. gedanabasy. setemanay. seremanay. henlothant. helomyht. henboramyht. samanazay. gedebaudi. (3) [de] plenitudine sciencie, cherubyn et seraphyn, vos suppliciter rogamus et te, Iesu Christe, per omnes sanctos [arch]angelos tuos gloriosos, quorum nomina a Deo consecrata sunt, que a nobis proferri non debent, que sunt hec: (4) Deihel. Dehel. Depymo. Dein. Hel. Exluso. Depymon. Helynon. Exmogon. Parineos. Exmegan. Pheleneos. Nauagen. Hosyel. Dragon. Garbona. Rathion. Monyham. Megonhamos.

XXV

Te queso, Domine mi: Illustra et clarifica animam et conscienciam meam splendore luminis tui et illustra et confirma intellectum meum odore suavitatis Spiritus tui sancti, ut optinere valeam gloriosam visionem tuam, quam nunc humiliter deposco. (2) Adorna, Domine, animam meam, ut

XXIII.[36]

Lameht. lenat. lemahat. semaht. selmahat. helmay. helymam. helmamy. zezetta. zezegta. gezegatha. zozogam. remasym. themaremasym. ieranyhel. phuerezo. gamyhal. zecegomyhal. hezetogamyhal. (2) heziephiat. hozoperbiar. iosaithyn. iosathyn. iosany. gosamyn. salaht. salatoham. salatehen. salatambel. hen. henbem. habena. henlezepha. bosephar. thamar. sahaletromar. (3) hafartitmar. thimas. tirimar. namor. semyhot. semohit. zemyhot. semoiz. lemdihon. lemahat. phethalon. hamiht. phethalonamie. zomye. zamiht. prihiti. philei. haphyn. gergeon. gergohen. (4) ierthon. lothios. lothos. semyhot. lemahat. zemohit. lemaiho. phetalon. hamye. hamyphyn. pethio. gergion. lecton. iergohen. thothios. lectos. Amen.

XXIV. Prayer.

O God, the most high, invisible God. Theos. Patir. behemnos. lehernnyos. behenny. We ask you, Ymos, through your most holy angels, who are Michael, i.e. the medicine of God, Raphael, the Strength of God, Gabriel, burning, (2) and Seraphim: helipha. massay. Cherubim: ielomynctos. gadabany. zedabanay. gederanay. saramany. lomtety. loctosy. gerohanathon. zahamany. lomyht. gedanabasy. setemanay. seremanay. henlothant. helomyht. henboramyht. samanazay. gedebaudi.

(3) [From] the fullness of the knowledge, we humbly ask you cherubim and seraphim, and you, O Jesus Christ, through all your saints and glorious [arch]angels, the names of which are consecrated by God, which must not be spoken by us, which are these: (4) Deihel. Dehel. Depymo. Dein. Hel. Exluso. Depymon. Helynon. Exmogon. Parineos. Exmegan. Pheleneos. Nauagen. Hosyel. Dragon. Garbona. Rathion. Monyham. Megonhamos.

XXV.[37]

I beseech you, O my Lord: illuminate and clarify my soul and conscience with the brilliance of your light and you illuminate and strengthen my understanding with the sweet scent of your Holy Spirit, that I may successfully attain to your glorious vision, which I now humbly ask for. (2) O Lord, adorn my soul

36 Ars. Not. 22, JV p. 162.

37 Ars. Not. 25, JV p. 42.

videam faciem tuam, videam et audiam gloriam tuam et laudem tuam. (3) Reforma, Domine, cor meum. Instaura, Domine, sensum meum. Placa, piissime, memoriam meam ad aspiciendam visionem facialem tuam et beatam. (4) Tempera, benignissime, animam et linguam meam ad habendam hanc visionem per gloriosa et ineffabilia nomina tua, tu, qui es fons bonitatis et tocius pietatis origo. (5) Habeas, queso, Domine, pacienciam in me et memoriam et graciam tuam da michi, ut accipere valeam hanc visionem beatam, (6) et quod a te pecii in hac sancta oracione da michi et largire. Tu, qui peccantem statim non iudicas set ad penitenciam misertus expectas, (7) te queso indignus peccator, ut facinora et peccata mea et delictorum meorum scelera abstergas et penitus extinguas, ut aptus efficiar, Domine, sancta visione tua, (8) et me peticione tanta per sanctorum angelorum et archangelorum tuorum virtutem, de quibus prefatus sum, dignum et efficacem facias per gloriosam maiestatem tuam, tu, qui es trinus et unus [et] verus Deus omnipotens. Amen.

XXVI Oracio

Iesu, Dei filius incomprehensibilis, hancor. hanacor. hanylos. iehorna. theodonos. helyothos. heliotheos. phagor. corphandonos. norizaue. corithico. hanosae. helsezope. phagora.

XXVII Oracio

Eleminator. candones. helos. helee. resphaga. thephagayn. thetendyn. thahonos. Ulcemya. heortahonos. uelos. behebos. belhores. hacaphagan. belehothol. ortophagon. corphandonos. (2) humane natus pro nobis peccatoribus, et vos, Heliothos. Phagnora. angeli sancti, adestote, advertite et docete me et regi te me ad visionem Dei sanctam perveniendam, habendam, optinendam (3) per gloriosum, clementissimum et omnipotentissimum creatorem, Dominum nostrum vivum, sanctum et inmensum, pium et eternum, cui est laus et honor et gloria per infinita secula. Amen.

that I may see your form, see and hear your glory and praise. (3) Transform my heart, O Lord. Renew, O Lord, my perception. Reconcile, O most holy one, my memory, to look upon the vision of your blessed shape. (4) Temper, O most kind one, my soul and my tongue, for having this vision through your glorious and ineffable names, you who are the fountain of goodness and source of all piety. (5) Have patience with me, I beg you O Lord, and give me a good memory and your grace, that I may have the strength to receive this blessed vision. (6) and which I have asked you to give and bestow on me in this holy prayer. You, who does not immediately judge a sinner, but pities him, awaiting his repentance. (7) Though I am unworthy, I beseech you to wipe away my crimes and sins and extinguish them inwardly, that I may be worthy to achieve, O Lord, your holy vision, (8) and grant me these my petitions, by the virtue of your holy angels and archangels, being fit and effective through the aforesaid through your glorious majesty, you are three and one, and true God almighty. Amen.

XXVI. Prayer.[38]

Jesus, son of the incomprehensible God, hancor. hanacor. hanylos. iehorna. theodonos. helyothos. heliotheos. phagor. corphandonos. norizaue. corithico. hanosae. helsezope. phagora.

XXVII. Prayer.[39]

Eleminator. candones. helos. helee. resphaga. thephagayn. thetendyn. thahonos. Ulcemya. heortahonos. uelos. behebos. belhores. hacaphagan. belehothol. ortophagon. corphandonos. (2) born human for us sinners, and you holy angels Heliothos. Phagnora. aid, guide, and teach me, and direct me towards reaching, having, and maintaining the vision of God, (3) through the glorious, most merciful and all-powerful creator, our living Lord, sacred and immeasurable, holy and eternal, to whom be the praise, honor, and glory, through the infinite worlds. Amen.

38 Ars. Not. 29a, JV p. 166.

39 Ars. Not. 29b, JV p. 167.

XXVIII Oracio

Lameht. ragua. ragahel. ragia. ragiomab. hagnaht. hoguolam. exactodan. heractodam. hanthonomos. hethaeneho. (2) hemones. iothe. lothensezaiha. sazaratha. hensazatha. serail. marab. mynathil. marathal. mairathal. brihamocon. thahamathon. (3) leprodoz. lephoris. leprohoc. lephorijs. hesacro: hesacohen. corquenal. choremal. guoyemal. ualiaiol. salail. salaiz. (4) salaior. halaiz. salquihel. gessidomy. gesseuazi. iessonay. hazoroz. hazarob. tharahal. bostihal. hamol. hamalamyn. Amen.

XXIX

Semeht. seghehalt. raguaht. reloymal. haguliaz. exhator. hanthomos. lezen. saccail. marab. brihamathon. lephez. hiefacto. themay. salaihel. agessomay. arathotamal.

XXX Oracio

Memoria irreprehensibilis, sapiencia incontradicibilis et incommutabilis Deus, eterni consilii angelus, amplectetur hodie cor meum dextera tua, et adimpleat conscienciam meam memoria tua (2) et odor unguentorum tuorum, et dulcedo gracie tue muniat mentem meam splendore Spiritus sancti et claritate, qua angeli faciem tuam, Domine, cum omnibus celi virtutibus intueri sine fine desiderant, (3) ut valeam cum ipsis te, clementissime, facialiter intueri, sapiencia, qua omnia [fecisti, intelligencia, qua omnia] reparasti, beatitudinis perseverancia, qua angelos restituisti, dileccione, qua hominem lapsum ad celestia traxisti, doctrina, qua Adam omnem sciencia docere dignatus es. (4) Informa, reple, instrue, instaura, corrige, clarifica et refice me, ut fiam novus in mandatis tuis intelligendis et suscipienda hac visione tua beata in salutem corporis et anime mee et omnium fidelium credencium in nomine tuo, quod est benedictum in secula seculorum. Amen.

XXVIII. Prayer.[40]

Lameht. ragua. ragahel. ragia. ragiomab. hagnaht. hoguolam. exactodan. heractodam. hanthonomos. hethaeneho. (2) hemones. iothe. lothensezaiha. sazaratha. hensazatha. serail. marab. mynathil. marathal. mairathal. brihamocon. thahamathon. (3) leprodoz. lephoris. leprohoc. lephorijs. hesacro: hesacohen. corquenal. choremal. guoyemal. ualiaiol. salail. salaiz. (4) salaior. halaiz. salquihel. gessidomy. gesseuazi. iessonay. hazoroz. hazarob. tharahal. bostihal. hamol. hamalamyn. Amen.

XXIX.[41]

Semeht. seghehalt. raguaht. reloymal. haguliaz. exhator. hanthomos. lezen. saccail. marab. brihamathon. lephez. hiefacto. themay. salaihel. agessomay. arathotamal.

XXX. Prayer.[42]

O irreprehensible memory, O uncontradictable wisdom, and unchangeable God, the angel of eternal council, hold my heart today with your right hand, and fill up my conscience with memory of you, (2) and with the scent of your oils, and may the sweetness of your grace strengthen my mind with the brilliance and clarity of the Holy Spirit, with which, O Lord, the angels, with all the powers of heaven, desire to look on your form always, (3) that I, like them, may be able to behold your face, most mercifully, with the wisdom [with which you have created all things, with the intelligence] with which you have renewed all things, with the steadfast blessedness, with which you have restored the angels, with the love, with which you have drawn man back to the heavens, who had fallen, with the teachings, and with which you deemed Adam worthy to be taught all knowledge. (4) Shape, complete, prepare, renew, correct, clarify, and rebuild me, that I may be made new to understand your commandments, and undertake this blessed vision of you, for the salvation of my body and soul, and of all faithful believers in your name, which is blessed, world without end. Amen.

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40 Ars. Not. 34, JV p. 170

41 Ars. Not. 35, var. 5, JV p. 172.

42 Ars Not. 36, JV p. 46.

XXXI Oracio

Hazaram. hihel. hehelilem. hethelilem. theiihem. hazagatha. agruazcor. hizguor. liaiah. isenesan. zezor. iesar. ysail. (2) et vos, angeli, quorum nomina scribuntur in libro vite et ibi recitantur, iasym. horos. helsa. heremogos. myrecagil. resaym. lemay. lemar. rasamen. lemar. themamoht. irasim. (3) iemamoht. themamoht. secray. sotthaht. sehan. hanamar. thau. sechay. helymaht. iosoihel. helymoht. sattamaht. helymyhot. iosey. theodony. iasamaht. pharene. panetheneos. phateneynehos. (4) haramen. Theos. hathanaym. hanataiphar. hatanazar. basiactor. ieseuemay. iesamana. iesamanay. haziactor. hamynosia. zezamanay. hamos. hamynos. hiatregilos. cahegilihos. zaguhel. zatahel.

XXXII

Hielma. helma. helymat. heuina. hytanathas. hemyna. hitanathois. helsa. hebos. hiebros. helda. hagasa. hoccomegos. raitotagum. coictagon. myheragyn.

XXXIII

Confirma, consolida, elucida, abba. Theos. behetimyhat. hehem. ruhos. bethar. husuruhunt. hetarius. Theos. Deus Pater, Deus Fili, Deus Spiritus sancte, <o>racionem nostram. (2) Confirma et intellectum et animam meam et memoriam meam ad suscipiendam, cognoscendam, videndam, intuendam visionem et faciem tuam beatam et gloriosam. Amen.

XXXIV

Agloros. theomythos. themyros. sehocodothos. zehocodos. hattihamel. sozena. haptamygel. sozihenzia. hemya. gettahol. (2) helyna. sothoneya. geherahel. halimyz. zezoray. gezetiz. gerehona. hazihal. hazai. meguos. megalos. usyon. saduhc.

XXXI. Prayer.[43]

Hazaram. hihel. hehelilem. hethelilem. theiihem. hazagatha. agruazcor. hizguor. liaiah. isenesan. zezor. iesar. ysail. (2) and you angels, whose names are written in the *Book of Life* and there they are read aloud, iasym. horos. helsa. heremogos. myrecagil. resaym. lemay. lemar. rasamen. lemar. themamoht. irasim. (3) iemamoht. themamoht. secray. sotthaht. sehan. hanamar. thau. sechay. helymaht. iosoihel. helymoht. sattamaht. helymyhot. iosey. theodony. iasamaht. pharene. panetheneos. phateneynehos. (4) haramen. Theos. hathanaym. hanataiphar. hatanazar. basiactor. ieseuemay. iesamana. iesamanay. haziactor. hamynosia. zezamanay. hamos. hamynos. hiatregilos. cahegilihos. zaguhel. zatahel.

XXXII.[44]

Hielma. helma. helymat. heuina. hytanathas. hemyna. hitanathois. helsa. hebos. hiebros. helda. hagasa. hoccomegos. raitotagum. coictagon. myheragyn.

XXXIII.[45]

Strengthen, solidify, enlighten, Abba. Theos. behetimyhat. hehem. ruhos. bethar. husuruhunt. hetarius. Theos. God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit, strengthen our reasoning (2) and comprehension, and my soul and memory, to receive, retain, see and contemplate the vision and of your blessed and glorious face. Amen.

XXXIV.[46]

Agloros. theomythos. themyros. sehocodothos. zehocodos. hattihamel. sozena. haptamygel. sozihenzia. hemya. gettahol. (2) helyna. sothoneya. geherahel. halimyz. zezoray. gezetiz. gerehona. hazihal. hazai. meguos. megalos. usyon. saduhc.

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43 Ars. Not. 43, JV p. 174.
44 Ars. Not. 46, JV p. 176.
45 Ars. Not. 47, JV p. 49.
46 Ars. Not. 50, JV p. 50.

XXXIVb

[Deus omnium, qui es Deus meus, qui in principio omnia ex nichilo creasti, qui in Spiritu tuo omnia reformasti, comple, restaura, sana intellectum meum, ut glorificem te per omnia opera cogitacionum et verborum meorum.]

XXXV Oracio

Megal. agal. iegal. hariothos. handos. hanathos. hanathoios. hauothos. lemazai. semezai. lamezai. lethonas. (2) iethonay. zemazphar. zeomaspar. zeomaphar. tetragramos. thethagranys. hatammar. hazaamahar. zahamyr. (3) iechosaphor. zethesaphir. gethor. saphor. hasagitha. hasacapha. hasamypa. haragaia. hazaguy. phasamar. samar. saleht. salym. salmeht. (4) sameht. saloht. sillezaleht. sadayne. neothatir. neodamy. hadozamyr. zozena. belymoht. hazat. helyhot.

XXXVI Oracio

Veritas, lux, via et vita omnium creaturarum, iuste Deus, vivifica me, visita me et intellectum meum et animam meam confirma et instaura conscienciam meam et clarifica et purga, (2) sicut Iohanni et Paulo [promisisti], quando rapuisti eos ad visionem tuam eis ostendendam, ut sic, Domine, meo vivente corpore possit te anima mea inspicere facialiter et videre.

XXXVII

Hamycchiahel. hamsahel. dalihir. hair. halel. zedach. hazarach. zedaizh. hazaias. lezorihal. zezorias. iechori. alsemaia. ysamyha. zama. ysa. (2) samma. ysarai. ysameht. ysathay. lemyhel. nehel. semehel. iemymehel. mythynab. nybahal. mychyn. mybancaiab. hamyly. mynab. heliasal. hometibymal. helymal. hymbos. zebracal. zelimal. (3) iechro. samaril. zezocha. iecrosahal. melos. zalimebor. zalymylos. zaguhel. mychathomos. myheromos. mycracosmos. nycromyhos. Amen.

XXXIVb.[47]

[O God of all, you who are my God, who in the beginning created all out of nothing, who in your Spirit has transformed all, fill, restore, and cure my comprehension, that I may glorify you through all my thoughts, words, and deeds.]

XXXV. Prayer.[48]

Megal. agal. iegal. hariothos. handos. hanathos. hanathoios. hauothos. lemazai. semezai. lamezai. lethonas. (2) iethonay. zemazphar. zeomaspar. zeomaphar. tetragramos. thethagranys. hatammar. hazaamahar. zahamyr. (3) iechosaphor. zethesaphir. gethor. saphor. hasagitha. hasacapha. hasamypa. haragaia. hazaguy. phasamar. samar. saleht. salym. salmeht. (4) sameht. saloht. sillezaleht. sadayne. neothatir. neodamy. hadozamyr. zozena. belymoht. hazat. helyhot.

XXXVI. Prayer.[49]

The truth, the light, the way, and the life of all creatures, O just God, vivify me, visit me and strengthen my comprehension, and my soul, and renew my conscience, and glorify and purge it, (2) as [you promised] John and Paul, when you snatched them away to show them the vision of you, so too, O Lord, while my body is yet living, may I be able to behold your face, and live.

XXXVII.[50]

Hamycchiahel. hamsahel. dalihir. hair. halel. zedach. hazarach. zedaizh. hazaias. lezorihal. zezorias. iechori. alsemaia. ysamyha. zama. ysa. (2) samma. ysarai. ysameht. ysathay. lemyhel. nehel. semehel. iemymehel. mythynab. nybahal. mychyn. mybancaiab. hamyly. mynab. heliasal. hometibymal. helymal. hymbos. zebracal. zelimal. (3) iechro. samaril. zezocha. iecrosahal. melos. zalimebor. zalymylos. zaguhel. mychathomos. myheromos. mycracosmos. nycromyhos. Amen.

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47 Ars. Not. 51, JV p. 51. Apparently omitted by accident, but see LI 9; see also XV.6.
48 Ars. Not. 52, JV p. 177.
49 Ars Not. 53, JV p. 51.
50 Ars Not. 54, JV p. 178.

XXXVIII

Ego in conspectu tuo, Domine, Deus meus, in cuius nutu omnia nuda sunt et aperta, et in cuius manu omnia sunt munda et pura—mundifica et depura me, Deus omnipotens -, hec enim loquor, (2) ut ablato infidelitatis et infeccionis errore et labe adiuvet me Spiritus tuus bonus, sanctus, vivificans omnia, et +vivificet+ omnem incredulitatem et labem meam, (3) ut visionem tuam sanctissimam, licet indignus, propter tuam misericordiam valeam efficaciter et absque defectu iam optinere. Amen.

XXXIX

Semoth. gehel. helymoht. hemeb. sabahel. zerothay. zabahel. gerozay. hebel. crosaihamagra. hatchagra. rageu. seromay. zehez. hezehengon. iezomay. hemehegon. hamagrata. cezozoy. gesommay. (2) hesehenguon. lethomay. Halla. hathanaton. hagigel. hatamyhel. hathomas. hecohay. zemohay. theageta. theal. regon. hagem. iezeregal. zehalragem. geht. zeregal. hamabihat. hezegon. (3) gethage. madiaaios. zadanchios. exhedon. pallathoros. zallachatos. thelthis. trehodios. zezochthiam. pallititacos. nethi. delthis. heremodios. helmelazar. helyne. zazar. haron. (4) gezero. mymyhel. henthon. hermelazar. sython. genithon. hezemyhel. heymemy. helmelazar. cremymyhel. exheruz. zorol. mothora. rabihel. samyb. lamely. melion. sarabihel. samyl. tamyl. Samyhel. Amen.

XL

Omnipotens, sempiterne Deus et misericors Pater ante omnia secula benedicte, qui nobis, eterne Deus incomprehensibilis et incommutabilis, remedium salutare contulisti, (2) qui propter omnipotenciam maiestatis tue nobis facultatem laudandi, glorificandi, videndi facialiter maiestatem tuam concessisti ceteris<que> animalibus negatam, cuius disposicio in sui providencia non fallitur, (3) cuius eciam natura eterna est et consubstancialis deitati sue et trinitati sue, que est Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, que

XXXVIII.[51]

I speak these things in your presence, O Lord my God, at whose command all things are naked and open, and in whose hand all things are clean and pure; cleanse and purify me, almighty God, (2) so that the error and stain of unbelief and deception being taken away, your good holy Spirit may help me, making me live, and *living, help my unbelief[52] and all my faults, (3) that I may be permitted your most holy vision, although unworthy, through your mercy may I prevail effectually and prevail now without failure. Amen.

XXXIX.[53]

Semoth. gehel. helymoht. hemeb. sabahel. zerothay. zabahel. gerozay. hebel. crosaihamagra. hatchagra. rageu. seromay. zehez. hezehengon. iezomay. hemehegon. hamagrata. cezozoy. gesommay. (2) hesehenguon. lethomay. Halla. hathanaton. hagigel. hatamyhel. hathomas. hecohay. zemohay. theageta. theal. regon. hagem. iezeregal. zehalragem. geht. zeregal. hamabihat. hezegon. (3) gethage. madiaaios. zadanchios. exhedon. pallathoros. zallachatos. thelthis. trehodios. zezochthiam. pallititacos. nethi. delthis. heremodios. helmelazar. helyne. zazar. haron. (4) gezero. mymyhel. henthon. hermelazar. sython. genithon. hezemyhel. heymemy. helmelazar. cremymyhel. exheruz. zorol. mothora. rabihel. samyb. lamely. melion. sarabihel. samyl. tamyl. Samyhel. Amen.

XL.[54]

Almighty, eternal God, and merciful Father, you who are blessed before all worlds, who has granted us, O God eternal, incomprehensible, and unchangeable, the medicine of salvation, (2) which because of the omnipotence of your majesty you have permitted us the ability to praise, glorify, and behold your majesty face to face, which is denied to other creatures, the disposition of whose destiny is unfailing, (3) whose nature is both eternal and of one substance, deity and trinity, which is the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, who is

51 Ars. Not. 55, JV p. 52.
52 Cp. Mark 9.24.
53 Ars. Not. 62, JV p. 181.
54 Ars Not. 64, JV p. 56..

est exaltata super omne celum, ubi divinitas et deitas corporaliter habitat, (4) deprecor maiestatem tuam, Domine, et omnipotenciam tuam glorifico et eternitatis tue virtutem, ac magnificenciam tuam summam et eternam cum nimia imploracione intencionis flagitans deposco. (5) Te, Deus meus, sapiencia inestimabilis et ineffabilis, vita angelorum, Deus incomprehensibilis, in cuius conspectu chorus angelorum consistit, te deprecor et flagito, (6) ut per sanctum et gloriosum nomen tuum et per conspectum angelorum tuorum et principatus celestes michi graciam tuam dones huius sancte visionis (7) et statim subvenias michi et sanctitatem michi tribuas et subtilitatem visionis tante et intellectus tui puritatem et perseveranciam concedas, (8) ut te facialiter videre valeam, qui vivis et regnas eternaliter per omnia secula seculorum in conspectu omnium virtutum celestium nunc et semper et ubique. Amen.

XLI

Semoht lamen. lezahel. salmatihal. zamatihel. mahazihel. zamazihal. ezeleaz. mahatihoten. hezoleam. megos. hemol. (2) hemnoleha. methos. hazamegos. halzamyhol. alzamoy. menrnanittos. memomittos. zely. marayhathol. zolmazathol. zemeney. iemenay. lameley. zethemalo. zethenaran. labdaio. lodeho. zabday. hoton. (3) ladaiedon. lapdaihadon. lothanan. hizemazihe. izthamhihe. iotha. uahuzuzif. zihanatihephomos. zeherem. zehe. ziehelmos. hiehanathihe. homos. zeherem. hessimathal. hessicomal. Ono (4) chehe. sihotil. magal. hesiothil. mytho., halpha. husale. ouus. flum. falso hallemassay. alesemonoy. salemanasai. helemasay. zazaico. semanay. nachairo. natham. gemehol. yetulmassay. gemahol. (5) iezemalo. magul. gehamas. senadar. iezama. salpha. secramagay. iehennagay. zehetyn. zemadazan. iehir. ramagay. geiama. salpha. gemama. suphu. ioher. iohabos. haymal. hamanal. thanocbomas. (6) iobohe. hamynal. zanogromos. nyzozoroba. nygerozoma. negero. robali. negora. hohalym. uytheromachum. tho. lymchay. tolomay. loynar. tholinngay. zenolozihon. hisonomelihon. Samyhel. giethi. (7) sicrozegamal. thonehos. carmolehos. samhel. geiszefihor. iezolnohit. phicrose. gramaht. theonthos. carmelos. lainyhel. harmanail. gesezihor. semarnail. zaarmatihail. heliozo. thahel. samail. Amen.

exalted above all heaven, where the divinity and deity physically dwells, (4) I beg your majesty, O Lord, and I glorify your omnipotence and the eternity of your power, and I beseech with great imploring of your greatness, most high and eternal. (5) O my God, inestimable and ineffable wisdom, O life of the angels, incomprehensible God, in whose sight the choir of angels stand, I beg and beseech you, (6) through your holy and glorious name, and through the sight of your angels and heavenly principalities, that you grant to me the grace of this holy vision of you (7) and forthwith come to my aid and bestow to me the sanctity and correctness of the great vision, and grant me the purity of your comprehension, and may it persist, (8) so I may succeed in seeing you face to face, you who lives and reigns forever through all the ages of the ages in the sight of all heavenly virtues, now and always and everywhere. Amen.

XLI.[55]

Semoht lamen. lezahel. salmatihal. zamatihel. mahazihel. zamazihal. ezeleaz. mahatihoten. hezoleam. megos. hemol. (2) hemnoleha. methos. hazamegos. halzamyhol. alzamoy. menrnanittos. memomittos. zely. marayhathol. zolmazathol. zemeney. iemenay. lameley. zethemalo. zethenaran. labdaio. lodeho. zabday. hoton. (3) ladaiedon. lapdaihadon. lothanan. hizemazihe. izthamhihe. iotha. uahuzuzif. zihanatihephomos. zeherem. zehe. ziehelmos. hiehanathihe. homos. zeherem. hessimathal. hessicomal. Ono (4) chehe. sihotil. magal. hesiothil. mytho., halpha. husale. ouus. flum. falso hallemassay. alesemonoy. salemanasai. helemasay. zazaico. semanay. nachairo. natham. gemehol. yetulmassay. gemahol. (5) iezemalo. magul. gehamas. senadar. iezama. salpha. secramagay. iehennagay. zehetyn. zemadazan. iehir. ramagay. geiama. salpha. gemama. suphu. ioher. iohabos. haymal. hamanal. thanocbomas. (6) iobohe. hamynal. zanogromos. nyzozoroba. nygerozoma. negero. robali. negora. hohalym. uytheromachum. tho. lymchay. tolomay. loynar. tholinngay. zenolozihon. hisonomelihon. Samyhel. giethi. (7) sicrozegamal. thonehos. carmolehos. samhel. geiszefihor. iezolnohit. phicrose. gramaht. theonthos. carmelos. lainyhel. harmanail. gesezihor. semarnail. zaarmatihail. heliozo. thahel. samail. Amen.

55 Ars Not. 69, JV p. 183-4.

XLII Primus terminus

Genealogon. reealologon. tenealogo. saphay. zazaiham. saphia. zede. zemoziham. zomonrihel. sanaman. sanma. gegnognal. Samyhel. ieremyhel. horaciotos. hetha. siothos. sepharaym. (2) henemos. genozabal. ieremabal. hethemel. genotheram. genorabal. semyha. senma. mynarom. yninathon. geristel. hymacton. chalos. phabal. resaram. marachihel. naratheos. ietrinantho. iezibathel. (3) sephoros. thesirara. zepharonay. hazana. messihel. Sother. hazihel. semicros. chiel. hamacal. hator. zemothor. sauaday. morothochiel. semenos. satabis. themay. horel. remay. renay. zenel. hasa. gemol. (4) zemelaza. iemozihel. zemei. zemeihaton. zechor. helycos. semysemie. hiacon. iethor.-d| mehohin. hazenethon. semase. mepathon. zemolym. sistos. Eloy. semegey. manos. helypos. hemyclopos. geys. seray. sephet. sephamanay. (5) helihothos. cherobalym. hassenethon. hisistos. domengos. iemyrohal. samanathos. semeham. behenos. megon. hanythel. iechomeros. ielamagar. remelthet. genay. domathamos. hathamyr. seryhon. senon. zaralamay. sabayhon.

XLIII Secundus terminus

Geolym. hazenethon. ysistos. Eloy. sephei. manay. helyhotas. ierobalym. semalet. gonay. heliothos. domathamos. hathamyr. seryhon. hamynyr. senoz. magamagol. (2) sethar. senam. magel. Hel. helymothos. helseron. zeron. phamal. iegromos. herymyhothon. lauthamos. heramathon. laudamos. lanaymos. seplatihel. sephatihel. hagenalis. legenale. hegernar. (3) stanazihel. stanithel. hathanathos. hegrogebal. rogor. heremynar. {hen}ecyman. marothon. iethar{naym}. {heno.z}ios. {i}ezeduhos. gezconas. satam. g{ort}aray. helycychcym. helestymeym. sephalzna. mathar. (4) saphar. manatham. bezazay. samay. sephay. syhemathon. balair. {s}amamar. hamyhel. marmamor. h {en}emos. gegohomos. samar. sabar. {hami}hel. gezamahel. sacramay. iezama{mel}. {ha}mansamel. (5) hamazamoly. geromol. lezemon. sycromal. iezabal. sanma. zama. hatanathos. Theos. helyhene. zelym. helyhem. hezelym. cromemon. henethemos. gegeguol. hemthemos. iamam. harathinam. megon. (6) meguoncemon. scrymay. hethemel. hemel. sethor. helsethor. sophornay. behelthor. sesalihel. tanahel. homyhal. iezahel. zemahel. komal. guomaguos. sennyr. iechor. nomemal. gehamguo. (7) genayr. iecomame. malihaguathos. hachamol. iecromaguos. maguarht.

XLII. First Terminus.[56]

Genealogon. reealologon. tenealogo. saphay. zazaiham. saphia. zede. zemoziham. zomonrihel. sanaman. sanma. gegnognal. Samyhel. ieremyhel. horaciotos. hetha. siothos. sepharaym. (2) henemos. genozabal. ieremabal. hethemel. genotheram. genorabal. semyha. senma. mynarom. yninathon. geristel. hymacton. chalos. phabal. resaram. marachihel. naratheos. ietrinantho. iezibathel. (3) sephoros. thesirara. zepharonay. hazana. messihel. Sother. hazihel. semicros. chiel. hamacal. hator. zemothor. sauaday. morothochiel. semenos. satabis. themay. horel. remay. renay. zenel. hasa. gemol. (4) zemelaza. iemozihel. zemei. zemeihaton. zechor. helycos. semysemie. hiacon. iethor.-d| mehohin. hazenethon. semase. mepathon. zemolym. sistos. Eloy. semegey. manos. helypos. hemyclopos. geys. seray. sephet. sephamanay. (5) helihothos. cherobalym. hassenethon. hisistos. domengos. iemyrohal. samanathos. semeham. behenos. megon. hanythel. iechomeros. ielamagar. remelthet. genay. domathamos. hathamyr. seryhon. senon. zaralamay. sabayhon.

XLIII. Second Terminus.[57]

Geolym. hazenethon. ysistos. Eloy. sephei. manay. helyhotas. ierobalym. semalet. gonay. heliothos. domathamos. hathamyr. seryhon. hamynyr. senoz. magamagol. (2) sethar. senam. magel. Hel. helymothos. helseron. zeron. phamal. iegromos. herymyhothon. lauthamos. heramathon. laudamos. lanaymos. seplatihel. sephatihel. hagenalis. legenale. hegernar. (3) stanazihel. stanithel. hathanathos. hegrogebal. rogor. heremynar. {hen}ecyman. marothon. iethar{naym}. {heno.z}ios. {i}ezeduhos. gezconas. satam. g{ort} aray. helycychcym. helestymeym. sephalzna. mathar. (4) saphar. manatham. bezazay. samay. sephay. syhemathon. balair. {s}amamar. hamyhel. marmamor. h {en}emos. gegohomos. samar. sabar. {hami}hel. gezamahel. sacramay. iezama{mel}. {ha}mansamel. (5) hamazamoly. geromol. lezemon. sycromal. iezabal. sanma. zama. hatanathos. Theos. helyhene. zelym. helyhem. hezelym. cromemon. henethemos. gegeguol. hemthemos. iamam. harathinam. megon. (6) meguoncemon. scrymay. hethemel. hemel. sethor. helsethor. sophornay. behelthor. sesalihel. tanahel. homyhal. iezahel. zemahel. komal. guomaguos. sennyr. iechor. nomemal. gehamguo. (7) genayr. iecomame. malihaguathos.

56 Ars Not. 127a, JV p. 84–5.

57 Cf. Ars Not. 127b, V p. 232–3.

noynemal. haguathos. hamathalis. iecoraguos. sammazihel. ieconail. hesuogem. chocorim. mynarntanamaytha. (8) thanaym. raymara. senayhel. honrnon. genthon. lauarnyhel. gehemguor. gemyhothar. iamnamyhel. sezihel. magol. samanay. haganal. menya. ferimay. sarranay. lanamyhel. guohemguor. gemothar. larnmyhel. (9) sezihel. maguol. samanay. hagamal. mena. ferimay. sarranay. lacham. lyhares. lethanagihel. nathes. samairliazer. egihel. thamazihel. hacacaros. cazaihel. hacaraz. hacatoharena. Semyday. (10) hacca. choharon. semelay. iamye. iazabal. lauerecabal. iammeze. thabal. cumachoros. hacoronathos. sathanael. hariharn. zathhar. harathar. haziler. zechar. hazihem. hazachar. Loenigemar. (11) hazanathar. hameguar. semal. geheu. negemar. hemeguol. semam. hathamanos. latimairos. rechiharnos. larnogual. semar. temnalamos. sebranay. selarnnay. baructhata. ialon. hespuhos. ramel. Semal. (12) renylsemar. ielamacrom. ielama. crymyzaiber. segher. sayher. ierologuos. iegemaguolon. geiemamaguosam. hamynos. iamozia. iozihon. iacuhosia. haguyhosio. yecologos. hazeoyon. hamynos. (13) hamyr. matharihon. mathanon. senos. heliothon. zenos. semear. lauar. lamar. setronalon. gemal. secromaguol. sacromehal. lamagil. sethoham. sechoiro. maihol. socromoguol. Genos. thomegen. nycheos.

XLIV 3US TERMINUS

Agenos. theomogenos. Theos. hatanathos. kirihel. ypolis. ypile. karihel. cristopholis. Hon. ymalihor. ymas. harethena. chenathon. leonbon. boho. usyon. ieromeguos. hagenoy. (2) hysichou. geromagol. hagyhamal. latham. zarchamal. senar. peconahal. lacramagral. sehar. sehan. iezetom. genomoloy. genomos. iezoro. nomeros. henahihel. gemehagate. gemyha. iethenmahos. myhayhos. (3) semana. hahel. semahel. hoteihos. hatazaihos. saphar. nemenomos. hoheihos. hataz. ayhos. caphar. nemenomos. horihos. hataz. haihoz. seiha. chomo. chomothanay. lamam. lamnamyr. lamyhar. (4) lamanazamyr. lemyar. hagramos. generamosehc. senyha. exagal. hamagron. semaharon. semyr. harauma. mamail. hararncha. mothana. Ramay. iose. ramaht. hauaramay. Iole. Christus. hamyriscos. (5) hamirrios. tharathos. caratheos. saleht. semamarim. iasol. salem. semyhamaym. hallehuma. haristeiz. bohem. ruhos. Halla. samyey. syloht. Samyhel. hallenomay. samythi. methonomos. iethonomos. gedonomay.

hachamol. iecromaguos. maguarht. noynemal. haguathos. hamathalis. iecoraguos. sammazihel. ieconail. hesuogem. chocorim. mynarntanamaytha. (8) thanaym. raymara. senayhel. honrnon. genthon. lauarnyhel. gehemguor. gemyhothar. iamnamyhel. sezihel. magol. samanay. haganal. menya. ferimay. sarranay. lanamyhel. guohemguor. gemothar. larnmyhel. (9) sezihel. maguol. samanay. hagamal. mena. ferimay. sarranay. lacham. lyhares. lethanagihel. nathes. samairliazer. egihel. thamazihel. hacacaros. cazaihel. hacaraz. hacatoharena. Semyday. (10) hacca. choharon. semelay. iamye. iazabal. lauerecabal. iammeze. thabal. cumachoros. hacoronathos. sathanael. hariharn. zathhar. harathar. haziler. zechar. hazihem. hazachar. Loenigemar. (11) hazanathar. hameguar. semal. geheu. negemar. hemeguol. semam. hathamanos. latimairos. rechiharnos. larnogual. semar. temnalamos. sebranay. selarnnay. baructhata. ialon. hespuhos. ramel. Semal. (12) renylsemar. ielamacrom. ielama. crymyzaiber. segher. sayher. ierologuos. iegemaguolon. geiemamaguosam. hamynos. iamozia. iozihon. iacuhosia. haguyhosio. yecologos. hazeoyon. hamynos. (13) hamyr. matharihon. mathanon. senos. heliothon. zenos. semear. lauar. lamar. setronalon. gemal. secromaguol. sacromehal. lamagil. sethoham. sechoiro. maihol. socromoguol. Genos. thomegen. nycheos.

XLIV. Third Terminus.[58]

Agenos. theomogenos. Theos. hatanathos. kirihel. ypolis. ypile. karihel. cristopholis. Hon. ymalihor. ymas. harethena. chenathon. leonbon. boho. usyon. ieromeguos. hagenoy. (2) hysichou. geromagol. hagyhamal. latham. zarchamal. senar. peconahal. lacramagral. sehar. sehan. iezetom. genomoloy. genomos. iezoro. nomeros. henahihel. gemehagate. gemyha. iethenmahos. myhayhos. (3) semana. hahel. semahel. hoteihos. hatazaihos. saphar. nemenomos. hoheihos. hataz. ayhos. caphar. nemenomos. horihos. hataz. haihoz. seiha. chomo. chomothanay. lamam. lamnamyr. lamyhar. (4) lamanazamyr. lemyar. hagramos. generamosehc. senyha. exagal. hamagron. semaharon. semyr. harauma. mamail. hararncha. mothana. Ramay. iose. ramaht. hauaramay. Iole. Christus. hamyriscos. (5) hamirrios. tharathos. caratheos. saleht. semamarim. iasol. salem. semyhamaym. hallehuma. haristeiz. bohem. ruhos. Halla. samyey. syloht. Samyhel. hallenomay. samythi. methonomos. iethonomos. gedonomay.

58 Ars Not. 127c. JV p. 233.

XLV 4[us] terminus

Geuathores. sanamathotos. guanatores. zanothoros. genomos. ienazar. seuma. marathos. seuather. sematheher. senachar. gerub. iamam. exihel. chublalaman. (2) hesihel. sethei. semylihel. zomyhel. genocomel. thanyham. machar. hachay. hazanathay. Theos. hamanatar. hazanethar. theconay. chiathar. theohon. namacar. (3) senuales. samyha. hesaca. semaly. hesamen. semyhahes. sarcihate. nazihatel. hanaziathachel. hasilihacel. pamylihel. haziliatel. hageuoron. hageuorem. (4) hageuorozom. samaht. samoht. habisumaht. hendon. habysanahat. tyngehen. cragohem. hazamgeri. hazamaguhem. lemehot. hasomgeri. iomoyhot. semiha. riahacton. semymarithaton. (5) semynar. zihoton. zaguam. horay. honethe. hoparathos. nahamala. rochos. hazata. helralacos. horetha. horalacos. horetha. horalothos. haralo. lethos. geno. zabahal. (6) lemaht. hazocha. lematalmay. halmay. iemalis. secomathal. harmarlemaht. sethemaesal. rabasadail. semnazliel. lethom. hagihal. legos. patis. iethomagihal. genomychos. (7) samayhas. ieuemeros. samma. zasamar. hazamyha. hasaymam. thaguoro. bandethepharon. thagromathon. laudoches. pharen. decarpe. medyhos. decapocheu. duhomelathus. decaponde. dihamelathos. semyhariht. (8) samyhan. genathely. zazamar. myremoht. satharios. gemiliam. sacrehos. saphorenam. saphoro. megon. hassahamynel. hazaa. myrahel. gerizo. ieristosymythos. hothos. hymicros. Otheos.

XLVI 5[us] terminus

Demathy. motheham. semathyotheos. hesapopa. hesaphopanos. gramyhel. garamanas. saphomoron. gelbaray. ieblaray. hetidiham. henzan. hezidiham. canazpharis. (2) hanthesion. cauastphasis. holithos. hosschihon. samatihel. ramaihel. semiramoht. Sathanos. gecabal. Hostosion. lemeliham. saphara. negon. zaramyhel. zamyrel. geriston. (3) zymphoros. hocho. hadalomob. uagem. nagenay. megos. naymogos. semazihar. helaph. herlo. holophemo. lopheo. hornobahoceo. Nydeht. herihegil. roguhon. nydocricib. (4) uegal. neguabel. memoht. hemel. gemoht. saguanar. clarapalos. zenozmyhel. iosagat. genoz. hamel. guaramaziel. gerathar. sathamyanos. sahamuham. gnamazihel. machelaglilos. (5) geraguaht. sathamyham. hurihel. phalomagos. phalomgros. iotho. megom. saraht. saaysac. horamylichos. carmeli-

XLV. Fourth Terminus.[59]

Geuathores. sanamathotos. guanatores. zanothoros. genomos. ienazar. seuma. marathos. seuather. sematheher. senachar. gerub. iamam. exihel. chublalaman. (2) hesihel. sethei. semylihel. zomyhel. genocomel. thanyham. machar. hachay. hazanathay. Theos. hamanatar. hazanethar. theconay. chiathar. theohon. namacar. (3) senuales. samyha. hesaca. semaly. hesamen. semyhahes. sarcihate. nazihatel. hanaziathachel. hasilihacel. pamylihel. haziliatel. hageuoron. hageuorem. (4) hageuorozom. samaht. samoht. habisumaht. hendon. habysanahat. tyngehen. cragohem. hazamgeri. hazamaguhem. lemehot. hasomgeri. iomoyhot. semiha. riahacton. semymarithaton. (5) semynar. zihoton. zaguam. horay. honethe. hoparathos. nahamala. rochos. hazata. helralacos. horetha. horalacos. horetha. horalothos. haralo. lethos. geno. zabahal. (6) lemaht. hazocha. lematalmay. halmay. iemalis. secomathal. harmarlemaht. sethemaesal. rabasadail. semnazliel. lethom. hagihal. legos. patis. iethomagihal. genomychos. (7) samayhas. ieuemeros. samma. zasamar. hazamyha. hasaymam. thaguoro. bandethepharon. thagromathon. laudoches. pharen. decarpe. medyhos. decapocheu. duhomelathus. decaponde. dihamelathos. semyhariht. (8) samyhan. genathely. zazamar. myremoht. satharios. gemiliam. sacrehos. saphorenam. saphoro. megon. hassahamynel. hazaa. myrahel. gerizo. ieristosymythos. hothos. hymicros. Otheos.

XLVI. Fifth Terminus.[60]

Demathy. motheham. semathyotheos. hesapopa. hesaphopanos. gramyhel. garamanas. saphomoron. gelbaray. ieblaray. hetidiham. henzan. hezidiham. canazpharis. (2) hanthesion. cauastphasis. holithos. hosschihon. samatihel. ramaihel. semiramoht. Sathanos. gecabal. Hostosion. lemeliham. saphara. negon. zaramyhel. zamyrel. geriston. (3) zymphoros. hocho. hadalomob. uagem. nagenay. megos. naymogos. semazihar. helaph. herlo. holophemo. lopheo. hornobahoceo. Nydeht. herihegil. roguhon. nydocricib. (4) uegal. neguabel. memoht. hemel. gemoht. saguanar. clarapalos. zenozmyhel. iosagat. genoz. hamel. guaramaziel. gerathar. sathamyanos. sahamuham. gnamazihel. machelaglilos. (5) geraguaht. sathamyham. hurihel. phalomagos. phalomgros.

59 Ars Not. 127d, JV p. 233–4.
60 Ars. Not. 127e, JV p. 234.

chos. hezaladuha. hezeladam. hisihel. hemal. Usyon. lamal. raguam. sablathom. Sabsacom.

XLVII 6us terminus

Derogueguos. geronehos. samanachor. sazanachoray. zamachoray. sauatihel. lamathios. sauazihel. thamyquiol. zazarahel. kyrion. zamynel. kyris. crememon. caristonmon. sacronomay. (2) soromono. hestimpandos. iechampanydos. ietham. panydos. methelamathon. merasamaty. sabarna. heluhama. guathamal. hemdamyhos. thega. myhabal. teguamathal. chathanathel. (3) thehogethos. cehoguos. sanazihel. cathanathel. tehogethos. tehoguos. canazay. teneloihos. zenelyhos. cathaliel. theomeguos. lapdamylon. laudamelyhon. ierothihon. lapda. mozihon. (4) homen. samal. samochia. homy. samal. samaziho. sathamenay. samohaia. sathomonay. geromazihel. hoctho. macalon. hothomegalon. genetazamanay. hazatamel. hazabanas. iechro. tynoguale. sehor. gehoraia. (5) haramanay. harathacihel. hazabamoht. hamython. lapdas. hazathan. thihel. hazabanos. hamacon. hamamalyhon. samalyhon. samalerihon. usiologihon. legyn. heleis. hymon. machitilon. (6) Theos. heloty. sarrainazili. samachili. helamon. chihamon. Hel. lamochiamou. lagay. lemechiel. semezihel. laymos. lanoso hazamathon. themohan. thanathon. Theon. natharathon.

XLVIII 7us terminus

Maguus. maguol. nazihacol. uazihathos. heliam. mathon. saphar. nazachon. gemehihel. iomorihel. sanayhel. sazanyhel. saramel. semyhel. sezimel. (2) lebachon. iarachon. iaratham. basihas. lamnay. rouala. matliathon. rasihos. layna. choro. laymatham. labynegual. scomycros. bazihos. lainna. labunegas. herezemyhel. (3) pheamicros. negemezihol. relmalaguoram. hanamyhos. hanomos. gracosihos. gracomessihos. sothiron. genozepha. chelahel. zopascanelios. zepasconomos. hamarazihos. hamarizihos. (4) zenazihel. geramathihel. gecramathihol. hasaguar. hasagiri. paramyhot. hapasiry. haranamar. Senales. hasaguanamar. sennagel. secastologihon. geuaguolos. hageuolo. thegos. sozor. (5) hamay. seroguomay. sorosamay. iamaramos. remolithos. lammaramos. zenon. serolen. zabay. peripaton. harihat. hanan-

iotho. megom. saraht. saaysac. horamylichos. carmelichos. hezaladuha. hezeladam. hisihel. hemal. Usyon. lamal. raguam. sablathom. sabsacom.

XLVII. Sixth Terminus.[61]

Derogueguos. geronehos. samanachor. sazanachoray. zamachoray. sauatihel. lamathios. sauazihel. thamyquiol. zazarahel. kyrion. zamynel. kyris. crememon. caristonmon. sacronomay. (2) soromono. hestimpandos. iechampanydos. ietham. panydos. methelamathon. merasamaty. sabarna. heluhama. guathamal. hemdamyhos. thega. myhabal. teguamathal. chathanathel. (3) thehogethos. cehoguos. sanazihel. cathanathel. tehogethos. tehoguos. canazay. teneloihos. zenelyhos. cathaliel. theomeguos. lapdamylon. laudamelyhon. ierothihon. lapda. mozihon. (4) homen. samal. samochia. homy. samal. samaziho. sathamenay. samohaia. sathomonay. geromazihel. hoctho. macalon. hothomegalon. genetazamanay. hazatamel. hazabanas. iechro. tynoguale. sehor. gehoraia. (5) haramanay. harathacihel. hazabamoht. hamython. lapdas. hazathan. thihel. hazabanos. hamacon. hamamalyhon. samalyhon. samalerihon. usiologihon. legyn. heleis. hymon. machitilon. (6) Theos. heloty. sarrainazili. samachili. helamon. chihamon. Hel. lamochiamou. lagay. lemechiel. semezihel. laymos. lanoso hazamathon. themohan. thanathon. Theon. natharathon.

XLVIII. Seventh Terminus.[62]

Maguus. maguol. nazihacol. uazihathos. heliam. mathon. saphar. nazachon. gemehihel. iomorihel. sanayhel. sazanyhel. saramel. semyhel. sezimel. (2) lebachon. iarachon. iaratham. basihas. lamnay. rouala. matliathon. rasihos. layna. choro. laymatham. labynegual. scomycros. bazihos. lainna. labunegas. herezemyhel. (3) pheamicros. negemezihol. relmalaguoram. hanamyhos. hanomos. gracosihos. gracomessihos. sothiron. genozepha. chelahel. zopascanelios. zepasconomos. hamarazihos. hamarizihos. (4) zenazihel. geramathihel. gecramathihol. hasaguar. hasagiri. paramyhot. hapasiry. haranamar. Senales. hasaguanamar. sennagel. secastologihon. geuaguolos. hageuolo. thegos. sozor. (5) hamay. seroguomay. sorosamay. iamaramos. remolithos. lammaramos. zenon. serolen. zabay. peripaton. harihat. hananyhos. crascrosihos. graguomoysihos.

61 Ars Not. 127f, JV p. 234.

62 Ars Not. 127g, JV p. 235.

yhos. crascrosihos. graguomoysihos. sichiron. genozem. pha. zehahel. (6) sephastaneos. hamaristigos. senazihel. geramacihel. pazamyhol. haphasy. zihazanagar. senasel. secasehogyhon. genaguolos. hegonele. thegos. sorozamay. sozor. hamay. iamaramos. zelihon. iezolen.

XLIX 8[us] terminus

Remolithos. ypomehiles. hazimelos. samal. hazaramagos. gelomyhel. gezeno. megual. hauacristos. hanaipos. gemotheon. samahot. helihemon. hialamum. salamyhym. haminos. gezelihos. sartharay. sarthamy. (2) gechora. maray. gethoramy. ieguoram. myhamy. Theos. agios. crehanrnos. Yskiros. athanathos. probihos. meguon. hacazamazay. hecohy. uryhel. iebozihel. sarib. rogay. halomora. sarahihel. hechamazihel. sezamagua. iechar.

L

Novem oraciones sunt in principio posite usque ad illam oracionem: "Heliscemaht, hazaram ...," quarum octo sunt preparacio vie ad operandum et preparacio operis ad optinendum, set nona est prima oracio de intrincesitate [*intrinsecitate] operis huius. (2) De octo dico tibi, quod summo mane paululum ante crepusculum matutinum ante incepcionem operis cuiuslibet diei ipse sunt proferende, et non oportet de tota die amplius.

(3) De nona dico, quod semper in principio orandi per oraciones alias ab illis octo predictis et in fine est proferenda.

(4) Octo oraciones sunt in fine posite, que octo termini nuncupantur, et de illis dico, quod valent ad habendum divinum concessum.

(5) Sic primo una die Veneris, postquam eris vere penitens et confessus, ieiunabis pane et aqua. (6) Et summo mane circa principium crepusculi matutini dices decem oraciones, quas invenies infra, scilicet 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, suaviter et intente atque sedule prorumpendo. (7) Deinde facto parvo intervallo postulative cogitando dices illos 8 terminos, intervallum similiter parvum et postulativum in fine cuiuslibet termini faciendo.

sichiron. genozem. pha. zehahel. (6) sephastaneos. hamaristigos. senazihel. geramacihel. pazamyhol. haphasy. zihazanagar. senasel. secasehogyhon. genaguolos. hegonele. thegos. sorozamay. sozor. hamay. iamaramos. zelihon. iezolen.

XLIX. Eighth Terminus.[63]

Remolithos. ypomehiles. hazimelos. samal. hazaramagos. gelomyhel. gezeno. megual. hauacristos. hanaipos. gemotheon. samahot. helihemon. hialamum. salamyhym. haminos. gezelihos. sartharay. sarthamy. (2) gechora. maray. gethoramy. ieguoram. myhamy. Theos. agios. crehanrnos. Yskiros. athanathos. probihos. meguon. hacazamazay. hecohy. uryhel. iebozihel. sarib. rogay. halomora. sarahihel. hechamazihel. sezamagua. iechar.

L.

Nine prayers are placed in the beginning, up to the prayer "**Heliscemaht, hazaram**...," of which eight are preparation of the way to work, and preparation of the work for obtaining, but the ninth is the first prayer that is intrinsic to this work. (2) Concerning the eight I say to you, they should be said early in the morning, a little before morning twilight, before beginning the day's work, and should be said no more the rest of the day.

(3) Concerning the ninth, I tell you, it should always be said before beginning the prayers which follow those eight, and at the end.

(4) The eight prayers are placed at the end, which are called the eight *Termini* (or "Ends"), and regarding them I say, that they are effective for obtaining divine consent.

(5) Thus to begin, one Friday, after sincerely repenting and confessing, you must fast on bread and water. (6) And in the early morning around morning twilight, say the ten prayers which you will discover below, namely, numbers 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32, pleasantly and attentively, while projecting the words purposefully. (7) Then you must pause for a short time, thinking about your request, then say those eight *Termini*, taking a similar pause after each *Terminus* to repeat your request.

63 Ars Not. 127h, JV p. 235.

(8) Deinde, eum mane semel dixeris, eodem modo penitus circa terciam semel dices et similiter circa meridiem semel et tune poteris prandere.

(9) In crastino, scilicet in die sabbati, eodem modo penitus facies. In die Dominica similiter, nisi quod non ieiunabis, immo quod vis, vel pisces vel carnes, comedere quibis post meridiem, scilicet finita tercia vice orandi.

(10) Tunc in nocte sequenti in sompnis revelabitur tibi per angelum concessus vel repulsa. Si concessus, facies ut docebitur in hoc libro. (11) Si repulsa, spectabis aliud tempus, in quo iterum queres concessum, et tunc te melius preparato apud Deum, unde veniet concessus.

(12) Set nota, quod illa oracio: "Iesu, Dei filius ..." cum illa: "Eleminator...," que est pars eiusdem oracionis, nisi quod ibi debet fieri minimum intervallum postulativum, debet dici ter submisse post quamlibet vicem orandi horis predictis. (13) Si autem repulsam habueris, fac ut dictum est die Veneris, sabbati et Dominico, nisi quod in die Dominico loco ieiunii debes dare tres elemosinas tribus pauperibus misericorditer et devote.

(14) Deinde prima luna, scilicet in die Lune sequenti, fac ut prius penitus et eodem modo similiter luna 2ª et luna 3ª et luna 4ª et sic usque ad finem. (15) Et sic forte Deus miserebitur tui. Tamen in oracionibus Latinis tunc oporteret peticionem mutare, scilicet peticionem concessus in peticionem miseracionis.

(16) Et nota, quod qui tales oraciones vult dicere debet esse castus et mundus et devote proferre, et qui aliter fecerit procul dubio punicionem manifestam videbit. (17) In illis enim oracionibus Grecis, Hebraicis et Caldaicis sunt sacratissima nomina Dei et angelorum, que non nisi ex misericordia ab homine proferri permitterentur.

(18) Et quando tibi accidit repulsa, non debes desperare set confiteri et renes magis perscrutari et elemosinas multas lete largiri et missas diversas facere celebrari et oraciones diversas genibus flexis ad Dominum alloqui sive fari et tempestivis et protervis fletibus et oracionibus Dominum hortari et amplecti. Hec solent facere sapientes, ut veniant ad effectum.

(8) Then, having said this once in the morning, you must repeat the same around Terce, and again around noon, whereupon you can eat your first meal.

(9) On the following day, namely, the Sabbath,[64] you must do in the exact same manner. Do the same again on Sunday, except it is not necessary to fast, and in fact you can eat fish or meat as you prefer, but after noon, namely after you have finished praying for the third time.

(10) Then on the following night as you sleep, it will be revealed to you by an angel, whether your request will be permitted or rejected. If permitted, you will do as will be taught in this book, (11) but if rejected, consider another time in which to seek permission, and then prepare yourself better before God, from whom permission will come.

(12) But note, that the prayer, "Jesus, son of God..." (XXVI) with this one: "**Eleminator,"** (XXVII) which is part of the same prayer, should be said three times softly, except there should be a short petition interval, after each time of praying.—(13) If however your petition is rejected, do as described for Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, with the exception that on Sunday, instead of fasting you must give three alms to three poor persons, with compassion and devotion.

(14) Then, in the first moon, namely the following Monday, do as you did earlier, and so too for the second, third, and fourth Monday, and thus all the way to the end. (15) And thus perhaps God will be merciful to you. But in the Latin[65] prayers you should alter the petition, namely you should ask for mercy, not for granting your desire.

(16) And note that whoever wishes to say those prayers must be chaste and clean, and offer them with devotion, and anyone who does otherwise will undoubtedly see punishment. (17) In fact, those Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldean prayers include the most holy names of God and the angels, which must not be spoken by anyone except through his mercy.

(18) And when your request has been rejected, you must not despair, but confess and search your inner feelings more, and cheerfully give many alms, and have diverse Masses celebrated, and different prayers on bent knees addressed to the Lord, or speak suitable and passionate prayers with tears, exhorting and embracing the Lord. These are the things the wise men are accustomed to doing, in order to achieve success.

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64 Here obviously meaning Saturday.

65 As opposed to those consisting of mystical words and names.

LI Prima mundacio

Si Adonay largiente concessum habueris et opereris secundum modum subscriptum, luna 4ª, 8ª, 12ª, 16ª, 20ª, 24ª, 28ª, 32ª in die circa matutinum semel, circa terciam semel, circa nonam semel, circa vesperas semel dices has oraciones prescriptas, (2) scilicet "Assaylemah t ..." et "Hazailemaht ...," que est secunda pars eius, et ["Lemaht ..." et] "Lameht lemaht ..." et "Deus summe, Deus ..." et "Te queso, Domine ...," <et> que est prologus eius, scilicet "Deus summe, Deus ...," nisi quod ille tres oraciones prime de intraneitate artis: (3) "Alpha et Ω ..." et "Heliscemaht ..." et "Theos megale Patir ..." cum suo prologo "Lux mundi ...," que post eam debet dici, prius dicantur, et post ille: "Hassailemaht ..." [et "Hazailemaht ..."] dicantur facto tamen intervallo postulativo.

(4) Illa autem sanctissima oracio: "Lameht ragua ..." cum sua particula "Semeht segaht [*segheahlt] ..." et cum suo prologo debet dici luna prima quater, scilicet summo mane semel, circa terciam semel, circa meridiem ter, circa nonam ter.

(5) Luna 3ª proferatur ter: Circa mane semel, circa meridiem semel, circa nonam semel.

Luna 6ª proferatur bis in mane, bis in meridie, bis in nona.

Luna 9ª proferatur ter in mane, ter in meridie, ter in nona.

(6) In 12ª luna proferatur ter in mane, ter in meridie, ter in nona, ter in vesperis.

Luna 15ª proferatur [in] mane ter, in tercia ter, in meridie ter, in nona ter, in vesperis ter.

In 18ª luna 21 et 23, 26 et 29 et 30 legantur similiter sicut in 15ª.

LI. The first purification.

If Adonay generously grants that you might have permission, then proceed according to the method described below. On the 4th, 8th, 12th, 16th, 20th, 24th, 28th, and 32nd of the moon, the following prayers should be said once around Matins, once around Terce, once around None, and once around Vesper, (2) namely "Assaylemaht..." (XX) and "Hazailemaht ...," (XXI) which is the second part of it, and "[Lemaht ..." (XXII), and] "Lameht lemaht ..." (XXIII), and "God the highest, God ..." (XXIV), and "I beseech you, O my Lord ..." (XXV), <and> which is its prologue, namely, "God the highest, God ...," except that those three first prayers from the essence of the art: (3) "Alpha and Omega ..." (XV) and "Heliscemaht ..." (XVI) and "Theos megale Patir ..." (XVII) with its prologue "the light of the world ...", (XVIII) which must be said *after* that which should be said first, and after that, say "Hassailemaht ..." (XX) [and "Hazailemaht...."] (XXI) yet they should be said with a petition interval.

(4) But that most holy prayer: "Lameht ragua..." with its part "Semeht segaht [*segheahlt] ..." and with its prologue should be said on the *Luna Prima*[66] four times, namely once very early in the morning, once around Terce, three times around noon, three times around None.

(5) On the third day of the moon it should be recited three times: Once in the morning, once around noon, and once around None.

On the sixth day of the moon it should be recited twice in the morning, twice at noon, and twice at None.

On the ninth day of the moon it should be recited three times in the morning, three times at noon, and three times at None.

(6) On the twelfth day of the moon it should be recited three times in the morning, three times at noon, and three times at Vespers.

On the fifteenth day of the moon it should be recited three times in the morning, three times at Terce, three times at noon, three times at None, and three times at Vespers.

On the eighteenth day of the moon, 21, 23, 26, 29, and 30 are to be read similarly as on the fifteenth.[67]

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66 *Luna Prima*: The first day of the lunar calendar, i.e. the new moon.

67 Hedegård (p. 33) interprets this to mean that prayers 21, 23, etc. as found later in the book, are to be recited on the 18th day of the moon. The other interpretation is that the same prayers are to be recited on the 18th, 21st, etc. day of the moon. This is how MS R

(7) Set nota, quod ista oracio in castitate et in mundicia et fide prolata valet similiter ad pericula ignis, bestiarum vel demonum, et tunc nichil de horis vel lunacionibus respicere oportet.

(8) Illa autem oracio sanctissima: "Hazaram hihel ..." cum suis particulis 4, que sunt "Hihelma helma" et cetera, "Agloros theomythos" et cetera, "Megal agal" et cetera, "Hamicchiahel" et cetera, cum suis similiter prologis, (9) scilicet "Confirma, consolida" et cetera, "Deus omnium, qui es" et cetera, "Veritas, lux" et cetera, "Ego in conspectu tuo" et cetera, seriatim, ut prius iacent, debent prorumpi suaviter et intente post illam predictam: (10) "Lameht ragua ..." eisdem diebus et horis nisi in uno casu, scilicet quando pro magno negocio petitur, puta loqui cum spiritibus vel videre Deum. Tunc ipsa non debet dici nisi semel, scilicet circa mane. (11) Set quando petitur sciencia vel tutela a malis vel cognicio celorum et angelorum et sigillorum et cetera, tunc sicut dictum est de "Lameht ragua ..." est faciendum. (12) Et hec oracio eandem efficaciam cum "Lameht ragua ..." habet et aliquid plus in speciali vel, quod melius est, in casu, (13) quo petitur fieri a spiritibus celestibus aliquid arduum et magnum eis approbatum, scilicet descendere et homini loqui vel cogere spiritus aereos et terreos ad veniendum et obediendum.

(14) Illa autem oracio: "Semoht gechel..." et illa: "Omnipotens, sempiteme Deus ..." et illa: "Semoht lamen ..." proferantur cum illa: "Iesu, Dei filius ..." in illis diebus, (15) in quibus alie predicte proferri non debent, sicut dictum est supra, quod non debent proferri luna 2a nec 5a nec 7a nec 14a, et sic de aliis, ut prius patet.

(16) Et nota, quod si coram iudice habet magnam causam, que non possit ad finem produci, et ieiunet precedenti die qua ibit ad curiam propositum causam suam pane et aqua, postea proferat basse bis illas tres oraciones: "Semoht..." et "Omnipotens ..." et "Semoht ...;" (17) tanta enim

(7) But note, that this same prayer offered in chastity and cleanness and faith has power over dangers from fire, wild beasts, or daemons, and then no specific time of day or month need be observed.

(8) But that most holy prayer: "Hazaram hihel ..." (XXXI) with its four parts, which are "Hihelma helma" etc. (XXXII), "Agloros theomythos" etc. (XXXIV), "Megal agal" etc. (XXXV) "Hamicchiahel" etc. (XXXVII), similarly with its prologues, (9) namely, "Strengthen, solidify" etc. (XXXIII), 'O God of all, you who are' etc. (XXXIVb), "the Truth, the Light" etc. (XXXVI), "I speak these things in your presence" etc. (XXXVIII), as set down in order earlier. They must be projected pleasantly and attentively after that one preceding: (10) "Lameht ragua ..." (XXVIII) the same days and with the hours, except in the one case, namely when your petition is for some great undertaking, for example to speak with the spirits or to see God. Then it must be said only once, namely around morning. (11) But when your petition is for knowledge, or protection from evil, or learning about the heavens and the angels, and the seals, etc., then you must do as said concerning "Lameht ragua ..." (XXVIII). (12) And this prayer has the same effectiveness as "Lameht ragua," and is even somewhat more specific, which is better in the case (13) that you desire the celestial spirits to approve some great or difficult task, such as them descending and speaking to people, or to compel the spirits of the air and the earth into coming and obeying.

(14) Therefore this prayer must be offered: "Semoht gechel ..." (XXXIX), and this: "Omnipotent, eternal God ..." (XL), and this: "Semoht lamen ..." (XLI), with this one: "Jesus, the Son of God ..." (XXVI) on those days, (15) in which the others preceding must not be offered, as explained above, because they must not be offered on the second day of the moon, nor the fifth, seventh, nor the fourteenth, and so for the others as appears earlier.

(16) And note, that if someone has a major case before a judge, the end of which cannot be determined, he should fast on bread and water the day before he is to plead his case, and afterwards he should recite quietly those three prayers, two times: "Semoht ..." (XXXIX) and "Almighty ..." (XL) and

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interpreted it. I am inclined to go with the latter interpretation, for three reasons. First, the first interpretation would mean that a good portion of the month would have no recitations. Second, the fact that it only goes up to 30 is another clue that days of the moon are intended. Finally, the fact that those prayers hadn't yet been given is another clue.

sapiencia et eloquencia dabitur sibi in proponendo causam suam, quod breviter optinebit, nisi quod oportet <te> esse bene mundum et castum. (18) Similiter hanc oracionem valet dicere, quando aliquis spiritus vocatus venit, cum illa: "Lameht ragua ..." pro evitando periculum et acquirendo sapienciam et eloquenciam affandi audacter spiritu advocato.

LII

Cum igitur nichil aliud fecerit vel aliquod peccatum cogitaverit, roget continue Deum aliis horis a primis 6ª, 10ª, 12ª oracione et in mane vadat ad missam et eundo dicat 16, (2) in templo dicat 22, item 14, 24,[5] 21, 32, 33, 34, 29, 30 et ita faciat continue per 20 dies cavens sibi diligenter, ne incidat in peccatum. (3) Si tamen casualiter in peccatum inciderit, immediate peniteat et confiteatur; ieiunet, si possit, continue. (4) Si non, de duobus unum relaxet. Set per 7 dies ordine retrogrado procedendo ab omni morticinio ieiunet.

(5) Tunc habeat sacerdotem cautum et fidelem, qui sibi matutinam, primam et terciam et missam de Spiritu sancto cantet dicens in introitu 13, post offertorium 9. (6) Tunc accipiat thus et suffumiget, ut pertinet ad altare, dicens primam. Et quia beati patres in illis gloriosis sanctis ibidem nominatis sperabant, ideo sic fecerunt. (7) Operans autem, si in aliquibus aliis sanctis maiorem devocionem habeat, mutet nomen pro nomine, quia fides operatur ut predixi. (8) 2ª oracio immediate dicatur et post "Te igitur ..." 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, et sic in sacrando corpus Christi petat pro

5 SSM reads "23."

"Semoht ..." (XLI). (17) For such great wisdom and eloquence will be given to him for pleading his cause, that it will be obtained quickly, except you must be very clean and abstinent. (18) Similarly it is powerful to say this prayer when an invoked spirit has come, with this one: "Lameht ragua ..." (XXVIII) in order to avoid danger and acquire wisdom and eloquence in speaking boldly with the spirit that is called.

LII.

Now, provided that he has not done anything else, nor intended to sin, he should continuously ask God, in all other hours except Prime, with the sixth, tenth, and twelfth prayers,[68] and in the morning he should go to mass and while going he should say sixteen; (2) in the church he should say 22, likewise, 14, 24,[69] 21, 32, 33, 34, 29, 30, and he should do thus continuously for twenty days, taking careful precautions against falling into sin. (3) If however he accidentally sins, he must immediately repent and confess; if he can let him fast continuously, (4) but if he is unable to, he may relax that to fasting every other day. But for seven days consecutive going back prior, he must fast and abstain from (eating) all dead matter.[70]

(5) Then he should have a cautious and faithful priest, who should sing for him Matins, Prime, Terce, and a Mass of the Holy Spirit. During the *introit* he should say 13,[71] and after the offertory he should say 9.[72] (6) Then he should take incense and fumigate as he approaches the altar, saying the first.[73] And note that those famous saints were named therein because the blessed fathers had faith in them, (7) But if the operator has greater devotion to any other saints, he may replace the names therein with those of the other saints, because faith works, as I have said before.[74] (8) The second prayer should be said immediately and after "*te igitur*" 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, and thus in consecrating the

68 LVIII, LXV, and LXVII.

69 SSM reads "23."

70 Compare SSM L.4.f.15: *nil mortuum comedas, nec tangas* ("you should consume nothing dead, nor touch any"). The Royal ms misinterprets this as abstaining from all deadly sin.

71 LXVIII.

72 LXIV.

73 LIII.

74 This passage, starting with "and note" seems to be an example of an interpolation by the "London" redactor, since it isn't found in SSM. See Veenstra 2012 p. 156–7.

operante sacerdos, ut effectum peticionum suarum per divinam graciam assequatur. (9) Et ita intellige de omnibus oracionibus, que pertinent ad sacerdotem et ad operacionem, quia sunt generales ad omnes peticiones habendas. (10) Set nichil aliis addas. Item post communionem dicat sacerdos 26, post missam vero recipiat operans eucaristiam dicendo 19, 20. (11) Et caveat, ne corpus Christi accipiat pro effectu malo, quia non esset salus immo mors, unde quidam intitulaverunt librum istum sic: "Incipit mors anime." (12) Et hoc est verum male operantibus et propter effectum malum, et non propter scienciam. Nam ait Dominus: "Petite, et dabitur vobis. Querite et invenietis." (13) Et alibi dicit Dominus: "Ubi duo vel tres congregati fuerint in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio" et "De omni re, quam pecierint in nomine meo, fiet illis a patre meo."

LIII

Oraciones prenominate et post nominande numero sunt hec, scilicet:

Prima oracio

Agla, lux, veritas, vita, via, iudex misericors, misericordia, fortitudo, paciencia, conserva et iuva me in hac sancta visione et miserere mei (2) propter misericordiam tuam et servicium huius sancti suffumigii et sancti sacrificii Domini nostri Iesu Christi et propter meritum gloriose semper virginis Marie, matris Domini nostri Iesu Christi, (3) et meritum apostolo-

body of Christ, the priest should petition on behalf of the operator, that he may obtain success in his petition through divine grace. (9) And so too you should understand regarding all the prayers, which pertains to the priest and for the operation, because in general they are required for all petitions. (10) But nothing else should be added. Likewise after the mass the priest should say 26, and after Mass in truth he should receive the Eucharist, saying 19 and 20. (11) And he must beware, not to receive the body of Christ for any evil purpose, because then it would be ineffective, and might even be deadly, from which some have entitled that book "The death of the soul."[75] (12) And this is truly bad for those who would operate for an evil purpose, and not on behalf of knowledge. For the Lord has said: "Ask and you will receive. Seek and you will find."[76] (13) And elsewhere the Lord says: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them"[77] and "anything which they ask for in my name, it will be done for them by my father."[78]

LIII.

The prayers previously named, and named afterwards, with their number, are these:[79]

First Prayer.[80]

Agla, the light, the truth, the life, the way, merciful, mercy, the strength, patience, preserve and help me in this sacred vision, and pity me (2) because of your compassion, and the service of this holy suffumigation, and the holy sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ, and because of the merit of the glorious and eternal virgin Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, (3) and the merits

75 Compare Bern, Statbibliothek, Handshriften 260, f 227 vb, listed by Klaassen and by Thorndike under necromancy in list of incip. Cp Boudet *Entre* p. 94.

76 Matt. 7:7.

77 Matt. 18:20.

78 Matt. 18:19. This concludes the "First Purification;" the instructions for the second are found in chapter XCVIII. The intervening chapters, the prayers mentioned in the text, seem to be inserted here for convenience. They don't break the narrative in SSM, which is evidence the London Honorius prototype was adapted from an earlier text.

79 These following prayers each begin with one of the 100 names of God, in the same order as enumerated in chapters C and CI. See chapter XCVII. Compare Gollancz 1914 pp. V ff.

80 Ars. Not. 53, JV p. 51.

rum Petri et Pauli, Andree, Iacobi, Iohanis, Thome, Iacobi, Philippi, Bartholomei, Mathei, Symonis et Thadei, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Sixti, Cornelii, Cipriani, (4) Laurencii, Grisogoni, Iohanis et Pauli, Cosme et Damiani et omnium sanctorum tuorum, quorum meritis et precibus concedas hanc sanctam tuam visionem per eundem Dominum nostrum.

LIV 2ª oracio

Monhon, Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens, sempiterne Deus, in cuius conspectu omnia sunt visibilium et invisibilium fundamenta creaturarum omnium, cuius oculi imperfectum meum viderunt, cuius caritatis dulcedine pleni sunt celi et terra, (2) cuius aures omnia audiunt, qui omnia vidisti, antequam fierent, in cuius libro omnes formati sunt dies et homines inscripti, respice hodie super famulum tuum tibi tota mente et toto corde subiectum. (3) Per Spiritum sanctum tuum confirma me, ut te videam. Benedic hodie et protege omnes actus meos hodiernos et hanc inspeccionem et constancia tue visitacionis me illustra. Amen.

LV 3ª oracio

Tetragramathon, respice, Domine, Deus, clemens Pater, omnium eterne dispositor <omnium> virtutum. Operaciones meas hodie considera, tu, qui es actuum hominum et angelorum inspector atque discretor. (2) Ideo te rogo, ut admirabilis gracia promissionis tue in me dignetur subitam adimplere virtutem huius sancte visionis, et in me tantam efficaciam nomini sancto tuo et magno infundas, tu, qui laudem tuam in ore te diligencium imponis et infundis. Amen.

LVI 4ª oracio

Hely Deus, creator, Adonay, omnium [visibilium et] invisibilium creaturarum Pater piissime, qui incircumscripto lumine habitas eternaliter <et> ante principium mundi omnia ineffabiliter disponens atque gubernans, (2) eternitatem tuam atque incomprehensibilem pietatem verbis supplican-

of the apostles Peter and Paul, Andrew, Jacob, John, Thomas, Jacob, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon, Thaddeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, of Cornelius, Cyprian, (4) Laurence, Grisogone, John and Paul, Cosme and Damian, and all your saints, through whose merits and prayers may you grant this holy vision of yourself, through the same our Lord.

LIV. Prayer 2.[81]

Monhon, O Lord, O holy Father, all-powerful, eternal God, in whose sight are the foundations of all creatures visible and invisible, whose eyes have seen my imperfections, whose sweet charity fills the heavens and the earth, (2) whose ears hear all things, who sees all things before they are made, in whose book all days are formed, and all men inscribed, look upon your servant this day, whose whole mind and heart are exposed to you. (3) Through your Holy Spirit strengthen me, in order that I may see you. Bless me today and in this inspection protect all my actions, and illuminate me with the constancy of your visitation. Amen.

LV. Prayer 3.[82]

Tetragrammaton, Look upon me, O Lord, God, merciful Father, eternal disposer of all virtues. Examine my works today, you who are the inspector and judge of all acts of men and of angels. (2) Therefore I ask you that the wonderful grace of your promise may be deemed worthy to fulfill the sudden power of this holy vision, and pour into me such great effectiveness to your holy and great name you, who infuse and pour your praise into the mouth of those who love you. Amen.

LVI. Prayer 4.[83]

Hely Deus, the creator, Adonay, of all [visible and] invisible creations, O most holy Father, who dwells forever in infinite light <and> before the beginning of the world, ineffably disposing and governing all things, (2) I approach your infiniteness and incomprehensible piety with words of supplication, so

81 Ars. Not. 128, JV p. 87.
82 Ars. Not. 129, JV p. 87.
83 Ars. Not. 130, JV p. 87.

tibus aggredior, ut huius sacramentalis atque mistici operis in me et per tui et sanctorum angelorum potenciam efficacia, tui visio et consideracio, clarescat (3) atque per eorundem sanctorum angelorum nomina in memoria et mente habundet, atque sancta opera tua facialis tue sancte visionis in me cum stabilitate clarescant. Amen.

LVII 5ᴬ ORACIO

Hocleiste, sancte Deus, Pater pie et indissolubilis argumentacio cordis, qui celum et terram, mare et abissos et omnia, que in eis sunt, stabiliri voluisti, (2) in cuius conspectu omnis racio, sermo, opus et sanctitas subsistit, per hec preciosa sacramenta angelorum tuorum da michi ea, que desidero et credo, visionis huius absque malignitatis intencione gloriam et graciam. Amen.

LVIII 6ᴬ ORACIO

Hamphynethon, Heloy, clementissime creator et inspirator et reformator omnium animarum viciatarum et omnium bonarum voluntatum approbator et ordinator, (2) deprecacionem gloriosus intende et mentem meam respice benignus, ut quod ex humilitate deprecor, sicut a te promissum est, michi de tue magnificencie largitate concedas. Amen.

LIX 7ᴬ ORACIO

Lamyhara, omnipotens, misericors Pater, omnium creaturarum ordinator, [iuste] iudex, eterne rex regum et Domine dominancium, qui tuis sanctis sapienciam, sanctitatem et gloriam conferre dignatus es, (2) concede michi, ut possim te videre mirabiliter, qui omnia diiudicas et discernis. (3) Illumina hodie cor meum fulgore claritatis et mundicie atque sanctificencie, ut cognoscam et intelligam et facialiter videam te et tuam gloriam. Et quod huius gloriam videre merear, exopto. Amen.

that the power and effectiveness of this sacramental and mystical work may manifest in me through you and your holy angels, the vision and contemplation of you may be illuminated with effectiveness (3) and, by the names of the same holy angels, may it abound in my memory and mind, and your holy works of the vision of your presence may be illuminated in me in an enduring way. Amen.

LVII. Prayer 5.[84]

Hocleiste, O holy God, blessed Father and imperishable evidence of the heart, who has determined to establish Heaven and Earth, the sea, and the abysses and everything that is in them, (2) in whose sight subsists the plans, words, deeds, and piety of all, by these precious sacraments of your angels grant unto me those things which I desire and I believe, the glory and grace of this vision, without any ill intent. Amen.

LVIII. Prayer 6.[85]

Hamphynethon, Heloy, most merciful creator, inspirer and reformer of all corrupted souls and approver and arranger of all good wills, (2) look mercifully in your glory on my earnest prayer and kindly consider my intent, that what I ask for with humility, you might grant to me from the abundance of your greatness, as you have promised. Amen.

LIX. Prayer 7.[86]

Lamyhara, almighty, merciful Father, the ordainer of the all creatures, [just] judge, eternal king of kings and Lord of Lords, who has deigned to grant to your saints wisdom, sanctity, and glory, (2) grant to me that I may miraculously be able to behold you, who sees and decides all things. (3) Illuminate my heart this day with the brightness of your splendor and purity and sanctity, that I may be able to comprehend and understand and see your face and your glory. And that I may be worthy to see this glory, I long for.[87] Amen.

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84 Ars. Not. 135, JV p. 90.

85 Ars. Not. 137, JV p. 91.

86 Ars. Not. 138, JV p. 92.

87 Note the adaptation of the *Ars Notoria* material is a bit awkward at times.

LX 8ª oracio

Hanazay. zarahoron. hubisenaar. ghu. hirbaionay. gynbar. zanailc. selchora. zelmora. hiramay. iethohal. ylaramel. hamatha. mathois. iaboha. (2) gethos. cozomerag. zosomeraht. hamy. phodel. denos. gerot. hagalos. meliha. tagahel. sechamy. salihelethon. monocogristes. lememon. hachagnon. hamyhon.

LXI Oracio de precedenti Latina

Ianemyer, unus, magnus, mirabilis, eterne Deus, eterni consilii angelus, dispositor omnium virtutum et compositor atque ordinator, (2) adorna hodie intelligenciam meam et multiplica in me racionem penitendi et clarificandi et cognicionem ac claritatem, quam in proferendis nominibus celestium angelorum tuis creaturis contulisti, (3) et eandem scienciam et puritatem secundum promissionem tuam michi concede et da michi huius visionis tue efficaciam et discrecionem. Amen.

LXII Oracio

Hadyon, usyon, omnium potestatum atque regnorum et iudiciorum eterna conspiracione conspicuus, omnium administrans +thema+[6] glorie et tue visionis, (2) in cuius regimine nullum impedimentum dabis, instaura, queso, habitam innocenciam et repetitam et adhuc maiorem, cor meum, voluntatem meam, linguam meam, opus meum (3) ad mei animam mundificandam, absolvendam et tui faciem facialiter videndam et ad habendum que in hac arte necessaria auctoritas divina commendat, ut in me perfecte compleantur. Amen.

LXIII Oracio Hebraica

{H}ely. azelethias. uelozeosmohan. zama. saruelo. hatehus. saguaht. Adonay. zoma. lenozothos. lithon. iezemothon. sadahot. et tu, Deus,

6 The ++ is used by GH to indicate *turbata*, i.e. disturbed/corrupted. *Ars Notoria* reads *zeuma*. i.e. *zeugma* ("bond, yoking"). C: zema; ed in Agrippa reads *schemata* i.e. "outline, shapes".

LX. Prayer 8.[88]

Hanazay. zarahoron. hubisenaar. ghu. hirbaionay. gynbar. zanailc. selchora. zelmora. hiramay. iethohal. ylaramel. hamatha. mathois. iaboha. (2) gethos. cozomerag. zosomeraht. hamy. phodel. denos. gerot. hagalos. meliha. tagahel. sechamy. salihelethon. monocogristes. lememon. hachagnon. hamyhon.

LXI. The meaning of the preceding Prayer.[89]

Ianemyer, One, great, wonderful, and eternal God, angel of eternal council, disposer of all virtues and composer and ordainer, (2) adorn my intelligence this day, and multiply in me a penitent and clarifying reasoning, and understanding and clarity which you have conferred on creatures for pronouncing the names of your heavenly angels, (3) and grant to me the same knowledge and purity according to your promise, and give me the effectiveness and discernment of this vision of you. Amen.

LXII. Prayer.[90]

Hadyon,[91] **usyon,** illustrious with eternal harmony of all powers, rulers, and courts, administering +the theme+ of all glory, and of the vision of yourself, (2) in the control of which you make no obstacles; renew, I beg you the well-kept and repeated innocence, and even more so, my heart, my will, my tongue, my work (3) for the purification and absolution of my soul, and for seeing you in person, and for having those things which divine authority commends are necessary for this art, in order that they are fulfilled in me fully. Amen.

LXIII. Hebrew Prayer.[92]

{H}ely. azelethias. uelozeosmohan. zama. saruelo. hatehus. saguaht. Adonay. zoma. lenozothos. lithon. iezemothon. Sadahot, and you, O God, be favor-

88 Ars. Not. Glose de la version B, § 140, V p. 197.

89 Ars. Not. 139, JV p. 92.

90 Ars. Not. 141, JV pp. 92–3.

91 This name is not found in Chapters C and CI, which give the next name as "Sadyon." but that is used in LXIV below.

92 Ars. Not. 141 glose de la version B, var. 7, JV pp. 197–198.

propicius in me promissiones confirma, sicut confirmasti per eosdem sermones regi Salomoni et preter eosdem Iohanni et Paulo. (2) Emitte michi, Domine, virtutem de celis, que cor meum et mentem meam illuminet et confirmet, et conforta, Deus, intellectum meum et animam meam. (3) Innova me et lava me aquis, que super celos sunt, et effunde de Spiritu tuo super carnem meam et in visceribus meis ad facienda et componenda iudicia tua humilitate et caritate, qua celum et terram fecisti et hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem tua m creasti et formasti. (4) Infunde claritatis tue lumen intellectui meo, ut fundatus et radicatus in misericordia tua diligam nomen tuum, cognoscam et videam et adorem te et optineam et intelligam omnes vias huius artis habendi visionem tuam, (5) ob quam hec data a Deo et insignita et emissa per manus sanctorum angelorum sunt figurarum et sanctitatum misteria, que omnia in corde meo et intellectu mentis mee habeam et cognoscam, et huius artis vere et efficaciter effectum habeam nominis sancti tui et gloriosi prevalente consilio. Amen.

LXIV 9ª ORACIO

Sadyon, scio enim, quia delector in factura tua magna, mirabili et ineffabili, [et] dabis michi visionem, quam per hoc opus habentibus pollicitus es secundum magnam et incomprehensibilem veritatem tuam, (2) Theon. hatagamagon. haramalon. zamoyma. thamasal. ieconomaril. harionathor. iecomagol. gelamagos. remelihot. remanathar. hariomagalathar. hananehos. uelouianathar. haiozoroy. iebasaly. (3) Per hec sacratissima Dei et gloriosissima et profunda misteria et preciosissimam mundiciam virtutem et visionis tue graciam auge in me et comple quod incepisti et reforma quod ostendisti in me. (4) zemabar. henoranaht. grenetail. samzatham. iecornazay. fundamentum altissime omnium bonitatum et scienciarum atque virtutum, (5) tribue famulo tuo tibi displicencia vitare contagia et lavare, et tua veritate pura et intencione sancta possim saciari, (6) ut tuam

ably inclined to confirm in me the promises, as you confirmed them by the same words to King Solomon, and moreover by the same to John and Paul. (2) Send out to me, O Lord, the power from Heaven, which will illuminate and strengthen my heart and my mind, and strengthen, O God, my understanding and my soul. (3) Renew me and wash me with the waters which are above the heavens, and pour out from your spirit over my flesh and into my vital organs, for accomplishing and arranging your judgments with humility and affection, with which you have made Heaven and Earth, and created people after your own image and likeness. (4) Pour the light of your brightness into my understanding, that being grounded and rooted in your mercy I may love your name, recognize and see and honor you, and that I may obtain and understand all the ways of this art of having the vision of you, (5) for the sake of which these are given by God and made known, and are sent out from the hands of the holy angels the mysteries of the figures[93] and holiness, all which may I receive and in my heart the understanding of my mind, and comprehend, and may I attain the true and efficacious accomplishment of this art, with the prevailing counsel of your sacred and glorious name. Amen.

LXIV. Prayer 9.

Sadyon,[94] I know indeed, that I delight in your great handiwork, wonderful and indescribable, [and] the vision that you will give to me, which you have promised those doing this work, according to your great and incomprehensible truth, (2) Theon. hatagamagon. haramalon. zamoyma. thamasal. ieconomaril. harionathor. iecomagol. gelamagos. remelihot. remanathar. hariomagalathar. hananehos. uelouianathar. haiozoroy. iebasaly. (3) Through these most sacred and most glorious and profound mysteries of God and by the most precious purity, power, and grace of your vision, increase in me and fulfill that which you have begun, and restore that which you have revealed in me. (4) zemabar. henoranaht. grenetail. samzatham. iecornazay The highest foundation of all goodnesses, knowledge, and virtues, (5) enable your servant to avoid contagions displeasing to yourself, and to be washed clean, and filled with your pure truth and holy striving, (6) just as your promise, longing with all my heart and possessing virtue and purity in all things, as well as the

93 In *Ars Notoria* this refers no doubt to the *notae* or mystical drawings which are the centerpiece of that art.

94 Seems to repeat names 9 and 10. See Ars. Not. Glose de la version B, Var. 8, JV p. 198.

promissionem toto corde desiderans et possidens in omnibus tam virtutibus quam puritatibus et viciorum absolucionibus precipue per hec sancta misteria videar et cognoscar adipisci et bene in ista arte perficiar penitus,[7] laudabilis ac pro sancta visione mundus.

LXV 10A ORACIO

Hely, reverende, potens et dominans superioribus angelis et archangelis omnibusque celestibus creaturis [et] tam infernalibus quam terrestribus, de cuius magnificencia plenitudinis venit, (2) ut tibi a nobis digne famuletur, cuius a mundi 4 partibus regnat potestas, qui [ex carne], ossibus, anima et spiritu hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem tuam formasti, (3) da michi huius artis scienciam et visionis effectum coroborans me in ipsius facultate visionis sancte et sciencie. Amen.

LXVI XIA ORACIO

Horlon, Deus, qui omnia numero, pondere et mensura fecisti, de cuius munere omne capud hominis desiderans elevabitur, in cuius ordine omnium momentorum sive dierum patens est et aperta dimencio, (2) qui eciam solus stellarum nomina numeras et nominas, menti mee constantem tribue visionis tue efficaciam, ut in huius artis cognicione et operacione te diligam et videam et tue pietatis munus agnoscam facialis visionis. Amen.

LXVII 12A ORACIO

Porrenthimon, mediator omnium operacionum et creaturarum, a quo omnia exeunt naturaliter bona et omnium [virtutum] dona, a quo omne, quod est solidum et perfectum, (2) cuius omnis sermo recens est et de regalibus sedibus venit gracia in corda nostra, dum medium tenerent omnia silencium media, (3) racione et mente me tua caritate

7 GH reads *peritus* (expert), but I think this is a simple typo. Sl. 3854 123r, R 50r, and Ars. Not: all read *penitus*.

forgiveness of faults, especially for seeing these sacred mysteries, and gaining comprehension, and that I may be made thoroughly complete in this art of yours, praiseworthy, and pure for the sacred vision.

LXV. Prayer 10.[95]

Hely, O One most worthy to be revered, mighty, master of angels and archangels, and all celestial creatures, both infernal and earthly, whose vast abundance enables us (2) to serve you worthily, whose power rules from the four parts of the world, who made mankind after your own image and likeness, out of [flesh,] bones, soul, and spirit, (3) grant to me the knowledge of this art, and the effect of the vision, strengthening me its ability of the sacred vision and knowledge. Amen.

LXVI. Prayer 11.[96]

Horlon, God, who ordered all things in number, weight, and measure,[97] from whose gift the longing head of every person will be lifted up, who has arranged all moments or days are well known, and dimensions measured, (2) you who alone number the stars and name them,[98] grant to my mind the constant effectiveness of the vision of yourself, in order that in learning and practice of this art I may see and love you, and acknowledge the gift of your piety of the vision of your face. Amen.

LXVII. Prayer 12.[99]

Porrenthimon, O mediator of all operations and creatures, from whom naturally emerges all good things and the gifts of all [virtues], which is unbroken and perfect, (2) whose every word is fresh, and comes from the royal throne, and by grace comes into our hearts, while all things were in quiet silence,[100] (3) by reason of your love and my mind, that my understanding may be sufficient

95 Compare *Ars Notoria*, 142 [version A]— glose, JV p. 199.

96 This prayer is the only one that is never mentioned in the descriptions of the rituals. See GH, p. 49. Compare Ars. Not. 144 [version A]—glose, JV p. 199.

97 Wis. 11:21.

98 Ps. 146:4. KJV 147:4.

99 Ars. Not. 145, JV p. 94.

100 Compare Wis. 18:14-15.

[in] intellectum bonum construe ad perficiendum hec tanta tam[que] excellentissima misteria,[8] huius artis, sancte tue visionis et istorum sacramentorum perfectum consequar effectum. Amen.

LXVIII 13A ORACIO

[Ihelur], iudex omnipotens, Pater, qui notum nobis fecisti salutare tuum et in conspectu gencium revelasti iusticiam tuam, revela oculos meos et cor meum illustra salutari iusticia tua, ut mirabilia de tuis tam gloriosissimis videam [sacramentis], (2) quatinus per ea tantam in hac arte consequar innocenciam et intelligencie clarificenciam, ut te prestante, qui solus mirabilia facis magna, in ipsa opera subitus celebs efficiar, (3) ut mea celebitate et innocencia cum puritate et caritate recepta te speculando speculer et te videndo videam et tuam sanctam visionem videam et intercessione virtutum celestium honorem te in secula seculorum. Amen.

LXIX 14A ORACIO

Gofgameli, omnis sapiencie Deus et sciencie donator illis, in quibus peccatum non est, omnis discipline spiritualis magister et doni spiritualis cuiusque largitor, macule omnis elimator, (2) te, Domine, per angelos et archangelos tuos, per tronos et [dominaciones], potestates, principatus et virtutes, per cherubin et seraphin, per 24 seniores, per omnem miliciam celestis excercitus (3) adoro, invoco, flagito, vereor, glorifico et exalto nomen tuum sanctissimum, terribile et mitissimum et te queso, Domine, ut hodie cor meum Spiritus sancti lumine et gracia tue visitacionis fecundatum, clarificatum et caritate coroboratum illustres, tu, qui es trinus et unus. Amen.

LXX 15A ORACIO

Emanuel, adoro te, rex regum et Deus meus et substancia mea, salus et revelacio mea, memoria et virtus mea, qui hora una diversarum genera lin-

8 GH adds "<ut>."

for attaining such great and excellent mysteries of this art, of the sacred vision of you, and of those sacraments of yours I might achieve the perfect completion. Amen.

LXVIII. Prayer 13.[101]

[Ihelur],[102] almighty judge, O Father, who has shown to us your salvation, and revealed your justice in the sight of the nations, open my eyes and illuminate my heart with your saving justice, in order that I may see the miracles from your glorious [sacraments], (2) as far as through those I may obtain such great innocence and clarity of understanding in this art, so that with your graciousness, who alone performs great miracles, I may suddenly be made celibate in this work, (3) that through my celibacy and innocence, with purity and charity received, that by looking for you, I may look at you, and by striving to see you, I may see you, and I may see your holy vision, and with the intervention of heavenly powers I may honor you forever and ever. Amen.

LXIX. Prayer 14.[103]

Gofgameli, God of all wisdom and giver of this science to those without sin, master of all spiritual teachings, and bountiful giver of all spiritual gifts, cleanser of all stains, (2) to you, O Lord, through your Angels and Archangels, Thrones and [Dominations], Potestates, Principalities and Virtues, through the Cherubim and Seraphim, through the twenty-four Elders, by all the host of the celestial army, (3) I honor, invoke, entreat, revere, glorify, and exalt your most holy name, terrifying yet most gentle, I beg you, O Lord, that today my heart may be made fruitful with the light of the Holy Spirit, and the grace of your visitation, and made clear and bright with your love, you who are threefold and one. Amen.

LXX. Prayer 15.[104]

Emanuel, I honor you, the king of kings, and my God, and my substance, my salvation and my revelation, my memory and my strength, who in a sin-

101 Ars. Not. 143, JV p. 93.
102 Name 13 seems to have been omitted by mistake.
103 Ars. Not. 146, JV p. 94.
104 Compare Ars. Not. 146 [version A] Var. 9, JV p. 200.

guarum edificantibus turrim dedisti (2) et qui sanctis apostolis tuis unccionem septiformis Spiritus sancti infudisti et illis ediomata, qui nos docerent de omnibus linguis eisdem repente loqui, tribuisti per virtutem verbi tui, in quo omnia creasti, (3) per potenciam huius sacramenti inspira cor meum et infunde in illud rorem gracie tue, ut subito tui Spiritus sancti afflatus lumine efficaciam huius operacionis, (4) innocenciam et purificacionem anime et harum sanctarum visionum capax voluntatem subtilem et ingeniosam et mentem clarificatam valeam consequi. Amen.

LXXI 16ª oracio

{H}on. ezethomos. iezemonos. hazalathon. azaithon. hentynethel. hezemtynethel. zamayzathon. hamanzathon. zamarzathon. (2) hezemeguor. zecromanda. iecomancha. ieraphay. zaraphamy. phalezethon. phaboghecon. seremyhal. sacramyzan. (3) iethemathon. sacramazaym. se{cr}anal. sacramathan. iezemy. halathon. hathezihacos. ieceley. mathan. ateriathos. zai. mazay. (4) zamma. zazay. guygucheibib. gigithios. guahiros. megalon. senegalon. heracruhit. ciarihuht. haracrihuz. [Amen].

LXXII Oracio Latina

Domine, Deus incomprehensibilis, invisibilis, immortalis et intelligibilis, cuius vultum angeli et archangeli et celestes virtutes ardenter videre desiderant, (2) cuius maiestatem eternaliter desidero adorare atque continue pro posse meo exerceo adorans te Deum vivum in secula seculorum. Amen.

LXXIII 17ª oracio

Admyhel, Domine, Deus, sancte Pater omnipotens, exaudi preces meas hodie et inclina aurem tuam ad oraciones meas, (2) chemon. gezomelyhon.

gle hour gave diverse languages to the builders of the tower,[105] (2) and who infused into your holy apostles with the seven-fold anointing of the Holy Spirit and with speaking in tongues, you granted that they might teach us to suddenly speak in all the same languages, by the power of your Word, through which you created all things. (3) By the power of this sacrament, inspire my heart and pour into it the dew of your grace, that suddenly inspired with the light of your Holy Spirit, I may have the strength, the effectiveness of this operation, (4) the innocence, and the purification of the soul, and fit for these holy visions, and able to achieve a subtle and clever will, and a clarified mind. Amen.

LXXI. Prayer 16.[106]

{H}on. ezethomos. iezemonos. hazalathon. azaithon. hentynethel. hezemtynethel. zamayzathon. hamanzathon. zamarzathon. (2) hezemeguor. zecromanda. iecomancha. ieraphay. zaraphamy. phalezethon. phaboghecon. seremyhal. sacramyzan. (3) iethemathon. sacramazaym. se{cr}anal. sacramathan. iezemy. halathon. hathezihacos. ieceley. mathan. ateriathos. zai. mazay. (4) zamma. zazay. guygucheibib. gigithios. guahiros. megalon. senegalon. heracruhit. ciarihuht. haracrihuz. [Amen].

LXXII. Latin Prayer.[107]

O Lord God, incomprehensible, invisible, immortal, and intelligible, whose face the angels and archangels, and heavenly powers passionately desire to see, (2) whose majesty I desire to honor forever and continuously, enforcing it to the extent of my powers, honoring you, the living God, forever and ever. Amen.

LXXIII. Prayer 17.[108]

Admyhel, O Lord, God, holy and almighty Father, hear my prayers today, and bend your ear towards my prayers, (2) chemon. gezomelyhon. samaht.

105 I.e. the Tower of Babel. Gen. 11:4–9.
106 Ars. Not. 90, JV p. 205.
107 Ars. Not. 91, JV p. 67.
108 Ars. Not. 92, JV p. 205

samaht. gezagam. iezehator. lesehator. sezehacon. saymanda. samay. gezihel. gulahentihel. iezel. iezetihel. galetihel. gazay. hetihel.

LXXIV Oracio Latina

Deus, semper via, vita, veritas, da lucem tuam florere per virtutem sancti Spiritus in conscienciam meam et mentem meam et concede, (2) ut fulgeat et clarescat donum operacionis tue et donum gracie tue in cor meum et animam meam nunc et per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

LXXV 18ª oracio

Honzmorb. lemogethon. hegemothon. hazathay. hazathar. hazamathar. hazatha. hazamathar. iazamathan. zegomothay. gohathay. zachana. legomothay. iachama. legomezon. legornezon. lemdomethon. hathanathios. (2) lamdomathon. iegomaday. hathamam. zachamos. hathanayos. hellesscymon. zelezion. uaderabar. uagedaroin. lauinauaht. lamandi. gemechor. guomon. gehor. genamchor. hellemay. iezecromay. iecromal. iecrahaly. tholomanos. colomaithos.

LXXVI Oracio Latina

Vita hominum et omnium creaturarum visibilium et invisibilium, claritas eterna celestium spirituum, omnium hominum salus indeficiensque pietatis origo, (2) qui omnia novisti, antequam fiant, qui iudicas omnia, que videntur [et non sunt et que non videntur] et sunt, [et] ineffabili disposicione discernis, glorifica sanctum nomen tuum et ineffabile hodie. (3) Corrobora cor meum et intellectum meum et animam meam et auge innocenciam meam et confirma precem meam et a viciis expeditam redde animam meam, clarificatam in virtutibus et penitenciis et fletibus et innocenciis, (4) ut facultate puritatis et innocencie a te michi collata et lima penitencie et tue gracie laudem te et cognoscam te sine enigmate et videam facialiter te et glorificem nomen tuum ad laudem tuam in secula seculorum. Amen.

gezagam. iezehator. lesehator. sezehacon. saymanda. samay. gezihel. gulahentihel. iezel. iezetihel. galetihel. gazay. hetihel.

LXXIV Latin Prayer.[109]

O God, always the way, the truth, and the life, give your light to flourish in my conscience and my mind through the virtue of the Holy Spirit, and grant (2) that the gift of your operation, and the gift of your grace, shines brightly in my heart and soul, now and forever. Amen.

LXXV. Prayer 18.[110]

Honzmorb. lemogethon. hegemothon. hazathay. hazathar. hazamathar. hazatha. hazamathar. iazamathan. zegomothay. gohathay. zachana. legomothay. iachama. legomezon. legornezon. lemdomethon. hathanathios. (2) lamdomathon. iegomaday. hathamam. zachamos. hathanayos. hellesscymon. zelezion. uaderabar. uagedaroin. lauinauaht. lamandi. gemechor. guomon. gehor. genamchor. hellemay. iezecromay. iecromal. iecrahaly. tholomanos. colomaithos.

LXXVI. Latin Prayer.[111]

O life of men and all creatures visible and invisible, the eternal clarity of the heavenly spirits, the salvation of all men, and the unfailing origin of piety, (2) who knows all things before they happen, who judges all things visible [and invisible], and you see with indescribable disposition, glorify your holy and ineffable name today. (3) Strengthen my heart, and my understanding, and my soul, and increase my innocence, and strengthen my prayer, and release my soul from sin, clarified in the virtues and with penance, weeping, and innocence, (4) so that with the quality of purity and innocence from you to me, brought together and the polish of penitence, and your grace, I may praise you and recognize you without obscurity, and see you face to face, and glorify your name, to your praise, through the ages of the ages. Amen.

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109 Ars. Not. 93, JV p. 68.
110 Ars. Not. 94, JV pp. 205–6.
111 Ars. Not. 95, JV p. 68.

LXXVII 19A ORACIO

Joht. omaza. behea. Theon. megal. menehon. exhehal. tirigel. harapheiocon. semenoyn. sehmneny. (2) hachemathan. hiemarayn. gemehehon. lucharanochyn. exnotheyn. themelihen. segyhon. hihoueuyr. hacrisientheon.

LXXVIII Oracio Latina

Rex regum, Deus infinite misericordie et maiestatis inmense, largitor ac dispositor atque dispensator, stabilitor omnium fundamentorum, (2) pone fundamentum omnium tuarum virtutum in me et aufer a me insipienciam cordis mei, ut stabiliantur sensus mei in dileccione caritatis tue, (3) et informetur Spiritus sanctus in me secundum [re]creacionem et innovacionem voluntatis tue, ut habeam efficaciter tuam facialem visionem, qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

LXXIX 20A ORACIO

Hofob, Deus, Pater inmense, a quo procedit omne, quod bonum est, cuius magnitudo [misericordie] incomprehensibilis est, exaudi hodie preces meas, quas in conspectu tuo refero, et concede michi donum, quod a te peto. (2) Redde michi leticiam salutaris tui, ut deleam iniquitates meas hodie et accipiam vias tuas et semitas scienciarum tuarum, et convertantur ad te rebelles et increduli, ut quod corde repeto et ore commemoro in me radicitus habeat fundamentum, et in operibus tuis efficax videar et adiutus. Amen.

LXXVII. Prayer 19.[112]

Ioht. omaza. behea. Theon. megal. menehon. exhehal. tirigel. harapheiocon. semenoyn. sehmneny. (2) hachemathan. hiemarayn. gemehehon. lucharanochyn. exnotheyn. themelihen. segyhon. hihoueuyr. hacrisientheon.

LXXVIII. Latin Prayer.[113]

O king of kings, God of infinite mercy and immeasurable greatness, granter, arranger, and disposer, you who make firm all foundations, (2) you lay the foundation of all your virtues in me, and remove from me the foolishness of my heart, that my feelings may be made firm in the love of your charity, (3) and the Holy Spirit may be shaped in me, according to the restoration and renewal of your will, in order that I may have effectually the vision of your face, you who lives and reigns, God through the ages of the ages. Amen.

LXXIX. Prayer 20.[114]

Hofob, O God, infinitely great Father, from whom proceeds all good, the greatness of [your mercy] is incomprehensible. Hear my prayers today, which I offer in your sight, and grant me the gift which I beg from you. (2) Grant to me the joy of your salvation, that I may erase my iniquities today and follow your ways, and the paths of your knowledge, and convert the rebels and unbelievers towards you, that what I repeat in my heart and commemorate with my mouth will take root in me and become my foundation, and in your works I may be seen as effective and of help. Amen.

112 Ars. Not. 95 var. 10, JV p. 206.
113 Ars Not. 96, JV p. 68.
114 Ars. Not. 98, JV p. 69.

LXXX 21ª oracio

Messamarathon. gezomothon. ezomathon. haihatha. hagihar. hagiathar. haihatha. lethasiel. lechisihel. gethiduhal. geguhay. iethonay. samazataht. samazarel. zamazthel. sergomazar. hazomathan. hazothynathon. iesomathon. (2) iezochor. heihazay. heihazar. samy. zamyn. helihel. samehelihel. siloth. silereht. gezemathal. iecoronay. iecomenay. samyhahel. hesemyhel. secozomay. sedomasay. sethothamay. sanna. rabihathos. hamnos. hamnas. Amen.

LXXXI Oracio Latina

Rex, eterne Deus, iudex et discretor omnium conscienciarum bonarum, tu hodie clarifica me propter nomen sanctum tuum et per hec sancta sacramenta tua purifica mentem meam, (2) ut intret innocencia tua [in] interiora mea sicut aqua fluens de celo et sicut oleum in ossibus meis per te, Deus, salvator omnium, qui es fons bonitatis et tocius pietatis origo. (3) Dirige me et promove me in ista sancta faciali visione, quam deposco, tu, qui es trinus et unus. Amen.

LXXXII 22ª·oracio

Hanethi, Deus, tocius pietatis auctor et fundamentum, omnium salus eterna et redempcio populorum, inspirator omnium graciarum et sanctitatum, omnium purarum operacionum largitor inmense, (2) de cuius munere et misericordia venit, ut tantum nobis famulis tuis indulgenciarum inspirare digneris augmentum, qui eciam michi misero peccatori tua concessisti scire sacramenta, (3) tuere, Domine, defende et clarifica animam meam et libera cor meum de pravis huius mundi cogitacionibus et incentiva libidinis voluptate et omnis fornicacionis desideri a in me potenter extingue et reprime, (4) ut puritatibus tuis et actibus misticis ac virtutibus[9] delecter in eis, et des michi peticionem cordis mei, ut in glorificacione tua confirmatus et delectatus diligam te, (5) quod valeam efficaciter tuam facialem visionem et sanctam meo vivente corpusculo optinere, et augeatur in me virtus sancti Spiritus per salutem tuam et remuneracionem fidelium in salutem anime mee et corporis mei. Amen.

9 GH adds "<*intentus*>" ("eager, intent") per Ars. Not.

LXXX. Prayer 21.[115]

Messamarathon. gezomothon. ezomathon. haihatha. hagihar. hagiathar. haihatha. lethasiel. lechisihel. gethiduhal. geguhay. iethonay. samazataht. samazarel. zamazthel. sergomazar. hazomathan. hazothynathon. iesomathon. (2) iezochor. heihazay. heihazar. samy. zamyn. helihel. samehelihel. siloth. silereht. gezemathal. iecoronay. iecomenay. samyhahel. hesemyhel. secozomay. sedomasay. sethothamay. sanna. rabihathos. hamnos. hamnas. Amen.

LXXXI. Latin Prayer.[116]

O King, eternal God, judge and discerner of all good consciences, clarify me this day, because of your holy name, and through these holy sacraments purify my mind, (2) that your innocence may enter into my interior, like water flowing from the sky, and like oil into my bones, through you, O God, the savior of all things, who are the fountain of goodness, and the source of all piety. (3) Guide me and move me forward in this holy vision of your form, which I beseech of you, who are threefold and one. Amen.

LXXXII. Prayer 22.[117]

Hanethi, O God, the author and foundation of all piety, the eternal health and redemption of all people, inspirer of all graces and sanctity, the generous immeasurable giver of all pure operations, (2) from whose gift and mercy your servants are granted such great indulgences, your servants, which you have even permitted me, a miserable sinner to know your sacraments, (3) O Lord, watch, defend, and clarify my soul, and free my heart from faulty thinking of this world, and the allure of the desire for physical pleasure, and extinguish and potently restrain in me all lust for fornication, (4) that with your purifications and mystical acts and powers, I may delight in them, and grant to me the petition of my heart, that I may be strengthened in your glorification, and love you, (5) and that I may have the ability to attain the vision of your holy face while my body lives, and may the virtue of the Holy Spirit increase in me, through your deliverance and the reward of the faithful, for the health of my soul and of my body. Amen.

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115 Ars. Not. 99, JV p. 207.
116 Ars. Not. 100, JV p. 70.
117 Ars. Not. 101, JV p. 70.

LXXXIII

Deus, Pater inmense, a quo procedit omne, quod bonum est, misericordissime, omnipotentissime Deus, ure renes meos[10] ex gracia Spiritus sancti et igne visitacionis tue visita me hodie (2) et propicius esto michi misericordiamque tuam concede, ut potem et sacier de fonte, qui Deus est, et sciam voluntatem tuam, benignissime, et psallam et videam mirabilia tua, tu, qui es Deus trinus et unus. Amen.

LXXXIV 23·oracio

Heriona, omnipotens, incomprehensibilis, invisibilis et indivisibilis Deus, adoro hodie nomen sanctum tuum ego, indignus et miserimus peccator, (2) extollens oracionem meam et intellectum meum et racionem meam ad templum sanctum tuum celestis Ierusalem et assisto tibi hodie, Deus meus, ostendens te Deum meum, creatorem meum et salvatorem meum. (3) Et ego, creatura racionabilis, invoco hodie gloriosam clemenciam tuam, ut visitet[11] hodie Spiritus sanctus infirmitatem meam.

(4) Et tu, Domine, Deus meus, qui Moysi et Abrahe, servis tuis, per fidem et puritatem visionis tue graciam contulisti, (5) confer michi hodie graciam superioris dulcedinis tue, qua rorasti servos tuos, et investigacionis,[12] qua investigasti eosdem per prophetas, et sicut voluisti eis momentaneam conferre graciam, (6) adhibe michi innocencie graciam, quam desidero, et emunda conscienciam meam ab operibus mortuis[13] et mitte cor meum in viam rectam et aperi illud ad te videndum.

10 Ps. 26.2. (Vulgate 25.2): Proba me Domine et tempta me ure renes meos et cor meum ("Prove me, O Lord, and try me; burn my reins [i.e. mind] and my heart.")

11 Vivificet T.

12 Ars. Not.: instigasti.

13 Heb. 9:14.

LXXXIII.[118]

O God, infinitely great Father, from whom all things proceed,[119] who is good, most merciful, and all-powerful God, test my heart and my mind[120] with the grace of the Holy Spirit, and visit me today with the fire of your inspection (2) and look favorably on me, and grant your mercy, in order that I may drink and be satisfied from the spring, which is God, and know your most generous will, and that I may sing the Psalms and see your miracles, you, who are the three-fold and one God. Amen.

LXXXIV. Prayer 23.[121]

Heriona, Almighty, incomprehensible, the invisible and indivisible God, I honor today your holy name. I, am unworthy and wretched sinner (2) lift up my prayers and my understanding, and my reasoning towards your holy temple of heavenly Jerusalem, and I stand before you this day, my God, making it clear that you are my God, my creator, and my savior. (3) And I, a rational creature, call upon your glorious mercy today, that the Holy Spirit may witness my weakness today.

(4) And you, O Lord, my God, who bestowed grace upon Moses and Abraham,[122] your servants, through faith and the purity of your vision, (5) bestow today your grace of superior sweetness upon me, wherewith you have moistened your servants, and invest what you have invested through the same prophets, and as you intended to instantly confer grace on them, (6) so too extend the grace of innocence to me, which I desire, and cleanse my conscience from dead works,[123] and send my heart onto the right path, and uncover it for seeing yourself.

118 Compare LXXIX above, and Ars. Not. 98, JV p. 69.
119 Cp. Opening of prayer LXXIX.
120 Lit. "burn my reins and my heart." The wording coincides with Ps. 26.2.
121 Ars. Not. 115, JV pp. 77–8.
122 Ars. Not.: Aaron.
123 Heb. 9:14.

(7) Destina intellectum meum ad viam sanctam, tu, Domine, Deus, qui me ad ymaginem et similitudinem tuam creare dignatus es. (8) Exaudi me in tua iusticia et doce me in tua veritate et reple animam meam gracia tua secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, (9) ut in multitudine miseracionum tuarum amplius <me> delecter et in operibus tuis magnis et complaceam in administracione mandatorum tuorum (10) et secundum opera gracie tue adiutus et restauratus exaltato corde et consciencia mea emundata confidam in te et epuler in conspectu tuo et exaltem nomen tuum, quod bonum est, (11) o Domine, in conspectu sanctorum tuorum. Sanctifica me hodie, ut in fide viva et spe perfecta et caritate constanti visionis, (12) quam desidero, adepta gracia exaltatus, coroboratus et illuminatus diligam te et cognoscam te facialiter (13) et innocenciam, sapienciam et purificenciam de sedibus tuis moncium eternitatis, que hominibus [dona] donanda promisisti, et sanctimoniam firmiter habeam et memoriter retineam.

(14) Iesu Christe, fili Dei unigenite, cui ante secula dedit Pater omnia in manus, da michi hodie propter nomen sanctum tuum gloriosum et ineffabile nutrimentum corporis et anime. (15) Ydoneam presta michi et perspicuam voluntatem et animam liberam et expeditam, ut quicquid postulavero in tua misericordia et veritate pro voluntate disponatur, et omnis oracio mea et accio mea in beneplacito tuo radicata et confirmata existat.[14] (16) Aperi, Domine, Deus meus et Pater vite mee, fundamentum visionis, quam desidero. (17) Aperi michi, Domine, fontem, quem aperuisti prothoplausto Ade et quem aperuisti servis tuis Abraham, Ysac et Iacob ad credendum, diligendum, obediendum, clarificandum et sanctificandum. (18) Suscipe pro me hodie preces et oraciones, Domine, omnium sanctorum et omnium sanctarum celestium virtutum, [ut] omnium sanctimoniarum tuarum docibilis constanter efficiar. Amen.

LXXXV 24[A] ORACIO

Yvestre, adoro te, rex regum et Domine dominancium, rex eterne impermutabilis; intellige hodie clamorem meum et spiritus mei et cordis mei

14 Ars. Not.: da michi hodie propter nomen tuum gloriosum et ineffabile instrumentum anime et corporis ydoneam et perspicax linguam expeditam et liberam et absolutam, ut quicquid postulavero in tua misericordia et voluntate disponatur, et omnis actio mea in beneplacito tuo radicata et confirmata consistat.

(7) Send my understanding towards the holy path, you, O Lord, God, who deigned to create me in your image and likeness. (8) Hear me clearly in your justice, and teach me in your truth, and replenish my soul with your grace according to your great mercy, (9) that I might delight more in your many mercies <towards me>, and in your great works, and I may take pleasure in fulfilling your commands (10) and being helped by your works of grace, and restored, with heart raised up, and my conscience purified, I will trust in you and dine sumptuously in your sight, and I may exalt your name, which is good (11) O Lord, in the sight of your saints. Sanctify me today, that I may live in faith and perfect hope and with the constant love of the vision, (12) which I desire, and being raised up by the grace received, strengthened, and illuminated, I will love you and recognize you face to face (13) and that I may really have the innocence, wisdom, and purification which you promised to give to mankind, from your seats of the everlasting mountains, and that I may have the sanctity and retain it in memory unshakeably.

(14) O Jesus Christ, only-begotten son of God, into whose hands the Father placed all things before the ages began; grant to me today for the sake of your holy name,[124] glorious and ineffable nourishment of the body and the soul, (15) grant me a suitable and clear will, and a free and unburdened soul, that whatever I have asked for in your mercy and truth, may be disposed according to your will, and all my prayers and deeds, coming to pass rooted and strengthened in your good pleasure. (16) Reveal, O Lord, my God and Father of my life, the foundation of the vision, which I desire. (17) Reveal to me, O Lord, the spring, which you revealed to the first man Adam, and which you revealed to your servants, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob that they might believe, love, obey, glorify, and sanctify you. (18) O Lord, accept on my behalf the prayers and prayers of all the saints, and of all holy heavenly virtues, [that] I may be as fit to be taught as any of your holy ones. Amen.

LXXXV. Prayer 24.[125]

Yvestre, I worship you, king of kings and Lord of Lords, eternally unchangeable king; hear this day my cries, and the moaning of my spirit and my heart, that I may enjoy a respite in you, with my understanding changed, and a heart

124 Compare (KJV) Ps. 79:8–9.

125 Ars. Not. 116, JV p. 78.

gemitum, ut commutato intellectu meo et dato michi corde carneo pro lapideo respirem in te, Dominum et Salvatorem meum. (2) Lava, Domine, interiora mea Spiritu tuo novo. Pro intellectu carnis mee malo pone, Domine, intellectum tuum sanctum bonum et aufer a me quod malum est commutans me in hominem novum, ut dileccione, qua reformasti mundum, reformes me, et salus tua sancta michi tue sanctimonie tribuat incrementum. (3) Exaudi hodie, Domine, preces meas, quibus clamo ad te, et revela oculos carnis mee, [ut] considerans, intelligens et custodiens mirabilia de glorificaturis et purificaturis gracie tue spiritualis (4) et vivificatus in iustificacionibus tuis prevaleam in conspectu adversarii fidelium Diaboli. Exaudi me, Domine, Deus meus, et propicius esto michi, qui plasmasti me. (5) Ostende michi hodie misericordiam tuam et porrige michi vas salutare, ut potem et sacier de fonte gracie tue, tu, qui Deus es, ut de sanctificaturis et de visionis tue facialis monstraturis, (6) quas desidero et adopto, hodie psallam cum intellectu et anima et intuer et stem et fruar in via immaculata visionis tue, et veniat hodie de celo gracia Spiritus sancti et requiescat in me. Amen.

LXXXVI 25ª ORACIO

Saday, Domine, confiteor tibi ego reus hodie, Pater celi et terre, Deus, conditor omnium visibilium et invisibilium creaturarum atque virtutum omnium et graciarum bonarum dispensator atque largitor, (2) qui custodis sapienciam tuam, scienciam, humilitatem tuam et caritatem tuam a superbis et reprobis et revelas parvulis. (3) Humilia hodie, Domine, cor meum et intellectum meum stabilem facias et mentem meam firmam et intelligenciam meam et conscienciam meam augmenta, ut te diligam, intelligam et videam. (4) Signa hodie, Domine, lumen vultus tui super me, ut prorsus innovatus et mundatus ab omnibus operibus mortuis et a peccatis meis prevaleam in visionibus et speculaturis tuis. (5) Proba me, misericordissime et omnipotentissime Deus, et ure renes meos. Corrobora hodie cor meum et illustra gracia Spiritus sancti et igne gracie visitacionis tue visita

of flesh given to me in place of a heart of stone, O my Lord and Savior. (2) O Lord, wash my inner self with your new Spirit. In place of the bad understanding of my flesh, O Lord, give me your good, sacred understanding, and remove from me whatever is bad, and changing me into a new person, and transform me with the love wherewith you have transformed the world, and may your holy salvation grant to me the growth of sanctity. (3) Hear my prayers today, O Lord, wherewith I cry to you, and reveal to my eyes of flesh [that] I may examine, understand, and guard the miracles involving the glorification and purification of your spiritual grace (4) and being brought back to life by your justifications, I may prevail in the face of the devil, the enemy of the faithful. Hear me, O Lord, my God, and be favorable to me, you who has formed me. (5) Show me your mercy today, and extend to me the vessel of salvation, that I may drink and be satisfied from the fountain of your grace, you, who are God, that I will be sanctified and shown the vision of you face to face, (6) which I desire and choose today, and that I may sing Psalms with understanding and soul and that I may enjoy and stand in the immaculate path of the vision of you, and may the grace of the Holy Spirit come today from heaven, and may it rest in me. Amen.

LXXXI. Prayer 25.[126]

Saday, O Lord, I a sinner confess to you today, O Father of Heaven and Earth, O God, maker of all visible and invisible creatures, and of all virtue and good grace, you dispense and give bountifully, (2) who guards your wisdom, knowledge, humility, and your love from the arrogant and the false ones, and show them to the little ones. (3) O Lord, humble my heart today, and make my understanding stable, and my mind strong, and increase my intelligence and conscience, that I may love, perceive, and see you. (4) O Lord, mark the light of your face upon me today, that being renewed and cleansed completely from all dead works and from all my sins,[127] I may prevail in the vision and observation of you. (5) Test me, O all merciful and almighty God, and burn my reins.[128] Strengthen my heart today, and illuminate it with the grace of the Holy Spirit, and visit me with the fire of the grace of your visitation, and

126 Ars. Not. 117, JV p. 79.
127 Cf. Heb. 6:1.
128 See Ps. 25:2 (KJV 26).

me et illumina mentem meam (6) et fortitudine stabilitatis tue precinge lumbos meos et baculum confortacionis tue da in dexteram meam et in lavaturis stillarum tuarum me lotum facias (7) et in sanctimoniis tuis dirige mentem meam et in opera manuum tuarum. Confirma spiritum meum, ut eradicatis viciis omnibus et sordibus peccatorum meorum prevaleam fortiter in dileccione misericordiarum tuarum. (8) Inspira michi, Domine, hodie spiraculum vite et auge mentem meam et intellectum meum et racionem meam per Spiritus sancti firmitatem et constanciam, ut in operibus laudum et visurarum tuarum exercitatus spiritus meus confortetur et augeatur. (9) Vide, Domine, et considera hodie laborem mentis mee, et fiat voluntas tua benigna in me, et de celo mitte in terra in michi consolatorem Spiritum sanctum, (10) ut me stabilitate perfecta muniat et auxilium michi conferat in videndis visionibus tuis et laudandis laudibus tuis et fruendis fruicionibus tuis, quas desidero, que sunt gracia et gloria et defensio mea. Amen.

LXXXVII 26[A] oracio

Maloht. Otheos. hatamagiel. hataha. marihel. gezozay. iezoray. gezozay. saziel. sazamay. iezoramp. zazamanp. sacamap. zachamay. iecornamas. (2) iecohoruampda. salatihel. gezomel. zarachiel. megalis. nachama. nechamyha. sazamaym. sophonaym. lazamair. mehisrampna. hamamyl. (3) zamanyl. sihel. |c- deloth. hamamyn. hazemeloch. moys. ramna. secoram. hanasichonea. seronea. zaramahem. sacromohem. iegonomay. (4) zaramohem. chades. bachuc. iezemeloht. harugo. semorgizechon. malaparos. malapatas. helatay. helahenay. methay. meray.

LXXXVIII Oracio Latina

Pie Deus, misericors Deus, clemens Deus omnipotens omnia dans, fac michi credenti hodie omnia possibilia et adiuva hodie incredulitatem meam et miserere mei hodie, (2) sicut misertus es Ade penitenti, qui ei subitaneam per omnipotencie tue misericordiam multarum virtutum contulisti graciam. (3) Confer michi hodie per omnipotencie tue misericordiam graciam, quam desidero, ut in magnificencia operum tuorum

illuminate my mind (6) and gird my loins with the strength of your stability, and give the staff of your comfort into my right hand, and may you wash me along with those who will be washed in your drops, (7) and direct my mind in your sanctities and in the work of your hands. Strengthen my spirit, that having rooted out all vices and the filth of my sins, I may prevail strongly in the joy of your mercy. (8) Breathe into me, O Lord, today with the breath of life, and increase my mind, my understanding, and my reasoning, through the firmness and perseverance of the Holy Spirit, that my spirit may be consoled and increase in works of praise, and the sight of you. (9) Consider, O Lord, and examine today the effort of my mind, and let your will rejoice in me, and send the Comforter, the Holy Spirit, from Heaven to me on the Earth, (10) that he will fortify me with perfect stability, and bring his assistance to me for seeing the vision of you, and praising you with praises, and delighting in your delights, which I desire, which are my grace, my glory, and my defense. Amen.

LXXXVII. Prayer 26.[129]

Maloht. Otheos. hatamagiel. hataha. marihel. gezozay. iezoray. gezozay. saziel. sazamay. iezoramp. zazamanp. sacamap. zachamay. iecornamas. (2) iecohoruampda. salatihel. gezomel. zarachiel. megalis. nachama. nechamyha. sazamaym. sophonaym. lazamair. mehisrampna. hamamyl. (3) zamanyl. sihel. |c- deloth. hamamyn. hazemeloch. moys. ramna. secoram. hanasichonea. seronea. zaramahem. sacromohem. iegonomay. (4) zaramohem. chades. bachuc. iezemeloht. harugo. semorgizechon. malaparos. malapatas. helatay. helahenay. methay. meray.

LXXXVIII. Latin Prayer.[130]

O holy God, O merciful God, O gentle God, O almighty God, giver of all, make all things possible today, to me, a believer, and help my disbelief today, and have mercy on me today, (2) just as you had mercy on Adam when he repented, whereby you gave to him the grace of many virtues, through the mercy of your omnipotence, in an instant. (3) Grant to me this day the grace which I desire, through your omnipotence, that I, delighted in the greatness of your works, may succeed in achieving the vision of you, which I desire.

129 Ars. Not. 118, JV p. 79.
130 Ars. Not. 119, JV p. 80.

delectatus potestate tue virtutis efficaciam facialis visionis, quam desidero, valeam adipisci. (4) Adesto, clementissime Pater, hodie operi meo et clarifica me, benigne, alme, clementissime unigenite fili Dei. Confirma me. (5) Aspira me flamine Spiritus sancti, omnipotens, sancte Deus. Consolida hodie opus meum et doce me, ut ambulem in innocencia tui ipsius Dei gloriosi et glorier in multitudine effluentis gracie tue, (6) et impetus fluminis sanctissimi Spiritus civitatem cordis mei letificet et depuret in fide visionis sancte et in spe efficacie et innocencie, pro qua laboro, (7) et cor meum caritatis largitate repleat et instauret et radiis Spiritus sancti vivificet et muniat c[l]aritate eterna[15] affluentis misericordie. (8) Et non sit in me vacua, te queso, Deus meus, gracia tua, que maneat semper et multipliciter in me. (9) Sana, Domine, animam meam pietate clemencie tue ineffabilis et inestimabilis, quia peccavi tibi, et conforta cor meum hodie, (10) ut quod michi trades intranee recipiam et teneam et aptitudinem facialis et sancte tue visionis habeam per hec sacramenta tua sanctissima prefata cooperante gracia Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

LXXXIX 27ª ORACIO

Sechce, pie Pater, misericors Fili, clemens Spiritus sancte, Deus, rex ineffabilis et inestimabilis, trinus et unus Deus, adoro te, invoco te et deprecor te et sanctum nomen tuum et supereffluentem equitatem tuam operantem omnia, (2) quatinus ignoscas, indulgeas et miserearis michi, peccatori misero presumenti, et officium, quod aggressus sum, de visione videnda in me senciam et cognoscam, (3) et +tu, Domine mi, ut+ gracia, quam desidero, efficaciter in me vigeat et convalescat. Aperi in me, Domine, aures meas potenter, ut audiam. (4) Conforta manus meas, ut operer. Exterge luctum oculorum meorum, ut videam. Dilata circumspeccionem meam, ut proficiam et lucescam. Confirma pedes meos, ut ambulem. (5) Expedi nares meas et os meum, ut olfaciam et senciam et loquar tibi placita nunc et semper ad honorem nominis tui, quod est benedictum in secula. Amen.

15 Ars. Not. JV p. 80: caritate largotatis repleat, claritate eterna.

(4) O most gentle Father, assist my work today, and clarify me with kindness; O you who are most giving and most gentle, the only-begotten son of God, strengthen me. (5) Breathe into me the breath of the Holy Spirit, almighty and holy God. Solidify today my work, and teach me, that I may walk in innocence before glorious God himself and rejoice in the abundant outpouring of your grace, (6) and may the onslaught of the outpouring of the most Holy Spirit delight and purify the citadel of my heart in the faith of the holy vision and in the hope of the effectiveness and innocence, for which I work, (7) and may it renew and refill my heart with an abundance of love, and may I be invigorated and fortified with the rays of the Holy Spirit and the eternal clarity[131] of abundant mercy. (8) And may your grace not be empty in me, I beg you, O my God, but always remain and grow in me. (9) O Lord, heal my soul with your ineffable and inestimable tenderness of mercy, because I have sinned against you, and comfort my heart this day, (10) that I may receive inwardly that which you will give, and retain and be suited for having the vision of your person, through these your most holy sacraments aforesaid, along with the grace of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

LXXXIX. Prayer 27.[132]

Sechce, O tender Father, O merciful Son, O gentle Holy Spirit, O God, ineffable and inestimable king, threefold and one God, I honor you, I call upon you and beg you and your holy name and your overflowing justice performing all things, (2) O how great is your forgiveness, leniency, and pity for me, a poor sinner presuming to undertake this ceremony, for seeing and recognizing this vision. (3) And may the grace which I desire take root in me, O my Lord, thriving and growing strong in me. O Lord, potently open within me my ears, so I may hear. (4) Strengthen my hands, that I may labor. Wipe the grief from my eyes, that I may see. Broaden my foresight, that I may make advance and grow bright. Strengthen my feet, that I may walk. (5) Set my nostrils and mouth free, that I may smell and perceive and speak what will please you, now and always to the honor of your name, which is blessed forever. Amen.

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131 So GH, following Ars. Not. *Claritate*. The LIH manuscripts read *caritate* ("with love").

132 Ars. Not. 120, JV pp. 80–1.

XC 28ª oracio

Elscha, extollo sensus carnis [et anime] mee ad te hodie, Domine, Deus meus, et elevo [*eleva][16] hodie cor meum ad te, ut placeant tibi, Domine, hodie gemitus mei et represententur in conspectu tuo, (2) et complaceant verba et opera mea in conspectu tuo, et refulgeat hodie omnipotencia tua et misericordia tua in visceribus meis, et clarificetur mens mea efficaciter in operibus tuis, (3) et concrescat glorificacio in anima mea, et germinet gracia tua in corde meo et ore meo, ut quod commisero vel peccavero ita diluam, sicut beata Maria Magdalena diluit, (4) et ita in tuo dono gracie quod a te recepero perficiam, sicut sanctus apostolus tuus Paulus perfecit, et sicut custodivit Abraham, ita custodiam, (5) sicut memoriter tenuit Jacob, teneam, ut in purificaturarum tuarum virtute fundatus et radicatus in me tue misericordie fundamentum confirmatum glorier acquisisse (6) et delectatus in operibus manuum tuarum iusticiam et pacem mentis mee et corporis et paulo post sanctam visionem perseveranter adoptem et adipiscar et custodiam, (7) et Spiritus sancti tui, Domine, plenarie in me operante gracia hostium, sive visibilium, sive invisibilium, michi adversancium insidias atque versutias gaudeam superasse. Amen.

XCI 29ª oracio

Abbadya, omnium regnorum sive potestatum visibilium sive invisibilium dispensator atque dispositor, Deus, et omnium bonarum voluntatum ordinator, (2) tu, Domine, consilio tui boni Spiritus dispone voluntatem meam et vivifica hodie potestatem meam debilem et imbecillitatem meam et inordinacionem mentis mee. (3) Ordina, Domine, voluntatem meam in bonum et in beneplacito tuo et michi graciam tua in multiformem in benignitate dispensacionis largire propicius non ad multitudinem peccatorum meorum respiciens (4) set michi que desidero, voluntatem tibi conformem, sensum in te iubilantem, anime graciam clarificantem in me, confirma et effectum meum cum gracia tua anime mee accomoda (5) et visita me visitacione Spiritus sancti, ut <et> quod ex carnis macula sive

16 As in Ars. Not. Sl. 3854 125v.

XC. Prayer 28.[133]

Elscha, lift up this day the senses of my body [and soul], O Lord my God, and lift up my heart to you, so that they are pleasing to you, O Lord, let my lamenting be manifest and known to your sight today, (2) and may my words and deeds be pleasing in your sight, and may your omnipotence and mercy shine brightly within me this day, and may my mind be effectually made clear in your works, (3) and may the glorification become more rooted in my soul, and your grace sprout forth in my heart and mouth, in order that whatever wrong I may have done or committed will thus be washed away, even as the blessed Mary Magdalen washed it away,[134] (4) and thus I will have received and completed it through the gift of grace that I have received from you, even as your apostle Paul did, and even as Abraham kept it, so will I also keep it, (5) even as Jacob kept it in his memory, so will I also keep it, so that being founded and rooted in the power of your purification, strengthened in the foundation of your mercy, I rejoice to acquire (6) and delight in the works of your hands, justice and peace of my mind and body, and soon after I may attain the holy vision, and steadfastly choose and keep, (7) and with the grace of your Holy Spirit working fully in me, O Lord, I may overcome all my enemies, whether visible or invisible, and rejoice over any treacherous and cunning adversaries. Amen.

XCI. Prayer 29.[135]

Abbadya, O God, dispenser and disposer of all kingdoms, whether visible or invisible, and ordainer and arranger of all good wills, (2) dispose my will, through the counsel of your good spirit, and bring to life my weak power today and the weakness and disorder of my mind. (3) Arrange O Lord, my will into good and what is pleasing to you, and grant me your manifold grace, dispensed with kindness, not considering the multitude of my sins (4) but a will conformable to yours, rejoicing in the perception of you, making manifest in me the grace of my soul, and confirming it, and inclining my work with your grace (5) and visit me with the visitation of the Holy Spirit, that the stain

133 Ars. Not. 121, JV p. 81.

134 See Luke 7:47. After washing Jesus' feet, he declared "Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she loved much." (KJV)

135 Ars. Not. 122, JV pp. 81–2.

quod ex nativitate aut ex peccati labe contraxi divina tua [illa] ineffabilis pietas aboleat, (6) qua in principio celum et terram creare voluisti, illa spiritualis magna misericordia tua restauret, (7) qua hominem perditum ad gracie pristinum statum amissum revocare dignatus es, cui iudicium Sathane facultatem visionis abstulit et intellectus.

(8) Tu, Domine, cuius sensus atque sapiencia et claritas est attingens a fine usque ad finem fortiter et disponens omnia suaviter et misericorditer, omnem sinceritatem atque puritatem in me restituas, (9) ut ego, indignus peccator et miser, in omnibus operibus tuis confirmatus in hiis, que desidero, habilis efficiar et perspicuus et claribundus triplici et septemplici Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti largitate efficiar (10) ad optinendum sanctam facialem sancte et gloriose trinitatis visionem meo vivente corpusculo Deo prestante et administrante, cooperante sua sanctissima gracia, qui vivit et regnat trinus et unus. Amen.

XCII 30ª ORACIO

Alpha et Ω, Deus, vivorum dominator et omnium visibilium et invisibilium administrator, fecundator omnibus omnia singulis singula tribuens secundum nature sue facultatem, (2) pro [e]qualitate meritorum angelorum et hominum gracie celestis largitatem in me infunde, ut gracia Spiritus sancti hodie cor meum et animam meam illustret, (3) et tu, Domine, multiplica in me dona Spiritus sancti et corrobora et innova [in] me interiorem hominem et fecunda me rore tue gracie, qua angelos rorasti, (4) et adorna me largitate innocencie tue, qua a principio fideles tuos adornasti, ut operentur in me septiformis gracie munera Spiritus sancti tui, (5) et aque superioris fluminis Ierusalem cum impetu fluentes puteum conscienciе mee et animum meum irrigent, repleant et exuberent caritate, (6) qua de celo venisti super aquas, maiestatis tue. Huius puri sacramenti in me confirma magnalia [ac] huius sancte visionis. Amen.

which I have because of my flesh, or because of my birth, or incurred through sin, may be wiped out through your divine ineffable kindness, (6) whereby in the beginning you willed to create Heaven and Earth, that your spiritual and great mercy may deign to restore (7) to its former state of grace, that which mankind has lost, which ability of seeing and comprehending the judgment of Satan has stolen away.

(8) You, O Lord, whose understanding, wisdom, and clarity powerfully reach from one end to the other, and administering all things graciously and mercifully, may you restore all integrity and purity in me, (9) that I, an unworthy and wretched sinner, being strengthened in all your works, which I desire, that I may be able to attain the threefold and sevenfold abundance of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, which makes things clear and apparent (10) for attaining the holy vision of your sacred and glorious Trinity in person, while my body lives, God willing and administering by his most holy grace, who lives and reigns threefold and one. Amen.

XCII. Prayer 30.[136]

Alpha and Omega, God, ruler of the living, and director of all visible and invisible things, you make all things fertile, giving to each one according to its natural ability, (2) for the sake of the [e]quality of the merits of angels and people, pour into me the abundance of the heavenly grace, that the grace of the Holy Spirit will illuminate my heart and my soul today, (3) and O Lord, multiply the gifts of the Holy Spirit in me and strengthen and alter [in] me the inner man, and make me fertile with the dew of your grace, with which you have bedewed the angels, (4) and adorn me with the abundance of your righteousness, with which you have adorned your faithful from the beginning, so that the sevenfold gifts of grace of your Holy Spirit may work in me, (5) and the waters of the higher river of Jerusalem, flowing with force, and fill up the well of my conscience and my soul, that they may refill and surge up with the greatness of your love, (6) wherewith you came from heaven over the waters.[137] Confirm in me the mighty works of this pure sacrament [and] of this sacred vision. Amen.

136 Ars. Not. 123, JV p. 82.

137 Gen. 1:2.

XCIII 31ª oracio

Leyste, profiteor tibi hodie, Deus, Pater omnium, qui secreta celestia ostendisti. Te deprecor suppliciter et maiestatem tuam precor et exoro, (2) ut, sicut tu es rex et princeps cogitacionum, voluntatum et animarum et omnium virtutum aliarum, hodie exaudi preces meas, (3) et dirigantur operaciones mee in conspectu tuo, et acciones mee in conspectu celestium virtutum prevaleant. (4) Clamo hodie ad te, Deus meus; nunc exaudi clamorem meum. Ingemisco ad te; hodie exaudi gemitus cordis mei. (5) Et ego commendo hodie spiritum meum, corpus meum et animam meam et cogitaciones meas in manus tuas, Pater mi et Deus meus, (6) et ne me a te senciam derelictum set misericordia in tuam in me [senciam], et exaltetur nomen tuum in me, clementissime Spiritus sancte, Deus, (7) cuius bonitas est eterna, cuius misericordia est incomprehensibilis, cuius perpetua claritas, cuius possessione pleni sunt celi et terra, (8) aspira et respice in me, Domine, et [intende] ad hanc operacionem meam, et quod in tue laudis honore devote postulo michi concede, ut in me omnis profectus[17] facialis et sancte visione dispensacione divina compleatur. (9) Doce me, Domine, quia in te pono me docendum. Purifica me, Domine, quia in te pono me purificandum. Clarifica me, Domine, quia in te pono me clarificandum. (10) Mundifica me, Domine, quia in te pono me mundificandum. Innocentifica me, Domine, quia in te pono me innocentificandum. Glorifica me, Domine, quia in te pono me glorificandum. (11) Rege me, Domine, quia in te pono me regendum, et in me gracie tue fidem infunde et fige, ut Spiritus tuus sanctus in me veniat, regnet et imperet pro hac sancta visione divina. Amen.

XCIV 32ª oracio

Horistion, Domine, quia ego servus tuus sum, servio tibi hodie et confiteor coram maiestate glorie tue, in cuius conspectu omnis magnificencia et sanctimonia est, (2) et deprecor sanctum et ineffabile nomen tuum, quatinus ad tante operacionis mee effectum hodie aures tue pietatis inclines et oculos tue maiestatis accomodes, (3) ut aperiente te manum tuam gracia<m>, quam desidero, sacier et fecunder caritate et claritate, qua

17 So Sl. 3854 126r col. 2. Sl. 3885 (C): perfectis; Sl. 313 (B): perfeccio.Sl. 3885 135v: et in me omnis profectus huius operacionis dispensacione diuina compleatur.

XCIII. Prayer 31.[138]

Leyste, I declare to you today, O God, Father of all things, who revealed the heavenly secrets. I humbly beg you and pray and entreat your greatness, (2) that since you are the king and ruler of thoughts, intentions, and souls, and of all other virtues, hear my prayers this day, (3) and may my operations be directed in your sight, and may my actions prevail in the sight of your heavenly powers. (4) I cry out to you today, my God; hear now my cry. I grieve to you; hear now the grieving of my heart. (5) And I entrust today my spirit, my body, and my soul, and my thoughts into your hands, O my Father and my God, (6) and let me never feel abandoned by you, but rather sense your compassion in me, and may your name be exalted in me, O most merciful Holy Spirit O God, (7) whose goodness is eternal, whose mercy is incomprehensible, whose brightness is everlasting, whose substance fills Heaven and Earth, (8) breathe into me and look upon me, O Lord, and this operation of mine, and for your praise and honor grant my devout request, I beg you, that all progress in this sacred vision may be fulfilled in me with divine guidance. (9) Teach me, O Lord, in whom I entrust myself for teaching. Purify me, O Lord, in whom I entrust myself to be purified. Clarify me, O Lord, for I entrust myself in you to be clarified. (10) Cleanse me, O Lord, in whom I entrust myself to be cleansed. Make me innocent, O Lord, for I entrust myself to be made innocent by you. Glorify me, O Lord, in whom I entrust myself to be made glorious. (11) Guide me, O Lord, in whom I entrust myself to be guided, and pour into me the faith of your grace, and secure it so that your Holy Spirit may come into me, and may rule and command me for the sake of this holy divine vision. Amen.

XCIV. Prayer 32.[139]

Horistion, O Lord, because I am your servant, I serve you today, and I confess before the majesty of your glory, in whose sight is all generosity and purity, (2) and I beg your holy and ineffable name, that this day you might turn the ears of your piety to the successful completion of my operation, and apply the eyes of your majesty, (3) that as you open your hand by the grace which I desire, I may be satisfied and made fertile with charity and with clarity, with which

138 Ars. Not. 124, JV p. 83.

139 Ars. Not. 125, JV p. 83.

celum fundasti et terram, te, Pater piissime, largiente, qui vivis et regnas solus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

XCV 33ª oracio

Jeremon, clementissime Domine, Deus meus, et miserere mei et parce malis meis. Sana animam meam, quia peccavi tibi. Non abneges uni quod pluribus contulisti. (2) Exaudi, Deus, oracionem famuli tui N, et in quacumque die invocavero te. Velociter exaudi me, sicut exaudisti sanctam Mariam Magdalenam. (3) Suscipe, Domine, clamorem confitentis ad te, audi vocem precantis et per oraciones beatissime Marie virginis, matris tue, atque omnium sanctorum tuorum, (4) ut oraciones et preces perveniant ad aures pietatis tue, quas ego, N, pro hac sancta visione effundo coram te in hac hora, ut per tua sanctissima nomina et sacramenta, (5) que sunt Hosel. Iesel. Hazaiacol. Iosel. Authiachar. Hazacol. Gezor. Gezamyhor. Namathar. Senales. Iole. Tarotheos. Lochos. Genos. Halla. Samyhel. Ramay. Sacharios. Logos. Patir. Sarahc. Iothosym. (6) mundatus, purificatus, clarificatus, innocentificatus et consecratus ad hanc gloriam et sacram tui facialem visionem pervenire merear prestante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui vivit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

XCVI 34ª oracio

Hofbor, excelse Domine, Deus invisibilis, Deus inestimabilis, Deus ineffabilis, Deus incommutabilis, Deus incorruptibilis, Deus piisime, Deus dulcissime, Deus excelse, Deus gloriose, Deus inmense, Deus omnipotens, Deus, Pater tocius misericordie, (2) ego, licet indignus et plenus iniquitate, dolo et malicia, suplex ad tuam venio misericordiam orans et deprecans, ut non respicias ad universa et innumerabilia peccata mea set, sicut consuevisti peccatorum misereri et preces humilium exaudire, (3) ita me, famulum tuum N, licet indignum, exaudire digneris clamantem ad te pro hac sanctissima visione divina humiliter et desiderantissime a te postulata prece tuis sanctis sacramentis insignita, que sunt Hosel, Iesel et cetera,

you have generously established heaven and earth, you, O most holy Father, who lives and reigns alone, forever and ever. Amen.

XCV. Prayer 33.[140]

Jeremon, most generous, my Lord and my God, have mercy on me, and consider my faults. "Heal my soul, because I have sinned against you."[141] Do not deny to the one that which you have given to the many. (2) Hear, O God, the prayer of your servant N., and in whichever day I will call upon you, quickly hear me, as you heard the holy Mary Magdalen. (3) Accept, O Lord, the cries of him who confesses to you; hear the voice of the praying and by the prayers of the blessed virgin Mary, your mother, and all of your saints, (4) that these prayers and pleas for this holy vision, which I, N., pour out personally to you right now, may reach the ears of your piety, that through your most holy names and sacraments, (5) which are: Hosel. Iesel. Hazaiacol. Iosel. Authiachar. Hazacol. Gezor. Gezamyhor. Namathar. Senales. Iole. Tarotheos. Lochos. Genos. Halla. Samyhel. Ramay. Sacharios. Logos. Patir. Sarahc. Iothosym. (6) being cleaned, purified, glorified, made innocent and consecrated, and I may be worthy to attain the vision of your glorious and sacred shape, with our Lord Jesus Christ as our guide, who lives and reigns forever and ever. Amen.

XCVI. Prayer 34.

Hofbor, O Lord, who dwells on high, invisible God, inestimable God, ineffable God, unchangeable God, incorruptible God, O God most-pious, O God most sweet, O God most high, O glorious God, O immeasurable God, O almighty God, O God, the Father of all mercy, (2) I, although unworthy and full of iniquity, deceit, and vice, I come humbly begging and pleading for your mercy, that you don't consider all my countless sins, but just as you are accustomed to show mercy on sinners, and to hear the prayers of the humble, (3) so too deign to hear me, your servant N., although unworthy, crying to you for this most holy and divine vision, humbly and most earnestly, asking it of you

140 A variation of this prayer can be found in BoO p. 100, also in *Forbidden Rites*, p. 259. The holy names, Hosel, Iesel, etc. are found in Ars. Not, JV p. 211. Apart from this, neither prayer 33 nor 34 seem to occur in Ars. Not.

141 Ps. 40:5 (Vulgate).

(4) ut virtutem et graciam, quam pro tanta visione habere debeo, habeam, scilicet puritatem et innocenciam et claritatem, sapienciam et sanctitatem, (5) caritatem et sinceritatem et humilitatem et firmitatem et bonam voluntatem, te ipso prestante, qui sedes in altissimis, cui laus est atque gloria et honor per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

XCVII

Si seriem harum oracionum scire vis, respice seriem 100 nominum Dei huius libri, quia per illa semper incipiunt oraciones. (2) Et nota, quod illa sacra Dei nomina predicta: Hosel, Iesel et cetera, debent dici paulo post principium orandi eciam in principio cuiuslibet oracionis.

XCVIII Incipit 2ª mundacio in visione divina.

Mundato igitur et macerato corpore volentis videre celeste palacium ipsum mundissimum esse iubemus et in omnibus virtutibus esse vestitum, (2) et semper cogitet et deprecetur Dominum de suorum absolucione peccatorum, quia iustus eciam debet timere, quia qui non timet, non diligit, testante Salomone et dicente: "Inicium sapiencie timor Domini,"[18] (3) unde quilibet debet timere, quia nemo ex sua condicione vel dignitate meretur vel consequitur gloriam vel salutem nec potest videre Deum absque gracia salvatoris.

(4) Et iterum alios 12 dies in pane et aqua integre sine aliqua relaxacione ieiunet faciens ut fecerat in predictis, donec veniat ad 13ᵃᵐ diem, que sit dies Iovis, et tunc iterum, si quid in se mali senserit, emundet et tunc iterum corpus Christi recipiat dicendo:

18 Sir. 1:16, based on Proverbs 9:10.

with prayers and embellished with holy sacraments, which are Hosel, Iesel, etc. (4) that I may have the virtue and the grace which are needed to attain such a great vision, namely purity, innocence, clarity, wisdom, and piety, (5) love, sincerity, humility, determination, and good will, through you, who sits on high, to whom be praise, glory, and honor, forever and ever. Amen.

XCVII.

If you wish to know the sequence of these prayers, consider the sequence of the one hundred names of God in this book, because the prayers always begin with those. (2) And note, that those preceding sacred names of God: **Hosel, Iesel,** and the rest, must be said soon after beginning worship, and also in the beginning of any specific prayer.

XCVIII. Here begins the second purification for the Divine Vision.[142]

Thereupon, with the body purified and softened,[143] he that wishes to see the heavenly palace, we command him to keep himself most clean to be clothed with all virtues, (2) and he should always contemplate the Lord, and pray for the forgiveness of sins, for the Lord is just and must be feared, for if you don't fear him, you don't love him, as Solomon testified when he said: "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord,"[144] (3) Therefore, everyone should fear him, because nobody attains glory, or salvation, or the sight of God, of his own merit, without the grace of the savior.

(4) And again he should fast another twelve days on bread and water and nothing else, without any relaxation as he did before, until he comes to the thirteenth day, which should be a Thursday, and then again, if he perceives any evil in himself he should cleanse it, and then again he should receive the body of Christ, saying:

142 The instructions for the first purification are given in chapters li-lii.

143 Namely, the physical passions conquered.

144 Sir. 1:16, based on Proverbs 9:10. Compare *Key of Solomon*, chapter 1. http://esotericarchives.com/solomon/ksol.htm#chap1 (retrieved October 15, 2015)

(5) Oracio ante recepcionem Christi

"Tu, Domine Iesu Christe, salvator omnium, qui pro me, miserimo peccatore, et aliis in seculo viventibus voluisti corpus tuum salubriter immolare, (6) qui 5ª die, scilicet Iovis [vel] Cenacionis, beatos apostolos tuos de tuo precioso corpore et sanguine saciasti precipiens, ut in nomine tuo sancta mater ecclesia sacratissimum corpus tuum et sanguinem consecraret, ut fieret salus et vita animarum in te credencium. (7) Ego, licet indignus, te, Domine Iesu Christe, recipiens, sciens et confitens te Dominum meum et creatorem meum, quem in carne mea visurus sum ego ipse et non alius, quem expecto iudicem meum venturum, (8) concede michi propicius et in virtute huius sacri misterii, quod sicut corporeis oculis tuam spiritualem et corporalem potenciam ac eciam divinitatem visibiliter confiteor et agnosco per redempcionem huius sacratissimi corporis et sanguinis tui, (9) sic corpus meum clarificare et mundare digneris, ut abluto corpore te visibiliter cum tuis novem angelorum ordinibus me vivente mea possit anima collaudare, qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen."

XCIX

Quo recepto recedas ad domum et taliter opus incipies.

Placacio divine maiestatis

Dices illa die Iovis semel psalterium et letaniam cum propriis eam sequentibus oracionibus. Post dices 25, 26, 31 et ibi addes:

(2) "Ut tu, Domine, per annunciacionem, concepcionem, nativitatem, circumcisionem, predicacionem, baptismum, resurreccionem, ascensionem beatissimi filii tui, Domini nostri Iesu Christi, (3) corpus meum clarificare et mundare digneris, ut abluto corpore te visibiliter cum tuis novem dictis angelorum ordinibus me vivente mea possit anima collaudare," (4)—conclusio:—"quoniam tu es Deus potens et super omnia misericors, qui

(5) Prayer before receiving Christ.

"You, O Lord Jesus Christ, the savior of all, who were willing to sacrifice your body, on behalf of me, a wretched sinner, and others living in the world, (6) you who on the fifth day, namely Thursday, the Last Supper, fed your blessed apostles with your precious body and blood, teaching them that they should consecrate your most holy body and blood in the name of the holy mother church, in order that it might be the salvation and life of the souls believing in you. (7) I, although unworthy to receive you, O Lord Jesus Christ, knowing and confessing you to be my Lord and my creator, whom I shall see, and no other, while my body lives, whom I await to judge me soon, (8) grant me your favor, and by the virtue of this sacred mystery, that as I am able to recognize visibly and acknowledge with my physical eyes your spiritual and physical power, and even your divinity, through the redemption[145] of this your most sacred body and blood, (9) so deign to clarify and cleanse my body, that with my body being washed, my soul will able to praise you visibly, while I live, along with your nine orders of angels, you who lives and reigns, God, world without end. Amen."

XCIX.

Once this[146] has been received, you may retire to your house and begin the work in such a manner.

The placating of the Divine Majesty.

The same Thursday, you will say the psalter and litany with its special prayers following it. After that you will say 25, 26,[147] 31 then add: (2) "... that you, O Lord, by the annunciation, conception, birth, circumcision, proclamation, baptism,[148] resurrection, and ascension of your most blessed son, our Lord Jesus Christ, (3) deign to make my body lustrous and pure, that with my body washed pure, my soul may be able to praise you visibly, while I live, alongside your aforesaid nine orders of angels," (4) The conclusion: "Because

145 SSM: *receptionem* ("reception"), referring to the eucharist, which seems to fit better.
146 I.e. the Eucharist. SSM: The Body of Christ.
147 SSM: 28.
148 SSM adds: "fasting, dining, suffering."

vivis et regnas Deus in unitate et trinitate, Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, et regnaturus es per infinita secula seculorum. Amen."

C Separacio

Ex nunc eris in loco concluso, ubi non sit frequentacio personarum, et qualibet die dices istas oraciones, que secuntur, cum precedentibus, que pertinent operanti, et cum hoc dices hec nomina, que secuntur. (2) "Agla, Monhon, Tetragramaton, Ely Deus, Ocleiste, Amphynethon, Lamyara, Ianemyer, Sadyon, Hely, Horlon, Porrenthimon, (3) Yelur, Gofgameli, Emanuel, On, Admyel, Honzmorb, Ioht, Hophob, Mesamarathon, Anethy, Eryona, Yuestre, Saday, Maloht, Sechce."

(4) Post hoc dices:

Oracio

"Deus meus, Pater omnipotens eterne potestatis, potens facere mundum de immundo conceptum semine, Primellus, Principium, Primogenitus, Sapiencia, Virtus, Sol, Splendor, Gloria, Pax, Lux, Panis, Os, (5) Verbum, Salus, Angelus, Sponsus, Propheta, Agnus, Ovis, Vitulus, Serpens, Aries, Leo, Vermis, exaudi propicius oraciones et invocaciones servi tui, ut in virtute horum sanctorum nominum tuorum corpus meum" et cetera.

(6) Postea dices ista alia nomina, que secuntur. "Elscha fortis, Abbadia iuste, Alpha et Ω piissime, Leiste dulcissime, Oristyon potentissime, Yeremon excellentissime, Hofbor excelse, Merkerpon adiutor, Elzephares

you, O God, are mighty and merciful over all, who lives and reigns, God in unity and trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and will reign forever, world without end. Amen."[149]

C. Separation.

From this time on you should be in a place where access can be restricted, where people do not frequent, and each day say those prayers which follow, along with those preceding, which are pertinent to the work,[150] and with this you should say these names, which follow: (2) "Agla, Monhon, Tetragramaton, Ely Deus, Ocleiste, Amphynethon, Lamyara, Ianemyer, Sadyon, Hely, Horlon, Porrenthimon, (3) Yelur, Gofgameli, Emanuel, On, Admyel, Honzmorb, Ioht, Hophob, Mesamarathon, Anethy, Eryona, Yuestre, Saday, Maloht, Sechce."[151]

(4) After this, say:

Prayer.

"O my God, almighty Father, eternal power, who can make pure that which was conceived of unclean seed, Primellus, the Beginning, the First-Born, the Wisdom, the Virtue, the Sun, the Brilliance, the Glory, the Peace, the Light, the Bread,[152] the Mouth, (5) the Word, the Salvation, the Angel, the Bridegroom, the Prophet, the Lamb, the Sheep, the Calf, the Serpent, Aries, Leo, the Worm, hear clearly the propitious prayers and invocations of your servant, that through the power of your holy names, that with my body" etc.[153]

(6) Then say these additional names which follow: "Strong Elscha, just Abbadia, most pious Alpha and Omega, sweetest Leiste, most potent Oristyon, most excellent Yeremon, lofty Hofbor,[154] Merkerpon the helper, Elzephares the defender, Egyryon the protector, Pheta the generous, (7) hear

149 The wording of this prayer should be adapted to the situation; in this case, for the divine vision. See CII, and Veenstra 2012 pp. 166–167.

150 SSM adds: "and not to the priesthood."

151 Compare with similar lists of names of God in chapters C.2, CI.2–8.

152 GH following S. 3854 127r reads "Patris," but SSM L.4.f.17, Sl. 313, Sl. 3853 144r, and R all read "Panis," which is also consistent with BoO p. 35.

153 As in XCVIII.9.

154 So GH. Sl. 3854 127r reads "Hosbor," but see XCVI 1 and CI.4. SSM: Hospr; Sl. 3885: hostor.

defensor, Egyryon protector, Pheta largitor, (7) exaudi benigne deprecaciones servi tui, ut ex dono gracie tue per intercessiones beate genitricis tue virginis Marie et angelorum et archangelorum tuorum Michaelis, Gabrielis, Urielis et Raphaelis et omnium aliorum celestium angelorum (8) et apostolorum tuorum Petri et Pauli, Iohannis et Iacobi, Andree, Mathie, Symonis, Iude, Philippi, Thome, Bartholomei et Barnabe corpus meum" et cetera.

(9) Postea dices ista sequencia nomina Dei. "Ombonar ineffabilis, Stimulamathon in substancia invisibilis, Oryon inestimabilis, Erion inpermutabilis, Noymos clementissime, Pep incommensurabilis, Nathanatay incorruptibilis, Theon inmense, Ysiston gloriose, Porho tocius misericordie."[19]

(10) Postea dices hanc oracionem:

Oracio

"Respice humiliter preces humilis servi tui non aspiciens neque vindicans inennarrabiles iniquitates, quas contra te feci; quoniam, 'si iniquitates observaveris, quis sustinebit?' (11) Set tu, Domine, 'suscitans a terra inopem et de stercore erigens pauperem' in virtute sancte humilitatis et obediencie tue, sicut dicitur: (12) 'factus est obediens usque ad mortem'—et alibi: 'Ego autem humiliatus sum nimis'—quam pro peccatoribus humiliter pati atque recipere voluisti, sic preces meas placatus recipias—(13) quia confiteor et scio, quia tu es misericors tocius creature te firmiter invocantis, testante David et dicente: 'Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non despicies,' (14) et alibi: 'Prope est Dominus omnibus invocantibus eum in veritate'—ut animam meam a tenebris corpusculi mei suscitare et a stercore peccatorum meorum erigere digneris, ut abluto corpore" et cetera.

(15) Et postea dices hec nomina hanc sequentem oracionem constituencia.

19 SSM: … Eryon incomutabilis, Nomyx, clementissime, Pele, incommensurabilis, Nathanatoy incorruptibilis, Theon inmense, ysyston, gloriose, Porhe tocius misericordie

kindly the supplications of your servant, so that from your gift of grace through the intercession of your blessed mother, the virgin Mary, and of your angels and archangels Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael, and all other celestial angels (8) and of your apostles Peter and Paul, John and Jacob, Andrew, Matthew, Simon, Jude, Philip, Thomas, Bartholomew, and Barnabus, that with my body ..." etc.[155]

(9) Then say these following names of God: "Ombonar ineffable, Stimulamathon in substance invisible, Oryon inestimable, Erion unchangeable, Noymos most merciful, Pep immeasurable, Nathanatay incorruptible, Theon immeasurable, Hysiston glorious, Porho altogether merciful."

(10) Then say this prayer:

Prayer.

"Look favorably on the prayers of your humble servant, not considering or punishing the many sins which I have committed against you; for, 'if you consider our sins, who could measure up?'[156] (11) But you, O Lord, 'raise up the needy from the dust, and the poor from the filth'[157] by virtue of holy humility and obedience to you, as it is said: (12) 'He became obedient even unto death'[158] and elsewhere: 'moreover I have been greatly humbled'[159]—which you humbly allowed and wished to receive for sinners, so may you favorably receive my prayers—(13) because I confess and know that you are merciful to all creatures who call upon you sincerely, which David testified when he said: 'A contrite and humbled heart, O God, you will not look down on,'[160] (14) and elsewhere: 'The Lord is nearby to all who faithfully call upon him'[161]—that you may deign to awaken my soul from the darkness of my body, and raise it up from the foulness of my sins, that with my body being washed" and so on.[162]

(15) And then say these names composed in the following prayer:

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155 Adding your petition, as in XCVIII.9.
156 Ps. 129:3 (KJV 130:3).
157 Ps. 112:7 (KJV 113:7).
158 Phi. 2:8.
159 Ps. 115:1 (KJV 116:10).
160 Ps. 50:19 (KJV 51:17).
161 Ps. 144:18 (KJV 145:18).
162 As in XCVIII.9.

Nomina Dei vivi

"**Fothon**, celi et terre conditor; **Lethellete**, qui celum super altitudinem nubium extendisti; **Ysmas**, qui terram super aquas in sua stabilitate fundasti; (16) **Adonay**, qui mari terminum suum, quem preterire non poterit, tribuisti; **Hachionadabir**, qui Solem et Lunam et omnes stellas celi in summa arce collocasti; **Omytheon**, qui omnia in sapiencia fecisti; (17) **Hofga**, qui sexta die hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem tuam creasti; **Leyndra**, qui Adam una cum Eva, quam sibi comitem dederas, in paradiso voluptatis collocasti, quos propter mandati tui prevaricacionem mox de paradiso eiecisti; **Nosulaceps**, qui victimam Abel conspexisti;

(18) **Tutheon**, qui mundum propter sui scelera in aqua diluvii perdidisti; **Gelemoht**, qui Noe et eos, qui cum eo erant in aqua diluvii, salvasti, unde genus humanum restituisti; (19) **Paraclitus**, qui Abrahe, servo tuo, sub triplici persona ad radicem Mambre aparuisti; **Occynonerion**, qui Enoch et Helyam ad pugnandum contra tirannum in celis rapuisti; **Ectothas**, qui Loth, servum tuum, de submersione Sodome et Gomorre misericorditer liberasti; (20) **Abracio**, qui Moysi, servo tuo, in medio rubi locutus fuisti in flamma ignis; **Anephenethon**, qui virgam Aaron frondere, florere et fructum producere fecisti; (21) **Abdon**, qui populum tuum de terra Egypti de captivitate potenter abduxisti; **Melthe**, qui, ut siccis pedibus transirent, per medium mare viam aperuisti; **Sother**, qui in monte Synay populo tuo per manum Moysi legem dedisti;

(22) **Usyrion**, qui populo scicienti de petra sicca nimias aquas exire fecisti; **Baruch**, qui Danielem prophetam de lacu leonum sanum et incolumem eripuisti; **Sporgongo**, qui tres pueros Sydrac, Misaac et Abdenago, qui sunt Ananyas, Azarias et Mysael, de camino ignis ardentis illesos abire

Names of the Living God.

"**Fothon**, creator of Heaven and Earth; **Lethelletus**, whereby you stretched out Heaven above the height of the clouds; **Ysmas**, whereby you set the lands firmly upon the waters; (16) **Adonay**, whereby you separated the sea from her bounds, which she is not able to go beyond; **Hachionadabir**, whereby you arranged the Sun and Moon and all the stars in the highest height of Heaven; **Omytheon**, whereby you made all things in wisdom;[163] (17) **Hofga**, Whereby on the sixth day you created mankind in your own image and likeness; **Leyndra**, whereby you put Adam into the Paradise of pleasure, together with Eve, whom you gave as his companion, whereby you also soon expelled them from Paradise for transgressing your commandment; **Nosulaceps**, whereby you accepted Abel's offering;

(18) **Tutheon**, whereby you caused a flood of water to destroy the world, on account of its corruption; **Gelemoht**, whereby you saved Noah, and those who were with him, from the destruction of the flood, and whereby you restored mankind; (19) **Paraclitus**, whereby you appeared to Abraham, your servant, in the guise of three persons, in the plains of Mamre;[164] **Occynonerion**, whereby you took Enoch and Elijah to Heaven for fighting against the tyrant;[165] **Ectothas**, whereby Lot, your servant, was mercifully spared from the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah;[166] (20) **Abracio**, whereby you spoke to Moses, your servant, in the midst of the burning bush; **Anephenethon**, whereby you made the staff of Aaron sprout leaves and produce fruit;[167] (21) **Abdon**, whereby you forcefully led your people out of the land of Egypt, and out of captivity; **Melthe**, whereby you opened a path through the middle of the sea, allowing them to cross with dry feet; **Sother**, whereby you gave your people the Law at Mount Sinai, through the hand of Moses;

(22) **Usyrion**, whereby you produced much water for your thirsty people, from a dry rock; **Baruch**, whereby you released the prophet Daniel from lions' den safe and unharmed;[168] **Sporgongo**, whereby the three children Shadrach, Meshach, and Abedenego, who were Hananiah, Azariah and

163 Ps. 103:24 (KJV 104:24).
164 Gen. 18:1–2.
165 Gen. 5:24; II Kings 2:11.
166 Gen 19.
167 Num. 17:8.
168 Dan. 6.

fecisti; (23) **Genouem**, qui Susannam bonam fiduciam atque spem in te habentem de falso crimine falsorum iudicum liberasti; **Messias**, qui Ionam prophetam in ventre ceti tribus diebus et tribus noctibus commorantem incolumem conservasti; (24) **Pantheon**, qui David prophetam de manibus Golie invictum evadere fecisti; Deus iustus, fortis et paciens, **agyos, Otheos, Hiskyros, athanathos, eleyson ymas, Christus,** Deus fortis, omnipotens et immortalis, (25) Iesus Nazarenus, et multum misericors, qui solum ex vera cordis contricione peccatorem mundificas, exaudi clemens et propicius oraciones servi tui, (26) quas in virtute sublimitatis tue profero, ut per misericordiam tuam <et> graciam, quam sanctis tuis tribuisti, michi largiri digneris.

(27) Descendat ergo, Domine, super me, famulum tuum, quamvis multis criminibus irretitum tamen a te creatum, virtus Spiritus sancti, que meorum indulgenciam faciat peccatorum, ut ex rore celesti mei corpusculi macule deleantur, ut abluto corpore" et cetera.

(28) Hec oracio supradicta debet pro ferri in omni periculo, quoniam sanos custodit, infirmos sanat, peccata relaxat, iratos pacificat, amicicias nutrit, (29) desperantes confortat, pauperes fovet, iram Domini mitigat, omnes tribulaciones et perversitates vincit, tempestates fugat, incantaciones solvit, spiritus constringit et ligat. (30) Debet proferri ieiuno stomacho, flexis genibus cum devocione maxima, et eius abstinencia est, quod operans debet esse humilis, paciens et pudicus. (31) Taliter igitur diebus Veneris, sabbati, Dominico, Lune, Martis, Mercurii sequentibus hec omnia, et ter in qualibet die, scilicet mane, meridie et sero, integre recitabis.

CI Perfeccio operis

Die vero Iovis sumo mane dicat ut dixerat in predictis et tunc super cineres de fece mundatos de feno cubile faciat, et in circuitu lecti sint in cineribus scripta centum nomina Dei.

Mishael, were able to come forth uninjured from the fiery furnace;[169] (23) **Genovem**, whereby the good and faithful Susanna, having hope in you, was freed from false accusations of false judges; **Messias**, whereby you preserved the prophet Jonah unharmed for three days and three nights in the stomach of a whale; (24) **Pantheon**, whereby you made the prophet David escape the hands of Goliath unconquered;[170] O Just God, strong and patient, **Agios, Iskiros, Athanatos, Eleyson ymas, Christus,** strong God, all-powerful and immortal, (25) Jesus of Nazareth, most merciful, who cleanses us of sins only through a truly contrite heart, O merciful and generous one, hear the prayers of your servant, (26) which I offer through the virtue of your sublimity, so that through your mercy, you would deign to grant to me the grace which you have granted to your saints.

(27) Therefore, O Lord, may the power of the Holy Spirit descend upon me, your servant, in spite of my many faults, yet created by you, who may show leniency for my sins, that the stains of my body are erased by the heavenly dew, that my body being washed" etc.

(28) This above-mentioned prayer should used in all dangers, because it protects the health, cures the sick, forgives sins, calms anger, nurtures friendship, (29) comforts those despairing, warms the poor, mitigates the wrath of the Lord, conquers all troubles and perversities, drives away storms, breaks enchantments, and constrains and binds spirits. (30) It should be said after fasting and abstinence, kneeling with the greatest devotion, and the one who performs it must be humble, patient, and chaste. (31) Therefore you should recite all of these in their entirety in the same way on the following Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, and three times every day, namely in the morning, at noon, and at night.

CI. The Completion of the Work.

On Thursday begin in the morning; saying as you said on the preceding, and then you should make a bed of hay, on top of ashes which you should make clean from the dregs, and around the bed, in the ashes, should be written the one hundred names of God.[171]

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169 Dan. 3.25.

170 1 Sam. 17.

171 In SSM, the seventy-two letters from the Seal of God are used instead.

(2) 100 Dei vivi nomina

1. Agla, 2. Monon, 3. Tetragramaton, 4. Ely Deus, 5. Ocleiste, 6. Amphynethon, 7. Lamyara, 8. Ianemyer, 9. Sadyon, 10. Hely, 11. Horlon, 12. Porrenthimon, 13. Ihelur, (3) 14. Gofgameli, 15. Emanuel, 16. On, 17. Admyhel, 18. Honzmorb, 19. Ioht, 20. Hofob, 21. Mesamarathon, 22. Anethy, 23. Eryhona, 24. Iuestre, 25. Saday, 26. Maloht, 27. Sechce, 28. Elscha, (4) 29. Abbadia, 30. Alpha et Ω, 31. Leiste, 32. Oristion, 33. Jeremon, 34. Hofbor, 35. Merkerpon, 36. Elzephares, 37. Egyrion, 38. Pheta, 39. Hombonar, 40. Stimulamathon, 41. Orion, 42. Eryon, (5) 43. Noymos, 44. Pep, 45. Nathanathay, 46. Theon, 47. Ysiston, 48. Porho, 49. Fothon, 50. Letellethe, 51. Ysmas, 52. Adonay, 53. Achionadabir, 54. Omytheon, 55. Hofga, 56. Leyndra, (6) 57. Nosulaceps, 58. Tutheon, 59. Gelemoht, 60. Paraclitus, 61. Occynoneryon, 62. Ecthothas, 63. Abracio, 64. Anephenethon, 65. Abdon, 66. Melthe, 67. Sother, 68. Usirion, 69. Baruch, (7) 70. Sporgongo, 71. Genouem, 72. Messias, 73. Pantheon, 74. Zabuather, 75. Rabarmas, 76. Yschiros, 77. Kyrios, 78. Gelon, 79. Hel, 80. Techel, 81. Nothi, 82. Ymeynlethon, 83. Karex, 84. Sabaoth, (8) 85. Sellah, 86. Cirrhos, 87. Opiron, 88. Nomygon, 89. Orihel, 90. Theos, 91. Va, 92. Horha, 93. Christus, 94. Hospesk, 95. Gofgar, 96. Occynnomos, 97. Elyorem, 98. Heloy, 99. Archima, 100. Rabur.

(9) Quo facto comedat, et quando comederit, opus istud ita incipiat. Accipiat aquam claram fontis frigidam, de qua se abluat dicens:

(10) "Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens, eterne Deus, cuius ante creacionem seculi Spiritus ferebatur super aquas, qui in mundi creacione una cum aliis elementis eas benedictas fecisti, (11) qui populo sicienti has in alimento dedisti, et ut sordide mundi exteriores macule per eas lavarentur, qui in flumine Iordanis per Iohannem baptistam baptizari voluisti, (12) ut per misterium sacratissimi corporis tui flumina omnium aquarum tua benediccione crescerent, ut sicut per eas exteriora lavantur, (13) ita interiora per ipsas et Spiritum sanctum lavarentur peccata testante propheta David et dicente: 'Asparges me, Domine, ysopo, et mundabor. Lavabis me, et super nivem dealbabor,' (14) qui beatis apostolis tuis in huius sacri commemoracione misterii pedes eorum lavasti, qui nobis ad saturacionem

(2) The 100 Names of the Living God.

1. Agla, 2. Monon, 3. Tetragramaton, 4. Ely Deus, 5. Ocleiste, 6. Amphynethon, 7. Lamyara, 8. Ianemyer, 9. Sadyon, 10. Hely, 11. Horlon, 12. Porrenthimon, 13. Ihelur, (3) 14. Gofgameli, 15. Emanuel, 16. On, 17. Admyhel, 18. Honzmorb, 19. Ioht, 20. Hofob, 21. Mesamarathon, 22. Anethy, 23. Eryhona, 24. Iuestre, 25. Saday, 26. Maloht, 27. Sechce, 28. Elscha, (4) 29. Abbadia, 30. Alpha et Ω, 31. Leiste, 32. Oristion, 33. Jeremon, 34. Hofbor, 35. Merkerpon, 36. Elzephares, 37. Egyrion, 38. Pheta, 39. Hombonar, 40. Stimulamathon, 41. Orion, 42. Eryon, (5) 43. Noymos, 44. Pep [*Pele?], 45. Nathanathay, 46. Theon, 47. Ysiston, 48. Porho, 49. Fothon, 50. Letellethe, 51. Ysmas, 52. Adonay, 53. Achionadabir, 54. Omytheon, 55. Hofga, 56. Leyndra, (6) 57. Nosulaceps, 58. Tutheon, 59. Gelemoht, 60. Paraclitus, 61. Occynoneryon, 62. Ecthothas, 63. Abracio, 64. Anephenethon, 65. Abdon, 66. Melthe, 67. Sother, 68. Usirion, 69. Baruch, (7) 70. Sporgongo, 71. Genouem, 72. Messias, 73. Pantheon, 74. Zabuather, 75. Rabarmas, 76. Yschiros, 77. Kyrios, 78. Gelon, 79. Hel, 80. Techel, 81. Nothi, 82. Ymeynlethon, 83. Karex, 84. Sabaoth, (8) 85. Sellah, 86. Cirrhos, 87. Opiron, 88. Nomygon, 89. Orihel, 90. Theos, 91. Va, 92. Horha, 93. Christus, 94. Hospesk, 95. Gofgar, 96. Occynnomos, 97. Elyorem, 98. Heloy, 99. Archima, 100. Rabur.

(9) When this has been done, he should eat, and after eating, he should begin the work as follows: He should take clear cold spring water, and wash himself, saying:

(10) "O Lord, holy Father, almighty and eternal God, whose spirit moved over the waters before the creation of the world, who in the creation of the world, made water blessed with the other elements, (11) who gave water to the thirsty people for their nourishment, and in order that they could wash their outward stains clean with it, who wished to be baptized in the river Jordan by John the Baptist, (12) in order that through the mystery of your most sacred body the rivers of all waters will increase with your blessing, so that, even as we are washed on the outside by it, and by the Holy Spirit, (13) so too will we be washed inside and cleansed of our sins, as the prophet David testified when he said: 'Sprinkle me, O Lord, with hyssop, and I will be clean; wash me, and I will be whiter than snow,' (14) which in remembrance of this sacred mystery, you washed the feet of your blessed apostles,[172] who offered us water

172 See John 13:12.

anime aquam de tuo precioso latere in potum tribuisti et propter nos lancea latus acriter perforari voluisti, concede propicius, (15) quod sicut huius mei miseri corpusculi per hanc aquam exteriora lavantur, sic per virtutem tui sacri baptismatis, quod in me nomine tuo recepi, super me tue future gracie rorem descendere concedas, per quam mea interiora laventur peccata, ut abluto corpore" et cetera.

(16) Et scias, quod nullus vacans circa terrena potest hoc facere, quia anima racione obscenitatis terrene a divinis secretis est penitus sequestrata et ideo cum difficultate intelligit. (17) Tamen secundum quod caro magis vult operacionibus anime consentire, cicius intelligit et clarius. (18) Et ideo illi, qui sciencias inveniebant, magis in locis secretis habitabant, quia nolebant per temptaciones carnales a suis operacionibus sequestrari. (19) Nec non si aliquis operari voluerit eciam pro acquisicione parcium, eum convenit a terrenis sequestrari. Pro acquisitione tocius multo magis forciusque debet operans terre dimittere vanitatem.

(20) Tunc indutus cilicio et nigris vestibus chorum[20] intret, in quo sedeat. Tunc incipiat psalterium cum letania et oracionibus propriis et aliis, ut predixi, et cum totum compleverit, dicat hec nomina, que secuntur. (21) "Zabuather, Rabarmas, Yskiros, Kyrios, Gelon, Hel, Techel, Nothi, Ymeinlethon, Karex, Sabaoth, Sella, Chiros, Opiron, Nomygon, Oriel, Theos, Ya."

(22) Oracio

"Deus fortis et potens in prelio, rex eterne glorie, cuius claritatis dulcedine pleni sunt celi et terra, quem angeli et archangeli tremunt et colunt laudando et dicunt: (23) 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth; pleni sunt celi et terra gloria tua. Ossanna in excelsis,'

20 SSM: thorum.

to drink from your precious side for quenching the thirst in our souls, and for our sakes allowed the lance to savagely pierce your side, graciously grant (15) that as this water washes my wretched body outwardly, so too by virtue of your sacred baptism, which I have received in your name, grant that the dew of your grace may descend upon me, by which my inner faults may be washed away, that my body being washed," etc.

(16) And you should know, that nobody who is idle with worldly things can attain to this work, for the soul, because of the obscenity of worldly things, is isolated inwardly from divine secrets, and therefore it understands them with difficulty. (17) Yet when the flesh is willing to consent with the operations of the soul, it understands more quickly and more clearly. (18) And therefore those who first discovered this knowledge lived more in hidden places, because they were unwilling to let carnal temptations isolate them from their operations. (19) And certainly if anybody has determined to work to acquire only parts of this science, should isolate himself from worldly things. And how much more strongly should he dismiss the emptiness of the world for the sake of performing the whole of it.

(20) Then he should put on a sackcloth[173] and black garments, then enter the choir,[174] in which he should sit. Then he should begin the Psalter with the litany, and with the proper prayers and the rest as mentioned before, and when all is complete, he should say these names which follow: (21) "Zabuather, Rabarmas, Yskiros, Kyrios, Gelon, Hel, Techel, Nothi, Ymeinlethon, Karex, Sabaoth, Sella, Chiros, Opiron, Nomygon, Oriel, Theos, Ya."[175]

(22) Prayer.

"O mighty God, and powerful in battle, and eternally glorious king, the sweetness of whose clarity fills Heaven and Earth, before whom the angels and archangels tremble and praise, saying: (23) 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts, Heaven and Earth are full of your glory. Hosannah in the highest,'

173 I.e. Cilice.

174 SSM: *thorum* ("bed").

175 Cp. CI.7 (names 74 ff.). SSM L.4.f.18-19: Zabuather, rabarbas, yskyros, kyryos, gelon, el, techel, nochy, ymeymlethon, karex, sabaoth, sellah, cyrros, opron, nomygon, oryel, theos, ya.

qui pro dominacione[21] humani generis revocanda de celis ad terram descendisti.

(24) **Orha**, qui per Gabrielem beate Marie virgini, genetrici tue, nuncium tue incarnacionis in templo Ierusalem premisisti.

Christus, qui sicut sol per vitrum in eius utero et sine corupcionis contagio obumbrasti.

(25) **Hospesk**, qui in manibus Ioseph virgam siccam florere fecisti.

Gofgar, qui adventus tui per Iohannem baptistam populo tuo Israel testimonium et precognicionem misisti, (26) predicandaque dicta erant de te per prophetas, qui nativitatis tue tuis sanctis hominibus in tenebris stantibus lumen misisti, per quod tuum sanctum adventum cognoverunt.

(27) **Occynnomos**, qui tribus regibus te adorare volentibus, Caspar, Melchior, Balthasar, stellam previam transmisisti et eorum munera recepisti te verum Deum et hominem mortalem eis esse demonstrans (28) et eis per angelum tuum falsitatem Herodis in sompnis manifestans, qui beatos innocentes pro tuo nomine cruciatos in celi palacio sublimiter coronasti.

(29) **Eliorem**, qui in templo Salomonis in manibus Symeonis Domino presentatus ipsi Symeoni dedisti cognicionis effectum, ut asserit dicens: 'Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, in pace, (30) quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum, quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum lumen ad revelacionem gencium et gloriam plebis tue Israel.'

Heloy, qui ad architriclini nupcias aquam in vinum convertisti.

(31) **Archima**, qui 32 annis populo tuo fidem catholicam predicasti, qui Petrum, Iacobum et Iohannem, Bartholomeum, Thomam et ceteros discipulos in sciencia et gracia perfectos condidisti.

(32) **Rabur**, qui 40 dierum spacio in deserto ieiunasti et a demone temptatus es, qui eciam beate Marie Magdalene super pedes tuos flenti

21 Sl. 3885, SSM: dampnatione.

which for the sake of mastery to redeem mankind[176] you descended from the heavens to Earth.

(24) **Orha**, whereby you sent ahead Gabriel to the temple at Jerusalem, to announce to the blessed virgin Mary, your mother, your incarnation.

Christ, whereby you overshadowed yourself in her womb, like the sun shining through glass, and without the touch of corruption.

(25) **Hospesk**, whereby you made the dry staff sprout flowers in the hands of Joseph.[177]

Gofgar, whereby you sent foreknowledge and testimony of your arrival through John the Baptist to your people Israel, (26) and the things preached about you by the prophets, and of your birth, whereby you sent a light to your holy ones standing in darkness, by which they recognized your holy arrival.

(27) **Occynnomos**, whereby you sent a star to lead the three kings, Caspar, Melchior, Balthazar, wishing to honor you, and you received their gifts, showing yourself to them to be true God and mortal man (28) and you revealed to them through your angel, in a dream, the deception of Herod, and whereby in the heavenly palace you sublimely crowned the blessed innocent persons tormented on behalf of your name.

(29) **Eliorem**, whereby when Jesus was being presented to the Lord in the temple of Solomon, brought realization to Simeon, when he took him up in his arms,[178] as he asserts saying: 'Now dismiss your servant in peace, O Lord, (30) because my eyes have seen your salvation, which you have prepared before the face of all peoples: A light to the revelation of the Gentiles, and the glory to your people Israel.'[179]

Heloy, whereby you turned water into wine at the wedding of a certain person hosting a feast.

(31) **Archima**, whereby for thirty-two years you preached to your people the catholic faith, whereby you preserved the knowledge in Peter, Jacob and John, Bartholomew, Thomas and the other disciples, and with perfect grace.

(32) **Rabur**, Whereby you fasted for the space of forty days in the desert, and were tempted by the demon; whereby also you forgave the sins of the blessed Mary Magdalen weeping most bitterly over your feet, and dry-

176 Sl. 3885, SSM: for the sake of redeeming mankind from damnation.

177 See the expanded infancy narrative in the apocryphal Gospel of James.

178 See Luke 2:25 ff.

179 Luke 2:29-32.

amarissime et capillis tergenti et unguenti sua dulcissime peccata remisisti (33) et Lazarum, fratrem suum, quatriduanum mortuum a mortuis suscitasti et ceco nato visum tribuisti et propter nos corpus tuum immolari, detrahi, ferociter accipi, turpiter iudicari ac eciam blasphemari, duris corrigiis amariter flagellari, (34) alapis et sputis vexari, spinis coronari, in cruce affigi, clavis acutis pedes et manus perforari, felle et aceto potari, lancea latus aperiri, et in sepulcro poni et a militibus custodiri voluisti, (35) qui per summam tuam potenciam ac signo tue sancte crucis, de quo meis me signo manibus ✝, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti scilicet, portas ereas confregisti et amicos tuos de tenebrosis locis inferni eripuisti. (36) Item, Domine, per fidem et credenciam, quam in hiis sanctis misteriis confiteor et scio et habeo, ita et animam meam a corporis mei tenebris eripias, (37) ut indestructo corpore te visibiliter cum tuis novem angelorum ordinibus me vivente mea possit anima collaudare, aspicere et glorificare. (38) Tu igitur, Domine, qui tercia die resurrexisti a mortuis et resurreccionem per angelum Marie Magdalene, [Marie] Iacobi et Salomee et tuis discipulis revelasti (39) et beato Thome tua vulnera demonstrasti et post trium dierum spacium ad celos ascendisti, unde discipulis tuis Spiritum sanctum misisti et eis pacem tuam dedisti.

(40) Tu eciam, Domine, Paulo, apostolo tuo, atque Iohanni evangeliste secreta demonstrasti et beato Stephano, dum lapidabatur, celos aperuisti, (41) ut asserit se vidisse tuam corporalibus oculis maiestatem dicens: 'Ecce video celos apertos et Filium hominis stantem a dextris virtutis Dei,' (42) qui martiribus tuis tormenta pacienter recipere concessisti, qui venturus es iudicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem, respice super me et exaudi preces meas, (43) ut per graciam tuam et virtutem sanctorum nominum

ing them with her hair, and anointing them most sweetly; (33) and you woke Lazarus, her brother, after he had been dead for four days, and you gave sight to one who was born blind, and for our sake you gave your body to be sacrificed, and allowed yourself to be dragged away, viciously taken, shamefully judged and even blasphemed, and savagely whipped with hard lashes, (34) abused with slaps and spitting, crowned with thorns, fastened to the cross with sharp nails piercing your hands and feet, given gall and vinegar to drink, pierced in the side with a lance, and placed in a grave and guarded by soldiers, (35) which through your most high power, and with the sign of your holy cross, the sign of which I make now with my own hands ✝, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, that is to say, you have shattered the gates of bronze,[180] and rescued your friends from the darkness of hell. (36) Likewise, O Lord, through the faith and belief in these holy mysteries which I confess and know and have, and so snatch away my soul from the darkness of my body, (37) in order that, with an indestructible[181] body, my soul is able to praise you visibly, along with your nine orders of angels, that my soul is able to praise you, look upon you, and glorify you while I am yet alive. (38) Therefore, O Lord, who on the third day appeared again from the dead, and you revealed your resurrection through an angel to Mary Magdalen, [Mary the mother of] James and Salome,[182] and your disciples (39) and showed your wounds to saint Thomas, and after the space of three days[183] you ascended to Heaven, from which you sent the Holy Spirit to your disciples, and gave your peace to them.

(40) You also, O Lord, showed the secrets to Paul, your apostle, and John the Evangelist, and Saint Stephen, to whom you opened up the Heavens as he was being stoned, (41) as he asserts having seen your greatness with his physical eyes, saying: 'Behold I see the heavens opening up, and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of the power of God,'[184] (42) and you enabled him to patiently endure the torture, as the other martyrs, you who will soon come to judge the living and the dead and the world through fire. Look upon me and hear my prayers, (43) so that, through your grace and the virtue of your

180 Ps. 106:16 (Ps. 107:16 in the KJV).

181 Sl. 3885: *destructo* ("destructible"), which is also consistent with J.

182 See Mark 16:1.

183 Sl. 313 and SSM read "40 days," which is consistent with the biblical account in Acts 1:3.

184 Acts 7:55.

tuorum animam meam a tenebris mei corpusculi suscitare et a stercore peccatorum meorum erigere digneris, (44) quia in te facio consummacionem vite mee, Deus meus, **Hto exor abalay. qci. ystalgaouofularite kspfyomomanaremiarelatedacononaoyleyot**, qui dixisti in cruce: 'Consummatum est.'"

(45) Tunc dormiat et de cetero non loquatur, et sic fiet, quod videbit celeste palacium et maiestatem in gloria sua, ordines angelorum et agmina spirituum beatorum. (46) Set dicet aliquis: 'Cum Dominus dicat: "Non videbit me homo et vivet," sequitur ergo, quod si quis Deum videat, oportet, quod in corpore moriatur. (47) Ergo de cetero usque ad diem iudicii non resurget, quia nemo bis corpore moritur.' Set falsum est, quod quis in corpore in visione divina moriatur, set spiritus in celo rapitur, et corpus in terra cibo angelico reficitur. (48) Nam de multis raptis in spiritu legitur, quibus multa secreta celesti a fuerunt revelata, et eciam in passione Domini nostri Iesu Christi multa corpora resurrexerunt, ut legitur.

(49) Operans debet esse in voluntate operis desiderans et mundatus ab omni sorde penitus, et quanto plus pacietur, tanto plus optinebit, (50) quia si superior, id est Christus, pro suis subditis et inferioribus voluit pati, ut eos in conspectu suo et gloria feliciter collocaret, multo forcius inferior debet pro se ipso pati, (51) ut possit placere suo Domino, quoniam nisi cum difficultate habebitur divina visio et cum puritate perfecta, quia non est super ipsum coaccio immo preces, et eciam cum difficultate habetur, (52) quia Dominus dedit terram homini et cognicionem sue legis testante David et dicente: "Celum celi Domino terram autem dedit filiis hominum." (53) Alibi: "Attendite, popule meus, legem meam.' Et quia 'fides non habet

holy names, you may awaken my soul from the darkness of my meager body, and deign to raise it up from the filth of my sins, (44) because in you I make my life complete, O my God, **Hto exor abalay. qci. ystalgaouofularite ksp fyomomanaremiarelatedacononaoyleyot**,[185] you who said on the cross: 'It is finished.'"

(45) Then he should sleep, speaking to no one, and thus it will happen, that he will see the heavenly palace, and the greatness of his glory, the orders of angels and the multitudes of blessed spirits. (46) But some may say: "When Lord says, 'no one can see me and live,'[186] it follows therefore, that if one sees God, the body must die. (47) Therefore he will not rise up again until the day of the judgment, because nobody's body dies twice." But it is not true, that one's body must die in the divine vision, because the spirit is carried up to Heaven, and the body is sustained on Earth with angelic food. (48) For we read of many who are carried up in spirit, to whom many celestial secrets are revealed, and even during the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, many bodies were raised again, as it is written.[187]

(49) The operator must have a great will to perform the work, and must be cleansed inwardly from all filth, and the more he endures,[188] the more he will achieve, (50) because if our superior, namely Christ, allowed himself to suffer on behalf of his inferiors and subjects, in order to glorify them in his sight, even more strongly should the inferiors suffer on their own behalf, (51) in order to please their Lord, because the divine vision cannot be attained without difficulty and perfect purity, because a superior cannot be coerced, but rather entreated, and even then is only achieved with difficulty, (52) because the Lord has given the Earth to mankind, and recognition of his law, as David testified when he said, "Heaven and all of the celestial realm are the Lord's, but the Earth he has given to the children of men."[189] (53) And elsewhere, "Pay heed, O my people, to my law."[190] And "because faith has no

185 SSM: T. o. e. x. o. r. a. b. a. ¶layqtiyst. ¶Algaonosu. ¶laryceksp. ¶fyomemana. ¶Renugarel. ¶Atedatono. ¶Naoyleyot

186 Exodus 33:20.

187 Matt. 27:52. This section defending the possibility of a divine vision is not found in SSM, and another indication that it was a later addition in reaction to the actions of Pope John XXII.

188 Or "suffers."

189 Ps. 115:16 (KJV).

190 Ps. 78:1 (KJV)

meritum, ubi racio prebet exemplum," ideo homini difficillimum est cognoscere divinam maiestatem.

(54) In hoc opere non debet homo cogitare de morte, quia virtute oracionum et virtute Dei, in quo totaliter habet fiduciam, corpus efficitur quasi spirituale et saturatur cibo celesti, (55) sicut fiunt pulli corvorum, quibus misericordia succurrit Dei testante David et dicente: "Qui dat iumentis escam ipsorum et pullis corvorum invocantibus eum."

(56) Set cavendum est operanti, ne sit in peccato mortali, quia de cetero esset insanus, et causa est, quia intellectus procedit a parte anime, que intendit videre in quo delectatur, (57) et cum non videt id delectabiliter propter impedimentum peccati, de cetero ad nil aliud cogitabit, et sic in corpore non erit humana racionabilitas. (58) Et similiter videmus in pluribus, quod inanimati efficiuntur eo, quod intellectus procedens a parte anime non pervenit ad optata. (59) Concedat ergo nobis divina virtus graciam visionis, qui in trinitate vivit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

CII De capitulis primi libri

Divina visione cathezizata de cognicione potestatis divine, de absolucione peccatorum, de confirmacione non irruendi in peccatum mortale, de redempcione trium animarum de purgatorio est cathezizandum, (2) quoniam si aliquid istorum 4 volueris, fac sicut dictum est de divina visione mutando verumptamen peticionem visionis in peticionem cognicionis potestatis divine (3) vel absolucionis peccatorum vel confirmacionis in gracia immobiliter vel redempcionis trium animarum de purgatorio, set sic procul dubio similiter et adhuc facilius optinebis.

value, if human reasoning can provide experimental proof,"[191] for that reason it is most difficult for one to perceive the Divine Majesty.

(54) In this work one must not think about death, because with the virtue of prayer and the virtue of God, in whom he has placed all his trust, the body becomes like a spiritual body, and is nourished by heavenly food, (55) as young ravens are, when nourished by the mercy of God, as David testified when he said, "he gives his food to beasts, and to young ravens who cry out."[192]

(56) But the operator must beware, lest he is in mortal sin, because if so, he will go insane, and the cause is that, comprehension comes from part of the soul, which strives to see what it delights in, (57) and when he doesn't see it because of the hindrance of sin, henceforth will think of nothing else, and so the body will have no human reasoning. (58) And similarly we see many who become inanimate thereby, because the comprehension coming from part of the soul has not reached its wishes. (59) May the Divine Power therefore grant us the grace to achieve the divine vision, who lives and reigns in trinity through all the ages of the ages. Amen.

CII. The topics of the first book.

Having examined the divine vision, we have also examined understanding of divine power, the absolution of sins, confirmation against mortal sin, and the redemption of three souls from purgatory, (2) because if you wish to accomplish any of those four, do as said regarding the divine vision, but simply change the petition to "understanding of divine power (3) or "absolution of sins" or "confirmation in perpetual grace" or "the redemption of three souls from purgatory," and so without doubt you will more easily achieve them similarly.

191 St. Gregory, Homilies on the Gospels, number 26. Also quoted by Thomas Aquinas in *Summa Theologica* question 1, art. 8.

192 Ps. 147:6 (KJV).

(4) Et nota, quod, si vis, in omnibus predictis potes qualibet die dicere predictos 8 terminos cum illis 10 oracionibus, que sunt 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, (5) quia in eis non oportet respicere diem neque lunacionem neque de necessitate horam, licet presertim circa mane, circa terciam circaque meridiem proferantur, (6) unde iste oraciones reducunt in bonum quicquid homo erravit per fragilitatem in operacione, et quanto plus et frequencius dicuntur, tanto magis erratum corrigitur et errandum prohibetur.

CIII Incipit secundus tractatus libri sacri.

Expleto primo tractatu huius libri sacri et Domini secreti subditur secundus, qui, sicut primus 6 capitula habebat, de quibus Hely gracia est desertum, ita iste 27 habet, scilicet hec:

(2) De cognicione celorum;

De cognicione angelorum cuiuslibet celi;

De cognicione cuiuslibet angeli et nominis et potestatis eius;

De cognicione sigillorum cuiuslibet angeli et virtutis eorum;

(3) De cognicione superiorum cuiuslibet angeli;

De cognicione officii cuiuslibet angeli;

De invocacione et associacione cuiuslibet angeli;

De impetracione voluntatis per quemlibet angelum;

(4) De impetracione omnium scienciarum;

De hora mortis scienda;

De omnibus presentibus, preteritis et futuris sciendis;

De cognicione planetarum et stellarum;

(5) De cognicione virtutum planetarum et stellarum et quid habent influere;

De influenciis planetarum [et stellarum] mutandis;

De mutacione noctis in diem et diei in noctem;

(6) De cognicione spirituum ignis et nominum et superiorum et sigillorum et potestatum et virtutum eorum;

(4) And note that, if you wish, for all those preceding things, on any day you can say the preceding eight *Termini* (or "ends") with these ten prayers, which are 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (5) because with them it is not necessary to consider the day of the week, nor the lunation, nor the hour; it is permitted to offer them especially in the morning, around terce, and around noon, (6) whereby any faults in the operation can be corrected by these prayers, and the more times and more often they are said, the better the error will be corrected and further errors prevented.

CIII. Here begins the Second Treatise of the Sacred Book.

Having completed the first treatise of this Sacred Book and secrets of the Lord, here follows the second, which, just as the first had six topics completed with the grace of HELY, so this one has twenty-seven topics as follows:

1. (2) Concerning the knowledge of the Heavens;
2. Concerning the knowledge of the angels of each of the Heavens;
3. Concerning the knowledge of each angel's name and powers;
4. Concerning the knowledge of the seals of each angel, and their virtues;
5. (3) Concerning the knowledge of the superiors of each angel;
6. To know the office of any angel;
7. Regarding the invocation of any angel, and associating with them;
8. To obtain your wishes through any angel;
(4) 9. To obtain all knowledge;
10. To know the hour of death;
11. To know all things past, present, and future;
12. To know the planets and stars;
(5) 13. To know the virtues of the planets and stars and their influences;
14. To change the influences of the planets [and stars];
15. To change night into day and day into night;
(6) 16. To know the spirits of the fire, their names, superiors, seals, powers, and virtues;

De cognicione spirituum et animalium aeris; De cognicione nominum et virtutum et superiorum eorum;

(7) De cognicione sigillorum et virtutum eorum;

De cognicione mixtionis et transmutacionis elementorum et corporum ex hiis mixtorum;

(8) De cognicione omnium herbarum et plantarum et omnium animalium existencium super terram et virtutum eorum;

De cognicione humane nature et omnium factorum hominum, que sunt abscondita et ignota;

(9) De cognicione aquaticorum spirituum et animalium et virtutum eorum et superiorum eorum;

De cognicione terrenorum et infernorum spirituum;

(10) De visione purgatorii et inferni et cognicione animarum ibidem existencium;

De ablacione[22] corporis vel anime revocanda;

De consecracione huius libri.

CIV Hic tractat de natura et officio horum angelorum.

Completo de visione divina et novem ordinum angelorum de secundis angelis incipiamus tractatum, quorum natura talis est, quod serviunt Deo per prius et naturatis per posterius. (2) Homines et eorum naturam diligunt regnantque in speris stellarum. Corpus igneum accipiunt, quando ad mandatum Domini hominibus mundatis et purificatis tamquam sociando, ut eos consolentur, mittuntur. (3) Et istorum sunt 7 modi, de quibus debet natura precognosci, quoniam quilibet suum proprium habet officium predestinatum, quamvis omnibus aliis serviciis possent deservire.

22 SSM: *obligatione*, which is also reflected in R.

[17. To know their seals] and virtues.

18. To know the spirits and creatures of the air;[193] knowing their names, *powers*, and their superiors;

(7) 19. To know the seals and their virtues;

20. To know the mixture and transmutation of the elements and of the bodies mixed from these;

(8) 21. To know all herbs and plants, and of all animals existing on the earth, and their virtues;

22. To know human nature and all the deeds of mankind, which are hidden and unknown;

(9) 23. To know the aquatic spirits and animals, and of their virtues, and their superiors;

24. To know the earthly and infernal spirits;

(10) 25. Concerning the vision of Purgatory and Hell, and acquiring knowledge of the souls therein.

26. Concerning the removal of the body or the restoration of the soul.[194]

27. Concerning the consecration of this book.

CIV. Here we treat of the natures and offices of these angels.

Having completed the discussion on the divine vision, and the nine orders of angels, we now commence a treatise on the second type of angels, whose nature is that they serve God first, and created things second. (2) They love men and their nature, and reign in the spheres of the stars. They take a fiery body, when they are sent according to the Lord's mandate to people, in order to comfort them, being cleansed and purified for associating with them. (3) And there are seven categories of them, from which their nature can be known beforehand, because each has its own predestined office, even though they may serve all other services as well.

193 Compare II.8.

194 Compare the list at the beginning of the book: *de obligacione corporis et anime ad revertendum*.

CV (De spiritibus Saturninis).

Istorum autem quidam sunt et vocantur Saturnini et isti sunt **Bohel, Cafziel, Mich[r]athon, Satquiel**, et eorum natura est tristicias et iras et odia promovere, nives et glacies concreare, (2) et sua corpora sunt longa et gracilia, pallida vel flava, et sua regio est septemtrio, et habent sub se 5 demones, scilicet unum regem et 4 eius ministros, quibus omnes alii demones Saturnini subsunt. (3) Isti sunt Maymon rex, Assaibi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, Yasfla, qui demones in ventis Affrico subditis, qui sunt 3, Mextyura, Alchibany, Alflas, penantur[23] vel requiescunt.

CVI De spiritibus Iovialibus.

Alii sunt Ioviales et sunt isti **Satquiel**, **Raphael**, **Pahamcocihel**, **Asassaiel**, et eorum natura est gaudium, amorem, leticiam, benivolenciam et graciam attribuere operanti omnium personarum, rores, flores, herbas et folia procreare et amovere, (2) et sua regio est inter austrum et orientem, et habent 4 demones sub se, scilicet unum regem et tres eius ministros, quibus omnes alii demones Iovis subiugantur, et isti sunt **Formione** rex, **Guth, Maguth et Guthryn**, (3) qui demones in ventis boree subditis et subsolano, qui sunt 5, **Harith, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob**, penantur vel requiescunt. Sua corpora sunt medie stature, et colar eorum quasi color celi vel cristalli.

23 See GH's note on "penantur," p. 50.

(CV.) (Concerning the Spirits of Saturn.)[195]

But of those certain ones are called Saturnians, and these are: **Bohel, Cafziel, Michrathon, Satquiel [*Saterquiel]**,[196] and their nature is to cause sadness, anger, and hatred, to create snow and ice together, (2) and their bodies are long and slender, pale or yellow, and their region is the North.[197]

And five daemons are under these, namely one king and his four attendants, with which all other daemons of Saturn are subjugated. (3) They are these: **Maymon** the king, **Assaibi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, Yasfla**, which daemons are subordinate to the Southwest Winds, which are three: **Mextyura, Alchibany, Alflas;** they may be compelled to serve,[198] or they rest.

CVI. Concerning the Spirits of Jupiter.

Others are Jovial and are these: **Satquiel, Raphael, Pahamcocihel, Asassaiel**, and their nature is joy, love, gladness, and grant favor and influence of all persons to the operator, and to produce or take away dews, flowers, herbs and leaves, (2) and their region is between the south and east, and four daemons are under these, namely one king and his three attendants, with which all other daemons of Jupiter are subjugated, and they are **Formione** the king, **Guth, Maguth, and Guthryn**, (3) which three daemons are subject to the North and East winds, which are five: **Harith, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob**, they may be compelled to serve, or they rest. Their bodies are of medium stature, and their color is like the color of the sky, or of crystal.

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195 Compare chapters CV–CXI with a slightly more elaborate catalog of spirits in chapters CXIX-CXXVI.

196 Should probably read Saterquiel. Satquiel is one of the seven angels in the Sigillum Dei.

197 Note the natures of these planetary "angels" or "spirits" is similar but not identical to the natures of the aerial spirits or "daemons" which are given in CXIX–CXXVI. SSM does not have exact parallels to these chapters, but rather "oblique correspondence." The physical descriptions of the angels found here have parallels in SSM L.2.f.11 ff prayers to the planetary angels or spirits.

198 Regarding the problematic word "penantur" (here translated "compelled to serve"), see introduction, p. 41 and GH, p. 50.

CVII De spiritibus Martis.

Alii sunt Martis et sunt isti **Samahel, Satihel, Yturahihel, Amabiel**, et natura eorum est guerras, occisiones, destrucciones et mortalitates gencium et omnium terrenorum provocare, et sua corpora sunt medie stature, sicca et macra. (2) Color eorum materialis est rubeus sicut carbones accensi bene rubei, et sua regio est austrum, et habent 4 demones sub se, scilicet unum regem et tres eius ministros, quibus omnes alii demones Martis totaliter subiugantur, (3) et isti sunt **Iammax** rex, **Carmox, Ycanohl, Pasfran,** qui demones in ventis subsolano subditis, qui sunt isti 5: **Atraurbiabilis, Yachonaababur, Carmehal, Innyhal, Proathophas**, penantur vel requiescunt.

CVIII De spiritibus Solaribus.

Alii sunt Solis et sunt isti **Raphael, Cafhael, Dardihel, Hurathaphel**, et eorum natura est amorem, graciam, divicias homini communicare et virtutem, similiter sanum custodire, rores, herbas, flores et fructus in instanti dare. (2) Corpora eorum magna et ampla, omnis benivolencie plena, color eorum lucidus vel citrinus sicut Sol vel aurum, et sua regio est oriens, et habent 4 demones sub se, scilicet unum regem et tres eius ministros, quibus omnes alii demones Solis subiugantur, (3) et isti sunt **Barthan** rex**, Thaadas, Chaudas, Ialchal**, qui demones in ventis boree subditis, qui sunt 4, **Baxhathau, Gahathus, Caudes, Iarabal**, penantur vel requiescunt.

CIX De spiritibus Veneris

Alii sunt Veneris et sunt isti **Hanahel, Raquiel, Salguyel**, et natura eorum est risus, lacivias, desideria in amorem conversa cum mulieribus, floribus et fructibus tribuere, (2) et corpora eorum sunt medie stature in omnibus, quia neque parva neque magna neque pinguia neque macra, et eorum

CVII. Concerning the Spirits of Mars.

Others are of Mars and are these: **Samahel, Satihel, Yturahihel, Amabiel**, and their nature is to provoke wars, murder, destruction, and mortality of people, and all earthly things, and their bodies are of medium stature, dry and thin. (2) The color of their material is red, such as red-hot coals kindled well, and their region is the South.

And four daemons are under these, namely one king and his three ministers, to whom all other daemons of Mars are subjugated, (3) and they are these: **Iammax** the king, **Carmox, Ycanohl, Pasfran,** which daemons are subject to the East winds, which are these five: **Atraurbiabilis, Hyachonaababur, Carmehal, Innyhal, Proathophas**, they may be compelled to serve, or they rest.

CVIII. Concerning the Spirits of the Sun.

Others are of the Sun, and they are **Raphael**, **Cafhael, Dardihel, Hurathaphel**,[199] and their nature is provide love, gratitude, and wealth to man, and virtue, similarly to guard his health, and to instantly give dew, herbs, flowers, and fruits. (2) Their bodies are great and large, and full of all benevolence. Their colors are bright or citrus, or like the Sun or gold, and their region is the East.

And four daemons are under them, namely one king and three of his ministers, to whom all other daemons of the Sun are subjugated, (3) and they are these: **Barthan** the king, **Thaadas, Chaudas, Ialchal,** and those daemons are subject to the North winds, which are four: **Baxhathau, Gahathus, Caudes, Iarabal,** they may be compelled to serve, or they rest.

CIX. Concerning the Spirits of Venus.

Others are of Venus, and they are these: **Hanahel, Raquiel, Salguyel,** and their nature is to cause laughter, lust, desire, and to turn women to love, and to give flowers and fruit. (2) Their bodies are of medium stature in all ways, because they are neither small nor large, nor fat nor thin, and their form is

199 In CXXXIII.27 these are spelled Raphael, Caphael, Dardiel, and Hurathaphel; SSM: Raphael, Caphael, Dardyel, Huracaphel.

forma est graciosa, alba sicut nix. (3) Sua regio est inter austrum et occidentem, et habent 3 demones sub se, unum regem et duos eius ministros, quibus omnes alii demones Veneris subiugantur, (4) et isti sunt **Sarabocres** rex, **Nassar, Cynassa**, qui demones in ventis subsolano et zephiro subditis, qui sunt 4, scilicet **Cambores, Trachathath, Nassar, Naasa**, penantur vel requiescunt.

CX De spiritibus Mercurii

Alii sunt Mercurii et sunt isti **Mychael, Myhel, Sarapiel**, et eorum natura est bonos, eciam se ipsos, <in> aliis subiugare. (2) Respondent de preteritis, presentibus et futuris. Docent secreta facta vel facienda, que debent accidere in hoc mundo. Revelant secreta omnium aliorum. (3) Possunt eciam facere, quando eis coniunguntur, penitus quod hii possunt, et ipsi una cum Luna referunt consilia secretorum omnium aliorum, et sua forma est mobilis, clara ad modum vitri vel flamme ignis albe. (4) Sua regio est inter occidentem et septemtrionem, et habent 5 demones sub se, unum regem et 4 eius ministros, quibus omnes alii demones Mercurii subiugantur, (5) et isti sunt **Habaa** rex, **Hyyci, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb,** <eladab>, qui demones in ventis zephiro et Affrico subditis, qui sunt 4, scilicet **Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas**, penantur vel requiescunt.

CXI De spiritibus Lune

Alii sunt Lune et sunt isti **Gabriel, Michael, Samyel, Atithael**, et eorum natura est voluntates et cogitaciones mutare, itinera properare, verba referre, pluvias provocare. (2) Sua corpora sunt longa et ampla. Sua forma est obscura et alba sicut cristallus vel ensis furbitus vel sicut glacies vel nubes obscura. (3) Sua regio est occidens, et habent 4 demones sub se, unum regem et tres eius ministros, quibus omnes alii demones Lune obediunt et eciam supponuntur, (4) et isti sunt **Harthan** rex, **Bileth, Milalu, Abucaba**, qui demones in ventis zephiro subditis, [qui] sunt 5, **Hebethel, Amochap, Oylol, Milau, Abuchaba,** penantur vel requiescunt.

agreeable, and is as white as snow. (3) Their region is between the south and the west.

And there are three daemons under them, one king, and his two ministers, and all the other daemons of Venus are subject to these, (4) and they are: **Sarabocres** the king, **Nassar, Cynassa**, which rule the daemons of the East and West winds [sic], which are four, namely **Cambores, Trachathath, Nassar,** and **Naasa**; they may be compelled to serve, or they rest.

CX. Concerning the Spirits of Mercury.

Others are of Mercury, and they are these: **Mychael, Myhel, Sarapiel**, and their nature is to subjugate themselves and other good spirits to others. (2) They give answer regarding the past, present, and future. They teach the secret deeds or doings, which must come to pass in this world. They reveal the secrets of all of the others. (3) They can also, when constrained, do what the others can do, and together with the moon they can reveal the secret councils of all the others, and their forms are changeable, clear like glass, or like a flame of white fire. (4) Their region is between the west and the north.

And there are five daemons under them: one king, and his four ministers, to which all other daemons of Mercury are subjugated, (5) and they are these: **Habaa** the king, **Hyyci**, **Quyron, Zach, Eladeb,** which rule the daemons of the West and Southwest winds, which are four, namely: **Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas**, they may be compelled to serve, or they rest.

CXI. Concerning the Spirits of the Moon.

Others are of the Moon, and they are these: **Gabriel, Michael, Samyel, Atithael,** and their nature is to move the will and thinking, to speed journeys, to recall words, and to cause it to rain. (2) Their bodies are long and large. Their forms are dark and white like crystal or of a burnished sword, or like ice or dark clouds. (3) Their region is the West.

And there are four daemons under them: a king and his three ministers, and all the other daemons of the moon are obedient to those, and placed under them, (4) and they are these: **Harthan**, the king, **Bileth, Milalu, Abucaba,** which rule the daemons of the West winds, which are five: **Hebethel, Amochap, Oylol, Milau, Abuchaba;** they may be compelled to serve, or they rest.

CXII Formacio circuli

Habita igitur eorum secundum naturam, dominium, regionem et formam cognicione debita dum eos invocare volueris, sic facies. (2) Accipe lapides duros et equales, in quibus non sint foramina vel ruptura, vel tegulas specialiter ad hoc factas. (3) Operans vero sit a pollucione purgatus et habeat calcem et arenam litoris mixtam, cum quibus lapides vel tegule coniungantur.

(4) Tunc fiet ex eis locus, in quo protrahetur circulus, et iste locus taliter formabitur. Primo fiet circulus equalis terre habens in longitudine et latitudine 9 pedes, (5) infra quem fiat circulus gibbosus ad modum semicirculi, alcior quam sit alter, in longitudine et latitudine continens 7 pedes et in altitudine tres pedes cum dimidio. (6) Tamen paupertatis oppressio permittit locum hunc de terra munda fieri, si optime decoquatur, dum tamen ibi non fuerit disiunctura.

(7) Peracto vero loco circuli operans, ut diximus, sit mundatus, ut in prima mundicia continetur. Set mutetur peticio questionum sic. Sacerdos, dum conficit corpus Christi, dicat:

(8) Oracio

"Tu, Domine Iesu Christe, Deus et homo, qui voluisti per te ipsum fidelem populum tuum medicabiliter visitare, te suppliciter exoro, precor et postulo temet ipsum, (9) quem nunc hic in manibus meis teneo pro famulo tuo N, ut ex dono ac permissione gracie tue omnes illos angelos, quos invocaverit, (10) ut per eos benigniter consulatur, sibi mittere ac constringere digneris, ut te mediante possit cum ipsis misericorditer consociari."

CXII. Construction of the Circle.

Having therefore due knowledge of their nature, dominion, region, and form, when you wish to call upon them, you should do thus: (2) Take hard and uniform stones, which have no holes or cracks, or otherwise you can use tiles made specifically for this purpose. (3) And the one who makes them must be purified from all defilement. And he should have a mixture of lime and beach sand, with which to mortar the stones or tiles together.

(4) Then make a place from them in which to draw the circle, and that place should be formed in the following manner: First, let the circle be level with the ground, and nine[200] feet in width, (5) below which make a humped circle (i.e. a mound) like a semi-circle, higher than the other, seven feet in length and width and in height three and a half feet.[201] (6) Yet in the case of extreme poverty, this place can be made (paved) with clean earth (or clay), if it is thoroughly boiled, as long as it is not about to fall apart.

(7) The place for the circle having been duly finished, as we have said, it should be cleaned, as described for the first cleaning. But the petition should be changed thus. The priest, while consecrating the body of Christ, should say:

(8) Prayer.

"You, O Lord Jesus Christ, God and man, who wished to visit your faithful people in person, for their healing, I humbly beseech you, I pray and ask you, even your own self (9) which I now hold in my hands, for the sake of your servant N., that from the gift and permission of your grace, all those angels which he shall call upon (10) graciously for council, may you deign to send and constrain them, so that with your mediation he may be able to associate with them mercifully."

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200 SSM L.3.f.2: ten feet. R reads "in length and breadth 14 feet." S3: "4^{or} pedes."

201 R seems to interpret this second circle or mound as being within the first, but rather it seems to be outside the first, and a place for the spirits to appear. Compare below where the terrestrial spirits are evoked, where a pit is dug apart from the operator's circle of protection.

CXIII Prima dies

Qui dum, ut diximus, receperit corpus Christi, exiens de ecclesia continue dicat 17 et eam, donec ad locum circuli venerit, recitabit.

(2) Benediccio loci circuli

Tunc locum circuli benedicat dicens 15 nec illa die plus faciat.

CXIV Secunda dies

In crastino ecclesiam similiter visitabit et post completorium ibit ad circulum 17 iterum dicendo. (2) Et tunc habeat margaritas super prunas in thuribulo positas, de quibus pars invocatoria et 4 mundi partes, celum et terra [suffumigentur], ter dicendo primam et secundam oracionem.

(3) Hoc facto ter circueundo et suffumigando circulum incipiendo a parte invocatoria et terminans in eadem nominabis angelos, (4) de quibus volueris operari, cum angelis diei et hore, mensis, temporis et faciei, in qua operari volueris, sic dicendo:

(5) "**Michael, Miel, Saripiel, Gabriel, Michael, Samyel, Athitael, Boel, Cafziel, Mich<r>athon, Sathquyel, Raphael, Pahamcociel, Assassayel, Samael, Satiel, Yturaihel, Amabihel, Raphael, Caphael, (6) Dardiel, Hurathapel, Hanael, Raquiel, Salguiel**,

CXIII. The First Day.

Then, as we have said, having received the body of Christ, you should leave the church, continuously saying prayer 17, reading it out loud, until you come to the place of the circle.

(2) The blessing of the place for the circle.

Then he should bless the place for the circle, saying Prayer 15, and that day he should do nothing more.

CXIV. The Second Day.

The following day you should similarly visit the church, and after the evening prayer service, you should go to the circle saying again the seventeenth prayer. (2) And then you should place pearls on glowing charcoal in the censer, which [will be suffumigated][202] from the place (or direction) of invocation,[203] and the four parts of the world, heaven, and earth, saying three times the first and second prayer.

(3) With this done three-times, circling and suffumigating the circle, beginning from the place (or direction) of invocation and ending at the same, you should name the angels (4) with which you desire to work, with the angels of the day and hour, month, time, and aspect,[204] in which you desire to work, saying thus:

(5) "**Michael, Miel, Saripiel, Gabriel, Michael, Samyel, Athitael, Boel, Cafziel, Michathon, Sathquyel, Raphael, Pahamcociel, Assassayel, Samael, Satiel, Yturaihel, Amabihel, Raphael, Caphael,** (6) **Dardiel, Hurathapel, Hanael, Raquiel, Salguiel.**[205]

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202 So SSM L.3.f.3. See also CXXVIII.2 and CXXXI.1.

203 The invocatory place, namely, the direction you will be facing while invoking, as appropriate for the type of angel being invoked.

204 Aspect (or face): i.e. decan. Compare below CXXVII.8: "scribes nomina angelorum diei, et hore mensis, temporis faciei" and CXL.10: Angeli hore sunt qui regnant in hora operis, angeli diei qui in die operis, angeli mensis angeli Lune vel principii mensis, angeli faciei qui regnant facie, ubi est eorum dominium, ascendente, temporis omnes insimul, ...

205 Michael, Miel (variants Mihel, Myhel), Saripiel: Aerial spirits of Mercury. Gabriel, Michael, Samyel, Athitael (variant Atithael): Aerial spirits of the Moon. Boel (var. Bohel), Cafziel, Michrathon, Sathquyel (var. Satquiel): Aerial spirits of Saturn. [Satquiel,]

pax vincit, munus subiugat, paciencia superat, humilitas concordiam nutrit. Ego igitur N, filius N et N, vobiscum humilis pacem meam do vobis. (7) Faciens [*paciens][24] istud meum munusculum confero vobis, ut vos pacificati, pacientes et placati questiones, quas a vobis petiero, michi benigniter intercedente Domino faciatis."

(8) Quo facto protrahe duos circulos, quorum unus distet ab altero per unum pedem, et fiat cum cultello[25] novo, et scribe in circuitu nomina angelorum hore, diei, mensis, temporis et faciei dicendo:

(9) "Venite, vos omnes, N, ad pacem super sedem **Samaym**, quam precepit Dominus tribubus Israel ad exaltacionem laudis sue. Unde invoco vos, N, ut precepit Zebedeie suis subditis obedire, veniatis."

CXV 3ª dies

Tercia vero die balneatus ac mundis canabinisque et albis indutus vestibus, a pilis corporis denudatus, habens faciem versus partem, que pertinet questioni, extra circulum erectus sic incipies.

24 So SSM.
25 SSM: *cultro*.

Peace conquers, service subjugates, tolerance overcomes, humility nurtures harmony. Therefore I, N., son of N. and N., give my peace to you with humility. (7) With tolerance, I bring this small gift to you, that you will be pacified, tolerant, and your complaints appeased, that you will kindly grant me that which I have asked for, with the Lord's intercession."

(8) With this completed, draw two circles, with one separated from the other by one foot, doing this with a new knife,[206] and write around the circumference the names of the angels of the hour, day, month, time, and aspect, saying:

(9) "Come all of you, N., in peace, upon the seat of **Samaym**,[207] as the Lord commanded[208] to the tribes of Israel, to the exaltation of his praise. From whence I invoke upon you, N, as Zebedee ordered his subordinates to obey, come."[209]

CXV. The Third Day.

The third day, being bathed and putting on garments of clean white hemp, and the hairs from your body clean shaved, facing whichever direction which relates to your question, standing upright outside the circle, you should begin thus:

Raphael, Pahamcociel (var. Pahamcocihel), Assassayel (var. Assassaiel): Aerial spirits of Jupiter. Samael (var. Samahel), Satiel (var. Satihel), Yturaihel (Yturahihel), Amabihel (Amabiel): Aerial spirits of Mars. Raphael, Caphael (var. Cafhael), Dardiel (var. Dardihel), Hurathapel (var. Huarthaphel): Aerial spirits of the Sun. Hanael (var. Hanahel), Raquiel, Salguiel (var. Salguyel): Aerial spirits of Venus. Note that Satquiel is assigned to two planets in the preceding chapters. SSM: mychael, myel, sarypyel, gabriel, mychial, samyel, acythael, boel, cafzyel, mycrathon, satriquyel, Satquyel, raphyel, paamtotyel, asassayel, samael, sathyel, yturayel, annabyl, raphael, caphael, dardyel, hurachaphel, anael, raquiel, salguyel.

206 Or dagger. SSM reads *cultro* (knife), while LIH reads *cultello* ("small knife").

207 According to SSM L.3.f.3, this is the second circle, placed next to the circle of the operator. See Veenstra 2012 p. 173–175. Shamayim is the Hebrew word for heaven. In medieval Jewish Merkabah literature it is the name of the First Heaven. See Raziel, 6/7Moses in Peterson 2008 p. 265.

208 The Lord: Perhaps a corruption for *Solomon. Compare CV below, with note.

209 See Matt. 4:21–22.

(2) Preparacio ad invocandum

Habeas signum Domini in manu tua dextera munde compositum et sacratum et suffumigabis circulum faciendo et dicendo ut iam dixi. (3) Post hoc suffumiga signum et eciam temet ipsum et tunc flexis genibus dicas 31 cum oracione Salomonis "49, celi et terre conditor" et cetera.

(4) Addicio

Et addas in fine cuiuscumque: "ut tuis sanctissimis angelis valeam amicabiliter sociari, qui ex permissione tue dulcissime voluntatis mea velint iusta desideria penitus adimplere."

(5) Finitis igitur oracionibus taliter invocabis:

Invocacio angelorum

"O vos angeli potentes Saturni, Iovis, Martis, Solis, Veneris, Mercurii, Lune: (6) Boel, Cafziel, Micrathon, [Saterquiel,] Satquiel, Raphael, Paamchociel, Asassaiel, Samael, Satiel, Yturaiel, Amabiel, Raphael, Caphael, Dardiel, Hurathaphel, Anael, Raquiel, Salguyel, Michael, (7) Miel, Sarapiel, Gabriel, Michael, Samyel, Athithael, potentes in celis, nubibus et abissis."

Hic erigat signum Dei manu aperta versus celum dicens:

"Ecce formacionem seculi. Spiritus autem spiritum vocat. (8) Amor Dei nos coniungat, sua potencia nos dirigat, sua misericordia nos coniunctos misericorditer custodiat. Vos igitur nomine illius Dei vivi et veri, qui vos et me verbo creavit, (9) cuius nomina sunt tremenda, que sunt 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26,

(2) Preparation for the invocation.

You must have the Sign of the Lord in your right hand, neatly composed and consecrated, and then fumigate the circle, doing and saying as I have said. (3) After this suffumigate the seal and also yourself, and then kneel and say 31 with the oration of Solomon "49, Heaven and Earth preserve" etc.[210]

(4) An addition.

Then you must add at the end of each: "that I may be able to associate with your most holy angels in a friendly manner, who may, by your permission, wish to fulfill most pleasantly my lawful desires."[211]

(5) With the orations thus finished, invoke them in the following manner:

Invocation of the Angels.

"O you mighty angels of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon: (6) **Boel, Cafziel, Micrathon, [Saterquiel,]**[212] **Satquiel, Raphael, Paamchociel, Asassaiel, Samael, Satiel, Yturaiel, Amabiel, Raphael, Caphael, Dardiel, Hurathaphel, Anael, Raquiel, Salguyel, Michael, (7) Miel, Sarapiel, Gabriel, Michael, Samyel, Athithael**,[213] mighty in heaven, in the clouds, and in the abyss."

Here, with an open hand, raise the Sign of God towards heaven, saying:

"Behold the design of the world. Whereupon the Spirit calls the spirit. (8) May the love of God join us, may his power direct us, may his mercy mercifully guard our union. You therefore, through the name of that living and true God, who created you and me with the word, (9) whose names are terrible, which are 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21,

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210 C.15.

211 R omits all the rest of the *Sworn Book* proper, but substitutes excerpts from Agrippa, Petrus de Abano, and other material.

212 So SSM L.3.f.4. This is the correct name for the last angel of Saturn, but it has been accidentally omitted here because of the similarity with the Satquiel, the first angel of Jupiter. See CXV.44. Sl. 313 22r has this correction in the margin. Heptameron: Seraquiel.

213 SSM L.3.f.4: boel, cafzyel, mycrathon, satriquyel, Satquyel, raphyel, paamtotyel, asassayel, samael, sathyel, yturayel, annabyl, raphael, caphael, dardyel, hurachaphel, anael, raquiel, salguyel, mychael, (7) myel, sarypyel, gabriel, mychial, samyel, acythael.

27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, (10) quoniam magnus, altissimus, sanctissimus, excellentissimus, potentissimus, fortis, iustus, pius, clemens, dulcis, adiutor, protector, defensor, largitor, misericors, (11) cuius potencia ineffabilis, cuius substancia indivisibilis, sciencia inestimabilis, veritas incommutabilis, misericordia incommensurabilis, essencia incorruptibilis, (12) cuius gloriose gracie pleni sunt celi et terra, cuius forti potencie genuflectuntur omnia celestia, terrestria et infernalia, vos invoco humiliter et deposco, (13) ut vos infra circulos hic circumscriptos descendere dignemini apparentes in forma benivola, de omnibus quesitis michi veritatem respondentes. Per virtutem illius vobis precipio, cuius nomine signatur. Amen."

(14) Sigillum et ligacio

"Vos igitur, sanctissimos angelos, peticionibus meis obedire sigillo, deposco, invoco et eciam coniuro sigillo sanctorum nominum Dei, (15) quo Dominus humane creature servire sigillavit, dicere et facere que licita sunt et honesta. **Ya, Ya, Ya, Laaaa, Adonay, Sabaoth, Heloy, Genouem, Merquerpon, Usye, Achedion, Zebedio, Greba.** (16) Cum istis et per ista sacratissima [nomina] iterum ad concordiam vos appello. Vos meis peticionibus obedire et coniuro atque virtute Dei precipio, (17) ut vos meo placati munusculo prompti michi in omnibus locis honestis obedire[26] super

26 SSM: in omnibus licitis & honestis obedire.

22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38,[214] (10) Because the great, most high, most holy, most distinguished, most powerful, strong, just, blessed, merciful, sweet, helper, protector, defender, generous giver, merciful, (11) whose power is indescribable, whose nature is indivisible, whose knowledge is priceless, whose truth is unchangeable, whose mercy is immeasurable, whose essence is incorruptible, (12) of whose glorious grace the heavens and earth are full,[215] before whose mighty power all the heavens, lands, and infernal realms genuflect,[216] I humbly invoke and beseech you, (13) that you may condescend to come down and appear here before this circle in a perceptible and agreeable form, to answer truly all my questions. I command you through the virtue of that one, whose name is marked. Amen."

(14) Seal and binding.

"Therefore, O most sacred angels, I seal, beseech, invoke, and also conjure you to obey my petitions, through the seal of the sacred names of God, (15) which the Lord sealed to serve human creatures, which are lawful and honorable to say and to make. **Ya, Ya, Ya, Laaaa, Adonay, Sabaoth, Heloy, Genouem, Merquerpon, Usye, Achedion, Zebedio, Greba**.[217] (16) With those same and through those same most sacred [names] I again call you to union, to obey my petitions, and I conjure and with the virtue of God I order, (17) that you will be appeased with the small present which I have presented, to obey me in all honest places[218] upon the seat of **Samaym**[219] to the circles here

214 SSM lists out the names, here spelled thus: Agla, monon, tetragramathon, gly'deus, ocleyste, amphymeton, lamyara, Ianenuer, sadyon, hely, orlon, porrentymon, yelur, gofgamel, hemanuel, on, admyel, honzmorb, yoth, offeb, resamarathon, amethy, eryona, yuestre, saday, meloth, setthe, elscha, abbadya, alpha & Ω, leyste, orystyon, yeremon, hospr, mesquerpon, elzephares, egyryon, pectha.

215 From the *Sanctus* prayer, adapted from Isaiah 6:3.

216 Genufection as a formal gesture of respect for a superior, is a tradition dating from early times.

217 SSM L.3.f.4: ya ya ya, laaaaadonarum, sabaoth, heloy, Genonem, mesquerpon, usye, athedyon, zebedye, greba.

218 Honest place: i.e. one suited to the dignity of the occasion. See "sacred space" in introduction to David Postles, *Social Geographies in England (1200–1640)*. Washington, DC: New Academia Pub, 2007. SSM: in all lawful and honest things. This reading is also consistent with the wording later in the paragraph.

219 i.e. Shamayim, the common Hebrew word for heaven or sky. It is specifically

sedem **Samaym** hic infra circulos hic circumscriptos (18) a Saturninis, Iovinis, Martialibus, Solaribus, Venereis, Mercurialibus, Lunaribus speris descendere dignemini, que sunt iste: **Bacalgar, Totalg, Yfarselogon, Alchedion, Meremieca, Ureleguyger, Ioath, Somongargmas, Iohena**. (19) Obedite ergo Zebedeie, qui vos Salomoni et tribubus Israel sibi fidelibus ad laudem et honorem sui sancti nominis Sabaoth, quod est "exercitus angelorum," in honestis et licitis obedire precepit, (20) et vobis super hoc et ad hoc nomine suo me munitum optime represento, quoniam misericors est, non ex nostris meritis, set ex sue gracia largitatis.

(21) Nomine igitur ipsius vos, N, placatos sub hiis sanctis nominibus iterum appello: **Legemoth, Gonathaym, Maloth, Yhoston, Hemonege, Anephene<s>ton, Stobr, Otheos, Tutheon, Thereis, Chatheon, Agla.** (22) In hiis igitur perfeccione sigilli quamvis vos sciencia vestra cum humilitate preceptis [precepit] obedire creatoris,[27] (23) tamen ego, N, filius N, pollutus viciorum meorum contagio vestrum amittere timeo iuvamentum; humilitatis tamen indutus cilicio obedire peticionibus meis vos deprecor et invoco. (24) Set virtute creatoris eterni ferens insignium[28] vos nomine illius summi creatoris obedire michi, famulo suo, precipio et coniuro, ut sitis meis in omnibus licitis et honestis peticionibus obedire parati."

Finit ligacio.

(25) Incipit coniuracio.

"Vos igitur, sanctos angelos, me vestris imponens officiis, quamvis humilitatis ac paciencie vestre indutus cilicio, (26) qui sicut Filius altissimi creatoris in nomine illius, qui **Loke Heuaf Hese [*Ioth, He, Vaf, He,** se][29]

27 GH hypothesizes that the word "*precepit*" is missing, but SSM reads "In huius igitur perfectione sigilli quamuis vos sciam vestri cum humilitate preceptis obedire creatoris."

28 So Sl. 313 21v; Sl. 3854 131r col. 1: *in signium* or *insignium*. Sl. 3885 92v: *in signum*.

29 My reading follows SSM L.3.f.5: "**ioth, he, vau, he,** se Moysi nominavit...." GH: "loke, henaf, hese." Sl. 3854 131r seems to be a simple corruption.

circumscribed, (18) to deign to descend from the Saturnian, Jovian, Martial, Solar, Venusian, Mercurial, and Lunar spheres, which are these: **Bacalgar, Totalg, Yfarselogon, Alchedion, Meremieca, Ureleguyger, Ioath, Somongargmas, Iohena**.[220] (19) Obey therefore Zebedee,[221] whereby you commanded Solomon, and the tribes of Israel who were loyal to him, to honestly and lawfully obey, for the praise and honor of his holy name **Sabaoth**, which is "the army of angels," (20) and with his name, which I accurately set forth, protecting me, because he is merciful, not because of our merits, but because of the abundance of his grace.

(21) With his name therefore I again appeal to you N, placated by these sacred names: **Legemoth, Gonathaym, Maloth, Yhoston, Hemonege, Anepheneton, Stobr, Otheos, Tutheon, Thereis, Chatheon, Agla**.[222] (22) Therefore by the perfection of this Seal, I know that you will obey the commandments of the Creator with humility, (23) nevertheless I N. son of N., fear losing your help, polluted by the influence of my sins; and so, putting on the hair-shirt of humility, I entreat and call on you to obey my petitions. (24) But with the virtue of the emblems of the eternal Creator bringing you, with the name of that most high Creator I entreat you to obey me, his servant, I direct and conjure, that you be prepared to obey me in all my lawful and honest petitions."

The end of the binding.

(25) The beginning of the Conjuration.

"Therefore, O you sacred angels, with me imposing upon your duties, although putting on the garment of humility and suffering, (26) who like the Son of the most high Creator in his names, **Loke Heuaf Hese [*Ioth He Vau**

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associated with the Moon and Monday in *Heptameron*.

220 SSM L.3.f.4-5: bacalgar, totalg, yfarselogon, athedyon, meremieta, vrelegnyger, ioach, Sommangarginas, iohena.

221 Zebedei: This name also appears in the list of names of God at the beginning of this paragraph, and in the magic circle. The sense seems to be that this is the name of God which Solomon invoked to command the loyalty of the people of Israel. *Hebrew* "Gift of God". Also the name of various biblical personalities. In CXIV.9 the spirits are exhorted to "obey as Zebedee ordered his subjects to obey," apparently based on Matt. 4:21-22. It is possible the current passage is a mutilated version of that.

222 SSM: Legemoth, gonathaym, maloth, ysyston, homonege, anepheneston, febr, octreys, derheys, tutheon, agla.

Moysi nominavit, quamvis sub meo nomine sublimitatis imperium non valeam deprecare, (27) humiliter deprecor, obedienter precipio per iustum **Ombonar**, per verum **Stimulamathon**, per sanctum **Orion**, per sanctissimum **Eryon**, per magnum **Noymos**, per festinantem **Pep** et per alia Dei nomina pura, (28) que propter sue celsitudinis magnitudinem nulla deberet, nisi concederetur a Domino, humanitas nominare, (29) que sunt 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, (30) quatinus a Saturninis, Iovinis, Marcialibus, Solaribus, Venereis, Mercurialibus, Lunaribus speris[30] descendere dignemini."

(31) Placacio

"O[31] vos, angeli benignissimi, potentissimi ac fideles, **Bohel, Cafziel** et ceteri, qui obediencie ac humilitatis vinculo gubernamen[32] celorum cum omnibus subditis eorundem recipere a Domino meruistis, (32) quibus omnis sciencia revelatur, quibus data est potestas plenaria[33] terreas cum infernalibus subiugare creaturas,[34] nocere vel iuvare, (33) quoniam Dominus in omnibus fideles, humiles ac cum paciencia iustos a vestra creacione primaria vos cognovit; (34) ego enim, licet immeritus, tamen vestram implorando graciam humiliter vos deprecor et invoco, (35) ut meis prompti peticionibus, in forma benivola atque meo placati munusculo, prompti michi in omnibus licitis et honestis obedire super sedem Samaym hic infra circulos hic circumscriptos a Saturninis, Iovinis et ceteris speris descendere dignemini, (36) et ad hoc igitur nomine vivi et veri Dei, qui vobis graciam tribuit non peccandi, vos invoco atque potenter impero per eius sacra nomina, que sunt ista: [80], 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99. (37) Obedite ergo Zebedeie et michi nomine ipsius. Invoco vos, potestates celorum, et invocando coniuro per **Ab**, per **Gap**, per

30 Sl. 3854 omits, but see below, along with CIV.2 and CXV.18.
31 GH omits.
32 i.e. regimen.
33 SSM adds: aereas.
34 Compare IV.58-63.

He], which Moses himself named, although under my own name I may not have power to entreat the Lofty Empire, (27) I humbly beg, I obediently order through the just **Ombonar**, through the true **Stimulamathon**, through the holy **Orion**, through the most sacred **Eryon**, Through the great **Noymos**,[223] through the hastening **Pep,**[224] and through the other pure names of God, (28) which on account of the greatness of his height, no one should name, unless compassion has been granted by the Lord, (29) which are 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, (30) so that you may deign to descend from the spheres of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon."

(31) The placating.

"O you, most kind angels, most powerful and faithful, **Bohel, Cafziel,** and the rest, who with the chain of obedience and humility have merited the control of the heavens, with your subordinates receiving the same from the Lord, (32) to whom all knowledge is revealed, to whom is given complete power to subjugate earthly creatures, along with the infernal ones, to harm or to help, (33) because the Lord has recognized you faithful in all things, humbly and with patience just from your first creation; (34) for I, though unworthy, nevertheless humbly ask for your grace, and entreat and call upon you, (35) in an agreeable form, and appeased by my small present, to obey me in all things presented in my petitions that are lawful and worthy, upon the seat of Samaym[225] to the circles drawn here, may you deign to descend from Saturn, Jupiter, and the other spheres, (36) and for this reason therefore, in the name of the living and true God, who has granted you the grace of being without sin, I call upon and potently command you, through his sacred names, which are these: [80,] 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99. (37) Obey therefore Zebedei[226] and me in his name. I invoke you, heavenly powers, and conjure you with the invocation, through **Ab**, through **Gap**, through **Abx**, through **Abra**, through **Abraca**, through **Gebra**, through **Abr-**

223 SSM: nomyx.

224 SSM: pele. On PELE, see Agrippa, OP3.11. Also used by John Dee. See Peterson, *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery* (York Beach ME: Weiser, 2003, pp. 79-80, 152.)

225 Compare CXIV.

226 Is this an indication that the biblical quote has been misunderstood?

Abx, per **Abra**, per **Abraca**, per **Gebra**, per **Abracala**, per **Abracasap**, per **Abracaleus**, per **Zargon**, per **Abrion**, per **Eleyon**, per **Sargion**.

(38) Vos igitur, potentes angeli, invoco et invocando coniuro. Superne maiestatis imperii potentes potenter imparo per eum, qui dixit, et factum est, cui omnes excercitus angelorum celestium, terrestrium et infernorum subduntur et obediunt, (39) et per nomen eius ineffabile **Tetragramaton**, quod in fronte tulit Aaron, quod angelice dicitur **Agla**, Hebraice **Heloy**, Arabice **Iaym**, Grece **Theos**, quod **Deus** Latine vocatur, (40) quo audito omnes exercitus celestes, terrestres et infernales tremunt et colunt, et per ista, que sunt **Rethala, Rabam, Cauthalee, Durhulo, Archyma, Rabur**, (41) quatinus a Saturninis, Iovinis, Marcialibus, Solaribus, Venereis, Mercurialibus, Lunaribus speris omni occasione et malivolencia cessante in forma benivola atque meo placati munusculo (42) michi in omnibus licitis et honestis obedire parati super sedem Samaym hic infra circulos hic circumscriptos descendere dignemini per virtutem humilitatis, quam nunc vobis offero,"—hic debet crucifigi in terra clausis oculis dicens:—(43) "et in virtute vivi et veri Dei, qui vos in iusticia et in equitate in sempiterno permanere concessit, cui sit gloria, laus et honor atque victoria per infinita secula seculorum. Amen."

(44) "**Boel, Cafziel, Micrathon, Saterquiel, Satquiel, Raphael, Paamcociel, Asassaiel, Samael, Sathiel, Yturaiel, Amabiel, Raphael, Caphael, Dardiel, Hurathaphel, Anael, Raquiel, Salguyel, Michael, Myel, Sarapiel, Gabriel, Mychael, Samyel, Athithael**, (45) venite, venite, venite letantes vestro obedire creatori et michi nomine ipsius, coniurati per nomen suum excellentissimum, quod super capud meum vobis omnibus ostendo"—hic ponat manum inversam super capud suum et eis signum ostendat.

acala, through **Abracasap**, through **Abracaleus**, through **Zargon**, through **Abrion**, through **Eleyon**, through **Sargion**.[227]

(38) Therefore, O powerful angels, I invoke you, and with the invocation I conjure you by the authority of the Supreme Majesty, I strongly command you, by him who spoke and it was done, and to whom all hosts of celestial, terrestrial, and infernal angels are subjugated and obey, (39) and by his ineffable name **Tetragrammaton**, which Aaron wore on his forehead,[228] which in English is called **Agla**, in Hebrew **Heloy**, in Arabic **Iaym**, in Greek **Theos**, which in Latin is called *Deus* ("God"), (40) which when heard, all heavenly, earthly, and infernal hosts tremble and worship,[229] and by these, which are **Rethala, Rabam, Cauthalee, Durhulo, Archyma, Rabur,**[230] (41) that by the spheres of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon, at every opportunity and without ill-will, in an agreeable form, and appeased with my small gift, (42) prepared to obey me in all things lawful and honest, you shall deign to descend from upon the seat of Samaym to these circles drawn here below, through the power of humility, which I offer to you now,"—here make the sign of the cross on the ground, with eyes closed, saying: (43) "And in the power of the living and true God, who has granted you to endure in perpetual justice and equality, to whom be glory, praise, honor, and victory, forever and ever. Amen."

(44) "Boel, Cafziel, Micrathon, Saterquiel,[231] Satquiel, Raphael, Paamcociel, Asassaiel, Samael, Sathiel, Yturaiel, Amabiel, Raphael, Caphael, Dardiel, Hurathaphel, Anael, Raquiel, Salguyel, Michael, Myel, Sarapiel, Gabriel, Mychael, Samyel, Athithael, (45) Come! Come!, Come! be glad to obey your creator and me in his name, conjuring through his most excellent name, which I show you all now over my head"—here he should hold his hand inverted over his head, and show the sign[232] to them.

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227 SSM L.3.f.15-16: per **ab**, per **gab**, per **abr**, per **abra**, per **abraca**, per **greba**, per **abracala**, per **abracasap**, per **abracaleus**, per **sargon**, per **abryon**, per **helyon**, per **sargyon**.

228 This perhaps echoes the poem *de divinis nominibus* of Abbott Sigo of St Florent de Saumur (d. 1070). See Wilkinson, Robert J. *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God : from the Beginnings to the Seventeenth Century*. 2015, p. 219.

229 See Philem. 2:10.

230 SSM L.3.f.16: Bethala, rabam, canthalee, durule, archyma, rabur.

231 So too SSM. GH marked this name as extraneous by comparison with CXIV.5 and CXV.6, but rather its omission from those passages seems to be the mistake.

232 SSM: the Divine Sign.

(46) Et immediate cum taliter ter invocaveris, si non prima vice venerint vel 2ª, audies quasi fulgur descendens de celo, et erit color eorum nitidissimus. (47) Set non debent alloqui nec aspici, donec ipsi primo loquantur, qui dicent: "Amice, quid petis?" Tunc dicat: "Pacem et amiciciam vestram." (48) Et si recte mundatus fueris, immediate concedent et dicent: "Surge et respice graciam virtutis Dei. Pete, et complebitur tibi, quia te misericordia Domini visitavit." Tunc pete quod volueris, et habebis.

(49) Quocienscumque aliquid de 27 predictis capitulis volueris, ut iam predictum est, voca hos angelos celestes sanctos mundum et totam naturam regentes in racione amantis et desiderantis Deum gloriosum. (50) Et quando venerint et te interogaverint: "Quid vis?," postquam responderis: "Pacem et amiciciam vestram," petas illud de 27, quod in oracionibus mundacionis petivisti, (51) cognicionem celorum, si hanc quesivisti, vel mutacionem diei in noctem et e contrario, si hoc petisti, vel consecracionem libri, si hanc voluisti, vel utramque simul, (52) si de tanto fueris una operacione dignus, et sic quodlibet de 27 dante Domino facere quibis. Quod ipse nobis concedat, qui vivit et regnat per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

(Tercium opus vel tractatus)

CXVI. Incipiunt capitula tercii tractatus huius operis, qui est de spiritibus aeris.

De constriccione spirituum per verba; De constriccione spirituum per sigilla; (2) De constriccione spirituum per tabulas; De forma imponenda cuilibet spiritui; De inclusione spirituum; De incluso spiritu ut non respondeat; De fulgure et tonitruo provocando; (3) De combustione facienda; De

(46) And immediately when you have invoked them three times in this manner, if not after the first or second time, you will hear a sound like lightning descending from heaven, and their color will be most shining. (47) But you must not address them or look at them, until they themselves have first spoken. They will say: "O friend, what do you desire?" Then he should say: "Peace and your friendship." (48) And if you have been properly cleaned, they will immediately concede and say: "Arise and contemplate the grace and virtue of God. Ask, and it will be granted to you, because the mercy of the Lord has visited you." Then ask what you wish, and you shall have it.

(49) However often you might desire something from the preceding twenty-seven topics, as covered earlier, call these holy celestial angels ruling the world and all of nature because of the loving and greatly desired glorious God.[233] (50) And when they have come and asked you: "what do you want?" whereupon you should respond "Peace, and your friendship." ask one of the twenty-seven, which you have sought in the prayers of purification, (51) knowledge of the heavens, if you have asked for this, even changing day into night and the opposite, if you have desired this, or consecrating a book, if you wish it, or likewise the others, (52) if you have been worthy to such an extent in one operation, you will be able to accomplish any of the twenty-seven, Lord granting. Because he grants it to us himself, who lives and reigns world without end. Amen.

[The Third Work or Treatise]

CXVI. Here begins the topics of the Third Treatise of this Work, which is about the Spirits of the Air.

Concerning the constraint of spirits through words. Concerning the constraint of spirits through seals. (2) Concerning the constraint of spirits through tables. Concerning imposing a form to any spirit. Concerning the confinement of spirits. Concerning a confined spirit, whether or not it will answer. Calling forth lightning and thunder. (3) Concerning the required

233 Is this a quote from Simon of Faversham (c. 1260–1306) , *Quaestiones super De motu animalium*. http://cimagl.saxo.ku.dk/download/84/84Christensen93-128.pdf p. 109 or Peter of Auvergne (died 1304)? Compare "in ratione amantis et desiderantis" and "in ratione amati et desiderati" in Petrus, and Griet Galle. *Questions on Aristotle's De caelo*. Leuven (Belgium): Leuven University Press, 2003, p. *204.

purificacione aeris; De corrupcione aeris; De nive et gelu facienda; De rore et pluvia facienda; De floribus et fructibus provocandis; De invisibilitate; (4) De equo, qui una nocte te portabit et reportabit ubi volueris; De absente quod veniat una hora sanus; De re, que deferatur in momento ubicumque volueris; De subtraccione rei; De revocacione rei; (5) De transfiguracione cuiuscumque; De flumine provocando in terra sicca; De commocione regni contra dominum; De regno vel imperio destruendo; De habenda potestate super quemlibet; (6) De habendis mille militibus armatis; De formacione castri indestructibilis; De speculo perverso; De destruccione loci vel inimici per speculum perversum; De speculo aparicionis mundi; (7) De fure et furto revocando; De ceraturis aperiendis; De discordia facienda; De concordia provocanda; De habenda gracia omnium personarum et benivolencia; De mulieribus habendis ad libitum; (8) De diviciis habendis; De curacione cuiuslibet infirmitatis; De dando infirmitatem cuilibet et qualemcumque placuerit operanti; De interficiendo quemlibet; De tempestate et periculo terre et maris fuganda; (9) De nave retenta in mari per adamantem vel aliter rehabenda; De omni periculo evitando; De congregacione et accepcione avium; De piscibus congregandis et accipiendis; (10) De animalibus silvestribus et domesticis congregandis et accipiendis; De bello faciendo inter aves vel homines vel pisces vel animalia; (11) De apparencia combustionis; De apparencia ioculatorum et puellarum balancium;[35] De apparencia gardinorum vel castrorum; De apparencia militum pugnancium; De apparencia griffonum et draconum; (12) De apparencia omnium ferarum; De apparencia venatorum cum canibus; De apparencia hominis quod sit alibi quam est; De apparencia tocius voluptatis.

35 Cap II: psallencium; SSM: ballancium.

burnings; Concerning the purification of the air. Concerning the corruption of the air. To make snow and frost. To make dew and rain. To call forth flowers and fruit. Concerning invisibility. (4) Concerning a horse, which will carry you anywhere you wish in a single night. To bring an absent person back safely in an hour. To transport something wherever you wish, in a moment. To have something removed. To recall something. (5) To transfigure anything. To cause a river on dry land. To incite a kingdom against its ruler. To destroy a kingdom or state. To have power over anyone. (6) To have a thousand armed soldiers. To form an indestructible fortress. How to make a mirror of destruction. How to destroy a place or an enemy using the mirror of destruction. The apparition of the world in a mirror (or glass). (7) To return anything which a thief has stolen. To open locks. To cause discord. To cause agreement. To have the good will and favor of all persons. To have the desire of women. (8) To have wealth. To cure any sickness. To make anyone sick, whenever you wish. To kill anyone. To hold back storms and dangers of the earth and sea. (9) To hold back a ship at sea using the adamant stone, or otherwise to bring it back again. To avoid all danger. To flock birds together, and collect them. To cause fish to gather and be caught. (10) To cause woodland and domestic animals to gather and be caught. To cause war between the birds, or people, or fish, or animals. (11) To make burning appear. To make appear jesters and girls babbling.[234] To make gardens or fortresses appear. To make appear soldiers fighting. To make griffins and dragons appear. (12) To make all wild beasts appear. To make hunters appear with dogs. To make someone appear as if they were somewhere other than where they actually are. To make all pleasures appear.

234 Chap 2: psallencium ("singing psalms"); SSM: ballancium ("dancing").

CXVII Finitis capitulis incipit prohemium in spiritibus aereis.

Cum igitur ignoratis superioribus angelorum illos constringere sit impossibile, (2) nomina spirituum aeris et ventorum in precedenti posuimus capitulo; ut sui superiores clarius viderentur, et a quibus poterat quilibet subiugari. (3) Nunc autem de natura aeris et omnium spirituum in ipso residencium hic faciemus tractatum.

(4) Aer est elementum corruptibile, liquidum et subtile inter cetera nobilius passibiles recipiens qualitates et est simpliciter invisibilis set ipso composito videtur. (5) In quo sunt spiritus, quos sancta mater ecclesia dampnatos appellat, set ipsi oppositum asserunt esse verum, et ideo eos neque bonos neque malos volumus appellare. (6) Et illi spiritus in aere reguntur secundum ipsius aeris qualitates, et ideo eius qualitates videamus.

(7) Aer igitur in quantum elementum a planetarum influenciis gubernatur. Bene igitur accipit diversas complexiones, quas nunc dicemus, (8) quia quidam sunt demones ad tribulacionem aeris constituti, quos ventos Salomon appellavit, quoniam ventos excitant, et secundum quemlibet mutatur aer. (9) Et penatur spiritus illius partis, unde quilibet debet aspicere ventum sue operacioni competentem, quia tunc illius partis demones excitantur. (10) Set non semper invenitur ventus invocacioni habilis. Ideo eos precipimus excitari, qui <tunc> aere sereno vocantur indifferenter. (11) Et ideo cum angelis ventos ponemus, ut in eis veniant et vincantur; quorum opera in subsequentibus sunt dicenda.

CXVIII Divisio spirituum aeris

Aereorum vero spirituum duo sunt modi, quoniam quidam sunt boni, quidam mali, quidam mites, quidam feroces. (2) Boni, mites et fideles sunt

CXVII. End of the topics, and beginning of the preface on the aerial spirits.

Know therefore, since it is impossible to bind those higher angels without knowledge about them, (2) we have listed the names of the spirits of the air and winds in the preceding chapter; in order that the superiors might be clearly seen, and through which anyone can be subjugated. (3) Therefore we now will prepare a treatise concerning the nature of the air and all the spirits residing in it.

(4) The air is a corruptible element, fluid, and subtle, capable of receiving qualities from the others, and is plainly invisible, but it is seen to be composed of parts of itself. (5) In which are spirits, which the holy mother church calls damned, but they themselves assert the opposite to be true, and therefore we prefer to call them neither good nor evil. (6) And those spirits that are governed by air act according to the nature of air itself, and therefore we can understand their nature.

(7) The air therefore, insofar as an element, is governed by the influences of the planets. It therefore readily takes on diverse combinations, which we will now describe, (8) for there are certain daemons established for the disturbance of the air, which Solomon has called winds, because they raise up the winds, and behind which the air is moved. (9) And a spirit of that part may be compelled to serve, hence each one should consider which wind is suitable for the operation, because the daemons of that part are awakened then. (10) But the wind for the invocation is not always easily discovered. Therefore we order them to be raised up, which <then> are indiscriminately called calm air. (11) And therefore we will place the winds with the angels, in order that they may come to them and be conquered; their works are spoken of in the following sections.

CXVIII. Divisions of the spirits of the air.

There are two kinds of aerial spirits, for some are good while others are evil; some are mild, others wild.[235] (2) The good, mild, and faithful ones are the eastern and western ones, and are called good, because operations with them

235 Or cruel.

illi orientales et occidentales et dicuntur boni, quia operaciones eorum iuvant in bono, et vix nocent alicui, nisi ad hoc cogantur divina virtute.

(3) Mali sunt et cum superbia feroces australes et septemtrionales et dicuntur mali, quia opera eorum sunt mala in omnibus, et nocent libenter omnibus et vix aliquid, quod sequatur, ad bonum faciunt, nisi ad hoc superiori virtute cogantur.

(4) Set inter istos sunt alii collaterales istis, qui neque boni neque mali dicuntur, quoniam in omnibus obediunt invocanti, sive in bono fuerit sive in malo. De quibus hic est cognicio cuiuscumque.

CXIX De spiritibus orientalibus

Istorum autem 4 sunt in oriente regnantes et sunt subditi Soli et vento eius, qui boreas dicitur. Et excitantes eum sunt isti 4: **Baxhatau** <rex>, **Gahatus, Caudes, Iarabal,** (2) et habent hos 4 demones et eorum subditos excitare, congregare, dispergere, constringere et in loco proprio ligare, quorum **Barthan** est rex, **Taadas, Caudas, Yalcal** sunt ministri, (3) et eorum natura est aurum dare cum carbunculis ad libitum, divicias, graciam et benivolenciam gencium impetrare, inimicicias hominum mortales vel alias dissolvere, homines in summis honoribus sublimare, infirmitates tribuere vel auferre.

(4) Sua corpora sunt magna et ampla, sanguinea et grosa, color eorum sicut aurum brunitum[36] sanguine depictum. Motus eorum est celi coruschacio. Signum eorum est invocanti commovere sudores.

36 Du Cange: Politus, levigatus ("polished, smoothed"). http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/BRUNITUS accessed June 28, 2015.

help in good, and they rarely harm anyone, unless they are forced with divine strength.

(3) The evil, arrogant, and wild ones are the southern and northern ones, and are called evil, because their works are evil in everything, and they willingly harm anyone, and will scarcely do good for anyone unless they are forced with superior strength.

(4) But between those, there are others on both sides of them, which are said to be neither of good nor of evil, because they obey in everything when invoked, whether it be for good or evil. Concerning these, here is the information on each:

CXIX. Concerning the Spirits of the East.

But of those there are four governing in the East, and they are subordinate to the Sun and its wind, which is called the North wind. And there are four (spirits) raising it up: **Baxhatau**, **Gahatus, Caudes, Iarabal**, (2) and they have these four daemons and their subordinates to raise up, congregate, scatter, constrain, and bind to their proper place, of which **Barthan** is the king, **Taadas, Caudas, Yalcal** are the ministers, (3) and their nature is to give gold with carbuncles as desired; also to obtain wealth, gratitude, and good will of the population; likewise to dissolve the hostility of people and other beings; and to raise people to high honors, and to grant or take away weaknesses.

(4) Their bodies are great and large, bloody and thick;[236] their color is like polished gold, painted with blood. Their movement is like the glittering of the sky. The sign that they have appeared is that the one who calls them will break into a sweat.

236 S3853: *gratiosa* ("agreeable").

CXX De spiritibus occidentalibus

Occidentales sunt illi 4, quibus omnes alii regionis demones subduntur, quorum **Harthan** est rex, **Bileth, Milalu, Habuchaba** eius ministri, et sunt subditi Lune et vento eius, qui zephirus dicitur. (2) Et excitantes [eum] sunt isti: **Hebethel, Amocap, Oilol, Myla<l>u, Abuchaba**, et habent hos 4 demones et eorum subditos excitare, congregare, dispergere, constringere ac in loco proprio ligare, (3) quorum natura est argentum ad libitum dare, res de loco ad locum deferre, equum velocitatis tribuere, facta et secreta presencia atque preterita dicere personarum.

(4) Sua corpora sunt magna et ampla, mollia et fleumatica, color eorum sicut nubes obscura et tenebrosa, et habent multum inflatum, oculos rubeos aqua plenos, non habent pilos in capite, et dentes ut aper. (5) Motus eorum est sicut magna maris ruina, et signum est, quod magna pluvia iuxta circulum cadere videbitur invocanti.

CXXI De spiritibus meridionalibus

Meridionales sunt isti: **Iammax** rex, **Carmox, Ichanol, Pasfran**, quibus omnes alii regionis demones subduntur, et sunt subditi Marti et vento eius, qui subsolanus dicitur. (2) Et excitantes eum sunt isti 5: **Atraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carmeal, Innial, Proathophas,** et habent hos demones et eorum subditos excitare, constringere, dispergere, congregare ac in loco proprio ligare. (3) Sua natura est guerras et mortalitates, occisiones, prodiciones et combustiones facere, mille milites cum suis famulis, que sunt duo milia, ad tempus dare et mortem tribuere, cuicumque infirmitatem et sanitatem tribuere.

(4) Sua corpora sunt parva, macra, colerica, in aspectu turpissima, color eorum sicut cuprum ignitum modicum denigratum. Habent cornua ad modum cervi, ungues ad modum grifonum. (5) Ululant sicut tauri insani. Motus eorum quasi combustionis partis sue realis aspeccio. Signum est, quod fulgur et tonitruum iuxta circulum cadere videbitur invocanti.

CXX. Concerning the Spirits of the West.

The western ones are four, and all other daemons of the region are under them, of which **Harthan** is the king, **Bileth, Milalu**, and **Habuchaba** are his ministers, and they are subordinate to the Moon and its wind, which is called Zephyr. (2) And raising it up are these: **Hebethel, Amocap, Oilol, Mylau,** and **Abuchaba**, and they have these four daemons and their subordinates to raise up, congregate, scatter, constrain, and bind to their proper place. (3) Their nature is to give silver as desired; they also carry things from place to place; they grant speed to horses; they tell the secrets of persons present and past.

(4) Their bodies are large and ample, soft and phlegmatic, their color resembles dark and obscure clouds, and they have red eyes full of water, greatly inflated; they have no hair on their heads, and their teeth are like those of a boar. (5) Their movement is like a great rushing down of the sea, and the sign is that great rainfall will be seen near the circle when they are invoked.

CXXI. Concerning the Spirits of South.[237]

Those of the South are these: **Iammax** the king, **Carmox, Ichanol, Pasfran**, to whom all other daemons of the region are subordinate, and they are subordinate to Mars and its wind, which is called the Eastern wind. (2) And raising it up are these five: **Atraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carmeal, Innial, Proathophas**, and they have these daemons and their subordinates to raise up, constrain, disperse, congregate, and bind in proper place. (3) Their nature is to cause war, and plague, murders, treasons, and burnings; they also temporarily give one thousand soldiers with their servants, which are two thousand, and they grant death; they also grant sickness or health to anyone.

(4) Their bodies are small, thin, choleric, and very ugly in appearance, their color is like copper that has been blackened a little by fire. They have horns like those of a stag, and nails like a griffin. (5) They howl like mad bulls. Their movement is somewhat like the burning of part of their true appearance.[238] The sign is that lightning and thunder will be seen to fall near the circle when they are invoked.

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237 Cp. CVII.

238 Compare OP4: Apparebunt longo corpore, cholerico, et aspectum turpissimo:

CXXII De spiritibus septemtrionalibus

Septemtrionales sunt isti: **Maymon** rex, **Albunalich, Assaibi, Haibalidech, Yasfla**, quibus omnes alii demones regionis subduntur, et sunt subditi Saturno et vento eius, qui Affricus dicitur. (2) Et excitantes eum sunt isti 3: **Mextyura**, **Alcybany, Alflas**, et habent hos 5 demones et eorum subditos congregare, dispergere, constringere ac in loco proprio ligare. (3) Sua natura est seminare discordias, odia generare, malas cogitaciones, furta et avaricias, dare cum libito plumbum, quemlibet interficere et membrorum quodlibet destruere.

(4) Sua corpora sunt longa et gracilia, cum ira et rancore plena. Habent vultus 4, unum a parte anteriori et alterum a parte posteriori, in quibus sunt duo rostra ampla et longa ad mensuram trium pedum, (5) et videntur duos serpentes devorare, et in duobus genibus alios duos, qui cum merore maximo flere videntur, et sunt in colore nigra et lucencia sicut speculum furbitum. (6) Motus eorum est ventorum agitacio cum apparencia terremotus. Signum eorum est, quod terra alba nive tecta videbitur invocanti.

CXXIII

Cum igitur de perfecte bonis et malis diximus, de mediocribus hinc dicamus. (2) Set est advertendum, quod operans non debet operari in istis nec pro perfecte bono nec pro perfecte malo. (3) Set in rebus mobilibus sicut in itinere, in revocacione et subtraccione et similibus operantur.

CXXII. Concerning the Spirits of the North.[239]

The Northern ones are these: **Maymon** the king, **Albunalich, Assaibi, Haibalidech,** and **Yasfla**, and all other daemons of the region are placed under these, and they are subordinate to Saturn and its wind, which is called Africus (or the "southwest wind"). (2) And raising it up are these three: **Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas,** and they have these five daemons and their subordinates to congregate, disperse, constrain, and bind to their proper place. (3) Their nature is[240] to sow discord, create hatred, evil thoughts, theft, and greed; they give lead if desired, kill anyone, and destroy limbs.

(4) Their bodies[241] are long and slender, full of wrath and anger. They have four faces: one is forward, another behind, which have two large and long beaks measuring three feet, (5) which can be seen devouring two serpents. The other two faces are on the two knees, which appear to be crying with most great mourning, and they are black in color, and shining like a burnished mirror. (6) Their movement is the moving of the wind with the appearance of an earthquake. Their sign is that the ground will appear to be white, covered with snow when they are invoked.

CXXIII. [Concerning the intermediate spirits.]

Having treated of the spirits which are either fully good or fully evil, we will now talk about the intermediate ones (2) But it should be noted in operating with them, that their actions are neither fully for good nor fully for evil. (3) But they operate in movable things such as in journeys, in the recalling and withdrawing and similar things.

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colore subfusto, et quasi ruffo, cornibus fere ceruinis, et unguibus griphi: mugiunt instar taurorum insanorum. Motus eorum fit quasi instar ignis comburientis. Signum afferent in specie, fulgur et tonitru iuxta circulum. ("They appear in a tall body, choleric, a filthy countenance, of color brown, swarthy or red, having horns like Harts horns, and gryphon's claws, bellowing like wild Bulls. Their Motion is like fire burning; their sign Thunder and Lightning about the Circle.")

239 Cp. CV, spirits of Saturn.

240 This description is almost identical to that found in de Abano, "considerations of Saturday."

241 Cp. OP4.5a.

CXXIV De spiritibus inter orientem et meridiem

Dicamus igitur, quod inter orientem et meridiem est una regio, que **consol** appellatur, et sunt in ea angeli, qui dicuntur equinocciales, et sunt isti 4: (2) **Formione** rex, **Guth, Maguth, Gutrhyn** eius ministri, quibus omnes alii regionis illius demones subduntur, et sunt subditi Iovi et ventis eius, qui boreas et subsolanus dicuntur. (3) Et excitantes eos sunt isti 5: **Harit, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob**, et habent hos 4 demones et eorum subditos excitare, congregare, constringere, dispergere ac in loco proprio ligare. (4) Sua natura est amicicias et benivolencias tribuere mulierum non carnali copula. Generant leticias, gaudia, lites pacificant, mitigant inimicos, sanant infirmos, infirmant sanos, auferunt vel inferunt dominium cuicumque.

(5) Sua corpora sunt magna, tam sanguinea quam colerica, medie stature, trementissima in motu, visu mitissima, eloquio blanda, falsa in motu, vultus eorum in forma benivolus, color eorum sicut es non burnitum colore flamme ignis depictum. (6) Motus eorum est choruscacio cum tonitruo. Signum eorum est, quod invocans, ut sibi videbitur, [videbit] iuxta circulum homines a leonibus devorari.

CXXV De spiritibus inter austrum et occidentem

Alii sunt inter austrum et occidentem, et sua regio est nogahem. (2) Qui sunt isti: **Sarabocres** rex, **Nassar, Cynassa** eius ministri, quibus omnes alii demones regionis obediunt et subduntur, et sunt subditi Veneri et ven-

CXXIV. Concerning the Spirits between the East and the South.

We therefore declare, that between the east and south is a single region, which is called "Consol",[242] and in it are angels, which are called "equinoctial", and they are these four: (2) **Formione** the king, and his ministers **Guth, Maguth,** and **Gutrhyn** [***Guthryn**],[243] and all other daemons of this region are placed under these, and they are subordinate to Jupiter and its winds, which are called Borean ("Northerly") and Subsolar ("Easterly"). (3) And raising them up (the winds) are these five: **Harit, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph**, and **Naadob**, and these have four daemons and their subordinates to raise them up, gather them, disperse them, and bind them to their proper place. (4) Their nature is to grant friendship and favor of women, but not carnal relations. They engender gladness and joy, settle lawsuits (or quarrels) peacefully, make enemies mild, cure the sick, sicken the healthy, and they steal away or obtain ownership of anything.

(5) Their bodies are large, as much sanguine as choleric, of medium stature, very jittery, appearing very mild, their manner of speaking flattering, false in the motion. Their faces have a kindly appearance. Their color is like they are painted with flames of fire, not burnished. (6) Their movement is like flashing with thunder. Their sign is, when invoked, lions will be seen devouring men near the circle.[244]

CXXV. Concerning the Spirits between the South and the West.

Others are between the south and the west, and their area is Nogahem, (2) which are these: **Sarabocres** the king, **Nassar,** and **Cynass**a his ministers, with which all other daemons of the area obey and are subjugated, and they

242 SSM: Cosol; Leipzig: Casol.

243 Spelled Guthryn or Guthrin all other passages. SSM: Gutryn.

244 OP4: Apparent corpore sanguineo et cholerico, mediae staturae, horribili motu, visu mitissimo, blando colloquio, colore ferrugineo. Motus eorum, est coruscatio, cum tonitru. Signum eorum, apparebunt iuxta circulum homines, qui in specie a leonibus devorabuntur. Formae autem particulares sunt: ("The spirits of Jupiter do appear with a body sanguine and choleric, of a middle stature, with a horrible fearful motion; but with a middle countenance, a gentle speech, and of the color of iron. The motion of them is flashings of lightning and thunder; their sign is, there will appear men about the circle, who shall seem to be devoured of lions.")

tis eius, qui sunt subsolanus et zephirus. (3) Et excitantes eos sunt isti 4: **Cambores** <rex>, **Trachatat, Nassar, Naassa**, et habent hos tres demones excitare, congregare, dispergere, constringere ac in loco proprio ligare. (4) Et eorum natura est dare argentum, in quo est impressio signata, et stagnum ad libitum hominis calefacere, luxuriam excitare, inimicos per luxuriam concordare, ut matrimonium ostendit, (5) constringere homines in amorem mulierum et ipsas ad hominum voluntates constringi, homines infirmare vel sanare et facere omnia, que moventur.

(6) Sua corpora sunt medie stature, pulcra, dulcia et iocosa, color eorum sicut nix insuper deaurata, motus eorum sicut stella clarissima, signum eorum, quod puelle extra circulum ludere et ipsum vocare videbitur invocanti.

CXXVI De spiritibus inter occidentem et septemtrionem

Alii sunt inter occidentem et septemtrionem, et sua regio est frigicap. (2) Qui sunt isti 5: **Abaa** rex, **Hyici, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb** eius ministri, quibus omnes alii illius regionis demones obediunt et subduntur, et sunt subditi Mercurio et ventis eius, qui zephirus et Affricus dicuntur. (3) Et excitantes eos sunt isti 4: **Zobha** <rex>, **Drohas, Palas, Zambas,** et habent hos 5 demones excitare, congregare, dispergere, constringere ac in loco proprio ligare. (4) Natura eorum est omnia metalla de mundo, quecumque fuerint, literata vel sculpta cum auro et argento ad libitum dare, omnia preterita, presencia et futura terrena revelare, (5) iudices placare in placito, victoriam dare, experimenta et omnes sciencias destructas rectificare et reedificare et eciam docere, (6) corpora eciam ex elementis mixta convertibiliter unum in aliud transmutare et eciam elementa, senem iuvenem facere et e contrario, dare infirmitatem quamlibet vel eciam sanitatem, si placeat invocanti, (**7**) pauperes sublimare, sublimes opprimere, dignitates dare vel auferre cuicumque, spiritus ligare, ad tempus inclusum impedire, seraturas aperire, transfiguraciones facere. (8) Et isti possunt omnes operaciones aliorum facere, set hoc non ex perfecta potencia vel virtute set sciencia bene.

are subordinate to Venus and its winds, which are easterly and westerly. (3) And there are four spirits which raise them up: **Cambores**, **Trachatat, Nassar, Naassa,** and they have those three daemons to raise up, bring together, disperse, constrain, and bind them in their own place. (4) And their nature is to give silver, in which the sign is impressed, and tin, for arousing human desire, to cause luxury, to bring harmony to enemies through luxury, as marriage shows, (5) to bind men in love of women, and bind women to the wills of men, to sicken or cure people, and to make all things which are moved.

(6) Their bodies are medium in stature, pretty, pleasant, and merry. Their color is like snow over gilding. Their movements are like the clearest star. Their sign of their presence is that when invoked, a girl will be seen playing outside the circle, and calling to you.

CXXVI. Concerning the Spirits between the West and the North.

Others are between the west and the north, and their area is Frigicap. (2) Which are five: **Abaa** the king, and **Hyici, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb** his ministers, whom all other daemons of the area obey and are subject to, and they are subject to Mercury and his wind, which is the west wind (Zephyr), and they are called African.[245] (3) And raising them up there are these four: **Zobha** <the king>, **Drohas, Palas, Zambas**, and they have five daemons to raise up, congregate, disperse, constrain, and bind them in their own place. (4) Their nature is to give all metals from the earth, whichever exist, lettered or sculpted with gold and silver as desired, to reveal all earthly things pasts, present, and future, (5) to appease judges in a plea, to give victory, to recover and reconstruct experiments and all destroyed knowledge, and also to teach them, (6) also to transmute bodies out of the mixed elements changeably, one into the other, and also the elements, to make an old person young and vice versa, to infect someone with any kind of sickness, and also to make them healthy, if they are placated when invoked, (7) to raise up poor men, bring down the high and mighty, to give dignities to whomever, or take them away, to bind spirits, to hinder imprisonment for a time, to open locks, and to make transfigurations. (8) And these same spirits are able to accomplish all other operations, however not with perfect power or virtue, but with sufficient knowledge.

245 *Africus* means either the southwest wind, or from Africa.

(9) Sua corpora sunt medie stature, frigida, humida, veneranda, pulcra, rauca in eloquio, humanam formam habencia ad modum armigeri compti et cucufati, color eorum sicut nubes clara, motus eorum sicut nubes argentea. (10) Signum est, quod horripilacionem tribuunt invocanti. Et isti possunt indifferenter ubicumque vocari.

CXXVII Finita divisione angelorum et spirituum incipit modus operandi in eis.

Si ergo de istis aliquis voluerit operari, sibi primo districte precipimus, (2) ut peroptime mundetur, sicut diximus in predictis, donec venerit ad diem 14^{am}, in qua die convenit ieiunare. (3) Tunc in ea recipiat corpus Christi dicendo 19, 20, et cum missa de sancto Spiritu, ut diximus, igitur celebratur, sacerdos tenendo corpus Christi, antequam gentibus ostendatur, petat pro operante sic dicens:

(4) Oracio

"Domine Iesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, quem credo firmiter hominem et Deum et iudicem meum venturum, peto te in hoc articulo in virtute istius sacramenti tui, (5) ut talis N ex dono tuo ac tua voluntate sine dampnacione corporis et anime sibi spiritus N in omnibus subiciat, ut apparere, perficere, custodire, respondere eos ad omnia precepta constringat, ut sperat et desiderat. Amen."

(6) Tunc audito completorio, ut dictum est, de ecclesia recedat dicens 17, donec veniat ad locum, in quo debet fieri circulus. Tunc locum benedicat dicens 15. (7) Hoc facto protrahat circulum 9 pedum dicens 18, in quo duos circulos protrahat, quorum unus distet ab alio per unum pedem, inter quos scribes nomina angelorum diei et hore, mensis, temporis, faciei dicendo:

(9) Their bodies are of medium stature, cold, humid, venerable, attractive, and their manner of speaking is hoarse. They have human form, bearing arms and hooded. Their color is like a bright cloud. Their movements are like a silvery cloud. (10) Their sign is that your hair will bristle when they are invoked. And they can be called in any place equally.[246]

CXXVII. End of the divisions of the angels and spirits, and beginning of the manner of working with them.

If therefore anybody wishes to operate with those spirits, we must first warn him strictly (2) that he must be thoroughly purified, as we have said in the preceding, until he comes to the fourteenth day, on which day he must begin his fast. (3) Then when the mass of the Holy Spirit is being said or celebrated, when the operator is receiving the body of Christ (Eucharist), he should say prayers 19 and 20 (LXXVII–LXXIX), as we have said, when the priest is holding up the body of Christ (i.e. the wafer), to reveal it to the congregation, he should pray on behalf of the operator, saying thus:

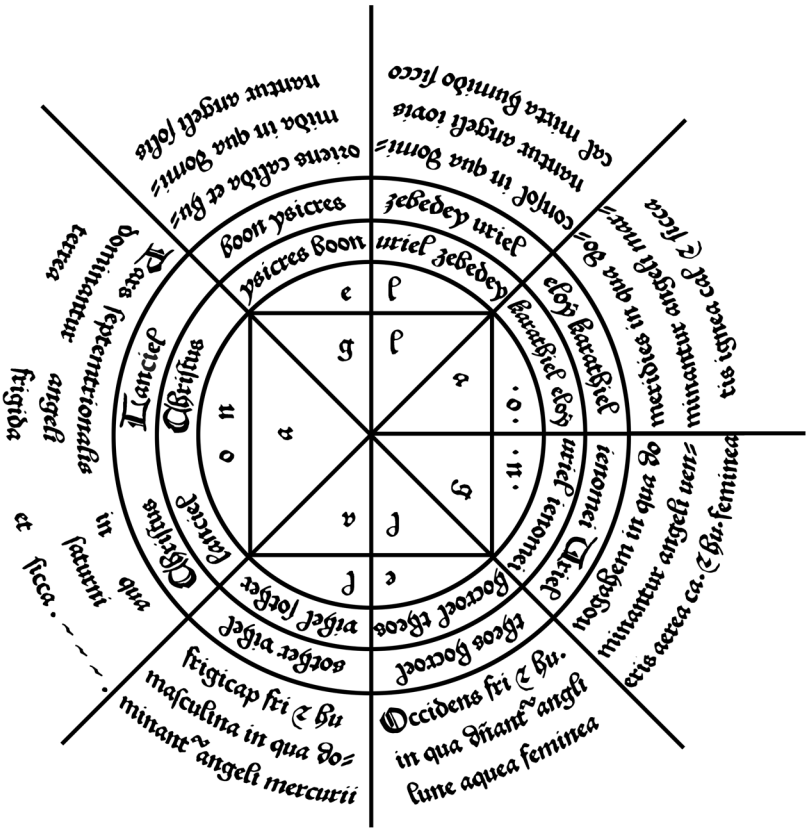
(4) Prayer.

"O Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God, whom I truly believe is man and God, and my judge soon to come, I beg you in this critical moment, by the power of your sacraments, (5) in order that such N. by your gift and by your will, without condemnation of body and soul that the spirit N. may make himself subject in all things, that he may constrain them to appear, to complete, to guard, to answer to all orders that he hopes and desires. Amen."

(6) Then having heard the evening prayer service (Compline), as said, retire from the church, saying 17, until you come to the place where the circle has been made. Then bless the place saying 15. (7) With this done, he should draw a circle of nine feet across, saying 18, in which he should draw two circles, where the first is one foot away from the other, between which you should write the names of the angels of the day and hour, of the month, of the time, and of the aspect,[247] saying:

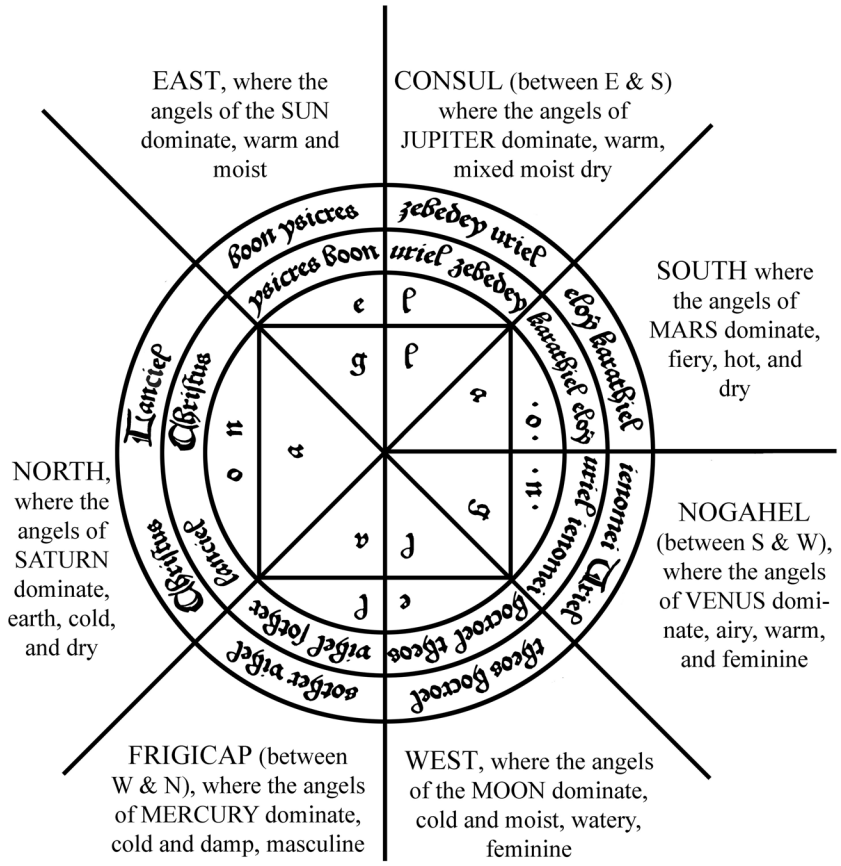
246 Cp H p. 146–7.

247 Aspect (face): i.e. decan.



(8) "O vos angeli sancti et potentes, sitis michi in hoc opere adiutores."

(9) Tunc protrahes infra istos duos circulos eptagonum communem omnibus invocacionibus aptum, cuius forma cum parcium suarum dimencionibus et diffinicionibus subsequitur inferius in figura.



(8) "O you holy and powerful angels, may you be my assistants in this work."

(9) Then draw within those two circles a regular heptagon,[248] suitable for all invocations, the form of which with its parts, dimension, and definitions, is shown in the figure above.[249]

248 The drawings in Sl. 3854 amd Sl. 313 do not resemble heptagons, but other exemplars do, e.g. 3853 150v, and SSM L.3.f.29. Leipzig Cod. Mag. 16 p. 112 is similar to Sl. 3854.

249 Figure not found in C or R. B shows North occupying 90 degrees. D and SSM show seven equal segments. L shows the West as occupying 90 degrees. SSM text has slight variations in the order and especially in the names. See Appendix II.

(10) Nota, quod operans debet esse diligens, ut addat ista nomina aliis nominibus, quia durum est homini ignoranti virtutes spirituum et eorum malicias cum eis sine municione maxima aliqualiter habitare, (11) et assimilatur illi, qui vult debellare militem sagacem et ignorat arma eius et quis miles et que virtus militis, quem debellat. (12) Bene igitur sibi caveat, quia ingenium viribus prevalet, et ideo oportet ipsum esse sagacissimum in suo circulo faciendo, quia ibi iacet tuicio operantis.

(13) Primo sic aptetur locus, quod terra sit plana et equa, nec sint ibi lapides aut herbe, et quando eum protraxerit, aerem supra se duobus diametris ubicumque signet dicens: (14) "Signum Salomonis ad salvacionem et defensionem pono supra me, ut sit michi proteccio a facie inimici. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen." (15) Sic tuo completo circulo exi et extra eum scribe in terra vel in cedulis 7 nomina creatoris, que sunt L[a]ialy, Lialg, Veham, Yalgal, Narath, Libarre, Libares, nec plus facies in hac nocte.

Oriens calida[37] et humida[38] in qua dominantur angeli solis / boon ysicres[39] / ysicres boon

Consol[40] in qua dominantur angeli iovis, ca[lido], mixta humido sicco[41] / Zebedey Uriel[42] / Uriel Zebedei.

Meridies in qua dominantur angeli martis ignea cal[ida] et sicca / Eloy Karathiel / Karathiel Eloy[43]

Nogahem[44] in qua dominantur angeli ueneris **aerea**[45] ca[lida] et hu[midi] feminea / ienomei Uriel / Uriel ienomei[46]

Occidens frigida et hu[mida] in qua dominantur angli lune aquea feminea[47] / theos Hocroel[48] / Hocroel theos

37 Calida: SSM: pars calida
38 Humida: SSM adds: masculina
39 boon ysicres: SSM: Beon ysystres
40 Consol: SSM calls this cosol throughout the manuscript.
41 Calido mixta humino sicco: B: mixta cum hu. SSM: mixta calida et sicca
42 Zebedey Uriel: SSM: Zebedye, Vuel
43 Eloy Karathiel / Karathiel Eloy: B: elothi karathi / karathi elothi. SSM: Eloy barachiel / barachyel Eloy
44 Nogahem: B, D: Nogaham. SSM: Nogaem
45 Aerea: D: aerei
46 ienomei Uriel / Uriel ienomei: SSM: Genonem, Uryel / Uriel, genonem
47 Feminea: D: semina
48 Hocroel: B: Ocrohel; D: Hocrohel. SSM: atrohel

(10) NOTE: You must be very careful while working, that you add those names to the other names,[250] because it is hard for a person not knowing the powers of the spirits and their malice, without the greatest fortification to abide with them somehow, (11) and it is like someone who seeks to wage war with a shrewd knight, and disregards his weapons, and who the knight is, and what are the strengths of the knight with whom he wages war. (12) It is well therefore to be cautious, because the nature of the strengths prevail, and therefore it is necessary to be very shrewd when making the circle, because therein lies the defense of the operator.

(13) First you must prepare the place thus, for the earth should be flat and level, and free from stones or vegetation, and when it has been drawn, mark the air above yourself to two diameters every way, saying: (14) "I put the Seal of Solomon over me for salvation and defense, in order that it protect me in the face of the enemy. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen." (15) Thus with your circle complete, exit and write outside in the earth or on small pieces of paper, the seven names of the creator, which are **L[a]ialy, Lialg, Veham, Yalgal, Narath, Libarre, Libares**,[251] and nothing more is accomplished this night.

[Text of Circle reads as follows:]

East, warm and moist,[252] where the angels of the Sun dominate / Boon Ysicres / Ysicres Boon[253]

Consol,[254] where the angels of **Jupiter** dominate**,** warm mixed moist dry / Zebedey Uriel / Uriel Zebedei

South in which the angels of **Mars**, fiery, hot and dry, dominate / Eloy Karathiel / Karathiel Eloy

Nogahem, where dominate the angels of **Venus,** airy, warm, and feminine / Ienomei Uriel / Uriel Ienomei

West cold and moist, where the angels of the **Moon** dominate, watery feminine / Theos Hocroel / Hocroel Theos

250 That is, to add the names of God, such as "Theos" and "Sother," to that of the appropriate angels of the day etc.

251 SSM: Layaly, lyalg, vehem, yalgal, narach, lybarre, lybares. Compare the Seal of God. Compare also Wellcome 110, fol. 45v.

252 SSM adds: masculine.

253 Boon: SSM reads "beon." This name doesn't appear elsewhere in the text.

254 This text is included in the diagram of the circle, and not part of the text.

frigicap frigida et hu[mida] masculina in qua dominantur angeli mercurii / Sother Vihel[49] / Vihel Sother

Pars[50] septemtrionalis in qua dominantur angeli Saturni terrea frigida et sicca / Christus Lanciel / Lanciel Christus[51]

CXXVIII Secunda dies

In crastino, dum matutinam, primam, terciam, missam, meridiem, nonam, vesperas et completorium audieris, venies ad circulum dicendo 17. (2) Tunc habeas thus et thuribulum, in quo sint prune, et ponas thus super prunas et suffumiges circulum dicens 1 et 2 incipiens ab oriente in occidentem, a meridie in septemtrionem, tunc a consol in noghahem et a noghahem in frigicap, et postea celum et terram, et ita ter facies. (3) Set primo debent 7 predicta nomina deleri. Hoc facto suffumigando circulum, ventos novies taliter excitabis.

(4) Incipit excitacionis ventorum primus circulus incipiens in oriente et terminans in meridie.

(5) "Baxhatau, Gahatus, Caudes, Yarabal, Harit, Iesse, Rion, Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carmeal, Ynial, Prohathophas, Cambores, Trachatat, Nassar, (6) Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Mylau, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas, Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas, ego vos invoco, ut meis sitis prom[p]ti[52] peticionibus et preceptis. Summa Dei potencia vos obedire constringat'.

(7) Secundus circulus incipiens in meridie et terminans in occidente

(8) "Attraurbiabilis, Y[a]conaababur, Carmeal, Innyal, Prohathophas, Cambores, Trachatat, Nassar, Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Mylau, Abuchaba, Zobha, (9) Drohas, Palas, Sambas, Mextyura, Alcibany, Alflas, Baxatau, Gahatus, [Caudes, Yarabal, Harit], Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob, angeli Domini vos excitent, qui vos venire constringant."

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49 Vihel: D: Viel. SSM: Vyel

50 Pars: D and SSM omit.

51 Christus Lanciel / Lanciel Christus: D: Christus Lancihel / Lancihel Christus. SSM: Christus, lancyel, Christus / Lancyel, Christus / lancyel (!)

52 Promti: *Prompti. Compare CXXIX 9 and 14 and SSM L.3.f.30.

Frigicap, cold and damp, masculine, where the angels of **Mercury** dominate. / Sother Vihel / Vihel Sother
Northern part, where the angels of **Saturn** dominate, earth cold and dry / Christ Lanciel / Lanciel Christ

CXXVIII. Second day.

On the next day you should hear matins, prime, terce, mass, none, vespers, and compline, then go to the circle saying prayer 17. (2) Then you should have incense and a censer, in which should be glowing charcoals, and you should put the incense over the glowing charcoals, and fumigate the circle saying 1 (LIII) and 2 (LIV), beginning at the East to the West, from the South to the North, then from Consol to Nogahem, and then from Nogahem to Frigicap, and afterwards the sky and the earth, and this you should do three times. (3) But first the seven preceding names must be erased.[255] With this done, suffumigate the circle, and in this way you should raise up the winds nine times.

(4) Here begins the raising up of the winds. The first circle beginning in the east and ending in the south:

(5) "Baxhatau, Gahatus, Caudes, Yarabal, Harit, Iesse, Rion, Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carmeal, Ynial, Prohathophas, Cambores, Trachatat, Nassar, (6) Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Mylau, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas, Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas,[256] I invoke you, that you allow me those things which are described in my petitions and orders. The power of the most high God constrains you to obey!"

(7) The second circle beginning in the south, and end in the west.

(8) "Attraurbiabilis, Y[a]conaababur, Carmeal, Innyal, Prohathophas, Cambores, Trachatat, Nassar, Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Mylau, Abuchaba, Zobha, (9) Drohas, Palas, Sambas, Mextyura, Alcibany, Alflas,

255 See CXXVII.15.

256 SSM L.3.f.30: Baxahathau, gaatus, candones, yarabal, haryx, yesse, ryon, nesaph, naadobp: atrahurbyabylys, yaconaablabur, carmeal, iunyal, proathofas: cambores, trachatat, nassar, (6) naassah: hebethel, amocab, oylol, mylalu, abucaba: zobha, drohas, palas, Sambas: Mextyura, Altybany, alphlas.

(10) Tercius circulus incipiens in occidente et terminans in septemtrione

Tunc in occidente dicat: (11) "Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Milau, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Zambas, Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas, Baxhatau, Gaatus, Caudes, Yarabal, Harit, Iesse, Rion, Nesaph, (12) Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carmeal, Ynnyal, Proathophas, Cambores, Trachathat, Nassar, Naassa, sciencia Dei et sapiencia Salomonis vos convincat, que vos et ventos vestros excitare faciat."

(13) Quartus circulus incipiens in septemtrione et terminans in consol

Tunc in septemtrione dicat: (14) "Mextyura, Alchibany, Alflas, Baxhatau, Gahatus, Caudes, Iaraba<a>l, Harith, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Iaconaababur, Carmeal, Innyal, Prohathophas, Cambores, (15) Trachathat, Nassar, Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Myla<l>u, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas, sancta nomina Dei vos subiugent, que vos et ventos vestros excitare et huc venire constringant."

(16) Quintus circulus incipiens in consol et terminans in nogahem

Tunc in consol dicat: (17) "Harit, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carme[a]l, Innyal, Prohathophas, Cambores, Trachatath, Nassar, Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, (18) Mylau, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Zambas, [Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas], Baxhatau, Gaatus, Caudes, Yarabal, capud et corona principis vestri Belzebut vos venire et ventos vestros excitare constringat."

(19) 6us circulus incipiens in nogahem et terminans in frigicap

Tunc in nogahem dicat: (20) "Cambores, Tracatath, Nassar, Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Mylau, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas, Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas, Baxhatau, Gaatus, Caudes, Yarabal, (21) Harith, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Iaconaababur, Carmeal, Ynnyal, Prohathophas, iudicium summi Dei tremendum vos convincat, qui vos et ventos vestros ad mandatum meum venire et obedire constringat."

(22) 7us circulus incipiens in frigicap et terminans in oriente

Baxatau, Gahatus, [Caudes, Yarabal, Harit], Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob,[257] may those angels of the Lord raise you up, who compel you to come."

(10) Third, begin the circle in the west, and end in the north.

Then, facing west, say: (11) "Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Milau, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Zambas, Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas, Baxhatau, Gaatus, Caudes, Yarabal, Harit, Iesse, Rion, Nesaph, (12) Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carmeal, Ynnyal, Proathophas, Cambores, Trachathat, Nassar, Naassa, the knowledge of God and the wisdom of Solomon conquers you, so that you and your winds are made to rise up."

(13) Fourth, begin the circle in the north, and ending in Consol.

Then, facing north, say: (14) "Mextyura, Alchibany, Alflas, Baxhatau, Gahatus, Caudes, Iarabal, Harith, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Iaconaababur, Carmeal, Innyal, Prohathophas, Cambores, (15) Trachathat, Nassar, Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Myla<l>u, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas, the sacred names of God will subjugate you, who compel you and your winds to arise and come here."

(16) Fifth, begin the circle in consol, and end in Nogahem.

Then, in consol, say: (17) "Harit, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carme[a]l, Innyal, Prohathophas, Cambores, Trachatath, Nassar, Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, (18) Mylau, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Zambas, Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas, Baxhatau, Gaatus, Caudes, Yarabal, the head and crown of your prince Belzebut compels you to arise and come."

(19) Sixth, begin the circle in Nogahem and end in Frigicap.

Then, towards Nogahem say: (20) "Cambores, Tracatath, Nassar, Naassa, Hebethel, Amocap, Oylol, Mylau, Abucaba, Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas, Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas, Baxhatau, Gaatus, Caudes, Yarabal, (21) Harith, Iesse, Ryon, Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Iaconaababur, Carmeal, Ynnyal, Prohathophas, the terrible judgment of the most high God conquers you, which compels you and your winds to come at my command, and obey."

(22) Seventh, begin the circle in frigicap, and end in the East:

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257 SSM: Hatraurbyabylys, yaconablabur, carmeal, iunyal, prohatofas, cambores, trachatat, nassar, naassah, hebethel, amocab, oylol, mylalu, aabucaba: zobah, (9) drohas, palas, Sambas, mextyura, alcibany, alphlas, baxathau, cahatus, caudones, yarabal, haryth, yesse, ryon, nesaph, naadob.

Tunc in frigicap dicat: (23) "Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas, Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas, Baxhatau, Gaatus, Caudes, Yarabal, Harith, Iesse, Ryon, (24) Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carmeal, Innyal, Prohathophas, Cambores, Trachatath, [Nassar, Naassa], Hebethel, Amocap, Oilol, Mylau, Ab<r>ucaba, meo placati suffumigio, (25) timor furoris Domini et ignis ignem devorans vos pacificet et pacificatos mittat cum ventis vobis subditis et demonibus eorundem et missos obedire constringat, quoniam ei debetur ab omni creatura reverencia et obediencia cum timore."

(26) Tunc flexis genibus versus orientem dic: "Unde tu, Domine, 49, celi et terre conditor" et cetera. Et addes in fine: "Te suppliciter exoro et invoco, ut ex dono gracie tue et virtute sanctorum tuorum nominum, (27) ut isti prenominati venti hos demones, quos invocavero, congregent, constringant et ligent eos meis peticionibus penitus obedire, (28) quia tu es Deus potens, pius et misericors, qui vivis et regnas et imperas et regnaturus es per omnia secula seculorum. Amen."

(29) Hoc facto videbis tranquillitatem ab omni parte mundi in nubibus elevari, nec cessabit, donec perfeceris tuum opus, et erunt nubes iuxta circulum circumcirca. (30) Set prius iuxta circulum hec 7 predicta nomina scribantur, quia posset circulus aliter violari.

CXXIX 3ª dies

Tercia vero die<s> visitabis ecclesiam, ut oportet, et tunc habeas ignem, candelam de cera virginea et illa, que tue conveniunt questioni, thuribulum, thus, 7 gladios equales, (2) si possis claros, et si velis habere socios, poteris habere 7. Habeas eciam vinum optimum, de quo bibes, et socii tui, dum cognoveritis motus suos. (3) Et si solus fueris, porta 4 in latere dextro et 3 in sinistro, si tres, porta 3, et quilibet illorum 2, si 5, ferat quilibet unum, et tu 3, si 4, porta unum, et quilibet illorum 2, si 6, porta 2, et quilibet illorum unum.

Then, in Frigicap, say: (23) "Zobha, Drohas, Palas, Sambas, Mextyura, Alcybany, Alflas, Baxhatau, Gaatus, Caudes, Yarabal, Harith, Iesse, Ryon, (24) Nesaph, Naadob, Attraurbiabilis, Yaconaababur, Carmeal, Innyal, Prohathophas, Cambores, Trachatath, [Nassar, Naassa], Hebethel, Amocap, Oilol, Mylau, Ab<r>ucaba, with my pleasing suffumigation, (25) the maddening fear of the Lord, and the fire of fires, pacifies you, and pacified may he send with your winds the subordinates and daemons of the same, and may he bind the messengers to obey, because all creatures owe him reverence and obedience with fear."

(26) Then, bending your knees to the east, say: "From whence you, O Lord, 49, the originator of heaven and earth" etc. And add at the end: "I humbly beg and pray to you, that by the gift of your grace and the power of your holy names, (27) that these daemons of the previously-named wind, which I have called upon, may assemble; may they be constrained and bound to obey my petitions completely, (28) because you are a mighty God, kind and merciful, who lives and reigns and commands through all eternity. Amen."

(29) With this done, you will see a stillness from all parts of the world, rising up to the clouds, nor will it cease until you have completed your work, and the clouds will be all around near the circle. (30) But these seven preceding names should be written next to the circle beforehand, because otherwise they might be able to violate the circle.

CXXIX. The Third Day.

On the third day you should visit the church, as usual, and then you should have a fire, a candle of virgin wax, and those things which are relevant to the inquiry,[258] the censer, the incense, seven equal swords, (2) if possible they should be lustrous, and if you wish to have associates, you can have seven. You may also have a choice wine, which you and your associates can drink while you look for their movements. (3) And if you are alone, carry four swords on your right side, and three on your left. If there are three of you, carry three swords yourself and the others should each carry two; if there are five, carry three yourself, and the others should each carry one; if there are four, carry one yourself, and the others should each carry two.

258 GH p. 38: "whatever else suits his purpose."

(4) Tunc XI[a] hora die[i], cum fueritis competenter saciati vino et piscibus vel aliquo alio a carne, magister semel excitet ventos incipiendo ab illis, qui habent dominium die illa, et habeat signum Domini in manu sua dextra. Post hoc demones excitabit dicens contra orientem:

(5) Excitacio spirituum Solis, que fit in die Dominico, quando fit particulariter.

"Ubi est Barthan rex, ubi sunt Thaadas, [Caudas], Yalcal eius ministri? (6) Ubi est Formione rex, ubi sunt Guth, Maguth, Guthrin eius ministri? Ubi est Iammax rex, ubi sunt Carmox, Ycanol, Pasfran eius ministri? (7) Ubi est Sarabocres rex, ubi sunt Nassar, Cynassa eius ministri? Ubi est Harthan rex, ubi sunt Bileth, Mylalu, Abucaba eius ministri? (8) Ubi est Abaa rex, ubi sunt Hyici, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb eius ministri? Ubi est Maymon rex, ubi sunt Assaiby, Albunalich, [Haibalidech, Yasfla] eius ministri? (9) Omnes occurrite cicius quam poteritis promti meis peticionibus et preceptis obedire. Summa ac divina maiestas vos convincat, que vos venire constringat."

(10) Excitacio diei Iovis et spirituum eius, quando particulariter fit.

[Tunc in consol dicat:] "Ubi est Formione rex, ubi sunt Guth, Maguth, Guthrin eius ministri? (11) Ubi est Iammax rex, ubi sunt Carmox, Ycanol, Pasfran eius ministri? Ubi est Sarabocres rex, ubi sunt Nassar, Cinassa eius ministri? (12) Ubi est Harthan rex, ubi sunt Bileth, Mylalu, Abucaba eius ministri? Ubi est Abaa rex, ubi sunt Hyici, Quiron, Zach, Eladeb eius ministri? (13) Ubi est Maymon rex, ubi sunt Hassaybi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, Yasfla [eius ministri]? Ubi est Barthan rex, ubi sunt Thaadas, Caudas, Yalcal

(4) Then in the eleventh hour of the day, when you have been suitably satisfied with wine and fish, or any other meat, the master should raise up the winds once, beginning with those which have dominion on that day, and he should have the Sign of the Lord in his right hand. After this he should raise up the daemons saying towards the east:

(5) The raising up of the spirits of the Sun, which should particularly be done on a Sunday.

"Where is King Barthan?[259] where are Thaadas, [Caudas],[260] and Yalcal his ministers? (6) Where is King Formione? where are Guth, Maguth, and Guthrin his ministers? Where is King Iammax?, where are Carmox, Ycanol, and Pasfran his ministers? (7) Where is King Sarabocres? where are Nassar and Cynassa his ministers? Where is King Harthan? where are Bileth, Mylalu, and Abucaba his ministers? (8) Where is King Abaa? where are his ministers Hyici, Quyron, Zach, and Eladeb? Where is King Maymon? where are his ministers Assaiby, Albunalich, [Haibalidech, and Yasfla]? (9) Come with all haste to meet us, that you are willing and able to obey my petitions and precepts. The Most High and Divine Majesty conquers you, so that you are constrained to come."

(10) The raising up of the day of Jupiter, and those spirits which are particular to it.

[Then in Consol say:] "Where is King Formione? Where are his ministers Guth, Maguth, and Guthrin? (11) Where is King Iammax? Where are his ministers Carmox, Ycanol, and Pasfran? Where is King Sarabocres? Where are his ministers Nassar and Cinassa? (12) Where is King Harthan? Where are his ministers Bileth, Mylalu, and Abucaba? Where is King Abaa? Where are his ministers Hyici, Quiron, Zach, and Eladeb? (13) Where is King Maymon? Where are [his ministers] Hassaybi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, and Yasfla? Where is King Barthan? Where are his ministers Thaadas, Caudas, and

259 Gershom Scholem asserts that this indirect form of addressing the spirits is an indication of Arabic influence ("Some Sources of Jewish-Arabic Demonology," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 15 (1965): 1-13, cited in Mesler 2012 p. 142 n91.)

260 See below, 13, 17, 21, 25, 33, and CXIX.2. SSM L.3.f.31: thaadas, caaudas, yarabal.

eius ministri? (14) Omnes cicius quam poteritis venite cum omnibus subditis vestris promti michi in omnibus obedire. Virtus summi creatoris vos subiuget, que vos venire constringat."

(15) Excitacio diei Martis et spirituum eius, quando perticulariter fit.

Tunc in meridie dicat: "Ubi est Iammax rex, ubi sunt Carmox, Ycanol, Pasfran eius ministri? (16) Ubi est Sarabocres rex, ubi sunt Nassar, Cynassa eius ministri? Ubi est Harthan rex, ubi sunt Bileth, Milalu, Abucaba eius ministri? Ubi est Abaa rex, ubi sunt Hyici, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb eius min[i]stri? (17) Ubi est Maymon rex, ubi sunt Assaibi, Albunalich, Aybalidech, Yasfla eius ministri? Ubi est Barthan rex, ubi sunt Thaadas, Caudas, Yalcal eius ministri? (18) Ubi est Formione rex, ubi sunt Guth, Maguth, Guthryn eius ministri? Vos invoco venire cum excercitu vestro et meis questionibus obedire. Timor furoris Domini vos convincat, qui vos venire et obedire constringat."

(19) Excitacio diei Veneris et spirituum eius, quando particulariter fit.

Tunc in nogahem dicat: "Ubi est Sarabocres rex, ubi sunt Nassar, Cynassa eius ministri? (20) Ubi est Harthan rex, ubi sunt Bileth, Milalu, Abucaba eius ministri? Ubi est Abaa rex, ubi sunt Hyici, Quiron, Zach, Eladeb eius ministri? Ubi est Maymon rex, ubi sunt Assaiby, Albunalich, Haybalidech, Yasfla eius ministri? (21) Ubi est Barthan rex, ubi sunt Taadas, Caudas, Yalcal eius ministri? Ubi est Formione rex, ubi sunt Guth, Maguth, Guthryn eius ministri? Ubi est Iammax rex, ubi sunt Carmox, Ycanol, Pasfran eius ministri? (22) Venite obedientes cum omnibus subditis vestris creatori vestro et michi nomine ipsius. Exercitus angelorum, qui Sabaoth dicitur, vos meis preceptis subiciat."

(23) Excitacio diei Lune et spirituum eius, quando perticulariter fit.

Tunc in occidente dicat: "Ubi est Harthan rex, ubi sunt Bileth, Mylalu, Abucaba eius ministri? (24) Ubi est Abaa rex, ubi sunt Hyici, Quyron, Zach,

Yalcal? (14) Come as quickly as you are able, with all your subordinates, prepared to obey me in all things. The power of the most high Creator subjugates you, that you are constrained to come."

(15) The raising up of the day of Mars, and the spirits which are particular to it.

Then facing south, say: "Where is King Iammax? Where are his ministers Carmox, Ycanol, and Pasfran? (16) Where is King Sarabocres? Where are his ministers Nassar and Cynassa? Where is King Harthan? Where are his ministers Bileth, Milalu, and Abucaba? Where is King Abaa? Where are his ministers Hyici, Quyron, Zach, and Eladeb? (17) Where is King Maymon? Where are his ministers Assaibi, Albunalich, Aybalidech, and Yasfla? Where is King Barthan? Where are his ministers Thaadas, Caudas, and Yalcal? (18) Where is King Formione? Where are his ministers Guth, Maguth, and Guthryn? I call upon you to come with your army and to obey my requests. May the fear of the wrath of the Lord conquer, who binds you to come and obey."

(19) The raising up of the day of Venus, and the spirits particular to it.

Then in Nogahem, say: "Where is King Sarabocres? Where are his ministers Nassar and Cynassa? (20) Where is King Harthan? Where are his ministers Bileth, Milalu, and Abucaba? Where is King Abaa? Where are his ministers Hyici, Quiron, Zach, and Eladeb? Where is King Maymon? Where are his ministers Assaiby, Albunalich, Haybalidech, and Yasfla? (21) Where is King Barthan? Where are his ministers Taadas, Caudas, and Yalcal? Where is King Formione? Where are his ministers Guth, Maguth, and Guthryn? Where is King Iammax? Where are his ministers Carmox, Ycanol, and Pasfran? (22) Come with all your subordinates, obeying your creator and me in his name. The army of angels, which is called *Sabaoth*, makes you subject to my orders."

(23) The raising up of the day of the Moon, and the spirits which are particular to it.

Then, facing west, he should say: "Where is King Harthan? Where are Bileth, Mylalu, Abucaba, his ministers? (24) Where is King Abaa? Where are Hyici,

Eladeb eius ministri? Ubi est Maymon rex, ubi sunt Assaibi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, Yasfla eius ministri? (25) Ubi est Barthan rex, ubi sunt Taadas, Caudas, Yalcal eius ministri? Ubi est Formione rex, ubi sunt Guth, Maguth, Guthrin eius ministri? (26) Ubi est Iammax rex, ubi sunt Carmox, Ycanol, Pasfran eius ministri? Ubi est Sarabocres rex, ubi sunt Nassar, Cynassa eius ministri? (27) <Ubi est harthan rex. Ubi sunt bileth. mylalu. abucaba eius ministri. Ubi est abaa rex. Ubi sunt hyci. quyron. zach. eladeb. eius ministri.> [Venite omnes quam cicius poteritis cum omnibus subditus vestris et ut supra.][53]

(28) Excitacio diei Mercurii et spirituum eius, quando particulariter fit.

Tunc in frigicap dicat: "Ubi est Abaa rex, ubi sunt Hyici, Quiron, Zach, Eladeb ministri eius? (29) Ubi est Maymon rex, ubi sunt Assaibi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, Yasfla eius ministri? [Ubi est Barthan rex, ubi sunt Taadas, Caudas, Yalcal eius ministri?] Ubi est Formione rex, ubi sunt Guth, Maguth, Guthryn eius ministri? (30) Ubi est Iammax rex, ubi sunt Carmox, Ycanol, Pasfran eius ministri? Ubi est Sarabocres rex, ubi sunt Nassa[r], Cynassa eius ministri? (31) Ubi est Harthan rex, ubi sunt Bileth, Mylalu, Abucaba eius ministri? Summum Dei tremendum ac reverendum iudicium vos apparere et michi in omnibus obedire constringat."

(32) Excitacio diei sabati et spirituum eius, quando particulariter fit.

Tunc in septemtrione dicat: "Ubi est Maymon rex, ubi sunt Assaibi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, Iasfla eius ministri? (33) Ubi est Barthan rex, ubi sunt Taadas, Caudas, Yalcal eius ministri? Ubi est Formione rex, ubi sunt Guth, Maguth, Guthryn eius ministri? (34) Ubi est Iammax rex, ubi sunt Carmox, Ycanol, Pasfran eius ministri? Ubi est Sarabocres rex, ubi sunt Nassar, Cynassa<r> eius ministri? Ubi [est] Harthan rex, ubi sunt Bileth, Mylalu,

53 Namely, "… promti michi in omnibus obedire. Virtus summi creatoris vos subiuget, que vos venire constringat." So Sl. 3853 fol 153r. GH, following Sl, 3854, omits. Compare SSM, which cites Beelzebub. Evidence the London Honorius has had chief daemons redacted out?

Quyron, Zach, Eladeb his ministers? Where is King Maymon? Where are Assaibi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, Yasfla his ministers? (25) Where is King Barthan? Where are Taadas, Caudas, Yalcal his ministers? Where is King Formione? Where are Guth, Maguth, Guthrin his ministers? (26) Where is King Iammax? Where are Carmox, Ycanol, Pasfran his ministers? Where is King Sarabocres? Where are Nassar, Cynassa his ministers? (27) <...> [Come as quickly as you are able, with all your subordinates, prepared to obey me in all things. The power of the most high Creator subjugates you, that you are constrained to come," etc. as above.]

(28) The raising up of the day of Mercury, and the spirits which are particular to it.

Then in frigicap, say: 'Where is King Abaa? Where are his ministers Hyici, Quiron, Zach, and Eladeb? (29) Where is King Maymon? Where are his ministers Assaibi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, and Yasfla? [Where is King Barthan? Where are his ministers Taadas, Caudas, and Yalcal?] Where is King Formione? Where are his ministers Guth, Maguth, and Guthryn? (30) Where is King Iammax? Where are his ministers Carmox, Ycanol, and Pasfran? Where is King Sarabocres? Where are his ministers Nassa[r] and Cynassa? (31) Where is King Harthan? Where are his ministers Bileth, Mylalu, and Abucaba? The most high, terrible, and awe-inspiring judgment of God binds you to appear and to obey me in all things."

(32) The raising up of the Sabbath day, and the spirits which are particular to it.

Then facing north, say: "Where is King Maymon? Where are his ministers Assaibi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, and Iasfla? (33) Where is King Barthan? Where are his ministers Taadas, Caudas, and Yalcal? Where is King Formione? Where are his ministers Guth, Maguth, and Guthryn? (34) Where is King Iammax? Where are his ministers Carmox, Ycanol, and Pasfran? Where is

Abucaba eius ministri? (35) Ubi est Abaa rex, ubi sunt Hyici, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb ministri eius?"

Hic debet claudere manum et eis pugnum clausum ostendere cum sigillis. Tunc dicat: (36) "Virtus istorum sanctorum nominum Dei et sigillorum vestrorum vos convincat, que vos congregare, venire, apparere, respondere et michi in omnibus obedire constringant."

(37) Hoc dicto videbis eorum motus insurgere, et tunc dicas sociis, quod non dubitent, et fac eos potare, etsi adhuc motus non videris.[54] Set non debent ultra novies excitari.

CXXX Accessus ad circulum— Excitacio ventorum ante eum

Visis eorum motibus ad circulum accedentes ante circulum semel excitabis eos. (2) Tunc intres circulum per partem inter frigicap et occidentem pro meta positam, et tunc socii stantes pedibus in circulo stent, donec recluseris circulos dicens 18. (3) Tunc situa socios et enses in circulo tali modo, set antequam intraverunt, 7 predicta nomina deleantur, quia non possent aliter apparere. (4) Tunc versus quamlibet parcium unus ponatur gladius, et debent in altitudine adequari. Tunc, si solus fueris, versus orientem primo invocabis. (5) Si autem duo,[55] secundus sedeat versus partem contra occidentem, si 3, tercius versus meridiem, si 4, quartus contra septemtrionem, si 5, 5us versus consol, si 6, 6us versus nogahem, si 7, septimus versus faciem contra frigicap situetur. (6) Et habeat quilibet unum scannum ligneum alcius a terra ad digiti spissitudinem, ne scriptura circuli deleatur. Set ultra 3 socios capere non iuvabit.

54 Sl. 3853 153v adds: *reitera convocaciones*.

55 Duo: Sl. 3853: "duos socios habueris."

King Sarabocres? Where are his ministers Nassar and Cynassa? Where is King Harthan? Where are his ministers Bileth, Mylalu, and Abucaba? (35) Where is King Abaa? Where are his ministers Hyici, Quyron, Zach, and Eladeb?"

This should be done with your hand closed—show them the closed fist with the seals. Then say: (36) "May the power of these holy names of God and your seals conquer you, which bind you to assemble, to come, to appear, to answer me, and to obey me in all things."

(37) With this said, you will see the movement of them rising up, and then you should say to the associates, that they should not doubt, and make them take a drink, even if thus far you have seen no movements.[261] But they must not be raised up more than nine times.[262]

CXXX. Of the approach towards the circle—the raising up of the winds before it.

When you see their movements approaching the circle, you should summon them once again before the circle. (2) Then you should enter the circle through the part between Frigicap and the West, situated in front of the boundary, and then the associates should stand with their feet inside the circle, reciting 18, until you have re-closed the circles from within. (3) Then situate the associates and the swords in the circle such a manner, but before they have entered, the seven preceding names should be erased, because otherwise they would not be able to appear. (4) Then place one sword towards each direction, and they must be equalized in height. Then, if you are alone, you should invoke first toward the east. (5) If but two, the second one should sit facing toward the western part; if three, the third toward the south; if four, the fourth facing north; if five, the fifth towards Consol; if sixth, the sixth towards Nogahem; if seven, the seventh toward should be situated facing Frigicap. (6) And any of them may have a wooden stool higher than the ground by the thickness of a finger, lest the writing of the circle is erased. But to take more than three associates will not be helpful.

261 Sl. 3853 adds: "repeat the convocations."

262 SSM adds: *Quia si infra nouies motus non aperuerit, illa vice frustraris pro tunc. Set corrige te Et in crastino vel post crastino resume opus:* ("Because, if their movements are not revealed after nine times, with that turn you will be disappointed for that time. But you will improve, and on the following day, or the day after that, you may pick up the work again.")

CXXXI Preparacio ad excitandum spiritus

Situatis igitur in circulo ensibus et sociis magister habens signum Dei et sigilla in manu sua dextra ponat thus in thuribulo super prunas et suffumiget ter circulum et 7 mundi partes, celum, terram, signum Dei, socios et se ipsum dicens 1 et 2. (2) Tunc flexis genibus versus orientem dicat 25, 27, 28, 31, in quibus applicabit propositum in fine ita dicens:

(3) Applicacio

"Ut ille vel illi N spiritus, quos ego invocavero, ad me constricti veniant, sub tali forma N letantes appareant, (4) de omnibus quesitis veritatem respondeant et omnia mea precepta veraciter adimpleant et adimpleta diligenter et sine corupcione custodiant per illum, qui divisit lumen a tenebris, qui diabolis potestatem suam abstulit, (5) sub cuius potestate sunt celestia, terrestria et infernalia, qui vivit et regnat Deus in deitate sua, trinitas, Pater et Filius et Spiritus sancti, Amen."

CXXXII

Hoc facto dicat sociis, quod non timeant et inclinato capite terram et ensem et nichil aliud respiciant et, si siciunt, bibant. (2) Et tunc magister tenens baculum lauri vel coruli illius anni in manu dextra et thuribulum in sinistra incipiens in oriente novies circuiens suffumiget circulum dicens:

(3) Excitacio spirituum

"Barthan, Formione, Iammax, Sarabocres, Harthan, Abaa, Maymon," Quo dicto percuciat orientalem gladium de virgula dicens:

CXXXI. Preparation for raising up the spirits.

With the swords and the associates situated in the circle, and the master having the Sign of God and the seals in his right hand, he should place incense on the glowing charcoals in the censer, and he should fumigate the circle three times and the seven parts of the world, the heavens, the earth, the Sign of God, the associates, and he himself, saying prayers one and two. (2) Then kneeling toward the east he should say 25, 27, 28, 31, in which he will apply the intention in the end, saying:

(3) The application.

"That this spirit or these spirits N., whom I have invoked, may come bound to me, appearing cheerfully in the form of N., (4) answering all questions truthfully, and fulfilling all my orders truly and carefully, and may they take care without corruption, through Him who divided light from darknesses, who took away his power from the devils, (5) under whose power are all celestial, earthly, and infernal beings, who lives and reigns God in his deity, the Trinity, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen."

CXXXII.

With this done, he should tell the associates not to fear, but to bow their heads, and pay attention to nothing other than the earth and the sword, and if they are thirsty, they may drink. (2) And then the master takes in his right hand a stick of laurel or hazel from that year,[263] and in his left hand the censer. He then begins to suffumigate the circle, starting toward the east, and going around nine times, saying:

(3) The raising up of the Spirits.

"Barthan, Formione, Iammax, Sarabocres, Harthan, Abaa, Maymon," Which said he should strike to the east the sword with the wand, saying:

263 This is called *baculus* ("a stick or staff") here, but *virgula* ("wand, rod, twig") just below. SSM calls it *virga* below. I have to interpret "from that year" as meaning it should be cut fresh each year, not that it should be of the same year's growth, as the latter would be too small.

(4) "Exeat hic potentissimus rex Barthan cum omnibus suis suffraganeis in virtute celesti meam facere voluntatem,"

Tunc in meridie dicat:

"Iammax, Sarabocres, Harthan, Abaa, Maymon, Barthan, Formione,"

(5) Tunc percuciat meridionalem gladium dicens:

"Exeat hinc[56] fortissimus rex Yammax cum sua inenumerabili[57] caterva virtute divina meam facere voluntatem."

(6) Tunc in occidente dicat:

"Harthan, Abaa, Maymon, Barthan, Formione, Yammax, Sarabocres."

Quo dicto occidentalem gladium percuciat dicens:

"Exeat hic mitissimus Harthan rex cum omnium[58] suorum velocium subditorum caterva angelica virtute meam facere voluntatem."

(7) Tunc in septemtrione dicat:

"Maymon, Barthan, Formione, Iammax, Sarabocres, Harthan, Abaa."

(8) Quo dicto percuciat septemtrionalem gladium de virgula dicens:

"Exeat hic acerbissimus rex Maymon cum omnium suorum aereorum[59] spirituum exercitu virtute obediencie Belzebut ab eis debite meam facere voluntatem."

(9) Tunc in consol dicat:

"Formione, Yammax, Sarabocres, [Harthan], Abaa, Maymon, Barthan,"

Quo dicto consolanem gladium de virgula percuciat dicens:

"Exeat hic pulcherrimus rex Formione cum suis legionibus angelorum virtute timoris summi iudicii meam facere voluntatem,"

(10) Tunc in nogahem dicat:

"Sarabocres, Harthan, Abaa, Maymon, Barthan, Formione, Yammax,"

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56 *Hinc*: GH corrects to *hic* to be consistent with the other paragraphs, but *hinc* would also fit. SSM L.3.f.34 reads *hinc* for all these paragraphs.

57 SSM L.3.f.34: *inennarrabili* ("indescribable").

58 There is a blank space left in Sl. 3854 of approximately 5-6 characters. There is no indication of a lacuna in Sl. 3853 or SSM.

59 SSM reads *acrium* ("harsh"), which is perhaps more appropriate here, given parallel passages have adjectives that match their office, such as "wise spirits" for Frigicap.

(4) "May this most powerful king Barthan go forth, with all his supporters with the heavenly power, to do my will."

Then, facing North he should say:

"Iammax, Sarabocres, Harthan, Abaa, Maymon, Barthan, Formione."

(5) Then he should strike the sword to the South, saying:

"May this most mighty King Yammax go forth from here, with his innumerable troops with divine power, to do my will."

(6) Then facing West, he should say:

"Harthan, Abaa, Maymon, Barthan, Formione, Yammax, Sarabocres."

Having said this, he should strike the western sword, saying:

"May this most mild King Harthan go forth with the power of all his troops of swift angelic subordinates, to do my will."

(7) Then facing North he should say:

"Maymon, Barthan, Formione, Iammax, Sarabocres, Harthan, Abaa."

(8) Having said this, he should strike the northern sword with the wand, saying:

"May this most harsh king Maymon go forth with all his hosts of aerial [*harsh] spirits, with the power of the obedience they owe Belzebut, to do my will."

(9) Then in Consol he should say:

"O Formione, Yammax, Sarabocres, [Harthan],[264] Abaa, Maymon, Barthan,"

Having said this, he should strike the consol sword with the wand, saying:

"May this most beautiful king Formione go forth with his legions of angels with the power of the fear of the Final Judgment, to do my will."

(10) Then in Nogahem he should say:

"O Sarabocres, Harthan, Abaa, Maymon, Barthan, Formione, and Yammax,"

264 Missing in both Sl. 3854 and Sl. 3853, but found in SSM, and needed to be consistent with other parallel passages.

(11) Quo dicto percuciat nogahelem gladium de virgula dicens:

"Exea[t] hic nobilissimus ac fulgentissimus rex Sarabocres cum omnium suorum spirituum fulgencium potencia ac virtute virtute[60] huius celestis suffumigii meam facere voluntatem,"

(12) Tunc in frigicap dicat:

"Abaa, Maymon, Barthan, Formione, Iammax, Sarabocres, Harthan."

Quo dicto percuciat frigicapicem gladium de virgula dicens:

"Exeat hic sapientissimus rex Abaa cum omnium suorum sapientium spirituum exercitu virtute huius sacri [sigilli][61] Dei meam facere voluntatem."

(13) Tunc ponat thuribulum iuxta gladium orientalem. Inclinato capite respiciens crucem ensis dicat hanc oracionem:

(14) Oracio

"Domine Iesu Christe, qui in ligno crucis pro peccatoribus voluisti crucifigi, ut in ipso tua mors mortem nostram destrueret, exaudi clemens et benignus preces servi tui, (15) ut in virtute tua nobis sanctum angelum mittere digneris, qui hoc sacro misterio tuo ac signo nos confirmet, protegat ac defendat, a temptacionibus malis eripiat et in tuo sacro servicio permanere nos doceat, (16) quia tu es pius et misericors Deus, qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen."

CXXXIII

Hoc dicto stans pedibus in medio circuli respiciens undique celum taliter invocabit:

60 Virtute virtute: So Sl. 3854 135v; Sl. 3853 155r omits second virtute; SSM: cum omnium suorum fulgencium spirituum [in marg: collegio] potenciam et [erased word], virtute huius celestis ….

61 This word is found in SSM.

(11) Having said this, he should strike the nogahel[265] sword with the wand, saying:

"May this most noble and most shining King Sarabocres go forth with the force and power of all his shining spirits, and with the power of this celestial incense, to do my will."

(12) Then in Frigicap he should say:

"O Abaa, Maymon, Barthan, Formione, Iammax, Sarabocres, Harthan."

Having said this, he should strike the frigicap sword with the wand, saying:

"May this most wise King Abaa go forth with the army of all his wise spirits, with the power of this sacred [seal] of God, to do my will."

(13) Then he should put the censer near the eastern sword.

With head bowed, gazing at the cross of the sword, he should say this prayer:

(14) Prayer.

"O Lord Jesus Christ, merciful and kind, who willed yourself to be crucified on a cross of wood for the sake of sinners, in order that through your own death you destroyed our deaths, hear the prayers of your servant, (15) that through your power, you may deign to send to us the sacred angel, who may strengthen us with this your sacred mystery and sign, may it protect and defend, and deliver us from the temptation of evil, and may he teach us to endure in your sacred service, (16) because you are a loving and merciful God, who lives and reigns, God forever and ever. Amen."

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Having said this, standing with feet in the middle of the circle, gazing in all directions, he should call upon Heaven in this manner:

265 SSM: Nogaelem; one would expect "nogahem."

Incipit invocacio.

(2) "{P}er me [*nomen][62] et in nomine omnipotentis coroborati Dei vivi et veri Sabaoth, cui omnia patent et cui nulla latent, sub cuius voluntate omnes subiciuntur creature, (3) ego, N et ff filius, quamvis peccator, tamen donum divine suscipio maiestatis et in ipso[63] et per ipsum vos Barthan, Thaadas, Caudas, Yalchal, Formione, Guth, Maguth, Guth[r]yn, Iammax, Carmox, (4) Ycanol, Pasfrau, Sarabocres, Nassar, Cynassa, Harthan, Bileth, Milalu, Abucaba, Abaa, Hyici, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb, Maymon, Assaiby, Albunalich, Haybalidech, Yasfla et omnes alios spiritus, animas, demones, ventos, (5) qui vobis serviunt, obediunt et subduntur, excito, coniuro, contestor et constringo per hec sua nomina sancta 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, (6) et ipse Deus super vos excitet, vos tremere, expavescere et timere faciat, ut cum obediencia, leticia, pulcritudine et mansuetudine et veritate vos iuxta circulum venire et apparere const[ri]ngat. (7) Unde adiuro vos per summum nomen 11, per magnum nomen 12, per excelsum 13, per tremendum 14, per colendum 15, per reverendum 16, per piissimum 17, per ineffabile 18, per incommutabile 19, per sempiternum 20, (8) quatinus +ab omnibus mundi partibus unanimes et letantes hic iuxta circulum in forma N non nocentes alicui creature, non ledentes, non frementes, non furientes nec me sociosque meos vel aliquam creaturam terrentes, neminem offendentes set veniatis+ peticionibus meis consulti et providi statim obedire. (9) Et omnia precepta mea absque omni fallacia penitus adimplere per virtutem illius vobis precipio et ad hoc exorciso, quem omnes creature tremunt et colunt, qui vivit et regnat et regnaturus est super omnia et per omnia secula seculorum. Amen."

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62 GH interprets *mei* as an error for *me*, but Sl. 3853 reads "Per nomen et in nomine." This expression is found frequently in magical texts. See for example, BoO p. 44, Rawl. D252 12v, 87v, Wellcome ms. 110 36r-40v, etc. SSM L.3.f35: "Per N. et in nomine," but in that manuscript N. is often an abbreviation for "nomen;" compare e.g. L.3.f.35 line 10.

63 Sl. 3854 repeats "et in ipso" obviously by mistake. Not found in Sl. 3853 or SSM.

Beginning of the invocation.

(2) "Strengthened by the name and in the name of almighty God, the living and true Sabaoth, to whom all things stand open and to whom nothing is hidden, under whose will all creatures are subject, (3) I, N. the son of ff, although a sinner, yet I receive the gift of divine Majesty, and in Him I call you forth, O Barthan, Thaadas, Caudas, Yalchal, Formione, Guth, Maguth, Guth[r]yn, Iammax, Carmox, (4) Ycanol, Pasfrau, Sarabocres, Nassar, Cynassa, Harthan, Bileth, Milalu, Abucaba, Abaa, Hyici, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb, Maymon, Assaiby, Albunalich, Haybalidech, Yasfla, and all other spirits, souls, daemons, and winds (5) which serve, obey, and are placed under you, I call forth, conjure, call upon you, and bind you through these his holy names: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, (6) and God himself calls you forth, causing you to tremble, to feel dread and fear, so that you come and are constrained to appear, obedient, cheerful, beautiful, and subdued, and truthful, next to this circle. (7) From which I charge you through the most high name 11, through the great name 12, through the exalted 13, through the terrifying 14, through the name to be worshiped 15, through the awe-inspiring 16, through the most loving 17, through the indescribable 18, through the unchangeable 19, through the perpetual 20, (8) such that you come from all parts of the world, harmonious and cheerful, next to this circle, in the form of N., not harming any creatures, nor striking, roaring, raging, nor frightening me or my associates or any creatures, nor shocking anyone, but prepared to obey my decrees at once. (9) And I order you and exorcise you to thoroughly fulfill all my commands without any deceit, through his power, before whom all creatures tremble and worship, who lives and reigns and will reign over all forever and ever. Amen."

(10) Adiuracio

"Item adiuro vos pernominatos[64] spiritus N et invocando coniuro et coniurando contestor et constringo et viriliter imparo per sanctum nomen 21, per sanctissimum 22, per purum 23 et per iustum 24 et per festinantem 25 et per alia Dei nomina pura, (11) que sunt 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, et per ista novem[65] Dei nomina ineffabilia, que sunt 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, <45,> et per ista nomina Dei pura: [45,] 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, (12) quatinus vos Barthan" et cetera "et omnes spiritus et anime, venti et demones, qui vobis serviunt, obediunt et subduntur, ab omnibus mundi partibus unanimes" et cetera. (13) "Per sanctum igitur, iustum, potentissimum, excellentissimum, piissimum et coroboratum Heloy, fortem et admirabilem, perlaudatum, serviendum, tremendum, colendum, venerandum et terribilem, et per suum sacrum sigillum, quo Maria sigillavit, (14) ego, N, b et f filius, vos prenominatos spiritus N et omnes alios spiritus, animas, ventos et demones unanimiter et letanter cum pulcritudine, mansuetudine et veritate (15) hic iuxta circulum venire, apparere, respondere invoco, contestor, imparo, exorciso, concito,[66] coniuro, constringo et meis preceptis obedire et ea adimplere. (16) Sigillo per hec omnia sancta nomina 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81,[67] quatinus vos Barthan" et cetera (17) "et omnes spiritus, anime, venti, demones, qui vobis serviunt, obediu[n]t et subduntur, ab omnibus mundi partibus unanimes et letantes" et cetera.

64 GH: *per nominatos*, but see Sl. 3854 135v, Sl. 3853 156r, and SSH L.3.f.35.

65 As GH points out, "novem" ("nine") in Sl. 3854 is inconsistent with the text, which proceeds to list ten names. SSM L.3.f.35 lists names 36-44. S3 (156v) includes name 36 after 35 above, but also reads "decem" ("ten") instead of "novem," and ends with name 46, i.e. "... hofb 34, merkerpon 35, Elzephares 36, et per ista decem dei nomina ineffabilia que sunt Egirion 38 [*37], Betha 38, hombonar 39, Stimulamathon 40, Oryon 41, Eryon 42, Noymos 43, Peb 44, Nathanothay 45, Theon 46." This seems to prove some redacting took place by the scribe of Sl. 3853.

66 GH reads *con[v]icto*. SSM: *excito*; Sl. 3853 157r: *concito*.

67 D does not include 81.

(10) The Adjuration.

"Likewise I adjure you renowned spirits N, and with invoking I conjure, and with conjuring I call upon and constrain and powerfully order you through the holy name 21, through the most holy 22, through the pure 23 and through the just 24 and through the hastening 25 and through the other pure names of God, (11) which are 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, and Through those nine ineffable names of God, which are 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, <45,> and through those pure names of God: [45,] 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60," (12) as far as "you, O Barthan" etc.[266] "and the all spirits and the souls, the winds and the daemons, which serve you, they obey and are subdued, from all parts of the world, harmonious" etc. (13) "Therefore, through the holy, just, most powerful, most excellent, most pious and strengthening **Heloy**, strong and wonderful, extolled, served, causing trembling, worship, adoration, and fear, and by your Sacred Seal, with which Mary has sealed, (14) I, N., the child of B. and F., O you previously-named spirits N., and all other spirits, souls, winds, and daemons, I invoke, call upon, order, exorcise, arouse, conjure, and constrain you to come and appear (15) next to this circle, harmoniously and cheerfully, beautiful, subdued, and truthful, to answer, and obey my orders, and fulfill them. (16) I seal you by all these sacred names 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81," as far as **Barthan**' etc. (17) "and all spirits, souls, winds, daemons, which serve and obey you, and are subject to you, from all parts of the world, harmonious and cheerful" etc.

266 CXXXIII.8 just above.

(18) Sigillum et ligacio

"Bethala suspensus in ethera, payga. permyga. percuretaih. perrenay. atariron. aboaga. convenite et concurrite ab omnibus mundi partibus, (19) ara. aray. pangula. iamtarpa. kauthalae. calcecatas. syray. angyus. sathon. arathon. payn. enrapaelon. edydy. (20) per hoc zeham. Vitale. gysina. genasse. acenich. Vicmat [*Vicinat].[68] ut angi{u}s de sede florigeret super ea, que posita sunt in baldice speris, (21) baldultabrac. flebilis. palmonyam. ynephar. yristix. abyreylazacu. Sella. occurrite ab universis mundi partibus unanimes et letantes cum obediencia, leticia, pulcritudine, mansuetudine et veritate in forma N hic iuxta circulum apparentes, (22) non nocentes alicui creature nec ledentes nec frementes nec furientes nec me sociosque meos vel aliquam creaturam terrentes, (23) neminem offendentes set veniatis peticionibus meis consulti et providi statim obedire et omnia precepta mea absque omni fallacia possitis adimplere. (24) Per virtutem illius vobis precipio et ad hoc exorcizo, quem omnes creature tremunt et colunt, qui vivit et regnat et regnaturus est super omnia benedictus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen."

(25) Tunc novies circumeundo circulum tanges [*tangens][69] singulos gladios dicens: "{I}nvoco vos, aerie potestates in oriente, Barthan, Formione, Iammax," et cetera, sicut fecerat circulos suffumigando, et cum circuierit, (26) reversus in orientem dicat: "... et invocando coniuro vos per Zabuater, Rabarmas, Hiskiros, Kirios, Gelon, [Hel], Techel,

68 So Sl. 3853 157r and SSM L.1.f.23.

69 So SSM L.3.f.36 and Sl. 3853 157v.

(18) Seals and bonds.

"Bethala[267] suspended in the ether, **payga. permyga. percuretaih. perrenay. atariron. Aboaga,** convene and assemble from all arts of the Universe, (19) **ara. aray. pangula. iamtarpa. kauthalae. calcecatas. syray. angyus. sathon. arathon. payn. enrapaelon. edydy**. (20) Through this Zeham, Vitale, Gysina, Genasse, Acenich, Vicinath[268] as *angius* from the seat *florigeret*[269] over those, which have been placed in the sphere Baldice, (21) Baldultabrac, Lamentable, Palmonyam, Hynephar, Hyristix, Abyreylazacu, Sella.[270] Come together from all parts of the universe, harmonious and rejoicing with obedience, cheerfully, with beauty, gentleness, and truth, in the form of N., here visible beside this circle, (22) not harmful to any creature, neither hurting nor roaring nor raging against me or my associates, or frightening any creatures, (23) offending nobody, but may you come to respond to the petitions of my decree and provisions, to immediately obey and fulfil all my entreaties without any deceit. (24) I command you, and for this purpose I exorcise you, through his power, whom all creatures fear and worship, who lives and reigns, and will reign over all blessed, forever and ever. Amen."

(25) Then go around the circle nine times, touching each sword once, saying: "I call upon you, O airy powers of the East, Barthan, Formione, Iammax," etc., as you did when suffumigating the circles, and when you have encircled it, (26) you should return to the East and say: "... and invoking I conjure you through **Zabuater, Rabarmas, Hiskiros, Kirios, Gelon, [Hel,] Techel,**

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267 According to Ganell's text (81r) this prayer is called *Sigillum aereorum* ("the seal of the air"), and reads as follows: "Bethala, suspensus in ethera, per ayga, per myga, per turetac, per renay, ataryron, aboaga. Conuenite et occurrite ab uniuersis mundi partibus, (19) ara, arax, pangula, iamtarpa, kantalee, [L.1.f.23] calcecathos, syray, angyus, sathon, arathon, payn, eurapa, elon, edydy, (20) per hoc zeam, vitale, Gysyna, Genasse, acenyth, Vicinath, ut angius de sede florigereth super ea que posita sunt in baldichye speris [=spheris], (21) baldyutabrac flebilis, palmonyam, Inephar [or Mephar?], yrystyx, abyrey, lazacu, Sella." Compare also BoO p. 167. Compare also *Grimoire of Honorius* Conjuration du roi du Septentrion: "Balandier, *suspensus, iracundus, Origratiumgu, Partus, Olemdemis et Bantatis,* N. je t'exorcise..."

268 GH reads Vicmat, but Vicinat or Vicinath is supported by Sl. 3853 and SSM. Could be read "it is neighboring."

269 Florigeret: "It will bear flowers" (?)

270 Sella could mean "the seat."

Nothi, Ymeynlethon, Karex[70] et per angelos et archangelos, per tronos, dominaciones, per principatus et potestates et virtutes, per cherubyn et seraphyn ...." (27) Tunc semel circuiens circulum tangens gladios dicat: "... et per ista sacra angelorum nomina: Raphael, Caphael, Dardiel, Hurathaphel ...,"[71] in 2° gladio: "... Satquiel, [Raphael], Paamcociel, Asasagel [*Asasayel]...,"[72] (28) in 3[o] gladio: "... Samael, Sat<r>iel, Ituraiel, Am<i>abiel...," in 4[o] gladio: "... Hanahel, Ratquiel [*Raquiel],[73] Salguyel ...," in 5[o] gladio: "... Gabriel, Mychael, Samyel, Atithael ...," (29) in 6[o] gladio: "... Mychael, Myel, Sarapiel ...," in 7° [gladio]: "... [Boel], Cap[h]ciel, Mycraton, Satquiel, quibus non [*vobis] omnibus dominatur, et per omnia, que de Deo sunt dicenda et intelligenda, (30) et per illud signum Salomonis a Domino datum et per capud principis vestri Belzebub, cui debetis obedire, et per ista nomina sacra: (31) [Sabaoth], Sella, 91, Ciros, 92, Ob[i]ron, 93, [Nomygon], Oriel, 94, Theos, 95, Hespelli, 96, quatinus vos Barthan ... et eos spiritus" et cetera.[74]

(32) Tunc flexis genibus contra 4 mundi partes eis coniungitur penitus, quia omnes alii non possunt quod hii possunt, et eciam una cum Luna referunt consilia secretorum omnium in respectu aliorum, et sua forma clara est.

(33) Tunc semel dicat flexis genibus contra 4 mundi partes: "{A}ramorule, Thanthalatisthen, 97, Rabud, Thanthalatisthen, 28, 29, principium et finis, 30, 31, 32, (34) te suppliciter exoro et invoco, ut tuo iudicio convicti et constricti veniant advocati et dent michi responsa vera de quibus interrogavero non nocentes alicui creature,

70 Zabuater … Karex: cfr CI.7.

71 Raphael … Hurathaphel: cfr CVIII.1.

72 Satquiel … Asasagel: See CVI.1, where the last name is spelled "Asassaiel." SSM L.3.f.36: Asassayel; Sl, 3853 157v: Assassayel.

73 So CIX, SSM, and corrected *sec. man.* in Sl. 3854. Sl. 3853 157v: Ratha.

74 SSM: "..., 96. Item vos Barchan & c." CXXXIII.8, 12.

Nothi, Ymeynlethon, Karex,[271] and through the Angels and Archangels, through the Thrones, Dominations, through the Principates and Potestates and Virtutes, through the Cherubyn and Seraphyn ...." (27) Then go around the circle once, touching each sword, saying: "...and by the names of your holy angels: **Raphael, Caphael, Dardiel, Hurathaphel**. At the second sword: "... Satquiel, [Raphael], Paamcociel, Asasagel [*Asasayel]...," (28) at the third sword: "... Samael, Satiel, Ituraiel, Amabiel...," at the fourth sword: "... Hanahel, Raquiel, Salguyel...," at the fifth sword: "... Gabriel, Mychael, Samyel, Atithael...," (29) at the sixth sword: "... Mychael, Myel, Sarapiel...," at the seventh: "... [Boel], Caphciel, Mycraton, Satquiel, who is master of everything with you,[272] and by all things which should be said and understood about God, (30) and through that sign of Solomon given by the Lord, and by the head of your prince Belzebub, whom you must obey, and by these holy names of yours: (31) [Sabaoth], Sella, 91, Ciros, 92, Obiron, 93, [Nomygon], Oriel, 94, Theos, 95, Hespelli, 96," as far as "you, O Barthan ... and those spirits" and so forth.[273]

(32) Then kneeling towards the four parts of the world, joining with them inwardly,[274] because no others can do what these are able to do, and furthermore, together with the moon, they can reveal the secret plans of all the others, and their form is clear.[275]

(33)[276] Then say once towards the four parts of the world with bent knees: "**Aramorul, Thanthalatisthes, 97, Rabud, Thanthalatistha, 28, 29, the beginning and the end, 30, 31, 32, 33,** (34) I humbly beg and call upon you, that by your judgment they may be bound and constrained to come and give true answers to those things which I shall ask them, not hurting any creature,

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271 i.e. names 74-83 from CI.7, however these were used above. SSM specifies names 82-90, which would be next in the list. It is not clear why Sl. 3854 and Sl. 3853 abandoned the practice of referring to names by their number in this instance.

272 Following D, which reads "qui vobis omnibus dominatur." A has "nō" or "uō" which could easily be a misreading.

273 CXXXIII.8.

274 GH: "After this, he should kneel at the four cardinal points *to meet and join with the spirits*...." It is not clear if *eis* ("with them") refers to the spirits or to the four parts of the world.

275 The last part of this paragraph seem out of place. Compare CX.3: together with the moon they (the spirits of Mercury) can reveal the secret councils of all the others. *Clara* can also mean "bright," but CX.3 adds *ad modum vitri* ("like glass").

276 Compare *Heptameron*: "Amorule...."; BoO pp. 195–196; D252 130r–131r.

(35) non ledentes, non frementes, non furientes[75] nec me sociosque meos vel aliquam creaturam terrentes, neminem offendentes set peticionibus meis [obedientes] pocius et que precepero diligenter adimplentes."

(36) Tunc stans pedibus sibila sepcies percuciat et tunc semel circueat circulum dicens "Bethala" et cetera usque ad "occurrite." (37) Tunc stans in medio circuli aperta manu super aerem eis signum ostendat dicens: "Sigillo Salomonis veniant advocati et dent michi responsum verum."

(38) Incipit placacio spirituum.

"{G}eneolia, Chide, ministri tartaree sedis primathie, principes prepotentes sedis apoloice, potestates maonami{ri}e,[76] (39) ego vos invoco et invocando vos coniuro atque superne maiestatis munitus virtute potenter imparo per eum, qui dixit, et factum est, cui obediunt omnes creature, et per hoc nomen ineffabile 'Tetragramaton:' ioht, he, uau, deleth, (40) in quo plasmatum est omne seculum, quo audito omnes exercitus celestium, terrestrium et infernalium creaturarum tremunt et colunt, (41) quatinus cito et sine mora et omni occasione cessante ab universis mundi partibus adveniatis, racionabiliter de omnibus, quecumque interogavero, respondeatis non nocentes michi nec sociis meis, (42) non mencientes set pocius veritatem dicentes et veniatis {pa}cifice manifestantes quod cupimus coniu{rat}i per nomen eterni, vivi et veri Dei, 97."

75 This word is not in H, but can be found in SSM L.3.f.37, BoO p. 196, and Bodleian MS Rawl. D252.

76 SSM L.3.f.37: "Genealogia, chyde, ministri tartarei sedis primachye, principes prepotentes sedis apolloice, potestates, maonanierye." S3: "Geuolia chide..." GH, following only Sl. 3854 here, reads "{.}eneolia, chide." Compare also H "genii, Liachidae."

(35) not hurting or roaring or raging against either me or my associates or frightening any creatures, offending nobody, but rather [obeying] my petitions and diligently fulfilling my orders."

(36) Then standing on his feet, he should strike the whistle[277] seven-times, and then circumambulate once around the circle, saying "Bethala" etc. up to "come together." (37) Then standing in the middle of the circle with the open hand over the air, he should show the sign to them, saying: "May those who are called, come to the Seal of Solomon, and may they give true answers to me."

(38) Here begins the placating of the spirits.

"Geneolia, Chide, ministers of the Tartarean seat of Primachia, mighty princes of the seat of Apologia, powers of Maonamiria, (39) I invoke you and by invoking you I conjure and protected by the strength of the heavenly majesty, I potently command you through Him who spoke, and it was done, whom all creatures obey, and through this ineffable name 'Tetragrammaton:' **IOHT, HE, VAU, DALETH**,[278] (40) through which all the ages were formed, which heard, all celestial, terrestrial, and infernal hosts tremble at worship (41) that you cease all pretexts and come quickly and without delay, from all parts of the world, responding rationally to everything which I will ask, not harming me nor my associates, (42) not speaking deceptively, but rather truthfully and may you come peacefully, revealing what we wish, being conjured with the eternal name of the living and true God, 97."[279]

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277 See below, chap. CXL.2-5.

278 Note on the form "ioht, he, uau, *deleth*" see introduction. SSM reads: Ioth, he, vau, he.

279 Name 97 is "Elyorem." This whole passage has a parallel in H, pp. 120-122: "Beralanensis, Baldachiensis, Paumachiæ & Apologiæ sedes, per Reges potestatesque magnanimas, ac principes præpotentes, Genio Liachidæ, ministri Tartareæ sedis: Primac, hic princeps sedis Apologiæ, nona cohorte: Ego vos inuoco, & inuocando vos coniuro, atque supernæ Maiestatis munitus virtute, potenter impero, per eum qui dixit, & factum est, & cui obediunt omnes creaturæ: & per hoc nomen ineffabile, Tetragrammaton IHVH Iehouah, in quo est plasmatum omne seculum, quo audito Elementa corruunt, aër concutitur, mare retrogradatur, ignis extinguitur, Terra tremit, omnesque exercitus Cælestium, terrestrium, & infernorum tremunt, turbantur & corruunt: quatenus cito, & sine mora, & omni occasione remota, ab vniuersis Mundi partibus, veniatis: & rationabiliter de omnibus quæcunq; interrogauero, respondeatis vos, & veniatis pacificè,

(43) Quo facto statim apparebunt visiones infinite et illusiones sicut choros, organa, cithare et omnia instrumenta dulcissima, ut possint socios ad exitum provocare, quia supra magistrum nichil possunt. (44) Illis vero transactis venient exercitus militum et ballivorum, ut debeant pro timore de circulo fugere. (45) Post hec venient sagittarii cum omnium ferarum genere, ac si eos crederent devorare. Set operans providus loquatur sociis dicens: (46) "Nolite timere. Ecce signum Domini, creatoris nostri. Convertimini ad eum, quia potens est vos eripere de ore malignancium."

(47) Tunc dicat magister spiritibus manu clausa: "Fugiat hinc iniquitas vestra virtute vexilli Dei," et tunc aperiat,[77] ut obedire cogantur, et statim nichil socii videbunt. (48) Tunc confortando eos dic: "Sicio. Potemus. Quid vobis videtur? Nolite timere. Sperantes autem in Domino misericordia circumdabit. Letamini igitur in Domino et gloriamini," et scias, quod de cetero non timebunt. (49) Tunc dicat eis, quod de cetero non loquantur, et tunc in medio circuli conversus teneat manum dextram in aere dicens: (50) "Ecce opus sacratissimum. Ecce mirabilis descripcio. Ecce capita[78] vestra prefigurata sanctissimis Dei nominibus exornata. (51) Ecce [signum][79] Salomonis cum suis literis, karacteribus et figuris, quod ante vestram adduxi presenciam. (52) Ecce personam exorcizatoris in medio exorcismi,

77 D adds: "signum dei."

78 D: "Ecce opus sacratissimum est signum dei, et est mirabilis descripcio. Id est tota quasi accidentalis dei potencia. Ecce capita…."

79 So D and SSM. A is missing the word. GH inserts: "<sigillum>." H reads "pentaculum."

(43) With that done, immediately infinite visions and illusions will appear, such as choirs, organs, lutes, and all the sorts of the sweetest instruments, in order to provoke the associates to flee, because they are able to exert no such influence over the master. (44) After this armies of soldiers and bailiffs will come, in order to frighten them to flee from the circle. (45) After these archers with all types of wild beasts will come, and act as if they intended to devour them. But he should speak with caring to the associates saying, (46) "Have no fear. Behold the sign of the Lord, our creator. Turn back to him, because he has the power to snatch you away from the jaws of the wicked."

(47) Then the master, with closed hands,[280] says as follows to the spirits: "Flee hence with your iniquities, by virtue of the banner of God." And then he should uncover [the Seal of God], to compel them to obey, and immediately the associates will see them no more. (48) Then encourage them, saying, "I am thirsty. We may drink. What does it seem like to you? Don't be afraid, but put your hope in the mercy of the Lord. Therefore rejoice in the Lord." And know that they will fear no more. (49) Then tell them that they should not speak any more, and then, in the middle of the circle, he should hold his right hand in the air, saying, (50) "Behold the most sacred work. Behold this wonderful depiction. Behold your divisions prefigured, embellished with the most holy names of God. (51) Behold the [sign] of Solomon with its letters, characters, and figures, which I have brought before your presence. (52) Behold the per-

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visibiles, & affabiles: & nunc sine mora, manifestantes quod cupimus: coniurati per nomen æterni, viui & veri Dei **Heliorem.**" Compare also Byzantine exorcism in Delatte 1957 p. 43: "᾽ξορκίζω τοίνυν ὑμας, πνεύματα Βεραλάνευσις, Βαλδακιόνσης, Παυμαχία καί Ἀπολογίου καθεδραι, διά τών μεγαλοφύχων βασιλέων καί δυνάμεων καί ἀρχών ἰσχυροτάτων, Γενιολιακίδαι, δοῦλοι τής ταρταρέας καθέδρας, Πριμάκ ὁ πρώτος τής ἀπωλείας καθέδρας ἐκ τοῦ εννάτου τάγματος ἐγώ ὑμάς ἐξορκίζω ἐνδυναμωθεῖς τή θεία ἰσχύϊ διά τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ ον τά πάντα ὑπόκεινται καί ὑπείκουσι καί διά τοῦ Τετραγραμμάτον Γεχοβά ἀκούοντα τά στοιχεῖα ταράσσονται, ὁ ἀήρ κινεῖται, ἡ θάλασσα στρῖφει είς τά οπίσω, τὸ πῦρ σβέννυται, ἡ γή σείεται καῖ τρεμει καῖ πάν τάγμα επουρανίων καῖ επιγείων καῖ καταχθονίων τρέμει καῖ φοβειται." In view of Petrus's reading "nona cohorte," and the Greek "τοῦ εννάτου τάγματος" ("ninth battalion"), "maonamirie" should probably read "Nona Moera," ("the Ninth Part"). According to Ioannis Marathakis (personal communication), "in Petrus's version, all the words 'Beralanensis, Baldachiensis, Paumachiae et Apologiae' are in my opinion attributes of the word 'sedes': Apologiae is obvious from Honorius; Paumachiae is another corruption of Primariae; Baldachiensis probably means a throne with a 'Baldacchino' (a canopy of state)."

280 H: adhibens manum pentaculo ("holding out his hand to the pentacle") … tenens manum prope pentaculum ("holding his hand near the pentacle").

qui est optime a Deo munitus, intrepidus, providus viribus, qui potenter vos exorcizando vocavit et vocat. (53) Venite igitur cum omni festinacione, o Aye, Samye, ne differatis venire. Per nomina eterna vivi et veri Dei, 98, 99, et per hoc presens sacratissimum opus et per sanctum sigillum, (54) quod super vos potenter imperat, et per virtutem celestium spirituum et per personam exorcizatoris coniurati festinate venire et obedire preceptori vestro, qui vocatur 'Occinnomos.'"

(55) Hic sibilet undique semel et statim videbit motus et signa propria, set non nocebunt de cetero. Et tunc dicat sicut homo ferens imperium divine maiestatis et quasi eos in infimo suppeditans: (56) "Quid tardatis? Que est ista mora, quam facitis? Properate vos et obedite preceptori vestro, Bachac super Abrac ruens, Abeor super Aberor." (57) Et statim venient in forma propria, si illis venientibus, dum fuerint circa circulum, dicat magister ostendens eis sigillum: "Ecce coniuracionem vestram. Nolite inobedientes fieri." (58) Et statim videbit eos in forma pulcherrima et pacifica dicentes: "Pete quod vis. Nunc parati sumus quicquid preceperis adimplere, quia nos Dominus subiugavit." Tunc pete quod vis, et tibi fiet vel aliis, pro quibus volueris operari.

(Quartum opus vel tractatus)

CXXXIV Capitula 4^{i} tractatus de terreis angelis

De incarceratis habendis; De carceribus reserandis; De thesauris et metallis et lapidibus preciosis et omnibus rebus absconditis habendis; (2) De apparencia corporum mortuorum quod loquantur et resuscitata apparea[n]t; De apparencia creacionis animalium de terra. (3) Set ista duo subtraximus, quia erant contra Domini voluntatem, scilicet mortuum apparenter suscitare et animalia de terra apparenter creare. Finiunt capitula 4i tractatus.

son of the exorcist in the midst of the exorcism, who has been well fortified by God, undaunted, prepared with powers, who has powerfully called you, and calls you with exorcising. (53) Come therefore with all haste, O **Aye, Samye**, come without delay. Through the eternal names of the living and true God, 98, 99, and by this most holy work, and by the Holy Seal, (54) which commands power over you, and by the virtue of the heavenly spirits, and by the person of the exorcist who is conjuring you, hasten to come and obey your master, who is called '**Occinnomos**.'"

(55) Here he should whistle once on each side, and immediately he will see movements and relevant signs, but they will not harm anything. And then he should speak like one bearing the command of divine majesty, and as if they are humbly satisfying your needs: (56) "Why are you not yet here? What is the reason for your delay? Hurry and obey the commands of your master, Bachac rushing upon Abrac, Abeor over Aberor." (57) And they will come immediately in their proper forms, and while they are gathering around the circle, the master showing to them the seal, should say: "Behold your conjuration,[281] if you become disobedient." (58) And immediately he will see them in a most beautiful form, and peaceful, saying "Ask what you wish; we are now prepared to fulfill whatever you order, because the Lord has subjugated us." Then ask what you wish, and it will be done for you, or for others, on behalf of whom you wished to work.

(Fourth Book or Treatise.)

CXXXIV. Topics of the Fourth Treatise, concerning the Spirits of the Earth.

To extract someone from prison; to unlock prisons; to have treasures and metals and precious stones and all hidden things; (2) that dead bodies appear, which seem to rise again and speak; that animals appear to be created from the land. (3) But we have removed those two, because they were against the Lord's will, namely, to raise up the dead, and to appear to create living creatures from the earth. The end of the topics of the fourth treatise.

281 The parallel text in H reads "ecce conclusionem vestram" ("behold your conclusion" or perhaps better "behold your confinement").

CXXXV Incipit modus operandi in eis.

Eodem enim modo, quo in precedenti opere continetur, potes operari de istis spiritibus terreis, si suffumigium et nomina mutarentur, circulus et sigilla. (2) De quibus spiritibus breviter hic dicamus, qui sunt turpissimi et omni pravitate pleni. (3) Eorum natura est radices arborum et segetum exstirpare, thesauros occultos in terra custodire et conservare, terremotus facere, fundamenta civitatum vel castrorum destruere, (4) homines in cisternis deprimere et cavernis, incarceratos temptare, homines destruere, lapides preciosos in terra occultos adlibitum dare et nocere cuicumque.

(5) Corpora eorum sunt ita grossa sicut et alta, magna et terribilia, quorum pedes sunt quilibet 10 digitorum, in quibus sunt ungues ad modum serpentum, et habent 5 vultus in capite; (6) unus est bufonis, alter leonis, tercius serpentis, quartus hominis mortui lugentis et plangentis, quintus hominis incomprehensibilis. (7) Duos tigrides gerunt in cauda. Tenent in manibus duos dracones. Color[um] eorum nigerrimus omni nigredine inestimabili.

(8) Sunt autem 5. Corniger rex meridionalis, et habet 4 ministros in 4 mundi partibus, Trocornifer in oriente, Malafer in occidente, Euiraber in meridie, Mulcifer in septemtrione. (9) Et quilibet habet legiones centum, et in qualibet sunt demones 4500, qui omnes istis 4 obediunt et subduntur, et isti 4 sunt, qui possunt omnes alios spiritus a thesauris absconditis fugare, ligare et constringere, et sunt ministri infernales.

(10) Princeps eorum est Labadau. Eius coadiutor est Asmodeus, qui dat thesaurum indestructibilem cuiuslibet monete. (11) Motus eorum est castrorum ruina, segetum et plantarum exstirpacio. Signum est, quod totus mundus videbitur destrui invocanti. (12) Suffumigium eorum est sulphur, circulus eorum concavus et rotundus et distet a circulo magistri per 9 pedes.

CXXXV. The beginning of the way of operating with them.

You can work with the terrestrial spirits using the same method described in the preceding work, if the suffumigations and the names are altered, as well as the circle and the seals. (2) We will speak about these spirits briefly here. They are most ugly and full of all kinds of wickedness. (3) Their nature is to root out the roots of trees and crops, to guard and preserve treasures hidden in the earth, to cause earthquakes, to destroy the foundations of cities or castles, (4) to drag down people into pits or caves, to tempt those who are imprisoned, to destroy people, to give precious stones hidden in the earth as desired, and to harm anything.

(5) Their bodies are as big as they are high, large and frightening; their feet each have ten toes, which have claws like those of reptiles, and they have five faces on their heads; (6) One is of a toad, another of a lion, the third of a serpent, the fourth of a dead man mourning and striking, the fifth of an incomprehensible man. (7) Two tigers carry them upon their tails. They hold two dragons in their hands. Their color is blacker than the deepest black imaginable.

(8) But they are five. Corniger ("horn-bearing") is king of the south, and he has four attendants in the four parts of the world: Trocornifer in the East, Malafer in the West, Euiraber in the South, Mulcifer[282] in the North. (9) And each of them has a hundred legions, and in each legion is 4500 daemons, who all obey and are subject to these four, and these four are able to drive away all other spirits from hidden treasures, to bind and constrain, and they are the ministers of Hell.

(10) Their prince is Labadau. His assistant is Asmodeus, who gives indestructible treasure of whatever type of coin.[283] (11) Their movement causes the ruin of castles, rooting up crops and plants. The sign that they have appeared, is that the whole world will seem to be destroyed when they have been invoked. (12) Their suffumigation is sulfur; their circle is hollow and round, and set apart from the circle of the master by feet nine.

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282 *Corniger*: "having horns" Compare SSM L.5.f.64: Corniger, Corcornifer, Furcaber, Mulcifer, Labadan, Admodeus [sic]. SSM L.5.f.58 ff (*cap 4: de oficiis particularibus spirituum*) lists offices for a long list of daemons, including Corniger, Mulciber, and Malafar, with short descriptions of their offices, for example: *Mulciber, facit fluctuare montaneas velut mare* ("Mulciber makes mountains rise up like waves at sea.").

283 In Leipzig Cod. Mag. 16 p. 162-163 their names read: Corniger, Cornifer, Malafer, Furcuber, Lucifer, Acadan, and Asmodaÿ.

(13) Sigillum terre

"{H}oreaua. recolia. narex. axo et abdia. laadia. cauethlegia. byaron. eleymath. thetanyra. cadulaua.[80] (14) Mathia. nysmaria. pergaria. perelyn. pernigyn. perlabudyn. perkedusyn. perbatusyn. pergalmegue. garaneu, ut tartari cogerentur."[81]

(15) Coaccio eorum sive coniuracio

"Invoco vos, terree potestates, et invocando coniuro" et cetera, ut supra in precedenti opere. Tunc, cum dixerint "Quid vis?," pete quod vis, et fiet.

(16) Set melius est scribere peticionem in tegula nova vel tegul[is][82] cum carbonibus et in eorum ponere circulo, et sic eos non audies nec videbis, et tum quicquid petitum fuerit facient in instanti. (17) Et de istis nunquam vel raro Christianus se intromittit, nec eorum consilia sunt credenda.

(18) Circulus, in quo apparent spiritus.[83]

80 The c is barely legible, but supported by SSM and Leipzig cod. Mag. 16 p. 166. GH reads "adulaua."

81 SSM L.1.f.23, line 42-L.1.f.24, line 3: Horeana. recholya. nathexaxo. et abdya. laadya. Kauecleya. [L.1.f.24] byaron. eleymath. thetanyra. cadulana. mathya. nysmarya. pergarya. per elyn. per iugyn. per kabudyn. per kedussyn. per batussyn. per gualmegue. per guaranen, ut tartari cogerentur.; L.3.f.59 lines 13-16: Horeana. recolya. nathexaxo. et abdya. laaddya....

82 GH misreads as "vel tegula" and marked as an accretion to be deleted, but it is clear the plural was intended, since it speaks of placing *them* in the circle.

83 Sloane 3854. f. 137r.

(13) Seal of the earth.

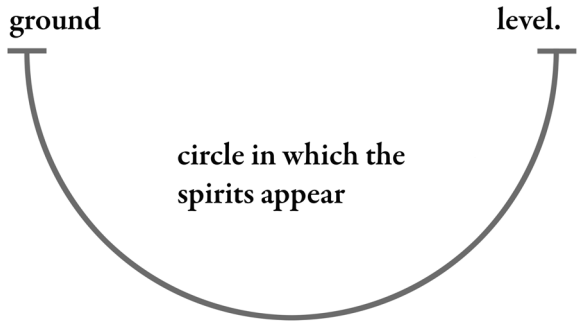
"{H}oreaua, Recolia, Narex, Axo and Abdia, Laadia, Cauethlegia, Byaron, Eleymath, Thetanyra, Cadulaua, (14) Mathia, Nysmaria, Pergaria, Perelyn, Pernigyn, Perlabudyn, Perkedusyn, Perbatusyn, Pergalmegue, Garaneu, that the infernal ones assemble."

(15) Calling them forth, or the conjuration.

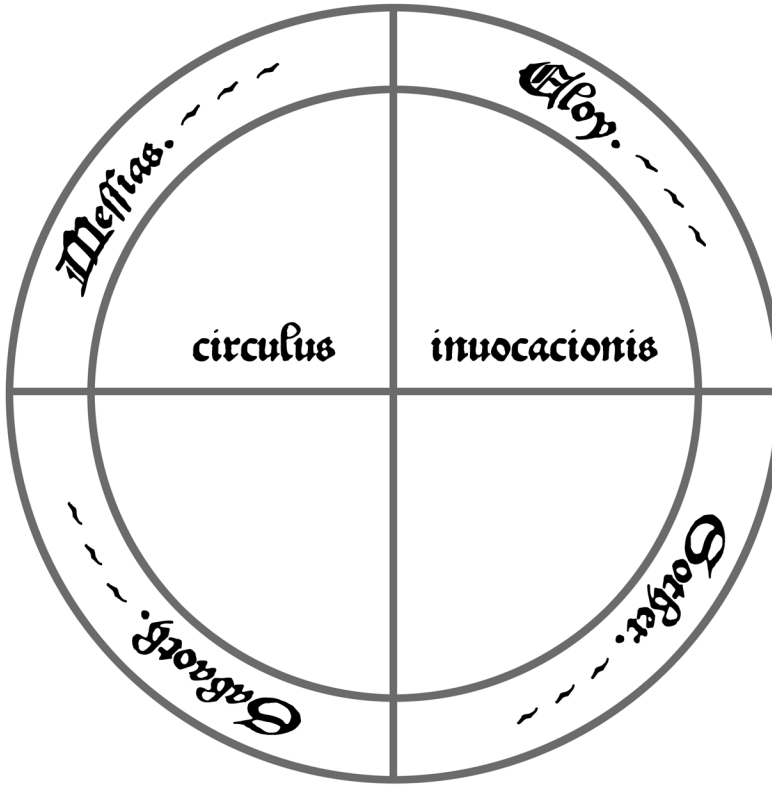
"I call upon you, O powers of the earth, and I invoke and conjure you..." and so on, as given in the preceding work. Then, when they have said "what do you wish?", ask what you wish, and it will happen.

(16) But it is better to write the petition on a new tile (or tiles) with charcoal, and put them in the circle, and thus you will neither hear them nor see them, and then whatever you wish they will make happen in an instant. (17) And concerning these, a Christian should seldom or never let himself enter into dealings with them, nor should their advice be believed.

(18) Circle in which the spirits appear.[284]



284 Figure of a pit, with label "equalitas terre" ("ground level").



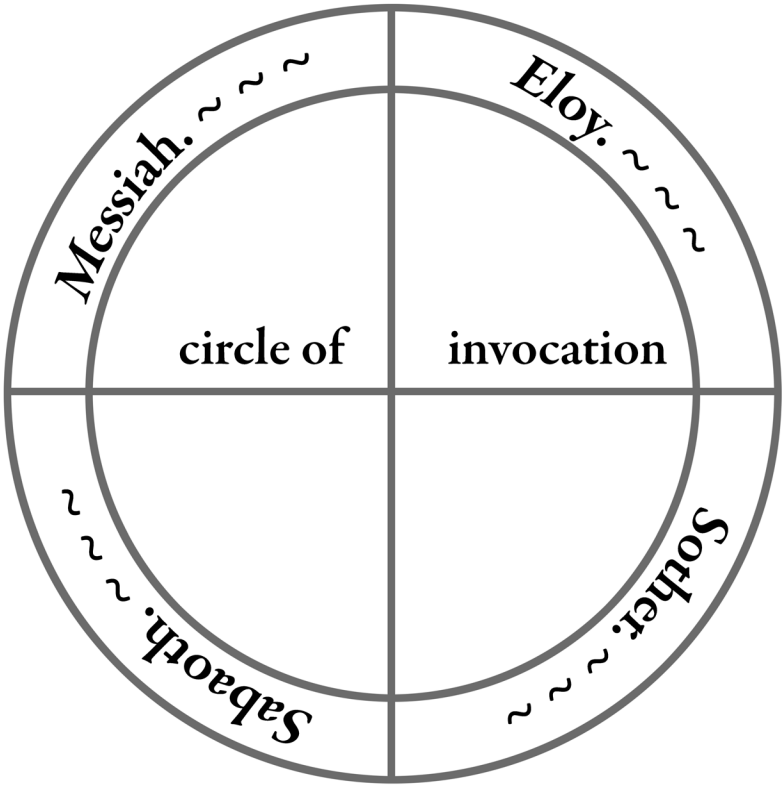
In hac operacione sed[84] de angelis terreis duo isti circuli necessarii; (19) iste primus, qui est concavus, est in quo veniunt advocati, set iste secundus est planus, in quo invocans stare debet, et debet distare a primo per 9 pedes. (20) Et de hiis maxime operantur pagani et rarissime Christiani.

CXXXVI Incipit quintus liber.

(Primum capitulum quinti tractatus)

Incipit 5[us] et ultimus tractatus de exposicione predictorum in generali in 4 primis tractatibus, quia in libro Honorii sunt 5 tractatus, (2) primus de

84 GH: "4."



In this operation, namely regarding the angels of the earth, two circles are necessary: (19) The first one is hollow; it is where the ones summoned come, but the second should be level, in which the one calling-upon them should stand, and it should stand nine feet apart from the first. (20) And it is especially the pagans who operate with these, and very rarely should Christians.[285]

CXXXVI. Here Begins Book Five.

(First chapter of the fifth treatise)

Beginning of the fifth and final treatise, concerning the general exposition of the preceding in the first four treatises, because in the book of Honorius

285 From Sloane 3854, f. 137r. Inside is the label "the circle of invocation, and around the border are four names of God: Eloy, Sother, Sabaoth, Messias."

visione divina, secundus de angelis bonis, tercius de aereis, quartus de terreis, quintus de exposicione horum.

(3) De visione divina; De cognicione potestatis divine; De absolucione peccatorum; Ne homo incidat in peccatum mortale; De redempcione trium animarum a purgatorio.

(4) Omnium autem horum 5 operum precedencium ordo iacet suo modo verissimo situatus. De primo enim iam patet peticio explanata. (5) De secundo autem taliter postulabis: "… ut abluto corpore me vivente mea possit anima cum tua incomprehensibili potencia a te cognita cum tuis sanctis angelis tuam cognoscere potestatem." (6) De 3° taliter postulabis: "… ut abluto corpore te cum tuis novem angelorum ordinibus me vivente mea possit anima collaudare, et meorum concedas veniam peccatorum." (7) Quarto taliter est dicendum: "… ut abluto corpore dehinc nullam possim committere maculam peccatorum, set meo vivente corpore puro corde, mente et opere te cum tuis novem angelorum ordinibus mea possit anima collaudare" et cetera. (8) Quinta peticio taliter situetur: "… ut meo abluto corpore te <te>cum tuis" et cetera, "… ex tua gracia N, N, N tales a penis purgatorii eripias et suorum veniam tribuas peccatorum, (9) ut ipsi iam defuncti tuam possint agnoscere, laudare et glorificare maiestatem." Istud opus potes novies facere sine ira Dei et qualibet vice, secundum quod predixi, tres animas impetrabis. (10) Et scias, quod, de omnibus aliis si eodem modo petieris, optinebis. <Vel sic. Ut abluto corpore celestes. igneas. aereas. aquaticas et terreas efficaciter possim cognoscere potestates.>[85]

85 GH has this marked defective, but see SSM for sixth variant of the petition.

there are five treatises, (2) the first concerning the divine vision, the second concerning the good angels, the third concerning the aerial (spirits), the fourth concerning the terrestrial (spirits), the fifth concerning the exposition of these.

(3) Concerning the divine vision; concerning knowledge of divine power; concerning the absolution of sins; lest one falls into mortal sin; concerning the redemption of three souls from Purgatory.

(4) Moreover, of these five preceding works, their order is set down in the most correct manner.[286] Concerning the first, the petition is as plainly shown. (5) But you should ask for the second in this manner: "... that with my body being washed, my soul will be able to understand your incomprehensible power, known from you, with your holy angels, while I live." (6) The third should be asked for in this manner: "... that with my body being washed, my soul will be able to praise you, side by side with your nine orders of angels, while I live, and may you grant a pardon for my sins." (7) The fourth should be said in this manner: "... that with my body being washed, hereafter I will not be able to commit the stain of sin, but pure in heart, in mind, and in deed, my soul will be able to praise you, side by side with your nine orders of the angels, while my body lives" and so forth. (8) The fifth petition should be phrased thus: "... that, with my body being washed, side by side with your ..." and so forth, "... by your grace, save N., N., and N., from the pains of purgatory, and pardon their sins, (9) in order that they being released may be able to acknowledge, praise, and glorify your majesty." You will be able to do this work nine times without the wrath of God, and each time you will secure three souls by following what I have said above. (10) And you should know that, concerning all others you will obtain them if you alter the petition in the same manner. <Or thus, "that with my body being washed, I may be able to learn the heavenly, fiery, airy, aquatic, and earthly powers effectually.">

286 Compare CII.1-3.

CXXXVII 2^{m} capitulum quinti tractatus de consecracione hincausti[86] *sigilli Dei eterni, vivi et veri operantis*

'{D}eus invisibilis, Deus inestimabilis, Deus ineffabilis, Deus incommutabilis, (2) Deus incoruptibilis, Deus piissime, Deus dulcissime, Deus excelse, Deus gloriose, Deus inmense, Deus tocius misericordie, ego, licet indignus—vel: plenus iniquitate, dolo et malicia—, (3) suplex ad tuam venio misericordiam orans ac deprecans, ut non respicias ad universa et innumerabilia peccata mea set, sicut consuevisti peccatorum misereri et preces humilium exaudire, (4) ita me, famulum tuum N, licet indignum, exaudire digneris clamantem ad te pro hac benediccione huius creature sanguinis, ut ipse aptus et dignus efficiatur pro hincausto sigilli tui sacri et preciosi et nominis tui "Semenphoras", (5) ita ut aptitudinem, quam optinere debet, optineat per sanctissimum nomen tuum, quod 4 literis scribitur, ioht, he, vau, deleth—Agla, Eloy, Yaym, Theos, Deus—quo audito celestia, terrestria et infernalia tremunt et colunt. (6) Et per hec sanctissima nomina: On, Alpha et Ω, principium et finis, El, Ely, Eloe, Eloy, Elion, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Egge, Ya, Ya, Ye, Ye, (7) benedicatur hec cruoris creatura et preparetur et aptetur pro hincausto sacri sigilli tui et sanctissimi nominis "Semenphoras" tui, quod est benedictum per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.'

(8) Oracio

'Domine Iesu Christe, per ineffabilem misericordiam tuam parce michi et miserere mei et exaudi me nunc per invocacionem nominis trinitatis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, (9) ut acceptas habeas, et tibi placeant, oraciones et verba oris mei, per invocacionem tuorum sanctorum 100 nominum,

86 i.e. encausti.

CXXXVII. Second Chapter of the Fifth Treatise, concerning the consecration of the ink[287] *used for the Seal of the Eternal, Living, and True God.*[288]

"O invisible God, O inestimable God, O ineffable God, O unchangeable God, (2) O incorruptible God, O pious God, O sweetest God, O exalted God, O glorious God, O immeasurable God, O God of all mercy, I, although unworthy—or, full of iniquity, deceit, and wickedness—(3) I come seeking your mercy, beseeching and entreating, that you not look back on all my countless faults, but even as you are accustomed to have mercy on sinners, and hear the prayers of the humble, (4) so too deign to hear me, your servant N., although unworthy, beseeching you for the blessing of this creature of blood, that it may be made suitable and worthy for the ink of your sacred and precious seal, and precious and of your name "Shem Ha-Meforash," (5) that it may possess the properties it must maintain, through your most holy name, which is written with four letters, IOHT, HE, VAU, DALETH[289]—Agla, Eloy, Yaym, Theos, God—which heard, all that inhabit Heaven, Earth, and Hell do tremble. (6) And through these most holy names: On, Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the End, El, Ely, Eloe, Eloy, Elion, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Egge, Ya, Ya, Ye, Ye, (7) may this creature of blood be blessed and may it be prepared and may it be suitable for ink for your sacred seal and your most holy name "Shem Ha-Meforash," which is blessed forever and ever Amen."

(8) Prayer.[290]

"O Lord Jesus Christ,[291] through your ineffable mercy spare me and pity me, and hear me now, through the invocation of the name of the Trinity, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, (9) in order that the prayers and words from my mouth are acceptable and pleasing to you, through the invo-

287 *Lat.* Hincausti, i.e. encausti: ink; traditionally a purple-red ink.

288 In R, CXXXVII.20-22, 1-19 are found before VII.

289 This unusual variation of the Tetragrammaton is also found in CXXXIII.38. See introduction.

290 Compare Young 2015, p. 13

291 Compare R 27v.

scilicet Agla, Monhon' et cetera 'humiliter et fideliter deprecans, (10) licet ego indignus, tamen in te confidens, ut sanctifices et benedicas cruorem istum per sanctissima nomina tua predicta et per nomen "Semenphoras" 72 literarum, (11) quatinus per virtutem et sanctitatem et potestatem eorundem nominum et per virtutem et potestatem tuam divinam sit cruor iste consecratus ✠, benedictus ✠, confirmatus ✠ per virtutem sacratissimi corporis et sanguinis tui, (12) ut virtutem, quam optinere debet, et aptitudinem optineat et efficaciter sine aliqua fallacia veraciter valeat ad scribendum sigillum tuum sanctum, (13) ut sanctam virtutem optineat et potestatem habeat, ad quam est institutum, prestante Domino, qui sedet in altissimis, cui sit laus, honor et gloria per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.'

(14) Oracio benediccionis

'Benedicat te Pater ✠, benedicat te Filius ✠, benedicat te Spiritus sanctus ✠. (15) Sancta mater Domini nostri Iesu Christi te benedicat et sanctificet, ut virtutem sacramenti in sigillo Dei ex te scribendo, o cruor, optineas, quam optinere debes. (16) Benedicant te omnes sancte virgines, benedicant te hodie et in omni tempore omnes sancti et electi Dei. Omnes virtutes celestes te benedicant et confirment. (17) Angeli omnes et archangeli, virtutes, principatus, potestates, troni, dominaciones, cherubyn et seraphin ex auctoritate et licencia Dei te benedicant. (18) Per merita et oraciones omnium sanctorum tuorum, Domine Iesu Christe, benedicas ✠ et sanctifices ✠ et consecres ✠ cruorem istum sigilli Dei et confirmes per omnipotenciam tuam, (19) et virtutem et potestatem optineat sigillum tuum de eo scribendum, quam debet, et ad quam est institutum et confirmatum, prestante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cuius regnum et imperium sine fine manet in secula seculorum. Amen.'

(20) Antequam iste 3 oraciones supra cruorem dicantur procedenter versus Ierusalem, dicatur supra eum exorcismus salis, quod ponitur in aqua, ter, nisi quod nomina sic debent mutari: (21) "Exorcizo te, creatura cruoris" loco de '... creatura salis' et 'qui per Salomonem te in sigillum Dei mitti iussit' loco de 'qui per Heliseum te in aqua mitti iussit' et sic de aliis.

cation of your one hundred holy names, namely Agla, Monhon"and so on,[292] "humbly and faithfully begging you, (10) I although unworthy, yet trusting in you, that you would sanctify and bless this blood by your most sacred names aforesaid, and by the name "Shem Ha-Meforash" of seventy-two letters, (11) that by the virtue, sanctity, and power of the same names, and by your divine virtue and power, this same blood may be consecrated ✠ blessed ✠ strengthened ✠ through the virtue of your most holy body and blood, (12) that it may obtain the virtue and ability which it must possess, and effectually without any deceit, for correctly writing your sacred seal, (13) in order that it maintains the sacred virtue and have the power, for which it has been prepared, with the Lord providing, who sits in the highest place, to whom be praise, honor and glory forever and ever. Amen."

(14) Prayer of benediction

"May the Father bless you ✠; may the Son bless you ✠; may the Holy Spirit bless you. ✠ (15) May the holy mother of our Lord Jesus Christ bless and sanctify you, O blood, that you may have the sacramental power for writing the Seal of God, that you may possess the properties you must maintain. (16) May all the holy virgins bless you; may all the saints and elect of God bless you and strengthen you today and for all times. (17) May all Angels and Archangels, Virtues, Principalities, Powers, Thrones, Dominations, Cherubim, and Seraphim bless you, by the authority and permission of God. (18) Through the merits and prayers of all your saints, O Lord Jesus Christ, may you bless ✠ and sanctify ✠ and consecrate ✠ this blood for this Seal of God, and may you strengthen it through your omnipotence, (19) and that through its writing, your seal may maintain the virtue and power which it should have, and for which it has been instituted and confirmed, with our Lord Jesus Christ providing, who lives and reigns forever, world without end. Amen."

(20) Before that, three prayers should be said over the blood, while facing towards Jerusalem: The exorcism of the salt should be said over it three times, which is placed in the water, except the words should be changed thus: (21) Say "I exorcise you, O creature of blood" instead of "I exorcise you O creature of salt" and say "which God, through Solomon, commanded to be put into the seal of God" in place of "which God, through Elisha, commanded be put

292 CI.2

(22) Illo autem exorcismo sic ter dicto cum stola in collo dic ter oraciones tres precedentes. Quo facto sigilli Domini cruor erit benedictus.

CXXXVIII Tercium capitulum quinti tractatus de exposicione precepti missarum dati in primo tractatu et subintellecti in quolibet tractatuum premissorum

(2) Prima dies

In prima die secunde mundacionis dicet sacerdos missam alicuius diei Dominice extra ieiunium vel alicuius secundum maiorem effectum, quem habet ad illam. (3) In loco prefacionis dicat hanc oracionem: ‘ ... nos tibi semper et ubique gracias agere, Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens eterne Deus, per Christum Dominum nostrum, (4) per quem maiestatem tuam laudant angeli, adorant dominaciones, tremunt potestates, celi celorumque virtutes ac beata seraphin socia exultacione concelebrant, cum quibus et nostras voces’ et cetera.[87]

(5) Secunda dies

In secunda die hanc loco prefacionis cum missa apostolorum: ‘... Te, Domine,[88] suppliciter exorare, ut gregem tuum, pastor eterne, non desera<n>s set per beatos apostolos tuos’ et cetera.

(6) 3ª dies

In 3ª die missam ieiunii vel quadragesime et hanc oracionem: “... nos tibi semper et ubique gracias agere, Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens eterne Deus, qui corporali ieiunio vicia’ et cetera.[89]

(7) 4ª dies

87 The preface starts “Vere dignum et iustum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi ...” and concludes as follows: “... et nostras voces, ut admitti iubeas deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes:.”

88 “Vere dignum et iustum est, aequum et salutare te Domine....”

89 “... vitia comprimis, mentem elevas, virtutem largiris et praemia: per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem maiestatem tuam laudant Angeli, adorant Dominationes, tremunt Potestates. Coeli, coelorumque Virtutes, ac beata Seraphim, socia exsultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces, ut admitti iubeas deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes: “

into the water" and similarly for the rest, (22) Then having said this exorcism three times, with the stole around your neck, then say the other three prayers preceding, likewise three times. When this has been done, the consecration of the blood for the Seal of the Lord will be complete.

CXXXVIII. The third chapter of the Fifth Treatise, concerning the exposition of teachings of the Masses given in the first treatise, and a little more explanation of the treatises set before.

(2) The first day

On the first day of the second purification the priest should say Mass of any Sunday outside of fasting or othewise for the greater effect which it has towards that. (3) In place of the preface, he should say this prayer: "[It is truly right and just, and for our salvation] that we should give thanks to you, always and everywhere, O Lord, O holy Father, almighty eternal God, through Christ our Lord, (4) through whom the Angels praise your greatness, the Dominations adore it, the Powers tremble in awe, the heavens and the heavenly Virtues and the blessed Seraphim share in triumphant chorus to celebrate it. Together with these ... our voices also" and so forth.[293]

(5) The second day

On the second day, say this in place of the preface, along with a mass of the Apostles: "[It is truly right and just, and for our salvation] O Lord, to humbly beseech you, that you not abandon your flock, O eternal shepherd, but through your blessed Apostles" and so on.[294]

(6) The third day

On the third day, say a mass of fasting, or the fortieth, and this prayer: "[It is truly right and just, and for our salvation] that we should give thanks to you, always and everywhere, O Lord, O holy Father, almighty eternal God, who by this bodily fasting curbs our vices" etc.[295]

(7) The fourth day

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293 "... together with these we beg you, that you may bid our voices also to be admitted while we say with humble praise." GH p. 35: In ch cxxxviii additional information is given about the saying of masses during the second purification: We are told which mass should be said and what its preface should be on each day ...

294 This seems to be simply the traditional Preface of the Apostles. I see no alteration.

295 "... lifts up our minds and bestows on us strength and rewards; through Christ our Lord. Through whom the Angels praise your greatness" etc. as above.

In 4ª die missam de nativitate imperatricis angelorum [et] " ... Et te in nativitate beate Marie" et cetera.

(8) 5ª dies

In 5ª die missam annunciacionis eiusdem [et] " ... Et te in annunciacione" et cetera.

(9) 6ª dies.

In 6ª die missam nativitatis Christi, et ista sit prefacio: '... Quia per incarnati verbi misterium nova' et cetera.[90]

(10) 7ª dies

In 7ª die missam epiphanie, et prefacio: '... Quia, cum unigenitus tuus in substancia nostre' et cetera.[91]

(11) 8ª dies

In 8ª die missam purificacionis, et prefacio: " ... Et te in purificacione beate Marie ...."

(12) 9ª dies.

In nona die missam resurreccionis, et prefacio: '... <Et> te quidem, Domine, omni tempore set in hac potissimum nocte'—vel 'die'—'gloriosius predicare, cum pascha nostrum" et cetera.[92]

(13) 10ª dies

In 10ª die missam ascencionis, et prefacio: ' ... Qui post resurreccionem suam omnibus discipulis suis manifestus apparuit' et cetera.

(14) XIª dies

In XIª die missam assumpcionis beate Marie, et prefacio sit: " ... Et te in assumpcione" et cetera.

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90 "... nova mentis nostrae oculis lux tuae claritatis infulsit: ut, dum visibiliter Deum cognoscimus, per hunc in invisibilum amorem rapiamur. Et ideo cum Angelis et Archangelis, cum Thronis et Dominationibus, cumque omni militai coelestis exercitus, hymnum gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes."

91 "Vere dignum et iustum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper, et ubique gratias agere: Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus: Quia cum Unigenitus tuus in substantia nostrae mortalitatis apparuit, nova nos immortalitatis suae luce reparavit. Et ideo cum Angelis et Archangelis, cum Thronis et Dominationibus, cumque omni militia coelestis exercitus, hymnum gloriae tuae canimus, sine fine dicentes."

92 "Vere dignum et iustum est, aequum et salutare, te quidem, Domine, omni tempore, sed [in hac potissimum nocte vel die, vel] in hoc potissimum gloriosius praedicare, cum Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Ipse enim verus est Agnus, qui abstulit peccata mundi. Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit, et vitam resurgendo reparavit. Et ideo" etc.

On the fourth day, a mass of the nativity of the queen of the angels, [and] "... and you in the birth of the blessed Mary" and so on.

(8) The fifth day

On the fifth day, another Mass of the Annunciation, [and] "... and you in the annunciation" and so on.

(9) The sixth day

On the sixth day, a Mass of the Nativity of Christ, and its preface should be: "... because by the mystery of the incarnate Word, the new" and so on.[296]

(10) The seventh day

On the seventh day, a Mass of the Epiphany, and the preface "... because, when your only-begotten Son appeared in the substance of our" and so on.[297]

(11) The eighth day

On the eighth day, a Mass of Purification, and the preface "... and you, in the purification, O blessed Mary...."

(12) The ninth day

On the ninth day, a Mass of the Resurrection, and the preface: "[It is truly right and just, and to salvation] to praise you, O Lord, at all times, but especially on this night"—or "day"—"when our Passover" and so on.[298]

(13) The tenth day

On the tenth day, a Mass of the Ascension, and the preface: "... who, after his resurrection, appeared visibly to all his disciples" and so on.

(14) The eleventh day

On the eleventh day, a Mass of the Assumption of blessed Mary, and the preface: "... and you, in the assumption" and so on.

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296 "... a new light of your glory has shone upon the eyes of our mind, so that while we acknowledge God in visible form, we may be drawn by him to the love of invisible things. And therefore with the Angels and Archangels, with the Thrones and Dominations, and with all the hosts of the heavenly army, we sing the hymn of your glory, forever saying."

297 "It it truly right and just, and for our salvation, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks to you, O holy Lord, Father almighty, everlasting God; because when your only-begotten Son appeared in the substance of our mortal flesh, with the new light of his own immortality, he restored us. And therefore with Angels and Archangels, with Throne and Dominations, and with all the heavenly hosts, we sing the hymn of your glory forever, saying."

298 "... when our Passover was sacrificed for us. For he is the true lamb who has taken away the sins of the world, who by dying destroyed our death, and by rising again restored our life. And so" etc.

(15) 12ª dies

In 12ª die missam omnium sanctorum, et prefacio apostolorum sit, nisi quod vox apostolorum in vocem omnium sanctorum commutetur.

(16) 13ª dies

In 13ª die missam angelorum, et prefacio apostolorum, nisi quod beati apostoli in beatos angelos transmutentur.

(17) 14ª dies

In 14ª die missam Spiritus sancti, et prefacio sit: '... Qui ascendens super omnes celos' et cetera.

(18) 15ª dies

In quintadecima die missam sancte crucis, et prefacio sit: " ... Qui salutem humani generis in ligno" et cetera.

(19) 16ª dies

In 16ª die missam trinitatis, et prefacio sit: " ... Qui cum unigenito filio tuo et Spiritu sancto unus es<t> Deus" et cetera.

CXXXIX Quartum capitulum quinti tractatus de inicio aggrediendi opus invocacionis

Excitacio ventorum est principium operandi in illa XIª hora diei operis sacri et debet fieri extra domum, longe a circulo ad duo stadia vel tria.

(2) Et debet prius esse bene preparatus de necessariis suis, de optimo vino, de 7 ensibus, de sibilo, de virgula coruli, de sigillis, de signo Dei, de thure, de thuribulo, de candela virginea et sic de aliis, ut prius patet.

(3) Et scias, quod in illa pelle, ubi est sigillum Domini, debent esse tria sigilla predicta sub signo ita, quod pendeant de manu. (4) Sigillum angelorum sit immediate sub signo Dei et sub illo sigillum aereorum et sub illo terreorum.

(15) The twelfth day

On the twelfth day, a Mass of All Saints, and the preface of the Apostles, except the wording "the voice of the Apostles" should be altered to "in the voice of all the saints."

(16) The thirteenth day

On the thirteenth day, a Mass of the Angels, and preface of the Apostles, except wording "the Apostles" should be altered to "the blessed angels."

(17) The fourteenth day

On the fourteenth day, a Mass of the Holy Spirit, and the preface "... who ascends over all the heavens" etc.

(18) The fifteenth day

On the fifteenth day, a Mass of the Holy Cross, and the preface "... who placed the salvation of the human race in the wood of the cross" etc.

(19) The sixteenth day

On the sixteenth day, as Mass of the Trinity, and the preface "... who with your only-begotten son and the Holy Spirit are one God" etc.

CXXXIX. The fourth chapter of the Fifth Treatise. Concerning the beginning of undertaking the work of invocation.

The raising up of the winds is the first part of the operation in the eleventh hour of the day of the sacred work, and it must be done outside the house, away from the circle by two or even three stadia.[299]

(2) And previously you should have properly prepared all the requisites, namely the finest wine, seven swords, the whistle, the hazel wand, the seals, the Sign of God, incense, the censer, the virgin candle, and the rest, as revealed earlier.

(3) And you should know, that on that skin, where the Seal of the Lord is, the three preceding seals must be under the Seal in such a way that they should hang from the hand. (4) The seal of the angels should be immediately under the seal of God, and under that the seal of the air, and under that of the earth.

299 Stade: 125 paces. Two or three stadia would be approximately one quarter to a third of a mile (or .2 KM).

(5) Et quando cognoscentur motus eorum appropinquare, oportet ire ad circulum et delere 7 nomina creatoris et tunc item ut prius extra iuxta circulum excitare, et cum videbitis motus eorum, intrare circulum et facere ut est predictum.

(6) Virga autem sit quadrata, et in uno latere scribatur in summitate "Adonay," in secundo latere "Sabaoth," in 3° "Hiskiros," in 4° "Emanuel." (7) In medio virge fiat pentagonus Salomonis et ubi virga tenetur crux, et sic erit parata operi sacro et miro.

CXL Quintum capitulum quinti tractatus de composicione sibili et exposicione cuiusdam dicti in 3° tractatu

(2) Fac sibilum de ere albo vel de argento vel de auro vel avellana, et sit eptagonum, id est septem latera habens, sit grossum ad placitum, sit longum ad longitudinem trium digitorum.

(3) Tunc in summitate eius sculpatur hoc nomen: "**On,"** et inferius in alia summitate "**Beel,"** et in latere primo, ubi est forus sibili, scribatur nomen regis orientalis, scilicet "**Barthan,"** in secundo latere a dextris nomen regis consol, scilicet "**Formione,"** (4) in 3° regis meridiei, scilicet "**Yammax,"** in 4° regis nogahelis, scilicet "**Sarabocres,"** in 5° latere regis occidentalis, scilicet "**Harthan,"** in 6° regis frigicapicis, "Abaa," (5) in 7" regis septemtrionalis, "**Maymon,"** et postea benedic eum sicut cruorem, nisi quod mutabis nomen, et ubi dicebatur "in sigillum Dei te mitti iussit" nunc dices "in clamatum spirituum te clangere iussit."

(6) Et scias, quod quando vocantur angeli boni, non debet habere sibilum neque virgam neque enses, et tu debes stare extra circulum, et ipsi

(5) And when you recognize their approaching movements, you should go to the circle and erase the seven names of the Creator, and then likewise as before, to raise them up, from outside but near the circle, and when you see their movements, to enter the circle and to do as aforesaid.

(6) But the wand should have four sides. On one side should be written "Adonay;" on the second side "Sabaoth;" on the third, "Hiskiros;"[300] on the fourth "Emanuel." (7) On the middle of the wand make the pentagonal figure of Solomon, and where the wand is held, a cross, and thus it will be prepared for sacred and wonderful works.

CXL. The fifth chapter of the fifth Treatise, concerning the composition of the whistle, and an explanation of certain sayings in the third Treatise.

(2) Make a whistle from white copper,[301] or from silver, or from gold, or even hazel, and it should be heptagonal, i.e. having seven sides. It may be as large as you please, and its length should be as long as three fingers.[302]

(3) Then, on the top should be engraved this name: "**On**;" and below, on the other end, "**Beel**[303];" and on the first side, where the finger holes are, the name of the eastern king should be written, namely "**Barthan**," and on the side to the right, the name of the king of Consol, namely "**Formione**." (4) On the third, that of the king of the South, namely "**Yammax**," on the fourth, the king of Nogahel [sic], namely "**Sarabocres**," on the fifth side, that of the western king, namely "**Harthan**," on the sixth, that of the king of Frigicap, (5) "**Abaa**," and on the seventh side, the name of the northern king, "**Maymon**."

And afterwards, bless it as you did the blood, except that you should change the wording, and instead of saying "commanded to be put into the Seal of God" now you should say "command you to clang in proclaiming the spirits."

(6) And know, that whenever good angels are called, you must not have the whistle, wand, nor the swords, and you must stand outside the circle, and

300 Hiskiros: *Greek* ισχυρος, Iskhiros (Mighty One).

301 A copper/nickel/(zinc) alloy.

302 As a measure of length, *digitus* generally means the breadth of a finger, or about ¾ to 7/8 of an inch.

303 B 25v reads "bael," with "beel" written in the margin. It is not certain whether the spirit Boel/Bohel is intended, or if this is an otherwise unattested name of God.

debent apparere infra circulum, qui debet esse altus tribus pedibus et semis.

(7) Set in aliis aereis et terreis oportet predicta habere. Set differt inter illos, quia illi aerei apparent extra circulum in aere homine existente infra circulum, (8) qui debet esse totus planus sicut +epiparet+,[93] set in terreis sic est, quod ipsi apparent infra circulum concavum, profundum et rotundum homine existente infra alium circulum ab illis circulis predictis, (9) qui tamen similiter debet esse planus et equus, et circa eum scripta solum 4 nomina Dei, prout patet.

(10) Angeli hore sunt qui regnant in hora operis, angeli diei qui in die operis, angeli mensis angeli Lune vel principii mensis, angeli faciei qui regnant facie, ubi est eorum dominium, ascendente, temporis omnes insimul, (11) et principes eorum omnium sunt 7, ut patuit supra: Casziel, Satquiel et cetera. Adhuc sunt 7 superiores, scilicet Barachiel, Uriel et cetera.

CXLI.

Explicit liber de vita anime racionalis, qui liber sacer vel liber angelorum vel liber iuratus nuncupatur, quem fecit Honorius, magister Thebarum. (2) Hic est liber, quo Deus in hac vita facialiter quit videri. Hic est liber, quo quilibet potest salvari et in vitam eternam procul dubio deduci. Hic est liber, quo infernus et purgatorium queunt sine morte videri. (3) Hic est liber, quo omnis creatura exceptis novem ordinibus angelorum possunt subiugari. Hic est liber, quo omnes s[c]iencie possunt haberi. (4) Hic est liber, quo substancia imbecillissima potest substancias robustissimas et devincere et subiugare. Hic est liber, quem nulla lex habet nisi Christiana, et si habet, nil sibi prodest. (5) Hic est liber, qui est maius iocale

93 Reading equiparet. GH: sicut eriperet *in marg. Ext. B; an* sic, ut equiparet (sc. terrae) *vel fort.* sicut et prius patet *(cfr LI.15 et CXXXIX.2) scribendum sit?"*

they themselves will appear within[304] the circle, which must be three and a half feet high.

(7) But you must have those instruments when dealing with aerial or terrestrial spirits. But it differs between them, because those of the air appear above the circle in the air, while you are within the other circle, (8) which must be completely level and equalized, but those of the earth are such that they will appear within the hollow circle, deep and round, while you are within the other circle, which is apart from those preceding circles, (9) yet it must similarly be flat and level, and around it written only four names of God, as shown.

(10) The angels of the hour are those who rule in the hour of the work; the angels of the day, those who rule on the day which you work; the angels of the month, those angels ruling the Moon or beginning of the month; the angels of the aspect (or face),[305] those who rule the face where their dominion is, with the ascendant, all at the same time, (11) and there are seven leaders of all of them, as shown above: Casziel, Satquiel, and so on.

Furthermore, there are seven superiors, namely Barachiel, Uriel, and the rest.

CXLI.

Here ends the book concerning the life of the rational soul, which is called the Sacred Book, or the Book of the Angels, or the Sworn Book, which was made by Honorius, the master of Thebes. (2) This is the book, with which one is able to see God face to face, while still alive. This is the book, with which anyone is able to be saved and without doubt led into eternal life. This is the book, with which Hell and Purgatory can be seen without dying. (3) This is the book, whereby all creatures are able to be subjugated, except for the nine orders of angels. This is the book, whereby all knowledge can be obtained. (4) This is the book, whereby one with the weakest substance is able to subdue and subjugate those with the strongest substances. This is the book, which no religion possesses except the Christian, and those of other faiths will find nothing useful for themselves in it. (5) This is the book, which is the greatest

304 This seems to be the meaning here, as in IV.2, although "below" or "under" would be the more common meaning. Mesler 2012 p. 114 similarly reads "within" in her translation of CXV.35 (mistakenly identified as LXV).

305 Face: i.e. decan.

a Domino datum omni alio iocali exclusis sacramentis. Hic est liber, quo natura corporalis et visibilis cum incorporali et invisibili alloqui, racionari et instrui potest. (6) Hic est liber, quo innumerabiles thesauri haberi possunt. Et multa alia per hunc fieri queunt, que narrare dispendium esset. Ideo merito sacer nuncupatur.

Scriptus fuit liber iste et completus
Die martis hora 10^{a} que est ho

jewel of all the jewels given by the Lord, other than the sacraments. This is the book, whereby one of corporeal and visible nature is able speak to, reason with, and be instructed by those with incorporeal and invisible natures. (6) This is the book, whereby innumerable treasures can be obtained. And many other things can be done through this, more than can be told. Therefore it is rightly called sacred.

The writing of this book has been completed on the tenth hour of this day, Tuesday, which is ho....[306]

306 The manuscript breaks off right in the middle of this colophon.

Appendix I.
Corrections and Addenda to Hedegård 2002

p. 67 line 21: "Casziel" should read "Cafziel"

p. 96 line 1: "*peritus*" should read "penitus" per Sl. 3854 123r, R 50r, and Ars Not.

p. 113 line 7: "aquisicione" should read "acquisitione". See Sl. 3854 128r col. 2.

p. 119 "volusiti" should read "voluisti" per Sl. 3853 131r & Sl. 3854 130r.

p. 139 line 4: "per nominatos" should read "pernominatos." See Sl. 3854 135v, Sl. 3853 156r, and SSH L.3.f.35.

p. 139 line 16: "con[v]icto" should read "concito". So Sl, 3854 136r, Sl. 3853 157r. SSM: "excito."

p. 141, line 4: "{.}eneolia, Chide" should read "{G}eneolia, Chide." Compare Sl. 3853: "Geuolia chide"; Heptameron: "genii, Liachidae."

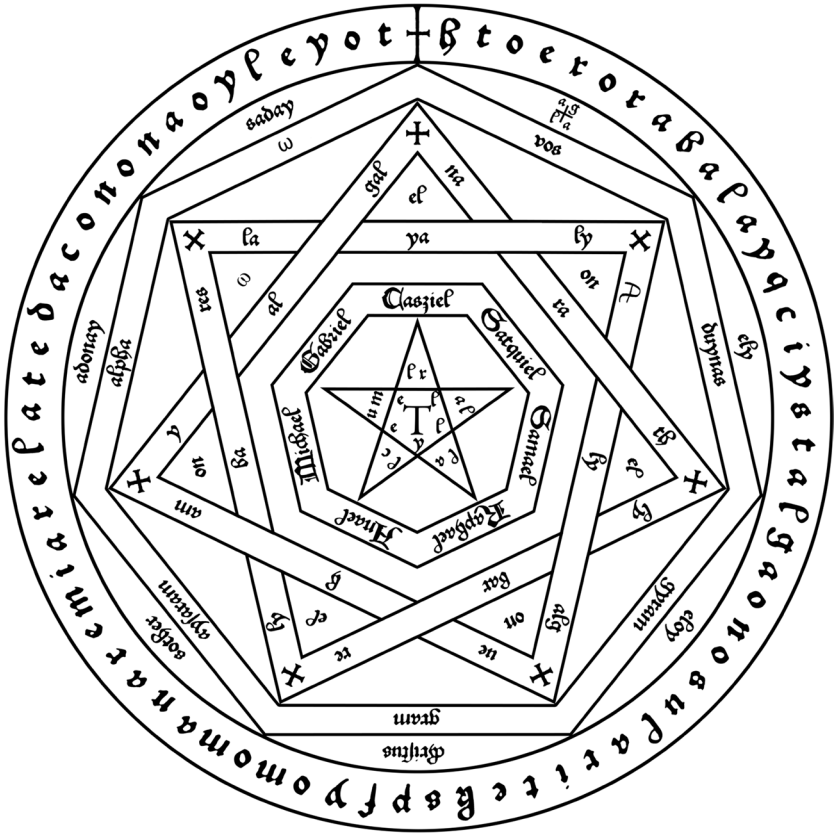
p. 143 line 16: "adulaua" should read "cadulaua." The c is barely legible, but supported by SSM.

p. 143 line 21 "[vel tegula]" should read "vel tegulis" per Sl. 3854 137r.

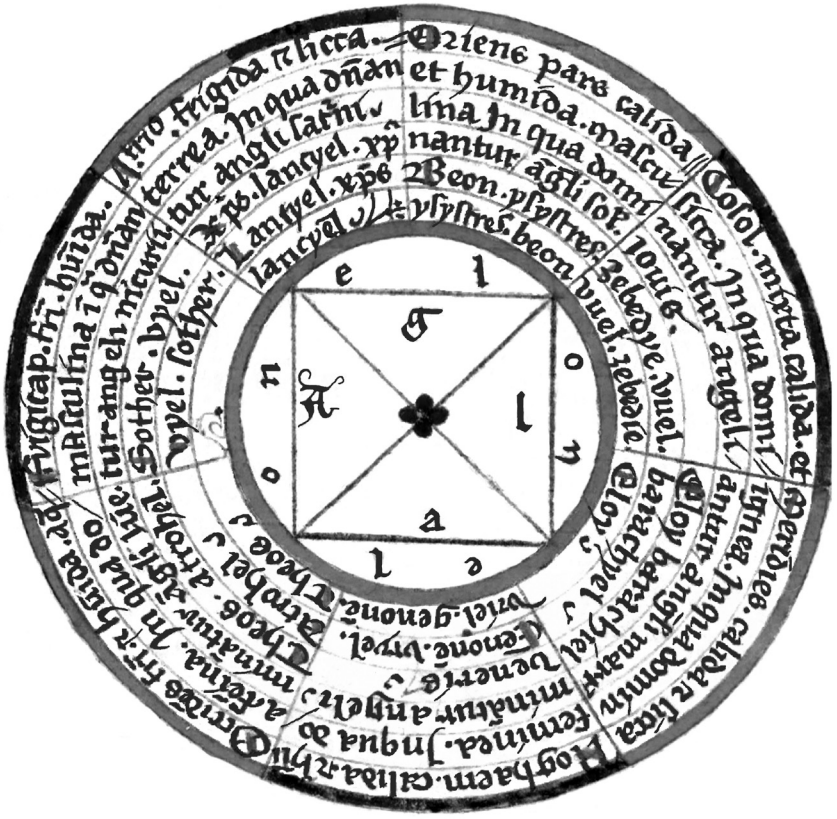
p. 144: "In hac operacione 4" should read "In hac operacione sed"

p. 206 line 14: "11" add "virtute virtute": Sl. 3853 155r omits second "virtute"; SSM: "cum omnium suorum fulgencium spirituum [in marg: collegio] potenciam et [erased word], virtute huius celestis ...."

Appendix II.
Variants of Some of the figures



Seal of God, reconstructed per Sloane 313, fol. 4r



Magic circle per SSM, L.4.f.22

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The *Sworn Book* is represented in the following manuscripts:

London, British Library:

Sloane 3854 (mid-14th century) Folios 112r-139r. "Honorii Magistri Thebarum liber cui titulus 'Juratus.'" or "Liber Juratus, vel liber de vita Animæ rationalis Qui Liber Sacer, vel Liber Angelorum nuncupatur quem fecit Honorius Magister Thebarum, " etc. This is the oldest and best quality manuscript, and formed the main basis for this transcription, as well as that of GH and Boudet. Carefully written and legible, with rubricated initials, although many initials were never supplied.

Sloane 313 (second half of 14th century). 27 folios. Missing 3 folios between 24 and 25. The title in the catalog reads simply "Tract on Magic, " or "Salomonis opus sacrum ab Honorio ordinatum, tractatus de arte magica." It is an important independent witness to most of the text, belonging to another family than Sl. 3854. This manuscript is known to have been in the collection of dramatist Ben Jonson (1572-1637). It was later owned by John Dee, and contains marginal notes in his handwriting.[1]

Sloane 3885 (The watermark has been dated to 1588) Folios 58-96. "Liber sacer Salomonis, " "Tractatus de re magica ab Honorio filio Euclidis magistro Thebarum ex septem voluminibus artis magicae compilatus, et intitulatus Liber sacer, sive juratus, " or "Opera Salomonis ab Honorio ordinata" (cursive script). Contains only the first three treatises. The Honorius material is bound with unrelated texts, including the *Practica Nigromanciae* (i.e. *Thesaurus Spirituum*) of pseudo-Bacon.

Royal 17Axlii (Latin and English, dated mid-sixteenth century because of borrowing from Agrippa not found in the older manuscripts). 82 folios. Does not include all of the text, but breaks off just after the beginning of chapter CXV, namely just short of the actual instructions for invoking the angels. The title in the catalog reads "The Sworne Booke of Honoryus." Illuminated with drawings of angels and their seals, as well as marginal flourishes and ornaments, usually colored, sometimes in gold; chapter headings in red, blue, or green. On the fly-leaf (f. 1) are some late 16th cent. pen-drawings with the initials R. T. Sophie Page 2004 includes some wonderful color photos from this manuscript. Waite 1898 correctly identified this manuscript as sixteenth century, even though he omitted to give

1 Roberts, R. J., Andrew G. Watson, and John Dee. *John Dee's Library Catalogue*. London: Bibliographical Society, 1990, pp. 57, 168.

the catalog identification. According to Jean-Patrice Boudet, this is a presentation copy on vellum, probably created for some noble.[2]

Sloane 3853 (Mid-16th century): This manuscript contains large portions of the *Sworn Book*, along with excerpts from Agrippa (with citations) and many other texts. English and Latin. Although belonging to the same family of manuscripts as Sl. 3854 and Sl. 3885 (see above), it was not used by GH, but is an important witness to portions of the text, including the drawing of the magic circle, and shows some independence. Contains 127v-137v ("fol 163f"): Catalogued as 'The Divine Seal of Solomon, ' 127v variation of Sigillum Dei Aemeth; 128r-v: English version of IV.49-65; 129r-130v: XXVII-XXX, LXXVII-LXXIX, LXX; 130v-134v: CII-CXV.48; 134v-135v: LXXIII, XCIII; 135v-137v: CXXXV.8-17, CXXXVII.1-19, CI.2-8. 149r-174v: CXXVII ff.

Sloane 3849 (dated 1577) Article 7, folios 30-38 contains excerpts from LIH.

Germany

SSM: Halle, Universitätsbibliothek Kassel - Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel, Ms. 4° astron. 3. Latin, 15th ce. A beautiful and unique manuscript of Ganell's *Summa sacre magice*. (written circa 1346). Available online at http://orka.bibliothek.uni-kassel.de/viewer/image/1343812736802/1/. This text quotes extensively from *Liber Iuratus*, as well as other texts. John Dee owned and annotated this manuscript at one time.

SSMG: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Germ. Fol. 903. German translation of Ganell's *Summa Sacre Magice* (SSM). Circe 1580's.[3]

Leipzig Cod. Mag. 16: (pp. 1-176), titled *Die alleredelste und allerhöchste Kunst und Wissenschaft, das ist: Magia universalis divina angelica ac diabolica* ("The noblest and highest art and science, namely the universal divine angelic and demonic magic"). German, ca 1750. PART 1: To behold the face of the Deity (the 100 names of God pp. 25 ff); PART 2 (pp 55 ff): Knowledge of the angels (e.g. Saturn: Boel, Cassiel, Micraton, Saterquiel); PART 3 (pp 94 ff): Knowledge of the spirits of the air, their binding and which spirits are under them (Hartan, Bileth, etc); PART 4 (pp 160 ff): Knowledge of the spirits of the earth; PART 5 (pp. 170 ff): Knowledge of the great name of God, in Hebrew *Shem ha-Meforash* (and construction of the Seal of God).[4] Includes names of spirits of the planets (pp. 57 ff and 99 ff); the magic circle (p. 98, p. 112), spirits of the earth (CXXXIV ff, pp. 160 ff)... circle for invoking spirits of the earth (p. 165) sigillum dei (p. 175, called "das sigillum salomonis").

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2 Boudet 2002 p. 852.

3 Gilly 2002 p. 290.

4 The manuscript continues with a version of *Thesaurus Spirituum*.

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Oxford, Bodleian Library: Aubrey 24, Michael 276.

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Index of Spirit Names

Abaa (Haaba, Habaa, ʾΑβά. SSM: Abaah; H diverges), king of the spirits of the air of Mercury, governing between the West and the North, i.e. the region knows as frigicap; said to be neither fully for good nor fully evil. Said to be "most wise." 19, 237, 251, 253, 255, 257, 259, 261, 263, 265, 297

Abalidoth (ʾΑβαλιδώθ), 19

Abdala (Abdalaa), 20

Abouzaba (Abuzaha, Abuzampa, Αβουζαβα), 20

Abucaba (Abuchaba, Habucaba. SSM: Abucaba, Aabucaba). daemon of the air subordinate to the Moon and its wind, which is called Zephyr. Considered good. Same as Habuchaba? Minister to Harthan, **205**, 231, 245-253, 257, 265

Abunalich (Abumalith, Aboumaleth, ʾΑβουμαλήθ), 19. Compare Albunalich.

Abuzoba, 18

Acadan, 279n

Acythael, 213n

Admodeus [sic], 279n

Albunalich (SSM: Albunalic; H: Abumalith; D: ʾΑβουμαλήθ), spirit or daemon of the air, governing in the North, minister to king Maymon, subordinate to the planet Saturn and its wind; said to be evil, arrogant, and wild. **201, 233**, 251, 253, 255, 265

Alchibany (Alcibany, Alcybany. SSM: Altybany), name of one of the southwest winds, and spirit of the air of the north rising up from the southwest, associated with Saturn, and calling up its wind, which is called "Africus" (the east wind), said to be evil, arrogant, and wild. **201, 233**, 245, 247, 249

Alflas (SSM: Alphlas), name of one of the southwest winds, and spirit of the air of the north rising up from the southwest, subordinate to the planet Saturn, and calling up its wind, which is called "Africus" (the east wind), said to be evil, arrogant, and wild. **201, 233**, 245-249

Almutab, 18

Amabiel (Amabihel, **Amabiel, Annabyl,** ʾΑμαβιήλ; SSM: Annabyl), planetary spirit associated with Mars and the south. 19, 271**, 209, 213, 221**

Amaymon, 24, 26

Amocap (Amochap. SSM: Amocab), spirit of the air, governing in the West, subordinate to the Moon and its wind, which is called Zephyr. Considered good. **205, 231**, 245, 247, 249

Anael (Hanael, Hanahel, Haniel, ʾαναήλ; SSM: Anael), prince of angels associated with the planet Venus and the southwest. The name of this angel is found on the Seal of God. 19**, 67, 71, 213, 221**

Andas (Adas, ʾΑδάς), 19

Arcan (ʾΑρκαν), 20. See also Harcan

Asassaiel (Asasayel, Asassayel, Asasiel, ʾΑσασιήλ; SSM: Asassayel), planetary spirit associated with Jupiter and the southeast. 19, 201, 271

Asmoday, 279n

Asmodeus, terrestrial spirit, assistant of prince Labadau. This demon is the best well known of all spirits listed by Honorius, including from the *Book of Tobit* and the *Testament of Solomon*. The name is believed to be

Zoroastrian in origin, in the Avestan language *Aeshma-daeva* ("demon of wrath."). 34, 279
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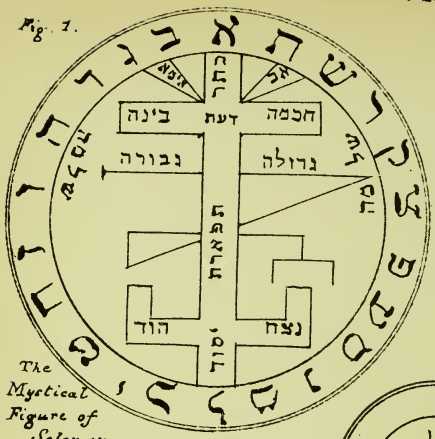
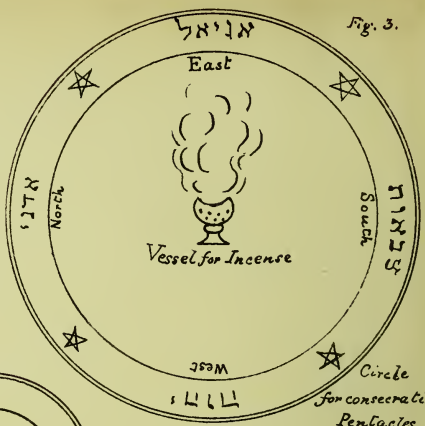
Fig. 1.



The Mystical Figure of Solomon.

Fig. 3.



Circle for consecrating Pentacles &c.

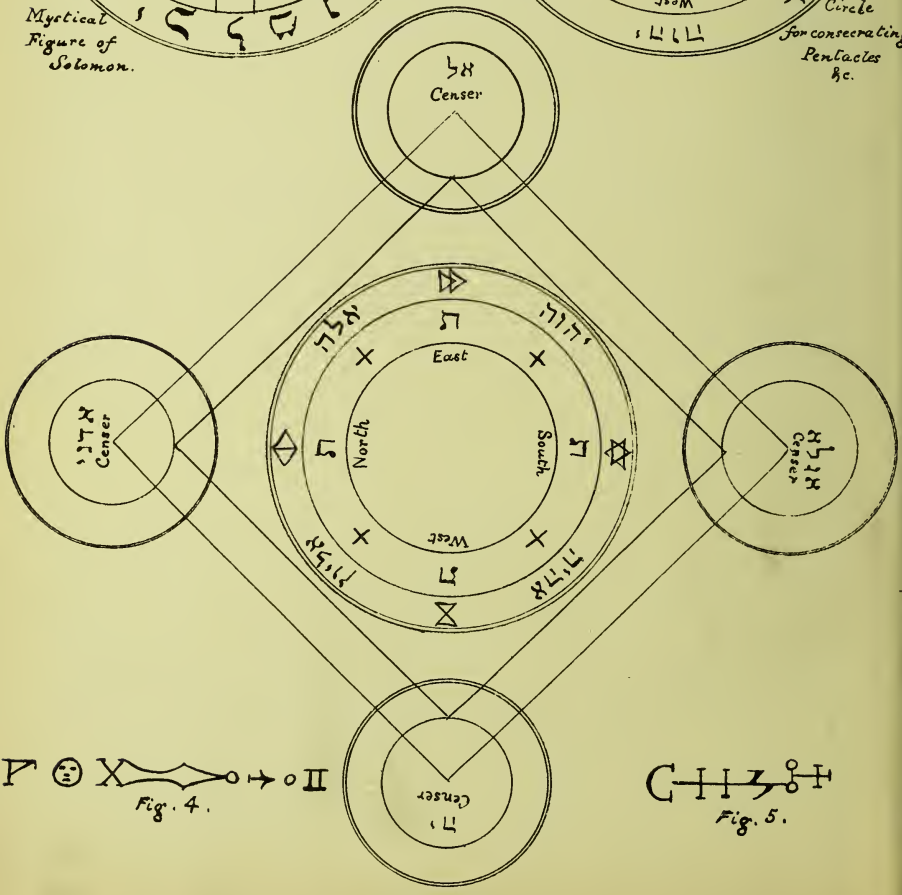


Figure 2.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

THE

KEY OF SOLOMON THE KING

(*CLAVICULA SALOMONIS*)

Now first Translated and Edited from Ancient MSS. in the British Museum

BY

S. LIDDELL MACGREGOR MATHERS

Author of "The Kabbalah Unveiled," "The Tarot," &c.

WITH PLATES

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THE

KEY OF SOLOMON THE KING.

PREFACE.

In presenting this celebrated magical work to the student of occult science some few prefatory remarks are necessary.

The Key of Solomon, save for a curtailed and incomplete copy published in France in the seventeenth century, has never yet been printed, but has for centuries remained in Manuscript form inaccessible to all but the few fortunate scholars to whom the inmost recesses of the great libraries were open. I therefore consider that I am highly honoured in being the individual to whose lot it has fallen to usher it into the light of day.

The fountain-head and storehouse of Qabalistical Magic, and the origin of much of the Ceremonial Magic of mediæval times, the "Key" has been ever valued by occult writers as a work of the highest authority; and notably in our own day Eliphaz Lévi has taken it for the model on which his celebrated "*Dogme et Rituel de la Haute Magie*" was based. It must be evident to the initiated reader of Lévi, that the Key of Solomon was his text book of study, and at the end of this volume I give a fragment of an ancient Hebrew manuscript of the "Key of Solomon," translated and published in the "Philosophie Occulte," as well as an Invocation called the "Qabalistical Invocation of Solomon," which bears close analogy to one in the First Book, being constructed in the same manner on the scheme of the *Sephiroth*.

The history of the Hebrew original of the "Key of Solomon" is given in the Introductions, but there is every reason to suppose that this has been entirely lost, and Christian, the pupil of Lévi, says as much in his "Histoire de la Magie."

I see no reason to doubt the tradition which assigns the authorship of the "Key" to King Solomon, for among others Josephus, the Jewish historian, especially mentions the magical works attributed to that monarch;

this is confirmed by many Eastern traditions, and his magical skill is frequently mentioned in the Arabian Nights.

There are, however, two works on Black Magic, the "*Grimorium Verum*," and the "*Clavicola di Salomone ridolta*," which have been attributed to Solomon, and which have been in some cases especially mixed up with the present work; but which have nothing really to do therewith; they are full of evil magic, and I cannot caution the practical student too strongly against them.

There is also another work called "Lemegeton or the Lesser Key of Solomon the King," which is full of seals of various Spirits, and is not the same as the present book, though extremely valuable in its own department.

In editing this volume I have omitted one or two experiments partaking largely of Black Magic, and which had evidently been derived from the two Goetic works mentioned above; I must further caution the practical worker against the use of blood; the prayer, the pentacle, and the perfumes, rightly used, are sufficient; and the former verges dangerously on the evil path. Let him who, in spite of the warnings of this volume, determines to work evil, be assured that that evil will recoil on himself and that he will be struck by the reflex current.

This work is edited from several ancient MSS. in the British Museum, which all differ from each other in various points, some giving what is omitted by the others, but all unfortunately agreeing in one thing, which is the execrable mangling of the Hebrew words through the ignorance of the transcribers. But it is in the Pentacles that the Hebrew is worst, the letters being so vilely scribbled as to be actually undecipherable in some instances, and it has been part of my work for several years to correct and reinstate the proper Hebrew and Magical characters in the Pentacles. The student may therefore safely rely on their being now as nearly correct in their present reproduction as it is possible for them to be. I have therefore, wherever I could, corrected the Hebrew of the Magical Names in the Conjurations and Pentacles; and in the few instances where it was not possible to do so, I have put them in the most usual form; carefully collating throughout one MS. with another. The Chapters are a little differently classed in the various MSS., in some instances the matter contained in them being transposed, &c. I have added notes wherever necessary.

The MSS. from which this work is edited are:—Add. MSS., 10,862; Sloane MSS., 1307 and 3091; Harleian MSS., 3981; King's MSS., 288; and Lansdowne MSS. 1202 and 1203; seven codices in all.

Of all these 10,862 Add. MSS. is the oldest, its date being about the

end of the sixteenth century; 3981 Harleian is probably about the middle of the seventeenth century; the others of rather later date.

Add. MSS. 10,862 is written in contracted Latin, and is hard to read, but it contains Chapters which are omitted in the others and also an important Introduction. It is more concise in its wording. Its title is short, being simply "The Key of Solomon, translated from the Hebrew language into the Latin." An exact copy of the signature of the writer of this MS. is given in *Figure* 93. The Pentacles are very badly drawn.

3981 Harleian MSS.; 288 King's MSS.; and 3091 Sloane MSS.; are similar, and contain the same matter and nearly the same wording; but the latter MS. has many errors of transcription. They are all in French. The Conjurations and wording of these are much fuller than in 10,862 Add. MSS. and 1202 Lansdowne MSS. The title is "The Key of Solomon King of the Hebrews, translated from the Hebrew Language into Italian by Abraham Colorno, by the order of his most Serene Highness of Mantua; and recently put into French." The Pentacles are much better drawn, are in coloured inks, and in the case of 3091 Sloane MSS., gold and silver are employed.

1307 Sloane MSS. is in Italian; its Title is "La Clavicola di Salomone Redotta et epilogata nella nostra materna lingua del dottissimo Gio Peccatrix." It is full of Black Magic, and is a jumble of the Key of Solomon proper, and the two Black Magic books before mentioned. The Pentacles are badly drawn. It, however, gives part of the Introduction to 10,862 Add. MSS., and is the only other MS. which does, save the beginning of another Italian version which is bound up with the former MS., and bears the title "Zecorbenei."

1202 Lansdowne MSS. is "The True Keys of King Solomon, by Armadel." It is beautifully written, with painted initial letters, and the Pentacles are carefully drawn in coloured inks. It is more concise in style, but omits several Chapters. At the end are some short extracts from the *Grimorium Verum* with the Seals of evil spirits, which, as they do not belong to the "Key of Solomon" proper, I have not given. For the evident classification of the "Key" is in two books and no more.

1203 Lansdowne MSS. is "The Veritable Keys of Solomon translated from the Hebrew into the Latin language by the Rabbin Abognazar (? Aben Ezra"). It is in French, exquisitely written in printing letters, and the Pentacles are carefully drawn in coloured inks. Though containing similar matter to the others, the arrangement is utterly different; being all in one book, and not even divided into chapters.

The antiquity of the Planetary sigils is shown by the fact that, among the

Gnostic talismans in the British Museum, there is a ring of copper with the sigils of Venus, which are exactly the same as those given by the mediæval writers on Magic.

Where Psalms are referred to I have in all instances given the English and not the Hebrew numbering of them.

In some places I have substituted the word AZOTH for "Alpha and Omega," *e.g.*, on the blade of the Knife with the Black Hilt, *Figure* 62. I may remark that the Magical Sword may, in many cases, be used instead of the Knife.

In conclusion I will only mention, for the benefit of non-Hebraists, that Hebrew is written from right to left, and that from the consonantal nature of the Hebrew Alphabet, it will require fewer letters than in English to express the same word.

I take this opportunity of expressing my obligations to Dr. Wynn Westcott for the valuable assistance he has given me in the reconstruction of the Hebrew of the Pentacles.

S. LIDDELL MAC GREGOR MATHERS.

LONDON, *October*, 1888.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE

From Lansdowne MSS. 1203, "*The Veritable Clavicles of Solomon, translated from the Hebrew into the Latin language by the Rabbi Abognazar.**

Every one knoweth in the present day that from time immemorial Solomon possessed knowledge inspired by the wise teachings of an angel, to which he appeared so submissive and obedient, that in addition to the gift of wisdom, which he demanded, he obtained with profusion all the other virtues; which happened in order that knowledge worthy of eternal preservation might not be buried with his body. Being, so to speak, near his end, he left to his son Roboam a Testament which should contain all (the Wisdom) he had possessed prior to his death. The Rabbins, who were careful to cultivate (the same knowledge) after him, called this Testament the Clavicle or Key of Solomon, which they caused to be engraved on (pieces of) the bark of trees, while the Pentacles were inscribed in Hebrew letters on plates of copper, so that they might be carefully preserved in the Temple which that wise king had caused to be built.

This Testament was in ancient time translated from the Hebrew into the Latin language by Rabbi Abognazar, who transported it with him into the town of Arles in Provence, where by a notable piece of good fortune the ancient Hebrew Clavicle, that is to say this precious translation of it, fell into the hands of the Archbishop of Arles, after the destruction of the Jews in that city; who, from the Latin, translated it into the vulgar tongue, in the same terms which here follow, without having either changed or augmented the original translation from the Hebrew.

* I fancy this must be a corruption of "Aben Ezra."

INTRODUCTION

From Add. MSS. 10862, "*The Key of Solomon, translated into Latin from the Hebrew tdiom.*"

TREASURE up, O my son Roboam! the wisdom of my words, seeing that I, Solomon, have received it from the Lord.

Then answered Roboam, and said: How have I deserved to follow the example of my father Solomon in such things, who hath been found worthy to receive the knowledge of all living things through (the teaching of) an Angel of God?

And Solomon said: Hear, O my son, and receive my sayings, and learn the wonders of God. For, on a certain night, when I laid me down to sleep, I called upon that most holy Name of God, IAH, and prayed for the Ineffable Wisdom, and when I was beginning to close mine eyes, the Angel of the Lord, even Homadiel, appeared unto me, spake many things courteously unto me, and said: Listen, O Solomon! thy prayer before the Most High is not in vain, and since thou hast asked neither for long life, nor for much riches, nor for the souls of thine enemies, but hast asked for thyself wisdom to perform justice. Thus saith the Lord: According to thy word have I given unto thee a wise and understanding heart, so that before thee was none like unto thee, nor ever shall arise.

And when I comprehended the speech which was made unto me, I understood that in me was the knowledge of all creatures, both things which are in the heavens and things which are beneath the heavens; and I saw that all the writings and wisdom of this present age were vain and futile, and that no man was perfect. And I composed a certain work wherein I rehearsed the secret of secrets, in which I have preserved them hidden, and I have also therein concealed all secrets whatsoever of magical arts of any masters; any secret or experiments, namely, of these sciences which is in any way worth being accomplished. Also I have written them in this Key, so that like as a key openeth a treasure-house, so this (Key) alone may open the knowledge and understanding of magical arts and sciences.

Therefore, O my son! thou mayest see every experiment of mine or of others, and let everything be properly prepared for them, as thou shalt see properly set down by me, both day and hour, and all things necessary; for without this there will be but falsehood and vanity in this my work; wherein are hidden all secrets and mysteries which can be performed; and that which

is (set down) concerning a single divination or a single experiment, that same I think concerning all things which are in the Universe, and which have been, and which shall be in future time.

Therefore, O my son Roboam, I command thee by the blessing which thou expectest from thy father, that thou shall make an Ivory Casket, and therein place, keep, and hide this my Key; and when I shall have passed away unto my fathers, I entreat thee to place the same in my sepulchre beside me, lest at another time it might fall into the hands of the wicked. And as Solomon commanded, so was it done.

And when, therefore (men) had waited for a long time, there came unto the Sepulchre certain Babylonian Philosophers; and when they had assembled they at once took counsel together that a certain number of men should renew the Sepulchre in his (Solomon's) honour; and when the Sepulchre was dug out and repaired the Ivory Casket was discovered, and therein was the Key of Secrets, which they took with joyful mind, and when they had opened it none among them could understand it on account of the obscurity of the words and their occult arrangement, and the hidden character of the sense and knowledge, for they were not worthy to possess this treasure.

Then, therefore, arose one among them, more worthy (than the others), both in the sight of the gods, and by reason of his age, who was called Iohé Grevis,* and said unto the others: Unless we shall come and ask the interpretation from the Lord, with tears and entreaties, we shall never arrive at the knowledge of it.

Therefore, when each of them had retired to his bed, Iohé indeed falling upon his face on the earth, began to weep, and striking his breast, said:

What have I deserved (above others), seeing that so many men can neither understand nor interpret this knowledge, even though there were no secret thing in nature which the Lord hath hidden from me! Wherefore are these words so obscure? Wherefore am I so ignorant?

And then on his bended knees, stretching his hands to Heaven, he said:

O God, the Creator of all, Thou Who knowest all things, Who gavest so great Wisdom unto Solomon the Son of David the King; grant unto me, I beseech Thee, O Holy Omnipotent and Ineffable Father, to receive the virtue of that wisdom, so that I may become worthy by Thine aid to attain unto the understanding of this Key of Secrets.

And immediately there appeared unto me,† the Angel of the Lord, saying:

Do thou remember if the secrets of Solomon appear hidden and obscure unto thee, that the Lord hath wished it, so that such wisdom may not fall into the hands of wicked men; wherefore do thou promise unto me, that thou art not willing that so great wisdom should ever come to any living creature, and

* I think this is correct, but the name is very indistinctly written in the MS., which is difficult to decipher. In another copy of the Clavicle it is written Iroe Grecis, but I think this is an error.

† "Mihi" in MS., probably a slip for "unto him," "ei."

that which thou revealest unto any let them know that they must keep it unto themselves, otherwise the secrets are profaned and no effect can follow?

And Iohé answered: I promise unto thee that to none will I reveal (them), save to the honour of the Lord, and with much discipline, unto penitent, secret, and faithful (persons).

Then answered the Angel: Go and read the Key, and its words which were obscure throughout shall be manifest unto thee.

And after this the Angel ascended into Heaven in a Flame of Fire.

Then Iohé was glad, and labouring with a clear mind, understood that which the Angel of the Lord had said, and he saw that the Key of Solomon was changed, so that it appeared quite clear unto him plainly in all parts. And Iohé understood that this Work might fall into the hands of the ignorant, and he said: I conjure him into whose hands this secret may come, by the Power of the Creator, and His Wisdom, that in all things he may, desire, intend and perform, that this Treasure may come unto no unworthy (person), nor may he manifest it unto any who is unwise, nor unto one who feareth not God. Because if he act otherwise, I pray God that he may never be worthy to attain unto the desired effect.

And so he deposited the Key, which Solomon preserved, in the Ivory Casket. But the Words of the Key are as follows, divided into two books, and shown in order.

INTRODUCTION

From Lansdowne MSS. 1203, "*The Veritable Clavicles of Solomon translated from the Hebrew into the Latin language by the Rabbi Abognazar.*"

O MY Son Roboam! seeing that of all Sciences there is none more useful than the knowledge of Celestial Movements, I have thought it my duty, being at the point of death, to leave thee an inheritance more precious than all the riches which I have enjoyed. And in order that thou mayest understand how I have arrived at this degree (of wisdom), it is necessary to tell thee that one day, when I was meditating upon the power of the Supreme Being, the Angel of the great God appeared before me as I was saying, O how wonderful are the works of God! I suddenly beheld, at the end of a thickly-shaded vista of trees, a Light in the form of a blazing Star, which said unto me with a voice of thunder: Solomon, Solomon, be not dismayed; the Lord is willing to satisfy thy desire by giving thee knowledge of whatsoever thing is most pleasant unto thee. I order thee to ask of Him whatsoever thou desirest. Whereupon, recovering from my surprise, I answered unto the Angel, that according to the Will of the Lord, I only desired the Gift of Wisdom, and by the Grace of God I obtained in addition the enjoyment of all the Celestial treasures and the knowledge of all natural things.

It is by this means, my Son, that I possess all the virtues and riches of which thou now seest me in the enjoyment, and in order that thou mayest be willing to be attentive to all which I am about to relate to thee, and that thou mayest retain with care all that I am about to tell thee, I assure thee that the Graces of the Great God will be familiar unto thee, and that the Celestial and Terrestrial Creatures will be obedient unto thee, and a science which only works by the strength and power of natural things, and by the pure Angels which govern them. Of which latter I will give thee the names in order, their exercises and particular employments to which they are destined, together with the days over which they particularly preside, in order that thou mayest arrive at the accomplishment of all, which thou wilt find in this my Testament. In all which I promise thee success, provided that all thy works only tend unto the honour of God, Who hath given me the power to rule, not only over Terrestrial but also over Celestial things, that is to say, over the Angels, of whom I am able to dispose according to my will, and to obtain from them very considerable services.

Firstly. It is necessary for thee to understand that God, having made all things, in order that they may be submitted unto Him, hath wished to bring His works to perfection, by making one which participates of the Divine and of the Terrestrial, that is to say, Man; whose body is gross and terrestrial, while his soul is spiritual and celestial, unto whom He hath made subject the whole earth and its inhabitants, and hath given unto Him means by which He may render the Angels familiar, as I call those Celestial creatures who are destined: some to regulate the motion of the Stars, others to inhabit the

Elements, others to aid and direct men, and others again to sing continually the praises of the Lord. Thou mayest then, by the use of their seals and characters, render them familiar unto thee, provided that thou abusest not this privilege by demanding from them things which are contrary to their nature; for accursed be he who will take the Name of God in vain, and who will employ for evil purposes the knowledge and good wherewith He hath enriched us.

I command thee, my Son, to carefully engrave in thy memory all that I say unto thee, in order that it may never leave thee. If thou dost not intend to use for a good purpose the secrets which I here teach thee, I command thee rather to cast this Testament into the fire, than to abuse the power thou wilt have of constraining the Spirits, for I warn thee that the beneficent Angels, wearied and fatigued by thine illicit demands, would to thy sorrow execute the commands of God, as well as to that of all such who, with evil intent, would abuse those secrets which He hath given and revealed unto me. Think not, however, O my Son, that it would not be permitted thee to profit by the good fortune and happiness which the Divine Spirits can bring thee; on the contrary, it gives them great pleasure to render service to Man for whom many of these Spirits have great liking and affinity, God having destined them for the preservation and guidance of those Terrestrial things which are submitted to the power of Man.

There are different kinds of Spirits, according to the things over which they preside, some of them govern the Empyrean Heaven, others the Primum Mobilé, others the First and Second Crystalline, others the Starry Heaven; there are also Spirits of the Heaven of Saturn, which I call Saturnites; there are Jovial, Martial, Solar, Venerean, Mercurial, and Lunar Spirits; there are also (Spirits) in the Elements as well as in the Heavens, there are some in the Fiery Region, others in the Air, others in the Water, and others upon the Earth, which can all render service to that man who shall have the good fortune to understand their nature, and to know how to attract them.

Furthermore, I wish to make thee understand that God hath destined to each one of us a Spirit, which watches over us and takes care of our preservation; these are called Genii, who are elementary like us, and who are more ready to render service to those whose temperament is conformed to the Element which these Genii inhabit; for example, shouldest thou be of a fiery temperament, that is to say sanguine, thy genius would be fiery and submitted to the Empire of Baël. Besides this, there are special times reserved for the invocation of these Spirits, in the days and hours when they have power and absolute empire. It is for this reason that thou wilt see in the following tables to what Planet and to what Angel each Day and Hour is submitted, together with the Colours which belong unto them, the Metals, Herbs, Plants, Aquatic, Aërial, and Terrestrial Animals, and Incense, which are proper to each of them, as also in what quarter of the Universe they ask to be invoked. Neither are omitted, the Conjurations, Seals, Characters, and Divine Letters, which belong to them, by means of which we receive the power to sympathise with these Spirits.

TABLE OF THE PLANETARY HOURS.

Sunday.	*Monday.*	*Tuesday.*	*Wednes.*	*Hours from Sunset to Sunset.*	*Hours from Midnight to Midnight.*	*Thursd.*	*Friday.*	*Saturd.*
Merc.	Jup.	Ven.	Sat.	8	1	Sun.	Moon.	Mars.
Moon.	Mars.	Mer.	Jup.	9	2	Ven.	Sat.	Sun.
Sat.	Sun.	Moon.	Mars.	10	3	Mer.	Jup.	Ven.
Jup.	Ven.	Sat.	Sun	11	4	Moon.	Mars.	Mer.
Mars.	Mer.	Jup.	Ven.	12	5	Sat.	Sun.	Moon.
Sun.	Moon.	Mars.	Mer.	1	6	Jup.	Ven.	Sat.
Ven.	Sat.	Sun.	Moon.	2	7	Mars.	Mer.	Jup.
Mer.	Jup.	Ven.	Sat.	3	8	Sun.	Moon.	Mars.
Moon.	Mars.	Mer.	Jup.	4	9	Ven.	Sat.	Sun.
Sat.	Sun.	Moon.	Mars.	5	10	Mer.	Jup.	Ven.
Jup.	Ven.	Sat.	Sun.	6	11	Moon.	Mars.	Mer.
Mars.	Mer.	Jup.	Ven.	7	12	Sat.	Sun.	Moon.
Sun.	Moon.	Mars.	Mer.	8	1	Jup.	Ven.	Sat.
Ven.	Sat.	Sun.	Moon.	9	2	Mars.	Mer.	Jup.
Mer.	Jup.	Ven.	Sat.	10	3	Sun.	Moon.	Mars.
Moon.	Mars.	Mer.	Jup.	11	4	Ven.	Sat.	Sun.
Sat.	Sun.	Moon.	Mars.	12	5	Mer.	Jup.	Ven.
Jup.	Ven.	Sat.	Sun.	1	6	Moon.	Mars.	Mer.
Mars.	Mer.	Jup.	Ven.	2	7	Sat.	Sun.	Moon.
Sun.	Moon.	Mars.	Mer.	3	8	Jup.	Ven.	Sat.
Ven.	Sat.	Sun.	Moon.	4	9	Mars.	Mer.	Jup.
Mer.	Jup.	Ven.	Sat.	5	10	Sun.	Moon.	Mars.
Moon.	Mars.	Mer.	Jup.	6	11	Ven.	Sat.	Sun.
Sat.	Sun.	Moon.	Mars.	7	12	Mer.	Jup.	Ven.

Table of the Magical Names of the Hours, and of the Angels who rule them, commencing at the first hour after Midnight of each day, and ending at the ensuing midnight.

Hours.	*Sunday.*	*Monday.*	*Tuesday.*	*Wednesd.*	*Thursd.*	*Friday.*	*Saturday.*
1. Yayn . . .	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael
2. Yanor . .	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael
3. Nasnia . .	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael
4. Salla . . .	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael
5. Sadedali . .	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel
6. Thamur . .	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel
7. Ourer . .	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel
8. Thainé . .	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael
9. Neron . .	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael
10. Yayon . .	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael
11. Abai . . .	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael
12. Nathalon .	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel
1. Beron . .	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel
2. Barol . .	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel
3. Thanu . .	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael
4. Athor . .	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael
5. Mathon . .	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael
6. Rana . .	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael
7. Netos . .	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel
8. Tafrac . .	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel
9. Sassur . .	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel
10. Agla . . .	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael
11. Cäerra . .	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael
12. Salam . .	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Zamael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael

Table of the Archangels, Angels, Metals, Days of the Week, and Colours attributed to each Planet.

Days.	*Saturday.*	*Thursd.*	*Tuesday.*	*Sunday*	*Friday.*	*Wednesd.*	*Monday.*
Archangel . .	Tzaphqiel	Tzadiqel	Khamael	Raphael	Haniel	Michael	Gabriel
Angel . . .	Cassiel	Sachiel	Zamael	Michael	Anael	Raphael	Gabriel
Planet . . .	Saturn	Jupiter	Mars	Sun	Venus	Mercury	Moon
Metal. . . .	Lead	Tin	Iron	Gold	Copper	Mercury	Silver
Colour . . .	Black	Blue	Red	Yellow	Green	Purple or Mixed Colours	White

NOTE BY EDITOR.

These Tables have been collated and compared with various examples of them both MS. and printed. They are to be used thus:—Supposing the student wishes to discover the properties of the hour from 12 to 1 o'clock p.m. on a Tuesday, let him look in the "Table of the Planetary Hours," and having found the hour marked 1 in the column headed "Hours from Midnight to Midnight," he will see in the column headed "Hours from Sunset to Sunset," on the same line the figure 8, showing it to be the eighth hour of the day; and in the column headed Tuesday, the name Mars, showing that it is under the dominion of the planet Mars. On consulting the "Table of the Magical Names of the Hours," &c., he will find under the number 1, the name Beron, and in the column "Tuesday," the name of the angel Zamael over against it on the same line, showing that the ruler of the hour is the Angel Zamael, and that its Magical Name is Beron. Further, on referring to the third Table he will see that Tuesday is under the rule of the planet Mars, whose Archangel is Khamael, Angel Zamael, Metal Iron, and Colour Red. Similarly it will be found that the hour from 10 to 11 p.m. on Saturday is the sixth hour of the night, under the dominion of the Sun, that its Magical Name is Cäerra, and that the Angel Michael rules it; while Saturday itself is under the dominion of the Archangel Tzaphqiel, of the Angel Cassiel, of the Planet Saturn, and that the Metal Lead and the Colour Black are applicable to it.

The ensuing Text is taken from the following MSS., collated and compared with each other.

Sloane MSS. 1307; Sloane MSS. 3091; Harleian MSS. 3981; Add. MSS. 10862; King's MSS. 288; Lansdowne MSS. 1202.

Extracts have also been made from Lansdowne MSS. 1203, which differs considerably from the others in general arrangement, though containing very similar matter.

In cases where the MSS. varied from each other I have taken the version which seemed most likely to be correct, in some cases mentioning the variant readings in footnotes. I have also, wherever it was possible to do so, corrected the Hebrew names in the Incantations, for these were in some cases so marred as to be hardly recognisable; e.g. *Zenard*, written for *Tzabaoth*, &c.

THE KEY OF SOLOMON.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the Divine Love which ought to precede the Acquisition of this Knowledge.

SOLOMON, the Son of David, King of Israel, hath said that the beginning of our Key is to fear God, to adore Him, to honour Him with contrition of heart, to invoke Him* in all matters which we wish to undertake, and to operate with very great devotion, for thus God will lead us in the right way. When, therefore, thou shalt wish to acquire the knowledge of Magical Arts and Sciences, it is necessary to have prepared the order of hours and of days, and of the position of the Moon, without the operation of which thou canst effect nothing; but if thou observest them with diligence thou mayest easily and thoroughly arrive at the effect and end which thou desirest to attain.

* 1202, Lansdowne MSS., omits the concluding part of this sentence.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Days, and Hours, and of the Virtues of the Planets.

When* thou wishest to make any experiment or operation, thou must first prepare, beforehand, all the requisites which thou wilt find described in the following Chapters: observing the days, the hours, and the other effects of the Constellations which may be found in this Chapter.

It is, therefore, advisable to know that the hours of the day and of the night together, are twenty-four in number, and that each hour is governed by one of the Seven Planets in regular order, commencing at the highest and descending to the lowest. The order of the Planets is as follows: ShBThAI, Shabbathai, Saturn; beneath Saturn is TzDQ, Tzedeq, Jupiter; beneath Jupiter is MADIM, Madim, Mars; beneath Mars is ShMSh, Shemesh, the Sun; beneath the Sun is NVGH, Nogah, Venus; beneath Venus is KVKB, Kokav, Mercury; and beneath Mercury is LBNH, Levanah, the Moon, which is the lowest of all the Planets.

It must, therefore, be understood that the Planets have their dominion over the day which approacheth nearest unto the name which is given and attributed unto them—viz., over Saturday, Saturn; Thursday, Jupiter; Tuesday, Mars; Sunday, the Sun; Friday, Venus; Wednesday, Mercury; and Monday, the Moon.

The rule of the Planets over each hour begins from the dawn at the rising of the Sun on the day which take its name from such Planet, and the Planet which follows it in order, succeeds to the rule over the next hour. Thus (on Saturday) Saturn rules the first hour, Jupiter the Second, Mars the third, the Sun the fourth, Venus the fifth, Mercury the sixth, the Moon the seventh, and Saturn returns in the rule over the eighth, and the others in their turn, the Planets always keeping the same relative order.

Note that each experiment or magical operation should be performed under the Planet, and usually in the hour, which refers to the same. For example:—

In the Days and Hours of Saturn thou canst perform experiments to summon the Souls from Hades, but only of those who have died a natural death. Similarly on these days and hours thou canst operate to bring either good or bad fortune to buildings; to have familiar Spirits attend thee in sleep; to cause good or ill success to business, possessions, goods, seeds,

* This first paragraph is omitted in 1307 Sloane MSS., and in 10862 Add. MSS.

fruits, and similar things, in order to acquire learning; to bring destruction and to give death, and to sow hatred and discord.

The Days and Hours of Jupiter are proper for obtaining honours, acquiring riches; contracting friendships, preserving health; and arriving at all that thou canst desire.

In the Days and Hours of Mars thou canst make experiments regarding War; to arrive at military honour; to acquire courage; to overthrow enemies; and further to cause ruin, slaughter, cruelty, discord; to wound and to give death.

The Days and Hours of the Sun are very good for perfecting experiments regarding temporal wealth, hope, gain, fortune, divination, the favour of princes, to dissolve hostile feeling, and to make friends.

The Days and Hours of Venus are good for forming friendships; for kindness and love; for joyous and pleasant undertakings, and for travelling.

The Days and Hours of Mercury are good to operate for eloquence and intelligence; promptitude in business; science and divination; wonders; apparitions; and answers regarding the future. Thou canst also operate under this Planet for thefts; writings; deceit; and merchandise.

The Days and Hours of the Moon are good for embassies; voyages; envoys; messages; navigation; reconciliation; love; and the acquisition of merchandise by water.*

Thou shouldest take care punctually to observe all the instructions contained in this chapter, if thou desirest to succeed, seeing that the truth of Magical Science dependeth thereon.

The Hours of Saturn, of Mars, and of the Moon are alike good for communicating and speaking with Spirits; as those of Mercury are for recovering thefts by the means of Spirits.

The Hours of Mars serve for summoning Souls from Hades,† especially of those slain in battle.

The Hours of the Sun, of Jupiter, and of Venus, are adapted for preparing any operations whatsoever of love, of kindness, and of invisibility, as is hereafter more fully shown, to which must be added other things of a similar nature which are contained in our work.

The Hours of Saturn and Mars and also the days on which the Moon is conjunct‡ with them, or when she receives their opposition or quartile aspect, are excellent for making experiments of hatred, enmity, quarrel, and discord; and other operations of the same kind which are given later on in this work.

The Hours of Mercury are good for undertaking experiments relating to games, raillery, jests, sports, and the like.

* Much of these foregoing instructions is omitted in the 10862 Add. MSS., but given in a different way in the ensuing paragraphs.

† In the French "des Enfers," in the Latin "Inferis."

‡ Conjunction means being in the same degree of the Zodiac; opposition is being 180 degrees, and quartile 90 degrees apart from each other.

The Hours of the Sun, of Jupiter, and of Venus, particularly on the days which they rule, are good for all extraordinary, uncommon, and unknown operations.

The Hours of the Moon are proper for making trial of experiments relating to recovery of stolen property, for obtaining nocturnal visions, for summoning Spirits in sleep, and for preparing anything relating to Water.

The Hours of Venus are furthermore useful for lots, poisons, all things of the nature of Venus, for preparing powders provocative of madness; and the like things.

But in order to thoroughly effect the operations of this Art, thou shouldest perform them not only on the Hours but on the Days of the Planets as well, because then the experiment will always succeed better, provided thou observest the rules laid down later on, for if thou omittest one single condition thou wilt never arrive at the accomplishment of the Art.

For those matters then which appertain unto the Moon, such as the Invocation of Spirits, the Works of Necromancy, and the recovery of stolen property, it is necessary that the Moon should be in a Terrestrial Sign, viz.:—Taurus, Virgo, or Capricorn.

For love, grace, and invisibility, the Moon should be in a Fiery Sign, viz.:—Aries, Leo, or Sagittarius.

For hatred, discord, and destruction, the Moon should be in a Watery Sign, viz.:—Cancer, Scorpio, or Pisces.

For experiments of a peculiar nature, which cannot be classed under any certain head, the Moon should be in an Airy Sign, viz.:—Gemini, Libra, or Aquarius.

But if these things seem unto thee difficult to accomplish, it will suffice thee merely to notice the Moon after her combustion, or conjunction with the Sun, especially just when she* quits his beams and appeareth visible. For then it is good to make all experiments for the construction and operation of any matter. That is why the time from the New unto the Full Moon is proper for performing any of the experiments of which we have spoken above. But in her decrease or wane it is good for War, Disturbance, and Discord. Likewise the period when she is almost deprived of light, is proper for experiments of invisibility, and of Death.

But observe inviolably that thou commence nothing while the Moon is in conjunction with the Sun, seeing that this is extremely unfortunate, and that thou wilt then be able to effect nothing; but the Moon quitting his beams and increasing in Light, thou canst perform all that thou desirest, observing nevertheless the directions in this Chapter.

Furthermore, if thou wishest to converse with Spirits it should be especially on the day of Mercury and in his hour, and let the Moon be in an Airy Sign,† as well as the Sun.

* *i.e.* New Moon.

† In Add. MSS. 10862; "or in an Earthy Sign, as hath been before said."

Retire* thou then unto a secret place, where no one may be able to see thee or to hinder thee, before the completion of the experiment, whether thou shouldest wish to work by day or by night. But if thou shouldest wish to work by night, perfect thy work on the succeeding night; if by day, seeing that the day beginneth with the rising of the Sun (perfect thy work on) the succeeding day. But the Hour of Inception is the Hour of Mercury.

Verily, since no experiments for converse with Spirits can be done without a Circle being prepared, whatsoever experiments therefore thou wishest to undertake for conversing with Spirits, therein thou must learn to construct a certain particular Circle; that being done surround that Circle with a Circle of Art for better caution and efficacy.

* The following paragraphs to the end of this Chapter are only found in the Latin version, Add. MSS. 10862.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the Arts.

If thou wishest to succeed, it is necessary to make the following Experiments and Arts in the appropriate Days and Hours, with the requisite solemnities and ceremonies contained and laid down in the following chapters.

Experiments, then, are of two kinds; the first is to make trial of what, as I have said, can be easily performed without a Circle, and in this case it is not necessary to observe anything but what thou wilt find in the proper Chapters. The second can in no way be brought to perfection without the Circle; and in order to accomplish this perfectly it is necessary to take note of all the preparations which the Master of the Art and his Disciples must undertake before constructing* the Circle.

Before commencing operations both the Master and his Disciples must abstain with great and thorough continence during the space of nine days from sensual pleasures and from vain and foolish conversation; as plainly appeareth in the Second Book, Chapter 4. Six of these nine days having expired, he must recite frequently the Prayer and Confession as will be told him; and on the Seventh Day, the Master being alone, let him enter into a secret place, let him take off his clothes, and bathe himself from head to foot in consecrated and exorcised Water, saying devoutly and humbly the prayer, "O Lord Adonaï," &c., as it is written in the Second Book, Chapter 2.

The Prayer being finished, let the Master quit the water, and put upon his flesh raiment of white linen clean and unsoiled; and then let him go with his Disciples unto a secret place and command them to strip themselves naked; and they having taken off their clothes, let him take exorcised water and pour it upon their heads so that it flows down to their feet and bathes them completely; and while pouring this water upon them let the Master say:—"Be ye regenerate, renewed, washed, and pure," &c., as in Book II., Chapter 3.

Which† being done, the Disciples must clothe themselves, putting upon their flesh, like their Master, raiment of white linen clean and unsoiled; and the three last days the Master and his Disciples should fast, observing the solemnities and prayers marked in Book II., Chapter 2.

Note that the three last days should be calm weather, without wind, and without clouds rushing hither and thither over the face of the sky. On the last day let the Master go with his Disciples unto a secret fountain of running water, or unto a flowing stream, and there let each of them, taking off his

* Sloane MSS. 3091, says, "before they come to the Circle."

† This paragraph is omitted in Lansdowne MSS. 1202.

clothes, wash himself with due solemnity, as is rehearsed in Book II. And when they are clean and pure, let each put upon him garments of white linen, pure, and clean, using the prayers and ceremonies described in Book II. After which let the Master alone say the confession. The which being finished, the Master in sign of penitence will Kiss* the Disciples on the forehead, and each of them will Kiss the other. Afterwards let the Master extend his hands over the Disciples, and in sign of absolution absolve and bless them; which being done he will distribute to each of his Disciples the Instruments necessary for Magical Art, which he is to carry into the Circle.

The First Disciple will bear the Censer, the Perfumes and the Spices; the Second Disciple will bear the Book, Papers, Pens, Ink, and any stinking or impure materials; the Third will carry the Knife and the Sickle of Magical Art, the Lantern, and the Candles; the Fourth, the Psalms, and the rest of the Instruments; the Fifth, the Crucible or Chafing-dish, and the Charcoal or Fuel; but it is necessary for the Master himself to carry in his hand the Staff, and the Wand or Rod. The things necessary being thus disposed, the Master will go with his Disciples unto the assigned place, where they have proposed to construct the Circle for the Magical Arts and experiments; repeating on the way the prayers and orations which thou wilt find in Book II.

When the Master shall have arrived at the place appointed, together with his Disciples, he having lighted the flame of the fire, and having exorcised it afresh as is laid down in the Second Book, shall light the Candle and place it in the Lantern, which one of the Disciples is to hold ever in his hand to light the Master at his work. Now the Master of the Art, every time that he shall have occasion for some particular purpose to speak with the Spirits, must endeavour to form certain Circles which shall differ somewhat, and shall have some particular reference to the particular experiment under consideration. Now, in order to succeed in forming such a Circle concerning Magical Art, for the greater assurance and efficacy thou shalt construct it in the following manner:—

The Construction of the Circle.

Take thou the Knife, the Sickle, or the Sword of Magical Art consecrated after the manner and order which we shall deliver unto thee in the Second Book. With this Knife or with the Sickle of Art thou shalt describe, beyond the inner Circle which thou shalt have already formed, a Second Circle, encompassing the other at the distance of one foot therefrom and having the same centre.† Within this space of a foot in breadth between the first and the second circumferential‡ line, thou shalt trace towards the Four Quarters of the Earth,§ the Sacred and Venerable Symbols of the holy Letter Tau.‖ And

* Note the "holy kiss" in the New Testament. "Greet ye one another with a holy kiss."

† *i.e.* Two Circles enclosed between three circumferential lines.

‡ *i.e.* within the first circle.

§ *i.e.* the four Cardinal points of the compass.

‖ The letter Tau represents the Cross, and in 10862 Add. MSS. in the drawing of the Circle, the Hebrew letter is replaced by the Cross; in 1307 Sloane MSS. by the T or Tau-Cross.

between the first and the second Circle,* which thou shalt thyself have drawn with the Instrument of Magical Art, thou shalt make four hexagonal pentacles,† and between these thou shalt write four terrible and tremendous Names of God, viz.:—

Between the East and the South the Supreme Name IHVH, Tetragrammaton;—

Between the South and the West the Essential Tetragrammatic Name AHIH, Eheieh;—

Between the West and the North the Name of Power ALIVN, Elion;—

And between the North and the East the Great Name ALH, Eloah;—

Which Names are of supreme importance in the list of the Sephiroth,‡ and their Sovereign Equivalents.

Furthermore, thou shalt circumscribe about these Circles two Squares, the Angles of which shall be turned towards the Four Quarters of the Earth; and the space between the Lines of the Outer and Inner Square shall be half-a-foot. The extreme Angles of the Outer Square shall be made the Centres of four Circles, the measure or diameter of which shall be one foot. All these are to be drawn with the Knife or consecrated Instrument of Art. And within these Four Circles thou must write these four Names of God the Most Holy One, in this order:—

At§ the East, AL, El;

At the West, IH, Yah;

At the South, AGLA, Agla;

And at the North ADNI, Adonaï.

Between the two Squares the Name Tetragrammaton is to be written in the same way as is shown in the plate. (*See Figure* 2.)

While constructing the Circle, the Master should recite the following Psalms:—Psalm II; Psalm LIV; Psalm CXIII; Psalm LXVII; Psalm XLVII; Psalm LXVIII.

Or he may as well recite them before tracing the Circle.

The which being finished, and the fumigations being performed, as is described in the chapter on Fumigations in the Second Book, the Master should reassemble his Disciples, encourage them, reassure them, fortify them, and conduct them into the parts of the Circle of Art, where he must place them in the four quarters of the earth, encourage them, and exhort them to fear nothing, and to keep in the places assigned to them. Also, the Disciple who is placed towards the East should have a pen, ink, paper, silk, and white cotton, all clean and suitable for the work. Furthermore, each of the Com-

* *i.e.* in the Outer Circle, bounded by the second and third circumferential lines.

† 10862 Add. MSS. is the only copy which uses the word *hexagonal*, but the others show four hexagrams in the drawing; in the drawing, however, 10862 gives the hexagrams formed by various differing interlacements of two triangles, as shown in Figure 2.

‡ The Sephiroth are the ten Qabalistical Emanations of the Deity. The Sovereign Equivalents are the Divine Names referred thereto. See my "Kabbalah Unveiled."

§ The MSS. vary as to the point whereat each Name is to be placed, but I think the above will be found to answer.

panions should have a new Sword drawn in his hand (besides the consecrated Magical Sword of Art), and he should keep his hand resting upon the hilt thereof, and he should on no pretext quit the place assigned to him, nor move therefrom.

After this the Master should quit the Circle, light the fuel in the earthen pots, and place upon them the Censers, in the Four Quarters of the Earth; and he should have in his hand the consecrated taper of wax, and he should light it and place it in a hidden and secret place prepared for it. Let him after this re-enter and close the Circle.

The Master should afresh exhort his Disciples, and explain to them all that they have to do and to observe; the which commands they should promise and vow to execute.

Let the Master then repeat this Prayer:—

Prayer.

When we enter herein with all humility, let God the Almighty One enter into this Circle, by the entrance of an eternal happiness, of a Divine prosperity, of a perfect joy, of an abundant charity, and of an eternal salutation. Let all the demons fly from this place, especially those who are opposed unto this work, and let the Angels of Peace assist and protect this Circle, from which let discord and strife fly and depart. Magnify and extend upon us, O Lord, Thy most Holy Name, and bless our conversation and our assembly. Sanctify, O Lord our God, our humble entry herein, Thou the Blessed and Holy One of the Eternal Ages! Amen.

After this, let the Master say upon his knees, as follows:—

Prayer.

O Lord God, All Powerful and All Merciful, Thou Who desirest not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness and live; give and grant unto us thy grace, by blessing and consecrating this earth and this circle, which is here marked out with the most powerful and holy Names of God. And thee, I conjure, O Earth, by the Most Holy Name of Asher Eheieh entering within this Circle, composed and made with mine hand. And may God, even Adonai, bless this place with all the virtues of Heaven, so that no obscene or unclean spirit may have the power to enter into this Circle, or to annoy any person who is therein; though the Lord God Adonai, Who liveth eternally unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

I beseech Thee, O Lord God, the All Powerful and the All Merciful, that Thou wilt deign to bless this Circle, and all this place, and all those who are therein, and that Thou wilt grant unto us, who serve Thee, and rehearse nothing but the wonders of Thy law, a good Angel for our Guardian; remove from us every adverse power; preserve us from evil and from trouble; grant, O Lord, that we may rest in this place in all safety, through Thee, O Lord, Who livest and reignest unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

Let the Master now arise and place upon his head a Crown made of

paper (or any other appropriate substance), on the which there must be written (with the Colours and other necessary things which we shall describe hereafter), these four Names Agla, Aglai, Aglata, Aglatai. The which Names are to be placed in the front, behind, and on either side of the head.

Furthermore, the Master ought to have with him in the Circle, those Pentacles or Medals which are necessary to his purpose, which are described hereinafter, and which should be constructed according to the rules given in the Chapter on Pentacles. They should be described on virgin paper with a pen; and ink, blood, or colours, prepared according to the manner which we shall hereafter show in the Chapters on these subjects. It will be sufficient to take only those Pentacles which are actually required, they should be sewed to the front of the linen robe, on the chest, with the consecrated needle of the Art, and with a thread which has been woven by a young girl.

After this, let the Master turn himself towards the Eastern Quarter (unless directed to the contrary, or unless he should be wishing to call Spirits which belong to another quarter of the Universe), and pronounce with a loud voice the Conjuration contained in this Chapter. And if the Spirits be disobedient and do not not then make their appearance, he must arise and take the exorcised Knife of Art wherewith he hath constructed the Circle, and raise it towards the sky as if he wished to beat or strike the Air, and conjure the Spirits. Let him then lay his right hand and the Knife upon the Pentacles or Medals, constructed of, and described upon virgin paper, which are fastened to or sewn upon his breast, and let him repeat the following Conjuration upon his knees:

Conjuration.

O Lord, hear my prayer, and let my cry come unto Thee. O Lord God Almighty, who has reigned before the beginning of the Ages, and Who by Thine Infinite Wisdom, hast created the heavens, the earth, and the sea, and all that in them is, all that is visible, and all that is invisible by a single word; I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I adore Thee, I glorify Thee, and I pray Thee now at the present time to be merciful unto me, a miserable sinner, for I am the work of Thine hands. Save me, and direct me by Thy Holy Name, Thou to Whom nothing is difficult, nothing is impossible; and deliver me from the night of mine ignorance, and enable me to go forth therefrom. Enlighten me with a spark of Thine Infinite Wisdom. Take away from my senses the desire of covetousness, and the iniquity of mine idle words. Give unto me, Thy servant, a wise understanding, penetrating and subtle heart, to acquire and comprehend all Sciences and Arts; give unto me capacity to hear, and strength of memory to retain them, so that I may be able to accomplish my desires, and understand and learn all difficult and desirable Sciences; and also that I may be able to comprehend the hidden secrets of the Holy Writings. Give me the virtue to conceive them, so that I may be able to bring forth and pronounce my words with patience and humility, for the instruction of others, as Thou hast ordered me.

O God, the Father, All Powerful and All Merciful, Who hast created

all things, Who knowest and conceivest them universally, and to Whom nothing is hidden, nothing is impossible; I entreat Thy Grace for me and for Thy servants, because Thou seest and knowest well that we perform not this work to tempt Thy Strength and Thy Power as if in doubt thereof, but rather that we may know and understand the truth of all hidden things. I beseech Thee to have the kindness to be favourable unto us; by Thy Splendour, Thy Magnificence, and Thy Holiness, and by Thy Holy, Terrible, and Ineffable Name IAH, at which the whole world doth tremble, and by the Fear with which all creatures obey Thee. Grant, O Lord, that we may become responsive unto Thy Grace, so that through it we may have a full confidence in and knowledge of Thee, and that the Spirits may discover themselves here in our presence, and that those which are gentle and peaceable may come unto us, so that they may be obedient unto Thy commands, through Thee, O Most Holy ADONAI, Whose Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom, and Whose Empire endureth unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

After having said all these words devoutly, let the Master arise, and place his hands upon the Pentacles, and let one of the Companions hold the Book open before the Master, who, raising his eyes to heaven, and turning unto the Four Quarters of the Universe, shall say:

O Lord, be Thou unto me a Tower of Strength against the appearance and assaults of the Evil Spirits.

After this, turning towards the Four Quarters of the Universe, he shall say the following words:—

These be the Symbols and the Names of the Creator, which can bring Terror and Fear unto you. Obey me then, by the power of these Holy Names, and by these Mysterious Symbols of the Secret of Secrets.

The which being said and done, thou shalt see them draw near and approach from all parts. But if they be hindered, detained, or occupied in some way, and so that they cannot come, or if they are unwilling to come, then, the Suffumigations and Censings being performed anew, and (the Disciples) having anew, by especial order, touched their Swords, and the Master having encouraged his Disciples, he shall reform the Circle with the Knife of Art, and, raising the said Knife towards the Sky, he shall as it were strike the air therewith. After this he shall lay his hand upon the Pentacles, and having bent his knees before the Most High, he shall repeat with humility the following Confession; the which his Disciples shall also do, and they shall recite it in a low and humble voice, so that they can scarcely be heard.*

* So as not to interfere with the direction of the Will-currents of the Master.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER IV.

The Confession to be made by the Exorcist.

Confession.

O Lord of Heaven and of Earth, before Thee do I confess my sins, and lament them, cast down and humbled in thy presence. For I have sinned before Thee by pride, avarice, and boundless desire of honours and riches; by idleness, gluttony, greed, debauchery, and drunkenness; because I have offended Thee by all kinds of sins of the flesh, adulteries, and pollutions, which I have committed myself, and consented that others should commit; by sacrilege, thefts, rapine, violation, and homicide; by the evil use I have made of my possessions, by my prodigality, by the sins which I have committed against Hope and Charity, by my evil advice, flatteries, bribes, and the ill distribution which I have made of the goods of which I have been possessed; by repulsing and maltreating the poor, in the distribution which I have made of the goods committed to my charge, by afflicting those over whom I have been set in authority, by not visiting the prisoners, by depriving the dead of burial, by not receiving the poor, by neither feeding the hungry nor giving drink to the thirsty, by never keeping the Sabbath and the other feasts, by not living chastely and piously on those days, by the easy consent which I have given to those who incited me to evil deeds, by injuring instead of aiding those who demanded help from me, by refusing to give ear unto the cry of the poor, by not respecting the aged, by not keeping my word, by disobedience to my parents, by ingratitude towards those from whom I have received kindness, by indulgence in sensual pleasures, by irreverend behaviour in the Temple of God, by unseemly gestures thereat, by entering therein without reverence, by vain and unprofitable discourse when there, by despising the sacred vessels of the temple, by turning the holy Ceremonies into ridicule, by touching and eating the sacred bread with impure lips and with profane hands, and by the neglect of my prayers and adorations.

I detest also the crimes which I have committed by evil thoughts, vain and impure meditations, false suspicions, and rash judgments; by the evil consent which I have readily given unto the advice of the wicked, by lust of impure and sensual pleasures; by my idle words, my lies, and my deceit; by my false vows in various ways; and by my continual slander and calumny.

I detest also the crimes which I have committed within; the treachery and discord which I have incited; my curiosity, greed, false speaking, violence, malediction, murmurs, blasphemies, vain words, insults, dissimulations; my sins against God by the transgression of the ten commandments, by neglect of my duties and obligations, and by want of love towards God and towards my neighbour.

Furthermore I hate the sins which I have committed in all my senses, by sight, by hearing, by taste, by smell, and by touch, in every way that human weakness can offend the Creator; by my carnal thoughts, deeds, and meditations.

In which I humbly confess that I have sinned, and recognise myself as being in the sight of God the most criminal of all men.

I accuse myself before Thee, O God, and I adore Thee with all humility. O ye, Holy Angels, and ye, Children of God, in your presence I publish my sins, so that mine Enemy may have no advantage over me, and may not be able to reproach me at the last day; that he may not be able to say that I have concealed my sins, and that I be not then accused in the presence of the Lord; but, on the contrary, that on my account there may be joy in Heaven, as over the just who have confessed their sins in thy presence.

O Most Mighty and All Powerful Father, grant through Thine unbounded Mercy that I may both see and know all the Spirits which I invoke, so that by their means I may see my will and desire accomplished, by Thy Sovereign grandeur, and by Thine Ineffable and Eternal Glory, Thou Who art and Who wilt be for ever the Pure and Ineffable Father of All.

The Confession having been finished with great humility, and with the inward feeling of the heart, the Master will recite the following prayer:—

Prayer.

O Lord All Powerful, Eternal God and Father of all Creatures, shed upon me the Divine Influence of Thy Mercy, for I am Thy Creature. I beseech Thee to defend me from mine Enemies, and to confirm in me true and steadfast faith.

O Lord, I commit my Body and my Soul unto Thee, seeing I put my trust in none beside Thee; it is on Thee alone that I rely; O Lord my God aid me; O Lord hear me in the day and hour wherein I shall invoke Thee. I pray Thee by Thy Mercy not to put me in oblivion, nor to remove me from Thee. O Lord be Thou my succour, Thou Who art the God of my salvation. O Lord make me a new heart according unto Thy loving Kindness. These, O Lord, are the gifts which I await from Thee, O my God and my Master, Thou Who livest and reignest unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

O Lord God the All Powerful One, Who hast formed unto Thyself great and Ineffable Wisdom, and Co-eternal with Thyself before the countless Ages; Thou Who in the Birth of Time hast created the Heavens, and the Earth, the Sea, and things that they contain; Thou who hast vivified all things by the Breath of Thy Mouth, I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I adore Thee, and I glorify Thee. Be Thou propitious unto me who am but a miserable sinner, and despise me not; save me and succour me, even me the work of Thine hands. I conjure and entreat Thee by Thy Holy Name to banish from my Spirit the darkness of Ignorance, and to enlighten me with the Fire of thy Wisdom; take away from me all evil desires, and let not my speech be as that of the foolish. O Thou, God the Living One, Whose Glory, Honour, and Kingdom shall extend unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER V.

Prayers and Conjurations.

Prayer.

O Lord God, Holy Father, Almighty and Merciful One, Who hast created all things, Who knowest all things and can do all things, from Whom nothing is hidden, to Whom nothing is impossible; Thou who knowest that we perform not these ceremonies to tempt Thy power, but that we may penetrate into the knowledge of hidden things; we pray Thee by Thy Sacred Mercy to cause and to permit, that we may arrive at this understanding of secret things, of whatever nature they may be by Thine aid, O Most Holy Adonai, Whose Kingdom and Power shall have no end unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

The Prayer being finished, let the Exorcist lay his hand upon the Pentacles, while one of the Disciples shall hold open before him the Book wherein are written the prayers and conjurations proper for conquering, subduing, and reproving the Spirits. Then the Master, turning towards each Quarter of the Earth, and raising his eyes to Heaven, shall say:

O Lord, be Thou unto me a strong tower of refuge, from the sight and assaults of the Evil Spirits.

After which let him turn again towards the Four Quarters of the Earth, and towards each let him utter the following words:

Behold the Symbols and Names of the Creator, which give unto ye for ever Terror and Fear. Obey then, by the virtue of these Holy Names, and by these Mysteries of Mysteries.

After this he shall see the Spirits come from every side. But in case they are occupied in some other place, or that they cannot come, or that they are unwilling to come: then let him commence afresh to invoke them after the following manner, and let the Exorcist be assured that even were they bound with chains of iron, and with fire, they could not refrain from coming to accomplish his will.

The Conjuration.*

O ye Spirits, ye I conjure by the Power, Wisdom, and Virtue of the Spirit of God, by the uncreate Divine Knowledge, by the vast Mercy of God,

* There is an Invocation bearing the title of "The Qabalistical Invocation of Solomon," given by Eliphas Lévi, which differs in many points from the one given above, though resembling it in some particulars. Lévi's is more evidently constructed on the plan indicated in the "Siphra Dtzenioutha," c. III.; Annotation § 5, sub. § 8, 9; while the one above more follows that laid down, *ibid.* § 5, sub. § 3. I see no reason to suppose that Lévi's is unauthentic. It will be noted by the Qabalistical reader, that the above Conjuration rehearses the Divine Names attached to the Ten Sephiroth.

by the Strength of God, by the Greatness of God, by the Unity of God; and by the Holy Name of God EHEIEH, which is the root, trunk, source, and origin of all the other Divine Names, whence they all draw their life and their virtue, which Adam having invoked, he acquired the knowledge of all created things.

I conjure ye by the Indivisible Name IOD, which marketh and expresseth the Simplicity and the Unity of the Nature Divine, which Abel having invoked, he deserved* to escape from the hands of Cain his brother.

I conjure ye by the Name TETRAGRAMMATON ELOHIM, which expresseth and signifieth the Grandeur of so lofty a Majesty, that Noah having pronounced it, saved himself, and protected himself with his whole household from the Waters of the Deluge.

I conjure ye by the Name of God EL Strong and Wonderful, which denoteth the Mercy and Goodness of His Majesty Divine, which Abrahum having invoked, he was found worthy to come forth from the Ur of the Chaldeans.

I conjure ye by the most powerful Name of ELOHIM GIBOR, which showeth forth the Strength of God, of a God All Powerful, Who punisheth the crimes of the wicked, Who seeketh out and chastiseth the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation; which Isaac having invoked, he was found worthy to escape from the Sword of Abraham his father.

I conjure ye and I exorcise ye by the most holy Name of ELOAH VA-DAATH, which Jacob invoked when in great trouble, and was found worthy to bear the Name of Israel, which signifieth Vanquisher of God; and he was delivered from the fury of Esau his brother.

I conjure ye by the most potent Name of EL† ADONAI TZABAOTH, which is the God of Armies, ruling in the Heavens, which Joseph invoked, and was found worthy to escape from the hands of his Brethren.

I conjure ye by the most potent Name of ELOHIM TZABAOTH, which expresseth piety, mercy, splendour, and knowledge of God, which Moses invoked, and he was found worthy to deliver the People Israel from Egypt, and from the servitude of Pharoah.

I conjure ye by the most potent Name of SHADDAI, which signifieth doing good unto all; which Moses invoked, and having struck the Sea, it divided into two parts in the midst, on the right hand and on the left. I conjure ye by the most holy Name of EL‡ CHAI, which is that of the Living God, through the virtue of which alliance with us, and redemption for us have been made; which Moses invoked and all the waters returned to their prior state and enveloped the Egyptians, so that not one of them escaped to carry the news into the Land of Mizraim.

Lastly, I conjure ye all, ye rebellious Spirits, by the most holy Name of God ADONAI MELEKH, which Joshua invoked, and stayed the course of the

* In the French, "merita d'échapper."

† More usually the Name TETRAGRAMMATON TZABAOTH is attributed to the Seventh Sephira.

‡ Both this Name and "Shaddai" are attributed to the Ninth Sephira, and I have therefore put the two invocations in the same paragraph.

Sun in his presence, through the virtue of Methratton,* its principal Image; and by the troops of Angels who cease not to cry day and night, Qadosch, Qadosch, Qadosch, Adonai Elohim Tzabaoth (that is, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, Heaven and Earth are full of Thy Glory); and by the Ten Angels who preside over the Ten Sephiroth, by whom God communicateth and extendeth His influence over lower things, which are Kether, Chokmah, Binah, Gedulah, Geburah, Tiphereth. Netzach, Hod, Yesod, and Malkuth.

I conjure ye anew, O Spirits, by all the Names of God, and by all His marvellous work; by the heavens; by the earth; by the sea; by the depth of the Abyss, and by that firmament which the very Spirit of God hath moved; by the sun and by the stars; by the waters and by the seas, and all which they contain; by the winds, the whirlwinds, and the tempests; by the virtue of all herbs, plants, and stones; by all which is in the heavens, upon the earth, and in all the Abysses of the Shades.

I conjure ye anew, and I powerfully urge ye, O Demons, in whatsoever part of the world ye may be, so that ye shall be unable to remain in air, fire, water, earth, or in any part of the universe, or in any pleasant place which may attract ye; but that ye come promptly to accomplish our desire, and all things that we demand from your obedience.

I conjure ye anew by the two Tables of the Law, by the five books of Moses, by the Seven Burning Lamps on the Candlestick of Gold before the face of the Throne of the Majesty of God, and by the Holy of Holies wherein the Kohen Ha-Gadul was alone permitted to enter, that is to say, the High-Priest.

I conjure ye by Him Who hath made the heavens and the earth, and who hath measured those heavens in the hollow of His hand, and enclosed the earth with three of His fingers, Who is seated upon the Kerubim and upon the Seraphim; and by the Kerubim, which is called the Kerub, which God constituted and placed to guard the Tree of Life, armed with a flaming sword, after that Man had been driven out of Paradise.

I conjure ye anew, Apostates from God, by Him Who alone hath performed great wonders; by the Heavenly Jerusalem; and by the Most Holy Name of God in Four Letters, and by Him Who enlighteneth all things and shineth upon all things by his Venerable and Ineffable Name, Eheieh Asher Eheieh; that ye come immediately to execute our desire, whatever it may be.

I conjure ye, and I command ye absolutely, O Demons, in whatsoever part of the Universe ye may be, by the virtue of all these Holy Names;—Adonai,† Yah, Hoa, El, Eloha, Elohinu, Elohim, Eheieh, Maron, Kaphu, Esch, Innon, Aven, Agla, Hazor, Emeth, Yaii, Araritha,

* The Archangel, who is called also the Prince of Ccountenances.

† I have made these Names as correct as possible; as in all the original MSS. the Hebrew is much mutilated. These names are some of them ordinary titles of God; others Magical and Qabalistical names compounded from the initials of sentences, &c.; and others permutations of other names.

YOVA, HA-KABIR, MESSIACH, IONAH, MAL-KA, EREL, KUZU, MATZPATZ, EL SHADDAI; and by all the Holy names of God which have been written with blood in the sign of an eternal alliance.

I conjure ye anew by these other names of God, Most Holy and unknown, by the virtue of which Names ye tremble every day;—BARUC,* BACURABON, PATACEL, ALCHEEGHEL, AQUACHAI, HOMORION, EHEIEH, ABBATON, CHEVON, CEBON, OYZROYMAS, CHAI, EHEIEH, ALBAMACHI, ORTAGU, NALE, ABELECH (or HELECH), YEZE (or SECHEZZE); that ye come quickly and without any delay into our presence from every quarter and every climate of the world wherein ye may be, to execute all that we shall command ye in the Great Name of God.

* I give these Names as they stand, they do not all appear to be Hebrew; some of them suggest the style of the barbarous names in the Græco-Egyptian Magical Papyri.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER VI.

Stronger and more potent Conjuration.

If they then immediately appear, it is well; if not, let the Master uncover the consecrated Pentacles which he should have made to constrain and command the Spirits, and which he should wear fastened round his neck, holding the Medals (or Pentacles) in his left hand, and the consecrated Knife in his right; and encouraging his Companions, he shall say with a loud voice:—

Address.

Here be the Symbols of Secret things, the standards, the ensigns, and the banners, of God the Conqueror; and the arms of the Almighty One, to compel the Aerial Potencies. I command ye absolutely by their power and virtue that ye come near unto us, into our presence, from whatsoever part of the world ye may be in, and that ye delay not to obey us in all things wherein we shall command ye by the virtue of God the Mighty One. Come ye promptly, and delay not to appear, and answer us with humility.

If they appear at this time, show them the Pentacles, and receive them with kindness, gentleness, and courtesy; reason and speak with them, question them, and ask from them all things which thou hast proposed to demand.

But if, on the contrary, they do not yet make their appearance, holding the consecrated Knife in the right hand, and the Pentacles being uncovered by the removal of their consecrated covering, strike and beat the air with the Knife as if wishing to commence a combat, comfort and exhort thy Companions, and then in a loud and stern voice repeat the following Conjuration:—

Conjuration.*

Here again I conjure ye and most urgently command ye; I force, constrain, and exhort ye to the utmost, by the most mighty and powerful Name of God El, strong and wonderful, and by God the Just and Upright, I exorcise ye and command ye that ye in no way delay, but that ye come immediately and upon the instant hither before us, without noise, deformity, or hideousness, but with all manner of gentleness and mildness.

I exorcise ye anew, and powerfully conjure ye, commanding ye with strength and violence by Him Who spake and it was done; and by all these names: El, Shaddai, Elohim, Elohi, Tzabaoth, Elim, Asher Eheieh,

* This Conjuration is almost identical with one given in the "Lemegeton," or Lesser Key, a different work, also attributed to Solomon.

YAH, TETRAGRAMMATON, SHADDAI, which signify God the High and Almighty, the God of Israel, through Whom undertaking all our operations we shall prosper in all the works of our hands, seeing that the Lord is now, always, and for ever with us, in our heart and in our lips; and by His Holy Names, and by the virtue of the Sovereign God, we shall accomplish all our work.

Come ye at once without any hideousness or deformity before us, come ye without monstrous appearance, in a gracious form or figure. Come ye, for we exorcise ye with the utmost vehemence by the Name of IAH and ON, which Adam spake and heard; by the Name EL, which Noah heard, and saved himself with all his family from the Deluge; by the Name IOD, which Noah heard, and knew God the Almighty One; by the Name AGLA which Jacob heard, and saw the Ladder which touched Heaven, and the Angels who ascended and descended upon it, whence he called that place the House of God and the Gate of Heaven; and by the Name ELOHIM, and in the Name ELOHIM, which Moses named, invoked, and heard in Horeb the Mount of God, and he was found worthy to hear Him speak from the Burning Bush; and by the Name AIN SOPH, which Aaron heard, and was at once made eloquent, wise, and learned; and by the Name TZABAOTH, which Moses named and invoked, and all the ponds and rivers were covered with blood throughout the land of Egypt;* and by the Name IOD, which Moses named and invoked, and striking upon the dust of the earth both men and beasts were struck with disease;† and by the Name, and in the Name PRIMEUMATON which Moses named and invoked, and there fell a great and severe hail throughout all the land of Egypt, destroying the vines, the trees, and the woods which were in that country; and by the Name IAPHAR, which Moses heard and invoked, and immediately a great pestilence began to appear through all the land of Egypt, striking and slaying the asses, the oxen, and the sheep of the Egyptians, so that they all died; and by the Name ABADDON which Moses invoked and sprinkled the dust towards heaven, and immediately there fell so great rain upon the men, cattle, and flocks, that they all died throughout the land of Egypt; and by the Name ELION which Moses invoked, and there fell so great hail as had never been seen from the beginning of the world unto that time, so that all men, and herds, and everything that was in the fields perished and died throughout all the land of Egypt. And by the Name ADONAI, which Moses having invoked, there came so great a quantity of locusts which appeared in the land of Egypt, that they devoured and swallowed up all that the hail had spared; and by the Name of PATHEON,‡ which having invoked, there arose so thick, so awful, and so terrible darkness throughout the land of Egypt, during the space of three days and three nights, that almost all who were left alive died; and by the Name YESOD and in the

* Some MSS. add. "et furent purifiés."

† Some MSS. substitute, "les hommes furent reduits en cendre, comme aussi les bœufs, betail, et troupeaux des Egyptiens."

‡ This is often written PATHTUMON in similar Conjurations, but the MSS. before me agree in giving this form.

Name YESOD, which Moses invoked, and at midnight all the first-born, both of men and of animals, died; and by the Name of YESHIMON, which Moses named and invoked, and the Red Sea divided itself and separated in two; and by the Name HESION which Moses invoked and all the army of Pharoah was drowned in the waters; and by the Name ANABONA, which Moses having heard upon Mount Sinai, he was found worthy to receive and obtain the tables of stone written with the finger of God the Creator; and by the Name ERYGION, which Joshua having invoked when he fought against the Moabites, he defeated them and gained the victory; and by the Name HOA, and in the Name HOA, which David invoked, and he was delivered from the hand of Goliath; and by the Name YOD, which Solomon having named and invoked, he was found worthy to ask for and to obtain in sleep the Ineffable Wisdom of God; and by the Name YIAI, which Solomon having named and invoked, he was found worthy to have power over all the Demons, Potencies, Powers, and Virtues of the Air.

By these, then, and by all the other Names of God Almighty, Holy, Living, and True, we powerfully command ye, ye who by your own sin have been cast down from the Empyreal Heaven, and from before His Throne; by Him who hath cast ye down unto the most profound of the Abysses of Hell, we command ye boldly and resolutely; and by that terrible Day of the Sovereign Judgment of God, on which all the dry bones in the earth will arise to hear and listen unto the Word of God with their Body, and will present themselves before the face of God Almighty; and by that Last Fire which shall consume all things; by the (Crystal) Sea which is known unto us, which is before the Face of God; by the indicible and ineffable virtue, force, and power of the Creator Himself, by His Almighty power, and by the Light and Flame which emanate from His Countenance, and which are before His Face; by the Angelical Powers which are in the Heavens, and by the most great Wisdom of Almighty God; by the Seal of David, by the Ring and Seal of Solomon, which was revealed unto him by the Most High and Sovereign Creator; and by the Nine Medals or Pentacles, which we have among our Symbols, which proceed and come from Heaven, and are among the Mysteries of Mysteries or Secrets of Secrets, which you can also behold in my hand, consecrated and exorcised with the due and requisite Ceremonies. By these, then, and by all the Secrets which the Almighty encloseth in the Treasures of the Sovereign and Highest Wisdom, by His hand, and by His marvellous power; I conjure, force, and exorcise ye that ye come without delay to perform in our presence that which we shall command ye.

I conjure ye anew by that most Holy Name which the whole Universe fears, respects, and reveres, which is written by these letters and characters, IOD, HE, VAU, HE; and by the last and terrible judgment; by the Seat of BALDACHIA;* and by this Holy Name, YIAI, which Moses invoked, and there followed that great Judgment of God, when Dathan and Abiram were swallowed up in the centre of the earth. Otherwise, if ye contravene and

* Sometimes, but as I think erroneously, written Bas-dathea. I imagine the word to mean "Lord of Life."

resist us by your disobedience unto the virtue and power of this Name YIAI, we curse ye even unto the Depth of the Great Abyss, into the which we shall cast, hurl, and bind ye, if ye show yourselves rebellious against the Secret of Secrets, and against the Mystery of Mysteries. AMEN, AMEN. FIAT, FIAT.

This Conjuration thou shalt say and perform, turning thyself unto the East, and if they appear not, thou shalt repeat it unto the Spirits, turning unto the South, the West, and the North, in succession, when thou wilt have repeated it four times. And if they appear not even then, thou shalt make the Sign of TAU* upon the foreheads of thy companions, and thou shalt say:—

CONJURATION.

Behold anew the Symbol and the Name of a Sovereign and Conquering God, through which all the Universe fears, trembles, and shudders, and through the most mysterious words of the Secret Mysteries and by their Virtue, Strength, and Power.

I conjure ye anew, I constrain and command ye with the utmost vehemence and power, by that most potent and powerful Name of God, EL, strong and wonderful, by Him who spake and it was done; and by the Name IAH, which Moses heard, and spoke with God; and by the Name AGLA, which Joseph invoked, and was delivered out of the hands of his brethren; and by the Name VAU, which Abraham heard, and knew God the Almighty One; and by the Name of Four Letters, TETRAGRAMMATON, which Joshua named and invoked, and he was rendered worthy and found deserving to lead the Army of Israel into the Promised Land; and by the Name ANABONA, by which God formed Man and the whole Universe; and by the Name ARPHETON,† and in the Name ARPHETON, by which the Angels who are destined to that end will summon the Universe, in visible body and form, and will assemble (all people) together by the sound of the Trumpet at that terrible and awful Day of Judgment, when the memory of the wicked and ungodly shall perish; and by the Name ADONAI, by which God will judge all human flesh, at Whose voice all men, both good and evil, will rise again, and all men and Angels will assemble in the air before the Lord, Who will judge and condemn the wicked; and by the Name ONEIPHETON,‡ by which God will summon the dead, and raise them up again unto life; and by the Name ELOHIM, and in the Name ELOHIM, by which God will disturb and excite tempests throughout all the seas, so that they will cast out the fish therefrom, and in one day the third part of men about the sea and the rivers shall die; and by the Name ELOHI,§ and in the Name ELOHI, by which God will dry up the sea and the rivers, so that men can go on foot through their channels; and by the Name ON, and in the Name ON, by which God will restore and

* Or the Cross.

† Also written *Hipeton*; and I believe sometimes replaced by *Anapheneton*, or *Anaphaxeton*.

‡ This word is given variously in the MSS., as *Oneypheon*, *Onayepheton*, and *Donecepheron*, &c.

§ Or *Elia*.

replace the sea, the rivers, the streams, and the brooks, in their previous state; and by the Name MESSIACH*, and in the Name MESSIACH, by which God will make all animals combat together, so that they shall die in a single day; and by the Name ARIEL, by which God will destroy in a single day all buildings, so that there shall not be left one stone upon another; and by the Name IAHT,† by which God will cast one stone upon another, so that all people and nations will fly from the sea-shore, and will say unto them cover us and hide us; and by the Name EMANUEL, by which God will perform wonders, and the winged creatures and birds of the air shall contend with one another; and by the Name ANAEL,‡ and in the Name ANAEL, by which God will cast down the mountains and fill up the valleys, so that the surface of the earth shall be level in all parts; and by the Name ZEDEREZA,§ and in the Name ZEDEREZA, by which God will cause the Sun and Moon to be darkened, and the Stars of heaven to fall; and by the Name SEPHERIEL,‖ by which God will come to Universal Judgment, like a Prince newly crowned entering in triumph into his capital city, girded with a zone of gold, and preceded by Angels, and at His aspect all climes and parts of the Universe shall be troubled and astonished, and a fire shall go forth before Him, and flames and storm shall surround Him; and by the Name TAU,¶ by which God brought the Deluge, and the waters prevailed above the mountains, and fifteen cubits above their summits; and by the Name RUACHIAH,** by which God having purged the Ages, He will make His Holy spirit to descend upon the Universe, and will cast ye, ye rebellious Spirits, and unclean beings, into the Depths of the Lake of the Abyss, in misery, filth, and mire, and will place ye in impure and foul dungeons bound with eternal chains of fire.

By these Names then, and by all the other Holy Names of God before Whom no man can stand and live, and which Names the armies of the Demons fear, tremble at, and shudder; we conjure ye, we potently exorcise and command ye, conjuring ye in addition by the terrible and tremendous PATHS†† of GOD and by His Holy habitation wherein He reigneth and commandeth unto the eternal Ages. Amen.

By the virtue of all these aforesaid, we command ye that ye remain not in any place wherein ye are, but to come hither promptly without delay to do that which we shall enjoin ye. But if ye be still contumacious, we, by the

* What is said here refers symbolically to the rooting out of the Evil Spirits, and Shells, from the Universe by King Messiach, which is spoken of in the Qabalah. The Qabalah sometimes expresses the Evil Spirits by the words animals, or beasts, and creeping things.

† The oldest MSS. gives the above form, in the others it is changed into *Iaphat*, *Taphat*, and even *Japhet*. It is probably a corruption of *Achad* Unity.

‡ This is also the name of the Angel of Venus.

§ So written in the oldest MS., the others give it as *Zedeesia*, *Zedeezia*, and *Zedezias*.

‖ Meaning "emanating from God." It is corrupted into *Sephosiel*, &c., in the MSS.

¶ *Iaha*, in 10862 Add. MSS.

** Meaning Spirit of Iah.

†† That is, the hidden and occult grades and links of emanation in the Sephiroth. The later MSS. have put, by a mistake, *voix* for *voies*, the oldest Latin MS. gives Semitis.

Authority of a Sovereign and Potent God, deprive ye of all quality, condition, degree, and place which ye now enjoy, and precipitate ye into and relegate ye unto the Kingdom of Fire and of Sulphur, to be there eternally tormented. Come ye then from all parts of the earth, wheresoever ye may be, and behold the Symbols and Names of that Triumphant Sovereign Whom all creatures obey, otherwise we shall bind ye and conduct ye in spite of yourselves, into our presence bound with chains of fire, because those effects which proceed and issue from our Science and operation, are ardent with a fire which shall consume and burn ye eternally, for by these the whole Universe trembleth, the earth is moved, the stones thereof rush together, all creatures obey, and the rebellious Spirits are tormented by the power of the Sovereign Creator.

Then it is certain that they will come, even if they be bound with chains of fire, unless prevented by affairs of the very greatest importance, but in this latter case they will send ambassadors and messengers by whom thou shalt easily and surely learn what occupies the Spirits and what they are about. But if they appear not yet in answer to the above Conjuration, and are still disobedient, then let the Master of the Art or Exorciser arise and exhort his Companions to be of good cheer and not to despair of the ultimate success of the operation; let him strike the air with the Consecrated Knife towards the Four Quarters of the Universe; and then let him Kneel in the midst of the Circle, and the Companions also in their several places, and let them say consecutively with him in a low voice, turning in the direction of the East, the following

Address to the Angels.

I conjure and pray ye, O ye Angels of God, and ye Celestial Spirits, to come unto mine aid; come and behold the Signs of Heaven, and be my witness before the Sovereign Lord, of the disobedience of these evil and fallen Spirits who were at one time your companions.

This being done, let the Master arise, and constrain and force them by a stronger conjuration, in manner following.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER VII.

An Extremely Powerful Conjuration.

Behold us again prepared to conjure ye by the Names and Symbols of God, wherewith we are fortified, and by the virtue of the Highest One. We command ye and potently ordain ye by the most strong and powerful Names of God, Who is worthy of all praise, admiration, honour, glory, veneration, and fear, that ye delay not longer, but that ye appear before us without any tumult or disturbance, but, on the contrary, with great respect and courtesy, in a beautiful and human form.

If they then appear, let them see the Pentacles, and say:

Obey ye, Obey ye, behold the Symbols and Names of the Creator; be ye gentle and peaceable, and obey in all things that we shall command ye.

They will then immediately talk with thee, as a friend speaketh unto a friend. Ask of them all that thou desirest, with constancy, firmness, and assurance, and they will obey thee.

But if they appear not yet, let not the Master on that account lose his courage, for there is nothing in the world stronger and of greater force to overawe the Spirits than constancy. Let him, however, re-examine and reform the Circle, and let him take up a little dust of the earth, which he shall cast towards the Four Quarters of the Universe; and having placed his Knife upon the ground, let him say on his knees, turning towards the direction of the North:

In the Name of Adonai Elohim Tzabaoth Shaddai, Lord God of Armies Almighty, may we successfully perform the works of our hands, and may the Lord be present with us in our heart and in our lips.

These words having been said kneeling upon the earth, let the Master shortly after arise and open his arms wide as if wishing to embrace the air, and say:

Conjuration.

By the Holy Names of God written in this Book, and by the other Holy and Ineffable Names which are written in the Book of Life, we conjure ye to come unto us promptly and without any delay, wherefore tarry not, but appear in a beautiful and agreeable form and figure, by these Holy Names: Adonai, Tzabaoth, El, Elohi, Elohim, Shaddai; and by Eheieh, Yod He Vau He which is the Great Name of God Tetragrammaton written with Four Letters, Anaphoditon, and Ineffable; by the God of those Virtues and Potencies, Who dwelleth in the Heavens, Who rideth upon the Kerubim, Who moveth upon the Wings of the Wind, He Whose Power is in Heaven

and in Earth, Who spake and it was done, Who commanded and the whole Universe was created; and by the Holy Names and in the Holy Names, IAH, IAH, IAH, ADONAI TZABAOTH; and by all the Names of God, the Living, and the True, I reiterate the Conjuration, and I conjure ye afresh ye Evil and rebellious Spirits, abiding in the Abysses of Darkness.

I conjure, I address, and I exorcise ye, that ye may approach unto and come before the Throne of God, the Living and the True, and before the Tribunal of the Judgment of His Majesty, and before the Holy Angels of God to hear the sentence of your condemnation.

Come ye then by the Name and in the Name of SHADDAI which is that of God Almighty, strong, powerful, admirable, exalted, pure, clean, glorified, virtuous, great, just, terrible, and holy; and by the Name and in the Name of EL, IAH, IAH, IAH, Who hath formed and created the world by the Breath of His Mouth, Who supporteth it by His Power, Who ruleth and governeth it by His Wisdom, and Who hath cast ye for your pride into the Land of Darkness and into the Shadow of Death.

Therefore, by the Name of the Living God, Who hath formed the heavens above, and hath laid the foundations of the earth beneath, we command ye that, immediately and without any delay, ye come unto us from all places, valleys, mountains, hills, fields, seas, rivers, fountains, ponds, brooks, caverns, grottos, cities, towns, villages, markets, fairs, habitations, baths, courtyards, gardens, vineyards, plantations, reservoirs, cisterns, and from every corner of the terrestrial earth where ye may happen to be in your assemblies, so that ye may execute and accomplish our demands with all mildness and courtesy; by that Ineffable Name which Moses heard and invoked, which he received from God from the midst of the Burning Bush, we conjure ye to obey our commands, and to come unto us promptly with all gentleness of manner.

Again we command ye with vehemence, and we exorcise ye with constancy, that ye and all your comrades come unto us in an agreeable and gracious manner like the breeze, to accomplish successively our various commands and desires. Come ye, then, by the virtue of these Names by the which we exorcise ye; ANAI, ÆCHHAD, TRANSIN, EMETH, CHAIA, IONA, PROFA, TITACHE, BEN ANI, BRIAH, THEIT; all which names are written in Heaven in the characters of Malachim,* that is to say, the tongue of the Angels.

We then, by the just judgment of God, by the Ineffable and Admirable Virtue of God, just, living, and true, we call ye with power, we force and exorcise ye by and in the admirable Name which was written on the Tables of Stone which God gave upon Mount Sinai; and by and in the wonderful Name which Aaron the High Priest bare written upon his breast, by which also God created the World, the which name is AXINETON; and by the Living God Who is One throughout the Ages, whose dwelling is in the Ineffable Light, Whose Name is Wisdom, and Whose Spirit is Life, before Whom goeth forth Fire and Flame, Who hath from that Fire formed the firmament, the Stars and the Sun;

* The Mystic Alphabet known as the "Writing of Malachim" is formed from the positions of the Stars in the heavens, by drawing imaginary lines from one star to another so as to obtain the shapes of the characters of this Alphabet.

and Who with that Fire will burn ye all for ever, as also all who shall contravene the Words of His Will.

Come ye, then, without delay, without noise, and without rage, before us, without any deformity or hideousness, to execute all our will; come ye from all places wherein ye are, from all mountains, valleys, streams, rivers, brooks, ponds, places, baths, synagogues; for God, strong and powerful, will chase ye and constrain ye, being glorious over all things; He will compel ye, both ye and the Prince of Darkness. Come ye, come ye, Angels of Darkness; come hither before this Circle without fear, terror, or deformity, to execute our commands, and be ye ready both to achieve and to complete all that we shall command ye.

Come ye, then, by the Crown of the Chief of your Emperors, and by the Sceptres of your power, and of SID, the Great Demon, your Master; by the Names and in the Names of the Holy Angels who have been created to be above you, long before the constitution of the world; and by the Names of the two Princes of the Universe, whose Names are, IONIEL and SEFONIEL; by the rod of Moses, by the staff of Jacob; by the ring and seal of David, wherein are written the Names of Sovereign God; and by the Names of the Angels by which Solomon has linked and bound ye; and by the sacred bonds by which ANAEL hath environed and hath conquered the Spirit; and by the Name of the Angel who ruleth potently over the rest, and by the praise of all creatures who cry incessantly unto God, Who spake, and immediately all things, even the Ages, were made and formed; and by the Name HA-QADOSCH BERAKHA, which signifieth the Holy and Blessed One; and by the Ten Choirs of the Holy Angels, CHAIOTH HA-QADESH, AUPHANIM, ARALIM, CHASHMALIM, SERAPHIM, MALACHIM, ELOHIM, BENI ELOHIM, KERUBIM, and ISHIM; and by, and in the Sacred name of Twelve Letters of which each Letter is the Name of an Angel, and the letters of the Name are ALEPH,* BETH, BETH, NUN, VAU, RESH, VAU, CHETH, HE, QOPH, DALETH, SHIN.

By these Names therefore, and by all the other Holy Names, we conjure ye and we exorcise ye; by the Angel ZECHIEL; by the Angel DUCHIEL; by the Angel DONACHIEL; and by the Great Angel METATRON, Who is the Prince of the Angels, and introduceth the Souls before the Face of God; and by the Angel SANGARIEL, by whom the portals of Heaven are guarded; and by the Angel KERUB, who was made the Guardian of the Terrestrial Paradise, with a Sword of Flame, after the expulsion of Adam our forefather; and by the Angel MICHAEL by whom ye were hurled down from the Height of the THRONE into the Depth of the Lake and of the Abyss, the same Name meaning, "Who is like God upon Earth;" and by the Angel ANIEL; and by the Angel OPHIEL; and by the Angel BEDALIEL; wherefore, by these and by all the other Holy Names of the Angels, we powerfully conjure and

* Which Letters I have, with much care, corrected, for in the MSS. the letters are jumbled together in hopeless confusion, *Scym* is written for *Shin*, *Res* for *Beth*, &c. The Name is *Ab*, *Ben*, *Ve-Ruach Ha-Qadesch*, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. There are two other Names of Twelve Letters frequently employed, HQDVSh BRVK HVA, Holy and Blessed be He; and ADNI HMLK NAMN, The Lord, the faithful King; besides other forms.

exorcise ye, that ye come from all parts of the world immediately, and without any delay, to perform our will and demands, obeying us quickly and courteously, and that ye come by the Name and in the Name of ALEPH, DALETH, NUN, IOD, for we exorcise ye anew by the application of these Letters, by whose power burning fire is quenched, and the whole Universe trembleth.

We constrain ye yet again by the Seal of the Sun which is the Word of God; and by the Seal of the Moon and of the Stars we bind ye; and by the other Animals and Creatures which are in Heaven, by whose wings Heaven cleanseth itself, we force and attract ye imperiously to execute our will without failure. And we conjure, oblige, and terribly exorcise ye, that ye draw near unto us without delay and without fear, as far as is possible unto ye, here before this Circle, as supplicants gently and with discretion, to accomplish our will in all and through all. If ye come promptly and voluntarily, ye shall inhale our perfumes, and our suffumigations of pleasant odour, which will be both agreeable and delightful unto ye. Furthermore ye will see the Symbol of your Creator, and the Names of his Holy Angels, and we shall afterwards dismiss ye, and send ye hence with thanks. But if, on the contrary, ye come not quickly, and ye show yourselves self-opinionated, rebellious, and contumacious, we shall conjure ye again, and exorcise ye ceaselessly, and will repeat all the aforesaid words and Holy Names of God and of the Holy Angels; by the which Names we shall harass you, and if that be not sufficient we will add thereunto yet greater and more powerful ones, and we will thereunto again add other Names which ye have not yet heard from us, which are those of an Almighty God, and which will make ye tremble and quake with fear, both ye and your princes; by the which Names we conjure both you and them also, and we shall not desist from our work until the accomplishment of our will. But if perchance ye yet shall harden yourselves, and show yourselves self-opinionated, disobedient, rebellious, refractory, and contumacious, and if ye yet resist our powerful conjurations, we shall pronounce against you this warrant of arrest in the Name of God Almighty, and this definite sentence that ye shall fall into dangerous disease and leprosy, and that in sign of the Divine Vengeance ye shall all perish by a terrifying and horrible death, and that a fire shall consume and devour you on every side, and utterly crush you; and that by the Power of God, a flame shall go forth from His Mouth which shall burn ye up and reduce ye unto nothing in Hell. Wherefore delay ye not to come, for we shall not cease from these powerful conjurations until ye shall be obliged to appear against your will.

Thus then, therefore, we anew conjure and exorcise ye by and in the Holy Name of ON, which is interpreted and called God; by the Name and in the Name of EHEIEH, which is the true Name of God, "I am He Who is;" by and in the Ineffable Name of Four Letters YOD HE VAU HE, the Knowledge and understanding of which is hidden even from the Angels; by the Name and in the Name of EL, which signifieth and denoteth the powerful and consuming fire which issueth from His Countenance, and which shall be your ruin and destruction; and by the Light of the Angels which is kindled and taken ineffably from that flame of Divine ardour.

By these then, and by other most Holy Names which we pronounce against you from the bottom of our hearts, do we force and constrain ye, if ye be yet rebellious and disobedient. We conjure ye powerfully and strongly exorcise ye, that ye come unto us with joy and quickness, without fraud or deceit, in truth and not in error.

Come ye then, come ye, behold the Signs and the Names of your Creator, behold the Holy Pentacles by the virtue of which the Earth is moved, the trees thereof and the Abysses tremble. Come ye; come ye; come ye.

These things being thus done and performed, ye shall see the Spirits come from all sides in great haste with their Princes and Superiors; the Spirits of the First Order, like Soldiers, armed with spears, shields, and corslets; those of the Second Order like Barons, Princes, Dukes, Captains, and Generals of Armies. For the Third and last Order their King will appear, before whom go many players on instruments of music, accompanied by beautiful and melodious voices which sing in chorus.

Then the Exorcist, or Master of the Art, at the arrival of the King, whom he shall see crowned with a Diadem, should uncover the Holy Pentacles and Medals which he weareth upon his breast covered with a cloth of silk or of fine twined linen, and show them unto him, saying:—

Behold the Signs and Holy Names by and before whose power every knee should bow, of all that is in Heaven, upon Earth, or in Hell. Humble ye yourselves, therefore, under the Mighty hand of God.

Then will the King bow the knee before thee, and will say, "What dost thou wish, and wherefore hast thou caused us to come hither from the Infernal Abodes?"

Then shall the Exorcist, or Master of Magical Art, with an assured air and a grave and imperious voice, order and command him to be tranquil, to keep the rest of his attendants peaceable, and to impose silence upon them.

Let him, also, renew his fumigations, and offer large quantities of Incense, which he should at once place upon the fire, in order to appease the Spirits as he hath promised them. He should then cover the Pentacles, and he will see wonderful things, which it is impossible to relate, touching worldly matters and all sciences.

This being finished, let the Master uncover the Pentacles, and demand all that he shall wish from the King of the Spirits, and if there are one or two Spirits only, it will be the same; and having obtained all his desire, he shall thus license them to depart:—

The License to Depart.

In the Name of Adonai, the Eternal and Everlasting One, let each of you return unto his place; be there peace between us and you, and be ye ready to come when ye are called.

After this he should recite the first chapter of Genesis, "*Berashith Bara Elohim*, In the beginning, &c."

This being done, let them all in order quit the Circle, one after the

other, the Master first. Furthermore let them bathe their faces with the exorcised water, as will be hereafter told, and then let them take their ordinary raiment and go about their business.

Take notice and observe carefully that this last conjuration is of so great importance and efficacy, that even if the Spirits were bound with chains of iron and fire, or shut up in some strong place, or retained by an oath, they could not even then delay to come. But supposing that they were being conjured in some other place or part of the Universe by some other Exorcist or Master of the Art, by the same conjuration; the Master should add to his conjuration that they should at least send him some Messengers, or some individual to declare unto him where they are, how employed, and the reason why they cannot come and obey him.

But if (which is almost impossible) they be even yet self-opinionated and disobedient, and unwilling to obey; in this case their names should be written on virgin paper, which he should soil and fill with mud, dust, or clay. Then he shall kindle a fire with dry rue, upon which he shall put powdered assa-fœtida, and other things of evil odour; after which let him put the aforesaid names, written on parchment or virgin paper, upon the fire, saying:—

The Conjuration of the Fire.

I conjure thee, O Creature of Fire, by Him who removeth the Earth, and maketh it tremble, that thou burn and torment these Spirits, so that they may feel it intensely, and that they may be burned eternally by thee.

This being said, thou shalt cast the aforesaid paper into the fire, saying:—

The Curse.

Be ye accursed, damned, and eternally reproved; and be ye tormented with perpetual pain, so that ye may find no repose by night nor by day, nor for a single moment of time, if ye obey not immediately the command of Him Who maketh the Universe to tremble; by these Names, and in virtue of these Names, the which being named and invoked all creatures obey and tremble with fear and terror, these Names which can turn aside lightning and thunder; and which will utterly make you to perish, destroy, and banish you. These Names then are Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth, He, Vau, Zayin, Cheth, Teth, Yod, Kaph, Lamed, Mem, Nun, Samekh, Ayin, Pe, Tzaddi, Qoph, Resh, Shin, Tau.*

By these secret Names, therefore, and by these signs which are full of Mysteries, we curse ye, and in virtue of the power of the Three Principles, Aleph,† Mem, Shin, we deprive ye of all office and dignity which ye may have enjoyed up till now; and by their virtue and power we relegate you unto a lake of sulphur and of flame, and unto the deepest depths of the Abyss, that ye may burn therein eternally for ever.

* Which are the Names of the Letters of the Hebrew Alphabet, to each of which a special mystic meaning and power is attached, besides its ordinary application.

† The Literal Symbols of Air, Water, and Fire; which are called by the Sepher Yetzirah the Three Mother Letters.

Then will they assuredly come without any delay, and in great haste, crying: "O Our Lord and Prince, deliver us out of this suffering."

All this time thou shouldest have near thee ready an exorcised pen, paper, and ink, as will be described hereinafter. Write their Names afresh, and kindle fresh fire, whereon thou shalt put gum benjamin, olybdanum, and storax to make therewith a fumigation; with these odours thou shalt afresh perfume the aforesaid paper with the Names; but thou shouldest have these names ready prepared beforehand. Then show them the Holy Pentacles, and ask of them what thou wilt, and thou shalt obtain it; and having gained thy purpose, send away the Spirits, saying:

The License to Depart.

By the virtue of these Pentacles, and because ye have been obedient, and have obeyed the commandments of the Creator, feel and inhale this grateful odour, and afterwards depart ye unto your abodes and retreats; be there peace between us and you; be ye ever ready to come when ye shall be cited and called; and may the blessing of God, as far as ye are capable of receiving it, be upon you, provided ye be obedient and prompt to come unto us without solemn rites and observances on our part.

Thou shouldest further make a Book of virgin paper, and therein write the foregoing conjurations, and constrain the Demons to swear upon the same book that they will come whenever they be called, and present themselves before thee, whenever thou shalt wish to consult them. Afterwards thou canst cover this Book with sacred Sigils on a plate of silver, and therein write or engrave the Holy Pentacles. Thou mayest open this Book either on Sundays or on Thursdays, rather at night than by day, and the Spirits will come.

Regarding the expression "night," understand the night following, and not the night preceding the aforesaid days. And remember that by day (the Demons) are ashamed, for they are Animals of Darkness.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER VIII.

Concerning the Medals or Pentacles, and the manner of constructing them.

As we have already made mention of the Pentacles, it is necessary that thou shouldest understand that the whole Science and understanding of our Key dependeth upon the operation, Knowledge, and use of Pentacles.

He then who shall wish to perform any operation by the means of the Medals, or Pentacles, and therein to render himself expert, must observe what hath been hereinbefore ordained. Let him then, O my Son Roboam, know and understand that in the aforesaid Pentacles he shall find those Ineffable and Most Holy Names which were written by the finger of God in the Tablets of Moses; and which I, Solomon, have received through the Ministry of an Angel by Divine Revelation. These then have I collected together, arranged, consecrated, and kept, for the benefit of the human race, and the preservation of Body and of Soul.

The Pentacles should then be made in the days and hours of Mercury, when the Moon is in an aërial* or terrestrial sign; she should also be in her increase, and in equal number of days with the Sun.

It is necessary to have a Chamber or Cabinet specially set apart and newly cleaned, wherein thou canst remain without interruption, the which having entered with thy Companions, thou shalt incense and perfume it with the odours and perfumes of the Art. The sky should be clear and serene. It is necessary that thou shouldest have one or more pieces of virgin paper prepared and arranged ready, as we shall tell you more fully later on, in its place.

Thou shalt commence the writing or construction of the Pentacles in the hour aforesaid. Among other things, thou shalt chiefly use these colours: Gold, Cinnabar or Vermilion Red, and celestial or brilliant Azure Blue. Furthermore, thou shalt make these Medals or Pentacles with exorcised pen and colours, as we shall hereafter show thee. Whensoever thou constructest them, if thou canst complete them in the hour wherein thou didst begin them, it is better. However, if it be absolutely necessary to interrupt the work, thou shouldest await the proper day and hour before re-commencing it.

The Pentacles being finished and completed, take a cloth of very fine silk, as we shall hereafter ordain thee, in the which thou shalt wrap the Pentacles. After which thou shalt take a large Vessel of Earth filled with Charcoal, upon the which there must be put frankincense, mastic, and aloes, all having been previously conjured and exorcised as shall hereafter be told thee. Thou must also be thyself pure, clean, and washed, as thou shalt find given in the proper place. Furthermore, thou shouldest have the Sickle or

* *i.e.* in Gemini, Libra, Aquarius, Taurus, Virgo, or Capricorn.

Knife of Magical Art, with the which thou shalt make a Circle, and trace within it an inner circle, and in the space between the two thou shalt write the Names of God,* which thou shalt think fit and proper. It is necessary after this that thou shouldest have within the Circle a vessel of earth with burning coals and odoriferous perfumes thereon; with the which thou shalt fumigate the aforesaid Pentacles; and, having turned thy face towards the East, thou shalt hold the said Pentacles over the smoke of the Incense, and shalt repeat devoutly the following Psalms of David my Father: Psalms viii., xxi., xxvii., xxix., xxxii., li., lxxii., cxxxiv.†

(For a convenient form of Circle which may be used for preparing Instruments and other things of the same kind, as well as for consecrating the Pentacles, *see Figure* 3.)

After this thou shalt repeat the following Oration:—

The Oration.

O Adonai most powerful, El most strong, Agla most holy, On most righteous, the Aleph‡ and the Tau, the Beginning and the End; Thou Who hast established all things in Thy Wisdom; Thou Who has chosen Abraham Thy faithful servant, and hast promised that in his seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed, which seed Thou hast multiplied as the Stars of Heaven; Thou Who hast appeared unto Thy servant Moses in flame in the midst of the Burning Bush, and hast made him walk with dry feet through the Red Sea; Thou Who gavest the Law to him upon Mount Sinai; Thou Who hast granted unto Solomon Thy Servant these Pentacles by Thy great Mercy, for the preservation of Soul and of Body; we most humbly implore and supplicate Thy Holy Majesty, that these Pentacles may be consecrated by Thy power, and prepared in such manner that they may obtain virtue and strength against all Spirits, through Thee, O Most Holy Adonai, Whose Kingdom, Empire, and principality, remaineth and endureth without end.

These words being said, thou shalt perfume the Pentacles with the same sweet scents and perfumes, and afterwards having wrapped them in a piece of prepared silk cloth, thou shalt put them in a place fit and clean, which thou mayest open whenever it shall please thee, and close it again, at thy pleasure and according unto thy will. We will hereafter show thee the method and manner of preparing the aforesaid place, of perfuming it with scents and sweet odours, and of sprinkling it with the Water and Water-Sprinkler of Magical Art; for all these things contain many good properties, and innumerable virtues, as experience will easily teach thee.

We have already said sufficient regarding the Solemn Conjuration of Spirits.

We have also spoken enough in our present Key, regarding the manner in which it is necessary to attract the Spirits so as to make them speak. Now, by Divine aid, I will teach thee how to perform certain experiments with success.

* Preferably those having some reference to the work in hand.

† I have given the numbers of the Psalms according to the *English*, not the *Hebrew* numbers.

‡ The Qabalistic word Azoth may be substituted for "the Aleph and the Tau."

Know,* O my Son Roboam, that all the Divine Sigils, Characters, and Names (which are the most precious and excellent things in Nature, whether Terrestrial or Celestial), should be written by thee each separately, when thou art in a state of grace and purity, upon Virgin parchment, with ordinary ink, in the beginning of the month† of August before sunrise, raising thine eyes unto heaven, and turning towards the east. Thou shalt preserve them to suspend from thy neck, whichever thou wilt, on the day and hour wherein thou wast born, after which thou shalt take heed to name every day ten times, the Name which is hung from thy neck, turning towards the East, and thou mayest be assured that no enchantment or any other danger shall have power to harm thee.

Furthermore thou shalt vanquish all adversities, and shalt be cherished and loved by the Angels and Spirits, provided that thou hast made their characters and that thou hast them upon thee; I assure thee that this is the true way to succeed with ease in all thine operations, for being fortified with a Divine Name, and the Letters, Characters, and Sigils, applicable unto the operation, thou shalt discover with what supernatural exactitude and very great promptitude, both Terrestrial and Celestial things will be obedient unto thee. But all this will only be true, when accompanied by the Pentacles which hereinafter follow, seeing that the Seals, Characters, and Divine Names, serve only to fortify the work, to preserve from unforeseen accidents, and to attract the familiarity of the Angels and Spirits; which is one reason, my Son, that before making any experiment, I order thee to read and re-read my Testament, not once only but many times, so that being perfectly instructed in the several Ceremonies thou mayest in no way fail, and that thus what shall have previously appeared to thee difficult and lengthy, may become in process of time easy and of very great use.

I am about to endow thee with many secrets, which I charge thee never to employ for an evil purpose, for ACCURSED BE HE WHO TAKETH THE NAME OF ALMIGHTY GOD IN VAIN; but thou mayest without any other ceremonies make use of them, provided that, as I have already said, thou hast only the Glory of Eternal God for thine object. Thus, after having taught thee all the Ceremonies which concern the manner of performing the Operations, I am at length determined to make thee a partaker in the secrets of which I have particular knowledge, unknown to this day unto the generality of men; but, nevertheless, only on the condition that thou attemptest not the ruin and destruction of thy neighbour, for his blood will cry for vengeance unto God, and in the end thou and thine shall feel the just wrath of an offended Deity. However, God not having forbidden honest and lawful pleasures, thou mayest perform boldly the Operations which follow, it being always especially necessary to distinguish between the good and the evil, so as to choose the former and avoid the latter, which is why I command thee to be attentive to all that is contained in this my Testament.

* From here to the end of the Chapter is only given in Lansdowne MSS. 1203.

† *i.e.* When the Sun is in the Sign Leo.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Experiment concerning Things Stolen, and how it should be performed.

My beloved Son, if thou findest any Theft, thou shalt do as is hereinafter ordained, and with the help of God thou shalt find that which hath been taken away.

If the hours and days be not otherwise ordained in this operation, thou must refer to what hath already been said. But before commencing any operation whatsoever for the recovery of things stolen, after having made all necessary preparations, thou shalt say the following Oration :—

The Oration.

Ateh* Adonai Elohim Asher Ha-Shamain Ve-Ha-Aretz, &c.

Thou, O Lord, Who hast made both Heaven and Earth, and hast measured them in the hollow of Thy hand; Thou Who art seated upon the Kerubim and the Seraphim, in the high places, whereunto human understanding cannot penetrate; Thou Who hast created all things by Thine agency, in Whose Presence are the Living Creatures, of which four are marvellously volatile, which have six wings, and who incessantly cry aloud: "Qadosch, Qadosch, Qadosch, Adonai Elohim Tzabaoth, Heaven and Earth are full of Thy Glory;" O Lord God, Thou Who hast expelled Adam from the Terrestrial Paradise, and Who hast placed the Kerubim to guard the Tree of Life, Thou art the Lord Who alone doest wonders; show forth I pray Thee Thy Great Mercy, by the Holy City of Jerusalem, by Thy wonderful Name of four letters which are Yod, He, Vau, He, and by Thy Holy and Admirable Name, give unto me the power and virtue to enable me to accomplish this experiment, and to come unto the desired end of this operation; through Thee Who art Life, and unto Whom Life belongeth unto the eternal ages. Amen.

After this perfume and cense the place with good scents and sweet odours. This aforesaid place should be pure, clean, safe from interruption or disturbance, and proper to the work, as we shall hereafter show. Then sprinkle the aforesaid place with consecrated Water, as is laid down in the Chapter concerning Circles.

The Operation being in such wise prepared, thou shalt rehearse the Conjuration necessary for this experiment, at the end of which Thou shalt say as follows :—

* This is simply the Hebrew of the prayer which follows; but in the MS. Codices it is so mutilated as to be worthless.

O Almighty Father and Lord, Who regardest the Heavens, the Earth, and the Abyss, mercifully grant unto me by Thy Holy Name written with four letters, Yod, He, Vau, He, that by this exorcism I may obtain virtue, Thou Who art Iah, Iah, Iah, grant that by Thy power these Spirits may discover that which we require and which we hope to find, and may they show and declare unto us the persons who have committed the theft, and where they are to be found.

I conjure ye anew, ye Spirits above named, by all the aforesaid Names, through which all things created tremble, that ye show openly unto me (or unto this child here present with us*) those things which we seek.

These things being accomplished they will make thee to see plainly that which thou seekest. Take note that the Exorcist, or Master of the Art, should be such as is ordained in the Chapter concerning the Exorcist and his Companions; and if in this experiment it should be necessary to write down characters or Names, thou shalt do that which it is necessary to observe regarding the pen, ink, and paper, as is duly prescribed in the chapters concerning them.

For if thou dost not regard these things, thou wilt neither accomplish that which thou desirest, nor arrive at thy desired end.

How to know who has committed a theft.†

Take a Sieve and suspend it by a piece of cord wherewith a man has been hung, which should be fastened round the circumference of the rim. Within the rim write with blood in the four divisions thereof the characters given in *Figure* 4. After this take a basin of brass perfectly clean which thou shalt fill with water from a fountain, and having pronounced these words: Dies mies yes-chet bene done fet Donnima Metemauz, make the sieve spin round with thy left hand, and at the same time turn with thy right hand the water in the basin in a contrary direction, by stirring it with a twig of green laurel. When the water becometh still and the sieve no longer whirls, gaze fixedly into the water, and thou shalt see the form of him who hath committed the theft; and in order that thou mayest the more easily recognize him, thou shalt mark him in some part of his face with the Magical Sword of Art; for that sign which thou shalt have cut therewith in the water, shall be really found thereafter upon his own person.

The Manner of causing the Sieve to turn, that thou mayest know who has committed the Theft.‡

Take a Sieve and stick into the outside of the rim the open points of a pair of scissors, and having rested the rings of the said opened scissors on the thumb-nails of two persons, let one of them say the following Prayer :—

* A child employed as a clairvoyant in the operation; as is still the custom in some places in the East.

† The rest of this Chapter is from 1203 Lansdowne MSS.

‡ This is the ancient divination by the sieve and shears, and from St. Peter and St. Paul being mentioned in it, has evidently undergone a mediæval reconstruction.

Prayer.

Dies mies yes-chet bene done fet Donnima Metemauz; O Lord, Who liberatedst the holy Susanna from a false accusation of crime; O Lord, Who liberatedst the holy Thekla; O Lord, Who rescuedst the holy Daniel from the den of lions, and the Three Children from the burning fiery furnace, free the innocent and reveal the guilty.

After this let him or her pronounce aloud the names and surnames of all the persons living in the house where the theft hast been committed, who may be suspected of having stolen the things in question, saying :—

"By Saint Peter and Saint Paul, such a person hath not done this thing."

And let the other reply :—

"By Saint Peter and Saint Paul, he (or she) hath not done it."

Let this be repeated thrice for each person named and suspected, and it is certain that on naming the person who hath committed the theft or done the crime, the sieve will turn of itself without its being able to stop it, and by this thou shalt know the evil doer.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Experiment of Invisibility, and how it should be performed.

If thou wishest to perform the Experiment of Invisibility, thou shalt follow the instructions for the same. If it be necessary to observe the day and the hour, thou shalt do as is said in their Chapters. But if thou needest not observe the day and the hour as marked in the Chapter thereon, thou shalt do as taught in the Chapter which precedeth it. If in the course of the experiment it be necessary to write anything, it should be done as is described in the Chapters pertaining thereto, with the proper pen, paper, and ink, or blood. But if the matter is to be accomplished by invocation, before thy conjurations, thou shalt say devoutly in thine heart :—

Sceaboles, Arbaron, Elohi, Elimigith, Herenobulcule, Methe, Baluth, Timayal, Villaquiel, Teveni, Yevie, Ferete, Bacuhaba, Guvarin ; through Him by Whom ye have empire and power over men, ye must accomplish this work so that I may go and remain invisible.

And if it be necessary in this operation to trace a Circle, thou shalt do as is ordained in the Chapter concerning Circles ; and if it be necessary to write Characters, &c., thou shalt follow the instructions given in the respective Chapters.

This operation being thus prepared, if there be an especial Conjuration to perform, thou shalt repeat it in the proper manner ; if not, thou shalt say the general Conjuration, at the end of which thou shalt add the following words :

O thou Almiras, Master of Invisibility, with thy Ministers Cheros, Maitor, Tangedem, Transidim, Suvantos, Abelaios, Bored, Belamith, Castumi, Dabuel ; I conjure ye by Him Who maketh Earth and Heaven to tremble, Who is seated upon the Throne of His Majesty, that this operation may be perfectly accomplished according to my will, so that at whatsoever time it may please me, I may be able to be invisible.

I conjure thee anew, O Almiras, Chief of Invisibility, both thee and thy Ministers, by Him through Whom all things have their being, and by Saturiel, Harchiel, Daniel, Beniel, Assimonem, that thou immediately comest hither with all thy Ministers, and achievest this operation, as thou knowest it ought to be accomplished, and that by the same operation thou render me invisible, so that none may be able to see me.

In order then to accomplish this aforesaid operation, thou must prepare all things necessary with requisite care and diligence, and put them in practice with all the general and particular ceremonies laid down for these experiments ;

and with all the conditions contained in our first and second Books. Thou shalt also in the same operations duly repeat the appropriate Conjurations, with all the solemnities marked in the respective Chapters. Thus shalt thou accomplish the experiment surely and without hindrance, and thus shalt thou find it true.

But, on the contrary, if thou lettest any of these things escape thee, or if thou despiseth them, never shalt thou be able to arrive at thy proposed end; as, for example, we enter not easily into a fenced city over its walls but through its gates.

How* to render oneself Invisible.

Make a small image of yellow wax, in the form of a man, in the month January and in the day and hour of Saturn, and at that time write with a needle above the crown of its head and upon its skull which thou shalt have adroitly raised, the character following. (*See Figure* 5.) After which thou shalt re-place the skull in proper position. Thou shalt then write upon a small strip of the skin of a frog or toad which thou shalt have killed, the following words and characters. (*See Figure* 6.) Thou shalt then go and suspend the said figure by one of thy hairs from the vault of a cavern at the hour of midnight, and perfuming it with the proper incense thou shalt say:—

Metatron, Melekh, Beroth, Noth, Venibbeth, Mach, and all ye, I conjure thee O Figure of wax, by the Living God, that by the virtue of these Characters and words, thou render me invisible, wherever I may bear thee with me. Amen.

And after having censed it anew, thou shalt bury it in the same place in a small deal box, and every time that thou wishest to pass or enter into any place without being seen, thou shalt say these words, bearing the aforesaid figure in thy left pocket:—

Come unto me and never quit me whithersoever I shall go.

Afterwards thou shalt take it carefully back unto the before-mentioned place and cover it with earth until thou shalt need it again.

* The rest of this Chapter is from 1203 Lansdowne MSS.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER XI.

To hinder a Sportsman from Killing any Game.*

TAKE a stick of green elder, from the two ends of which thou shalt clean out the pith. In each end place a strip of parchment of hare-skin, having written thereon with the blood of a black hen the following character and word. (*See Figure 7.*) Having made two of these slips, place one in each end of the stick and close the apertures up with pith, afterwards on a Friday in the month of February thou shalt fumigate the aforesaid stick with suitable incense thrice in the air, and having taken it thence thou shalt bury it in the earth under an elder tree. Afterwards thou shalt expose it in the pathway by which the Sportsman will pass, and once he has passed by it, he need not hope to kill any game during that day. If thou shalt wish a second time to lay a spell upon him in like manner, thou needest but to expose the stick again in his path; but take care to bury it again in the earth under an elder-tree, so as to be able to take it from thence each time that thou shalt have need of it; and to take it up each time as soon as the sportsman shall have passed.

* This Chapter is taken from 1203 Lansdowne MSS.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER XII.

How* to make the Magic Garters.

TAKE enough of the skin of a stag to make two hollow tubular Garters, but before stitching them up thou shalt write on the side of the skin which was next the flesh the words and characters shown in *Figure* 8, with the blood of a hare killed on the 25th of June, and having filled the said Garters with green mugwort gathered also on the 25th of June before sunrise, thou shalt put in the two ends of each the eye of the fish called barbel; and when thou shalt wish to use them thou shalt get up before sunrise and wash them in a brook of running water, and place them one on each leg above the knee. After this thou shalt take a short rod of holm-oak cut on the same 25th of June, turn in the direction thou wishest to go, write upon the ground the name of the place, and commencing thy journey thou wilt find it accomplished in a few days and without fatigue. When thou wishest to stop thou hast only to say AMECH and beat the air with the aforesaid wand, and incontinently thou shalt be on firm ground.

* This Chapter is also taken from 1203 Lansdowne MSS.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER XIII.*

How to make the Magic Carpet proper for interrogating the Intelligences, so as to obtain an answer regarding whatsoever matter one may wish to learn.

MAKE a Carpet of white and new wool, and when the Moon shall be at her full, in the Sign of Capricorn and in the hour of the Sun, thou shalt go into the country away from any habitation of man, in a place free from all impurity, and shalt spread out thy Carpet so that one of its points shall be towards the east, and another towards the west, and having made a Circle without it and enclosing it, thou shalt remain within upon the point towards the east, and holding thy wand in the air for every operation, thou shalt call upon MICHAEL,† towards the north upon RAPHAEL, towards the west upon GABRIEL, and towards the south upon MURIEL. After this thou shalt return unto the point of the East and devoutly invoke the Great Name AGLA, and take this point of the Carpet in thy left hand; turning then towards the North thou shalt do the same, and so continuing to the other points of the Carpet, thou shalt raise them so that they touch not the ground, and holding them up thus, and turning anew towards the East thou shalt say with great veneration the following Prayer:—

PRAYER.

AGLA, AGLA, AGLA, AGLA; O God Almighty Who art the Life of the Universe and Who rulest over the four divisions of its vast form by the strength and virtue of the Four Letters of Thy Holy Name Tetragrammaton, YOD, HE, VAU, HE, bless in Thy Name this covering which I hold as Thou hast blessed the Mantle of Elijah in the hands of Elisha, so that being covered by Thy Wings, nothing may be able to injure me, even as it is said:—"He shall hide thee under His Wings and beneath His feathers shall thou trust, His truth shall be thy shield and buckler."

After this thou shalt fold it up, saying these words following:—RECABUSTIRA, CABUSTIRA, BUSTIRA, TIRA, RA, A; and shall keep it carefully to serve thee at need.

When thou shalt be desirous to make thine interrogations, choose the night of full or of new moon, and from midnight until daybreak. Thou shalt transport thyself unto the appointed spot if it be for the purpose of discovering

* This Chapter is also taken from 1203 Lansdowne MSS.

† I have usually found Michael attributed to the South; Raphael to the East; Gabriel to the West; and Auriel to the North. Likewise I think the operator should turn following the course of the Sun, and not contrariwise as in the text.

a treasure; if not, any place will serve provided it be clean and pure. Having had the precaution on the preceding evening to write upon a slip of virgin parchment coloured azure-blue, with a pen made from the feather of a dove, this Character and Name (*see Figure 9*); taking thy carpet, thou shalt cover thy head and body therewith, and taking the censer, with new fire therein, thou shalt place it in or upon the proper place, and cast thereon some incense. Then shalt thou prostrate thyself upon the ground, with thy face towards the earth, before the incense beginneth to fume, keeping the fire of the same beneath the carpet, holding thy wand upright, against which to rest thy chin; thou shalt hold with thy right hand the aforesaid strip of parchment against thy forehead, and thou shalt say the following words:—

VEGALE, HAMICATA, UMSA, TERATA, YEH, DAH, MA, BAXASOXA, UN, HORAH, HIMESERE;* O God the Vast One send unto me the Inspiration of Thy Light, make me to discover the secret thing which I ask of Thee, whatsoever such or such a thing may be, make me to search it out by the aid of Thy holy Ministers RAZIEL, TZAPHNIEL, MATMONIEL; Lo, Thou hast desired truth in the young, and in the hidden thing shalt Thou make me know wisdom. RECABUSTIRA, CABUSTIRA, BUSTIRA, TIRA, RA, A, KARKAHITA, KAHITA, HITA, TA.

And thou shalt hear distinctly the answer which thou shalt have sought.

* These are probably corrupted Hebrew words derived from the prayer itself.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER XIV.*

How to render Thyself Master of a Treasure possessed by the Spirits.

THE Earth being inhabited, as I have before said unto thee, by a great number of Celestial Beings and Spirits, who by their subtilty and prevision know the places wherein treasures are hidden, and seeing that it often happenneth that those men who undertake a search for these said treasures are molested and sometimes put to death by the aforesaid Spirits, which are called Gnomes; which, however, is not done through the Avarice of these said Gnomes, a Spirit being incapable of possessing anything, having no material senses wherewith to bring it into use, but because these Spirits, who are enemies of the passions, are equally so of Avarice, unto which men are so much inclined; and foreseeing the evil ends for which these treasures will be employed have some interest and aim in maintaining the earth in its condition of price and value, seeing that they are its inhabitants, and when they slightly disturb the workers in such kind of treasures, it is a warning which they give them to cease from the work, and if it happen that the greedy importunity of the aforesaid workers oblige them to continue, notwithstanding the aforesaid warnings, the Spirits, irritated by their despising the same, frequently put the workmen to death. But know, O my Son, that from the time that thou shalt have the good fortune to be familiar with such kinds of Spirits, and that thou shalt be able by means of what I have taught thee to make them submit unto thine orders, they will be happy to give thee, and to make thee partaker in that which they uselessly possess, provided that thine object and end shall be to make a good use thereof.

THE MANNER OF PERFORMING THE OPERATION.

On a Sunday before sunrise, between the 10th of July and the 20th of August, when the moon is in the Sign of the Lion, thou shalt go unto the place where thou shalt know either by interrogation of the Intelligences, or otherwise, that there is a treasure; there thou shalt describe a Circle of sufficient size with the Sword of Magical Art wherein to open up the earth, as the nature of the ground will allow; thrice during the day shalt thou cense it with the incense proper for the day, after which being clothed in the raiment proper for the Operation thou shalt suspend in some way by a machine immediately above the opening a lamp, whose oil should be mingled with the fat of a man who has died in the month of July, and the wick being

* This is also taken from 1203 Lansdowne MSS.

made from the cloth wherein he has been buried. Having kindled this with fresh fire, thou shalt fortify the workmen with a girdle of the skin of a goat newly slain, whereon shall be written with the blood of the dead man from whom thou shalt have taken the fat these words and characters (*see Figure* 10); and thou shalt set them to work in safety, warning them not to be at all disturbed at the Spectres which they will see, but to work away boldly. In case they cannot finish the work in a single day, every time they shall have to leave it thou shalt cause them to put a covering of wood over the opening, and above the covering about six inches of earth; and thus shalt thou continue unto the end, being all the time present in the raiment of the Art, and with the Magic Sword, during the operation. After which thou shalt repeat this prayer:—

Prayer.

Adonai, Elohim, El, Eheieh Asher Eheieh, Prince of Princes, Existence of Existences, have mercy upon me, and cast Thine eyes upon Thy Servant (N.), who invokes Thee most devoutedly, and supplicates Thee by Thy Holy and tremendous Name Tetragrammaton to be propitious, and to order Thine Angels and Spirits to come and take up their abode in this place; O ye Angels and Spirits of the Stars, O all ye Angels and Elementary Spirits, O all ye Spirits present before the Face of God, I the Minister and faithful Servant of the Most High conjure ye, let God Himself, the Existence of Existences, conjure ye to come and be present at this Operation, I, the Servant of God, most humbly entreat ye. Amen.

Having then caused the workmen to fill in the hole, thou shalt license the Spirits to depart, thanking them for the favour they have shown unto thee, and saying:—

The License to Depart.

O ye good and happy Spirits, we thank ye for the benefits which we have just received from your liberal bounty; depart ye in peace to govern the Element which God hath destined for your habitation. Amen.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the Experiment of Seeking Favour and Love.*

If thou wishest to perform the Experiment of seeking favour and love, observe in what manner the Experiment is to be carried out, and if it be dependent upon the day and the hour, perform it in the day and the hour required, as thou wilt find it in the chapter concerning the hours; and if the Experiment be one that requireth writing, thou shalt write as it is said in the chapter concerning the same; and if it be with penal bonds, pacts, and fumigations, then thou shalt cense with a fit perfume as is said in the chapter concerning suffumigations; and if it be necessary to sprinkle it with water and hyssop, then let it be as in the chapter concerning the same; similarly if such Experiment require characters, names, or the like, let such names be written as the chapter concerning the writing of characters, and place the same in a clean place as hath been said. Then thou shalt repeat over it the following Oration:—

The Oration.

O Adonai, most Holy, Most Righteous, and most Mighty God, Who hast made all things through Thy Mercy and Righteousness wherewith Thou art filled, grant unto us that we may be found worthy that this Experiment may be found consecrated and perfect, so that the Light may issue from Thy Most Holy Seat, O Adonai, which may obtain for us favour and love. Amen.

This being said, thou shalt place it in clean silk, and bury it for a day and a night at the junction of four cross-roads; and whensoever thou wishest to obtain any grace or favour from any, take it, having first properly consecrated it according to the rule, and place it in thy right hand, and seek thou what thou wilt it shall not be denied thee. But if thou doest not the Experiment carefully and rightly, assuredly thou shalt not succeed in any manner.

For obtaining grace and love write down the following words:—

Sator,† Arepo, Tenet, Opera, Rotas, Iah, Iah, Iah, Enam, Iah, Iah, Iah, Kether, Chokmah, Binah, Gedulah, Geburah, Tiphereth, Netzach, Hod, Yesod, Malkuth, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, be ye all present in my aid and for whatsoever I shall desire to obtain.

Which words being properly written as above, thou shalt also find thy desire brought to pass.

* This Chapter is taken from 10,862 Add. MSS.

† This Incantation is also given in 1307 Sloane MSS., page 76.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER XVI.*

How Operations of Mockery, Invisibility, and Deceit should be prepared.

EXPERIMENTS relating to tricks, mockeries, and deceits, may be performed in many ways. When thou shalt wish to practise these experiments with regard to any person, thou shalt observe the day and the hour as we have already said. Should it be necessary to write Characters or Words, it should be done upon virgin paper, as we shall show farther on. As for the ink, if it be not specially ordained in this operation, it is advisable to use the blood of a bat with the pen and the needle of art. But before describing or writing the Characters or Names, all the necessary rules should be observed as given in the proper Chapters, and having carefully followed out all these, thou shalt pronounce with a loud voice the following words :—

ABAC, ALDAL, IAT, HUDAC, GUTHAC, GUTHOR, GOMEH, TISTATOR, DERISOR, DESTATUR, come hither all ye who love the times and places wherein all kinds of mockeries and deceits are practised. And ye who make things disappear and who render them invisible, come hither to deceive all those who regard these things, so that they may be deceived, and that they may seem to see that which they see not and hear that which they hear not, so that their senses may be deceived, and that they may behold that which is not true.

Come ye then hither and remain, and consecrate this enchantment, seeing that God the Almighty Lord hath destined ye for such.

When this Experiment is completed in this manner in the hour and time which we have shown and taught, also the foregoing words ABAC, ALDAL, &c., should be written with the pen as hereinafter ordained; but if the Experiment be performed in a different way, yet shalt thou always say the aforesaid words, and they should be repeated as before given.

If thou practisest these things in this manner correctly, thou shalt arrive at the effect of thine operations and experiments, by the which thou mayest easily deceive the senses.

* This Chapter is given in 10862 Add. MSS., 3981 Harleian MSS., 288 King's MSS., 3091 Sloane MSS., and 1307 Sloane MSS., but is wanting in 1202 Lansdowne MSS., as are all the Chapters of the First Book after Chap. 8.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER XVII.

How Extraordinary Experiments and Operations should be prepared.

We have spoken in the preceding Chapters of common experiments and operations, which it is more usual to practise and put in operation, and therein thou mayest easily see that we have told thee sufficient for their perfection. In this Chapter we treat of extraordinary and unusual experiments, which can also be done in many ways.

None the less should those who wish to put in practice the like experiments and operations observe the days and hours as is laid down in the proper Chapters, and should be provided with virgin paper and other necessary things. Having prepared a similar experiment thou shalt say:—

PRAYER.

O God Who hast created all things, and hast given unto us discernment to understand the good and the evil; through thy Holy Name, and through these Holy Names;—IOD, IAH, VAU, DALETH, VAU, TZABAOTH, ZIO, AMATOR, CREATOR, do Thou, O Lord, grant that this experiment may become true and veritable in my hands through Thy Holy Seal, O ADONAI, Whose reign and empire remaineth eternally and unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

This being done, thou shalt perform the experiment, observing its hour, and thou shalt perfume and incense as is laid down in the proper Chapter; sprinkling with exorcised water, and performing all the ceremonies and solemnities as we shall instruct thee in the Second Book of our Key.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Concerning the Holy Pentacles or Medals.

The Medals or Pentacles, which we make for the purpose of striking terror into the Spirits and reducing them to obedience, have besides this wonderful and excellent virtue. If thou invokest the Spirits by virtue of these Pentacles, they will obey thee without repugnance, and having considered them they will be struck with astonishment, and will fear them, and thou shalt see them so surprised by fear and terror, that none of them will be sufficiently bold to wish to oppose thy will. They are also of great virtue and efficacy against all perils of Earth, of Air, of Water, and of Fire, against poison which hath been drunk, against all kinds of infirmities and necessities, against binding, sortilege, and sorcery, against all terror and fear, and wheresoever thou shalt find thyself, if armed with them, thou shalt be in safety all the days of thy life.

Through them do we acquire grace and good-will from man and woman, fire is extinguished, water is stayed, and all Creatures fear at the sight of the Names which are therein, and obey through that fear.

These Pentacles are usually made of the metal the most suitable to the nature of the Planet; and then there is no occasion to observe the rule of particular colours. They should be engraved with the instrument of Art in the days and hours proper to the Planet.

Saturn ruleth over Lead; Jupiter over Tin; Mars over Iron; the Sun over Gold; Venus over Copper; Mercury over the mixture of Metals; and the Moon over Silver.

They may also be made with exorcised Virgin paper, writing thereon with the colours adopted for each Planet, referring to the rules already laid down in the proper Chapters, and according to the Planet with which the Pentacle is in sympathy.

Wherefore unto Saturn the colour of Black is appropriated; Jupiter ruleth over Celestial Blue; Mars over Red; the Sun over Gold, or the colour of Yellow or Citron; Venus over Green; Mercury over Mixed Colours; the Moon over Silver, or the colour of Argentine Earth.

The Matter of which the Pentacle is constructed should be Virgin, never having been used for any other purpose; or if it be metal it should be purified by fire.

As regards the size of the Pentacles it is arbitrary, so long as they are made according to the rules, and with the requisite solemnities, as hath been ordained.

The* virtues of the Holy Pentacles are no less advantageous unto thee than the knowledge of the secrets which I have already given unto thee; and

* This and the four following paragraphs are from 1203 Lansdowne MSS.

thou shouldest take particular care if thou makest them upon virgin parchment to use the proper colours; and if thou engravest them upon metal, to do so in the manner taught thee; and so shalt thou have the satisfaction of seeing them produce the promised effect. But seeing that this Science is not a Science of argument and open reasoning, but that, on the contrary, it is entirely mysterious and occult, we should not argue and deliberate over these matters, and it is sufficient to believe firmly to enable us to bring into operation that which hath already been taught.

When thou shalt construct these Pentacles and Characters, it is necessary never to forget the Incense, nor to employ anything beyond that of which mention is made.

It is necessary, above all things, to be attentive to the operation, and never to forget or omit those things which contribute to the success which the Pentacles and Experiments promise, having ever in thy mind no other intention than the Glory of God, the accomplishment of thy desires, and loving-kindness towards thy neighbour.

Furthermore, my beloved Son, I order thee not to bury this Science, but to make thy friends partakers in the same, subject however to the strict command never to profane the things which are Divine, for if thou doest this, far from rendering thee a friend of the Spirits, it will but be the means of bringing thee unto destruction.

But never must thou lavish these things among the ignorant, for that would be as blameable as to cast precious gems before swine; on the contrary, from one Sage the secret knowledge should pass unto another Sage, for in this manner shall the Treasure of Treasures never descend into oblivion.

Adore* and revere the Most Holy Names of God which are found in these Pentacles and Characters, for without this never shalt thou be able to come to the end of any enterprise, nor to accomplish the Mystery of Mysteries.

Above all things, remember that to perform any of these operations thou must be pure in body and in mind, and without blemish, and omit not any of the preparations.

This Key, full of Mysteries, hath been revealed unto me by an Angel.

Accursed be he who undertaketh our Art without having the qualities requisite to thoroughly understand our Key, accursed be he who invoketh the Name of God in vain, for such an one prepareth for himself the punishments which await the unbelievers, for God shall abandon them and relegate them unto the depths of Hell amongst the impure Spirits.

For God is great and Immutable, He hath been for ever, and He shall remain even unto the end of the Ages.

ACCURSED BE HE WHO TAKETH THE NAME OF GOD IN VAIN! ACCURSED BE HE WHO USETH THIS KNOWLEDGE UNTO AN EVIL END, BE HE ACCURSED IN THIS WORLD AND IN THE WORLD TO COME. AMEN. BE HE ACCURSED IN THE NAME WHICH HE HATH BLASPHEMED!

* The rest of the Chapter is from 1202 Lansdowne MSS., except the last sentence.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

HERE FOLLOW THE HOLY PENTACLES, EXPRESSED IN THEIR PROPER FIGURES AND CHARACTERS, TOGETHER WITH THEIR ESPECIAL VIRTUES; FOR THE USE OF THE MASTER OF ART.

THE ORDER OF THE PENTACLES.

(1.) Seven Pentacles consecrated to Saturn=Black.
(2.) Seven Pentacles consecrated to Jupiter=Blue.
(3.) Seven Pentacles consecrated to Mars=Red.
(4.) Seven Pentacles consecrated to the Sun=Yellow.
(5.) Five Pentacles consecrated to Venus=Green.
(6.) Five Pentacles consecrated to Mercury=Mixed Colours.
(7.) Six Pentacles consecrated to the Moon=Silver.

Editor's Note on Figure 1.—The Mystical Figure of Solomon.—This is only given in the two MSS., Lansdowne 1202 and 1203. It was given by Lévi in his "Dogme et Rituel de la Haute Magie," and by Tycho Brahé in his "Calendarium Naturale Magicum," but in each instance without the Hebrew words and letters, probably because these were so mangled by illiterate transcribers as to be unrecognisable. After much labour and study of the figure, I believe the words in the body of the symbol to be intended for the Ten Sephiroth arranged in the form of the Tree of Life, with the Name of Solomon to the right and to the left; while the surrounding characters are intended for the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew Alphabet. I have, therefore, thus restored them. This Figure forms in each instance the frontispiece of the MS. referred to.

SATURN.

Figure 11.—The First Pentacle of Saturn.—This Pentacle is of great value and utility for striking terror into the Spirits. Wherefore, upon its being shown to them they submit, and kneeling upon the earth before it, they obey.

Editor's Note.—The Hebrew letters within the square are the four great Names of God which are written with four letters:—IHVH, Yod, He, Vau,

Fig. 6.

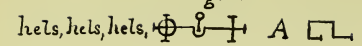
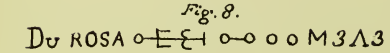


Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.



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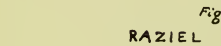

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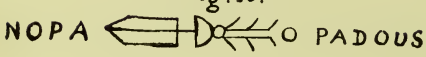

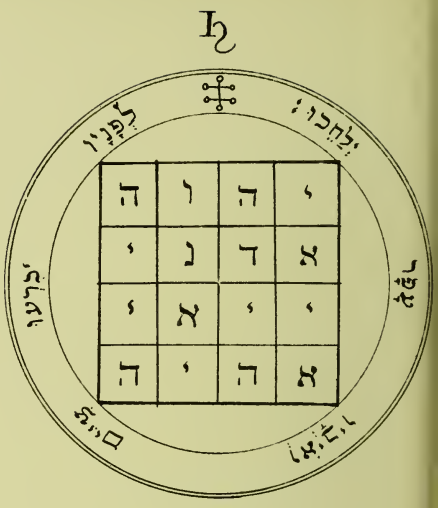

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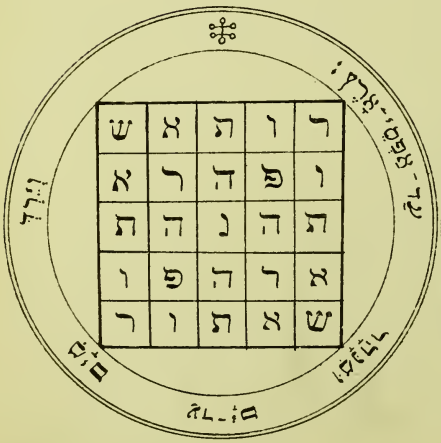


Fig. 12.

Fig. 13.

He; ADNI, Adonai; IIAI, Yiai (this Name has the same Numerical value in Hebrew as the Name EL); and AHIH, Eheieh. The Hebrew versicle which surrounds it is from Psalm lxxii. 9; "The Ethiopians shall kneel before Him, His enemies shall lick the dust."

Figure 12.—The Second Pentacle of Saturn.—This Pentacle is of great value against adversities; and of especial use in repressing the pride of the Spirits.

Editor's Note.—This is the celebrated

SATOR
AREPO
TENET
OPERA
ROTAS,

the most perfect existing form of double acrostic, as far as the arrangement of the letters is concerned; it is repeatedly mentioned in the records of mediæval Magic; and, save to very few, its derivation from the present Pentacle has been unknown. It will be seen at a glance that it is a square of five, giving twenty-five letters, which, added to the unity, gives twenty-six, the numerical value of IHVH. The Hebrew versicle surrounding it is taken from Psalm lxxii. 8, "His dominion shall be also from the one sea to the other, and from the flood unto the world's end." This passage consists also of exactly twenty-five letters, and its total numerical value (considering the final letters with increased numbers), added to that of the Name Elohim, is exactly equal to the total numerical value of the twenty-five letters in the Square.

Figure 13.—The Third Pentacle of Saturn.—This should be made within the Magical Circle, and it is good for use at night when thou invokest the Spirits of the nature of Saturn.

Editor's Note.—The characters at the ends of the rays of the Mystic Wheel are Magical Characters of Saturn. Surrounding it are the Names of the Angels:—Omeliel, Anachiel, Arauchiah, and Anazachia, written in Hebrew.

Figure 14.—The Fourth Pentacle of Saturn.—This Pentacle serveth principally for executing all the experiments and operations of ruin, destruction,

and death. And when it is made in full perfection, it serveth also for those Spirits which bring news, when thou invokest them from the side of the South.

Editor's Note.—The Hebrew words around the sides of the triangle are from Deut. vi. 4:—"Hear, O Israel, IHVH ALHINV is IHVH AChD." The surrounding versicle is from Psalm cix. 18:—"As he clothed himself with cursing like as with a garment, so let it come into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones." In the centre of the Pentacle is the mystic letter Yod.

Figure 15.—The Fifth Pentacle of Saturn.—This Pentacle defendeth those who invoke the Spirits of Saturn during the night; and chaseth away the Spirits which guard treasures.

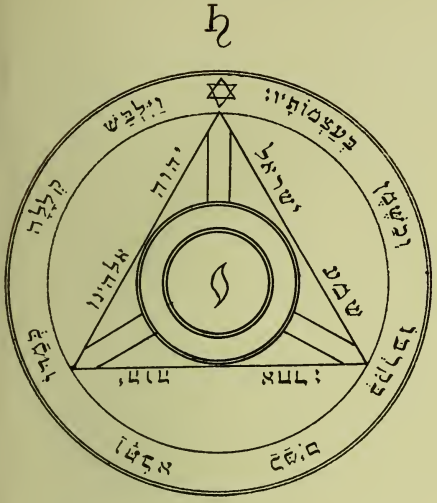
Editor's Note.—The Hebrew letters in the angles of the Cross are those of the Name IHVH. Those in the Angles of the Square form ALVH, Eloah. Round the four sides of the Square are the Names of the Angels:—Arehanah, Rakhaniel, Roelhaiphar, and Noaphiel. The versicle is:—"A Great God, a Mighty, and a Terrible."—Deut. x. 17.

Figure 16.—The Sixth Pentacle of Saturn.—Around this Pentacle is each Name symbolised as it should be. The person against whom thou shalt pronounce it shall be obsessed by Demons.

Editor's Note.—It is formed from Mystical Characters of Saturn. Around it is written in Hebrew: "Set thou a wicked one to be ruler over him, and let Satan stand at his right hand."

Figure 17.—The Seventh and Last Pentacle of Saturn.—This Pentacle is fit for exciting earthquakes, seeing that the power of each order of Angels herein invoked is sufficient to make the whole Universe tremble.

Editor's Note.—Within the Pentacle are the Names of the Nine Orders of Angels, those of six of them in ordinary Hebrew Characters, and the remainder in the letters which are known as "The Passing of the River." These Nine Orders are:—1. CHAIOTH HA-QADESCH, Holy Living Creatures; 2. AUPHANIM, Wheels; 3. ARALIM, Thrones; 4. CHASCHMALIM, Brilliant Ones; 5. SERAPHIM, Fiery Ones; 6. MELAKIM, Kings; 7. ELOHIM, Gods;



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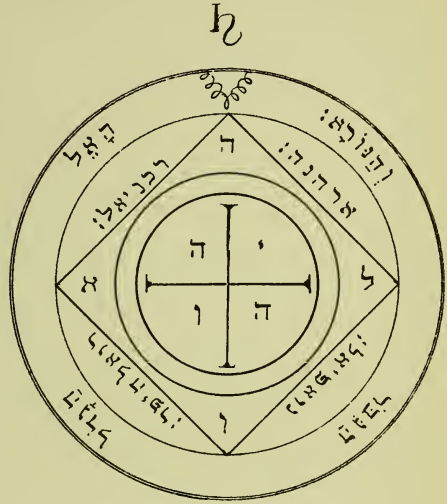

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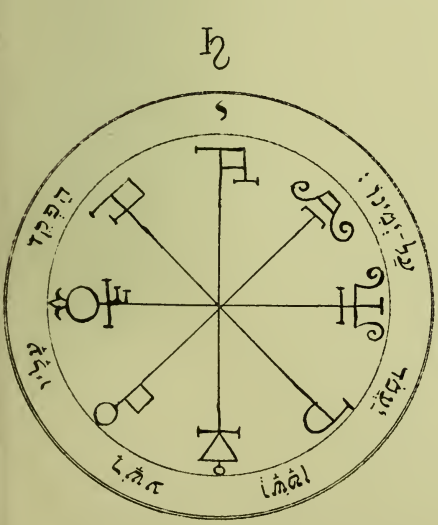
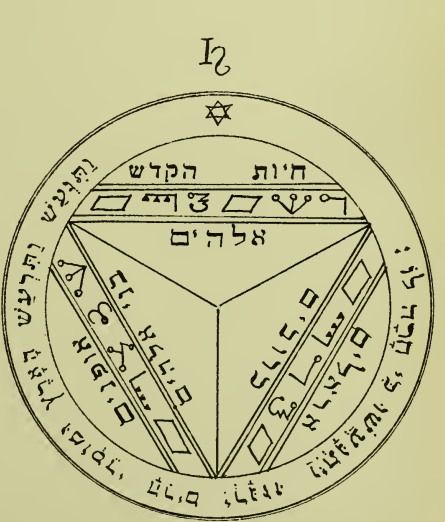


Fig. 16.



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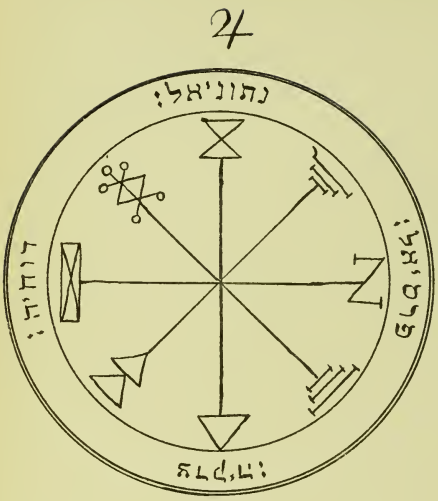

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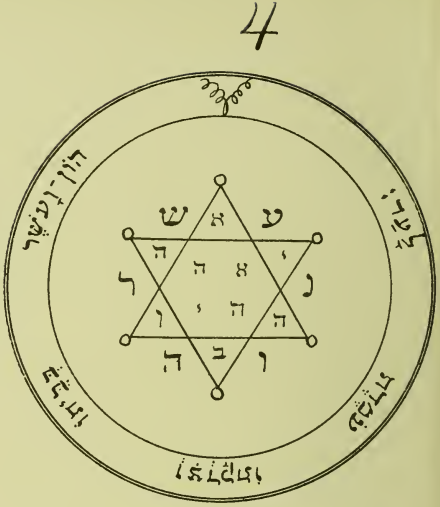


Fig. 19.

Fig. 20.

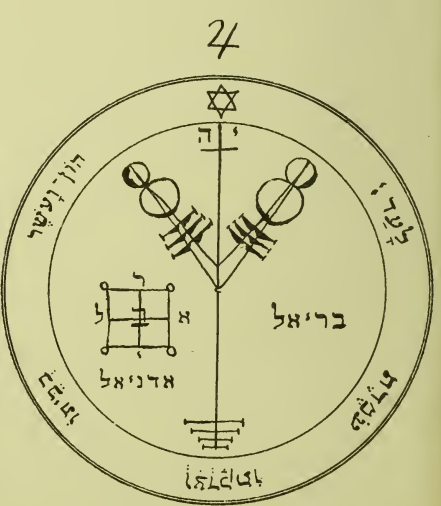


Fig. 21.

8. Beni Elohim, Sons of the Elohim; 9. Kerubim, Kerubim. The versicle is from Psalm xviii. 7:—"Then the earth shook and trembled, the foundations of the hills also moved and were shaken, because He was wroth."

JUPITER.

Figure 18.—The First Pentacle of Jupiter.—This serveth to invoke the Spirits of Jupiter, and especially those whose Names are written around the Pentacle, among whom Parasiel is the Lord and Master of Treasures, and teacheth how to become possessor of places wherein they are.

Editor's Note.—This Pentacle is composed of Mystical Characters of Jupiter. Around it are the Names of the Angels:—Netoniel, Devachiah, Tzedeqiah, and Parasiel, written in Hebrew.

Figure 19.—The Second Pentacle of Jupiter.—This is proper for acquiring glory, honours, dignities, riches, and all kinds of good, together with great tranquillity of mind; also to discover Treasures and chase away the Spirits who preside over them. It should be written upon virgin paper or parchment, with the pen of the swallow and the blood of the screech-owl.

Editor's Note.—In the centre of the Hexagram are the letters of the Name AHIH, Eheieh; in the upper and lower angles of the same, those of the Name AB, the Father; in the remaining angles those of the Name IHVH. I believe the letters outside the Hexagram in the re-entering angles to be intended for those of the first two words of the Versicle, which is taken from Psalm cxii. 3:—"Wealth and Riches are in his house, and his righteousness endureth for ever."

Figure 20.—The Third Pentacle of Jupiter.—This defendeth and protecteth those who invoke and cause the Spirits to come. When they appear show unto them this Pentacle and immediately they will obey.

Editor's Note.—In the upper left corner is the Magical Seal of Jupiter with the letters of the Name IHVH. In the others are the Seal of the Intelligence of Jupiter, and the Names Adonai and IHVH.—Around it is the Versicle from Psalm cxxv. 1:—"A Song of degrees. They that trust in IHVH shall be as Mount Zion, which cannot be removed, but abideth for ever."

Figure 21.—The Fourth Pentacle of Jupiter.—It serveth to acquire riches and honour, and to possess much wealth. Its Angel is Bariel. It should be engraved upon silver in the day and hour of Jupiter when he is in the Sign Cancer.

Editor's Note.—Above the Magical sigil is the Name IH, Iah. Below it are the Names of the Angels Adoniel and Bariel, the letters of the latter being arranged about a square of four compartments. Around is the Versicle from Psalm cxii. 3 :—"Wealth and Riches are in his house, and his righteousness endureth for ever."

Figure 22.—The Fifth Pentacle of Jupiter.—This hath great power. It serveth for assured visions. Jacob being armed with this Pentacle beheld the ladder which reached unto heaven.

Editor's Note.—The Hebrew letters within the Pentacle are taken from the five last words of the versicle which surrounds it, each of which contains five letters. These are, then, recombined so as to form certain Mystical Names. The versicle is taken from Ezekiel i. 1 :—"As I was among the captives by the river of Chebar, the heavens were opened, and I saw visions of Elohim." In my opinion the versicle should only consist of the five last words thereof, when the anachronism of Jacob using a Pentacle with a sentence from Ezekiel will no longer exist.

Figure 23.—The Sixth Pentacle of Jupiter.—It serveth for protection against all earthly dangers, by regarding it each day devoutedly, and repeating the versicle which surroundeth it. Thus shalt thou never perish.

Editor's Note.—The four Names in the Arms of the Cross are:—Seraph, Kerub, Ariel, and Tharsis; the four rulers of the Elements. The versicle is from Psalm xxii. 16, 17 :—"They pierced my hands and my feet, I may tell all my bones."

Figure 24.—The Seventh and last Pentacle of Jupiter.—It hath great power against poverty, if thou considerest it with devotion, repeating the versicle. It serveth furthermore to drive away those Spirits who guard treasures, and to discover the same.

Editor's Note.—Mystical Characters of Jupiter with the verse:—

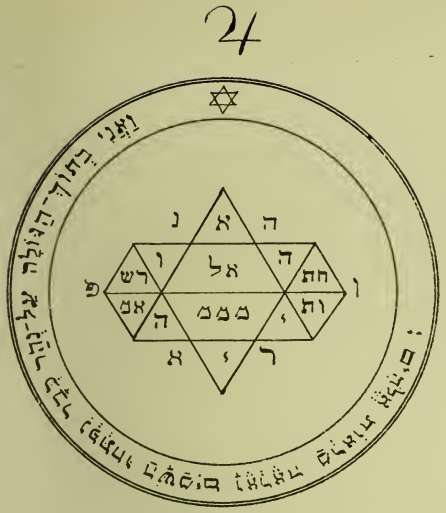
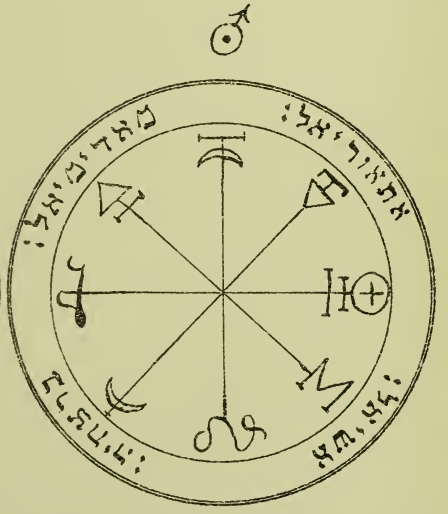


Fig. 22.

Fig. 23.

Fig. 24.



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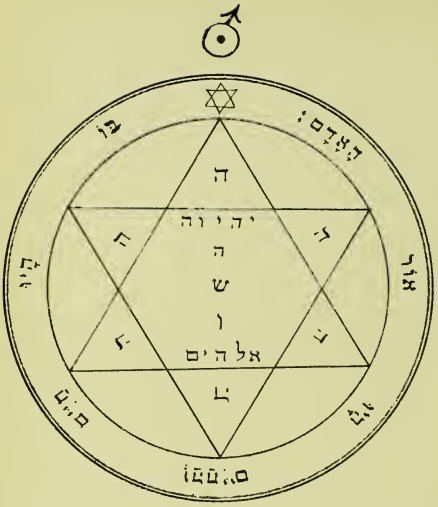


Fig. 26.

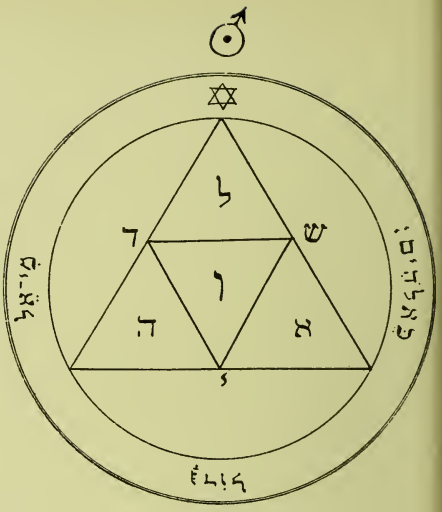


Fig. 27.

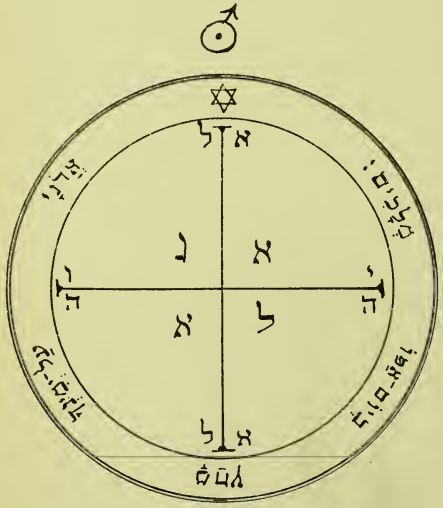


Fig. 28.

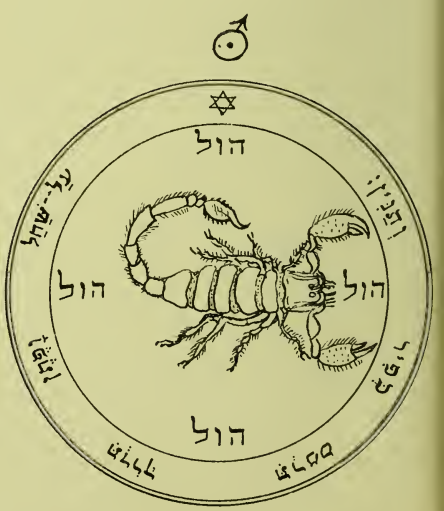


Fig. 29.

"Lifting up the poor out of the mire, and raising the needy from the dunghill, that he may set him with princes, even with the princes of his people."—Psalm cxiii. 7.

MARS.

Figure 25.—The first Pentacle of Mars.—It is proper for invoking Spirits of the Nature of Mars, especially those which are written in the Pentacle.

Editor's Note.—Mystical Characters of Mars, and the Names of the four Angels:—Madimiel, Bartzachiah, Eschiel, and Ithuriel written in Hebrew around the Pentacle.

Figure 26.—The Second Pentacle of Mars.—This Pentacle serveth with great success against all kinds of diseases, if it be applied unto the afflicted part.

Editor's Note.—The letter Hé, in the angles of the Hexagram. Within the same the Names IHVH, IHSHVH Yeheshuah (the mystic Hebrew Name for Joshua or Jesus, formed of the ordinary IHVH with the letter SH placed therein as emblematical of the Spirit), and Elohim. Around it is the sentence, John i. 4:—"In Him was life, and the life was the light of man." This *may* be adduced as an argument of the greater antiquity of the first few mystical verses of the Gospel of St. John.

Figure 27—The Third Pentacle of Mars.—It is of great value for exciting war, wrath, discord, and hostility; also for resisting enemies, and striking terror into rebellious Spirits; the Names of God the All Powerful are therein expressly marked.

Editor's Note.—The Letters of the Names Eloah and Shaddaï. In the Centre is the great letter Vau, the signature of the Qabalistic Microprosopus. Around is the versicle from Psalm lxxvii. 13:—"Who is so great a God as our Elohim?"

Figure 28.—The Fourth Pentacle of Mars.—It is of great virtue and power in war, wherefore without doubt it will give thee victory.

Editor's Note.—In the Centre is the great Name Agla; right and left, the letters of the Name IHVH; above and below, El. Round it is the versicle from Psalm cx. 5:—"The Lord at thy right hand shall wound even Kings in the day of His Wrath."

Figure 29.—The Fifth Pentacle of Mars.—Write thou this Pentacle upon virgin parchment or paper, because it is terrible unto the Demons, and at its sight and aspect they will obey thee, for they cannot resist its presence.

Editor's Note.—Around the figure of the Scorpion is the word HVL. The versicle is from Psalm xci. 13:—"Thou shalt go upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet."

Figure 30.—The Sixth Pentacle of Mars.—It hath so great virtue that being armed therewith, if thou art attacked by any one, thou shalt neither be injured nor wounded when thou fightest with him, and his own weapons shall turn against him.

Editor's Note.—Around the eight points of the radii of the Pentacle are the words "Elohim qeber, Elohim hath covered (or protected)," written in the Secret Alphabet of Malachim, or the writing of the Angels. The versicle is from Psalm xxxvii. 15:—"Their sword shall enter into their own heart, and their bow shall be broken."

Figure 31.—The Seventh and last Pentacle of Mars.—Write thou this upon virgin parchment or paper with the blood of a bat, in the day and hour of Mars; and uncover it within the Circle, invoking the Demons whose Names are therein written; and thou shalt immediately see hail and tempest.

Editor's Note.—In the centre of the Pentacle are the Divine Names, El and Yiai, which have the same numerical value when written in Hebrew. The Letters in Hebrew, and in the Secret Alphabet called the Celestial, compose the Names of Spirits. Round the Pentacle is:—"He gave them hail for rain, and flaming fire in their land. He smote their vines also, and their fig-trees."—Psalm cv. 32, 33.

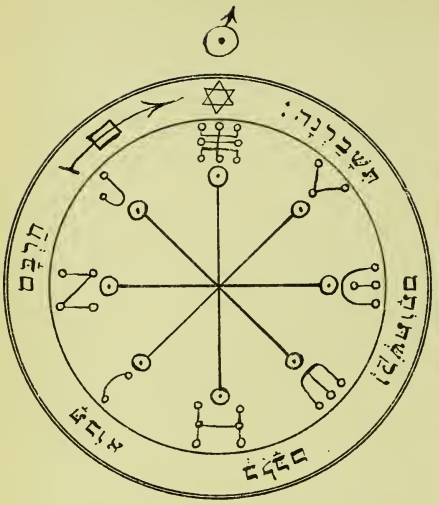


Fig. 30.

Fig. 31.

Fig. 32.

Fig. 33.

THE SUN.

Figure 32.—The First Pentacle of the Sun.—The Countenance of Shaddaï the Almighty, at Whose aspect all creatures obey, and the Angelic Spirits do reverence on bended knees.

Editor's Note.—This singular Pentacle contains the head of the great Angel Methraton or Metatron, the vice-gerent and representative of Shaddaï, who is called the Prince of Countenances, and the right-hand masculine Cherub of the Ark, as Sandalphon is the left and feminine. On either side is the Name "El Shaddaï." Around is written in Latin:—"Behold His face and form by Whom all things were made, and Whom all creatures obey."

Figure 33.—The Second Pentacle of the Sun.—This Pentacle, and the preceding and following, belong to the nature of the Sun. They serve to repress the pride and arrogance of the Solar Spirits, which are altogether proud and arrogant by their nature.

Editor's Note.—Mystical characters of the Sun and the Names of the Angels:—Shemeshiel, Paimoniah, Rekhodiah, and Malkhiel.

Figure 34.—The Third Pentacle of the Sun.—This serveth in addition (to the effects of the two preceding) to acquire Kingdom and Empire, to inflict loss, and to acquire renown and glory, especially through the Name of God, Tetragrammaton, which therein is twelve times contained.

Editor's Note.—The Name IHVH, twelve times repeated; and a versicle somewhat similar to Daniel iv. 34:—"My Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom, and my dominion endureth from age unto age."

Figure 35.—The Fourth Pentacle of the Sun.—This serveth to enable thee to see the Spirits when they appear invisible unto those who invoke them; because, when thou hast uncovered it, they will immediately appear visible.

Editor's Note.—The Names IHVH, Adonai, are written in the centre in Hebrew; and round the radii in the mystical characters of the "Passing of the River." The versicle is from Psalm xiii. 3, 4:—"Lighten mine eyes that I sleep not in death, lest mine enemy say, I have prevailed against him."

Figure 36.—The Fifth Pentacle of the Sun.—It serveth to invoke those Spirits who can transport thee from one place unto another, over a long distance and in short time.

Editor's Note.—Characters in the "Passing of the River" Alphabet, forming Spirit's Names. The Versicle is from Psalm xci. 11, 12 :—"He shall give His Angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee up in their hands."

Figure 37.—The Sixth Pentacle of the Sun.—It serveth excellently for the operation of invisibility, when correctly made.

Editor's Note.—In the centre is the Mystical letter Yod, in the Celestial Alphabet. The three letters in the "Passing of the River" writing, in the Angles of the triangle, form the great Name Shaddai. The words in the same characters round its three sides are, in my opinion, from Genesis i. 1 :—"In the beginning the Elohim created, &c.;" but the characters are sadly mangled in the MSS. The versicle is from Psalms lxix. 23, and cxxxv. 16 :—"Let their eyes be darkened that they see not; and make their loins continually to shake. They have eyes and see not."

Figure 38.—The Seventh and Last Pentacle of the Sun.—If any be by chance imprisoned or detained in fetters of iron, at the presence of this Pentacle, which should be engraved in Gold on the day and hour of the Sun, he will be immediately delivered and set at liberty.

Editor's Note.—On the Arms of the Cross are written the Names of Chasan, Angel of Air; Arel, Angel of Fire; Phorlakh, Angel of Earth; and Taliahad, Angel of Water. Between the four Arms of the Cross are written the names of the Four Rulers of the Elements; Ariel, Seraph, Tharshis, and Cherub. The versicle is from Psalm cxvi. 16, 17 :—"Thou hast broken my bonds in sunder. I will will offer unto thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and will call upon the Name of IHVH."

VENUS.

Figure 39.—The First Pentacle of Venus.—This and those following serve to control the Spirits of Venus, and especially those herein written.

Fig. 34.

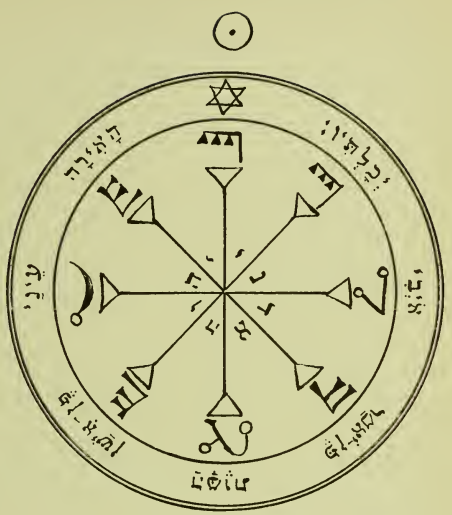


Fig. 35.

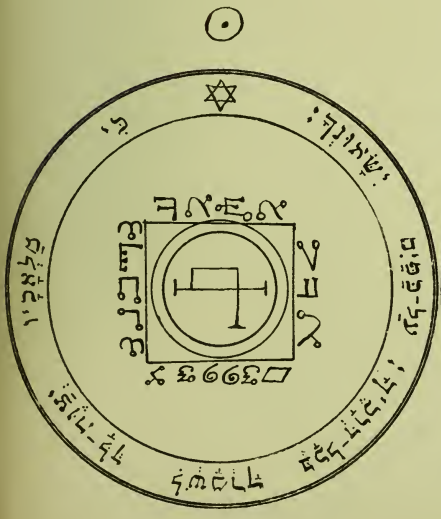


Fig. 36.

Fig. 37.

Fig. 38.

Fig. 39.

Fig. 40.

Fig. 41.

Editor's Note.—Mystical Characters of Venus, and the Names of the Angels Nogahiel, Acheliah, Socodiah (or Socohiah) and Nangariel.

Figure 40.—The Second Pentacle of Venus.—These Pentacles are also proper for obtaining grace and honour, and for all things which belong unto Venus, and for accomplishing all thy desires herein.

Editor's Note.—The letters round and within the Pentagram form the Names of Spirits of Venus. The versicle is from Canticles viii. 6:—"Place me as a signet upon thine heart, as a signet upon thine arm, for love is strong as death."

Figure 41.—The Third Pentacle of Venus.—This, if it be only shown unto any person, serveth to attract love. Its Angel Monachiel should be invoked in the day and hour of Venus, at one o'clock or at eight.

Editor's Note.—The following Names are written within the Figure:—IHVH, Adonai, Ruach, Achides, Ægalmiel, Monachiel, and Degaliel. The versicle is from Genesis i. 28:—"And the Elohim blessed them, and the Elohim said unto them, Be ye fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it."

Figure 42.—The Fourth Pentacle of Venus.—It is of great power, since it compels the Spirits of Venus to obey, and to force on the instant any person thou wishest to come unto thee.

Editor's Note.—At the four Angles of the Figure are the four letters of the Name IHVH. The other letters form the Names of Spirits of Venus, *e.g.*:—Schii, Eli, Ayib, &c. The versicle is from Genesis ii. 23, 24:—"This is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh. And they two were one flesh."

Figure 43.—The Fifth and last Pentacle of Venus.—When it is only showed unto any person soever, it inciteth and exciteth wonderfully unto love.

Editor's Note.—Around the central Square are the Names Elohim, El Gebil, and two other Names which I cannot decipher, and have, therefore, given them as they stand. The characters are those of the "Passing of the River." The surrounding versicle is from Psalm xxii. 14:—"My heart is like wax, it is melted in the midst of my bowels."

MERCURY.

Figure 44.—The First Pentacle of Mercury.—It serveth to invoke the Spirits who are under the Firmament.

Editor's Note.—Letters forming the Names of the Spirits Yekahel and Agiel.

Figure 45.—The Second Pentacle of Mercury.—The Spirits herein written serve to bring to effect and to grant things which are contrary unto the order of Nature; and which are not contained under any other head. They easily give answer, but they can with difficulty be seen.

Editor's Note.—The Letters form the Names of Böel and other Spirits.

Figure 46.—The Third Pentacle of Mercury.—This and the following serve to invoke the Spirits subject unto Mercury; and especially those who are written in this Pentacle.

Editor's Note.—Mystical Characters of Mercury, and the Names of the Angels: Kokaviel, Ghedoriah, Savaniah, and Chokmahiel.

Figure 47.—The Fourth Pentacle of Mercury.—This is further proper to acquire the understanding and Knowledge of all things created, and to seek out and penetrate into hidden things; and to command those Spirits which are called Allatori to perform embassies. They obey very readily.

Editor's Note.—In the centre is the Name of God, El. The Hebrew letters inscribed about the dodecagram make the sentence, "IHVH, fix Thou the Volatile, and let there be unto the void restriction." The versicle is:—"Wisdom and virtue are in his house, and the Knowledge of all things remaineth with him for ever."

Figure 48.—The Fifth and Last Pentacle of Mercury.—This commandeth the Spirits of Mercury, and serveth to open doors in whatever way they may be closed, and nothing it may encounter can resist it.

Fig. 42.

Fig. 43.

Fig. 44.

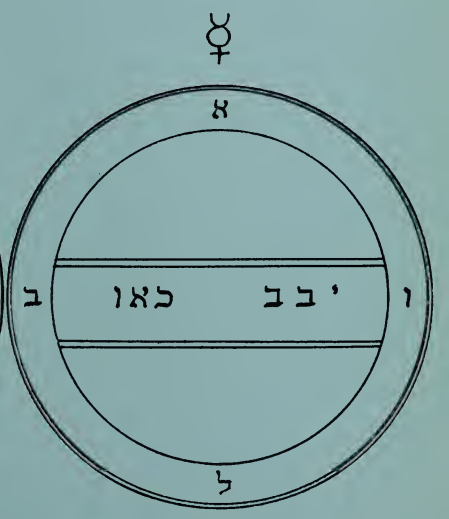


Fig. 45.

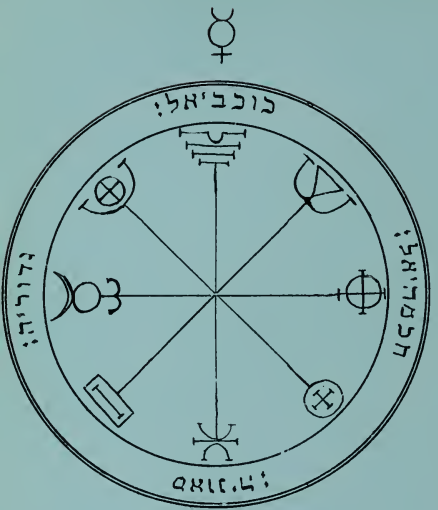


Fig. 46.

Fig. 47.

Fig. 48.

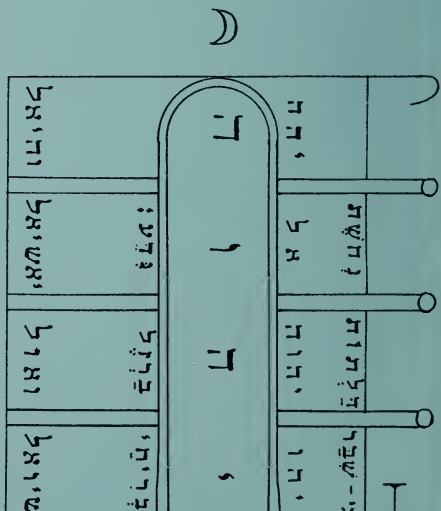


Fig. 49.

Editor's Note.—Within the Pentacle are the Names El Ab, and IHVH. The versicle is from Psalm xxiv. 7 :—"Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in."

THE MOON.

Figure 49.—The First Pentacle of the Moon.—This and the following serve to call forth and invoke the Spirits of the Moon; and it further serveth to open doors, in whatever way they may be fastened.

Editor's Note.—The Pentacle is a species of hieroglyphic representation of a door or gate. In the centre is written the Name IHVH. On the right hand are the Names IHV, IHVH, AL, and IHH. On the left hand are the Names of the Angels: Schioel, Vaol, Yashiel, and Vehiel. The versicle above the Names on either side, is from Psalm cvii. 16 :—"He hath broken the Gates of brass, and smitten the bars of iron in sunder."

Figure 50.—The Second Pentacle of the Moon.—This serveth against all perils and dangers by water, and if it should chance that the Spirits of the Moon should excite and cause great rain and exceeding tempests about the Circle, in order to astonish and terrify thee; on showing unto them this Pentacle, it will all speedily cease.

Editor's Note.—A hand pointing to the Name El, and to that of the Angel Abariel. The versicle is from Psalm lvi. 11 :—"In Elohim have I put my trust, I will not fear, what can man do unto me?"

Figure 51.—The third Pentacle of the Moon.—This being duly borne with thee when upon a journey, if it be properly made, serveth against all attacks by night, and against every kind of danger and peril by Water.

Editor's Note.—The Names Aub and Vevaphel. The versicle is from Psalm xl. 13 :—"Be pleased O IHVH to deliver me, O IHVH make haste to help me."

Figure 52.—The Fourth Pentacle of the Moon.—This defendeth thee from all evil sorceries, and from all injury unto soul or body. Its Angel,

Sophiel, giveth the knowledge of the virtue of all herbs and stones; and unto whomsoever shall name him, he will procure the knowledge of all.

Editor's Note.—The Divine Name Eheieh Asher Eheieh, and the Names of the Angels Yahel and Sophiel. The versicle is :—"Let them be confounded who persecute me, and let me not be confounded; let them fear, and not I."

Figure 53.—The Fifth Pentacle of the Moon.—It serveth to have answers in sleep. Its Angel Iachadiel serveth unto destruction and loss, as well as unto the destruction of enemies. Thou mayest also call upon him by Abdon and Dalé against all Phantoms of the night, and to summon the souls of the departed from Hades.

Editor's Note.—The Divine Names IHVH and Elohim, a mystical character of the Moon, and the Names of the Angels Iachadiel and Azarel. The versicle is from Psalm lxviii. 1 :—"Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered; let them also who hate Him flee before Him."

Figure 54.—The Sixth and Last Pentacle of the Moon.—This is wonderfully good, and serveth excellently to excite and cause heavy rains, if it be engraved upon a plate of silver; and if it be placed under water, as long as it remaineth there, there will be rain. It should be engraved, drawn, or written in the day and hour of the Moon.

Editor's Note.—The Pentacle is composed of mystical characters of the Moon, surrounded by a versicle from Genesis vii. 11, 12 :—"All the fountains of the great deep were broken up . . . and the rain was upon the earth."

[This is the end of the Holy Pentacles, in all which I have, to the best of my power, restored the Hebrew letters and mystical characters correctly. I have further given nearly every versicle in pointed Hebrew, instead of in the Latin; so that the Occult student might not be inconvenienced by having to search out the same in a Hebrew Bible. The restoration of the Hebrew letters in the body of the Pentacles has been a work of immense difficulty, and has extended over several years.]

Fig. 50.

Fig. 51.

Fig. 52.

Fig. 53.

THE KEY OF SOLOMON.

BOOK II.

PREFATORY NOTE.*

THIS Work of Solomon is divided into two books. In the first thou mayest see and know how to avoid errors in Experiments, Operations, and in the Spirits themselves. In the second thou art taught in what manner Magical Arts may be reduced to the proposed object and end.

It is for this reason that thou shouldest take great heed and care that this Key of Secrets fall not into the hands of the foolish, the stupid, and the ignorant. For he who is the possessor hereof, and who availeth himself hereof according to the ordinances herein contained, will not only be able to reduce the Magical Arts herein unto their proposed end, but will, even if he findeth certain errors herein, be able to correct them.

Any Art or Operation of this kind will not be able to attain its end, unless the Master of the Art, or Exorcist, shall have this Work completely in his power, that is to say, unless he thoroughly understand it, for without this he will never attain the effect of any operation.

For this reason I earnestly pray and conjure the person into whose hands this Key of Secrets may fall, neither to communicate it, nor to make any one a partaker in this knowledge, if he be not faithful, nor capable of keeping a secret, nor expert in the Arts. And I most humbly entreat the possessor of this, by the Ineffable Name of God in Four Letters, YOD, HE, VAU, HE, and by the Name ADONAI, and by all the other Most High and Holy Names of God, that he values this work as dearly as his own soul, and that he makes no foolish or ignorant man a partaker therein.

* This Prefatory Note is only found in 3981 Harleian MSS., 3091 Sloane MSS., and 288 King's MSS.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

At what hour after the preparation of all things necessary, we should bring the Exercise of the Art to Perfection.

THE Days and Hours have already been treated of, in general, in the First Book. It is now necessary to notice in particular at what hour accomplishment and perfection should be given to the Arts, all things necessary having been previously prepared.

Should it then happen that thou hast undertaken any secret operation for conversing with or conjuring Spirits, in which the day and the hour are not marked, thou shalt put it in execution on the days and hours of Mercury, at the sixteenth or twenty-third hour, but it will be still better at the eighth, which is the third* of the same night, which is called and means before the morning, for then thou shalt be able to put in practice all the Arts and Operations which should be performed, according as it shall please thee by day or by night, provided that they have been prepared at the hours suitable to them, as hath been already said. But when neither hour nor time of operation or invocation is specified, it is then much better to perform these experiments at night, seeing that it is more easy to the Spirits to appear in the peaceful silence of night than during the day. And thou shouldest inviolably observe, that wishing to invoke the Spirits, either by day or by night, it is necessary that it should be done in a place hidden, removed, secret, convenient, and proper for such Art, where no man frequenteth or inhabiteth, as we shall relate more fully in its place.

If then thou shouldest operate touching anything which hath been stolen, in whatever way it be performed and whatever way it may have been prepared, it is necessary to practise it on the days and hours of the Moon, being if possible in her increase, and from the first unto the eighth hour of the day.

But if it be by night, then it should be at the fifth or at the third hour; but it is better by day than by the night, for the light justifieth them, and maketh them much more fit for publication.

But if the Operations be regarding Invisibility, they should be put in practice at the first, second, and third hour of Mars by day. But if by night, until the third hour.

If they be Operations of seeking love, grace, or favour, they should be performed until the eighth hour of the same day, commencing with the first hour of the Sun; and from the first hour of Venus unto the first hour of the same day of Venus.

* In 10862 Add. MSS. it says "the second."

As for Operations of destruction and desolation, we should practise and put them into execution on the day of Saturn at the first hour, or rather at the eighth or fifteenth of the day; and from the first until the eighth hour of the night.

Experiments of games, raillery, deceit, illusion, and invisibility, ought to be done at the first hour of Venus, and at the eighth hour of the day; but by night at the third and at the seventh.

At all times of practising and putting into execution Magical Arts, the Moon should be increasing in light, and in an equal number of degrees with the Sun; and it is much better from the first quarter to the Opposition, and the Moon should be in a fiery Sign, and notably in that of the Ram or of the Lion.

Therefore, to execute these Experiments in any manner whatsoever, it should be done when the Moon is clear, and when she is increasing in light.

In order to put in execution those of Invisibility after everything is properly prepared, the Moon should be in the Sign of the Fishes, in the hours proper and fitting, and she should be increasing in light.

For experiments of seeking love and favour, in whatever way it may be desired, they will succeed, provided that they have been prepared at the proper hours, and that the Moon be increasing in light and in the Sign of the Twins.

So exact a preparation of days and hours is not necessary for those who are Adepts in the Art, but it is extremely necessary for apprentices and beginners, seeing that those who have been little or not at all instructed herein, and who only begin to apply themselves to this Art, do not have as much faith in the experiments as those who are adepts therein, and who have practised them. But as regards beginners, they should always have the days and hours well disposed and appropriate unto the Art. And the Wise should only observe the precepts of the Art which are necessary, and in observing the other solemnities necessary they will operate with a perfect assurance.

It is, nevertheless, necessary to take care that when thou shalt have prepared any experiment thyself for the days and hours ordained, that it should be performed in clear, serene, mild, and pleasant weather, without any great tempest or agitation of the air, which should not be troubled by winds. For when thou shalt have conjured any Spirits in any art or experiment, they will not come when the Air is troubled or agitated by winds, seeing that Spirits have neither flesh nor bones, and are created of different substances.

Some are created from Water.

Others from Wind, unto which they are like.

Some from Earth.

Some from Clouds.

Others from Solar Vapours.

Others from the keenness and strength of Fire; and when they are invoked or summoned, they come always with great noise, and with the terrible nature of fire.

When the Spirits which are created of Water are invoked, they come with great rains, thunder, hail, lightning, thunder-bolts, and the like.

When the Spirits which are created of Clouds are invoked, they come with great deformity, in a horrible form, to strike fear into the Invocator, and with an exceeding great noise.

Others* which are formed from wind appear like thereunto and with exceeding swift motion, and whensoever those which are created from Beauty† appear, they will show themselves in a fair and agreeable form; moreover, whensoever thou shalt call the Spirits created from Air, they will come with a kind of gentle breeze.

When the Spirits which are created from the Vapours of the Sun are invoked, they come under a very beautiful and excellent form, but filled with pride, vanity, and conceit. They are clever, whence it comes that these last are all specified by Solomon in his book of ornament, or of beauty. They show great ostentation and vainglory in their dress, and they rejoice in many ornaments; they boast of possessing mundane beauty, and all sorts of ornaments and decorations. Thou shalt only invoke them in serene, mild, and pleasant weather.

The Spirits‡ which are created of Fire reside in the east, those created of Wind in the south.

Note then that it will be much better to perform the experiments or operations in the direction of the East, putting everything necessary in practice towards that point.

But for all other operations or extraordinary experiments, and for those of love, they will be much more efficacious directed towards the north.

Take heed further, that every time that thou performest any experiment, to reduce it unto perfection with the requisite solemnities, thou shalt recommence the former experiment if interrupted therein, without the preparation of hours or other solemnities.

If by chance it should happen that having performed an experiment with due observance of days, hours, and requisite solemnities, thou shalt find it unsuccessful, it must be in some manner false, ill-arranged and defective, and thou must assuredly have failed in some matter; for if thou doest ill in one single point, these experiments or these Arts will not be verified.

Thus upon this Chapter dependeth this whole Key of Arts, Experiments, and Operations, and although every solemnity be rightly observed, no experiment will be verified, unless thou canst penetrate the meaning of this Chapter.

* This paragraph is only found in 10862 Add. MSS.

† The Name of the Sixth Qabalistical Sephira or Emanation from the Deity, which is called Tiphereth, or Beauty.

‡ I have usually found it said exactly *vice versâ*.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER II.

In what manner the Master of the Art should keep, rule, and govern himself.

He who wisheth to apply himself unto so great and so difficult a Science should have his mind free from all business, and from all extraneous ideas of whatever nature they may be.

He should then thoroughly examine the Art or Operation which he should undertake, and write it regularly out on paper, particularly set aside for that purpose, with the appropriate conjurations and exorcisms. If there be anything to mark or write down, it should be performed in the manner specified regarding the paper, ink, and pen. He should also observe at what day and at what hour this Experiment should be undertaken, and what things are necessary to prepare for it, what should be added, and what can be dispensed with.

The which matters being prepared, it is necessary for thee to search out and arrange some fitting place wherein the Magical Art and its Experiments can be put in practice. All these things being thus arranged and disposed, let the Master of the Art go into a proper and fitting place, or into his Cabinet or Secret Chamber if it be convenient for the purpose, and he can there dispose and set in order the whole operation; or he can use any other convenient secret place for the purpose, provided that no one knoweth where it is, and that no man can see him when there.

After this he must strip himself entirely naked, and let him have a bath ready prepared, wherein is water exorcised, after the manner which we shall describe, so that he may bathe and purify himself therein from the crown of his head unto the sole of his foot, saying:—

O Lord Adonai, Who hast formed me Thine unworthy servant in Thine Image and resemblance of vile and of abject earth; deign to bless and to sanctify this Water, so that it may be for the health and purification of my soul, and of my body, so that no foolishness or deceitfulness may therein in any way have place.

O Most Powerful and Ineffable God, Who madest Thy people pass dryshod through the Red Sea when they came up out of the Land of Egypt, grant unto me grace that I may be purified and regenerated from all my past sins by this Water, that so no uncleanness may appear upon me in Thy Presence.

After this thou shalt entirely immerse thyself in the Water, and thou shalt dry thyself with a towel of clean white linen, and then thou shalt put upon thy flesh the garments of pure white linen whereof we shall speak hereafter.

Hereafter, for three days at least, thou shalt abstain from all idle, vain, and impure reasonings, and from every kind of impurity and sin, as will be shown in the Chapter of fast and of vigil. Each day shalt thou recite the following prayer, at least once in the morning, twice about noon, thrice in the afternoon, four times in the evening, and five times before lying down to sleep; this shalt thou do on the three ensuing days :—

The Prayer.

Herachio, Asac, Asacro, Bedrimulael, Tilath, Arabonas, Ierahlem, Ideodoc, Archarzel, Zophiel, Blautel, Baracata, Edoniel, Elohim, Emagro, Abragateh, Samoel, Geburahel, Cadato, Era, Elohi, Achsah, Ebmisha, Imachedel, Daniel, Dama, Elamos, Izachel, Bael, Segon, Gemon, Demas.

O Lord God, Who art seated upon the Heavens, and Who regardest the Abysses beneath, grant unto me Thy Grace I beseech Thee, so that what I conceive in my mind I may accomplish in my work, through Thee, O God, the Sovereign Ruler of all, Who livest and reignest unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

These three days having passed, thou must have all things in readiness, as hath been said, and after this a day appointed and set apart. It will be necessary for thee to wait for the hour in which thou shouldest commence the Operation; but when once it shall be commenced at this hour, thou shalt be able to continue it unto the end, seeing that it deriveth its force and virtue from its beginning, which extendeth to and spreadeth over the succeeding hours, so that the Master of the Art will be enabled to complete his work so as to arrive at the desired result.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER III.

How the Companions or Disciples of the Master of the Art ought to regulate and govern themselves.

When the Master of the Art wisheth to put in practice any Operation or Experiment, especially one of importance, he should first consider of what Companions he should avail himself. This is the reason why in every Operation whose Experience should be carried out in the Circle, it is well to have three Companions. And if he cannot have Companions, he should at least have with him a faithful and attached dog. But if it be absolutely necessary for him to have Companions, these Companions should be obligated and bound by oath to do all that the Master shall order and prescribe them, and they should study, observe, and carefully retain, and be attentive unto all which they shall hear. For those who shall act otherwise shall suffer and endure many pains and labours, and run into many dangers, which the Spirits will cause and procure for them, and for this cause sometimes they shall even die.

The Disciples then, being well and thoroughly instructed, and fortified with a wise and understanding heart, the Master shall take exorcised Water, and he shall enter with his Disciples into a secret place purified and clean, where he must strip them entirely naked; after this, let him pour exorcised water upon their heads, which he should cause to flow from the crown of their head unto the sole of their foot, so as to bathe them entirely therewith; and while bathing them thus, he should say:—

Be ye regenerate, cleansed, and purified, in the Name of the Ineffable, Great, and Eternal God, from all your iniquities, and may the virtue of the Most High descend upon you and abide with you always, so that ye may have the power and strength to accomplish the desires of your heart. Amen.

After this let the Disciples robe themselves as the Master hath done, and fast like him for three days, repeating the same prayer; let them act like him, and in the work let them implicitly follow and obey him in all things.

But if the Master of the Art wisheth to have a dog for his Companion, he must bathe him thoroughly with the exorcised water in the same manner as the Disciples, and let him perfume him with the odours and incense of Art, and let him repeat the following Conjuration over him:—

I conjure thee, O thou Creature, being a Dog, by Him Who hath created thee, I bathe and I perfume thee in the Name of the Most High, Most Powerful, and Eternal God, so that thou mayest be my true Companion in this operation, and that thou mayest be also my faithful friend in whatsoever Operation I may hereafter perform.

But if he wisheth to have for his companion a little boy or girl, which will be still better, he must ordain them as he hath ordained the dog; and he must pare and cut the nails of their hands and of their feet, saying:—

I conjure thee, O thou Creature, being a young girl (or boy), by the Most High God, the Father of all Creatures, by the Father ADONAI ELOHIM, and by the Father ELION, that thou shalt have neither will nor power to hide from me anything, nor yet to keep back from me the truth in all which I shall demand of thee, and that thou be obedient and faithful unto me. Amen.

Let him purify, cleanse, and wash this young child anew, with the Water of Art, saying:—

Be thou regenerate, cleansed, and purified, so that the Spirits may neither harm thee nor abide in thee. Amen.

Then perfume the child with odours as above.

When the Companions shall be thus ordained and disposed, the Master shalt be able to operate in surety together with them, every time that it shall please him; and he shall perform his operation happily, and shall attain his end.

But for the safety both of soul and of body, the Master and the Companions should have the Pentacles before their breasts, consecrated, and covered with a silken veil, and perfumed with the proper fumigations. By the which being assured and encouraged, they may enter into the matter without fear or terror, and they shall be exempt and free from all perils and dangers, provided that they obey the commands of the Master and do all that he ordain them. If they shall act thus, all things shall go according unto their desires.

All being thus arranged, the Master should take heed that His Disciples are perfectly instructed in those things which they have to perform.

These Companions or Disciples should be three in number, without including the Master. They may also be of the number of five, of seven, or of nine; but so that they ever implicitly obey the orders of their Master; for thus only shall all things come to a successful issue.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the Fasting, Care, and Things to be observed.

When the Master of the Art shall wish to perform his operations, having previously arranged all things which it is necessary to observe and practise; from the first day of the Experiment, it is absolutely necessary to ordain and to prescribe care and observation, to abstain from all things unlawful, and from every kind of impiety, impurity, wickedness, or immodesty, as well of body as of soul; as, for example, eating and drinking superabundantly, and all sorts of vain words, buffooneries, slanders, calumnies, and other useless discourse; but instead to do good deeds, speak honestly, keep a strict decency in all things, never lose sight of modesty in walking, in conversation, in eating and drinking, and in all things; the which should be principally done and observed for nine days, before the commencement of the Operation. The Disciples should do the same, and should equally put in practice all things necessary to be observed, if they wish to make use of all these operations and experiments.

But before the commencement of the work, it is absolutely necessary that the Master with his Disciples repeat the following Conjuration once in the morning, and twice in the evening:—

The Conjuration.

O Lord God Almighty, be propitious unto me a miserable sinner, for I am not worthy to raise mine eyes unto heaven, because of the iniquity of my sins and the multitude of my faults. O pitying and merciful Father, who wouldest not the death of a sinner but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live, O God have mercy upon me and pardon all my sins; for I unworthy entreat Thee, O Father of all Creatures, Thou Who art full of mercy and of compassion, by Thy great goodness, that Thou deign to grant unto me power to see and know these Spirits which I desire to behold and to invoke to appear before me and to accomplish my will. Through Thee Who art Conqueror, and Who art Blessed unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

O Lord God the Father Eternal, Who art seated upon the Kerubim and the Seraphim, Who lookest upon Earth and upon Sea; unto Thee do I raise my hands and implore thine aid alone, Thou Who alone art the accomplishment of good works, Thou Who givest rest unto those who labour, Who humblest the proud, Who art the Author of Life and the Destroyer of Death; Thou art our rest, Thou art the Protector of those who invoke Thee; protect, guard, and defend me in this matter, and in this enterprise which I propose to carry out, O Thou Who livest, reignest, and abidest unto the Eternal Ages. Amen.

During the three last days before the commencement of this action, thou shalt content thyself with only eating fasting diet, and that only once in the day; and it will be better still if thou only partakest of bread and water. Thou shalt also abstain from every impure thing; reciting the prayer above written. And on the last day, when thou shalt wish to commence the Operation, thou shalt remain all day without eating, and later on thou shalt go into a secret place, where thou shalt confess all thy sins unto God with a contrite heart. The Disciples also, together with the Master, shall recite the same Confession with a low but distinct voice, as hath been already said in the First Book.

This having been done thrice with a devout, pure, and contrite heart, in a place withdrawn from men, cleansed, and pure, where thou canst not be seen, taking the water and the hyssop, thou shalt say:—

Purify me, O Lord, with hyssop, and I shall be pure; wash me and I shall be whiter than snow.

After this, bathe thyself with the exorcised water, and clothe thyself again with the consecrated garment which thou hast taken off; cense thyself, and surround thyself with odours, as will be told farther on, when we speak of perfumes and suffumigations.

The which being done, thou shalt go unto the ordained place with thy Companions, and all things being prepared, thou shalt make the Circle, as hath been already said, with all other necessary ceremonies; then shalt thou commence to invoke the Spirits by the Exorcisms; thou shalt also repeat anew the foregoing Confession as hath been already said in the First Book. After which, in sign of amendment and of repentance, each shall mutually kiss the other.

Mark well, that up to this point, the Disciples should do the same things as the Master.

Let the Master now give his commands unto his Disciples, and pursue the course of the Experiment, and work with all diligence to bring it unto perfection.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Baths, and how they are to be arranged.

The Bath is necessary for all Magical and Necromantic Arts; wherefore, if thou wishest to perform any experiment or operation, having arranged all things necessary thereunto according to the proper days and hours, thou shalt go unto a river or running stream, or thou shalt have warm water ready in some large vessel or tub in thy secret cabinet, and while disrobing thyself of thy raiment thou shalt repeat the following Psalms:—Psalms xiv. or liii.; xvii.; liv.; lxxxi.; cv.

And when the Master shall be entirely disrobed let him enter into the water or into the Bath, and let him say:—

The Exorcism of the Water.

I exorcise Thee, O Creature of Water, by Him Who hath created thee and gathered thee together into one place so that the dry land appeared, that thou uncover all the deceits of the Enemy, and that thou cast out from thee all the impurities and uncleannesses of the Spirits of the World of Phantasm, so they may harm me not, through the virtue of God Almighty who liveth and reigneth unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

Then shalt thou begin to wash thyself thoroughly in the Bath, saying:—

Mertalia, Musalia, Dophalia, Onemalia, Zitanseia, Goldaphaira, Dedulsaira, Ghevialaira, Gheminaira, Gegropheira, Cedahi, Gilthar, Godieb, Ezoiil, Musil, Grassil, Tamen, Pueri, Godu, Huznoth, Astachoth, Tzabaoth, Adonai, Agla, On, El, Tetragrammaton, Shema, Aresion, Anaphaxeton, Segilaton, Primeumaton.

All the which Names thou shalt repeat twice or thrice, until thou art completely washed and clean, and when thou art perfectly pure thou shalt quit the Bath, and sprinkle thyself with exorcised water, in the manner described later on, and thou shalt say:—

Purge me, O Lord, with hyssop, and I shall be clean; wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.

Whilst again clothing thyself, thou shalt recite the following Psalms:—Psalms cii.; li.; iv.; xxx.; cxix., *Mem.*, v. 97.; cxiv.; cxxvi., cxxxix.

After which thou shalt recite the following Prayer:—

Prayer.

El Strong and Wonderful, I bless Thee, I adore Thee, I glorify Thee, I invoke Thee, I render Thee thanks from this Bath, so that this Water may

be able to cast from me all impurity and concupiscence of heart, through Thee, O Holy Adonai; and may I accomplish all things through Thee Who livest and reignest unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

After this take the Salt and bless it in this manner:—

The Benediction of the Salt.

The Blessing of the Father Almighty be upon this Creature of Salt, and let all malignity and hindrance be cast forth hencefrom, and let all good enter herein, for without Thee man cannot live, wherefore I bless thee and invoke thee, that thou mayest aid me.

Then thou shalt recite over the Salt, Psalm ciii.

Then taking the grains of the exorcised Salt thou shalt cast them into the aforesaid Bath; and thou shalt again disrobe thyself, pronouncing the following words:—

Imanel, Arnamon, Imato, Memeon, Rectacon, Muoboii, Paltellon, Decaion, Yamenton, Yaron, Tatonon, Vaphoron, Gardon, Existon, Zagveron, Momerton, Zarmesiton, Tileion, Tixmion.

After this thou shalt enter a second time into the Bath and recite Psalms civ. and lxxxi.

Then thou shalt quit the Bath and clothe thyself as before in linen garments clean and white, and over them thou shalt put the garments, of which we shall speak in the proper Chapter, and thus clothed thou shalt go to finish thy work.

The Disciples should wash themselves in like manner, and with like solemnities.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Garments and Shoes of the Art.

THE exterior habiliments which the Master of the Art should wear ought to be of linen, as well as those which he weareth beneath them; and if he hath the means they should be of Silk. If they be of linen the thread of which they are made should have been spun by a young maiden.

The characters shown in *Figure 55* should be embroidered on the breast with the needle of Art in red silk.

The shoes should also be White, upon the which the characters in *Figure 56* should be traced in the same way.

The shoes or boots should be made of white leather, on the which should be marked the Signs and Characters of Art. These shoes should be made during the days of fast and abstinence, namely, during the nine days set apart before the beginning of the Operation, during which the necessary instruments also should be prepared, polished, brightened, and cleaned.

Besides this, the Master of the Art should have a Crown made of Virgin paper, upon the which should be written these four Names:—YOD, HE, VAU, HE, in front; ADONAI behind; EL on the right; and ELOHIM on the left. (*See Figure 57.*) These Names should be written with the ink and pen of the Art, whereof we shall speak in the proper Chapter. The Disciples should also each have a Crown of Virgin paper whereon these Divine symbols should be marked in scarlet. (*See Figure 58.*)

Take heed also that in clothing thyself with these aforesaid habiliments, that thou recite these Psalms:—Psalms xv.; cxxxi.; cxxxvii.; cxvii.; lxvii.; lxviii.; and cxxvii.

After this perfume the vestments with the perfumes and suffumigations of the Art, and sprinkle them with the water and hyssop of the Art.

But when the Master and His Disciples shall commence to robe themselves after the first Psalm, and before continuing with the others, he should pronounce these words:—

AMOR, AMATOR, AMIDES, IDEODANIACH, PAMOR, PLAIOR, ANITOR; through the merits of these holy Angels will I robe and indue myself with the Vestments of Power, through which may I conduct unto the desired end those things which I ardently wish, through Thee, O Most Holy ADONAI, Whose Kingdom and Empire endureth for ever. Amen.

Take notice that if the linen garments were vestments of the Levites or of the Priests, and had been used for holy things, that they would be all the better.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER VII.

Of places wherein we may conveniently execute the Experiments and Operations of the Art.

THE places best fitted for exercising and accomplishing Magical Arts and Operations are those which are concealed, removed, and separated from the habitations of men. Wherefore desolate and uninhabited regions are most appropriate, such as the borders of lakes, forests, dark and obscure places, old and deserted houses, whither rarely and scarce ever men do come, mountains, caves, caverns, grottos, gardens, orchards; but best of all are cross-roads, and where four roads meet, during the depth and silence of night. But if thou canst not conveniently go unto any of these places, thy house, and even thine own chamber, or, indeed, any place, provided it hath been purified and consecrated with the necessary ceremonies, will be found fit and convenient for the convocation and assembling of the Spirits.

These Arts or Operations should be carried out at the prescribed time, but if there be no time specially appointed it will be always better to perform them at night, which is the most fit and proper time for the Operations of Necromancy; this is also a symbol that it is just and right to hide them from the sight of the foolish, the ignorant, and the profane.

But when thou shalt have selected a place fitting, thou mayest perform thine experiments by day or by night. It should be spacious, clear, and bounded on all sides by hedges, shrubs, trees, or walls. Thou shalt thyself cleanse it thoroughly and render it neat and pure, and while doing this thou shalt recite Psalms ii.; lxvii.; and liv.

After this thou shalt perfume it with the odours and suffumigations of the Art, and shalt sprinkle it with the water and the hyssop; and after this thou mayest in this place make all the necessary preparations for an operation.

But when, later on, thou shalt go unto this place, to complete and accomplish the operation, thou shalt repeat on the way thither the following Prayer in a low and distinct voice:—

THE PRAYER.

ZAZAII, ZAMAII, PUIDAMON Most Powerful, SEDON Most Strong, EL, YOD HE VAU HE, IAH, AGLA, assist me an unworthy sinner who have had the boldness to pronounce these Holy Names which no man should name and invoke save in very great danger. Therefore have I recourse unto these Most Holy Names, being in great peril both of soul and of body. Pardon me if I have sinned in any manner, for I trust in Thy protection alone, especially on this journey.

Let the Master as he goeth sprinkle the path with the water and hyssop

of the Art, while each of his Disciples shall repeat in a low voice the Prayer which we have enjoined for the days of fasting and preparation.

Furthermore, let the Master appoint his Disciples to carry the things necessary for the Art.

The first shall bear the Censer, the Fire, and the Incense.

The Second; the Book, the Paper, the Pens, the Ink, and the various Perfumes.

The Third; the Knife, and the Sickle.

The Master; the Staff, and the Wand.

But if there be more Disciples present, the Master shall distribute the things for each to carry, according to their number.

When they shall have arrived at the place, and all things being disposed in their proper order, the Master shall take the Knife or other convenient consecrated Magical implement of Steel, wherewith to form the Circle of Art which he intends to construct. This being done, he must perfume it, and sprinkle it with water; and having warned and exhorted his Disciples, he shall work thus:—

First let him have a Trumpet made of new wood, on the one side of which shall be written in Hebrew with the pen and ink of the Art these Names of God, ELOHIM GIBOR, ELOHIM TZABAOTH (*see Figure* 59); and on the other side these characters (*see Figure* 60).

Having entered into the Circle to perform the Experiment, he should sound this Trumpet towards the four quarters of the Universe, first towards the East, then towards the South, then towards the West, and lastly towards the North. Then let him say:—

Hear ye, and be ye ready, in whatever part of the Universe ye may be, to obey the Voice of God the Mighty One, and the Names of the Creator. We let you know by this signal and sound that ye will be convoked hither, wherefore hold ye yourselves in readiness to obey our commands.

This being done let the Master complete his work, renew the Circle, and make the incensements and fumigations.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Knife, Sword, Sickle, Poniard, Dagger, Lance, Wand, Staff, and other instruments of Magical Art.

In order to properly carry out the greatest and most important Operations of the Art, various Instruments are necessary, as a Knife with a white hilt, another with a black hilt, a short Lance, wherewith to trace Circles, Characters, and other things.

The Knife with the white hilt (*see Figure 61*) should be made in the day and hour of Mercury, when Mars is in the Sign of the Ram or of the Scorpion. It should be dipped in the blood of a gosling and in the juice of the pimpernel, the Moon being at her full or increasing in light. Dip therein also the white hilt, upon the which thou shalt have engraved the Characters shown. Afterwards perfume it with the perfumes of the Art.

With this Knife thou mayest perform all the necessary Operations of the Art, except the Circles. But if it seemeth unto thee too troublesome to make a similar Knife, have one made in the same fashion; and thou shalt place it thrice in the fire until it becometh red-hot, and each time thou shalt immerse it in the aforesaid blood and juice, fasten thereunto the white hilt having engraved thereon the aforesaid characters, and upon the hilt thou shalt write with the pen of Art, commencing from the point and going towards the hilt, these Names Agla, On, as shown in *Figure 61*. Afterwards thou shalt perfume and sprinkle it, and shalt wrap it in a piece of silken cloth.

But as for the Knife with the black hilt (*see Figure 62*) for making the Circle, wherewith to strike terror and fear into the Spirits, it should be made in the same manner, except that it should be done in the day and hour of Saturn, and dipped in the blood of a black cat and in the juice of hemlock, the Characters and Names shown in *Figure 62* being written thereon, from the point towards the hilt. Which being completed, thou shalt wrap it in a black silk cloth.

The Scimitar (*Figure 63*), and the Sickle (*Figure 64*), are made in the same way, as also the Dagger (*Figure 65*), the Poniard (*Figure 66*), and the short Lance (*Figure 67*), in the day and hour of Mercury, and they should be dipped in the blood of a magpie and the juice of the herb Mercury. Thou must make for them handles of white boxwood cut at a single stroke from the tree, at the rising of the Sun, with a new knife, or with any other convenient instrument. The characters shown should be traced thereon. Thou shalt perfume them according to the rules of Art; and wrap them in silk cloth like the others.

Fig. 55.

Fig. 56.

Fig. 57.

יהוה אדני אל אלהים
MIHLA LA INDA HVHI

Fig. 59.

אלהים צבאות אלהים גבור
TAVABTA MIHLA RVBG MIHLA

Fig. 60.

Fig. 54.

Fig. 61.

The Knife with the White Hilt.

Fig. 62.

The Knife with the Black Hilt.

Fig. 58.

Fig. 63.

The Scimitar.

Fig. 64.

The Sickle.

Fig. 65.

The Dagger.

Fig. 66.

The Poniard.

Fig. 67.

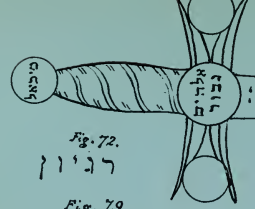
The Short Lance.

Fig. 68.

The Staff.

Fig. 69.

The Wand.



The Magical Sword.

Fig. 70.

Fig. 71.
כרדיא or גבריאל

Fig. 72.
רגיון

Fig. 73.
פנוראים ✝ היאמשין

Fig. 74.
אוריאל

Fig. 75.
סריון

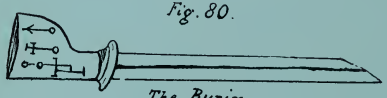
Fig. 76.
גמורין ✝ דבלין

Fig. 77.
דמיאל or רפאל

Fig. 78.
צמטון

Fig. 79.
למדין ✝ ערדים

Fig. 80.



The Burin.

Fig. 82.

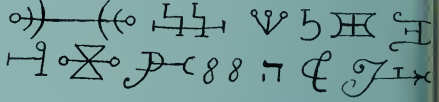


Fig. 83.

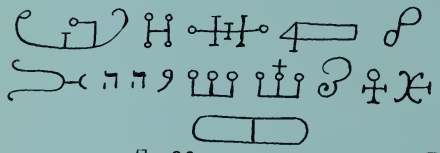


Fig. 84.

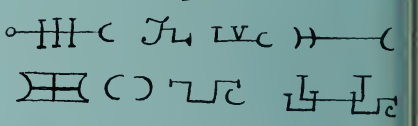


Fig. 85.
יהוה: מטטרון: יה יה יה: קדוש: אלהים צבאות:

Fig. 86.
אנאירשון:

Fig. 87.
אגלא: אדני: אלהי:

Fig. 88.

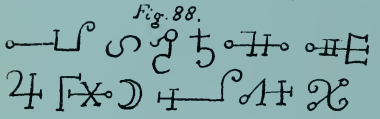


Fig. 91.
אהיה אשר אהיה:

Fig. 92.
אין סוף:

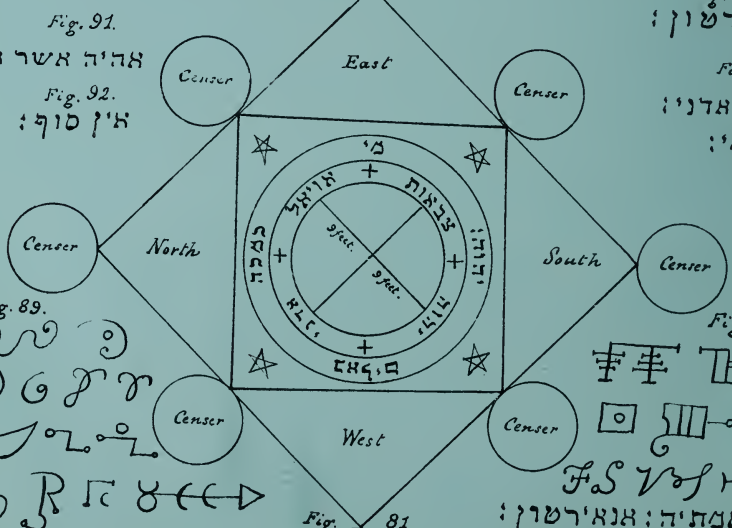


Fig. 89.

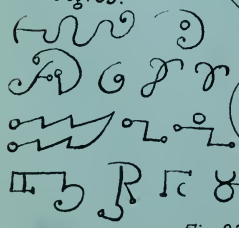
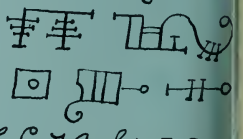


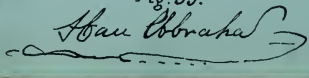
Fig. 90.



אדני: אמתיה: אנאירשון:
פרימותון: אגלא: אין סוף:
קדוש: שמהמפורש:

Fig. 81.

Fig. 93.



The Staff (*see Figure* 68) should be of elderwood, or cane, or rosewood; and the Wand (*Figure* 69) of hazel or nut tree, in all cases the wood being virgin, that is of one year's growth only. They should each be cut from the tree at a single stroke, on the day of Mercury, at sunrise. The characters shown should be written or engraved thereon in the day and hour of Mercury.

This being done, thou shalt say:—

Adonai, Most Holy, deign to bless and to consecrate this Wand, and this Staff, that they may obtain the necessary virtue, through Thee, O Most Holy Adonai, whose kingdom endureth unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

After having perfumed and consecrated them, put them aside in a pure and clean place for use when required.

Swords are also frequently necessary for use in Magical Arts. Thou shalt therefore take a new Sword which thou shalt clean and polish on the day of Mercury, and at the first or the fifteenth hour, and after this thou shalt write on one side these Divine Names in Hebrew, Yod He Vau He, Adonai, Eheieh, Yayai; and on the other side Elohim Gibor (*see Figure* 70); sprinkle and cense it and repeat over it the following conjuration:—

The Conjuration of the Sword.

I conjure thee, O Sword, by these Names, Abrahach, Abrach, Abracadabra, Yod He Vau He, that thou serve me for a strength and defence in all Magical Operations, against all mine Enemies, visible and invisible.

I conjure thee anew by the Holy and Indivisible Name of El strong and wonderful; by the Name Shaddai Almighty; and by these Names Qadosch, Qadosch, Qadosch, Adonai Elohim Tzabaoth, Emanuel, the First and the Last, Wisdom, Way, Life, Truth, Chief, Speech, Word, Splendour, Light, Sun, Fountain, Glory, the Stone of the Wise, Virtue, Shepherd, Priest, Messiach Immortal; by these Names then, and by the other Names, I conjure thee, O Sword, that thou servest me for a Protection in all adversities. Amen.

This being finished thou shalt wrap it also in silk like all the other Instruments, being duly purified and consecrated by the Ceremonies requisite for the perfection of all Magical Arts and Operations.

Three* other Swords should be made for the use of the Disciples.

The first one should have on the pommel the Name Cardiel or Gabriel (*see Figure* 71); on the Lamen of the Guard, Region (*Figure* 72); on the Blade, Panoraim Heamesin (*Figure* 73).

The Second should have on the pommel the Name Auriel (*Figure* 74); on the Lamen of the Guard, Sarion (*Figure* 75); on the Blade, Gamorin Debalin (*Figure* 76).

The third should have on the pommel the Name Damiel or Raphael (*Figure* 77); on the Lamen of the Guard, Yemeton (*Figure* 78); on the Blade, Lamedin Eradim (*Figure* 79).

* The description of these three Swords for the Disciples is only given in 1307 Sloane MSS.

The Burin* (*Figure* 80) or Graver is useful for engraving or incising characters. In the day and hour either of Mars or of Venus thou shalt engrave thereon the characters shown, and having sprinkled and censed it thou shalt repeat over it the following Prayer:—

Prayer.

Asophiel, Asophiel, Asophiel, Pentagrammaton, Athanatos, Eheieh Asher Eheieh, Qadosch, Qadosch, Qadosch; O God Eternal, and my Father, bless this Instrument prepared in Thine honour, so that it may only serve for a good use and end, for Thy Glory. Amen.

Having again perfumed, thou shalt put it aside for use. The Needle may be consecrated in the same way.

* From here to the end of the Chapter is from 1203 Lansdowne MSS.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER IX.

Of* the Formation of the Circle.

HAVING chosen a place for preparing and constructing the Circle, and all things necessary being prepared for the perfection of the Operations, take thou the Sickle or Scimitar of Art and stick it into the centre of the place where the Circle is to be made; then take a cord of nine feet in length, fasten one end thereof unto the Sickle and with the other end trace out the circumference of the Circle, which may be marked either with the Sword or with the Knife with the Black hilt. Then within the Circle mark out four regions, namely, towards the East, West, South, and North, wherein place Symbols; and beyond the limits of this Circle describe with the Consecrated Knife or Sword another Circle, but leaving an open space therein towards the North whereby thou mayest enter and depart beyond the Circle of Art. Beyond this again thou shalt describe another Circle at a foot distance with the aforesaid Instrument, yet ever leaving therein an open space for entrance and egress corresponding to the open space already left in the other. Beyond this again make another Circle at another foot distance, and beyond these two Circles, which are beyond the Circle of Art yet upon the same Centre, thou shalt describe Pentagrams with the Symbols and Names of the Creator therein so that they may surround the Circle already described. Without these Circles shalt thou circumscribe a Square, and beyond that another Square, so that the Angles of the former may touch the centres of the sides of the latter, and that the Angles of the latter may stretch towards the four quarters of the Universe, East, West, North, and South; and at the four Angles of each square, and touching them, thou shalt describe lesser Circles wherein let there be placed standing censers with lighted charcoal and sweet odours.

These things being done, let the Magus of Art† assemble his Disciples, exhort, confirm, and cheer them; lead them into the Circle of Art and station them therein towards the Four Quarters of the Universe, exhort them to fear nothing, and to abide in their assigned places. Furthermore let each of the Companions have a Sword besides the Sword of the Art, which he must hold naked in his hand. Then let the Magus quit the Circle, and Kindle the Censers, and place thereon exorcised Incense, as is said in the Chapter of Fumigations; and let him have the Censer in his hand and kindle it, and then place it in the part prepared. Let him now enter within the Circle and

* This Chapter is only given in 10,862 Add. MSS.

† "Maghus" in MS. not "Magister."

carefully close the openings left in the same, and let him again warn his Disciples, and take the Trumpet of Art prepared as is said in the Chapter concerning the same, and let him incense the Circle towards the Four Quarters of the Universe.

After this let the Magus commence his Incantations, having placed the Sickle, Sword, or other Implement of Art upright in the ground at his feet. Having sounded the trumpet as before taught let him invoke the Spirits, and if need be conjure them, as is said in the First Book, and having attained his desired effect, let him license them to depart.

Here followeth the Form of the Circle (*see Figure* 81), wherein whosoever entereth he shall be at safety as within a fortified Castle, and nothing shall be able to harm him.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER X.

Concerning Incense, Suffumigations, Perfumes, Odours, and similar things which are used in Magical Arts.

THERE are many kinds of Incense, Suffumigations, and Perfumes, which are made for and offered unto the Spirits; those which are of sweet odour are for the good, those which are of evil savour are for the evil.

For perfumes of good odour, take thou, incense, aloes, nutmeg, gum benjamin, musk, and other fragrant spices, over the which thou shalt say:—

THE EXORCISM OF THE INCENSE.

O God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, deign to bless these odoriferous spices so that they may receive strength, virtue, and power to attract the Good Spirits, and to banish and cause to retire all hostile Phantoms. Through Thee, O Most Holy ADONAI, Who livest and reignest unto the Ages of the Ages. Amen.

I exorcise thee, O Spirit impure and unclean, thou who art a hostile Phantom, in the Name of God, that thou quit this Perfume, thou and all thy deceits, that it may be consecrated and sanctified in the name of God Almighty. May the Holy Spirit of God grant protection and virtue unto those who use these Perfumes; and may the hostile and evil Spirit and Phantom never be able to enter therein, through the Ineffable Name of God Almighty. Amen.

O Lord, deign to bless and to sanctify this Creature of Perfume so that it may be a remedy unto mankind for the health of body and of soul, through the Invocation of Thy Holy Name. May all Creatures who receive the odour of this incense and of these spices receive health of body and of soul, through Him Who hath formed the Ages. Amen.

After this thou shalt sprinkle the various Spices with the Water of the Art, and thou shalt place them aside in a piece of silk as in other cases, or in a box destined for the purpose, so that thou mayest have them ready prepared for use when necessary.

When thou wishest to use the incense, thou shalt kindle a fire of fresh charcoal, in earthen vessels newly glazed within and without, and thou shalt kindle fire fresh with flint and steel, and the fire being lighted thou shalt say over it as follows, before putting the Spices thereon:—

THE EXORCISM OF THE FIRE.

I exorcise thee, O Creature of Fire, by Him through Whom all things

have been made, so that every kind of Phantasm may retire from thee, and be unable to harm or deceive in any way, through the Invocation of the Most High Creator of all. Amen.

Bless, O Lord All-Powerful, and All-Merciful, this Creature of Fire, so that being blessed by Thee, it may be for the honour and glory of Thy Most Holy Name, so that it may work no hindrance or evil unto those who use it. Through Thee, O Eternal and Almighty Lord, and through Thy Most Holy Name. Amen.

This being done, thou shalt put the Spices upon the Fire, and make what perfumes and suffumigations thou requirest.

Over Fumigations of evil odour thou shalt say:—

Adonai, Lazai, Dalmai, Aima, Elohi, O Holy Father, grant unto us succour, favour, and grace, by the Invocation of thy Holy Name, so that these things may serve us for aid in all that we wish to perform therewith, that all deceit may quit them, and that they may be blessed and sanctified through Thy Name. Amen.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the Water, and of the Hyssop.

If it be necessary to sprinkle with water anything required in the Art it should be done with a Sprinkler.

Prepare a Censer in the day and hour of Mercury, with the odoriferous Spices of the Art. After this thou shalt take a vessel of brass, of lead varnished within and without, or of earth, which thou shalt fill with most clear spring water, and thou shalt have salt, and say these words over the salt:—

Tzabaoth, Messiach, Emanuel, Elohim Gibor, Yod He Vau He; O God, Who art the Truth and the Life, deign to bless and sanctify this Creature of Salt, to serve unto us for help, protection, and assistance in this Art, experiment, and operation, and may it be a succour unto us.

After this cast the salt into the vessel wherein is the Water, and say the following Psalms: cii.; liv.; vi.; lxvii.

Thou shalt then make unto thyself a Sprinkler of vervain, fennel, lavender, sage, valerian, mint, garden-basil, rosemary, and hyssop, gathered in the day and hour of Mercury, the moon being in her increase. Bind together these herbs with a thread spun by a young maiden, and engrave upon the handle on the one side the characters shown in *Figure* 82, and on the other side those given in *Figure* 83.

After this thou mayest use the Water, using the Sprinkler whenever it is necessary; and know that wheresoever thou shalt sprinkle this Water, it will chase away all Phantoms, and they shall be unable to hinder or annoy any. With this same Water thou shalt make all the preparations of the Art.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the Light, and of the Fire.

It hath been ever the custom among all nations to use fire and light in sacred things. For this reason the Master of the Art should also employ them in sacred rites, and besides those for reading the Conjurations by, and for the incense, in all operations Lights are necessary in the Circle.

For this reason he should make candles of virgin wax in the day and hour of Mercury; the wicks should have been made by a young girl; and the Candles should be made when the moon is in her increase, of the weight of half a pound each, and on them thou shalt engrave these characters with the Dagger, or the Burin of Art. (*See Figure* 84.)

After this thou shalt repeat over the Candles, Psalms cli.; ciii.; cvii., and shalt say:—

O Lord God, Who governest all things by Thine Almighty Power, give unto me, a poor sinner, understanding and knowledge to do only that which is agreeable unto Thee; grant unto me to fear, adore, love, praise, and give thanks unto Thee with true and sincere faith and perfect charity. Grant, O Lord, before I die, and descend into the realms beneath, and before the fiery flame shall devour me, that Thy Grace may not leave me, O Lord of my Soul. Amen.

After this thou shalt add:—

I exorcise thee, O Creature of wax, by Him Who alone hath created all things by His Word, and by the virtue of Him Who is pure truth, that thou cast out from thee every Phantasm, Perversion, and Deceit of the Enemy, and may the Virtue and Power of God enter into thee, so that thou mayest give us light, and chase far from us all fear or terror.

After this thou shalt sprinkle them with the Water of the Art, and incense them with the usual perfumes.

And when thou shalt wish to kindle them thou shalt say:—

I exorcise thee, O Creature of Fire, in the Name of the Sovereign and Eternal Lord, by His Ineffable Name, which is Yod, He, Vau, He; by the Name Iah; and by the Name of Power El; that thou mayest enlighten the heart of all the Spirits which we shall call unto this Circle, so that they may appear before us without fraud and deceit through Him Who hath created all things.

Then thou shalt take a square Lantern, with panes of Crystal glass, and thou shalt fit therein the Candle lighted, to read by, to form the Circle, or any other purpose for which thou shalt require it.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XIII.

Concerning* the Precepts of the Art.

He who hath attained the rank or degree of Exorcist, which we are usually accustomed to call Magus or Master according to grade, whensoever he desireth to undertake any operation, for the nine days immediately preceding the commencement of the work, should put aside from him all uncleanness, and prepare himself in secret during these days, and prepare all the things necessary, and in the space of these days all these should be made, consecrated, and exorcised.

The which being duly completed, let him go on the day and hour of the commencement of the work, unto the place set apart for the same, as hath been said, in the place concerning the formation of the Circle. Let him instruct his Disciples on no cause whatsoever to move from their assigned places. And the Magus should exhort them with a bold and confident voice as follows:—

The Exhortation of the Companions.

Fear ye not, my beloved Companions, seeing that we draw near unto the desired end; therefore, all things being rightly done and the Conjurations and Exorcisms diligently performed, ye shall behold Kings of Kings, and Emperors of Emperors, and other Kings, Princes, and Majesties with them, and a great crowd of followers, together with all sorts of musical instruments, yet nothing should either the Magus or his Disciples fear.

And then let the Magus say:—

I exhort you by these Holy Names of God, Elohim, Adonai, Agla, that none of you now presume to move or cross over from your appointed stations.

This being said, let the Magus and his Disciples uncover the Holy Pentacles and show them towards each quarter, and they being shown in each place, there shall be noises and rushings.

Then shall the Emperor of (the Spirits) say unto you:—From the time of the Great Addus until now, there hath not been an Exorciser who could behold my person, and unless those things† which ye have showed unto us

* This Chapter is only given in 10,862 Add. MSS.

† The Pentacles.

had been made, ye would not now have seen me. But seeing that ye have powerfully called us, as I believe, by the rites derived from Solomon, and which but few of your comrades, or Exorcisers, possess, also they compel us against our will, and I therefore say unto thee that we wish to be obedient in all matters.

Then shall the Magus place the petitions of himself and his companions, which should be written down clearly on virgin card, or paper, beyond the Circle towards the King or Prince of the Spirits, and he will receive it and take counsel with his Chiefs. After this he will return the Card, saying :— That which thou desirest is accomplished, be thy will performed, and all thy demands fulfilled.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the Pen, Ink, and Colours.

All things employed for writing, &c., in this Art, should be prepared in the following manner.

Thou shalt take a male gosling, from which thou shalt pluck the third feather of the right wing, and in plucking it thou shalt say:—

Adrai, Hahlii, Tamaii, Tilonas, Athamas, Zianor, Adonai, banish from this pen all deceit and error, so that it may be of virtue and efficacy to write all that I desire. Amen.

After this thou shalt sharpen it with the penknife of the Art, perfume it, sprinkle it, and place it aside in a silken cloth.

Thou shalt have an Inkstand made of earth or any convenient matter, and in the day and hour of Mercury thou shalt engrave thereon with the Burin of Art these Names:—Yod, He, Vau, He, Metatron, Iah Iah Iah, Qadosch, Elohim Tzabaoth (*see Figure* 85); and in putting the ink therein thou shalt say:—

I exorcise thee, O Creature of Ink, by Anaireton, by Simulator, and by the Name Adonai, and by the Name of Him through Whom all things were made, that thou be unto me an aid and succour in all things which I wish to perform by thine aid.

As it sometimes happeneth that it is necessary to write with some noble colour, it is well to have a new and clean box wherein to keep them. The principal colours will be Yellow or Gold, Red, Celestial or Azure Blue, Green, and Brown; and any other colours that may be requisite. Thou shalt exorcise, perfume, and sprinkle them in the usual manner.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the Pen of the Swallow and of the Crow.

TAKE the feather of a Swallow or of a Crow, and before plucking it thou shalt say :—

May Holy MICHAEL the Archangel of God, and MIDAEL and MIRAEL, the Chiefs and Captains of the Celestial Army, be my aid in the operation I am about to perform, so that I may write herewith all things which are necessary, and that all the experiments which I commence herewith may through you and through your Names be perfected by the power of the Most High Creator. Amen.

After this thou shalt point and complete the pen with the Knife of the Art, and with the pen and ink of the art thou shalt write upon its side the Name, ANAIRETON (*see Figure* 86), and thou shalt say over it the following Psalms: cxxxiii.; cxvii.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the Blood of the Bat, Pigeon, and other Animals.

Take a living Bat and exorcise it thus :—

The Exorcism of the Bat.

Camiach, Eomiahe, Emial, Macbal, Emoii, Zazean, Maiphiat, Zacrath, Tendac, Vulamahi; by these Most Holy Names, and the other Names of Angels which are written in the Book Assamaian,* I conjure thee O Bat (or whatever animal it may be) that thou assist me in this operation, by God the True, God the Holy, the God Who hath created thee, and by Adam, Who hath imposed thy true name upon thee and upon all other animated beings.

After this, take the Needle or other convenient Instrument of Art, as will be said later on, and pierce the bat in the vein which is in the right wing; and collect the blood in a small vessel over the which thou shalt say :—

Almighty Adonai, Arathron, Ashai, Elohim, Elohi, Elion, Asher Eheieh, Shaddai, O God the Lord, immaculate, immutable, Emanuel, Messiach, Yod, He, Vau, He, be my aid, so that this blood may have power and efficacy in all wherein I shall wish, and in all that I shall demand.

Perfume it and keep it for use.

The blood of other winged animals may be taken in the same manner, with the proper solemnities.

* The "Sepher Ha-Shamaiim," or "Book of the Heavens."

Note by Editor.—I cannot too strongly impress on the readers of this volume that the use of blood is more or less connected with Black Magic; and that it should be avoided as much as possible.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of Virgin Parchment, or Virgin Paper, and how it should be prepared.

VIRGIN paper, or card, is that which is new, pure, clean, and exorcised, never having served for any other purpose.

Virgin parchment is necessary in many Magical Operations, and should be properly prepared and consecrated. There are two kinds, one called Virgin, the other Unborn. Virgin parchment is that which is taken from an Animal which hath not attained the age of generation, whether it be ram, or kid, or other animal.

Unborn parchment is taken from an animal which hath been taken before its time from the uterus of its mother.

Take whichsoever of these two classes of animals thou pleasest, provided only that it be male, and in the day and hour of Mercury; and take it to a secret place where no man may see thee at work. Thou shalt have a marsh-reed cut at a single stroke with a new knife, and thou shalt strip from it the leaves, repeating this Conjuration:—

THE CONJURATION OF THE REED.

I conjure thee by the Creator of all things, and by the King of Angels, Whose Name is EL SHADDAI, that thou receivest strength and virtue to flay this animal and to construct the parchment whereon I may write the Holy Names of God, and that it may acquire so great virtue that all which I shall write or do may obtain its effect, through Him who liveth unto the Eternal Ages. Amen.

Before cutting the Reed recite Psalm lxxii.:—

After this, with the Knife of the Art, thou shalt fashion the Reed into the shape of a Knife, and upon it thou shalt write these Names: AGLA, ADONAI, ELOHI (*see Figure* 87), through Whom be the work of this Knife accomplished. Then thou shalt say:—

O God, Who drewest Moses, Thy well-beloved and Thine elect, from among the Reeds on the marshy banks of the Nile, and from the Waters, he being yet but a child, grant unto me through Thy great mercy and compassion that this Reed may receive Power and Virtue to effect that which I desire through Thy Holy Name and the Names of Thy Holy Angels. Amen.

This being done, thou shalt commence with this Knife to flay the Animal, whether it be Virgin or Unborn, saying:—

ZOHAR, ZIO, TALMAÏ, ADONAI, SHADDAI, TETRAGRAMMATON, and ye

Holy Angels of God; be present, and grant power and virtue unto this parchment, and may it be consecrated by you, so that all things which I shall write thereon shall obtain their effect. Amen.

The Animal being flayed, take Salt, and say thus over it:—

God of Gods, and Lord of Lords, Who hast created all things from Negative Existence, deign to bless and sanctify this Salt, so that in placing it upon this parchment which I wish to make, it may have such virtue that whatsoever I may write on it hereafter may attain its desired end. Amen.

Afterwards rub the said parchment with the exorcised salt, and leave it in the Sun, to imbibe this salt for the space of an entire day. Then take a large earthen vessel glazed within and without, round the outside of which thou shalt write the characters in *Figure* 88.

After this thou shalt put powdered lime into the vessel, saying:—

Oroii, Zaron, Zainon, Zevaron, Zahiphil, Elion, be ye present and bless this work so that it may attain the desired effect, through the King of the Heavens, and the God of the Angels. Amen.

Take then exorcised Water and pour it upon the said lime, and place the skin therein for three days, after which thou shalt take it thence, and scrape therefrom the lime and flesh adhering, with the Knife of Reed.

After this thou shalt cut, with a single stroke, a Wand of Hazel, long enough for thee to form a Circle therewith; take also a cord spun by a young maiden, and small stones or pebbles from a brook, pronouncing these words:—

O God Adonai, Holy and Powerful Father, put virtue into these stones, that they may serve to stretch this parchment, and to chase therefrom all fraud, and may it obtain virtue by Thine Almighty Power.

After this, having stretched the said parchment upon the Circle and bound it with the cord and stones, thou shalt say:—

Agla, Yod, He, Vau, He, Iah, Emanuel, bless and preserve this parchment, so that no Phantasm may enter therein.

Let it dry thus for three days in a dark and shady place, then cut the cord with the Knife of Art, and detach the Parchment from the Circle, saying:—

Antor, Ancor, Turlos, Beodonos, Phaiar, Apharcar, be present for a guard unto this Parchment.

Then perfume it, and keep it in silk ready for use.

No woman, if her flowers be upon her, should be permitted to see this parchment; otherwise it will lose its virtue. He who maketh it should be pure, clean, and prepared.

But if the preparation of the aforesaid parchment seemeth too tedious, thou mayest make it in the following manner, but it is not so good.

Take any Parchment, and exorcise it; prepare a censer with perfumes; write upon the parchment the characters in *Figure* 89, hold it over the Incense, and say:—

Be ye present to aid me, and may my operation be acomplished through you; Zazaii, Zalmaii, Dalmaii, Adonai, Anaphaxeton, Cedrion,

Cripon, Prion, Anaireton, Elion, Octinomon, Zevanion, Alazaion, Zideon, Agla, On, Yod He Vau He, Artor, Dinotor, Holy Angels of God; be present and infuse virtue into this Parchment, so that it may obtain such power through you that all Names or Characters thereon written may receive due power, and that all deceit and hindrance may depart therefrom, through God the Lord merciful and gracious, Who liveth and reigneth through all the Ages. Amen.

Then shalt thou recite over the parchment Psalms lxxii.; cxvii.; and cxxxiv.; and the "*Benedicite Omnia Opera.*" Then say:—

I conjure thee, O parchment by all the Holy Names, that thou obtainest efficacy and strength, and becomest exorcised and consecrated, so that none of the things which may be written upon thee shall be effaced from the Book of Truth. Amen.

Then sprinkle it, and keep it as before said.

The Cauls of newly-born children, duly consecrated, may also be used instead of virgin parchment. Also paper, satin, silk, and the like substances, may be employed in operations of less importance if duly exorcised and consecrated.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of Wax and Virgin Earth.

Wax and Virgin Earth are also employed in many Magical Operations, whether to make Images, or Candles, or other things; therefore they should never have been put to any other use. The Earth should be dug up with thine own hands, and reduced to a paste, without touching it with any instrument whatever, so that it be not defiled thereby.

The Wax should be taken from bees which have only made it for the first time, and it should never have been employed for any other purpose; and when thou shalt wish it to avail thyself of the one or the other, thou shalt before commencing the work repeat the following conjuration:—

Conjuration.

Extabor, Hetabor, Sittacibor, Adonai, Onzo, Zomen, Menor, Asmodal, Ascobai, Comatos, Erionas, Profas, Alkomas, Conamas, Papuendos, Osiandos, Espiacent, Damnath, Eheres, Golades, Telantes, Cophi, Zades, ye Angels of God be present, for I invoke ye in my work, so that through you it may find virtue and accomplishment. Amen.

After this repeat Psalms cxxxi.; xv.; cii.; viii.; lxxxiv.; lxviii.; lxxii.; cxxxiii.; cxiii.; cxxvi.; xlvi.; xlvii.; xxii.; li.; cxxx.; cxxxix.; xlix.; cx.; liii.; and say:—

I exorcise thee, O Creature of Wax (or of Earth), that through the Holy Name of God and His Holy Angels thou receive blessing, so that thou mayest be sanctified and blessed, and obtain the virtue which we desire, through the Most Holy Name of Adonai. Amen.

Sprinkle the wax and put it aside for use; but take note that the Earth which should be dug up with thy hands should be prepared every time thou hast need thereof.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XIX.

Concerning the Needle and other Iron Instruments.

THERE are several steel instruments necessary in various Operations, as a Needle to prick or to sew; a Burin, or instrument wherewith to engrave, &c.

Thou shalt make such instruments in the day and hour of Jupiter, and when it is finished thou shalt say:—

I conjure thee, O Instrument of Steel, by God the Father Almighty, by the Virtue of the Heavens, of the Stars, and of the Angels who preside over them; by the virtue of stones, herbs, and animals; by the virtue of hail, snow, and wind; that thou receivest such virtue that thou mayest obtain without deceit the end which I desire in all things wherein I shall use thee; through God the Creator of the Ages, and Emperor of the Angels. Amen.

Afterwards repeat Psalms iii.; ix.; xxxi.; xlii.; lx.; li.; cxxx.

Perfume it with the perfumes of the Art, and sprinkle it with exorcised water, wrap it in silk and say:—

DANI, ZUMECH, AGALMATUROD, GADIEL, PANI, CANELOAS, MEROD, GAMIDOI, BALDOI, METRATOR, Angels most holy, be present for a guard unto this instrument.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XX.

Concerning the Silken Cloth.

When any Instrument of the Art is properly consecrated, it should be wrapped in silk and put away, as we have said.

Take, then, silk of any colour except black or grey, whereon write the words and Characters in *Figure* 90.

Perfume it with incense of good odour, sprinkle it, and recite Psalms lxxxii.; lxxii.; cxxxiv.; lxiv.

After this thou shalt put it aside for seven days with sweet spices; and thou shalt use this silk to wrap all the instruments of the Art.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XXI.

Concerning Characters, and the Consecration of the Magical Book.

WHENSOEVER in any Operation it is necessary to write Characters, and thou fearest that thou wilt fail, do this: Write at the beginning the Name EHEIEH ASHER EHEIEH (*Figure* 91), and at the end the name AIN SOPH (*Figure* 92); between these Names write what thou wishest, and if thou hast anything especial to do bear the said written Names upon the wrapper in silk, and thou shalt say over them:—

Most Wise and Most High Creator of all things, I pray Thee for Thy grace and mercy that Thou mayest grant such virtue and power unto these Holy Names, that Thou mayest keep these characters from all deceit and error, through Thee, O Most Holy ADONAI. Amen.

After having repeated this thou shalt write the requisite Characters, and thou shalt not fail, but shalt attain thy desired end.

THE CONSECRATION OF THE BOOK.*

Make a small Book containing the Prayers for all the Operations, the Names of the Angels in the form of Litanies, their Seals and Characters; the which being done thou shalt consecrate the same unto God and unto the pure Spirits in the manner following:—

Thou shalt set in the destined place a small table covered with a white cloth, whereon thou shalt lay the Book opened at the Great Pentacle which should be drawn on the first leaf of the said Book; and having kindled a lamp which should be suspended above the centre of the table, thou shalt surround the said table with a white curtain; clothe thyself in the proper vestments, and holding the Book open, repeat upon thy knees the following prayer with great humility:—

(For the Prayer beginning "Adonai Elohim," &c., see Book I., Chapter XIV., where it is given in full.)

After which thou shalt incense it with the incense proper to the Planet and the day, and thou shalt replace the Book on the aforesaid Table, taking heed that the fire of the lamp be kept up continually during the operation, and keeping the curtains closed. Repeat the same ceremony for seven days, beginning with Saturday, and perfuming the Book each day with the Incense proper to the Planet ruling the day and hour, and taking heed that the lamp shall burn both day and night; after the which thou shalt shut up the Book in a small drawer under the table, made expressly for it, until thou shalt have

* The rest of this Chapter is from 1203 Lansdowne MSS.

occasion to use it; and every time that thou wishest to use it, clothe thyself with thy vestments, kindle the lamp, and repeat upon thy knees the aforesaid prayer, "Adonai Elohim," &c.

It is necessary also, in the Consecration of the Book, to summon all the Angels whose Names are written therein in the form of Litanies, the which thou shalt do with devotion; and even if the Angels and Spirits appear not in the Consecration of the Book, be not thou astonished thereat, seeing that they are of a pure nature, and consequently have much difficulty in familiarising themselves with men who are inconstant and impure, but the Ceremonies and Characters being correctly carried out devoutedly and with perseverance, they will be constrained to come, and it will at length happen that at thy first invocation thou wilt be able to see and communicate with them. But I advise thee to undertake nothing unclean or impure, for then thy importunity, far from attracting them, will only serve to chase them from thee; and it will be thereafter exceedingly difficult for thee to attract them for use for pure ends.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER XXII.

Concerning Sacrifices to the Spirits, and how they should be made.

In many operations it is necessary to make some sort of sacrifice unto the Demons, and in various ways. Sometimes white animals are sacrificed to the good Spirits and black to the evil. Such sacrifices consist of the blood and sometimes of the flesh.

They who sacrifice animals, of whatsoever kind they be, should select those which are virgin, as being more agreeable unto the Spirits, and rendering them more obedient.

When blood is to be sacrificed it should be drawn also from virgin quadrupeds or birds, but before offering the oblation, say :—

May this Sacrifice which we find it proper to offer unto ye, noble and lofty Beings, be agreeable and pleasing unto your desires; be ye ready to obey us, and ye shall receive greater ones.

Then perfume and sprinkle it according to the rules of Art.

When it is necessary, with all the proper Ceremonies, to make Sacrifices of fire, they should be made of wood which hath some quality referring especially unto the Spirits invoked; as juniper of pine unto the Spirits of Saturn; box, or oak, unto those of Jupiter; cornel, or cedar, unto those of Mars; laurel unto those of the Sun; myrtle unto those of Venus; hazel unto those of Mercury; and willow unto those of the Moon.

But when we make sacrifices of food and drink, everything necessary should be prepared without the circle, and the meats should be covered with some fine clean cloth, and have also a clean white cloth spread beneath them; with new bread and good and sparkling wine, but in all things those which refer to the nature of the Planet. Animals, such as fowls or pigeons, should be roasted. Especially shouldest thou have a vessel of clear and pure fountain water, and before thou enterest into the Circle, thou shalt summon the Spirits by their proper Names, or at least those chief among them, saying :—

In whatsoever place ye may be, ye Spirits, who are invited to this feast, come ye and be ready to receive our offerings, presents, and sacrifices, and ye shall have hereafter yet more agreeable oblations.

Perfume the viands with sweet incense, and sprinkle them with exorcised water; then commence to conjure the Spirits until they shall come.

This is the manner of making sacrifices in all arts and operations wherein it is necessary, and acting thus, the Spirits will be prompt to serve thee.

Here endeth our Key, the which if thou thoroughly instillest into thy memory, thou shalt be able, if it pleaseth thee, even to fly with the wings of the wind. But if thou takest little heed hereof, and despiseth this Book, never shalt thou attain unto the desired end in any Magical experiment or operation whatsoever.

For in this Book is comprised all science of Magical Art, and it should be strictly kept by thee. And hereunto is the end of our Key, in the Name of God the righteous, the merciful, and the eternal, Who liveth and reigneth throughout the Ages. Amen.

THE END OF THE KEY OF SOLOMON THE KING.

ANCIENT FRAGMENT OF THE KEY OF SOLOMON,

TRANSLATED FROM THE HEBREW BY ELIPHAZ LEVI; *and given in his "Philosophe Occulte."—Serie II., page* 136.

I will now give unto thee the Key of the Kingdom of the Spirits.

This Key is the same as that of the Mysterious Numbers of Yetzirah.*

The Spirits are governed by the natural and universal Hierarchy of things.

Three command Three through the medium of Three.

There are the Spirits of Above, those of Below, and those of the Centre; then if thou invertest the Sacred Ladder, if thou descendest instead of ascending, thou wilt discover the Counter-Hierarchy of the Shells, or of the Dead Spirits.

Know thou only that the Principalities of Heaven, the Virtues, and the Powers, are not Persons, but dignities.

They are the Degrees of the Sacred Ladder upon which the Spirits ascend and descend.

Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and the others, are not Names but Titles.

The First of the Numbers is the Unity.

The First of the Divine Conceptions called the *Sephiroth* is Kether or the Crown.

The First Category of the Spirits is that of Chaioth Ha-Qadesh or the Intelligences of the Divine Tetragram, whose Letters are symbolised by the Mysterious Animals in the Prophecy of Ezekiel.

Their empire is that of unity and synthesis. They correspond to the Intelligence.

They have for adversaries the *Thamiel* or Double-Headed Ones, the Demons of revolt and of anarchy, whose two Chiefs, ever at War with each other, are *Satan* and *Moloch*.

The Second Number is two; the second Sephira is Chokmah or Wisdom.

The Spirits of Wisdom are the Auphanim, a Name which signifieth the Wheels, because all acts in Heaven like immense Wheels spangled with Stars. Their Empire is that of Harmony. They correspond to the Reason.

They have for Adversaries the *Chaigidel*, or the Shells which attach themselves to Material and Lying Appearances. Their Chief, or rather their

* The "Sepher Yetzirah," or "Book of Formation," one of the most ancient Books of the Qabalah.

Guide, for Evil Spirits obey no one, is *Beelzebub*, whose Name signifieth the God of Flies, because Flies haunt putrefying corpses.

The third Number is three. The third Sephira is Binah or Understanding.

The Spirits of Binah are Aralim, or the Strong. Their empire is the creation of ideas; they correspond to activity and energy of thought.

They have for adversaries the *Satariel*, or concealers, the Demons of absurdity, of intellectual inertia, and of Mystery. The Chief of the *Satariel* is *Lucifuge*, called falsely and by anti-phrase *Lucifer* (as the Eumenides, who are the Furies, are called in Greek the Gracious Ones).

The fourth Number is four. The fourth Sephira is Gedulah or Chesed, Magnificence or Mercy.

The Spirits of Gedulah are the Chaschmalim, or the Lucid Ones. Their empire is that of beneficence; they correspond to the imagination.

They have for adversaries the *Gamchicoth* or the Disturbers of Souls. The Chief or Guide of these Demons is *Ashtaroth* or *Astarte*, the impure Venus of the Syrians, whom they represent with the head of an ass or of a bull, and the breasts of a woman.

The fifth Number is five. The fifth Sephira is Geburah or Justice.

The Spirits of Geburah are the Seraphim, or the Spirits burning with zeal. Their empire is that of the chastisement of crimes. They correspond to the faculty of comparing and of choosing.

They have for adversaries the *Golab* or incendiaries, Genii of wrath and sedition, whose Chief is *Asmodeus*, whom they call also Samael the Black.

The sixth Number is six. The sixth Sephira is Tiphereth the Supreme Beauty.

The Spirits of Tiphereth are the Malachim, or the Kings. Their empire is that of the Universal Harmony. They correspond to the judgment.

They have for adversaries the *Tagaririm*, or Disputers, whose Chief is *Belphegor*.

The seventh Number is seven. The seventh Sephira is Netzach, or Victory.

The Spirits of Netzach are the Elohim or the Gods, that is to say the representatives of God. Their empire is that of progress and of life; they correspond to the *Sensorium* or to sensibility.

They have for adversaries the *Harab-Serapel*, or the Ravens of Death, whose Chief is Baal.

The eighth Number is eight. The eighth Sephira is Hod or eternal order.

The Spirits of Hod are the Beni-Elohim or Sons of the Gods. Their empire is that of order; they correspond to the inner sense.

They have for adversaries the *Samael* or jugglers, whose Chief is *Adramelech*.

The ninth Number is nine. The ninth Sephira is Yesod, or the fundamental principle.

The Spirits of Yesod are the Cherubim or Angels, those powers which

fecundate the earth, and which are represented in Hebrew symbolism under the form of bulls. Their empire is that of fecundity. They correspond to true ideas.

They have for adversaries the *Gamaliel* or obscene, whose Queen is *Lilith* the Demon of debaucheries.

The tenth Number is ten. The tenth Sephira is Malkuth, or the kingdom of Forms.

The Spirits of Malkuth are the Ischim, or the virile ones; they are the souls of the Saints whose Chief is Moses. (Let us not forget that it is Solomon who speaks.—Eliphaz Lévi.)

They have for adversaries the wicked ones who obey *Nahema*, the Demon of Impurity.

The wicked are symbolised by the five accursed nations whom Joshua was to destroy.

Joshua, or Jehoshua the Saviour, is a symbol of the Messiach.

His Name is composed of the letters of the Divine Tetragram changed into the Pentagram by the addition of the Letter Schin (*see Figure* 94).

Each letter of this Pentagram represents a power of good attacked by the five accursed nations.

For the real history of the people of God is the allegorical legend of Humanity.

The five accursed nations are:—

1. The Amalekites or Aggressors;
2. The Geburim or Violent Ones;
3. The Raphaim or Cowards;
4. The Nephilim or Voluptuous Ones;
5. The Anakim or Anarchists.

The Anarchists are vanquished by the Yod, which is the Sceptre of the Father.

The Violent are vanquished by the Hé, which is the Gentleness of the Mother.

The Cowards are vanquished by the Vau, which is the Sword of Michael, and Generation by travail and pain.

The Voluptuous are vanquished by the second Hé, which is the painful bringing forth of the Mother.

Lastly, the Aggressors are vanquished by the Schin, which is the Fire of the Lord and the equilibrating Law of Justice.

The Princes of the Perverse Spirits are the False Gods whom they adore.

Hell has then no other government than that fatal law which punishes perversity and corrects error, for the false Gods only exist in the false opinion of their adorers.

Baal, Belphegor, Moloch, Adramelech, have been the idols of the Syrians; idols without soul, idols now destroyed, and of whom the Name alone remaineth.

The True God hath vanquished all the Demons as Truth triumphs over Error. That is past in the opinions of men, and the Wars of Michael against Satan are the symbols of movement, and of the progress of Spirits.

The Devil is ever a God of refusal.

Accredited idolatries are religions in their time.

Superannuated idolatries are Superstitions and Sacrileges.

The Pantheon of Phantoms, which are then in vogue, is the Heaven of the Ignorant.

The Receptacle of Phantoms, whom Folly even wisheth for no longer, is the Hell.

But all this existeth only in the Imagination of the Vulgar.

For the Wise, Heaven is the Supreme Reason, and Hell is Folly.

But it must be understood that we here employ the word Heaven in the Mystical sense which we give it in opposing to it the word Hell.

In order to evoke Phantoms it is sufficient to intoxicate oneself or to render oneself mad; for Phantoms are ever the companions of drunkenness and of vertigo.

The Phosphorus of the imagination, abandoned to all the caprices of over-excited and diseased nerves, fills itself with Monsters and absurd visions.

We can also arrive at hallucination by mingling together wakefulness and sleep by the graduated use of narcotics; but such actions are crimes against nature.

Wisdom chaseth away Phantoms, and enables us to communicate with the Superior Spirits by the contemplation of the Laws of Nature and the study of the Holy Numbers.

(Here King Solomon addresseth himself to his son, Roboam):—

Do thou, O my son Roboam, remember, that the Fear of Adonai is only the beginning of Wisdom.

Keep and preserve those who have not Understanding in the Fear of Adonai, which will give and will preserve unto thee my crown.

But learn to triumph thyself over Fear by Wisdom, and the Spirits will descend from Heaven to serve thee.

I, Solomon, thy father, King of Israel and of Palmyra, I have sought out and obtained in my lot the Holy Chokmah, which is the Wisdom of Adonai.

And I have become King of the Spirits as well of Heaven as of Earth, Master of the Dwellers of the Air, and of the Living Souls of the Sea, because I was in possession of the Key of the Hidden Gates of Light.

I have done great things by the virtue of the Schema Hamphorasch, and by the Thirty-two Paths of Yetzirah.

Number, weight, and measure determine the form of things; the substance is one, and God createth it eternally.

Happy is he who comprehendeth the Letters and the Numbers.

The Letters are from the Numbers, and the Numbers from the Ideas, and the Ideas from the Forces, and the Forces from the Elohim. The Synthesis of the Elohim is the Schema.

The Schema is one, its columns are two, its power is three, its form is

four, its reflection giveth eight, which multiplied by three giveth unto thee the twenty-four Thrones of Wisdom.

Upon each Throne reposeth a Crown with three Rays, each Ray beareth a Name, each Name is an Absolute Idea. There are Seventy-Two Names upon the Twenty-four Crowns of the Schema.

Thou shalt write these Names upon Thirty-Six Talismans, two upon each Talisman, one on each side.

Thou shalt divide these Talismans into four series of nine each, according to the number of the Letters of the Schema.

Upon the first Series thou shalt engrave the Letter Yod, symbolised by the Flowering Rod of Aaron.

Upon the Second the Letter Hé, symbolised by the Cup of Joseph.

Upon the third the Letter Vau, symbolised by the Sword of David my father.

And upon the fourth the Hé final, symbolised by the Shekel of Gold.

These thirty-six Talismans will be a Book which will contain all the Secrets of Nature. And by their diverse combinations thou shalt make the Genii and Angels speak.

(HERE ENDETH THE FRAGMENT OF THE KEY OF SOLOMON.)

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א	ס									*Aleph*	*Samekh*	*a'*	*s*
ב	ע									*Beth*	*Ayin*	*b* *bh* *v*	*o* *aa* *ng*
ג	פ									*Gimel*	*Pé'*	*g* *gh*	*p* *ph*
ד	צ									*Daleth*	*Tzaddi*	*d* *dh* *th*	*tz*
ה	ק									*Hé'*	*Qoph*	*h*	*q* *qh*
ו	ר									*Vau*	*Resh*	*v* *u* *o*	*r*
ז	ש									*Zaïn*	*Schin*	*z*	*s* *sh*
ח	ת									*Cheth*	*Tau*	*ch* *guttural*	*t* *th*
ט	*Finals.*									*Teth*		*t*	
י							*Another form of Samekh*			*Yod*	*Final Kaph*	*i* *y*	*k*
כ										*Kaph*	*Final Mem*	*k* *kh*	*m*
ל										*Lamed*	*Final Nun*	*l*	*n*
מ										*Mem*	*Final Pé'*	*m*	*p*
נ										*Nun*	*Final Tzaddi*	*n*	*tz*

THE QABALISTICAL INVOCATION OF SOLOMON.

Given by Eliphaz Lévi in "Rituel de la Haute Magie," Chapter xiii.

Powers of the Kingdom, be beneath my left foot, and within my right hand.

Glory and Eternity touch my shoulders, and guide me in the Paths of Victory.

Mercy and Justice be ye the Equilibrium and splendour of my life.

Understanding and Wisdom give unto me the Crown.

Spirits of Malkuth conduct me between the two columns whereon is supported the whole edifice of the Temple.

Angels of Netzach and of Hod strengthen me upon the Cubical Stone of Yesod.

O Gedulahel! O Geburahel! O Tiphereth!

Binahel, be Thou my Love!

Ruach Chokmahel, be Thou my Light!

Be that which Thou art, and that which Thou willest to be, O Ketheriel!

Ishim, assist me in the Name of Shaddai.

Cherubim, be my strength in the Name of Adonai.

Beni Elohim, be ye my brethren in the Name of the Son, and by the virtues of Tzabaoth.

Elohim, fight for me in the Name of Tetragrammaton.

Malachim, protect me in the Name of Yod He Vau He.

Seraphim, purify my love in the Name of Eloah.

Chaschmalim, enlighten me with the splendours of Elohi, and of Schechinah

Aralim, act ye; *Auphanim*, revolve and shine.

Chaioth Ha-Qadosch, cry aloud, speak, roar, and groan; Qadosch, Qadosch, Qadosch, Shaddai, Adonai, Yod Chavah, Eheieh Asher Eheieh!

Halelu-Yah! Halelu-Yah! Halelu-Yah. Amen.

THE END.

DIRECTIONS TO BINDER.

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or

The Sworne Booke of Honorius

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INTRODUCTION:

Liber Juratus is one of the oldest and most influential texts of Medieval magic. The almost legendary reputation of this work led to the forgery of the so-called *Grimoire of Pope Honorius*, a ridiculous work so despised by Eliphas Levi and A. E. Waite.

According to Lynn Thorndike, *Magic and Experimental Science II*, 281 ff, it is also known as *Liber Sacer* or *Liber Sacratus* by which name it is mentioned at least twice in the thirteenth century.

Editions

Latin. A critical edition of the Latin text has recently been published by Gösta Hedegård: *LIBER IURATUS HONORII -- A Critical Edition of the Latin Version of the Sworn Book of Honorius* (Stockholm : Almovist & Wiksell International, 2002)

English The only attempt at publishing any significant portion of the English translation was Daniel Driscoll's *The Sworn Book of Honourius* (sic) *the Magician*, Heptangle Books, 1977. Unfortunately, Driscoll did not make use of the best manuscripts, omitted large portions, misread and misplaced angelic names and words from the prayers, and otherwise took serious liberties with the text. It is however a fine example of the book publisher's craft, and has become a valuable collectable.

Manuscripts

The *Sworne Book* is represented in several manuscripts including the following found in the British Museum:

- Royal MS 17Axlii (Latin and English, dated mid-sixteenth century because of borrowing from Agrippa not found in the older manuscripts). 82 folios. The title in the catalog reads 'The Sworne Booke of Honoryus':
- 'THE SWORNE BOOKE' of 'Honoryus' (see f. 4 b,
- 11. 3, 6): a translation of a book of magic, entitled (see
- Sloane MS. 3854, f. 138 b) 'Liber de vita anime racionalis,
- qui liber sacer uel liber angelorum vel liber iuratus
- nuncupatur, quem fecit Honorius magister Thebarum',
- purporting to be compiled by Honorius filius

- Euclidis as the result of a conference of 89 magistri from
- Naples, Athens, and Toledo, convened by the authority
- of the Pope and cardinals (cf. also Sloane MSS. 313,
- f. 1, 3885, f. 58). Beg. 'When wycked sprites ware
- gathered together'.
- On f. 82 is a charm, in a 16th cent. band, on the word, 'Calendant'
- against ague.
- Vellum; ff. 82. 7 1/2 in. x 5 1/2 in. XV cent. Gatherings of 4 leaves
- (viii5, xiv6, xv10, xix2). Sec, fol. 'and ye cause'. Pen-drawings of
- angels and spirits and marginal floral ornament, usually coloured,
- sometimes in gold; chapter-headings in red, blue, or green. On the
- fly-leaf (f. 1) are some late 16th cent. pen-drawings with the initials
- R. T. This MS. and the next two are bound together.
- Sloane MS 313 (late fourteenth or early fifteenth century). This manuscript is known to have been in the collection of John Dee, and contains marginal notes in his handwriting. The title in the catalog reads simply "Tract on Magic.", or "Salomonis opus sacrum ab Honorio ordinatum, tractatus de arte magica"
- Sloane 3826 (fol. 58-83) 16th century. Excerpts from LJ. The catalog of angels found in Royal MS 17Axlii also has parallels in Sloane 3826.
- Sloane 3849 (art. 7) Excerpts from LJ.
- Sloane 3853 fol 163f: Catalogued as 'The Divine Seal of Solomon', this manuscript actually contains large portions of the *Sworn Book*. Mid 16th century, also with excerpts from Agrippa (with citations). English and Latin.
- Sloane 3854: (art. 9, fol 117-144) 14th century. "Honorii Magistri Thebarum liber cui titulus 'Juratus.'" or "Liber Juratus, vel liber de vita Animæ rationalis Qui Liber Sacer, vel Liber Angelorum nuncupatur quem fecit Honorius Magister Thebarum," etc.
- Sloane 3883: (fols. 1-25) 17th century. "De modo ministrandi sacrum" (revealed to Solomon by an angel)
- Sloane 3885: (fols. 1-25) 17th century. "Liber sacer Salomonis," repeated at fold 96v-125; (fols. 58-96) "Tractatus de re magica ab Honorio filio Euclidis magistro Thebarum ex septem voluminibus artis magicae compilatus, et intitulatus Liber sacer, sive juratus.", or "Opera Salomonis ab Honorio ordinata" (cursive script).

Of these, Sloane 3854 is the most reliable, complete, and readable.

The following text is from the Royal MS (abbreviated R) with variant readings from Sl.3885 (abbreviated S), Sl.3854 (designated S2), and Sl.3853 (designated S3).

All of the manuscripts seem to be missing some text, as shown by internal references to material not actually to be found. One example is the reference to the seals of angels. To make up for these evident deficiencies, the Royal manuscript seems to have inserted some additional text not found in the other manuscripts, namely the information on angels and incenses, most of which is taken from Agrippa and De Abano. It is also missing some text found in the other manuscripts.

Variants are of some interest. Note the recurring sound changes: "i" (R manuscript) becomes "g" (S manuscript), e.g. "ienomos" [R] = "genomos" [S], ..iel [r] = ..ihel [S], e.g. "kariel" [r] = "karihel" [S]; also frequent interchange of y to i and i to y; ..am [r] = ..um [S], e.g. "lemeliham" [r] = "lemelihum" [S]. possible evidence of mss tradition in some other script [Hebrew or Greek?] or oral tradition.

The diagram of the Sigillum Dei Aemeth is taken from Sloane 313. This is very close to the (although considerably corrupted) version shown in Athanasius Kircher in his monumental work *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1562). The drawing of the sigil does not occur in Royal, Sloane 3854, or Sl.3885. The version in Sloane 3853 (reproduced in C.J.S. Thompson, *The Mysteries and Secrets of Magic*, New York, 1973, pg. 186, but without identifying the source) is somewhat different. The drawing, with interesting differences, also appears in an Italian manuscript of the *Key of Solomon* in the Bodleian Library, MS. Mich. 276.

John Dee, in his Mystical Experiments, was originally told to use a version found in one of his books. Dee consulted several sources, and consulted the angels to resolve the discrepancies. This prompted them to detail an almost totally new version of the Sigil. One of Dee's sources was apparently Sl.313. Roberts and Watson, in their 1990 *John Dee's Library Catalogue*, pg. 168, identify Sloane 313 as being one of Dee's manuscripts. They give it catalog number DM70, and note, "On fol.9 (originally the first leaf, fol.1-8 having been misbound) is [Dee's ladder symbol] and, very faint, 'Fragmentum Magicum', which may be in Dee's hand. At the foot is 'Sum Ben: Jonsonij liber'."

Note also that the section 'On the composition of the Divine Seal' also occurs in the Hebrew version of the Key of Solomon (fol. 3b-5b).

Also of interest are the 'scribal doodlings' on the first folio of the Royal MS (as well as other illuminations and drawings of angels later in the MS -- which I hope to add at a later time) which are very reminiscent of the mysterious *Voynich Manuscript*, which also went through the hands of Kircher.

Note too that the Orations found in *Liber Juratus* parallel (and are probably derived from) those found in the Ars Notoria, for example:

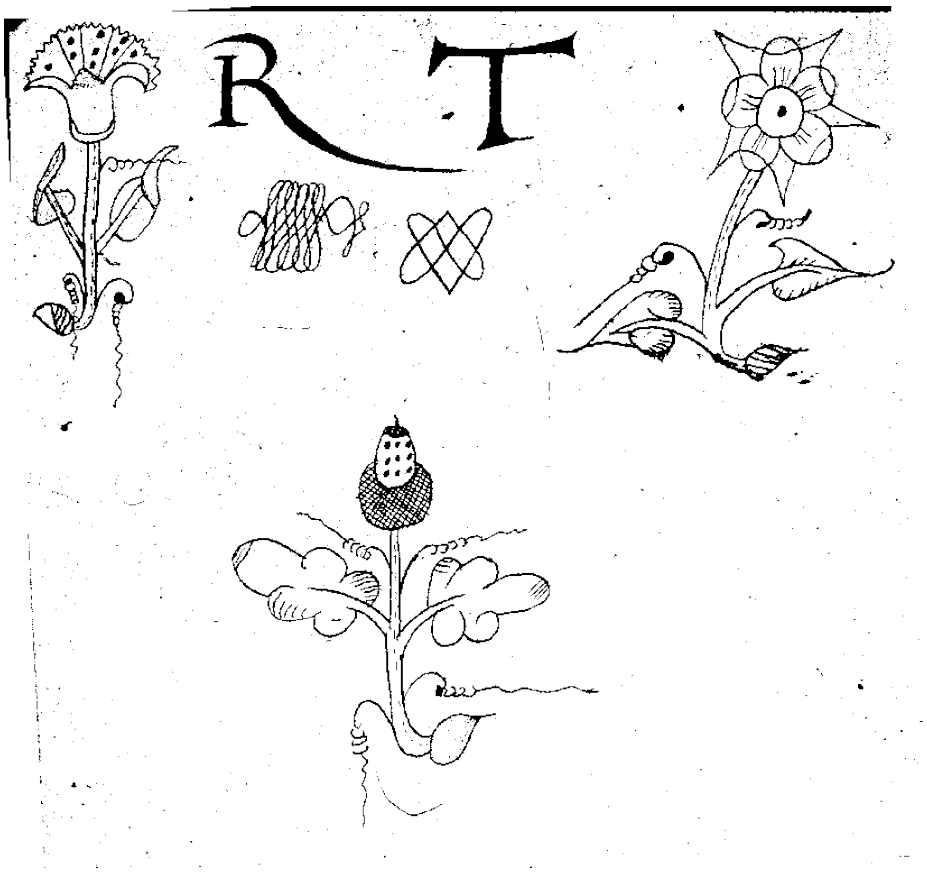
Liber Juratus: [Oratio 17, Royal, fol. 37v]	**Ars Notoria: The oration of the physical art**
O Jesu the sonne of the incomprhensible god **hancor hanacor hamylos [or hanylos] iehorna theodonos helyothos [heliotheos] phagor corphandonos norizaue corithico hanosae helsezope phagora**. **Eleminator candones helos helee resphaga thephagayn thetendyn thahonos micemya [S2: uicemya] hehor tahonas [heortahonos] nelos [uelos] behebos belhores hacaphagan belehothol**	IHesus fili Dominus Incomprehensibilis: Ancor, Anacor, Anylos, Zohorna, Theodonos, hely otes Phagor, Norizane, Corichito, Anosae, Helse Tonope, Phagora. *Another part of the same oration.* Elleminator, Candones helosi, Tephagain, Tecendum, Thaones, Behelos, Belhoros, Hocho Phagan, Corphandonos, Humanae

ortophagon corphandonos borne in the shape of a man for us sinners and yow holy angells **heliothos phagnora** herken and teche me and gouerne me (*hic dic petitionem tuam sed p visione diuina dic ut sequitr.*) that i may come to obtayne the visyon of the deyte thorow the glorious and moste gentle and moste almighte creator oure lyuyng lorde holy infinite godely and euerlastinge to whome be prayse honor and glorye worlde withowt ende. amen.	natus & vos Eloytus Phugora: Be present ye holy angels, advertise and teach me, whether such a one shall recover, or dye of this infirmity.

[Liber Juratus

or

The Sworne Booke of Honorius]



[1r] when wycked sprites ware gathered to **[I. Prologue]**

gether intending to sende devills in to the hartts off men to the entente thay wolde dystroy all thinges profytable ffor mankynde and to corrupte all the whole worlde even to the uttermost off there powr sowing ipocrysye and envy and rooting bysshops and prelates in pryde even the pope him selfe and his cardenalles which gathering them selves to gether sayde won to another as here folowethe */*/*/*/*/*/*

When wicked spirits were gathered together, intending to send devils into the hearts of men, to the intent they would destroy all things profitable for mankind, and to corrupt all the whole world, even to the uttermost of their power, sowing hypocrise and envy, and rooting bishops and prelates in pride, even the pope himself and his cardinals, which gathering themselves together said one to another as here follows:

the helth which the lorde hathe gevin his people is now through magecke and negromancy turned in to the damnacyon of all people, for even the magyans them selves being intoxycated and blynded by the devill, and contrary to the order of christes churche and transgressing the commandement of god, which dothe saye thow shalte not tempe the lorde thy god, but him only shalte yu serve,

The health which the Lord has given his people is now through magic and negromancy turned into the damnation of all people. For even the magians themselves, being intoxicated and blinded by the devil, and contrary to the order of Christ's Church, and transgressing the commandment of God, which says, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, but him only shalt thou serve"

but these negromancers or magyans denying the sacryfyce dew unto god and inn tempting him hathe donne sacryfyce unto devills and abused his name in calling of them contrary to the profession made at there baptin, [1v] for there it is sayd: for sake the devill and all his pompes, but thes magyans and negromancers dothe nott follow only the pompes and workes of sathan but hathe also brought all people through there mervelus ellusyons in to ye errors drowing the ignorant and suche lyke in to the damnasyon bothe of sowle and body, and they thinkinge this for no other purpose but that by this they shulde destroye all other scyences,

But these negromancers or magians, denying the sacrifice due to God, and in tempting him have done sacrifice to devils, and abused His Name in calling of them, contrary to the profession made at there baptism, for there it is said, "Forsake the devil and all his pomps." But these magians and negromancers do not follow only the pomps and works of Satan, but have also brought all people through their marvellous illusions into the errors, drawing the ignorant and such like into the damnation both of soul and body, and they thinking this for no other purpose but that by this they should destroy all other sciences.

it is thought rite therfore to plucke up and utterly to dystroy this dedly roote and all the followers of this arte, but they throughe the instygasyon off the devill and being moved wt envy and covetusnes under the simylytude of truthe they did publyshe and spred abrode ye falshed speking false and unlykely things, for it is nott possible yt a wiched and unclen man shulde work trwly in this arte, for men are not

It is thought right therefore to pluck up and utterly to destroy this deadly root, and all the followers of this art, but they through the instigation of the devil, and being moved with envy and covetousnes under the similitude of truth, they did publish and spread abroad the falsehood, speaking false and unlikely things. For it is not possible that a wicked and unclean

bownde unto sprites, but the sprites are constrayned agaynst yr wills to answere men yt be clensed or clene, and to fulfill there requestes, yet agaynst all yos willes we have gone abowt to set forrthe the princyples of this arte [2r] and ye cause of truthe, and for that cause thay had condemned this arte and judged hus to dethe.

man should work truely in this art, for men are not bound to spirits, but the spirits are constrained against their wills to answer men that are cleansed or clean, and to fulfill their requests. Yet against all those wills we have gone about to set forth the principles of this art, and the cause of truth, and for that cause thay had condemned this art and judged us to death.

we therfore throughe godes sufferance having a fore knoledge of that judgement knowing also yt by it shulde folow miche mischefe and yt it was impossible to us to scape the handes of the people by owre owne strengthe wt owt the helpe of sprites dowting yt a greter danger would folow upon it, for the wicked power of the sprites att owre commandement wolde have destroyed them all utterly in on,

We therefore, through God's sufferance, having a foreknowledge of that judgement, knowing also that by it should follow much mischief, and that it was impossible to us to escape the hands of the people by our own strength without the help of spirits, doubting [i.e. fearing] that a greater danger would follow upon it, for the wicked power of the spirits at our command could have destroyed them [i.e. those who condemned us] all utterly at once.

wherfore we called on generall counsell off all the masters in the which counsell of *811* masters which camme owte of naples athence and tholetus we dyd chuse on whose name was honorius the sonne of eucludus master of the thebares in the which cytye this art was redd yt he shulde worke for us in this sayde arte, and he throughe the counsell of a certayne angell whose name was hocroel dyd wryte *7* volumes of arte magicke, geving unto hus the kernel and unto others the shalles owt of the which bookes he druu owt *93* chapiters in the which is bryffely contayned [2v] the effecte off this arte, off the which, chapters he made a booke which we doo call the sacred or sworne booke for this cause, for in it is contayned ye *100* sacred names of god and therfor it is callyd sacred as ye would saye made of holy thinges, or elles be cause by this booke he came to the knowledge of sacred or holy things, or elles be cause it was consecrated of angells, or elles be cause the angell hocroell did declare and show unto him yt it was consecrated of god,

Wherefore, we called a general council of all the masters. And out of the which council of 811 masters which came out of Naples, Athens, and Toledo, we did choose one whose name was Honorius, the son of Euclid, master of the Thebians, in the which city this art was read, that he should work for us in this said art. And he through the council of a certain angel whose name was Hocroel, did write seven volumes of art magic, giving to us the kernel, and to others the shells. Out of the which books he drew out 93 chapters, in the which is briefly contained the effect of this art, of the which chapters he made a book which we do call *The Sacred or Sworn Book* for this cause, for in it is contained the 100 sacred names of God, and therefor it is called sacred, as you would say "made of holy things," or else because by this book he came to the knowledge of sacred or holy things, or else because it was consecrated by angels, or else because the angel Hocroel did declare and show him that it was consecrated of God.

then they princes & prelates being pacefyed wt burning of certen fables or tryffles, thought

[The oath]

verely this arte had bin utterly destroyed, and therfore we being somwhate moved made this othe amounge oure selves, first yt this book shulde be delyveryd to no man untyll suche tyme as the master of the arte were in jeoberdye of dethe and yt it shulde be copyed but unto *3* att the most, and yt it shulde be delyveryd to no woman nor to any man excepte he were off lawfull aghe which shulde also be both godely and faythfull whose godely behaver had bin tryed by the space of a whole yere, and yt this booke shulde no more here after [3r] be destroyed, but yt it shulde be restored agayne to ye honore or to his successors, and yf there cane nott be founde an able and a sufficyent man to whome this booke nighte be delyveryd, yt then the master bynde his executors by a stronge othe to bury it withe him in his grave, or ells he shall him selfe whyle he liveth bury it him selfe, in some place honestely and clenly, and newer affter to revele the place by any curcumstances to any creature, and yf the master shall have nide of any scollers or will prove then any man of wayes yt for to fulfyll his commaundenentes yff nide be they shall even suffer dethe rather then they will declare ayther the sayinges or doinges of there master, or yt he knoweth any suche thinges, nor declare any suche thing by any man of surcumstances. and lyke as a father dothe cause on of his sonnes to love another, even so doth the master unytte and kintt together his discyples or schollers in concorde and love so yt alwayes the on shall helpe to bayre the others burthen, nor on shall nott revele the secretes of a nother, but they shall be faythfull off on mynde and concorde, and he yt [3v] he shall trewly performe observe and kepe every artycle off his othe and for this cause this is calyd the sworne booke: (*ffinis prologu */*/*/*/*/*

Then the princes and prelates being pacified with burning of certain fables or trifles, thought verily that this art had been utterly destroyed, and therefore we being somewhat moved, made this oath among ourselves:

- First, that this book should be delivered to no man until such time as the master of the art were in jeopardy of death, and
- That it should be copied but to three at the most, and
- That it should be delivered to no woman, nor to any man except he were of lawful age, and he should also be both Godly and faithful, whose Godly behavior had been tried for the space of a whole year, and
- That this book should no more hereafter be destroyed, but that it should be restored again to the honor, or to his successors, and
- If there cannot be found an able and a sufficient man to whom this booke might be delivered, that then the master bind his executors by a strong oath to bury it with him in his grave, or else he shall himself while he lives bury it himself in some place honestly and cleanly, and never after to reveal the place by any circumstances to any creature, and
- If the master shall have nide of any scholars or will prove then any man of ways that for to fulfill his commandments if need be, they shall even suffer death rather than they will declare either the sayings or doings of their master, or that he knows any such things, nor declares any such thing by any man of circumstances. And like as a father causes one of his sons to love another, even so does the master unite and knit together

his disciples or scholars in concord and love, so that always the one shall help to bear the others burden, nor one shall not reveal the secrets of another, but they shall be faithful of one mind and concord, and he that he shall truely perform, observe, and keep every article of his oath.

And for this cause this [book] is called *The Sworn Book*

End of prologue.

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in the name off the almighty god ye lorde jesus christ the trew living god. i honoryus have thus appoined in my booke the workes of salomon i have first apoynted the chapters yt it maye be the more playne
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

heare be geneth the chapters of the first worke)

- the first chapter is of the composyssyon of the great name of god which the hebrues call sememphoras which dothe consyst of *72* h. t. o. e. r. o. r. a. b. a. l. a. y. q. c. l. y. s. t. a. l. g. a. a. o. w. o. s. v. l. a. r. y. t. c. e. k. r. p. f. y. o. m. e. m. a. n. a. r. e. l. a. t. e. v. a. t. o. n. o. n. a. o. y. l. e. o. t. s. y. n. a. letters which is the beginning in this arte
- the *2* chapter is of the visyon of the deytey,
- the *3* of the knowledge off the devyne power,
- the *4* of the for gyuenes off synnes,
- the *5* that a man shuld nott fall into dedely sine,
- the *6* of the redemsyon off *3* sowlles out of purgatorye
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the chapters off the .2. worke
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[II. Contents]

In the name of the almighty God, the Lord Jesus Christ, the true living God. I Honorius have thus appointed in my book the works of Solomon. I have first appointed the chapters that it may be the more plain.

Here begins the chapters of the first work.

1. The first chapter is of the composition of the great name of God, which the Hebrews call *Schemhamphoras* which consists of seventy-two letters: h. t. o. e. r. o. r. a. b. a. l. a. y. q. c. l. y. s. t. a. l. g. a. a. o. w. o. s. v. l. a. r. y. t. c. e. k. r. p. f. y. o. m. e. m. a. n. a. r. e. l. a. t. e. v. a. t. o. n. o. n. a. o. y. l. e. o. t. s. y. n. a., which is the beginning in this art.
2. The second chapter is of the vision of the Deity,
3. The third of the knowledge of the devine power,
4. The fourth of the forgiveness of sins,
5. The fifth that a man should not fall into deadly sin,
6. The sixth of the redemption of

- the *7* chapter is off the knowledge off the heavens, [4r]
- the *8* to know the angells off every heaven
- the *9* to know every angell his name and his power,
- the *10* to know the seales off every angel,
- the *11*to know under whome every angel is,
- the *12*to know the offyce of every angell,
- the *13* of the invocatyon of every angell and of his company,
- the *14* how a man shude obteyne his will by every angell,
- the *15* to obtayne all scyences,
- the *16* to know the hower of dethe,
- the *17* to know all thinges present past and to comme,
- the *18* to know the planetts and the starres,
- the *19* to know the vertu of the planetts and starres and there influences,
- the *20* to alter or chaunge ye influence of the planetts and starres,
- the *21* to change the daye in to nighte and the nighte in to ye daye,
- the *22* to know the sprites of the ayre,
- the *23* to know the sprites of the fyer, and there names and there superyors, there seales power and vertu,
- the *24* to know the names and ye powers off the higher sprites,
- the *25* to know there seales,
- the *26* to know the alteratyon and changing of the elymentes and of the bodyes that be mixte of them,
- the *27* to know all herbes, [4v] plantes, and bestes being upon the earthe and of there vertues,
- the *28* of the knoledge off the nature of man and of all his dyedes and his thoughtes,
- the *29* to know the sprites of the three souls out of Purgatory.

The chapters of the second worke.

7. The seventh chapter is of the knowledge of the heavens,
8. To know the angels of every heaven
9. To know every angel, his name, and his power,
10. To know the seals of every angel,
11. To know under whom every angel is,
12. To know the office of every angel,
13. Of the invocation of every angel and of his company,
14. How a man should obtain his will by every angel,
15. To obtain all sciences,
16. To know the hour of death,
17. To know all thinges present, past, and to come,
18. To know the planets and the stars,
19. To know the virtue of the planets and stars, and their influences,
20. To alter or change the influence of the planets and stars,
21. To change the day into night, and the night into the day,
22. To know the spirits of the air,
23. To know the spirits of the fire, and their names and their superiors, their seals, power, and virtue,
24. The twenty-fourth, to know the names and the powers of the higher spirits,
25. To know their seals,
26. To know the alteration and changing of the elements, and of the bodies that be mixed of them,
27. To know all herbs, plants, and beasts being upon the Earth, and of their virtues,
28. The knowledge of the nature of man and of all his deeds and his thoughts,
29. To know the spirits of the water, and there virtues, and their

water and there vertuse and there superyors,
- the *30* to know the erthely sprrites and infernalles,
- the *31* of the sighte of purgatorye and hell and the sowlles there being,
- the *32* off the bond or oblygasyon yt the sowle and bodye shall returne agayne,
- the *33* of ye consecrating off this book */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

ffinis of the chapters of the secode worke
//*/*

the chapters of the *3* worke
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

- the *34* of the constrinksyon of sprites by wordes,
- the *35* of the consthinksyon of sprites by seales,
- the *36* of the constrinckesyon of sprites by tables,
- the *37* to give every sprite his shape,
- the *38* off inclosing of sprites,
- the *39* off a sprite yt is inclosed yt he maye answere or nott,
- the *40* to cause thunder and lightening,
- the *41* off burning to be made,
- the *42* of the powrging of they ayer,
- the *43* off ye corruptyon of the ayer,
- the *44* to cause snow [5r] and yse,
- the *45* off dewes rayne,
- the *46* to cause flowers and frutes,
- the *47* to go invysybbe,
- the *48* off a horse,
- the *49* to bringe agayne a man that is gone saffe in an hower,
- the *50* to have a thing carryed whether thow willte in a moment,
- the *51* to take a waye a thinge,
- the *52* to bringe a thinge agayne,
- the *53* to change the shape of every thinge,
- the *54* to make a fludde in a dry grounde,
- the *55* to make a commotyon att thy preasure,

superiors,
30. To know the earthly spirits and infernals,
31. Of the sight of purgatory, and hell, and the souls their being,
32. Of the bond or obligation that the soul and body shall return again,
33. Of the consecrating of this book

End of the chapters of the second work.

The chapters of the third work.

34. Of the constrinksyon of spirits by words,
35. Of the consthinksyon of sprits by seals,
36. Of the constrinckesyon of spirits by tables,
37. To give every spirit his shape,
38. Of enclosing of spirits,
39. Of a spirit that is enclosed, that he may answer or not,
40. To cause thunder and lightening,
41. Of burning to be made,
42. Of the purging of the air,
43. Of the corruption of the air,
44. To cause snow and ice,
45. Of dews [and] rain,
46. To cause flowers and fruits,
47. To go invisible,
48. Of a horse,
49. To bring again a man that is gone safe in an hour,
50. To have a thing carried where you will in a moment,
51. To take away a thing,
52. To bring a thing again,
53. To change the shape of every thing,
54. To make a flood in a dry ground,
55. To make a commotion at your pleasure,
56. To destroy a kingdom or an empire,
57. To have power over every man,
58. To have a thousand armed men,

- the *56* to distroy a kingdone or an empyre,
- the *57* to have power over every man,
- the *58* to have a *1000* armed men,
- the *59* to forme a castell yt shall never be dystroyed,
- the *60* to make a wicked glasse,
- the *61* to destroye a place or a holde by a wicked glasse,
- the *62* off a glasse wherin thow shalte se the whole worlde,
- the *63* to bringe agayne a thiffe which yt he hathe stollen,
- the *64* to open lockes,
- the *65* to cause discorde and debate,
- the *66* to cause unyte and concorde,
- the *67* to have the favor of everybodye,
- the *68* to obtayne or gett rytches,
- the *69* to [5v] hele all man of disseses,
- the *70* to cast in to sickenes whome ye will,
- the *71* to kill whome ye will,
- the *72* to cause danger bothe by se and lande,
- the *73* to delyn a shipe yt is stopped in the sea by the adamaint stone,
- the *74* to avoyde all man of dangers,
- the *75* to gayther byrdes together and to take them,
- the *76* to gether fysshes together and to take them,
- *77* to gather wylde bestes to gether and to take them,
- the *78* to cawse warre amonge fysshes fowlles and suche lyke,
- the *79* to make burninge to apeyre,
- the *80* to make juggelers or maydens singing to apeyre,
- the *81* to make gardens or castells to apeyre,
- the *82* to make fightinge men to apeyre,
- the *83* to make gryphons and dragons to apeyre,
- the *84* to make all wylde bests to appeyre,

59. To form a castle that shall never be destroyed,
60. To make a wicked glass,
61. To destroy a place or a hold by a wicked glass,
62. Of a glass wherein you shall see the whole world,
63. To bring again that which a thief has stollen,
64. To open locks,
65. To cause discord and debate,
66. To cause unity and concord,
67. To have the favor of everybody,
68. To obtain or get riches,
69. To heal all man of diseases,
70. To cast into sickness whom you will,
71. To kill whom you will,
72. To cause danger, both by sea and land,
73. To delyn a ship that is stopped in the sea by the adamant stone,
74. To avoid all man of dangers,
75. To gather birds together, and to take them,
76. To gather fishes together and to take them,
77. To gather wild beasts together and to take them,
78. To cause war amongst fishes, fouls, and such like,
79. To make burning to appear,
80. To make jugglers or maidens singing to appear,
81. To make gardens or castles to appear,
82. To make fighting men to appear,
83. To make gryphons and dragons to appear,
84. To make all wild beasts to appear,
85. To make hunters and their dogs to appear hunting,
86. To make a man to think he is in a place where he is not,
87. To make all pleasures to appear

End of the chapters of the third work.

- the *85* to make hunters and there dogges to appeyre huntinge,
- the *86* to make a man to thinke he is in a place where he is nott,
- the *87* to make all pleasures to appeyre */*/*/*/*

ffinis of the chapters of the *3* worke
//*/*/*/*

[6r]

the chapters off the *4* worke
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

- the *88* to delyur them yt be in pryson,
- the *89* to locke a gayne the gattes of the castell,
- the *90* to haue all treasures mettalls pressyns stones and all other thinges hyd in the grounde,
- the *91* off the appeyring off ded bodyes that thay seme to aryse agayne and to speke,
- the *92* that ye shulde thinke beastes to appeyre created agayne off the earth but these *2* chapters haue we takyn awaye be cause they be agaynst the will of god.

thus endeth the nottes off all the chapters
/

The chapters of the fourth work.

88. To deliver them that be in prison,
89. To lock again the gates of the castle,
90. To have all treasures metals, precious stones, and all other thinges hidden in the ground,
91. Of the appearing of dead bodies that they seem to arise again and to speak,
92. That you should think beasts to appear created againe of the earth

But these two chapters have we taken away, because they be against the will of God.

Thus ends the notes of all the chapters.

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here beginnithe the booke
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[III] Here begins the book.

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we therfore thorow godes helpe intendinge to folow the stepps and precepes of salomon, therfore to thy receyuing of suche an highe misterye we prefess to be oone chiffe princyple or begininge. note therfore that the first and chiffe princyple or begininge is the devyne maiestye, and the trew invocatyon must cume frome the very faythe of the harte, the which faythe the workes shall declare, [6v] ffor salomon sayde there is one only god one mighte, or power, oone faythe, of whome oone worke, oone princyple or begininge, and of whome the prefectyon and effecte of every

We therefore, through God's help, intending to follow the steps and precepts of Solomon, therefore to your receiving of such a high mystery, we profess to be one chief principal or beginning. Note therefore that the first and chief principal or beginning is the Divine Majesty, and the true invocation must come from the very faith of the heart, the which faith the works shall declare. For Solomon said there is one only God, one might or power, one faith, of whom one work, one principal or beginning, and of whom the

worke dothe comme althoughe this be deuyded into many parts, ffor lyke as all the holle partes doo saver and smel of the body even to lyke wyse dothe of these thinges comme all perfectyon and effect */*/*/*

perfection and effect of every work comes, although this be divided into many parts. For like as all the whole parts do savour and smell of the body, even so likewise of these things come all perfection and effect.

in the name therfore of the true and lyuing gode which is alpha et omega ye beginninge and the ending which is the father the sonne, and the holy gost *3* persones and on god the gyuer off lyffe and the destroyer off dethe for he destroyed oure dethe and thrughe his resurrectyon restored us agayne to lyffe */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

In the name therefore of the true and living God, who is **Alpha and Omega** the beginning and the ending, which is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, the giver of life, and the destroyer of death. For he destroyed our death and through his resurrection restored us again to life.

off the makinge off the seale of god, for the knowledge of the first parte, of the knowledge of the deytye, for the knowledge of ye *2* parte. in ye *3* parte of the vysyon of angells, the *4* of ye constrinkesyon, [7r] the *5* parte off the bownde of deadmen */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Of the making of the Seal of God, for the knowledge of the first part, of the knowledge of the diety, for the knowledge of the second part, in the third part of the vision of angels, the fourth of the constrinkesyon, the fifth part of the bonds of dead men.

off angels there are *3* kyndes */*/*/*/*/*

Of angels there are three kinds. Some are celestial, some are of the air, and some are of the earth. Of the celestial, there are also two kinds. Some of them serve God only, and those are the nine orders of angels, that is to say, cherubin, seraphin, thrones, dominations, virtues, principates, potestates, archangels, and angels. Of whom it is to be spoken among mortal men, for they will not be constrained by any artificial power. And therefore they ought not be invocated, for they always stand before the Divine Majesty, and are never separated from His presence. Yet because the soul of man was created with them, and to there likeness, looking to be rewarded with them may through the gift and grace of God, his body yet living behold the Divine Majesty, and with them to praise and to know God the creator, and this knowledge is not to know God in his majesty and power, but ever as Adam and the prophets did know him.

some be celestyall, and some of the ayre and some be of the earthe. off the celestyall there are also *2* kyndes somme of them doo serve god only and those be the *9* orders of angells that is to saye cherubin, and seraphin, trons, domynatyons, vertuse, princypates, and potestates, arkangells and angells off whome it is to be spoken amounge mortall men, for they will not be constrayned by any artyfysyall powr, and therfore they oughte nott to be invocated for they alwayes stande before the deuyne maiestye and are neuer seperated from his presens yet be cause the sowle of man was created with theme and to there lykeness, lookinge to be rewardyd with them maye through the gyfte and grace of god his bodye yet lyuing beholde the deuyne maiestye, and with them to prayse and to know god ye creator, and this knowledge is nott to know god in his magestye [7v] and power but ever as adame and the prophettes dyd know him,

but this is princypally to be noted that there are *3* kyndes off men yt worke in this arte jwes, christyans and pagans, the pagans doo sacryfyce to the sprites of the ayre and of the earthe but they doo nott constrayne or bynde

But this is principally to be noted, that there are three kinds of men that work in this art: Jews, Christians, and pagans. The pagans do sacrifice to the spirits of the air and of the earth, but they do not

them, but the sprites doo fayne them selves to be bownde by the wordes of there law, to the intent they maye make them to committ idoletrye, and neuer turne to the true faythe, and by cause there faythe is nought therfore there workes be nawght, he yt will worke after yt man must forsake the lyuing god, and must doo sacryfyce unto sprites and idolles for it is faythe that worketh in a man good or euill, wherfore it is sayde in the gospell ye faythe hathe made the saffe, the jwes doo in no wyse worke to obtayne the visyon of the deytye, for by the comminge of christe they lost there prehemynence nor they can nott comme to heauen, for the lorde dothe saye [8r] he that is nott baptysed shall be damned, and so in all angells they worke imperfectly, nor they canontt throughe there inuocatyons bringe any worke to effecte excepte they be liue in christe. ffor it is sayd by the prophet, when the kinge of kinges and the lorde of lordes is cume then shall youre anoyntinge cease which shulde neuer haue ceasyd yf they cowlde haue wroughte effectually by this arte, and so there workes are noughte, and althoughe the jwes in that yy are jwes are condemnyd of yet they doo worship the highe creator but nott after a dew sorte, yet thorow the powr of the holy names of god spirrites are constrayned to comme. but jwes be cause they are nott signed wt the signe of god that is to saye with the signe of the crosse therfore they sprites will not answere them trewly, therfore the christyan man only dothe worke trewly to cum to the vysyon of the deyte, and in all other workes. and althoughe *3* sortes of men doo worke by this arte magyke, yet [8v] it is nott to be thoughte yt there is any euill in this name magyan, for this same name magyan dothe signefy in the grike twunge a philosopher, and in the hebru twunge a scrybe, and in the latten twunge it signefyeth wyse and so this name of arte magyke is compownded of this worde magos wiche is as muche to saye as wyse and of ycos wiche by interpretasyon is knowledge for by it a man is made wyse, for by this arte a man maye know thinges present past and to come */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

constrain or bind them, but the spirits do fain themselves to be bound by the words of their law, to the intent they may make them commit idolatry, and never turn to the true faith. And because their faith is nought, therefore their works are nought. He that will work after that man must forsake the living God, and must do sacrifice to spirits and idols. For it is faith that works in a man good or evil. Wherefore it is said in the Gospel, "your faith has made you safe."

The Jews do in no wise work to obtain the vision of the Diety, for by the coming of Christ they lost their preeminence, nor can they come to heaven, for the Lord says, he that is not baptized shall be damned. And so in all angels they work imperfectly. Nor can they through their invocations bring any work to effect, except they believe in Christ. For it is said by the prophet, "when the king of kings and the Lord of Lords is come, then shall your annointing cease," which should never have ceased if they could have wrought effectually by this art. And so theire works are nought. And although the Jews in that they are Jews are condemned, of yet they do worship the High Creator, but not after a due sort. Yet through the power of the holy names of God, spirits are constrained to come. But Jews because they are not signed with the sign of God, that is to say with the sign of the cross, therefore those spirits will not answer them truely.

Therefore, the Christian man only works truely to come to the vision of the Diety, and in all other works. And although three sorts of men do work by this art magic, yet it is not to be thought that there is any evil in this name *Magian*, for this same name *Magian* signifies in the Greek tongue *a philosopher,* and in the Hebrew tongue *a scribe,* and in the Latin tongue it signifies *wise.* And so this name of art magic is compounded of this word *magos* which is as much to say as 'wise,'

and of *ycos* which by interpretation is 'knowledge.' For by it a man is made wise. For by this art a man may know things present, past, and to come.

here folowithe the makinge off the seale off the trwe and lyuinge god [S: De compositione signi dei vivi]

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[IV] Here follows the making of the Seal of the true and living God

Primo fac unum circulum cuius diameter sic trium digitorum propter tres clauos domini [deest S], vel *5* propter *5* plagas, vel *7* propter *7* sacramenta, vel *9* propter *9* ordines angelorum, sed communiter *5* digitorum fieri solet. Deinde infra illum circulum fac alium circulum a primo distantem duobus granis ordei propter duas tabulas moysi, [9r] vel distantem a primo tribus granis propter trinitatem parsonarm. Deinde infra illos duos circulos in superiori parte quæ dicitur angulus meridiei fac unam crucem, cuius tibia aliquantulum intrat [S: intret] circulum interiorem. Deinde a parte dextra crucis scribe .h. aspirationem deinde .t. deinde .o. deinde .e. x [S: y] . o. r. a. b. a. [S adds: e] l. a. y. q. c [S: t]. i. y. s. t. a. l. g. a. a. o. w [S, S2: n, R also has this correction supra linea]. o. s. v. l. a. r [R sup. lin.: t]. y. t. c [deest S]. e. k. x [S, S2, R (sup. lin.): s]. p. f. y. o. m. e. m. a. n [S: x(?), S2: u]. a. r. e. l. a. t [S, S2: c]. e. v [S, S2: d; R (sup. lin.): t]. a. t. o. n. o. n. a. o. y. l. e. [R sup. lin. adds: p] o. t. s. y. m. a.[S, S2: ..yleyotma] et iste [S: istæ] literæ sunt eque [S: æque] distantes, et circu~dent circulum. eo ordine quo sunt prenominatæ et sic magnum nomen domini schemhamphoras[S2: semenphoras; S: shemhamphorash] *72* literarum erit completum. hoc facto in medio circulorum scilicet in centro fac unum pentagonum talem, in cuius medio sit signum tau tale et super illud signum scribe hoc [deest S,S2] nomen dei el, et sub nomine aliud nomen dei .l.[deest R; S: et sub

First, make a circle with a diameter of three fingers, on account of the Lord's three nails, or five on account of the five wounds, or seven on account of the seven sacraments, or nine on account of the nine orders of angels, but generally five fingers are customary.

Deinde infra illum circulum fac alium circulum a primo distantem duobus granis ordei propter duas tabulas moysi, vel distantem a primo tribus granis propter trinitatem parsonarm. Deinde infra illos duos circulos in superiori parte quae dicitur angulus meridiei fac unam crucem, cuius tibia aliquantulum intrat circulum interiorem. Deinde a parte dextra crucis scribe .h. aspirationem deinde .t. deinde .o. deinde .e. x . o. r. a. b. a. l. a. y. q. c. i. y. s. t. a. l. g. a. a. o. n. o. s. v. l. a. r [t]. y. t. c. e. k. s. p. f. y. o. m. e. m. a. n. a. r. e. l. a. c. e. d. a. t. o. n. o. n. a. o. y. l. e. [y]. o. t. m. a. et istae literae sunt aeque distantes, et circumdent circulum. eo ordine quo sunt prenominatae et sic magnum nomen domini schemhamphoras *72* literarum erit completum. hoc facto in medio circulorum scilicet in centro fac unum pentagonum talem, in cuius medio sit signum tau tale et super illud signum scribe hoc nomen dei **el,** et sub nomine aliud nomen dei sz **.ely.** isto

nomen aliud dei sz] .ely. isto modo

modo .

Deinde infra angulum superiorem [S: inferiorem] pentagoni scribe istas duas litteras .l.h [S, S2: lx]. Et infra alium angulum dextrum [S, S2 add: istas duas] .a.l. Et in alio [9v] post istum [S2 adds: "istas duas .l.a. et in alio post istum .l.c. Et in alio post istum" S. adds simply: "istas duas"] .n.m. [S: .v.m.] Deinde circa pentagonum fac unum eptagonum [S: heptagonum] cuius latus superius secundum sui medium contingat angulum superiorem pentagoni ubi .l.h. [S, S2: .l.x.] scribebatur, et in eodem latere eptagoni [S: heptagoni] scribe hoc nome~ scante [S, S2: sancti] angeli quod est [S, Sl. 3854 add: .casziel. Et in alio latere a dextris istud nomen alterius sancti angli quod est] .satquiel. Deinde in alio .samael. et in alio .raphael. postea .anael. postea .michael. postea .gabriel. et sic *7* latera eptagoni [S: heptagoni] sunt [S, S2: erunt] adimpleta [S: adimpleti], Deinde circa istum eptagonum [S: heptagonu~] predictum fac alium eptagonum [S: heptagonu~] non quoquo modo factum prius sed [S: non q^{o} m^{o} primus factus est sed] taliter quod unum latus ipsius incarceret [S, S2: intercedet] latera alterius, Deinde fac alium eptagonum [S, S2 add: tale~] qualis prius [S: primus] fuit cuius anguli *7* contingant angulos *7* eptagoni secundi quibus esse videtur. Hic tamen eptagonus infra perdictum secundum concludetur, [S, S2 add: unu~] latus secundi eptagoni [S: hexagoni] supernudo et aliud subenudo, [S adds: sed; S2 adds: squo(?)] latus primo angulos [S: angulo] succedens subenudo ibit. et quæ [S2: que] sequntur [S2: secuntur] serie supereuntis et subeuntis alterutrum se habebunt, Deinde in quolibet angulo secundi eptagoni [S: hexagoni] una crux depingatur, Deinde [10r] in illo latere secundi eptagoni [S: hexagoni] quod transit ab ultimo angulo [S, S2 add: eiusde~] ad secundum angulum eiusde~ in eadem parte quæ est super [S: supra] .casziel. sillabe cuiusdam scaneti [S, S2: sancti] dei nominis scribatur [S: scribantur],

Deinde infra angulum superiorem [S: inferiorem] pentagoni scribe istas duas litteras .l.x. Et infra alium angulum dextrum istas duas .a.l. Et in alio post istum [S2 adds: "istas duas .l.a. et in alio post istum .l.c. Et in alio post istum" S. adds simply: "istas duas"] .n.m. [S: .v.m.]

Deinde circa pentagonum fac unum heptagonum cuius latus superius secundum sui medium contingat angulum superiorem pentagoni ubi .l.x. scribebatur, et in eodem latere heptagoni scribe hoc nomen sancte angeli quod est **.casziel.** Et in alio latere a dextris istud nomen alterius sancti angli quod est **.satquiel.** Deinde in alio .samael. et in alio .raphael. postea .anael. postea .michael. postea .gabriel. et sic *7* latera heptagoni erunt adimpleta [adimpleti], Deinde circa istum heptagonum predictum fac alium heptagonum non quoquo modo primus factus est sed taliter quod unum latus ipsius intercedet latera alterius, Deinde fac alium heptagonum talem qualis primus fuit cuius anguli *7* contingant angulos *7* h3eptagoni secundi quibus esse videtur.

Hic tamen heptagonus infra perdictum secundum concludetur, unum latus secundi heptagoni supernudo et aliud subenudo, sed latus primo angulo succedens subenudo ibit. et quae sequntur serie supereuntis et subeuntis alterutrum se habebunt, Deinde in quolibet angulo secundi heptagoni una crux depingatur, Deinde in illo latere secundi heptagoni quod transit ab ultimo angulo eiusdem ad secundum angulum eiusdem in eadem parte quae est supra .casziel. sillabe cuiusdam sancti dei

Ita quod hac sillaba .la. scribatur in illo loco lateris perdicti [S: prædicti] qui est supra primam sillabam de .casziel. et hac [S2: hec; S: hæc] sillaba .ya. in illo loco [S, Sl3185 add: eiusdem] lateris qui est supra ultimam sillabam eiusdem de [deest S, S2] .casziel. et hæc [S2: hec, S: hæc] silliba .ly. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est latus intersecans predictum latus et crucem secundi anguli eiusdem, Deinde in [S: a] latere illo quod tendit ab angulo primo eiusdem secundi eptagoni [S: hexagoni] ad tertium angulum eiusdem scribatur hoc nomen sanctum dei [S: hoc sanctum nomen dei] .narath. ita quod hæc [S2: hec] sillaba .na. scribatur in illo loco eiusdeum lateris qui est supra primam sillabam de .satquiel. et haec [S2: hec] sillaba .ra. in illo loco qui est supra ultimam eiusdem, et [S2 adds: hec; S adds hæ] dua [S2: due, S: duæ] literae .t.h. [S: .c.h.] in illo loco qui est in eodem [S, S2 add: latere] inter latus secans ipsum [S: illud] et crucem tertiam [S: tercia~], Deinde in illo latere eiusdem secundi eptagoni [S: hexagoni] quod tendit .a. tertio [S reads simply: tendit a 3º...] angulo eiusdem ad quartum eiusdem [10v] scribatur hoc creatoris nomen sanctum quod dicitur .libarre. ita quod hæc [S2: hec] sillaba .ly. scribatur supra primam sillabam, de .raphael. et haec [S2: hec] sillaba .bar. supra ultimam sillabam [S2 adds in margin: i~ illo] * eiusdem, et hæc sillaba .re. in illo loco * [text between * deest in S2] eiusdem lateris qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et quintur angulum eiusdem secundi eptagoni [S: hexagoni], Deinde in illo latere eiusdem secundi eptagoni [S: hexagoni] quod est .a. quinta cruce [S reads simply: quod est a 5ta cruce] vsque ad ultimam scribatur hoc aliud sacrum creatoris nomen .libares. ita quod hæc [S2: hec] sillaba .ly. scribatur in illo loco lateris qui est supra primam sillabam ipsius .michael. et hæc [S2: hec] sillaba .ba. in illo loco lateris qui est supra ultimam sillabam eiusdem, et hæc [S2: hec] sillaba .res. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et ultimam crucem. Deinde in illo latere eiusdem secundi iptagoni [S: exagoni] quod vadit a secundo angulo eiusdem secundi eptagoni [S: exagoni] ad quintum [S: quartum] scribatur [S, S2 add: hoc] aliud nominis scribantur, Ita quod hac sillaba .la. scribatur in illo loco lateris praedicti qui est supra primam sillabam de .casziel. et haec sillaba .ya. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est supra ultimam sillabam eiusdem de .casziel. et haec silliba .ly. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est latus intersecans predictum latus et crucem secundi anguli eiusdem, Deinde in latere illo quod tendit ab angulo primo eiusdem secundi heptagoni ad tertium angulum eiusdem scribatur hoc nomen sanctum dei .narath. ita quod haec sillaba .na. scribatur in illo loco eiusdeum lateris qui est supra primam sillabam de .satquiel. et haec sillaba .ra. in illo loco qui est supra ultimam eiusdem, et haec duae literae .t.h. in illo loco qui est in eodem latere inter latus secans ipsum [S: illud] et crucem tertiam, Deinde in illo latere eiusdem secundi heptagoni quod tendit .a. tertio angulo eiusdem ad quartum eiusdem scribatur hoc creatoris nomen sanctum quod dicitur .libarre. ita quod haec sillaba .ly. scribatur supra primam sillabam, de .raphael. et haec sillaba **.bar.** supra ultimam sillabam eiusdem, et haec sillaba .re. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et quintur angulum eiusdem secundi heptagoni.

Deinde in illo latere eiusdem secundi heptagoni quod est .a. quinta cruce vsque ad ultimam scribatur hoc aliud sacrum creatoris nomen .libares. ita quod haec sillaba .ly. scribatur in illo loco lateris qui est supra primam sillabam ipsius .michael. et haec sillaba .ba. in illo loco lateris qui est supra ultimam sillabam eiusdem, et haec sillaba .res. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et ultimam crucem. Deinde in illo latere eiusdem secundi heptagoni quod vadit a secundo angulo eiusdem secundi heptagoni ad quintum [S: quartum] scribatur hoc aliud sanctum nomen dei .halg. cum coniunctina ita quod coniuunctina in illo loco eiusdem

sacrum [S: sanctum] nomen dei [deest S, S2] .halg. [S: lialg] cum coniunctina ita quod coniuunctina in illo loco eiusdem lateris scribatur quid [S: q^{i}; S2: qui] est supra primam [11r] sillabam de .samael. et hæc litera .ly. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est supra ultimam eiusde~, et hæc sillaba .alg. in loco eiusdem lateris qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et quartam crucem, Sed caue quod ra [deest S] coniunctina sic debet scribi et [deest S] cum titulo intersecante propter timorem dei malum volitum [S2, S: nolitu~] diuideutem, Deinde in illo latere eiusdem eptagoni [S: hexagoni] tendente a quarta cruce ad sextam scribatur hoc aliud sacrum [S: sanctum] dei [S2: aliud dei sacrum] nomen .veham. [S2: ucham] ita quod hæc sillaba .ve. [S2 ue; S: Ne(?)] scribatur in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est supra primam sillabam de .anael. et hæc litera .h. supra ultimam sillibam et hæc sillabam .am. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est latus secans ipsum et sextam crucem, Deinde in illo latere quod tendit a sexto [S2 adds: angulo] eiusdem secundi eptagoni [S: hexagoni] ad primum angulum scribatur hoc aliud sacrum [S: sanctum] dei nomen .yalgal. ita quod hec [S: hæc] litera .y. scribatur in alla [S2: in illo loco] eiusde~ lateris qui est [S: scribatur in illo loco lateris eiusdem qui est] supra primam sillabam de .gabriel. et hæc sillaba .al. super [S: supra] ultimam et hæc sillaba .gal. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et primam [11v] crucem, Deinde in medio latere [S2, S: lateris] primi et tertii eptagoni [S: hexagoni] a dextris [S: dexteris] scribatur .vos. [S: Avs(?)] et in sequenti latere eiusdem tertii eptagoni [S: hexagoni] a dextris [S: dexteris] hoc Nomen .duymas. [S: dvynas] et in alio .Gyram. et in alio .Grani. [S2, S: Gram] et in alio .Aysaram. et in alio .Alpha. et ω . in alio [S: et in alio . ω .]. Deinde in alio spaciolo quod est sub secundi et tertii angulo primo eptagonorum [S: est sub angulo primo 2^{i} et 3^{i} hexagonoru~] scribatur hoc nomen dei .el. et in alio spaciolo quod est a dextris sub angulis [S: angulo] secundi et tertii eptagonorum [S: hexagonorum] sub secunda cruce hoc nomen .ON. et in [S2, S add: illo] alio spaciolo sub tertia cruce. itarum [S2: iteru~] hoc nomen .el. lateris scribatur qui est supra primam sillabam de **.Samael.** et haec litera .ly. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est supra ultimam eiusdem, et haec sillaba .alg. in loco eiusdem lateris qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et quartam crucem, Sed caue quod ra coniunctina sic debet scribi et cum titulo intersecante propter timorem dei malum nolitum diuideutem, Deinde in illo latere eiusdem heptagoni tendente a quarta cruce ad sextam scribatur hoc aliud sacrum dei nomen **.veham.** ita quod haec sillaba .ve. scribatur in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est supra primam sillabam de .Anael. et haec litera .h. supra ultimam sillibam et haec sillabam .am. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est latus secans ipsum et sextam crucem, Deinde in illo latere quod tendit a sexto angulo eiusdem secundi heptagoni ad primum angulum scribatur hoc aliud sacrum dei nomen .yalgal. ita quod haec litera .y. scribatur in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est supra primam sillabam de .Gabriel. et haec sillaba .al. supra ultimam et haec sillaba .gal. in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et primam crucem, Deinde in medio lateris primi et tertii heptagoni a dextris scribatur .vos. et in sequenti latere eiusdem tertii heptagoni a dextris hoc Nomen .duymas. et in alio .Gyram. et in alio .Gram. et in alio .Aysaram. et in alio .A. et in alio .Ω.

Deinde in alio spaciolo quod est sub secundi et tertii angulo primo heptagonorum scribatur hoc nomen dei .el. et in alio spaciolo quod est a dextris sub angulis secundi et tertii heptagonorum sub secunda cruce hoc nomen .ON. et in illo alio spaciolo sub tertia cruce. iterum hoc nomen .el. et in alio sub quarta cruce iterum .ON. et in alio sub quinta cruce iterum .el. et in alio sub sexta cruce iterum .ON. et in alio sub septima cruce .Ω. Deinde in illo spacio quod clauditur inter angulum primum secundi heptagoni et secundum angulum

et in alio sub quarta cruce iterum .ON. et in alio sub sequenti [S2: q^{i}nta; S: 5ta] cruce iterum .el. et in alio sub sequenti [S2: sex^{u}; S: 6ta] cruce iterum .ON. et in alio sub septima cruce . ω . Deinde in alio [S2, S: illo] spacio [S: spaciolo] quod clauditur [S: claditer] inter angulum [S2, S add: primum] secundi eptagoni [S: hexagoni] et secundum angulum eiusdem et primum latus tertii eptagoni [S: hexagoni] et portionem circuli contingentem illos angulos depingatur una crux, in medio scilicet [S2: .S.; S: si] spacii illius. Et in bucca superiori a leua crucis scribatur hæc litera .a. [S: A] et super buccam crucis secundam a dextris [12r] hæc litera .g. Et sub bucca inferiori a dextris [S: dexte=/is] scribatur hæc [S2, S add: alia] litera .a. [S: A] Et sub quarta bucca hæc [S,S2 add: alia] litera .l. Deinde in alio spaciolo sequenti a dextris in medio scribatur hoc nomen dei [deest S2, S] .ely. [S: Ely] et in alio hoc nomen .eloy. [S: Eloy] et in alio .christos. et in alio .sother. [S: Sother] et in alio .ADONAI. [S2, S: Adonay] et in alio .Saday.

eiusdem et primum latus tertii heptagoni et portionem circuli contingentem illos angulos depingatur una crux, in medio scilicet spacii illius. Et in bucca superiori a leua crucis scribatur haec litera .a. et super buccam crucis secundam a dextris haec litera .g. Et sub bucca inferiori a dextris scribatur haec alia litera .a. Et sub quarta bucca haec alia litera .l. Deinde in alio spaciolo sequenti a dextris in medio scribatur hoc nomen dei .Ely. et in alio hoc nomen .Eloy. et in alio .Christos. et in alio .Sother. et in alio .ADONAI. et in alio .Saday.

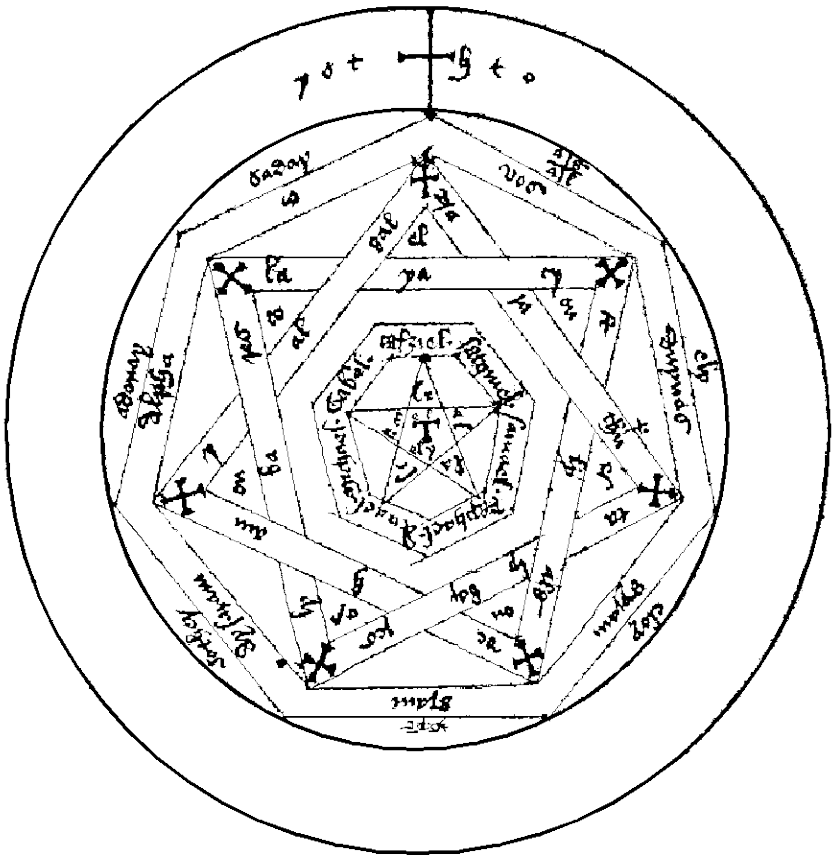
Deinde scias quod communiter in exemplaribus [S2, S: q^{d} in exemplaribus communiter] pentagonus fit de rubeo cum croceo in spaciis tincto. Et prim~ [S2, S: primus] septagonus [hex^{t}agonus] de azurio, secundus de croceo, tertius de purpureo, et circuli de nigro, et spacium inter circulos ubi est nomen de maximum. ac venerabile [S2 omits "de maximum ac venerabile"] .schemhamphoras. tingitr croceo, omnia alio [S2, S: alia] spacia viridi habent tingi, Sed in operationibus aliter fieri debet, quia de sanguine aut. talpæ. aut .turturis. at [S2: aut] .vpupæ. aut .vespertilionis. aut omnium horum figuratur, et in pergameo~ virgineo vituluio [S2, S: vitulino], vel equino, vel ceruino, et sic completur dei sigillum, Et par [S2, S: per] hoc sanctum et sacrum sigillum quando erit sacratum poteris. facere operationes quæ postea dicentur [S: sequntur] in hoc libro [S2: libro sacro; S: sac^{o}]. Modus autem sacrandi hoc sacrum sigillum talis [S: talitur] sicut sequitr [S: seq^{i}tur] debet esse. */*/*/*/*/*/*

After this you shall know that commonly in the exemplars the five-cornered circle or amulet is made of red dyed with saffron. Within the spaces and the first circle with seven corners of azure, the second of saffron, the third of purple and the round circle of Black. And the space between the circles where the name **Schemhamphoras** is, is died with saffron. At other spaces are to be coloured with green. Where **Tetragrammaton** ye & the xkyll abowght that wyght with the Angels names and planets. But in operations it must otherwise be done. For it is made with the blood either of a mole or of a turtledove, or a lapwing, or of a bat, or of them all, and in virgin parchment of a calf, or of foal, or a hind calf. And so is the Seal of God perfect.

And by this holy and consecrated seal after it is consecrated, you may work operations which shall be declared afterwards in this book. The manner of consecrating of this holy seal ought thus

[S3: After this thow shalt knowe that comonly in the examplars the fyve cornarde cyrkyll or

anullet is made of redd died w^{t} saffron w^{t}in the to be as followeth.
spaces & the ffirst c^{r}kell w^{t} 7 corners of azure,
the seconde of saffron. The thirde of purple &
the rounde cerkelie of Black. / & the space
betwene the circules wher the name
Shemhamphoras is: is dyed w^{t} saffron. Att
other spaces are to be coloured w^{t} grene. wher
tet'grammaton ye & the xkyll abowght that
wyght w^{t} the Angells names & planetts. / But
in operacyons it must other wyse be done. for
it is made w^{t} the blode either of a mowlle or of
a turtyll doue. or a lappwynge or of Backe or
of the all & in virgynu~ parchament of a calfe
or oa foole or a hynde calfe. and so is the seale
of god perfecte. / and by this holy &
consecrated seale aft^{r} it be consecrated thou
mayest worke operacions wich shalbe declared
afterwarde in this Booke. The man^{r} of
consecratyng of this holy seale ought thus to
be as folowethe.]



[12v]

Inspirante domino dixit Salomon unus est solus deus, sola fides, sola virt~s, qua~

By the inspiration of god, Solomon said: there is only one God, one faith, and one virtue, which the Lord intended to be revealed to men and distributed of this

dominus hominibus voluit revelari et distribui hoc [S2, S: tali] modo. Dexit [S2, S: Dixit] Angulus .Samael. Salomoni hoc [S2: hic] dabis populo Israel qui et aliis similiter tribuent [S2, S add: sic placuit creatori] et inbet ipsum Dominus [S: dominus ipsum] taliter consecrari, Primo sit mundus operans non pollutus [S: polutus], et cum deuocione faciat non astute, non commedat neque bibat, donec perfecerit opus, Et sanguis quo scriptus [S2, S: scriptu~] fuerit primo sit benedictus sicut postea dicetur, Deinde suffumigetr [S2, S: suffumigetur], hoc sigillum ambra, musco, aloe, lapdano, albo, et rubeo, mastice, olibano, margaritis et thure. Invocando et orando dominum sicut postea de visione divina erudietur, Post [S: postea] invocando angelos sicut etiam [deest S] infra [deest S2] Dicetur, mutabitur tamen [S2: tñ; S: tantum] peticio hoc [S2, S: tali] modo,

wise. The angel said to Solomon, "This shall you give to the people of Israel who also shall likewise give to others. So it has pleased the creator."

And the Lord commands it thus to be consecrated: § First, let the worker be clean, not polluted, and let him do it with devotion, not deceytfully. § Let him not eat nor drink till he has done his work. § And the blood wherewith it shall be written, first must be blessed as shall be said afterward. Then the seal must be [per]fumed with amber, musk, aloes, lapdanum, white and red mastick, olibanum margarith, and Frankincense, calling upon and praying to the Lord and all holy angels, by saying as follows:

[S3: By the inspiracion of god, Salomon said: y^{er} is only one god only faith only vertue wch the lord wolde to be reueled to men & distributed of this wyse. The angell said to Salomon this shalt thow geve to the people off Israell whiche also shall likewise geve to others, so it hathe pleased the creato^{r}. / & the lorde comaundeth it thus to be cõsecrated / ffirst let the worker be cleane not polluted & let hym do it w^{t} deuocion not deceytfully / let hym not eate nor drynke tyll he heaue done his worke / & the blode where^{tr} it shalbe written first must be blessed as shalbe said afterward. than the seale must be fumed w^{t} amber, muske, aloes, lapdanum the white & redd / mastyke, Olibanum margarith & encensce, callyng uppõ & prayng to the lorde & all holy angels, by sayng as foloweth.]

[S: **Oratio**]

Oration.

ut tu domine per annunciationem concepcionem et citera. Hoc sacratissimum nomen ac sigillum tuum benedicere et consecrare digue ris [S2, S: digneris] ut per ipsum et [S2, S: te] mediante possim vel possit talis [S2: "tal:"; S: "tali"] .N. celestes [S: cælestes] coniuncere [S: convincere] potestates aereas et terreac [S2, S: terreas] cum infernalibus subingare, invocare, transmittaere

That thou, Lord, by the annunciation, conception, and [?] wilt vouchsafe to bless and consecrate this thy most holy name and seal, that by it through thy mediation I (or such one) N. may convitco heavenly powers airy, earthy, and infernal, to subdue, invocate to alter, conjure, constrain, raise up, congregate, drive away, to bind and to make though

[S2, S: transmutare]. coniurare [13r] constringere, excitare, gongregare [S: congregare], dispergere, ligare ac ipsos innocuos reddere homines placare, et ab eis suas [S2: tuas] peticiones graciosius [S: graciosi] habere, inimicos pacificare, pacificatos disimigere, sanos insanitate custodire vel infirmare. infirmos curare. homines bonos a malis custodire. et distinguere, et cognoscere, omne corporale periculum euadere, Judices in placito placatos reddere, victoriam in omnibus obtinere, pecrata carnalia mortificare et spiritualia fugare vincere, et euitare, divitias in bonis augmentare et dum [S2: du~; S: domine(?)] in die indicii apparebit. a dextris tuis cum sanctis et electis tuis tuam possit cognoscere [S2: agnoscere] maiestatem */*/*/*/*

not able to hurt or harm, to pacify men and of them to have graciously mine (or his) petitione to quiet enemies. Them that be at peace to disseun, and to keep sick them in health, or to make them sick, to make sick men whole, to keper evil men from good and to divide and to know them, to escape all bodily danger, to make judges pacified at pleasure, to obtain victory in all things, to mortify carnal sins and to drive away, overcome, and avoid, the spiritual, to increase riches in good things and when in the Day of Judgement, I (or he) shall appear at thy right hand with thy saints and elect, I (or he) may know thy majesty.

[S3: That thow lorde by the annunciacion, conceptiõ &c. wilte vouchesafe to blesse & cõsecrate this thy most holy name & seale that by it through thy mediacion I may or suche one maye N. convitco heuenly powers ayrely earthy & infernall to subdue invocate to alter coniure, cõstrayne, reyse up, cõgregate dryve away to bynde & to make tho not able to hurte or harme to pacifie men & of them to haue graciouslye myne or his peticione to quyet enemyes. / them y^{t} be at peace to disseu~ & to kape seke ,e~ in helth or to make the~ seeke./ to make seke men whole, to keper evyll men from good & to dyvide & to know them. / to skape all bodely daunger, to make Iudges pacified at pleasure./ to obteyne victory in all thyngs, to mortifie carnall synnes & to dryve away ouercome & avoyde, the spirituall./ to encrease riches in good thyngs & whau~ in the daye of iudgement. I or he shall appere of thy ryght hande w^{t} thy saynts & electe I or he maye knowe thy maiestie.]

Et tunc illa nocte sub aere [S2, S add: sereno] extra domum dimittat, Tunc habeas chirotecas [S: chirothechas] nouas sine creace factas inquas quis numquam manum posuit [S2, S:

Then that night let him lay it without the house in the clear air. Then you shall have new gloves made without fingers therou~, into the which no man ever did put his hand, in the which the seal shall be fast put and thus is accomplished this holy seal.

posuerit] in quibus signum glutetur, et sic complebitur hoc sacrum [S2: sacrosct~m; S: sac^{o}sctmus (?)] sigillum, Cuius primus eptagonus [S: heptagonus] .7. ordines, Secundus .7. Articulos Duplos tertius .7. sacramenta Designat [S: designant]
//*/*/*/*/*

[S3: Than that nyght let hym ley it w^{t}out the house in the cleare ayre, then, thow shalt haue new gloves made w^{t}out fyng^{r}stherou~, in to the wch no man~ eu~ dyd put his hande in the whiche the seale shalt be fast put & thus is complisshed this holy seale.]

Prima mundatio that is to saye the beginninge of the clensinge or powrginge of him y^{t} shall worke in this arte ffor he must be cleane ffrom all filthynes of soule and bodye */*/*/*

[V] The beginning of the cleansing or purging of him who shall work in this art, for he must be clean from all filthiness of soul and body

[13v]

Now that we haue fynisshed the composityon or makinge of the seale of god, let us procede to know how we shall obtayne the visyon or sighte of the deite.
ffirst he y^{t} shall worke must be very penitent and trewly confessed of all his sinnes. he muste vtterly forbere ye company of women and all there intycements, in so muche y^{t} he maye nott looke upon them, ffor as salomon sayeth, it is better to abyde withe a bere or a lyon in there dennes then to be in a howse w^{t} a wickyd woman, he maye kepe no company w^{t} wicked or sinfull men, for as dauid sayethe w^{t} ye holy thow shalte be holy, and w^{t} the wicked thow shalte be wicked. therfore he muste leade a pure and clene lyffe. for dauid sayeth blyssed are the undefyled and those y^{t} walke in the lawe of ye lorde, lett not his apparryll be filthe but rather new, or elles very cleane waschyd, salomon meanithe here by ye new garmentes vertu and purenes of lyffe, ffor god and his holy angells care for no wordely thinges, and that dothe appere, for the pore men doo soner worke effectually in this arte then the ryche men, but in this worke folowinge clene apparryll [14r] is necessarye, for angells doo abyde w^{t} me~ and they be clene, and therfor they desyre to haue clene apparryll, and

Now that we have finished the composition or making of the Seal of God, let us proceed to know how we shall obtain the vision or sight of the Diety.

First he that shall work must be very penitent and truly confessed of all his sins. He must utterly forbear the company of women and all their enticements, insomuch that he may not look upon them. For as Solomon says, "It is better to abide with a bear or a lion in their den than to be in a house with a wicked woman." He may keep no company with wicked or sinful men, for as David says, "With the holy you shall be holy, and with the wicked you shall be wicked." Therefore he must lead a pure and clean life. For David says, "blessed are the undefiled and those that walk in the law of the Lord." Let not his apparel be filthy, but rather new, or else very clean washed. Solomon means here by the new garments virtue and pureness of life, for God and his holy angels care for no worldly things, and that does appear (?). For the poor men do sooner work effectually in this art than the rich men.

therfore salomon did speke generally aswell of the clennes of ye soule as of the clennes of apparryll, and let him that shall worke neuer be ydell least his harte doo the soner enclyne to synne for the scripture sayeth, be alwayes doinge some thinge lest ye be fownde ydle, and lett him alwayes praye unto god withe these prayers folowinge for the scripture sayethe blessed is the seruant whome the lorde when he commethe shall fynde wakinge */*/*/*/*/*

But in this work following clean apparel is necessary, for angels do abide with men and they be clean, and therefore they desire to have clean apparel. And therefore Salomon did speak generally both of the cleanness of the soul and of the cleanness of apparel. And let him that shall work never be idle, lest his heart do the sooner incline to sin. For the scripture says, "Be always doing something lest you be found idle." And let him always pray to God with these prayers following. For the scripture says, "blessed is the servant whom the Lord when he comes shall finde waking."

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the suffumigatyons as heare foloweth */*/*/*/*

[This section is not present in other manuscripts of *Liber Juratus* (S, S2, or Sl.313); They jump directly to the Orations]

The suffumigations as here follows.

[The following sections on suffumigations and the names of angels is not found in other manuscripts of *Liber Iuratus* (S, S2, or Sl.313). They jump directly to the Orations]

Thimiamate for the satter daye is all good things and well smelling roottes as ys costus (?) and herbe thuris, */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Thimmiamate for Saturday *is all good things and well smelling roots such as costus and the herb thuris.*

Thimiamate upon saunday is masticke, muscus and suche lyke and all other good [14v] gumes of good odoure, as thus [thure], beniamen [benjamin, i.e. benzoin], storax, labdanum, ambre armoniacum, and such lyke */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Thimiamate for Sunday *is mastic, musk, and such like, and all other good gums of good odor, as thus, benjamin, storax, labdanum, amber armoniacum, and such like.*

thimiamate upon mondaye is folium mirti, and lawlri, and leues of good odor of all swet flowers */*/*/*/*/*/*

Thimiamate for Monday is folium mirti, and lawlri, and leaves of good odor of all sweet flowers.

thimiamate on the tewsdaye is sanders the redd blake and white, and all swete woodes as lygnum aloes cipres, balsami and such lyke */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Thimiamate for Tuesday is sanders, the red, black, and white, and all sweet woods as lignum aloes, cypress, balsam, and such like.

thimiamate on the wedsoun daye is the ryndes of all swete woodes, as cinamum, cassia ligina corticus, lauri, and macis and all swete sedes */*/*/*/*/*/*

Thimiamate for Wednesday is the rinds of all sweete woods, as cinnamon, cassia ligina corticus, lauri, and macis, and all sweet seeds.

thimiamate on the thowrsdaye is all swete frutes as nuttmuges, cloues, the ryndes of orenges and citrynes drye and powdred with suche lyke of good odoure */*/*/*

Thimiamate for Thursday is all sweet fruits as nutmeg, cloves, the rinds of oranges and citrines, dry and powdered with such like of good odor.

thimiamate on the frydaye is mace roses [15r] violates and all other frutes or flowers of good odoure as crocus and such lyke */*/*/*

Thimiamate for Friday is mace, roses, violets, and all other fruits or flowers of good odor, as crocus and such like.

Hermes sayde of thimiamate, of the is cinamonium, and lignum aloes, and masticke, and crocus, and costus, and maces, and mirtus we put this y^{t} yche planett haue a partye in it */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Hermes said of thimiamate, of the Moon is cinnamon, lignum aloes, mastic, crocus, costus, maces, and myrtle. We put this that each planet has a part in it.

[Cp. Agrippa I-xliv: "But *Hermes* describes the most powerful fume to be, viz. that which is compounded of the seven aromatics, according to the powers of the seven planets, for it receives from Saturn, pepperwort, from Jupiter, nutmeg, from Mars, lignum-aloes, from the Sun, mastic, from Venus, saffron, from Mercury, cinnamon, and from the Moon, the myrtle."]

Salomon making a destinctyon upon the dayes and planettes of the spyce with ye which aman oughte to make thimiamate, sayde that of is eche good rootte in good and euill, of all frutes, of eche tree, of eche gumme, of eche rynde, of eche flowers and odoriferus herbe, of the eche lefe, */*/*/* bacce, cardamonum wax, put also with ^{thes} thinges */*/*/*/*/*/*

Solomon, making a distinction upon the days and planets of the spice with which a man ought to make thimiamate, said that of Saturn is each good root in good and evil, of Jupiter all fruits, of Mars each tree, of Sol each gum, of Mercury each rind, of Venus each flower and odoriforus herb, of the Moon each leaf. Bacce, cardamonum wax, put also with these things.

hermes sayeth that he founde in an olde booke y^{t} these were ye more suffumigatyons thimiamate grecum, masticke, sandalus, [15v] galbanum, muscharlazerat, mirram and ambram and these be ye collectyons of spirites */*/*/*/* and he saythe there is no suche suffumigatyon to call spirites as is ambra, lignum aloes, costus muscus crocus and

Hermes says that he found in an old book that these were the more suffumigations: thimiamate grecum, mastic, sandalus, galbanum, muscharlazerat, myrrh, and amber, and these be the collections of spirits. And he says there is no such suffumigation to call spirits as is ambra, lignum aloes, costus muscus, crocus, and

bloode of a lapwinge w^{t} thimiamate mixt all to gethere w^{t} equall porcions, so y^{t} it be odiferus of the goumes */*/*/*/*/*/*/*

the blood of a lapwing, with thimiamate mixed all together in equal portions, so that it be odiferus of the gums.

Suffumigacions compounded of sartaine thynges heare foloweth. atribited unto the planettes */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Suffumigations compounded of certain thinges here follow, attributed to the planet.

[This section is evidently based on Agrippa I-xliv: "The compositions of some fumes appropriated to the planets." For suffumigations of the planets see also Picatrix Ed. Pingree pp. 200-2.]

For the sonne take saffrone, amber, muske, lignum, aloes, lignumbalsami, the frutte of laurell, w^{t} cloues, mir, and thuer equall porcions so y^{t} it be mixt all to gether after such manner y^{t} it be veri swete of odour of the goumes aforsaide, put to this ye braines of an eygell and the bloude of an whytte coke suche quantite as yt may be [16r] verie odiferus as before sayde and makeyt in lyttell balles or pylles and kepe yt verie close frome the aier or wynde for youre use */*

For the Sun take saffron, amber, musk, lignum, aloes, lignum balsam, the fruit of laurel, with cloves, myrrh, and thuer equal portions, so that it is mixed all together after such manner that it be very sweet of odor of the gums aforesaid. Put to this the brains of an eagle and the blood of an white cock, such quantity as it may be very odiferous as before said. And make it into little balls or pills and keep it very closed from the air or wind for your use.

[Agrippa: We make a suffumigation for the Sun in this manner, viz. of saffron, ambergris, musk, lignum-aloes, lignum-balsam, the fruit of the laurel, cloves, myrrh, and frankincense, all which being bruised, and mixed in such a portion as may make a sweet odour, must be incorporated with the brain of an eagle, or the blood of a white cock, after the manner of pills, or trochisks.]

For the mone take the heades of froges made of the aier which you may gather after some showers of raigne, with the eyes of a bull and the sede of whytt popye w^{t} thure, and camphyre equall porcions, mixt all to gethere w^{t} sangine menstruo, and the bloud of a whytt gander suche quantyte as yt may be verie odiferus, and laye ytt safflye up for youre use as before sayde */*/*/*/*/*/*/*

For the Moon take the heads of frogs made of the air, which you may gather after some showers of rain, with the eyes of a bull and the seed of white poppy with thure, and camphir, equal portions, mixed all together with *sangine menstruo*, and the blood of a white gander, such quantity as it may be very odiferus, and lay it safely up for your use as before said.

For mars take euphorbium, bedellium, armoniacum, the rottes of bothe ye hearbes called elleborus, of some yt is called bearfotte, w^{t} the powder of the stone called magnes, and

For Mars take euphorbium, bedellium, armoniacum, the roots of both the herbs called Helleborus (of some it is called bearfoot), with the powder of the stone

mirr, w^{t} alyttell sulphuer, but of the other equall porcions, mixt all to gether [16v] w^{t} the braines of a rauen, and humayne bloude w^{t} the bloude of a blak catt suche a quantie [sic] as yt maye be verie odiferus, and laye yt up for youre use as before saide */*/*/*/*/*/*//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

called magnes, and myrrh, with a little sulphur, but of the other equall portions, mixed all together with the brains of a raven, and human bloode, with the blood of a black cat, such a quantity as it may be very odiferus, and lay it up for your use as before said.

For marcurie take mastike, thuer, cloues, the hearbe called sunckfoyle and of the stone in pouder called an agath, of equall porcions and mixt all thes to gethere, w^{t} the braines of afox and of a wesell, w^{t} ye bloude of a pye called a hagester, suche a quantyte as shalbe expedient, so y^{t} it be verie odiferus of the goumies aforesaide, and laye yt up saffe for youre use as before is first wrytten */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

For Mercury take mastic, thure, cloves, the herb called cinqfoil, and of the stone in powder called an agate, of equal portions, and mix all these together with the brains of a fox and of a weasle, with the blood of a pie called a hagester, such a quantity as shall be expedient, so that it be very odiferus of the goumies aforesaid, and lay it up safe for your use, as before is first written.

For the planett iubiter take the sede of a~ ayche tree, lignum aloes, storax, beniame~ and of the stone y^{t} is called lapis lazuli, and the greate endes of the quiells of [17r] a pecoke equall porcions, and mixtall thes to gether w^{t} the bloude of a storke, of a swalowe, and the braines of stagg called an hartte when he is kylled in the precens of the prince, the male or female will serue, but take suche a quantite as yt may be verie odiferus of the foresaide gumes, and layeyt up vere well for youre use as before saide */*/*/*/*/*/*

For the planet Jupiter take the seed of an ash tree, lignum aloes, storax, benjamen, and of the stone that is called lapis lazuli, and the great ends of the quills of a peacock, equal portions, and mix all these together with the blood of a stork, of a swallow, and the brains of stag called an hart, when he is killed in the presence of the prince, the male or female will serve, but take such a quantity as it may be very odiferus of the foresaid gums, and lay it up very well for your use as before said.

For the planett venus, take muscke, ambre, lignum aloes, redd roses, and of the stone in pouder called corall, of y^{t} whiche is redd equall porcions and mixt all thes to gethere, with the braines of sparowes male and female, and w^{t} the bloude of a turcledour or of a howse doue being whytte, hauinge allwayes respect that it be odifires of the goumies as afore mencioned, and kepe yt verye well for youre use, ut supra,

For the planet Venus, take musk, amber, lignum aloes, red roses, and of the stone in powder called coral, of that which is red, equal portions, and mix all these together with the brains of sparrows, male and female, and with the blood of a turtledove, or of a house dove being white, having always respect that it be odiforous of the goumies as aforementioned, and keep it very well for your use, *ut supra* (as above).

[17v] For the planett saturne take the sedde of blake popye the sede of henbane, the rotte of mandragg, and of the stone in powder called magnes, and of mirr, equall porcions, mixt all thes to gethers with the braines of ablake catt, and the bloude of backes called fluider myse, hauinge respecte to the quantite that it be odiferouse of the goumie afore specified, kepeinge it verie well for youre use as is first

For the planet Saturn take the seed of black poppy, the seed of henbane, the root of mandrake, and of the stone in powder called magnes, and of myrrh, equal portions, mix all these together with the brains of a black cat, and the blood of backes called fluider mice [*i.e.* bats], having respect to the quantity that it be odiforous of the goumie afore

wrytten */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

specified, keeping it very well for your use as is first written.

Heare foloweth of maruelous efficacei sartaine suffumigacions accordinge to the demonstracion of lerned and wyse men after the opnione of philosophye */*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Here follows of marvellous efficacies of certain suffumigations according to the demonstration of learned and wise men after the opinion of philosophy

A suffumigacion made of thes hearbes as foloweth causeth a man to see scecreate visions to fore shewe and pronogsticate hidd and secreat mystires concerninge the hole use of the world, and to revele and openley declarre the quallities and operacion [18r] therof */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

A suffumigation made of these herbs as follows causes a man to see scecreate visions to foreshow and prognosticate hidden and secret mysteries concerning the whole use of the world, and to reveal and openly declare the qualities and operation thereof.

Take of sede of flex the sede of the hearbe called flesede, the rottes of violettes the rottes of persley, and make a fumigacion accordinge to the use as you shalbe tawghe [sic] in this booke, and you shall thorowe the grace and healpe of allmightie god haue your desyere */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Take of seed of flex the seed of the herb called fleseed, the roots of violets, the roots of parsley, and make a fumigation according to the use as you shall be taught in this book, and you shall through the grace and help of almighty God have your desire.

A suffumigacion made of thes erbes cansethe visions in the ayer or els wheare to apeare */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

A suffumigation made of these herbs cause the visions in the air or elsewhere to appear

Take coriander of some called colender and henbane, and the skine y^{t} is withein the pound garnet and the fumigacion made yt is finished y^{t} you desyere */*/*/*/*

Take coriander of some called colender, and henbane, and the skin that is within the pound garnet. And the fumigation made, it is finished [=accomplished] that [which] you desire.

A suffumygacion made of these hearbes as folowithe causethe visions of the earthe to appeare */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*	**A suffumigation made of these herbs as follows causeths visions of the earth to appear**
Take the rotte of the came reede, and [18v] the rott of fenill giaunte, which is called ferula, with the skynne y^t is w^t in the pourgarnet, and henbaune, and the herbe tassi barbassi and reed saunders and blake poppie, the conffeccione of thes made it is finished that you desyere */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*	Take the root of the cane reed, and the root of giant fennil, which is called ferula, with the skin that is within the pourgarnet, and henbane, and the herb tassi barbassi, and red sanders, and black poppy. The confection of these made, it is finished that [which] you desire.
But iff this hearbe perslie with ye rote of ytt be added unto the fore sayde confecsion yt destroyethe the forsayde matter and maketh it cleane voyde from all places and yt shall come to no effecte */*/*/*/*/*/*	But if this herb parsley with the root of it be added to the foresaid confection, it destroys the forsaid matter, and makes it clean void from all places, and it shall come to no effect.
A suffumigacion made of thes hearbes as foloweth expellyth and driuith awaye all visions, and fantices in slepe or other wuse */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*	**A suffumigation made of these herbs as follows expels and drives away all visions, and fantasies in sleep or otherwise**
Take piones peniriall, mintes and ye hearbe called palmacrist, and make a confeckecion therof at your goinge to bedd or at ani other tyme when as nede requireth and yt shalbe donne that [19r] you requier */*	Take peonies, pennyroyal, mints and the herb called palmacrist, and make a confection thereof at your going to bed, or at any other time when as need requires, and it shall be done that [which] you require.
A suffumigacion made as folowith dryvith and expellith all poysons and venomes	**A suffumigation made as follows drives and expels all poisons and venoms**
Take the pemies of a peroke the hidden partes of the longes of an asse and make a conffeccion thereof and yt is donne that you desire */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*	Take the pemies of a peroke the hidden parts of the lungs of an ass, and make a confection thereof, and it is done that [which] you desire.
A suffumigacion made as folowith cawsyth a howse or suche places where yt is made to sime as yt were full of water or blowde */*	**A suffumigation made as follows causes a house or such places where it is made to seem as it were full of water or blood.**
Take the galle of the fyshe called a cuttle the swete gum called arminioicum & rosses and lignum aloes, if then the sayde confeccion be put in the place wher ani water of the sea hathe benne or ani bloude hath benne or put of the sayde water or bloude in to the sayde confeccion y^t beinge congelyd and dried and	Take the gall of the fish called a cuttle, the sweet gum called armoniac, and roses, and lignum aloes. If then the said confection be put in the place where any water of the sea has been, or any blood has been, or put [some] of the said water or blood into the said confection, that

therof afimigacion made in a howse or ani place [19v] where you are dyssposed to proue this and yt shalbe donne that you desyere and put into thys place where you worke thys forsayde matter ther earth y^{t} fallyth or hangeth on a plowe, and it wyll sem that all the earthe dothe tremble and shake.

being congealed and dried, and thereof a fumigation made in a house or any place where you are disposed to prove this, and it shall be done that [which] you desire. And put into this place where you work this forsaide matter, the earth that falls or hangs on a plow, and it will seem that all the earth trembles and shakes.

A suffumygacion made as hearafter folowith in anie place where you will cawseth all things there hiddin never to be founde or reuelyd */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

A suffumigation made as hereafter follows in any place where you will, causes all things there hidden never to be found or revealed

Take thes hearbes, coriander, and saffron, henbanne, parslie and blake popie the water therof the popie dysstilled and tempered w^{t} the iuce of the poungarnet skine the which is w^{t} in the sayde poungarnet this being in a confeccion made and laye w^{t} yt golde syluer or anie other precious thinge w^{t} in the water the earthe or anie other place where you will, or make a fumigacion of the foresayde [20r] conffeccion upon the sayde place which thoue wilte hyde anie thinge in the ☽ at the same present be in coniunccion w^{t} th sonne in the .4. howse which is ye angle of the earthe or the pointe of midnight and yt shalbe allways kepte secrett for beinge found or reuelyd by anie waye or means it is sartaine and true */*

Take these herbs, coriander, and saffron, henbanne, parsley, and black poppy, the water thereof the poppy distilled and tempered with the juice of the poungarnet skin, the which is within the said poungarnet. This being in a confection made and lay with it gold, silver, or any other precious thing within the water, the earth, or any other place where you will, or make a fumigation of the foresaid confection upon the said place which you would hide anything in. The Moon at the same present [=instant] be[ing] in conjunction with the Sun in the fourth house, which is the angle of the earth, or the point of midnight, and it shall be always kept secret, for being found or revealed by any way or means, it is certain and true.

A suffumygacion made of, as after folowith cawseth visions in the ayer & the shaddowes of sepulcors of the arthe to appeare */*

A suffumigation made of, as after follows, causes visions in the air and the shaddows of sepulchers of the earth to appear

Take the naturall seed of the fyshe called a whalle, lingnum aloes, costus, muske saffronne, armoniacum, w^{t} the blude of the foule called a lapwinge, and make a conffeccion therof, w^{t} this sayde conffeccion make a fumigaccion in a conuenient place, and you shall see visyons in the ayer, take of the sayd conffeccion and make [20v] a fumygacion aboute the sepulkers and vissions of the dedd shall and wyll appeare

Take the natural seed of the fish called a whale, lignum aloes, costus, musk, saffron, armoniac, with the blood of the foul called a lapwing, and make a confection thereof. With this said confection make a fumigation in a convenient place, and you shall see visions in the air. Take of the said confection, and make a fumigation about the sepulchers, and visions of the dead

And note and marke all this well, that thes saide matters hathe tymes and dew, obseruacions perffyttley to be donne and keepte properley under the trew frome and concourse of the heaunes, according to ther proper qualites and influences, in eche degre. for the whiche you maye worke as in the chapters before wrytten yt apperethe more plainley */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

shall and will appear.

And note and mark all this well, that these said matters have times and due observations perfitly to be done, and kept properly under the true frame and concourse of the heavens, according to their proper qualites and influences, in each degree. For the which you may work, as in the chapters before written it appears more plainly.

the suffumigacions of the .12. signes, and of there facies
/

- [aries] take for ye fumigacion of the singe of aries mir
- [taurus] take for the fumigacion for ye singe of taurus, costus
- [gemini] take for the fumigacion for the singe of gemini, mastike
- [cancer] take for the fumigacion for the singe of cancer, camphyer,
- [leo] take for the singe of leo, thi fumigacion, thu
  [21r]
- [virgo] take for the fumygacion for the singe of virgo, saunders
- [libra] take for the singe of libra, this fumigacion, galbanm
- [scorpio] take for the singe scorpio, thys fumygacion, oponianac
- [sagitori] take for the singe of sagitori, thys fumygacion, lingnum
- [capricorne] take for the singe of capricorne, thys fumigacion, asam
- [aquarie] take for the singe of aquarie thys fumygacion, euphorbium
- [pysses] take for the synge of pysses thys fumygacion, thimiamatyis called armoniacum

The suffumigations of the twelve signs, and of their faces

- [Aries] Take for the fumigation of the sign of Aries myrrh.
- [Taurus] Take for the fumigation for the sign of Taurus, costus.
- [Gemini] Take for the fumigation for the sign of Gemini, mastic.
- [Cancer] Take for the fumigation for the sign of Cancer, camphor.
- [Leo] Take for the sign of Leo, the fumigation, thu.
- [Virgo] Take for the fumigation for the sign of Virgo, sanders.
- [Libra] Take for the singe of libra, this fumigation, galbanum.
- [Scorpio] Take for the sign Scorpio, this fumigation, oponianac.
- [Sagittarius] Take for the sign of Sagittarius, this fumigation, lignum [aloes].
- [Capricorn] Take for the sign of Capricorn, this fumigation, asam
- [Aquarius] Take for the sign of Aquarius, this fumigation, euphorbium
- [Pisces] Take for the sign of Pisces this fumigation, thimiamatis, called armoniacum.

[Compare Agrippa I xliv: The twelve signs also of the Zodiac have their proper fumes, as Aries hath myrrh; Taurus, pepperwort; Gemini, mastic; Cancer, camphor; Leo, frankincense; Virgo,

sanders; Libra, galbanum; Scorpio, opoponax; Sagittarius, lignum-aloes; Capricornus, benjamin; Aquarius, euphorbium; Pisces, red storax.]

Suffumicacions of the facies of the .12. signes

Primafacies [aries] teuer mirram .2. scamonum .3. pip nigrum . prima [taurus] costum .2. cardamonum .3. coprssum, prima facies .[cancer]. muscum .2. succhum .3. nucem muscatum, prima .[libra]. galbanium .2. ut almea, [21v] .3. garyophilum, prima facies .[capricorne]. asafetedam .2. celephamam, .3. pip longum, prima .[aquarie]. euforbium, .2. ruberberum .3. scamoneam, prima .[pysses]. tenet thimiama. .2. crocum .3. sandalum album .1. .[leo]. tenet thus .2. lingnum balsum, .3. mir muscata, prima .[virgo]. sandalus .2. crocum, .3. masticem. And looke what fumicacion we

giue the first hower of the the same muste you giue all that daye & so lykewyse of other */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Suffumigations of the faces of the twelve signs.

- Prima facies ♈ teuer mirram; 2. scamonum; 3. pip nigrum.
- Prima [taurus] costum; 2. cardamonum; 3. coprssum.
- Prima facies [cancer] muscum; 2. succhum; 3. nucem muscatum.
- Prima [libra] galbanium; 2. ut almea; 3. garyophilum.
- Prima facies [Capricorn] asafetedam; 2. celephamam; .3. pip longum.
- Prima [aquarie] euforbium; 2. ruberberum; 3. scamoneam.
- Prima [Pisces] tenet thimiama; 2. crocum; 3. sandalum album.
- 1. [Leo] tenet thus; 2. lignum balsum; 3. mir muscata.
- Prima [Virgo] sandalus; 2. crocum; 3. masticem.

And look what fumigation we give the

first hour of the ; the same must you give all that day, and so likewise of others.

De suffumigationibus temporum
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

In primo tempore lignum aloes, thus, et crocum, in secundo tempore thimiama, id est armoniacum, costum, masticem, in tercio tempore sandalos, cassia et mirtum, in quarto tempore muscum succum et lignum balsami,

De suffumigationibus temporum

- In primo tempore lignum aloes, thus, et crocum.
- In secundo tempore thimiama, id est armoniacum, costum, masticem.
- In tertio tempore sandalos, cassia et mirtum.
- In quarto tempore muscum succum et lignum balsami.

De fumigationibus quatuor pertium mundi

De fumigationibus quatuor pertium

quatuer elementorum
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

In oriente parte et super ignem sunt ambra, [22r] muscus, et alba cera, in parte meredei, et terræ, sunt algalya, almea, et tyryaca, in occidentalii parte et in aere sunt balsamus, camphora, et olium olmarum, in septentrione et aqua sunt lignum aloes, nux muscata, et maceys */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

mundi quatuer elementorum

- In oriente parte et super ignem sunt ambra, muscus, et alba cera.
- In parte meredei, et terrae, sunt algalya, almea, et tyryaca.
- In occidentalii parte et in aere sunt balsamus, camphora, et olium olmarum.
- In septentrione et aqua sunt lignum aloes, nux muscata, et maceys.

The names of the angells that haue powr upon y^e^ .7. dayes in the wicke and upon the .7. sterres and goethe upon the .7. heauens and other whyle in there chayers be these
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Capziel . satquiel . Samael . raphael . anael . l . Amael . Michael . et gabriel. and the powr of theys is that capziel is the power of sabaday . . satquiel of Zedet [sic] . . samael of madin . . raphael of hamina . . anael of noga . . michael of cocab . . and gabryel of labana . . and euery wan of thes sitteth in his heauen.
//*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Nomina aeris in quatuor temporibus

in primo tempore dicitr ystana, in secundo .surail. in tertio . oadyon in quarto gulyon, et nomina angeloru~ qui habent potestatem in aere et super sunt hæc Raphael . guabryel . michael . cherubin . seraphyn . [22v] orchyne . pataceron . mycraton . sandalson . barachyel .

[The names of the angels.]

The names of the angels that have power over the seven days of the week, and over the seven stars, and who go upon the seven heavens, and other while in their chairs be these.

Capziel, Satquiel, Samael, Raphael, Anael (or Annael), Michael, and Gabriel.

And the power of these is that Capziel is the power of Sabbathai (Saturn), Satquiel of Zedek (Jupiter), Samael of Madim (Mars), Raphael of Hamina (Sol), Anael of Nogah (Venus), Michael of Cocab (Mercury), and Gabryel of Labana (The Moon). And every one of these sits in his heaven.

Nomina aeris in quatuor temporibus

- In primo tempore dicitr ystana.
- In secundo, surail.
- In tertio, oadyon.
- In quarto gulyon,

Et nomina angelorum qui habent potestatem in aere et super sunt haec: Raphael, Guabriel, Michael, Cherubin, Seraphin, Orchyne, Pataceron, Mycraton, Sandalson, Barachyel, Rageyel, Tobyell, et nominabis . eos in omnibus rebus quae

rageyel . tobyell et nominabis . eos in omnibus rebus quæ facias in aere . et deo adiuuante prosperabis
/

facias in aere . et deo adiuuante prosperabis.

Nomina terræ in quatuor . temporibus anni in primo dicitur nyguedam in secundo yabassa . in tercio . tobell, in quarto . aradon, et angeli terræ sunt hæc */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Nomina terrae in quatuor . temporibus anni:

- In primo dicitur Nyguedam.
- In secundo, Yabassa.
- In tertio, Tobell.
- In quarto, Aradon.

Et angeli terrae sunt haec.

Samael . yatayell . baranyell . oryell . arfanyel . tatgryel . danael . affaryell . pactryell . baell . byenyell . et nominabis hæc nomina angelorum super terram in his rebus quæ facis in terra, et deo adiu~ante prosperabis */*/*/*

Samael, yatayell, baranyell, oryell, arfanyel, tatgryel, danael, affaryell, pactryell, baell, byenyell. Et nominabis haec nomina angelorum super terram in his rebus quae facis in terra, et deo adiu~ante prosperabis.

the names of the monthes be these */*/*/*

The names of the months are these:

nisan . yar . mantanius . abelul . tysyryn . marquesnam . quislep . tobenor thus tebethe sabat . adar . postadar . postremus .

Nisan, Iyar, *mantanius, abelul,* Tishrei, *marquesnam,* Kislev, Tevet, Shevat, Adar, *postadar, postremus*.

[Jewish month names are: Nisan, Iyar, *Sivan, Tammuz, Av, Elul,* Tishrei, Heshvan, Kislev, Tevet, Shevat, Adar. Compare with the list given below.]

The names of the potestates be these and they be .12. princes or rulors . that is one uppon euerye month of the .[moon]. and the rather is .oryel . sasuyell . amaryel . noryel . beraquiel . magnyuya . suryel . barfiell . adoniel . anael . gabryel . romyel . lacyel and euery of these [23r] hathe so many potestates or helpars more or greater as there be dayes in the monthe or many other seruantes of them.

The names of the potestates are these,

and they are twelve princes or rulers, that is, one for every month: Oriel, Sasuyell, Amariel, Noriel, Beraquiel, Magnyuya, Suriel, Barfiell, Adoniel, Anael, Gabriel, Romiel, Laciel.

And every one of these has as many potestates or helpers, more or greater as there are days in the month, or many other servants.

the names of the angells of the .12. monthes.

The names of the angels of the twelve months.

The names of the angells that be mighty and more mighty in the first monethe which is sayde nysan, be these . oryel . malaquiram .

The names of the angels that are mighty and more mighty in the first

acya . zaziel . paltifur . yesmachia . yaryel . araton . robyca . sephatya . anaya . guesupales . seniquiel . sereryel . malquia . aricasom . pacyta . abdyel . ramasdon . cafiel . nascyasori . sugni . aszrus . sornadaf . admyel . necamya . caysaac . benyh . q~uor . adziryell .

month, which is called *Nisan,* are these:

Oriel, Malaquiram, Acya, Zaziel, Paltifur, Yesmachia, Yariel, Araton, Robica, Sephatia, Anaya, Guesupales, Seniquiel, Sereriel . Malquia, Aricasom, Pacita, Abdiel, Ramasdon, Cafiel, Nascyasori, Sugni, Aszrus, Sornadaf, Admiel, Necamia, Caysaac, Benyh, Q~uor, Adziriell.

the names of the .2. monthe which is sayd yar in the language of hebrewe */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

The names of the second month, which is called *Iyar* in the Hebrew language.

Safuelor . sasnyeil . santon . cartemat . alyel . paltnya . bargar . galmus . necpys . aarom . manyt . aadon . quenanel . quemon . rasegar . affrye . absamon . sarsall . aspyn . carbyel . regnya . athlas . nadys . abytasy . abytan . palylet . */*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*/*

Safuelor, Sasnyeil, Santon, Cartemat, Aliel, Paltnia, Bargar, Galmus, Necpis, Aarom, Manit, Aadon, Quenanel, Quemon, Rasegar, Affrie, Absamon, Sarsall, Aspin, Carbiel, Regnia, Athlas, Nadis, Abitasi, Abitan, Palilet.

the names of the angells of the .3. monthe that is sayd */*/*/*/* sifan be these.

The names of the angels of the third month that is called *Sivan* are these:

Amaryel . tabryell . casmuch . nastyfa . almur . naa= [23v] mab . mamica . zicaran . samysarach . naaseyn . andas . paltamus . abrys . borzac . saforac . yayat . dalya . azyger. nabsuf . abuifor . zenam . dersam . cefanya . maccasor . naboon . adyell . maasyell . szarzyr . tartalyon . adyysar .

Amariel, Tabriell, Casmuch, Nastifa, Almur, Naamab, Mamica, Zicaran, Samisarach, Naasein, Andas, Paltamus, Abris, Borzac, Saforac, Yayat, Dalia, Aziger, Nabsuf, Abuifor, Zenam, Dersam, Cefania, Maccasor, Naboon, Adiell, Maasiell, Szarzir, Tartalion, Adyysar.

these be the names of ye angelles of y^{e} .4. monthe y^{t} is sayd thamuth

These are the names of the angels of the fourth month, which is called *Tammuz.*

. noryel . safyda . asaf . mazica . sarsac . adryyaac . nagron . galuf . galgal . danroc . saracu . remafydda . lulyaraf . nedylar . tyaf . taanat . lafayel . genyda . nedyr . delqua . maadon . samyel . amrael . lezaydi . as . ohoc . nasyby . razyarsady . yadna . caspa . garytan . elysafan . pastama . maday .

Noriel, Safida, Asaf, Mazica, Sarsac, Adryyaac, Nagron, Galuf, Galgal, Danroc, Saracu, Remafydda, Lulyaraf, Nedylar, Tyaf, Taanat, Lafayel, Genida, Nedir, Delqua, Maadon, Samiel, Amrael, Lezaydi, As, Ohoc, Nasyby, Razyarsady, Yadna, Caspa, Garitan, Elysafan, Pastama, Maday.

the names of the angells of the .5. monthe be

The names of the angels of the fifth

these Ab

beraquyell or beraquyel . mãhy . or amarya . haya . byny . madrat . aman . tulyell . cossuro . fartis . nactif . nekyff . pegner . tablic . manuat . amasya . guatyell . reycat . gnynzy . palyel . gadeff . nesgnyraf . abrac . animiter . carnby . nachall . cabake loch . macrya . sase . essaf .

month, called *Av*, are these:

Beraquiel, Manhy (or Amarya), Haya, Byny, Madrat, Aman, Tuliell, Cossuro, Fartis, Nactif, Nekyff, Pegner, Tablic, Manuat, Amasya, Guatiell, Reycat, Gnynzy, Paliel, Gadeff, Nesgnyraf, Abrac, Animiter, Carnby, Nachall, Cabake, Loch, Macria, Sase, Essaf.

these be the names of ye angells of the .6. monthe that is sayd elul.

manyny . arabyell . hanyell . nacery . yassar . rassy . boell . mathyall . naccameryf . zacdon . nafac . rapyon . saspy . salhy . rasersh . malquyell . sanytyell . yoas . gualaly . danpy . yamla . golum . zaszyell . satpach . nassa . myssyn . macratyf . dadyell . carcyell . effygmato */*/*

These are the names of the angels of the sixth month, which is called *Elul*.

Manyny, Arabiell, Haniell, Nacery, Yassar, Rassy, Boell, Mathiall, Naccameryf, Zacdon, Nafac, Rapion, Saspy, Salhy, Rasersh, Malquiell, Sanytiell, Yoas, Gualaly, Danpy, Yamla, Golum, Zasziell, Satpach, Nassa, Myssyn, Macratyf, Dadiell, Carciell, Effygmato.

these be the names of y^e^ angells of the .7. monthe that is sayd tysyrin.

surgell or suryel . sarycam . guabryza . szncaryell . sabybyall . ytrnt . cullya . dadyel . marham . abercaysdon . sacdon . pagnlan . arsabon . asyramon . agnyel . sastyracnas . alt= [24r] ym . masulaef . salamyel . sascunyel . barcaran . yahnt . alycas . vlysacyaia . abry .

These are the names of the angels of the seventh month, which is called *Tishrei.*.

Surgell (or suriel), Sarycam, Guabryza, Szncariell, Sabybiall, Ytrnt, Cullia, Dadiel, Marham, Abercaysdon, Sacdon, Pagnlan, Arsabon, Asyramon, Agniel, Sastyracnas, Altym, Masulaef, Salamiel, Sascuniel, Barcaran, Yahnt, Alycas, Vlysacyaia, Abry.

the names of the angells of the .8. monthe that is sayde marquesnan.

be these barbyts . or barfiell . tylzdyell . raamyell . nehubaell . alysaf . balyel . arzaf . rashyel . alson . naspyell . becar . palyel . elysu . aiguap . nacpas . sansany . aesal . maarym . sascy . yalsenac . mabynt . magdyell . saneinas . maalyel . arsafael . nanyseyorar . becabalaf . napybael . sucyel . nabnell . saryell . sodyel . marenell . palytam .

The names of the angels of the eighth month, which is called *marquesnan* [Heshvan], are these:

Barbits (or Barfiell), Tylzdiell, Raamiell, Nehubaell, Alysaf, Baliel, Arzaf, Rashiel, Alson, Naspiell, Becar, Paliel, Elysu, Aiguap, Nacpas, Sansany, Aesal, Maarym, Sascy, Yalsenac, Mabint, Magdiell, Saneinas, Maaliel, Arsafael, Nanyseyorar, Becabalaf, Napybael, Suciel, Nabnell, Sariell, Sodiel, Marenell, Palytam.

the names of the angells of the .9. monthe be these which is sayde quislep.*/*/*/*

The names of the angels of the ninth month, which is called *Kislev*, are

edoniel . radyel . maduch . racyno . hyzy . maryel . azday . mandyel . gumyel . seryel . kery . sahaman . osmyn . sechyel . pazehemy . chalchyphay . gey . Idael . necad . mynael . arac . ararygugel . galnel . gimon . satuel . elynzy . baquylaguall

these:

Edoniel, Radiel, Maduch, Racino, Hyzy, Mariel, Azday, Mandiel, Gumiel, Seriel, Kery, Sahaman, Osmyn, Sechiel, Pazehemy, Chalchyphay, Gey, Idael, Necad, Mynael, Arac, Ararygugel, Galnel, Gimon, Satuel, Elynzy, Baquylaguall.

the names of the angells of the .10. monthe that is sayde thebeth be these.*/*/*

The names of the angels of the tenth month, which is called *Tevet*, are these:

Anael . amyel . acyor . naclya . rapynes . raacpel . pacrel . halion . guanrynasnihe . aslaom . naspaya . neapry . sanihay . hasasylgason . gastaset . yfaryamy . man . polimas sarananuf . olyab . saryel . canel . razyell . pmla . nisquem . sarman . malysan . asyzat . marimoe .

Anael, Amiel, Acior, Naclia, Rapines, Raacpel, Pacrel, Halion, Guanrynasnihe, Aslaom, Naspaya, Neapry, Sanihay, Hasasylgason, Gastaset, Yfaryamy, Man, Polimas, Sarananuf, Olyab, Sariel, Canel, Raziell, Pmla, Nisquem, Sarman, Malysan, Asyzat, Marimoe

the names of the angells of the .11. monthe which is sayd cyuanth be these.*/*/*

The names of the angels of the eleventh month, which is called *Shevat*, are these:

gabryel . ysrael . natryel . gaszyel . nassam . abrysaf . zefaell . zamyel . mamyel . talyel . myryel . sahinyel . guryel . samhyell . daryel . banorsasty . satymn . nasyel . ransyel . talguaf . lebrachiel . dalyell . gandryel . sahuhaf . myschyel .

Gabriel, Ysrael, Natriel, Gasziel, Nassam, Abrysaf, Zefaell, Zamiel, Mamiel, Taliel, Myriel, Sahiniel, Guriel, Samhiell, Dariel, Banorsasty, Satymn, Nasiel, Ransiel, Talguaf, Lebrachiel, Daliell, Gandriel, Sahuhaf, Myschiel.

the names of ye angells of the .12. monthe that is sayde adar be these.*/*/*

The names of the angels of the twelfth month, which is called *Adar*, are these:

romyel . patyel . [24v] guryel . azryel . paamyel . cartyel . el . anunalbeh . parhaya . ysael . beryel . laell . tenebyel . panten . panteron . fanyel . falason . mancyel . pataron . labyel . ragael . cetabyel . nyazpatael .

Romiel, Patiel, Guriel, Azriel, Paamiel, Cartiel, El, Anunalbeh, Parhaya, Ysael, Beriel, Laell, Tenebiel, Panten, Panteron, Faniel, Falason, Manciel, Pataron, Labiel, Ragael, Cetabiel, Nyazpatael.

the names of the angells of the .13. moneth y^{t} is sayde büsextilis which is sayde adar the laste in marche be these,

The names of the angels of the thirteenth month, which is called *Büsextilis*, which is called *Adar the last in March,* are these:

lacyel or lantyel . ardyel . nosmyel . ardyel . celydael . amyel . malquyel . gabalyel . susuagos . barylaguy . yabtasyper . magos . sangos . yayell . yel . yasmyel . steluyel . garasyn . ceyabgos . sacadyel . garacap .

Laciel (or Lantiel), Ardiel, Nosmiel, Ardiel, Celydael, Amiel, Malquiel, Gabaliel, Susuagos, Barylaguy, Yabtasyper, Magos, Sangos, Yayell, Yel,

gabanael . tamtyel .

Yasmiel, Steluiel, Garasyn, Ceyabgos, Sacadiel, Garacap, Gabanael, Tamtiel.

the names of ye dayes of the wicke w^t^ there angells stronge and mighty upon euery daye, and euery won in his daye .

The names of the days of the week with their angels, strong and mighty upon every day, and every one in his day.

the names of ye angells that seruithe in the daye of be these.

the names of the angels that serve in the day of are these:

danyel . olyeyll . saffyell . dargoyeyll . yelbrayeyell . cemaguyll . gebarbaya . faceyeyll . caram . neyeyll . talgylueyl . bethtaez . raneyl . salha . hyeyll . armaquieyeyll . romayl . gybryll . zemayl . mychaze . zarsayeyll . amayl . antorayeyll . ronayeyll . reniayeyll . barhyl . marhyll . rarorhyll . merhyll . zarafyll . zarayll . an . quyhym . ceytatynyn . eznyah . vehych . dunedryneylyn . yedemkyeyl . esmaadyn . elbedagrin . zamaanel . yocaleme . detryeyll . aryeyl . arnaeyll . veremedyn . vnaraxidyn .

Daniel, Olyeill, Saffiell, Dargoyeill, Yelbrayeiell, Cemaguill, Gebarbaya, faceyeill, Caram, Neyeill, Talgylueil, Bethtaez, Raneil, Salha, Hyeill, Armaquieyeill, Romail, Gybrill, Zemail, Mychaze, Zarsayeill, Amail, Antorayeill, Ronayeill, Reniayeill, barhil, Marhill, Rarorhill, Merhill, Zarafill, Zaraill, An, Quyhim, Ceytatinin, Ezniah, Vehich, Dunedryneylin, Yedemkieil, Esmaadin, Elbedagrin, Zamaanel, Yocaleme, Detryeill, Aryeil, Arnaeill, Veremedin, Vnaraxidin.

**these be the angells in the daye of the **

These are the angels in the day of the

semhazylyn . semyhylym . yasrozyn . agrasnydyn . aymsylyn . cathneylyn . alrasachysyn . abrachasyn . layralosyn . lang [25r] hasyn . anaenym . niangaroryn . aezonyn . montazyn . labelas . mafatyn . feya . rachyn . cadanagyn . laeradonyn . caffrnbryn . bachramyn . varthalyn . amnanyneylyn . hacoylyn . balganaychyn . aryeylyn . badeylyn . abranoryn . tarmanydyn . amdalysyn .sahgragynyn . adyanienyn . sacstoyeyn . latebayfanysyn . caybeinynyn . nabyalyn . cyzamanyn . abramacyn . laryagathyn . bofealyquyn . bayealadyn . gasoryn . asaphyn . daryenyn . macnayelyn . gomraoryn . marybyn . yebyryn . arylyn . faryelyn . nepenyelyn . banyelyn . astyeylyn . ceradadyn .

Semhazylin, Semyhylim, Yasrozin, Agrasnydin, Aymsylin, Cathneylin, Alrasachysin, Abrachasin, Layralosin, Lang, Hasin, Anaenim, Niangarorin, Aezonin, Montazin, Labelas, Mafatin, Feya, Rachin, Cadanagin, Laeradonin, Caffrnbrin, Bachramin, Varthalin, Amnanyneylin, Hacoylin, Balganaychin, Aryeylin, Badeylin, Abranorin, Tarmanydin, Amdalysin, Sahgragynin, Adyanienin, Sacstoyein, Latebayfanisin, Caybeininin, Nabyalin, Cyzamanin, Abramacin, Laryagathin, Bofealyquin, Bayealadin, Gasorin, Asaphin, Daryenin, Macnayelin, Gomraorin, Marybin, Yebirin, Arilin, Faryelin, Nepenyelin, Banyelin, Astyeilin, Ceradadin.

these be the angells that serue in ye daye of

These are the angels that serve in the

day of :

samayelyn . tartalyn . doppeyl . racyelyn . farabyn . cabyn . asymolyn . mabareylyn . tralyeylyn . rubbelyn . marmaryn . tafanyelyn . fuheylyn . ruffar . aneylyn . rabsylyn . eralyn . pyrteplyn . brofylyn . cacyrylyn . naffreynyn . nupuryn . raffylyn . nyrylyn . nyenyolyn . nybyryn . celabryll . tubeylyn . haayn . veyn . paafyryn . cetenoylyn . letytyeylyn . rarafeyll . canueyl . bastaylyn . costyryn . montyelyn . albylyn . parachbeyll . alyeyll . vaceyll . zalcycyll . amadyell . vsararyeyll . lyncodoneyl . daffrypeyl . vnlylyn . carfzoneyll . gronyeyll . gabrynyn . narbeyll .

Samayelin, Tartalin, Doppeil, Racyelin, Farabin, Cabin, Asymolin, Mabareilin, Tralyeilin, Rubbelin, Marmarin, Tafanyelin, Fuheilin, Ruffar, Aneilin, Rabsilin, Eralin, Pyrteplin, Brofilin, Cacyrilin, Naffreinin, Nupurin, Raffilin, Nyrilin, Nyenyolin, Nybirin, Celabrill, Tubeilin, Haain, Vein, Paafirin, Cetenoilin, Letytyeilin, Rarafeill, Canueil, Bastailin, Costirin, Montyelin, Albilin, Parachbeill, Alyeill, Vaceill, Zalcicill, Amadiell, Vsararieill, Lyncodoneil, Daffripeil, Vnlilin, Carfzoneill, Gronieill, Gabrinin, Narbeill.

the names of ye angells that serue in y^e^ daye of be these.

The names of the angels that serve in the day of be these.

michael . beerel . dafngel . aryhyryel . boel . baryel . meryel . amyel . aol . semeol . aaen . beryon . saryno~ . keineryon . feynon . aneynyn . zamazynyn . cananyn . aall . merygall . pegal . gabal . veal . aum= [25v] eal . faranyeal . gebyn . carybyfyn . autarylyn . metorylyn . nabyafsyn . fysfyn . barsslylyn . caruphylyn . danyturla . fenyturla . geumyturla . amya . alnamya . tabynya . nafya . myacha . tyagra . bec . alacaorynyll . benenonyll .

Michael, Beerel, Dafngel, Aryhyriel, Boel, Bariel, Meriel, Amiel, Aol, Semeol, Aaen, Berion, Sarinon, Keinerion, Feynon, Aneinin, Zamazinin, Cananin, Aall, Merygall, Pegal, Gabal, Veal, Aumeal, Faranyeal, Gebin, Caribifin, Autarilin, Metorilin, Nabyafsin, Fysfin, Barsslilin, Caruphilin, Danyturla, Fenyturla, Geumyturla, Amia, Alnamia, Tabinia, Nafia, Myacha, Tyagra, Bec, Alacaorinill, Benenonill.

ye names of ye angells in ye daye of be these.

The names of the angels in the day of are these:

satquyel . ahyell . yebel . anenyel . Jumyel . Junyel . amyel . fanyel . ramuel . sanfael . saccynyel . galbyel . lafyel . ,azyel . ymraell . memyell . paryel . pamhynyel . toupyel . ambanyel . omyell . orfyell . ael . hearel . memyel . ynel . syumelyel . tranfyel . mefenyel . antquyel . quisyell . cumyryel . rofynyel . rubyeyel . beell . baryel . cheduryel .

Satquiel, Ahyell, Yebel, Aneniel, Jumiel, Juniel, Amiel, Faniel, Ramuel, Sanfael, Sacciniel, Galbiel, Lafiel, Maziel (?), Ymraell, Memiell, Pariel, Pamhiniel, Toupiel, Ambaniel, Omiell, Orfiell, Ael, Hearel, Memiel, Ynel, Syumeliel, Tranfiel, Mefeniel, Antquiel, Quisiell, Cumiriel, Rofiniel, Rubyeiel, Beell, Bariel, Cheduriel.

the names of the angells of ye daye of ♀ be these.

hasuayeyl . barneyeyl . verday . heyll . alzeyeyll . szeyeyll . bacapel . zelfayeyll . morayeyll . borayeyll . alpheyeyll . arobylyn . canofylyn . ourylyn . zaryalyn . marylyn . bacoraye . kolfayelyn . azrayeylyn . ambayeyryn . mayeylyn . cabueyryn . alseyryn . asueyryn . alneyryn . nenanryn . rayoryn . orynyn . gedulyn . hareryn . namylyn . halylyn . hymeylyn . reffylyn . narraabylyn . hahyeylyn . landelyn . esfylyn . thefelyn . patnelyn . keyalyn . naylyn . leyrayell . ablayeyll . talraylanrayn . barkalyn . bahoraelyn .

The names of the angels of the day of ♀ are these:

Hasuayeil, Barneyeil, Verday, Heill, Alzeyeill, Szeyeill, Bacapel, Zelfayeill, Morayeill, Borayeill, Alpheyeill, Arobilin, Canofilin, Ourilin, Zaryalin, Marilin, Bacoraye, Kolfayelin, Azrayeilin, Ambayeirin, Mayeilin, Cabueirin, Alseirin, Asueirin, Alneirin, Nenanrin, Rayorin, Orinin, Gedulin, Harerin, Namilin, Halilin, Hymeilin, Reffilin, Narraabilin, Hahyeilin, Landelin, Esfilin, Thefelin, Patnelin, Keyalin, Nailin, Leyraiell, Ablayeill, Talraylanrain, Barkalin, Bahoraelin.

ye names of ye angells in ye daye of ♄ be these.

myeraton . pacrifon . polypon . capeyell . ehenyton . alfyton . cheryon . sandalson . panyon . almyon . erpyon . paxon . calyrxon . horryon . melyson . unryon . tonelyn . refaebylyon . monyteon . bornaylon . paxylon . lelalyon . onoxyon . quybon . quyron . vyxasmyon . relyon . cassylon . tyfonyon . muryon . degyon . dapsyon . lenayon . orleunyon . foylyon . monychyon . [26r] gabyon . paxonyon . pynsylon . lepyron . loeloon . saron . salyon . pyon . nargeron . aaron . selyypon . pinmybron . raconcall . zelybron .

The names of the angels in the day of ♄ are these:

Myeraton, Pacrifon, Polypon, Capeiell, Eheniton, Alfiton, Cherion, Sandalson, Panion, Almion, Erpion, Paxon, Calirxon, Horrion, Melison, Unrion, Tonelin, Refaebilion, Moniteon, Bornailon, Paxilon, Lelalion, Onoxion, Quibon, Quiron, Vixasmion, Relion, Cassilon, Tifonion, Murion, Degion, Dapsion, Lenaion, Orleunion, Foilion, Monichion, Gabion, Paxonion, Pinsilon, Lepiron, Loeloon, Saron, Salion, Pion, Nargeron, Aaron, Selyypon, Pinmibron, Raconcall, Zelibron.

ffinis */*

Finis

[CXXXVII 20-22]

Before that these .3. prayers folowinge be sayd ouer the bloude ye must go towardes Ierusalem that Is estwarde and ye must saye

This introductory paragraph to the rite of exorcism of blood is "discussed but not given in full" in the Latin manuscripts

ouer the bloud ye exorcisme that Is sayd ouer ye salte that Is putt Into haly water, and that must be sayd .3. but that ye names must be changed thus. **I exorcyse the o y^u^ creature of bloude**, In the styde of ye creature of salte, which god commaundyd by salomon to be putt In to ye seale, In ye stide of which god commaundid by his prophet helyzeus to be putt Into water and so forthe of the resydewe, and this exorcysme thus sayd .3. with astole abowt thy neke the~ saye the prayers folowing thryse that donne y^e^ bloude shall be consecrated and mete for the seale.

(Hedegård, p. 17). Also, the Latin manuscripts mention only salt, not substituting blood.

Before that, these three prayers following must be said over the blood. You must go [=face] towards Jerusalem, that is, Eastward, and you must say over the blood the exorcism that is [also] said over the salt which is put into holy water. And that must be said three [times], except that the names must be changed thus, "I exorcise thee O thou creature of blood", instead of "... thou creature of salt," which God commanded by Solomon to be put into the seal, instead of which God commanded by his prophet Helyzeus to be put into water, and so forth of the rest, and this exorcism thus said three [times], with a stole [=scarf] about your neck, then say the prayers following thrice. That done, the blood shall be consecrated, and meet [=suitable] for the seal.

Compare the following exorcism with that in Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft* Book 15, chapter 15.

Exorcizo te creatura sanguis + per deum vivum + per deum verum + per deum sanctum + per deum qui Salomonen In eius deuinam Sigillum primum In ssic: vt sanaretur sterilitas Sanguis efficiaris exorcizatum In salutem credencium: et sis omnibus te Sumentibus Sanitas anime et corporis et effugiat atque desendat ab Iste sanguine omnia samasia et nequita vel versucia diabolice fraudis: omnisque spiritus In mundus adiuratus per eum qui venturus est Iudicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per Ignem. Amen.

Exorcizo te creatura sanguis + per deum vivum + per deum verum + per deum sanctum + per deum qui Salomonem in eius diuinam Sigillum primum in ssic: ut sanaretur sterilitas Sanguis efficiaris exorcizatum in salutem credentium: ut sis omnibus te sumentibus sanitas animae et corporis et effugiat atque disendat ab iste sanguine omnia samasia et nequitia vel versutia diabolicae fraudis: omnisque spiritus in mundus adiuratus per eum, qui venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem. Amen.

Exorcizo te creatura Sanguis que In nomine + Dei patris omnipotentis et In nomine + [26v] Iesu xpi filii eius dni nostri, et In virtute Sps Sancti, vt fias Sanguine exorcizate ad effugandam omnem potestatem Inimiel et Ipsum Inimicum eradicare et explantare valeas cum angelis Suis apostaticis, per virtutem

Exorcizo te creatura Sanguis que In nomine + Dei patris omnipotentis et In nomine + Iesu Christi filii eius domini nostri, et in virtute Spiritus Sancti, ut fias sanguine exorcizate ad effugandam omnem potestatem inimiel et ipsum inimicum eradicare et explantare valeas cum angelis suis apostaticis, per virtutem

eiusdem dni nostri + Iesu xpi qui vnturus est Iudicare vivos et mortuos et Seculum per Ignem. Amen. * * * *

O Inuisyble god, O Inestymable god, O Ineffable god, O Incommutable god, O Incorrvptyble **GOD**, O most mercyfull god, O most Swettest god, O Highe and gloryous god. O god of Infynite mercye, I althought vnworthe Synner full of Iniquyt deceyte And malyce most Humbly come unto thy mercy prayinge and beseching the not to haue respecte to all & Innumerable myn Iniquytes, but even As y^{u} arte wonte to haue mercye upon Synners, and to here ye prayers of ye Humble and meke, even so I beseche y^{e} to vouchsaffe to here me thy Seruant althoughe vnworthy yet calling vnto ye ffor ye blessinge And consecrating of this bludd thy creature that It maye be made apte and worthy ffor ye ynke of thy most precyous and Holy Seale and of thy name . SememphoraS . so y^{t} It maye haue ye aptnes and metenes whith It ought to haue by thy most Holy name, which Is written with .4. letters . Joth . He . vau . Deleth . Agla . eloy . yayin . theos . Deus . which being harde all celestyall terrestryall and Infernall creatures doo tremble feare & [27r] worship It, and by thyes thy most Holy names . on . Alpha et omega . principium . el . ely . eloe . eloy . elyon . Sother . emanuel . Sabaoth . Adonay . egge . ya . ya . ye . this creature of bludd may be blessyd preparyd and made apte ffor ye ynke of thy Holy seale and of thy most Holy name . SememphoraS . which Is blessyd worlde with owt ende . Amen .

eiusdem domini nostri + Iesu Christi qui vnturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem. Amen.

[CXXXVII 1-19]

O Invisible God, O Inestimable God, O Ineffable God, O Incommutable God, O Incorruptible God, O most mercifull God, O most Sweet God, O High and Glorious God. O God of infinite mercy, I, although an unworthy sinner, full of iniquity, deceit, and malice, most humbly come to your mercy, praying and beseeching you not to have respect to all and innumerable mine iniquities, but even as you are wont to have mercy upon sinners, and to hear the prayers of the humble and meek, even so I beseech you to vouchsafe to hear me, your servant, although unworthy, yet calling unto you for the blessing and consecrating of this blood, your creature, that it may be made apt and worthy for the ink of your most precious and Holy Seal, and of your name **Schemhamphoras**, so that it may have the aptnes and meteness which it ought to have by your most holy name, which is written with four letters, **Joth, He, Vau, Daleth, Agla, Eloy, Yayin, Theos, Deus,** which being heard all celestial, terrestrial, and infernal creatures do tremble, fear, and worship it. And by these your most holy names, **On, Alpha and Omega, Principium, El, Ely, Eloe, Eloy, Elion, Sother, Emmanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Egge, Ya, Ya, Ye,** may this creature of blood be blessed, prepared, and made apt for the ink of your holy seal, and of your most holy name, **Schemhamphoras**, which is blessed, world without end. Amen.

Another prayer ffor the Same

O good Iesu christ ffor thy Ineffable mercy Spare me and haue mercy upon me and here

Another prayer for the same.

O good Jesus Christ, for your ineffable mercy, spare me and have mercy upon me and hear me now through the invocation of the name of the Holy

me now thorow the Invocatyon of the name of the Holy trynyte the father the Sonne and the Holy goste and that y^{u} woldest accept and take In good worthe the prayers and wordes of my mouthe, by the Invocatyon of thy .100. Hooly names that Is to Saye **. AglA monhon . tetragramaton . olydeus . Ocleiste . Amphinethon . lamtara . Ianemyer . Saday . Hely . Horlon . portenthymon . Ihelur . Gofgamep . emanuel . On . Admyhel . Honzmorp . Ioht . Hofob . Rasamarathon . Anethi . erihona . Iuestre . Saday . maloht . Sethœ . elscha . Abbadaia . Alpha et omega . leiste . Oristyon . Ieremon . Hosb . merkernon . elzephares . egyryon . betha . Ombonar . Stymulamathon . Orion . eryon . noymos . peb . nathanothasy . theon . ysyston . porho . Rothon . lethellethe . ysmas . Adonay . Athionadabir . Onoytheon . Hosga . leyndra . nosulaceps . tutheon . Gelemoht . paraclitus . Occymomyon . erchothas . abracio . anepheneton . Abdon . melche . Sother . usiryon . baruch . Sporgongo . Genonem . messyas . pantheon . zabuather . Rabarmas . Yskyros . Kyryos . Gelon . Hel . Rethel . nathi . Ymeynlethon . Karex . Sabaoth . Sallaht . cirhos . Opyron . nomygon . Oryhel . theos . ya . Horha . christus . Holbeke . tosgac . Occymomos . elyorem .** [27v] **Heloy . Archyna . rabur .** humbly & faythfully beseching the althoughe unworthe yet trusting In ye that y^{u} woldest sanctefy & blesse this bloude by thy most Holy names afforsayd, & by this na~e . Sememphoras . of .72. letters that by ye power Holynes and vertue of ye same na~es & by y^{i} deuyne mighte & power this bloude maye be co~secrated, blyssed, & strengthed by ye vertu of y^{i} most Holy bodye & bloude y^{t} It may haue ye vertue & aptnes which it oughte to haue w^{t} out any discet, y^{t} it maye be worthy to wrighte y^{i} Holy seale y^{t} it may haue ye effecte which it ought to haue thorow o^{r} lorde Iesus which syttethe in ye hyghest to whome be honor prayse & glorye worlde w^{t} owt ende Amen.

Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that you would accept and take in good worth the prayers and words of my mouth, by the invocation of your one hundred holy names, that is to saye, **Agla, Monhon, Tetragrammaton, Olydeus, Ocleiste, Amphinethon, Lamtara, Ianemyer, Saday, Hely, Horlon, Portenthymon, Ihelur, Gofgamep, Emmanuel, On, Admihel, Honzmorp, Ioht, Hofob, Rasamarathon, Anethi, Erihona, Iuestre, Saday, Maloht,. Sethoe, Elscha, Abbadaia, Alpha et Omega, Leiste, Oristion, Ieremon, Hosb, Merkernon, Elzephares, Egirion, Betha, Ombonar, Stimulamathon, Orion, Erion, Noimos, Peb, Nathanothasy, Theon, Ysiston, Porho, Rothon, Lethellethe, Ysmas, Adonay, Athionadabir, Onoytheon, Hosga, Leyndra, Nosulaceps, Tutheon, Gelemoht, Paraclitus, Occymomion, Erchothas, Abracio, Anepheneton, Abdon, Melche, Sother, Usirion, Baruch, Sporgongo, Genonem, Messias, Pantheon, Zabuather, Rabarmas, Iskiros, Kyrios, Gelon, Hel, Rethel, Nathi, Ymeinlethon, Karex, Sabaoth, Sallaht, Cirhos, Opiron, Nomigon, Orihel, Theos, Ya, Horha, Christus, Holbeke, Tosgac, Occimomos, Eliorem, Heloy, Archina, Rabur.** humbly and faithfully beseeching you, although unworthy yet trusting in you that you would sanctify and bless this blood by your most holy names aforesaid, and by this name **Schemhamphoras** of seventy-two letters, that by the power, holiness, and virtue of the same names and by your divine might and power this blood may be consecrated, blessed, and strengthed by the virtue of your most holy body and blood, that it may have the virtue and aptness which it ought to have without any discet (?), that it may be worthy to write your holy seal, that it may have the effect which it ought to have through our Lorde Jesus, who sits in the highest, to

whom be honor, praise, and glory, world without end. Amen.

:::::the blessing of It:::::

God the father blesse ye God ye sonne blesse ye God ye Holy gost blesse ye Hooly marye mother of o^{r} lorde Iesu christ maye blesse & Sanctefy y^{e}, o bloude y^{t} y^{u} mayst Haue ye mighte and power of a sacrament In wryting of ye Seale of God. All Holy virgins maye blesse ye this, Daye & euer. All ye Holy & electe of God and All ye celestyall powers maye blesse the and confyrme and Strengthen the, All Angells and Archangells vertues, principates, potestates, thrones, and domynatyo~s, cherubin & Seraphin by ye auchtoryte & lycency of god may blesse y^{e}, by ye marytes & all ye prayers of thy sayntes O lorde Iesu christ y^{t} y^{u} woldest blesse + sanctyfy + & consecrate + this bloude & strengthe~ it, by thy almighty pow^{r}, & y^{t} thy seale y^{t} shall herew^{t} be wrytte~ may haue ye power which it oughte to haue & for y^{t} purpose & intent for ye which it is ordeyned thorow o^{r} lord Iesu christ whose reygne & empyre dothe contynew worlde w^{t} owt ende. Amen :::::

The blessing of it.

God the Father bless you, God the Son bless you, God the Holy Ghost bless you. May Holy Mary mother of our Lord Jesus Christ bless and sanctify you, Oh blood, that you may have the might and power of a sacrament in writing of the Seal of God. May all holy virgins bless you this day and ever. May all the holy and elect of God, and all the celestial powers bless you, and confirm and strengthen you. May all angels and archangels, virtues, principates, potestates, thrones, and dominations, cherubin, and seraphin, by the authority and license of God, bless you, by the merits and all the prayers of your saints, O Lord Jesus Christ, that you would bless + sanctify + and consecrate + this blood, and strengthen it, by your almighty power, and that your seal that shall herewith be written may have the power which it ought to have, and for that purpose and intent for the which it is ordained through our Lord Jesus Christ, whose reign and empire does continue, world without end. Amen.